Uneven Social Policies:
The Politics of Subnational Variation in Latin America

By Sara Niedzwiecki

Online Appendix

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Governors' Political Alignments in Argentina

This dataset measures the alignment of elected (or reelected) governors towards the President in each election year across seven indicators. Alignments are measured around the election cycle, thus tapping into electoral alignments or the explicit position of elected candidates around the election period. However, they can be representative of the alignment of the governor until the next election cycle when their position does not change. The main advantage of this measurement decision is that it is straightforward: candidates tend to make their position toward the president explicit at the moment of the election. Given that alignment and non-alignment to the federal government is clear at the time of the elections, the variable has two possible values: whether the governor is aligned with the president or the governor is opposed to the president.

The dataset codes newspaper articles a month before and a month after the election, to decide whether the governor was aligned or opposed to the president in that particular election. Coding alignments a month before the election allows us to analyze the governor's discourse during the electoral campaign. A month after the election, the governor can change her position and become more or less aligned to the president. We note these changes in the profile.[1] Elections are coded every two years to incorporate both provincial executive elections (governors) and national legislative elections (elections for national deputies and senators representing the province).[2]

The coding includes two main national newspapers, La Nación and Página 12, as well as one or two provincial newspapers when these were available online. The profiles included in this appendix were prepared by Sara Niedzwiecki, Sofía Elverdín, and David Nunnally. The coding was led by Nicolás Cherny, Carlos Freytes, Sara Niedzwiecki, and Gerardo Scherlis with funding from Argentina's Fund for Scientific and Technological Research (Fondo para la Investigación Científica y Tecnológica, FONCYT). The following research assistants participated in the coding: Fiorella Adrianzén, Belén Abdala, Sofía Elverdín, Juan Moyano Larrazábal, and Joaquin Vivares. The dataset can be cited as:

> **Cherny, Nicolás, Carlos Freytes, Sara Niedzwiecki, and Gerardo Scherlis. 2015. *Base de Datos de Alineación Política Subnacional, Argentina 2003-2015*. Instituto de Investigaciones Gino Germani, Universidad de Buenos Aires.**

[1] As a general rule, we code one month before and after the election except when expanding the time frame increases the validity of the measure. This happened in three instances. First, for the province of Santa Cruz in 2011 we code three months after the election. This is because the governor, Daniel Peralta, moves from alignment with the national government to full opposition weeks after the elections. As experts in provincial politics, the authors decided that Peralta's administration in 2011 is more ac}}}}curately represented as opposition to the federal government than aligned to it. Second, in Tierra del Fuego's 2009 elections, the position of the governor towards the President is completely ambivalent and therefore we decided to code three months after the election to increase the clarity in the coding decision. Finally, for the province of Corrientes in 2011 we decided to code two months before the election to also include the provincial legislative elections in which the position of the governor does not change.

[2] In most provinces, except two that had federal interventions, elections are conducted on the same year throughout the country but in different dates.

Coding Scheme

Indicator	Description
Peronist Party	Whether the (elected) governor belongs to the Peronist party (Partido Justicialista) or not. In the cases in which the (elected) governor belongs to the Peronist party, there are higher chances that the governor is aligned. However, this is not always the case: there are Peronist opposition governors and non-Peronists aligned governors.
Party Tag	Party tag of the governor or the list supported by the governor. If the party tag is Frente para la Victoria, the party tag of the President since 2003, there are high chances that the governor is aligned with the President. However, not sharing the same party tag does not mean non-alignment given the high number of provincial parties.
Discourse	Governor's public statements regarding the President and their relationship. Positive statements in speeches or interviews increase the probability of alignment.
Appearances	Governor's public appearances (in acts or meetings) with members of the national government increase the chances of alignment. Meetings with members of the national opposition hint towards non-alignment.
Assessment of Experts	The way in which newspapers and other relevant actors explicitly assess the position of the governor toward the President.
National Appointments	If the governor held an appointed position in the current national government, there are chances that the President and the governor are aligned.
Provincial Opposition	Political dynamics at the provincial level. If the governor's provincial opposition is aligned with the President, chances are that the governor is in opposition to the President. If the provincial opposition is aligned with the national opposition, the governor could be aligned with the President. However, there are cases of governors that have a local opposition aligned with the President while the governor is also aligned with the President.

Note: The research team analyzed holistically these seven indicators and made a decision for every province and election year.

Coding Results

Province	2007	2009	2011	2013
Buenos Aires	Aligned	Aligned	Aligned	Aligned
CABA	Opposition	Opposition	Opposition	Opposition
Catamarca	Aligned	Opposition	Aligned	Aligned
Chaco	Aligned	Aligned	Aligned	Aligned
Chubut	Aligned	Opposition	Aligned	Aligned
Córdoba	Aligned	Opposition	Opposition	Opposition
Corrientes	Aligned	Opposition	Opposition	Opposition
Entre Ríos	Aligned	Aligned	Aligned	Aligned
Formosa	Aligned	Aligned	Aligned	Aligned
Jujuy	Aligned	Aligned	Aligned	Aligned
La Pampa	Aligned	Aligned	Aligned	Aligned
La Rioja	Aligned	Aligned	Aligned	Aligned
Mendoza	Aligned	Aligned	Aligned	Aligned
Misiones	Aligned	Aligned	Aligned	Aligned
Neuquén	Aligned	Aligned	Aligned	Aligned
Río Negro	Aligned	Aligned	Aligned	Aligned
Salta	Aligned	Aligned	Aligned	Aligned
San Juan	Aligned	Aligned	Aligned	Aligned
San Luis	Opposition	Opposition	Opposition	Opposition
Santa Cruz	Aligned	Aligned	Opposition	Opposition
Santa Fe	Opposition	Opposition	Opposition	Opposition
Santiago del Estero	Aligned	Aligned	Aligned	Aligned
Tierra del Fuego	Opposition	Aligned	Aligned	Aligned
Tucumán	Aligned	Aligned	Aligned	Aligned

Source: Cherny, Nicolás, Carlos Freytes, Sara Niedzwiecki, and Gerardo Scherlis. 2015. *Base de Datos de Alineación Política Subnacional, Argentina 2003-2015*. Instituto de Investigaciones Gino Germani, Universidad de Buenos Aires.

Buenos Aires

2007

In 2007 Buenos Aires elected President, vice-President, 35 national deputies, governor, vice-governor, 46 local deputies, and 23 local senators.[1] Sixteen coalitions competed for the gubernatorial position, and one garnered a significant portion of the vote. Daniel Scioli, from Frente para la Victoria, was elected with 48.2% of the vote. Frente Coalición Cívica came in second with 16.5% of the vote, and Unión Pro came in third with 14.9%.[2]

The elected governor, Daniel Scioli, belongs to the Peronist Party (PJ). National newspapers depicted Scioli as a "Peronist" candidate.[3] Additionally, the elected governor used the "Frente para la Victoria" party tag.[4]

Scioli expressed his support for the national government on numerous occasions. Before the election, the elected governor declared that he and Cristina Kirchner were "a team."[5] He also affirmed that the majority of Argentines supported Cristina Kirchner's leadership.[6] The night of the election, Scioli thanked Néstor Kirchner for his support, and stated that it had been an "honor" to have served as his vice-President.[7] He also affirmed that his voters "supported the national government."[8] Additionally, Scioli stated that Cristina Kirchner "knew the province of Buenos Aires very well," and expressed his belief that she would support his administration.[9]

Given the geographic closeness between the capital of the province and the capital of the country, Scioli made several appearances with members of the national government throughout the election cycle. Before the election, he participated in the inauguration of a factory with Néstor and Cristina Kirchner.[10] The elected governor also attended a union congress with the national Ministro de Trabajo (Minister of Labor).[11] Additionally, Scioli participated in a public

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[1] Lucesole, María José. "Buenos Aires, la clave de todo triunfo". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957227-buenos-aires-la-clave-de-todo-triunfo.

[2] Scioli ganó en Buenos Aires con el 53%". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957459-scioli-gano-en-buenos-aires-con-el-53.

[3] Dinatale, Martín. "Un peronista pragmático que habla con todos y no se pelea con nadie". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957462-un-peronista-pragmatico-que-habla-con-todos-y-no-se-pelea-con-nadie ; Wainfeld, Mario. "Kirchner, presidenta con "A" final". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 29 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-93719-2007-10-29.html.

[4] "Kirchner volvió a reclamar créditos baratos a los bancos". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 11 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/952215-kirchner-volvio-a-reclamar-creditos-baratos-a-los-bancos.

[5] Rosales, Jorge. "Scioli: "Sólo pienso en la gobernación"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 7 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/950904-scioli-solo-pienso-en-la-gobernacion.

[6] "En campaña". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 14 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-92973-2007-10-14.html.

[7] "Arrasador triunfo de Scioli en la provincia de Buenos Aires". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957257-arrasador-triunfo-de-scioli-en-la-provincia-de-buenos-aires.

[8] Veiras, Nora. "Nunca se invirtió tanto en la provincia". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 30 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/93775-29760-2007-10-30.html.

[9] Morosi, Pablo. "Scioli pide más dinero para obra pública". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 November 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/965162-scioli-pide-mas-dinero-para-obra-publica.

[10] Sainz, Alfredo. "El calzado invierte con protección". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/949538-el-calzado-invierte-con-proteccion.

[11] "Smata pidió un aumento de salarios". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 6 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/950570-smata-pidio-un-aumento-de-salarios.

act with the President, three members of the cabinet, Cristina Kirchner, and her running-mate.[12] He also chaired a public act with the Head of the Programa de Atención Médica Integral (Comprehensive Medical Program).[13] Moreover, Scioli attended an event with the national Ministro de Justicia (Minister of Justice).[14] The elected governor also participated in an event with Néstor and Cristina Kirchner, the Ministro de Economía (Minister of Economy), and the Ministro del Interior (Minister of Interior).[15] Furthermore, Scioli attended a public act headed by Cristina Kirchner; the President, the Ministro de Trabajo, the Ministro de Justicia, and the Ministro de Educación (Minister of Education) were also present at the event.[16] The elected governor also participated in a public act with Néstor and Cristina Kirchner and the Ministro de Planificación Federal (Minister of Federal Planning).[17] Additionally, Scioli headed a public act with Cristina Kirchner.[18] The elected governor and Néstor Kirchner also had a meeting with several Peronist mayors from the province.[19] Moreover, Scioli attended Cristina Kirchner's closing campaign act; the President was also present at the event. [20] On the same day, the elected governor and Néstor Kirchner participated in a campaign act.[21] Scioli celebrated the results of the Presidential election with Néstor and Cristina Kirchner.[22] After the election, the elected governor inaugurated the Feria Internacional de Turismo (International Fair of Tourism) with the national Secretario de Turismo (Secretary of Tourism).[23] Scioli also participated in a public act with Néstor and Cristina Kirchner.[24] Furthermore, he participated in the legislative inauguration

[12] "Kirchner volvió a reclamar créditos baratos a los bancos". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 11 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/952215-kirchner-volvio-a-reclamar-creditos-baratos-a-los-bancos.
[13] "En campaña". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 13 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-92944-2007-10-13.html.
[14] "Presentan sponsors de la Misión Olímpica". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/953890-presentan-sponsors-de-la-mision-olimpica.
[15] Olivera, Francisco. "Volkswagen invertirá 1000 millones". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/953859-volkswagen-invertira-1000-millones.
[16] Verón, Mariana. "Señal de Cristina Kirchner al peronismo". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 18 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/954218-senal-de-cristina-kirchner-al-peronismo ; Jorquera, Miguel. ""Que nadie nos vuelva a dividir"". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 18 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-93166-2007-10-18.html.
[17] "Kirchner volvió a reclamar por los policías asesinados". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 22 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/955535-kirchner-volvio-a-reclamar-por-los-policias-asesinados ; "Voy a estar en el próximo maratón". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 23 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-93385-2007-10-23.html.
[18] "Un try sobre el cierre de campaña". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 24 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-93441-2007-10-24.html.
[19] Verón, Mariana. "Kirchner prometió liderar la reorganización del justicialismo". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 25 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/956304-kirchner-prometio-liderar-la-reorganizacion-del-justicialismo.
[20] Verón, Mariana. ""Son profundos los cambios que restan", dijo Cristina Kirchner". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 26 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/956621-son-profundos-los-cambios-que-restan-dijo-cristina-kirchner.
[21] ""Voy a ir por los barrios"". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 26 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/93562-29714-2007-10-26.html.
[22] "La senadora destacó la contundencia del triunfo". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957419-la-senadora-destaco-la-contundencia-del-triunfo.
[23] "Con gran oferta turística, quedó inaugurada la FIT". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 18 November 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/963385-con-gran-oferta-turistica-quedo-inaugurada-la-fit.
[24] Abrevaya, Sebastián. "Para que los argentinos podamos volver a mirarnos a la cara". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 21 November 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-95012-2007-11-21.html.

ceremony of Cristina Kirchner.[25] Scioli also attended an event with the Ministro de Trabajo.[26] Finally, the elected governor participated in the legislative session during which Cristina Kirchner resigned as a national senator.[27]

National newspapers referred to Scioli as "Kirchnerista."[28] Página 12 and La Nación stated that the elected governor contributed to Cristina Kirchner's victory in the presidential election.[29] La Nación also affirmed that Scioli "answered to Kirchner."[30]

The elected governor served as vice-President under Néstor Kirchner from 2003 to 2007.[31]

At the local level, Frente Coalición Cívica and Unión Pro were not aligned with the national government. The Frente Coalición Cívica candidate was aligned with Elisa Carrió, a presidential candidate and leader of the national opposition.[32] At the same time, the Unión Pro candidate was also not aligned with the national government. The candidate was aligned with Mauricio Macri, the mayor of the City of Buenos Aires who opposed the national government.[33] La Nación newspaper stated that both the Frente Coalición Cívica and the Unión Pro candidates belonged to the "non-Kirchnerista" political sphere.[34]

2009

In 2009 Buenos Aires elected 35 national deputies, 46 local deputies, and 23 local senators. Eighteen coalitions competed for the national seats, and three garnered a significant portion of the vote: Unión Pro, Frente Justicialista para la Victoria, and Acuerdo Cívico y Social. Unión Pro won the election with 34.6% of the vote. Frente Justicialista para la Victoria, the

[25] "Proclamaron oficialmente presidenta a Cristina Fernández". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 21 November 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/964272-proclamaron-oficialmente-presidenta-a-cristina-fernandez.
[26] Rebossio, Alejandro. "Proponen aumentar la asignación universal por hijo". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 November 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/966236-proponen-aumentar-la-asignacion-por-hijo.
[27] "Cristina dejó su banca con elogios a la gestión". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 November 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/966289-cristina-dejo-su-banca-con-elogios-a-la-gestion.
[28] "Morales, muy crítico". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 8 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/951088-morales-muy-critico ; "En campaña". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 14 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-92973-2007-10-14.html.
[29] "Arrasador triunfo de Scioli en la provincia de Buenos Aires". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957257-arrasador-triunfo-de-scioli-en-la-provincia-de-buenos-aires ; Pasquini Durán, J. M. "Veredicto". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 29 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-93721-2007-10-29.html.
[30] Obarrio, Mariano. "Kirchner tendrá una fundación y se reserva cuotas de poder". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 25 November 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/965409-kirchner-tendra-una-fundacion-y-se-reserva-cuotas-de-poder.
[31] "Scioli: "Ante el dolor, no se especula"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 20 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/954947-scioli-ante-el-dolor-no-se-especula.
[32] Lucesole, María José. "Buenos Aires, la clave de todo triunfo". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957227-buenos-aires-la-clave-de-todo-triunfo ; Cibeira, Fernando. "Quién ganó y quién perdió". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 29 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-93713-2007-10-29.html.
[33] "Una lucha dispersa entre 14 candidatos". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 14 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/953038-una-lucha-dispersa-entre-14-candidatos.
[34] Lladós, José Ignacio. "Quiénes son los que apuntan a liderar a la oposición". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 30 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957743-quienes-son-los-que-apuntan-a-liderar-la-oposicion.

coalition headed by Néstor Kirchner and the incumbent governor Daniel Scioli, came in a close second with 32.1% of the vote. Acuerdo Cívico y Social came in third with 21.4%.[35]

The governor of Buenos Aires, Daniel Scioli, belongs to the Peronist Party. La Nación newspaper described him as a "Peronist" governor.[36] Additionally, after the election Scioli became the President of the Peronist Party after Néstor Kirchner had resigned to this position.[37] In this election, the coalition headed by Néstor Kirchner and the governor used the Frente (Justicialista) para la Victoria party tag.[38]

Scioli had a positive discourse towards the national government. Before the election, he urged the residents of the province to "respect and take care of the President."[39] He also declared that Néstor Kirchner was valued "for his courage, his experience, and his decision to generate profound changes."[40] After the election, Scioli thanked Cristina Kirchner for her support to the province of Buenos Aires, and asked his political supporters to support the national government.[41]

The governor made several appearances with members of the national government throughout the election cycle. Before the election, he participated in a public event with the national Secretario de Agricultura (Secretary of Agriculture).[42] Scioli also attended a dinner party with Néstor and Cristina Kirchner, the Jefe de Gabinete (Chief of Staff), the Ministro de Planificación Federal (Minister of Federal Planning), and former President of the United States Bill Clinton.[43] Additionally, the governor participated in a campaign act with Néstor Kirchner, the Ministro del Interior (Minister of Interior), and the Ministro de Trabajo (Minister of Labor).[44] Scioli also attended seven public acts headed by Cristina Kirchner.[45] Moreover, he participated

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[35] "Los números que arrojaron las elecciones en Buenos Aires". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 30 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1145331-los-numeros-que-arrojaron-las-elecciones-en-buenos-aires.

[36] Morales Solá, Joaquín. "El peronismo le pondrá límites al ex presidente". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 31 May 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1134063-el-peronismo-le-pondra-limites-al-ex-presidente.

[37] "Kirchner renunció a la presidencia del PJ". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 30 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1145239-kirchner-renuncio-a-la-presidencia-del-pj.

[38] "Leve ventaja de De Narváez y Solá sobre Kirchner y Scioli". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 7 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1136716-leve-ventaja-de-de-narvaez-y-sola-sobre-kirchner-y-scioli.

[39] "Scioli fue duro con el imitador de De Narváez en "Gran Cuñado"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 16 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1139838-scioli-fue-duro-con-el-imitador-de-de-narvaez-en-gran-cunado.

[40] Miguez, Daniel. ""Hay que avanzar sobre los logros ya obtenidos"". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 27 June 2009. https://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-127318-2009-06-27.html.

[41] Dinatale, Martín. "Scioli: "Hay que dejar atrás las diferencias"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1154744-scioli-hay-que-dejar-atras-las-diferencias.

[42] "Presentan una nueva edición de Expopesca". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 31 May 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1134027-presentan-una-nueva-edicion-de-expopesca.

[43] "Clinton reveló que intentó convencer, sin éxito, a Bush para que "fuera amigo" del gobierno argentino". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1135112-clinton-revelo-que-intento-convencer-sin-exito-a-bush-para-que-fuera-amigo-del-gobierno-argentino.

[44] "El oficialismo desafió la prohibición judicial y usó la Marcha peronista". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1135656-el-oficialismo-desafio-la-prohibicion-judicial-y-uso-la-marcha-peronista.

[45] "Scioli pasó por Lobería sin problemas". *La Nueva Provincia,* [Bahía Blanca] 4 June 2009. http://www.lanueva.com/el-pais/187784/scioli-pas-243-por-lober-237-a-sin-problemas.html ; "Con dos actos, Cristina se metió de lleno en la campaña". *La Nueva Provincia,* [Bahía Blanca] 5 June 2009. http://www.lanueva.com/el-pais/29446/con-dos-actos-cristina-se-meti-de-lleno-en-la-campa-a.html ; Colonna, Lucas. "La Presidenta hace pie en la campaña". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 12 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1138321-la-presidenta-hace-pie-en-la-campana. "La gripe le dejó el protagonismo a Scioli". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 21 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1141670-la-gripe-le-dejo-el-

in a public act with the Secretario de Agricultura, and in another event with the national Secretario de Transporte (Secretary of Transport).[46] The governor also attended a public event with Néstor Kirchner.[47] Furthermore, Scioli inaugurated an airport in the province with the President and the Ministro de Planificación Federal.[48] Additionally, the governor made a public announcement alongside the Jefe de Gabinete.[49] Scioli also participated in three campaign acts with Néstor Kirchner, including the closing of the campaign, which was also attended by the President and the Jefe de Gabinete.[50] The night of the election, Néstor Kirchner publicly acknowledged his defeat in the province with Scioli and de Jefe de Gabinete by his side.[51] After the election, Néstor Kirchner appointed the governor as President of the Peronist Party; in this context, Scioli had a round of meetings with several Peronist governors, most of which were aligned with the national government.[52] He also participated in two press conferences with Cristina Kirchner and the national Ministro de Salud (Minister of Health).[53] Moreover, the governor attended two swearing-in ceremonies; Cristina Kirchner, members of her cabinet, and several aligned governors were also present at these events.[54] Finally, Scioli had a meeting with

protagonismo-a-scioli ; "Cristina llamó a alcanzar una articulación virtuosa entre lo público y lo privado". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 22 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1142193-cristina-llamo-a-alcanzar-una-articulacion-virtuosa-entre-lo-publico-y-lo-privado ; "La Presidenta instó a defender el modelo". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 23 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1142516-la-presidenta-insto-a-defender-el-modelo.

[46] "Scioli, la gestión y la campaña". *La Nueva Provincia,* [Bahía Blanca] 17 June 2009. http://www.lanueva.com/aplausos-impresa/189819/scioli-la-gesti-243-n-y-la-campa-241-a.html ; "El Gobierno opta por pequeños trenes". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 19 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1140969-el-gobierno-opta-por-pequenos-trenes.

[47] Obarrio, Mariano. "Estatizar vs. Privatizar, el eje de la campaña de Kirchner". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 19 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1140985-estatizar-vs-privatizar-el-eje-de-la-campana-de-kirchner.

[48] "Cristina inauguró el nuevo aeropuerto". *La Nueva Provincia,* [Bahía Blanca] 20 June 2009. http://www.lanueva.com/aplausos-impresa/191175/cristina-inaugur-243-el-nuevo-aeropuerto.html.

[49] "Massa y Scioli, con Grondona, oficializaron la Copa América 2011". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 23 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1142562-massa-y-scioli-con-grondona-oficializaron-la-copa-america-2011.

[50] "Néstor Kirchner prometió ayuda de la Presidenta a La Serenísima y embistió contra empresas privatizadas". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 23 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1142546-nestor-kirchner-prometio-ayuda-de-la-presidenta-a-la-serenisima-y-embistio-contra-empresas-privatizadas ; "Cristina Kirchner criticó a la oposición "que cambia de opinión en una semana"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1142998-cristina-kirchner-critico-a-la-oposicion-que-cambia-de-opinion-en-una-semana ; Verón, Mariana. ""Voy al Congreso a defender a Cristina"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 26 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1143735-voy-al-congreso-a-defender-a-cristina.

[51] Kirchner reconoció la derrota y prometió "ser alternativa en 2011"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144872-kirchner-reconocio-la-derrota-y-prometio-ser-alternativa-en-2011.

[52] Dinatale, Martín. "Fuerte reclamo de gobernadores del PJ". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 1 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1145580-fuerte-reclamo-de-gobernadores-del-pj ; Obarrio, Mariano. "Tensión entre Kirchner y Scioli por las reuniones en el PJ". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 2 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1145954-tension-entre-kirchner-y-scioli-por-las-reuniones-en-el-pj ; Morales, Juan Pablo. "El gobernador resiste en la debilidad". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1146241-el-gobernador-resiste-en-la-debilidad.

[53] Gallo, Daniel. "Una cifra políticamente incorrecta". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1146971-una-cifra-politicamente-incorrecta ; Aníbal Fernández dijo que la epidemia está "absolutamente controlada". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 23 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1154100-anibal-fernandez-dijo-que-la-epidemia-esta-absolutamente-controlada.

[54] "Asumieron Fernández y Boudou, los recientes ascendidos en el Gabinete". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 8 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1148437-asumieron-fernandez-y-boudou-los-recientes-ascendidos-en-el-gabinete ; "Sileoni y Tedesco asumieron sus nuevos cargos". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1154261-sileoni-y-tedesco-asumieron-sus-nuevos-cargos.

Cristina Kirchner and the Ministro del Interior in the context of a round of talks between the President and the governors.[55]

La Nación newspaper noted that Scioli was the only Peronist governor that campaigned using the party tag of the national government.[56] The same newspaper stated that the governor was part of Kirchnerismo (referring to the Peronist faction led by Cristina and Néstor Kirchner).[57] Página 12 newspaper described Scioli as being "close" to the national government.[58] Both national newspapers also underscored that Néstor Kirchner and the governor headed the Frente para la Victoria ticket in Buenos Aires.[59]

Scioli served as vice-President under Néstor Kirchner from 2003 to 2007.[60]

At the local level, Unión Pro and Acuerdo Cívico y Social opposed the national government. National newspapers described the candidate who headed the Unión Pro ticket as a non-aligned Peronist, a "dissident."[61] Additionally, Página 12 and La Nación stated that the Unión Pro candidate was supported by Mauricio Macri, the mayor of the City of Buenos Aires who belonged to the national opposition.[62] At the same time, the candidate who headed the Acuerdo Cívico y Social ticket was not aligned with the President; she was aligned with Elisa Carrió, a prominent member of the national opposition. Carrió shared several campaign acts with the Acuerdo Cívico y Social candidate.[63]

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[55] "Versiones encontradas sobre el encuentro Cristina-Scioli". *La Nueva Provincia,* [Bahía Blanca] 28 July 2009. http://www.lanueva.com/el-pais/162187/versiones-encontradas-sobre-el-encuentro-cristina-scioli.html.

[56] Morales Solá, Joaquín. "El peronismo le pondrá límites al ex presidente". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 31 May 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1134063-el-peronismo-le-pondra-limites-al-ex-presidente.

[57] Dinatale, Martín. "Unos comicios que redefinieron la lista de presidenciables". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144792-unos-comicios-que-redefinieron-la-lista-de-presidenciables.

[58] "Llegó la hora de los gobernadores". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 17 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-128403-2009-07-17.html.

[59] Crettaz, José. "Inaugurar obras, una obsesión de campaña". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 23 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1142456-inaugurar-obras-una-obsesion-de-campana ; Wainfeld, Mario. "Después de seis años, la necesidad de empezar de nuevo". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. https://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-127447-2009-06-29.html.

[60] Morales, Juan Pablo. ""Seré más dialoguista que nunca"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 31 May 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1134144-sere-mas-dialoguista-que-nunca.

[61] Bullrich, Lucrecia. "De Narváez: "Duhalde fue el mejor presidente de los últimos 25 años"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1135007-de-narvaez-duhalde-fue-el-mejor-presidente-de-los-ultimos-25-anos ; Miguez, Daniel. "Los movimientos del día después en Olivos". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 30 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-127493-2009-06-30.html.

[62] Laborda, Fernando. "Bailando al ritmo de las encuestas". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 2 June 2009. https://www.lanacion.com.ar/1134883-bailando-al-ritmo-de-las-encuestas ; Pertot, Werner. "El Colorado busca internas". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 3 July 2009. https://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-127676-2009-07-03.html.

[63] Serra, Laura. "De Narváez le pidió a Scioli bajar el tono de la campaña". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 30 May 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1133812-de-narvaez-le-pidio-a-scioli-bajar-el-tono-de-la-campana ; Capriata, Laura. "El "pacto oculto", la estrategia de Stolbizer y Carrió". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 21 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1141671-el-pacto-oculto-la-estrategia-de-stolbizer-y-carrio ; Abrevaya, Sebastián. "Un toque "cool" como broche final". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 26 June 2009. https://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-127271-2009-06-26.html.

2011

In 2011, the province of Buenos Aires had gubernatorial elections. Three coalitions received a significant share of the vote – Frente para la Victoria, Unión para el Desarrollo Social (UDESO), and Frente Amplio Progresista. Frente para la Victoria won the election with 55% of the vote, while UDESO and Frente Amplio Progresista received 20% and 10% of the vote respectively.[64]

The governor of the province, Daniel Scioli, is a Peronist. He participated in the Día de la Lealtad (Day of Party Loyalty) commemorating the massive support for Juan Peron's release from jail in 1945.[65] Following the election, the governor presided over a meeting of the National Council of the Peronist party.[66] Scioli used the Frente para la Victoria party tag.[67]

Throughout the election, Scioli made remarks in support of Cristina Kirchner and the national government. In an interview with a national radio station before the election, the governor called for everyone's support to the President.[68] In another interview with a local newspaper, Scioli acknowledged that he was loyal to the President.[69] The governor called himself "part of the team" of the Casa Rosada (Argentina's White House).[70] His public speech at the Peronist Day of Loyalty included a call to support the national government.[71] In his victory speech, he expressed support for the national project started by Néstor Kirchner.[72] Scioli commemorated Néstor Kirchner on the anniversary of his passing through a post in his official webpage in which he referred to him as "a leader, a visionary, a fighter, and a tireless worker."[73] At a meeting of the National Council of the Peronist party, the governor joined others in ratifying

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[64] "Tras el arrasador triunfo de Scioli, nadie habla de 2015." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1417170-scioli

[65] "Un 17 como antesala del 23." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 18 October 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-179150-2011-10-18.html

[66] Veneranda, Marcelo. "Scioli reunirá al Consejo del PJ." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 November 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1419999-scioli-reunira-al-consejo-del-pj ; Arias, Mariela. "El PJ respaldó a Cristina 'sin especulaciones.'" *La Nación,* [Rio Gallegos] 17 November 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1424008-cumbre-del-pj-en-un-homenaje-a-nestor-kirchner ; Lantos, Nicolas. "Primer homenaje político a Néstor Kirchner." *Página 12,* [Rio Gallegos] 17 November 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-181405-2011-11-17.html

[67] "Tras el arrasador triunfo de Scioli, nadie habla de 2015." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1417170-scioli

[68] "El gobernador Daniel Scioli dijo que no hay diferencias en el oficialismo." *La Nueva,* [Bahia Blanca] 5 October 2011 http://www.lanueva.com/el-pais/107808/el-gobernador-daniel-scioli-nbsp-dijo-que-no-nbsp-hay-diferencias-en-el-oficialismo.html ; "Scioli: 'Me quieren poner en contradicción con Mariotto.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 5 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1412029-scioli-me-quieren-poner-en-contradiccion-con-mariotto

[69] "Daniel Scioli: 'Soy un tipo leal pero no obsecuente.'" *La Nueva,* [Bahia Blanca] 7 October 2011 http://www.lanueva.com/el-pais/107950/daniel-scioli-soy-un-tipo-leal-pero-no-obsecuente-.html

[70] Morosi, Pablo. "Scioli: 'Los demás no pueden estar juntos ni diez meses.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 21 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1416420-scioli-los-demas-no-pueden-estar-juntos-ni-diez-meses

[71] "Un 17 como antesala del 23." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 18 October 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-179150-2011-10-18.html

[72] "Como se preveía, la presidenta fue reelecta: 'En la victoria siempre hay que ser más grande aún', dijo." *La Nueva,* [Bahia Blanca] 24 October 2011 http://www.lanueva.com/el-pais/109094/como-se-preve-a-la-presidenta-fue-reelecta-en-la-victoria-siempre-hay-que-ser-m-s-grande-a-n-dijo.html ; Morosi, Pablo. "Scioli arrasó, pero nadie habla de 2015." *La Nación,* [La Plata] 24 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1417305-scioli-arraso-pero-nadie-habla-de-2015 ; "Tras el arrasador triunfo de Scioli, nadie habla de 2015." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1417170-scioli

[73] "Referentes y funcionarios recordaron a Kirchner en Twitter." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1418225-dirigentes-y-funcionarios-recordaron-a-kirchner-en-twitter

their support for Cristina Kirchner and the national government, and paid tribute to Néstor Kirchner.[74]

Before the election, Scioli joined the Ministra de Desarollo Social (Minister of Social Development) at a ceremony honoring national athletes.[75] Scioli also joined the Secretario de Comunicación Pública (Secretary of Public Communication) and the Secretario de Obras Públicas (Secretary of Public Works) at the unveiling of a book about Néstor Kirchner.[76] The governor met with the Ministro de Planificación (Minister of Planning) to introduce a water and sanitation program in the province.[77] Scioli also attended an inauguration ceremony for a hospital alongside the President and the Ministro de Salud (Minister of Health).[78] The governor joined the President at a campaign event; the Ministro de Industria (Minister of Industry) and the Minister of Planning were also present in the event.[79] Scioli also attended Cristina Kirchner's final campaign event with other aligned governors.[80] After the election, Scioli joined the Minister of Health and the Ministro del Interior (Minister of the Interior) in an exhibition honoring Néstor Kirchner.[81] The governor also held meetings with both Cristina Kirchner and the Ministro de Economía (Minister of Economy) to secure more money for the province.[82] At the mausoleum of Néstor Kirchner, Scioli accompanied the Minister of Interior, the Secretary of Public Communication, and several aligned governors in their tribute.[83] Finally, the governor attended the inauguration of a manufacturing plant in the province, presided over by the President, and joined by the Minister of Industry.[84]

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[74] Arias, Mariela. "El PJ respaldó a Cristina 'sin especulaciones.'" *La Nación,* [Rio Gallegos] 17 November 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1424008-cumbre-del-pj-en-un-homenaje-a-nestor-kirchner ; Lantos, Nicolas. "Primer homenaje político a Néstor Kirchner." *Página 12,* [Rio Gallegos] 17 November 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-181405-2011-11-17.html

[75] Saiz, Gaston. "Sin quejas, Guadalajara los espera." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1411633-sin-quejas-guadalajara-los-espera

[76] "El proyecto en un libro." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 28 September 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-177739-2011-09-28.html

[77] Veneranda, Marcelo. "Ola de obras para calmar a intendentes." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 6 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1412244-ola-de-obras-para-calmar-a-intendentes

[78] "Desde mañana, veda para anuncios oficiales." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 7 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1412637-desde-manana-veda-para-anuncios-oficiales ; "'Nos hemos roto el alma estos ocho años.'" *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 8 October 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-178461-2011-10-08.html

[79] Cornejo, Jesus. "'El país está ordenado ante la crisis.'" *La Nación,* [La Plata] 14 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1414544-el-pais-esta-ordenado-ante-la-crisis

[80] Bossi, Jesica. "Una puesta en escena muy cuidada para sorprender." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 20 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1416186-una-puesta-en-escena-muy-cuidada-para-sorprender ; "Cierre en el Teatro Coliseo." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 19 October 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/179243-56203-2011-10-19.html

[81] Nassau, Julieta. "Cómo es la muestra 'nacional y popular' sobre Néstor Kirchner." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 7 November 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1421030-como-es-la-muestra-nacional-y-popular-sobre-nestor-kirchner

[82] Veron, Mariana. "Scioli buscó acuerdos en Olivos para relanzar su gestión." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 11 November 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1422256-scioli-busco-acuerdos-en-olivos-para-relanzar-su-gestion

[83] "El PJ recordó a Kirchner como 'el mejor militante.'" *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 17 November 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-181454-2011-11-17.html

[84] "De CFK para Rajoy." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 21 November 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-181704-2011-11-21.html

Journalists frequently associated Scioli with the national government. La Nación repeatedly called him a "Kirchnerista."[85] A local newspaper also associated Scioli with Kirchnerismo.[86] La Nación recognized that Scioli had aspirations to become the Kirchnerista presidential candidate in 2015.[87]

Scioli served as Vice President under Néstor Kirchner between 2003 and 2007.[88]

At the local level, Scioli's opponent had ties with the national opposition. The runner up had a formal alliance with opposition leader Mauricio Macri.[89] In addition, the opposition candidate had conversations with prominent national opposition leaders and opposition presidential candidates.[90] A local newspaper called the candidate's coalition, UDESO, an Unión Cívica Radical (UCR, Radical Party) alliance.[91]

2013

In 2013, the province of Buenos Aires held elections for the national Lower Chamber. While many coalitions participated, only two garnered a significant share of the vote – Frente para la Victoria and Frente Renovador. Frente Renovador won the election with 44% of the vote; Frente para la Victoria received 32% of the vote.[92]

The governor of the province, Daniel Scioli, is a Peronist. He participated in meetings of the National Council of the Partido Justicialista, the Peronist party, before and after the

[85] Rosemberg, Jaime. "Seis gobernadores Kirchneristas iran por la reeleccion." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1411651-seis-gobernadores-Kirchneristas-iran-por-la-reeleccion ; Palavecino, Dario. "Scioli defendió el modelo ante los empresarios." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 13 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1414237-scioli-defendio-el-modelo-ante-los-empresarios

[86] "¿Habrá mitad más uno?" *La Nueva,* [Bahia Blanca] 17 November 2011 http://www.lanueva.com/sociedad-impresa/427399/-191-habr-225-mitad-m-225-s-uno-.html

[87] Morosi, Pablo. "Scioli: 'Los demás no pueden estar juntos ni diez meses.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 21 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1416420-scioli-los-demas-no-pueden-estar-juntos-ni-diez-meses

[88] "Urgencias presupuestarias y tiempos politicos." *La Nueva,* [Bahia Blanca] 6 November 2011 http://www.lanueva.com/sociedad-impresa/412035/urgencias-presupuestarias-y-tiempos-pol-237-ticos.html ; Ventura, Any. "El delantero leal." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 9 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1412839-el-delantero-leal

[89] "De Narváez: 'Fue un error no haber seguido con Unión-Pro.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 26 September 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1409204-de-narvaez-no-nos-gusta-el-rumbo-del-gobierno

[90] "Francisco De Narváez dijo que los comicios en la provincia de Buenos Aires estarán polarizados entre él y Scioli." *La Nueva,* [Bahia Blanca] 25 September 2011 http://www.lanueva.com/el-pais/107157/francisco-de-narv-ez-dijo-nbsp-que-los-comicios-en-la-provincia-de-buenos-aires-estar-n-polarizados-entre-l-y-nbsp-scioli.html ; "De Nárváez admitió que también dialogó 'con muchos del duhaldismo.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 2 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1411256-de-narvaez-admitio-que-tambien-dialogo-con-muchas-personas-del-duhaldismo ; "De Narváez: 'Fue un error no haber seguido con Unión-Pro.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 26 September 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1409204-de-narvaez-no-nos-gusta-el-rumbo-del-gobierno

[91] "Scioli, con el aval de la primaria." *La Nueva,* [Buenos Aires] 23 October 2011 http://www.lanueva.com/sociedad-impresa/426823/scioli-con-el-aval-de-la-primaria.html

[92] Cibeira, Fernando. "Massa ganó con amplitud y festejó pensando en 2015." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2013 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-232292-2013-10-28.html

elections[93] In addition, Scioli participated in a meeting of Peronist party's leaders.[94] He was even the favorite candidate for the leadership of the party in the province.[95] Finally, Scioli supported the list that used the Frente para la Victoria party tag.[96]

Throughout the election, Scioli spoke favorably of Cristina Kirchner's administration. Before the election, at a meeting of the National Council of the Peronist party, the governor joined others in ratifying their support for Cristina Kirchner.[97] After the election, Scioli noted that the President had made the changes that the country needed, and was pleased with her fast health recovery.[98] When Cristina Kirchner returned to her duties as President, Scioli said it gave him great joy to see her back.[99] Scioli also applauded Cristina Kirchner's choices for her new cabinet appointments, and specifically her new Jefe de Gabinete (Chief of Staff).[100]

Scioli campaigned alongside Cristina Kirchner supporting Frente para la Victoria candidates in the province.[101] The governor joined the President in the inauguration of a hospital.[102] He also joined the Vice President and the Chief of Staff in another public event.[103] After the election, at a meeting of the National Council of the Peronist party, Scioli joined the Minister of the Interior and several aligned governors.[104] He also appeared alongside the Ministro de Trabajo (Minister of Labor) at a summit to show support for Cristina Kirchner in the province.[105]

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[93] "Todos unidos de cara a octubre." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 30 September 2013 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-230181-2013-09-30.html ; Sued, Gabriela. "La militancia busca dar muestras de unidad y fuerza tras la derrota." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1638964-la-militancia-busca-dar-muestras-de-unidad-y-fuerza-tras-la-derrota

[94] Bossi, Jesica. "Scioli coquetea con Pérez y desde Mendoza reactiva el PJ para 2015." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 31 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1634080-scioli-coquetea-con-perez-y-desde-mendoza-reactiva-el-pj-para-2015

[95] "Daniel Scioli se reúne con más de 80 intendentes de cara a las elecciones en el PJ." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 6 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1635945-daniel-scioli-se-reune-con-90-intendentes-cerca-de-la-eleccion-de-autoridades-del-pj

[96] Lantos, Nicolas. "En tiempo de campaña." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 22 September 2013 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-229599-2013-09-22.html

[97] "Todos unidos de cara a octubre." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 30 September 2013 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-230181-2013-09-30.html

[98] "Cristina Kirchner retomará mañana su actividad oficial." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1639114-cristina-kirchner-retomara-manana-su-actividad-oficial

[99] "Daniel Scioli: 'Me dio una gran alegría ver a Cristina, más allá de lo institucional.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 19 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1639660-daniel-scioli-me-dio-una-gran-alegria-ver-a-cristina-mas-alla-de-lo-institucional

[100] Veneranda, Marcelo. "Aplausos y emoción en una Casa Rosada desbordada por la militancia cristinista." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 21 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1640230-aplausos-y-emocion-en-una-casa-rosada-desbordada-por-la-militancia-cristinista ; "Para Scioli la oxigenación del gabinete es para la 'continuidad de los cambios.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1641748-para-scioli-la-oxigenacion-del-gabinete-es-para-la-continuidad-de-los-cambios

[101] "'Hemos dado un salto cualitativo.'" *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 2 October 2013 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-230327-2013-10-02.html

[102] "'No quiero más un país cangrejo.'" *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 5 October 2013 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-230617-2013-10-05.html

[103] "'Somos el equipo de Cristina.'" *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 8 October 2013 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-230820-2013-10-08.html

[104] Laborda, Fernando. "Los caminos de Massa y de Macri ante el león herido." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1638984-los-caminos-de-massa-y-de-macri-ante-el-leon-herido

[105] Bossi, Jesica. "Capitanich se apoya en los gobernadores." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1641655-capitanich-se-apoya-en-los-gobernadores

Journalists from both La Nación and Página 12 noted that Scioli had ambitions to succeed Cristina Kirchner as the Frente para la Victoria presidential candidate in 2015.[106] La Nación even called him the "natural heir" to Cristina Kirchner.[107] Moreover, the Ministro de Defensa (Minister of Defense) referred to Scioli as one of three possible candidates to continue the national model after 2015.[108] La Nación referred to the governor as the head of the Kirchnerista campaign in the province.[109]

Scioli served as Vice President under Néstor Kirchner from 2003 to 2007.

At the local level, the opposition party had ties with the national opposition. A local newspaper called the leader of Frente Renovador, Sergio Massa, the main competitor of the national government.[110] The same newspaper noted a relationship between Frente Renovador and the Unión Cívica Radical party – a member of the national opposition.[111] La Nación called its leader Sergio Massa the last "verdugo," referring to the one that ends up "killing" Kirchnerismo.[112] Página 12 also referred to Massa and Frente Renovador as opposition to the national government.[113]

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[106] Laborda, Fernando. "Aumenta su ventaja Massa y el cristinismo ya debate su futuro." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 September 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1623700-aumenta-su-ventaja-massa-y-el-cristinismo-ya-debate-su-futuro ; Sagasti, Ramiro. "El sciolismo minimiza el 'efecto Capitanich' en su plan presidencial." *La Nación,* [La Plata] 24 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1641646-el-sciolismo-minimiza-el-efecto-capitanich-en-su-plan-presidencial ; "Para Scioli la oxigenación del gabinete es para la 'continuidad de los cambios.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1641748-para-scioli-la-oxigenacion-del-gabinete-es-para-la-continuidad-de-los-cambios ; Cibeira, Fernando. "Massa ganó con amplitud y festejó pensando en 2015." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2013 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-232292-2013-10-28.html

[107] Veron, Mariana. "El Gobierno alienta candidatos para frenar a Scioli y a Massa." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1638962-el-gobierno-alienta-candidatos-para-frenar-a-scioli-y-a-massa ; Veron, Mariana. "Cristina regresó a sus funciones y anunció un profundo cambio de gabinete." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 19 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1639604-cristina-regreso-a-sus-funciones-y-anuncio-un-profundo-cambio-de-gabinete

[108] Moreno, Matias. "Agustín Rossi: 'Los que planifican un futuro político sin contemplar el liderazgo de Cristina Kirchner, se equivocan.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1642178-agustin-rossi

[109] Veron, Mariana. "Reproches y frialdad, lo único que quedó del vínculo Scioli-Massa." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 30 September 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1624531-reproches-y-frialdad-lo-unico-que-quedo-del-vinculo-scioli-massa

[110] "'Se toman medidas con responsabilidad para cuidar la salud de Cristina', dijo Daniel Scioli." *La Nueva,* [Bahia Blanca] 6 October 2013 http://www.lanueva.com/el-pais/153995/-se-toman-medidas-con-responsabilidad-para-cuidar-la-salud-de-cristina-nbsp-dijo-daniel-scioli.html

[111] "Fricciones internas." *La Nueva,* [Bahia Blanca] 27 November 2013 http://www.lanueva.com/sociedad-impresa/221785/fricciones-internas.html

[112] Bossi, Jesica. "Ishii impugnó la lista K y habla de 'golpe al PJ.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 15 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1638424-ishii-impugno-la-lista-k-y-habla-de-golpe-al-pj

[113] "'Massa es un opositor.'" *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 6 October 2013 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-230691-2013-10-06.html

Autonomous City of Buenos Aires (CABA)

2007

In 2007 the City of Buenos Aires held local elections to fill the positions of mayor (called Jefe de Gobierno, Chief of Government), vice mayor, and 30 local deputies. Eighteen coalitions competed for the executive, but three garnered a majority of the vote: Propuesta Republicana (PRO), Frente para la Victoria (FPV), and Frente Más Buenos Aires. Mauricio Macri, who headed the PRO ticket, won the first round of the election with 45.6% of the vote and the runoff with 61% of the vote. FPV came in second with 23.7% of the vote in the first round and lost the elections in the runoff.

The elected mayor Mauricio Macri was not aligned with the President in these elections. He does not belong to the Peronist Party, a party that has been traditionally unpopular in the City of Buenos Aires.[1] Moreover, Macri used his party tag, Propuesta Republicana, and not the Frente para la Victoria party tag.[2]

Discursively, the elected mayor expressed his opposition to the President in almost every newspaper article in which he referred to the national administration. Before the first round of elections Macri declared that he did not speak to the national government.[3] Furthermore, when a prominent opposition leader claimed that Macri had a "hidden pact" with President Néstor Kirchner,[4] Macri responded to the accusation saying that there was no possibility that Kirchner will support them or that the PRO would support Kirchner.[5] After his success in the first round, Macri criticized the national government for not calling him to congratulate him on the outcome of the elections.[6] After the runoff, he expressed his desire to work towards the construction of an alternative to the national government at the national level.[7] He described the national

[1] "Macri gobernará la Ciudad tras un rotundo triunfo sobre el candidato de Kirchner". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 24 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/920189-macri-gobernara-la-ciudad-tras-un-rotundo-triunfo-sobre-el-candidato-de-kirchner. However, he had an informal coalition with a number of Peronists. See: "Macri volvió a rechazar un acuerdo con Kirchner". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 29 May 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/912677-macri-volvio-a-rechazar-un-acuerdo-con-kirchner.

[2] "Macri pidió "apoyo final para la segunda vuelta". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 4 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/914504-macri-pidio-apoyo-final-para-la-segunda-vuelta.

[3] Ventura, Any. "El ingeniero". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 13 May 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/907148-el-ingeniero.

[4] "Carrió denunció que Kirchner y Macri llegaron a un acuerdo". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 15 May 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/908770-carrio-denuncio-que-kirchner-y-macri-llegaron-a-un-acuerdo.

[5] "Macri niega un acuerdo oculto con el gobierno". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 16 May 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/909037-macri-niega-un-acuerdo-oculto-con-el-gobierno.

[6] "Macri pidió "apoyo final para la segunda vuelta". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 4 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/914504-macri-pidio-apoyo-final-para-la-segunda-vuelta.

[7] "El Presidente recibirá a Macri el miércoles en la Rosada". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 25 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/920454-el-presidente-recibira-a-macri-el-miercoles-en-la-rosada. ; Pertot, Werner. "Los despidos deben empezar ahora". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 26 June 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-87188-2007-06-26.html.

government's style as "dirty politics."[8] Macri also criticized Néstor Kirchner for his alliance with the President of Venezuela, Hugo Chávez.[9]

Despite governing both from the City of Buenos Aires, Macri did not participate in any public acts with the President. Although his declared strategy was to not nationalize the campaign,[10] a prominent member of the national opposition and presidential candidate declared his public support for Macri in the local elections.[11] After the elections, Macri met with this person to, according to a newspaper, design a strategy to compete against Néstor Kirchner's candidate in the forthcoming presidential election.[12] After being elected, Macri held a private meeting with President Néstor Kirchner to discuss the autonomy of the City of Buenos Aires.[13] In that meeting, President Kirchner agreed to transfer the police force from the national level to CABA.[14]

La Nación newspaper described the electoral results as a vote against the Casa Rosada (Argentina's White House)[15] and Macri as ideologically opposed to the national government.[16] The same newspaper depicted the competition between Frente para la Victoria's candidate and Macri as a dispute between the national government and a strengthened opponent.[17] Additionally, an article from Página 12 stated that Macri's victory in the second round of the election implied a defeat of the national government.[18] Finally, President Néstor Kirchner associated Macri with neoliberal policies of the past, and therefore ideologically opposed to the national government.[19]

Macri never held an appointed position in the national government.

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[8] "No van a poder dar vuelta el resultado". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 2 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/913790-no-van-a-poder-dar-vuelta-el-resultado.

[9] "Contra Kirchner, por Chávez". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 7 June 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/86181-27624-2007-06-07.html.

[10] Ventura, Any. "El ingeniero". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 13 May 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/907148-el-ingeniero.; Polack, María Elena. "Macri, más cerca de Michetti y bien lejos de La Naciónalización". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 5 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/914665-macri-mas-cerca-de-michetti-y-bien-lejos-de-la-nacionalizacion.

[11] "López Murphy será candidato en octubre". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 5 May 2007 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/905983-lopez-murphy-sera-candidato-en-octubre. ; "Fuerte respaldo de López Murphy". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 31 May 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/913270-fuerte-respaldo-de-lopez-murphy.

[12] Polack, María Elena. "Nuevas señales de Macri le dan oxígeno a López Murhpy". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 1 July 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/922056-nuevas-senales-de-macri-le-dan-oxigeno-a-lopez-murphy.

[13] "Macri insiste en que quiere tener una reunión con Kirchner". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 20 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/919085-macri-insiste-en-que-quiere-una-reunion-inmediata-con-kirchner.

[14] "Kirchner y Macri acordaron el traspaso de la policía a la Ciudad". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/920967-kirchner-y-macri-acordaron-el-traspaso-de-la-policia-a-la-ciudad.

[15] Obarrio, Mariano. "Quiénes ganan y quiénes pierden de los candidatos presidenciales". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/914495-quienes-ganan-y-quienes-pierden-de-los-candidatos-presidenciales.

[16] Di Lázzaro, Alejandro. "Los porteños definen una batalla decisiva". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/914133-los-portenos-definen-una-batalla-decisiva.

[17] "Arrasó Macri: le sacó 22 puntos a Filmus y habrá ballotage". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/914465-arraso-macri-le-saco-22-puntos-a-filmus-y-habra-ballottage. Also: Laborda, Fernando. "Kirchner y los porteños". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/905610-kirchner-y-los-portenos.

[18] Pertot, Werner. "Con alusiones a "la Argentina entera"". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 25 June 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-87140-2007-06-25.html.

[19] Rodríguez, Santiago. "Algo más que una cuestión de nombres". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 5 June 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-86078-2007-06-05.html.

Macri's main challenger in this election, Daniel Filmus, was at the time Minister of Education of Kirchner's government.[20] Filmus ran with the Frente para la Victoria party tag. He also expressed his alignment with the President throughout the campaign.[21] The first lady Cristina Kirchner joined Filmus the night he lost the first round.[22]

2009

In 2009 the City of Buenos Aires held national legislative elections to fill thirteen national deputy positions. Twentythree coalitions competed in the election, but four garnered a majority of the vote: PRO, Proyecto Sur, Acuerdo Cívico y Social, and Encuentro Popular-Frente para la Victoria. PRO won the election with 31.1% of the vote, which translated into five deputy seats, and Proyecto Sur came in second.

The mayor, Mauricio Macri, belongs to the winning PRO party. Macri does not belong to the Peronist Party, although he held a coalition with two prominent Peronist leaders for these elections.[23] In addition, the coalition supported by the mayor in this election ran with the PRO and not the FPV party tag.[24]

The mayor's expressions of opposition to the President appear in almost every newspaper article in which he referred to the national administration. During the election campaign, Macri declared that the legislative election would mark the end of the Kirchnerista cycle.[25] In addition, he compared the national government interventionist measures with those of the President of Venezuela, Hugo Chávez, and stated that any resemblance with Venezuela was a step backwards

[20] Di Lázzaro, Alejandro. "Los porteños definen una batalla decisiva". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/914133-los-portenos-definen-una-batalla-decisiva.

[21] "Palabras que matan". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 23 May 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/911091-palabras-que-matan.

[22] Obarrio, Mariano. "Quiénes ganan y quiénes pierden de los candidatos presidenciales". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/914495-quienes-ganan-y-quienes-pierden-de-los-candidatos-presidenciales.

[23] Serra, Laura. "De Narváez, Solá y Macri dan un giro a su campaña". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1135162-de-narvaez-sola-y-macri-dan-un-giro-a-su-campana. ; "Niegan una crisis con Duhalde". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 18 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1140483-niegan-una-crisis-con-duhalde. ; Morales Solá, Joaquín. "Se condenó a sí mismo". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144811-se-condeno-a-si-mismo. ; Serra, Laura. "Macri: Hoy me siento más cerca del peronismo". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 30 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1145159-macri-hoy-me-siento-mas-cerca-del-peronismo ; Serra, Laura. "De Narváez, Solá y Macri dan un giro a su campaña". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1135162-de-narvaez-sola-y-macri-dan-un-giro-a-su-campana ; Serra, Laura. "Gabriela Michetti (Pro): "Pro no se subsumirá al PJ"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 26 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1143684-gabriela-michetti-pro-pro-no-se-subsumira-al-pj

[24] Rosemberg, Jaime. "Michetti busca alentar el sueño de Macri". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144480-michetti-busca-alentar-el-sueno-de-macri.; "De Narváez y Michetti cerraron la campaña juntos". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 25 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1143443-de-narvaez-y-michetti-cerraron-la-campana-juntos. ; Kollmann, Raúl. "Con los lugares en duda". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 14 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-126626-2009-06-14.html.

[25] "Sigue la polémica por el encuentro entre el vicepresidente Cobos y De Narváez". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 11 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1138146-sigue-la-polemica-por-el-encuentro-entre-el-vicepresidente-cobos-y-de-narvaez. ; "Macri insistió en que Kirchner tiene "el modelo Chávez en la cabeza"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1140238-macri-insistio-en-que-kirchner-tiene-el-modelo-chavez-en-la-cabeza.

for Argentina.[26] Macri also criticized the government for using the recently nationalized pension funds in a nontransparent way.[27] Furthermore, when an opposition leader claimed that Macri had a hidden pact with former President Néstor Kirchner,[28] Macri responded to the accusation saying that such alliance was impossible.[29] After winning the election, Macri declared that people had voted for a change and against the power abuses of the national government.[30]

Overall, Macri was not invited to participate in the gatherings that included aligned governors only. He even shared several campaign acts with members of the national opposition, including two prominent Peronist leaders who were part of his coalition against FPV.[31] After the election, Cristina Kirchner engaged in a round of talks with several governors (both aligned and non-aligned).[32] In this context, Macri had a meeting with the President and two members of her cabinet.[33]

By 2009, Macri had become a prominent opposition leader. Several newspaper articles described him as a viable opposition presidential candidate for the 2011 election.[34] La Nación newspaper described the macrista candidates in the City of Buenos Aires and the PRO party as

[26] "Macri insistió en que Kirchner tiene "el modelo Chávez en la cabeza"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1140238-macri-insistio-en-que-kirchner-tiene-el-modelo-chavez-en-la-cabeza.
[27] Verón, Mariana. "Los Kirchner le apuntan a Macri por las privatizaciones". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 18 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1140493-los-kirchner-le-apuntan-a-macri-por-las-privatizaciones.
[28] "Morales aseguró que hay un "pacto oculto" entre el Kirchnerismo y el PJ disidente". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 20 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1141665-morales-aseguro-que-hay-un-pacto-oculto-entre-el-Kirchnerismo-y-el-pj-disidente.
[29] "Macri dijo que es más posible que se haga "hincha de River" que Unión-Pro se acerque a Kirchner". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 20 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1141718-macri-dijo-que-es-mas-posible-que-se-haga-hincha-de-river-que-union-pro-se-acerque-a-kirchner.
[30] "Fiesta por el mensaje "a favor del cambio"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144852-fiesta-por-el-mensaje-a-favor-del-cambio. ; Serra, Laura. "Macri: Hoy me siento más cerca del peronismo". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 30 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1145159-macri-hoy-me-siento-mas-cerca-del-peronismo.
[31]"Niegan una crisis con Duhalde". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 18 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1140483-niegan-una-crisis-con-duhalde.; Palavecino, Darío. "El domingo hay que votar y contar bien los votos". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 21 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1141667-el-domingo-hay-que-votar-y-contar-bien-los-votos. ; "De Narváez y Michetti cerraron la campaña juntos". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 25 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1143443-de-narvaez-y-michetti-cerraron-la-campana-juntos. ; Serra, Laura. "Hemos derrotado a la mala política". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144843-hemos-derrotado-a-la-mala-politica. ; Pertot, Werner. "Para marcar la diferencia". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 24 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-128764-2009-07-24.html.
[32] "Llegó la hora de los gobernadores". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 17 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-128403-2009-07-17.html.
[33] "Macri calificó como "un paso adelante" la reunión con la Presidenta". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 21 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1152959-macri-califico-como-un-paso-adelante-la-reunion-con-la-presidenta.; Cappiello, Hernán. "La Presidenta y Macri con acuerdos sólo parciales". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 22 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1153298-la-presidenta-y-macri-con-acuerdos-solo-parciales.
[34] "Dura derrota de Kirchner". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144840-dura-derrota-de-kirchner. ; Wainfeld, Mario. "El día de los 24 plebiscitos". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 28 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-127396-2009-06-28.html. ; Rodríguez, Santiago. "A Macri le creció un Pino en la ciudad". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-127424-2009-06-29.html.

opposed to Kirchnerismo.[35] Página 12 also depicted Macri as a non-aligned governor.[36] Finally, both President Cristina Kirchner and former president Néstor Kirchner associated Macri with neoliberal policies of the past, and therefore identified him as opposed to the policies of the national government.[37]

Macri never held an appointed position in the national government.

At the local level, both Proyecto Sur and Acuerdo Cívico y Social opposed the national government.[38] The list that came fourth, Encuentro Popular-Frente para la Victoria, was aligned with the national government.[39]

2011

In 2011, the City of Buenos Aires held elections for chief of government. While several parties and coalitions participated, only three garnered a significant amount of the votes – the PRO, Frente para la Victoria, and Proyecto Sur. In the first round, PRO received 47% of the vote; however, this was not enough to avoid a runoff election.[40] In the runoff, PRO defeated FPV with 64.3% of the vote.[41]

The City's chief of government, Mauricio Macri, is not a Peronist. He did not run with the Frente para la Victoria party tag; he ran with his own party tag, namely: PRO.[42]

Throughout the election, Macri made several statements against Cristina Kirchner and the national government. Before the election, he accused the national government of corruption in

[35]Rosemberg, Jaime. "Michetti busca alentar el sueño de Macri". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144480-michetti-busca-alentar-el-sueno-de-macri.; "Fiesta por el mensaje "a favor del cambio"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144852-fiesta-por-el-mensaje-a-favor-del-cambio. ; Ybarra, Gustavo. "La oposición quiere derogar los superpoderes antes de diciembre". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 30 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1145145-la-oposicion-quiere-derogar-los-superpoderes-antes-de-diciembre.

[36] "Llegó la hora de los gobernadores". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 17 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-128403-2009-07-17.html.

[37] "A 11 días de las elecciones se calienta la campaña en Capital y provincia". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1140287-a-11-dias-de-las-elecciones-se-calienta-la-campana-en-capital-y-provincia. ; Verón, Mariana. "Los Kirchner le apuntan a Macri por las privatizaciones". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 18 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1140493-los-kirchner-le-apuntan-a-macri-por-las-privatizaciones. ; "Una polémica que llegó volando". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 18 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-126830-2009-06-18.html.

[38] Rosemberg, Jaime. "Michetti busca alentar el sueño de Macri". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144480-michetti-busca-alentar-el-sueno-de-macri

[39] Rosemberg, Jaime. "Michetti busca alentar el sueño de Macri". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144480-michetti-busca-alentar-el-sueno-de-macri

[40] "Macri, sobre su triunfo: 'Es un mensaje para el Gobierno.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 11 July 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1388676-gobernar-la-ciudad-es-un-honor-dijo-macri

[41] "Macri: 'El ciclo del Kirchnerismo está agotado.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 1 August 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1394095-macri-aclara

[42] "Macri, sobre su triunfo: 'Es un mensaje para el Gobierno.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 11 July 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1388676-gobernar-la-ciudad-es-un-honor-dijo-macri

the use of public funds.[43] Macri criticized the President for her security policies in the city.[44] He also accused the national government of criticizing him and his administration with false allegations.[45] In an interview with Página 12 newspaper, Macri claimed that the national government discriminated against the City.[46] In a speech following his victory in the first electoral round, Macri referred to the national government as invasive and arrogant.[47] He criticized Kirchnerismo campaigns for being negative, dirty, and destructive against him.[48] In a press release, Macri expressed that he had strong differences with the national government and Cristina Kirchner.[49] Following his victory in the runoff election, he predicted that the time for Kirchnerismo was exhausted.[50]

Macri did not meet with any national officials throughout the election cycle. However, following his victory in the runoff election, Cristina Kirchner called to congratulate him, and Macri congratulated her for her party's second place in the election. A prominent member of the national opposition, Eduardo Duhalde, supported Macri and called him to congratulate him on the electoral victory.[51]

Experts and journalists associated Macri with the national opposition. La Nación acknowledged that several national opposition leaders lined up behind Macri's electoral victory.[52] The same newspaper called his victory an electoral triumph against the Casa Rosada.[53] Página 12 predicted that Macri would endorse one of the national opposition leaders for the Presidential elections.[54]

Macri did not hold a position in the national government between 2003 and 2011.

At the local level, the runner-up had an alignment with the national government. The candidate used the Frente para la Victoria party tag. La Nación newspaper associated this

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[43] "Macri, sobre el caso Schoklender: 'El manejo de los fondos públicos fue arbitrario.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 June 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1382301-macri-el-manejo-de-los-fondos-publicos-fue-arbitrario ; "Finalmente, fracasó el debate entre Macri y Filmus." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 30 June 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1385517-finalmente-fracaso-el-debate-entre-macri-y-filmus

[44] "Macri: 'En seguridad, no dan pie con bola.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 30 June 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1385646-macri-el-gobierno-no-da-pie-con-bola-en-materia-de-seguridad

[45] "Con críticas y promesas, los candidatos porteños cerraron sus campañas." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 7 July 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1387630-los-candidatos-portenos-cierran-sus-campanas

[46] Pertot, Werner. "Un cierre macrista con diez happenings." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 8 July 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-171794-2011-07-08.html

[47] "Macri, sobre su triunfo: 'Es un mensaje para el Gobierno.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 11 July 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1388676-gobernar-la-ciudad-es-un-honor-dijo-macri

[48] "Macri: 'Los K son los reyes de la campaña sucia.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 22 July 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1391533-lo-unico-que-falta-es-que-nos-acusen-de-haber-contratado-a-fito-paez-lanzo-pena

[49] Rosemberg, Jaime. "Macri busca 'un voto más que en 2007' para la segunda vuelta." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 July 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1392927-macri-busca-un-voto-mas-que-en-2007-para-la-segunda-vuelta

[50] "Macri: 'El ciclo del Kirchnerismo está agotado.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 1 August 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1394095-macri-aclara

[51] "La oposición nacional se pegó a Macri." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 11 July 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1388621-la-oposicion-nacional-se-pego-a-macri

[52] "Macri reiteró su deseo de ser un referente nacional." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 11 July 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1388648-macri-reitero-su-deseo-de-ser-un-referente-nacional

[53] "Macri: 'El ciclo del Kirchnerismo está agotado.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 1 August 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1394095-macri-aclara

[54] Pertot, Werner. "A la interna sin candidato a president." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 15 June 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-170129-2011-06-15.html

candidate with Kirchnerismo.[55] In an interview with a local radio station, a prominent PRO official also associated the candidate with Cristina Kirchner.[56] Finally, the candidate for vice-chief of government was the current national Ministro de Trabajo (Minister of Labor).[57]

2013

In 2013, the City of Buenos Aires held national legislative elections to fill thirteen national deputy positions and three national senate positions. The elections were competitive; three coalitions won roughly 30% of the vote each: Frente para la Victoria, aligned with the national government, and two opposition coalitions, Frente Amplio (UNEN) and Union PRO. Union PRO ended up winning the elections, receiving 34.5% of the vote for deputies and 39.3% for senators. This translated into five deputy seats and two senate seats. UNEN came in second, and Frente para la Victoria came in third.

Their chief of government, Mauricio Macri, belongs to the winning PRO party. The party is non-Peronist. After announcing he was running for president in 2015, Macri distanced himself from Peronism assuring that it was not true that the only ones who could govern Argentina were the Peronists.[58] In addition, an influential PRO party member, Maria Eugenia Vidal, acknowledged that the PRO was not (and had never been) part of the Peronist movement.[59] Macri did not support the list with the FPV party tag, he supported the PRO list.

Discursively, the Chief of Government criticized the President in almost every newspaper article in which he expressed an opinion about her administration. Macri criticized the government for being very conflictive.[60] He also criticized the President for being authoritarian.[61] In addition, Macri criticized the national government's foreign policy.[62] Overall, the PRO leaders described themselves as doing politics in a different way from that of the national government; in a more democratic way.[63] Finally, Macri brought to the campaign his opposition to the recently

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[55] "Con críticas y promesas, los candidatos porteños cerraron sus campañas." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 7 July 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1387630-los-candidatos-portenos-cierran-sus-campanas

[56] "Macri: 'Los K son los reyes de la campaña sucia.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 22 July 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1391533-lo-unico-que-falta-es-que-nos-acusen-de-haber-contratado-a-fito-paez-lanzo-pena

[57] "Macri: 'Los K son los reyes de la campaña sucia.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 22 July 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1391533-lo-unico-que-falta-es-que-nos-acusen-de-haber-contratado-a-fito-paez-lanzo-pena

[58] "Mauricio Macri ratificó su candidatura presidencial y criticó al peronismo." *La Nación.* [Buenos Aires] 5 October 2015. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1626297-mauricio-macri-ratifico-su-candidatura-presidencial-y-critico-al-peronismo

[59] Rodriguez, Facundo Chaves. "Maria Eugencia Vidal: "Ni Daniel Scioli ni Sergio Massa pueden ofrecer nada distinto."" *La Nación.* [Buenos Aires] 18 October 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1629915-maria-eugenia-vidal-ni-daniel-scioli-ni-sergio-massa-pueden-ofrecer-nada-distinto

[60] "Un Candidato para del 2015." *Página 12.* [Buenos Aires] 6 October 2013. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-230649-2013-10-06.html

[61] "Sin un Buen Candidato en la Provincia." *Página 12.* [Buenos Aires] 29 September 2013. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-230125-2013-09-29.html

[62] "Maurico Macri culpó al Gobierno por el conflicto con Uruguay: 'Es otro fracaso de la política exterior'". *La Nación.* [Buenos Aires] 3 October 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1625537-mauricio-macri-sobre-el-conflicto-con-uruguay-es-el-fracaso-de-la-politica-exterior-del-gobi

[63] "Un Candidato para el 2015." *Página 12.* [Buenos Aires] 6 October 2013. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-230649-2013-10-06.html

enacted media law. The law required Grupo Clarín, the main media conglomerate, to get rid of some of its cable operations.[64] He regarded the government's audiovisual communications authority as not independent and therefore in violation of freedom of the press.[65]

Media observers at the national level and experts located Macri as part of the opposition to the national government.[66] Página 12 categorized Macri's electoral strategy as polarizing the electorate between supporters of FPV and PRO.[67]

Macri has not held an appointed position at the national level for the 2003-2013 period.

At the local level, there were two opposition parties: UNEN and Frente para la Victoria. The latter was aligned with the national administration. The head of the FPV list for the Senate was formerly the Ministro de Ciencias, Educación, y Tecnología (Minister of Science, Education and Technology) under Néstor Kirchner's presidency.[68] UNEN was not aligned with the national government.

[64] "De Compana contra la ley de medios." *Página 12.* [Buenos Aires] 27 September 2013. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-229990-2013-09-27.html

[65] "El PRO pide un freno judicial a la ley." *Página 12.* [Buenos Aires] 31 October 2013. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-232535-2013-10-31.html

[66] "Mientras el oficialismo festejó, la oposición habló de 'mentira oficial'" *La Nación.* [Buenos Aires] 27 September 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1623664-mientras-el-oficialismo-festejo-la-oposicion-hablo-de-mentira-oficial

[67] "Macri dice que no cree." *Página12.* [Buenos Aires] 10 November 2013. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-233269-2013-11-10.html

[68] "Filmus denuncio que "el presupuesto de la Ciudad es de ajuste."" *Página 12.* [Buenos Aires] 3 October 2013. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-230467-2013-10-03.html

Catamarca

2007

In 2007 Catamarca elected governor, vice-governor, eight local senators, and twenty provincial deputies. Six coalitions competed for the executive, and two garnered a majority of the vote: Frente Cívico y Social—Frente para la Victoria and Frente Justicialista por la Dignidad. Eduardo Brizuela del Moral, who headed the Frente Cívico y Social—FPV ticket, was reelected with 59.3% of the vote. Frente Justicialista por la Dignidad came in second with 37.6% of the vote.[1]

The governor does not belong to the Peronist Party. In 2007, Brizuela del Moral was the President of the Unión Cívica Radical (UCR) at the provincial level.[2] The governor used the national government's party tag by adding FPV to Frente Cívico y Social.[3]

Brizuela del Moral repeatedly expressed his support for the national administration throughout the election cycle. He thanked the national government for the public works in the province numerous times.[4] Brizuela del Moral also praised the President for not discriminating against the governors that did not belong to the Peronist Party.[5] The night of the election, the governor declared that his reelection was also a victory for President Néstor Kirchner since Frente para la Victoria was part of the provincial winning coalition.[6] Moreover, Brizuela del Moral declared that he had an excellent institutional relationship with the national administration and referred to it as a friend.[7] He also stated that Néstor Kirchner had Catamarca's support, and that he would continue working with the President for the welfare of the province and the country.[8] After the election, the governor reaffirmed that the province was working really well

[1] "Según el escrutinio definitivo, el oficialismo ganó en la provincia con el 59,3%". *Diario C,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 17 March 2007. http://www.diarioc.com.ar/politica/Segun_el_escrutinio_definitivo_el_oficialismo_gano_en_la_provincia_con/92648

[2] "Confirman el alineamiento de la UCR local con Kirchner". *El Ancasti,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 28 March 2007. http://www.elancasti.com.ar/politica-economia/2007/3/28/confirman-alineamiento-local-kirchner-16794.html.

[3] Carrizo, Patricia. "En Catamarca, Kirchner pone a prueba su concertación plural". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 5 March 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/888730-en-catamarca-kirchner-pone-a-prueba-su-concertacion-plural.

[4] "Inauguraron obras en la avenida de circunvalación". *El Ancasti,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 4 March 2007. http://www.elancasti.com.ar/politica-economia/2007/3/4/inauguraron-obras-avenida-circunvalacion-15316.html
; "Brizuela en entrega de viviendas en Andalgalá". *El Ancasti,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 7 March 2007. http://www.elancasti.com.ar/politica-economia/2007/3/7/brizuela-entrega-viviendas-andalgala-15523.html.

[5] ""Nunca discriminamos a ningún intendente"". *El Ancasti,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 7 March 2007. http://www.elancasti.com.ar/politica-economia/2007/3/7/nunca-discriminamos-ningun-intendente-15504.html.

[6] Jorquera, Miguel. "La paliza a Barrionuevo vino del Radical K". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 12 March 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-81640-2007-03-12.html.

[7] Jorquera, Miguel. "La paliza a Barrionuevo vino del Radical K". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 12 March 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-81640-2007-03-12.html.

[8] "Aplastante victoria de Brizuela del Moral sobre Barrionuevo". *El Ancasti,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 12 March 2007. http://www.elancasti.com.ar/politica-economia/2007/3/12/aplastante-victoria-brizuela-moral-sobre-barrionuevo-15789.html.

with the national government.[9] Moreover, Brizuela del Moral asserted that he would support Kirchnerismo in the forthcoming presidential election.[10]

The governor made several appearances with members of the national administration. Before the election, the President's sister, who was also a cabinet member, travelled to Catamarca and shared a public act with Brizuela del Moral.[11] The governor also had a meeting with Néstor Kirchner in Buenos Aires, during which Brizuela del Moral agreed to the transfer of the province's pension fund to the national government.[12] Additionally, the governor shared a public act with the Secretary of Vialidad Nacional (Roads and Highways Department) and signed an agreement to continue roadworks in the province.[13] The night of the election, two members of the national cabinet called Brizuela del Moral to update him on the results of exit polls.[14] Néstor Kirchner also called the governor to congratulate him for the electoral results.[15] Members of the cabinet and several aligned governors also travelled to Catamarca to celebrate the governor's reelection.[16] A few days after the election, Brizuela del Moral went to Buenos Aires and signed an agreement for public works with the President.[17] The governor also participated in a public act headed by the President at the Casa Rosada (Argentina's White House), during which Kirchner announced a housing program that would benefit Catamarca.[18]

Several newspapers characterized the elected governor as aligned with the President. Both La Nación and Página 12, as well as two local newspapers, depicted Brizuela del Moral as a "Radical Kirchnerista" (a Kirchnerista member of the UCR).[19] National newspapers also

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[9] "Brizuela del Moral se verá hoy con Kirchner luego de la victoria". *El Ancasti,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 20 March 2007. http://www.elancasti.com.ar/politica-economia/2007/3/20/brizuela-moral-vera-kirchner-luego-victoria-16280.html.

[10] "Confirman el alineamiento de la UCR local con Kirchner". *El Ancasti,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 28 March 2007. http://www.elancasti.com.ar/politica-economia/2007/3/28/confirman-alineamiento-local-kirchner-16794.html.

[11] "Pensiones y subsidios". *El Ancasti,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 21 February 2007. http://www.elancasti.com.ar/politica-economia/2007/2/21/pensiones-subsidios-14664.html.

[12] "Fuerte respaldo de Kirchner a su candidato en Catamarca". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 February 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/887125-fuerte-respaldo-de-kirchner-a-su-candidato-en-catamarca ; "Brizuela se reúne con Kirchner en Buenos Aires". *El Ancasti,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 27 February 2007. http://www.elancasti.com.ar/politica-economia/2007/2/27/brizuela-reune-kirchner-buenos-aires-15000.html.

[13] "Brizuela: "Barrionuevo no conoce la provincia"". *El Ancasti,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 3 March 2007. http://www.elancasti.com.ar/politica-economia/2007/3/3/brizuela-barrionuevo-conoce-provincia-15272.html ;

[13] "Inauguraron obras en la avenida de circunvalación". *El Ancasti,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 4 March 2007. http://www.elancasti.com.ar/politica-economia/2007/3/4/inauguraron-obras-avenida-circunvalacion-15316.html.

[14] Ybarra, Gustavo. "Catamarca le dio a Kirchner el primer triunfo del año". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 12 March 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/890712-catamarca-dio-a-kirchner-el-primer-triunfo-del-ano.

[15] "Catamarca le dio el primer triunfo a la concertación de Kirchner". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 11 March 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/890530-catamarca-le-dio-el-primer-triunfo-a-la-concertacion-de-kirchner.

[16] "El Gobierno festejó la victoria de Brizuela". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 12 March 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/890716-el-gobierno-festejo-la-victoria-de-brizuela.

[17] "Cuenca Salí-Dulce". *El Ancasti,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 21 March 2007. http://www.elancasti.com.ar/politica-economia/2007/3/21/cuenca-sali-dulce-16355.html ; "Encuentro". *El Ancasti,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 22 March 2007 http://www.elancasti.com.ar/politica-economia/2007/3/22/encuentro-16423.html.

[18] "6 mil viviendas". *El Ancasti*, [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 21 March 2007. http://www.elancasti.com.ar/politica-economia/2007/3/21/viviendas-16354.html.

[19] "Un especialista en lograr reelecciones". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 11 March 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/890454-un-especialista-en-lograr-reelecciones ; "En campaña". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 20 February 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-80651-2007-02-20.html ; ""Catamarca, la

interpreted the governor's reelection as a victory for Néstor Kirchner.[20] Moreover, a local newspaper stated that Brizuela del Moral was allied with the President in this election.[21]

Brizuela del Moral did not hold an appointed position in the national government for the 2003-2007 period.

The governor's main challenger in this election was not aligned with the President. The candidate did not use the Frente para la Victoria party tag and he did not participate in any public acts with members of the national government. La Nación newspaper described him as Néstor Kirchner's political enemy.[22]

2009

In 2009 Catamarca held legislative elections to fill three national deputy and three national senator positions. Six coalitions competed in this election and two garnered a majority of the vote: Frente Cívico y Social and Frente para la Victoria. The coalition supported by the governor, Frente Cívico y Social, won both the race for the Senate and the race for the Deputy Chamber with 38.9% of the votes. This translated into two senators and two deputies.[23] Frente para la Victoria came in second and achieved one senator and one deputy seat.[24]

The governor, Eduardo Brizuela del Moral, does not belong to the Peronist Party. Brizuela del Moral belongs to the UCR.[25] Moreover, the list he supported in the election used the Frente Cívico y Social and not the Frente para la Victoria party tag.[26] While the governor supported the government in 2007 elections, in 2009 he was no longer aligned with it.

The governor's expressions of opposition to the President appear in almost every newspaper article in which he referred to the national administration. Throughout the campaign, Brizuela del Moral repeatedly affirmed that the national government was punishing him for his

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primera prueba para la concertación plural"". *El Ancasti,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 12 February 2007. http://www.elancasti.com.ar/politica-economia/2007/2/12/catamarca-primera-prueba-para-concertacion-plural-14087.html ; "Primer triunfo de la coalición K". *Diario C,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 11 March 2007. http://www.diarioc.com.ar/politica/Primer_triunfo_de_la_coalicion_K/92502.

[20] Ybarra, Gustavo. "Un exitoso banco de pruebas". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 12 March 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/890715-un-exitoso-banco-de-pruebas.

[21] "Atrofia democrática". *El Ancasti,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 18 February 2007. http://www.elancasti.com.ar/opinion/2007/2/18/atrofia-democratica-14464.html.

[22] "El Gobierno festejó la victoria de Brizuela". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 12 March 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/890716-el-gobierno-festejo-la-victoria-de-brizuela.

[23] El Kirchnerismo sufrió su primera derrota en Santa Cruz". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144252-el-Kirchnerismo-sufrio-su-primera-derrota-en-santa-cruz.

[24] El Kirchnerismo sufrió su primera derrota en Santa Cruz". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144252-el-Kirchnerismo-sufrio-su-primera-derrota-en-santa-cruz.

[25] Abrevaya, Sebastián. "Cleto define su propia estrategia". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 1 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-127554-2009-07-01.html ; "Lanzamiento de campaña en Villa Cubas". *Diario C,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 30 March 2009. http://www.diarioc.com.ar/politica/Lanzamiento_de_campana_en_Villa_Cubas/118702.

[26] El Kirchnerismo sufrió su primera derrota en Santa Cruz". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144252-el-Kirchnerismo-sufrio-su-primera-derrota-en-santa-cruz; "Otra victoria oficialista en Catamarca". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144824-otra-victoria-oficialista-en-catamarca ; "Lanzamiento de campaña en Villa Cubas". *Diario C,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 30 March 2009. http://www.diarioc.com.ar/politica/Lanzamiento_de_campana_en_Villa_Cubas/118702.

non-alignment by withdrawing national funds from housing projects in the province.[27] More generally, Brizuela del Moral affirmed that the national government was financially discriminating against the province.[28] He also stated on several occasions that Néstor and Cristina Kirchner had visited the province a few months earlier with the aim of intimidating him.[29] The governor also asserted that he would sue the national government for the money it owed to the province.[30] In that context, he accused the national government of committing crimes against humanity.[31] Brizuela del Moral also declared that the national government was like a dictatorship because they considered everyone who opposed them as enemies.[32]

Brizuela del Moral did not share any public acts with members of the national government. Conversely, the governor called the Vice President and member of the national opposition, Julio Cobos, in order to congratulate him for the victory of the coalition he supported in the province of Mendoza.[33] Additionally, several members of the national opposition, including the aforementioned Cobos, phoned the governor to congratulate him the night of the election.[34] After the election, Cristina Kirchner engaged in a round of talks with several

[27] "Brizuela apuró a Corpacci para que defina si asumirá el cargo". *El Ancasti,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 29 May 2009. http://www.elancasti.com.ar/politica-economia/2009/5/29/brizuela-apuro-corpacci-para-defina-asumira-cargo-85661.html ; "Brizuela, desafiante, anticipó una nueva derrota de los Kirchner". *El Ancasti,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 30 May 2009. http://www.elancasti.com.ar/politica-economia/2009/5/30/brizuela-desafiante-anticipo-nueva-derrota-kirchner-85811.html.

[28] "Brizuela volvió a hablar de la "discriminación" del gobierno K". *El Ancasti,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 2 June 2009. http://www.elancasti.com.ar/politica-economia/2009/6/2/brizuela-volvio-hablar-discriminacion-gobierno-86046.html ; "El Gobernador habilitó un Polideportivo en la zona Norte". *Diario C,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 1 June 2009. http://www.diarioc.com.ar/politica/El_Gobernador_habilito_un_Polideportivo_en_la_zona_Norte/118798.

[29] "Brizuela, desafiante, anticipó una nueva derrota de los Kirchner". *El Ancasti,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 30 May 2009. http://www.elancasti.com.ar/politica-economia/2009/5/30/brizuela-desafiante-anticipo-nueva-derrota-kirchner-85811.html ; "Brizuela del Moral disparó duro contra la oposición". *El Ancasti,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 20 June 2009. http://www.elancasti.com.ar/politica-economia/2009/6/20/brizuela-moral-disparo-duro-contra-oposicion-87696.html

[30] "Hay acciones del Estado que pueden ser delitos de lesa humanidad". *El Ancasti,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 9 June 2009. http://www.elancasti.com.ar/politica-economia/2009/6/9/hay-acciones-estado-pueden-delitos-lesa-humanidad-86721.html
; "La Provincia demandará a la Nación en un plazo de 15 días". *El Ancasti,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 16 June 2009. http://www.elancasti.com.ar/politica-economia/2009/6/16/provincia-demandara-nacion-plazo-dias-87339.html ; "La ANSES volverá a liquidar el 82% móvil a los jubilados". *El Ancasti,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 9 June 2009 17 June 2009. http://www.elancasti.com.ar/politica-economia/2009/6/17/anses-volvera-liquidar-movil-jubilados-87439.html.

[31] "Hay acciones del Estado que pueden ser delitos de lesa humanidad". *El Ancasti,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 9 June 2009. http://www.elancasti.com.ar/politica-economia/2009/6/9/hay-acciones-estado-pueden-delitos-lesa-humanidad-86721.html.

[32] "El Gobierno nacional se está tornando en dictadura". *El Ancasti,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 10 June 2009. http://www.elancasti.com.ar/politica-economia/2009/6/10/gobierno-nacional-esta-tornando-dictadura-86837.html.

[33] The vice-President moved to the opposition in 2008 after a conflict over rural export taxes. Capriata, Laura. "Cobos dijo que espera que Cristina Kirchner lo convoque". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 30 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1145162-cobos-dijo-que-espera-que-cristina-kirchner-lo-convoque ; Abrevaya, Sebastián. "Cleto define su propia estrategia". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 1 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-127554-2009-07-01.html

[34] "El exultante festejo Radical". *El Ancasti,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 3 July 2009. http://www.elancasti.com.ar/opinion/2009/7/3/exultante-festejo-Radical-88925.html.

governors (both aligned and non-aligned). In this context, Brizuela del Moral was due to have a meeting with her at the Casa Rosada.[35]

La Nación newspaper identified Frente Cívico y Social, the coalition supported by the governor, as part of the opposition to the national government.[36] Furthermore, Página 12 described Brizuela del Moral as a non-aligned governor.[37] This newspaper also stated that the governor was aligned with Cristina Kirchner in 2007, but he left Kirchnerismo when the Vice President became part of the national opposition in 2008.[38]

The governor never held an appointed position in the national government.

At the local level, Frente para la Victoria was clearly aligned with the President. National newspapers depicted the candidate who headed the Frente para la Victoria ticket for the Senate as Kirchnerista.[39] Moreover, the day of the election, a prominent cabinet member called several aligned politicians to receive news about the electoral results, and the Catamarca Frente para la Victoria candidate was among them.[40]

2011

In 2011, Catamarca held competitive elections to select governor. Two major coalitions participated in the contest – Frente para la Victoria and Frente Cívico y Social. Frente para la Victoria won the election with 48.2% of the vote, thus ending twenty years of uninterrupted Frente Cívico y Social governments. The incumbent came in second with 44.1% of the vote.[41]

The newly elected governor, Lucia Corpacci, identifies as a Peronist. In her victory speech, the governor partly attributed her electoral success to the unity of Peronism behind a single candidate, thus reversing years of Peronist factionalism in the province.[42] A journalist

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[35] "Llegó la hora de los gobernadores". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 17 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-128403-2009-07-17.html.
; Miguez, Daniel. "Lo que viene en la agenda del diálogo". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 25 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-128826-2009-07-25.html.; "La Presidenta recibirá a Brizuela". *El Ancasti,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 25 July 2009. http://www.elancasti.com.ar/politica-economia/2009/7/25/presidenta-recibira-brizuela-91019.html.

[36] "Provincia por provincia, cómo se resuelve la pelea por el nuevo poder". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144475-provincia-por-provincia-como-se-resuelve-la-pelea-por-el-nuevo-poder.

[37] "Llegó la hora de los gobernadores". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 17 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-128403-2009-07-17.html.

[38] Miguez, Daniel. "Lo que viene en la agenda del diálogo". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 25 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-128826-2009-07-25.html.

[39]"Provincia por provincia, cómo se resuelve la pelea por el nuevo poder". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144475-provincia-por-provincia-como-se-resuelve-la-pelea-por-el-nuevo-poder ; "Intervención". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 7 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/126257-40382-2009-06-07.html ; "El fantasma de la apatía". *El Ancasti,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 22 June 2009. http://www.elancasti.com.ar/opinion/2009/6/22/fantasma-apatia-87800.html.

[40] Miguez, Daniel. "Un golpe duro e inesperado". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-127445-2009-06-29.html.

[41] Ybarra, Gustavo. "Crucial victoria del Kirchnerismo en Catamarca: destrono a la UCR." *La Nación,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 14 March 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1357328-crucial-victoria-del-Kirchnerismo-en-catamarca-destrono-a-la-ucr ; Abrevaya, Sebastian. "'Quiero que Cristina sea candidata en 2011.'" *Página 12,* [Catamarca] 15 March 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-164177-2011-03-15.html

[42] "'Quiero Cristina 2011', dijo la flamante gobernadora." *La Union Digital,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 15 March 2011 http://www.launiondigital.com.ar/noticias/24353-quiero-cristina-2011-dijo-flamante-gobernadora ;

from Página 12 referred to the electoral outcome as one in which Peronism took back the province.[43] Corpacci used the Frente para la Victoria party tag in this election.[44]

The elected governor supported the national government in her discourse. Before the election, Corpacci compared Catamarca to other provinces aligned with the national government (such as La Rioja) and attributed Catamarca's shortcomings to not following the national model, a fact that she would change if elected governor.[45] The day of the election, Corpacci remembered that she had always participated in politics close to Néstor and Cristina Kirchner.[46] After the election, dhe expressed her desire that Cristina Kirchner would win the presidential contest.[47] She also repeatedly expressed that the national model of development was beneficial for everyone.[48] She even claimed that the people of Catamarca had electorally punished the previous government for being hostile to the Casa Rosada.[49] In an interview with a local radio station, Corpacci stressed her willingness to collaborate with the national government.[50] In another interview with the same media source, she emphasized that Cristina Kirchner would be the best president out of all presidential candidates.[51]

"El PJ, los jovenes y la Presidenta ayudaran a ganar estas elecciones." *La Union Digital,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 15 March 2011 http://www.launiondigital.com.ar/noticias/24357-pj-jovenes-y-presidenta-ayudaron-a-ganar-estas-elecciones ; Abrevaya, Sebastian. "'Quiero que Cristina sea candidata en 2011.'" *Página 12,* [Catamarca] 15 March 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-164177-2011-03-15.html

[43] Wainfeld, Mario. "Climas, mensajes, lecciones." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 14 March 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-164130-2011-03-14.html

[44] "'Quiero Cristina 2011', dijo la flamante gobernadora." *La Union Digital,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 15 March 2011 http://www.launiondigital.com.ar/noticias/24353-quiero-cristina-2011-dijo-flamante-gobernadora

[45] "Corpacci: 'Lo que a Cristina le duele es ver a Catamarca tan alejada del modelo de pais.'" *La Union Digitial,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 18 February 2011 http://www.launiondigital.com.ar/noticias/22624-corpacci-a-cristina-le-duele-ver-a-catamarca-tan-alejada-del-modelo-pais

[46] "Catamarca: se impuso la Kirchnerista Corpacci." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 14 March 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1357116-catamarca-se-impuso-la-Kirchnerista-corpacci

[47] "Corpacci: 'Yo quiero Cristina 2011.'" *El Ancasti,* [Telam] 14 March 2011 http://www.elancasti.com.ar/politica-economia/2011/3/14/corpacci-yo-quiero-cristina-2011-156435.html ; "Corpacci dijo que habra que elaborar pactos de gobernabilidad." *El Ancasti,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 15 March 2011 http://www.elancasti.com.ar/politica-economia/2011/3/15/corpacci-dijo-habra-elaborar-pactos-gobernabilidad-156483.html ; "El PJ, los jovenes y la Presidenta ayudaran a ganar estas elecciones." *La Union Digital,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 15 March 2011 http://www.launiondigital.com.ar/noticias/24357-pj-jovenes-y-presidenta-ayudaron-a-ganar-estas-elecciones ; Abrevaya, Sebastian. "'Quiero que Cristina sea candidata en 2011.'" *Página 12,* [Catamarca] 15 March 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-164177-2011-03-15.html

[48] "Corpacci dijo que habra que elaborar pactos de gobernabilidad." *El Ancasti,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 15 March 2011 http://www.elancasti.com.ar/politica-economia/2011/3/15/corpacci-dijo-habra-elaborar-pactos-gobernabilidad-156483.html

[49] "'Quiero Cristina 2011', dijo la flamante gobernadora." *La Union Digital,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 15 March 2011 http://www.launiondigital.com.ar/noticias/24353-quiero-cristina-2011-dijo-flamante-gobernadora ; "El PJ, los jovenes y la Presidenta ayudaran a ganar estas elecciones." *La Union Digital,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 15 March 2011 http://www.launiondigital.com.ar/noticias/24357-pj-jovenes-y-presidenta-ayudaron-a-ganar-estas-elecciones ; Ybarra, Gustavo. "Crucial victoria del Kirchnerismo en Catamarca: destrono a la UCR." *La Nación,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 14 March 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1357328-crucial-victoria-del-Kirchnerismo-en-catamarca-destrono-a-la-ucr

[50] "La Presidenta recibio en la Casa Rosada a Lucia Corpacci y Mera." *El Ancasti,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 23 March 2011 http://www.elancasti.com.ar/politica-economia/2011/3/23/presidenta-recibio-casa-rosada-lucia-corpacci-mera-157351.html

[51] "Corpacci: 'La presidente nos ofrecio todo su apoyo para poder llevar a cabo nuestras propuestas.'" *El Ancasti,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 26 March 2011 http://www.elancasti.com.ar/politica-economia/2011/3/26/corpacci-presidente-ofrecio-todo-apoyo-para-poder-llevar-cabo-nuestras-propuestas-157689.html

Corpacci met with several national figures during her campaign. President Cristina Kirchner visited the province to announce public works and to support Corpacci.[52] Following her electoral victory, she had dinner with the Ministro del Interior (Minister of the Interior), the Ministra de Desarrollo Social (Minister of Social Development), Secretario de Medios y Comunicación (Secretary of Media and Communication), and aligned governor Juan Urtubey of Salta.[53] The night of the election, Corpacci communicated by phone with Cristina Kirchner.[54] Corpacci and her vice-governor also met with President Cristina Kirchner, who was expressed being pleased with the outcome of the election.[55]

Journalists also indicated alignment between Corpacci and the national government. A provincial newspaper and La Nación referred to Corpacci as Kirchnerista.[56]

Corpacci has not held a position in the national government between 2003 and 2011.

Corpacci's opposition in the gubernatorial election was a coalition of UCR parties opposed to the national government.[57] Corpacci herself claimed that her opposition was separated from the national government.[58] Both Página 12 and La Nación regarded the results of the election as negative for UCR opposition to the national government.[59]

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[52] "La Presidenta vendra el proximo miercoles 23." *El Ancasti,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 17 February 2011 http://www.elancasti.com.ar/politica-economia/2011/2/17/presidenta-vendra-proximo-miercoles-154002.html ; "El dia que la Presidenta volvio." *La Union Digital,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 24 February 2011 http://www.launiondigital.com.ar/noticias/22993-dia-presidenta-volvio

[53] "Corpacci: 'Yo quiero Cristina 2011.'" *El Ancasti,* [Telam] 14 March 2011 http://www.elancasti.com.ar/politica-economia/2011/3/14/corpacci-yo-quiero-cristina-2011-156435.html ; "'Quiero Cristina 2011', dijo la flamante gobernadora." *La Union Digital,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 15 March 2011 http://www.launiondigital.com.ar/noticias/24353-quiero-cristina-2011-dijo-flamante-gobernadora ; Ybarra, Gustavo. "Crucial victoria del Kirchnerismo en Catamarca: destrono a la UCR." *La Nación,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 14 March 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1357328-crucial-victoria-del-Kirchnerismo-en-catamarca-destrono-a-la-ucr

[54] Ybarra, Gustavo. "Crucial victoria del Kirchnerismo en Catamarca: destrono a la UCR." *La Nación,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 14 March 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1357328-crucial-victoria-del-Kirchnerismo-en-catamarca-destrono-a-la-ucr

[55] "Lucia Corpacci con la presidenta." *El Ancasti,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 22 March 2011 http://www.elancasti.com.ar/politica-economia/2011/3/22/lucia-corpacci-presidenta-157291.html ; "La Presidenta recibio en la Casa Rosada a Lucia Corpacci y Mera." *El Ancasti,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 23 March 2011 http://www.elancasti.com.ar/politica-economia/2011/3/23/presidenta-recibio-casa-rosada-lucia-corpacci-mera-157351.html ; "La presidenta Cristina de Kirchner recibio a Corpacci y Mera luego del historico triunfo." *La Union Digital,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 23 March 2011 http://www.launiondigital.com.ar/noticias/24883-presidenta-cristina-kirchner-recibio-a-corpacci-y-mera-luego-del-historico-triunfo

[56] "Todas la voces todas de una eleccion historica." *La Union Digital,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 15 March 2011 http://www.launiondigital.com.ar/noticias/24318-todas-las-voces-todas-una-eleccion-historica ;"Catamarca: se impuso la Kirchnerista Corpacci." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 14 March 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1357116-catamarca-se-impuso-la-Kirchnerista-corpacci

[57] "La presidenta Cristina de Kirchner recibio a Corpacci y Mera luego del historico triunfo." *La Union Digital,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 23 March 2011 http://www.launiondigital.com.ar/noticias/24883-presidenta-cristina-kirchner-recibio-a-corpacci-y-mera-luego-del-historico-triunfo ; Ybarra, Gustavo. "Crucial victoria del Kirchnerismo en Catamarca: destrono a la UCR." *La Nación,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 14 March 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1357328-crucial-victoria-del-Kirchnerismo-en-catamarca-destrono-a-la-ucr

[58] "'Quiero Cristina 2011', dijo la flamante gobernadora." *La Union Digital,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 15 March 2011 http://www.launiondigital.com.ar/noticias/24353-quiero-cristina-2011-dijo-flamante-gobernadora

[59] Wainfeld, Mario. "Climas, mensajes, lecciones." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 14 March 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-164130-2011-03-14.html ; Ybarra, Gustavo. "Crucial victoria del Kirchnerismo en Catamarca: destrono a la UCR." *La Nación,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 14 March 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1357328-crucial-victoria-del-Kirchnerismo-en-catamarca-destrono-a-la-ucr

2013

Catamarca held legislative elections in 2013. While five parties participated, only two coalitions received a sizable amount of votes – Frente Cívico y Social and Frente para la Victoria. Frente Cívico y Social won the election with 40% of the vote, and Frente para la Victoria came in second with 38.7% of the vote. The governor of the province, Lucía Corpacci, supported the Frente para la Victoria list.

Corpacci is the president of the Partido Justicialista in Catamarca.[60] She was identified as a Peronist governor by La Nación.[61] In addition, the governor encouraged the opening of a new headquarters for Partido Justicialista in the province to strengthen the unity of the party.[62] The list supported by the governor used the Frente para la Victoria party tag.

In a speech before the election, Corpacci spoke in defense of the national government and urged people to vote for the Frente para la Victoria party list in the upcoming elections.[63] In that same speech, the governor claimed her success in the province could not have been accomplished without the help of the national government. She also assured that no government had worked to help vulnerable people more than Néstor and Cristina Kirchner's.[64] In another speech, she highlighted the important role of Néstor Kirchner for encouraging party militancy.[65] Finally, Corpacci highlighted that she had always felt supported by the national government.[66]

The Jefe de Gabinete (Chief of Staff) organized a meeting of aligned governors, to which Corpacci participated.[67] The governor's participation in this meeting alongside other aligned governors was a clear sign of unified subnational support to the national government.[68] In addition, Corpacci travelled to Buenos Aires and met with the Chief of Staff and the Procuradora General (Attorney General) to discuss the progress of provincial projects with funds from the national government. In that same meeting, the attorney general promised to visit the province

[60] "El FV respaldo a Corpacci y denuncio el acuerdo opositor." *El Ancasti,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 5 September 2013 http://www.elancasti.com.ar/politica-economia/2013/9/5/respaldo-corpacci-denuncio-acuerdo-opositor-213234.html

[61] "Cumbre de gobernadores K en San Juan, tras la derrota en las elecciones." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1633577-cumbre-de-gobernadores-k-en-san-juan-tras-la-derrota-en-las-elecciones

[62] "Corpacci anuncio nueva sede del PJ." *El Ancasti,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 19 November 2013 http://www.elancasti.com.ar/politica-economia/2013/11/19/corpacci-anuncio-nueva-sede-218482.html

[63] "Corpacci pidio que 'tengan memoria' y 'no se dejen enganar.'" *El Ancasti,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 13 September 2013 http://www.elancasti.com.ar/politica-economia/2013/9/13/corpacci-pidio-tengan-memoria-no-dejen-enganar-213858.html

[64] "Corpacci pidio que 'tengan memoria' y 'no se dejen enganar.'" *El Ancasti,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 13 September 2013 http://www.elancasti.com.ar/politica-economia/2013/9/13/corpacci-pidio-tengan-memoria-no-dejen-enganar-213858.html

[65] "Corpacci anuncio nueva sede del PJ." *El Ancasti,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 19 November 2013 http://www.elancasti.com.ar/politica-economia/2013/11/19/corpacci-anuncio-nueva-sede-218482.html

[66] "Corpacci anuncio nueva sede del PJ." *El Ancasti,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 19 November 2013 http://www.elancasti.com.ar/politica-economia/2013/11/19/corpacci-anuncio-nueva-sede-218482.html

[67] "Cumbre de gobernadores K en San Juan, tras la derrota en las elecciones." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1633577-cumbre-de-gobernadores-k-en-san-juan-tras-la-derrota-en-las-elecciones

[68] "Cumbre de gobernadores K en San Juan, tras la derrota en las elecciones." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1633577-cumbre-de-gobernadores-k-en-san-juan-tras-la-derrota-en-las-elecciones

later in the year.[69] The governor also met with the Ministro de Seguridad (Minister of Security) who signed an agreement to collaborate on issues of crime prevention in the province.[70]

Journalists and experts also indicated Corpacci holds an alignment with the national government. La Nación referred to Corpacci as a Kirchnerista, governor-K, and as aligned with the Casa Rosada.[71]

Lucía Corpacci did not hold a position in the national government from 2003 to 2013.

At the local level, the coalition in opposition to Corpacci was also in direct opposition the national government. Frente Cívico y Social included members of the national opposition, such as UCR and PRO.[72]

[69] "Corpacci se reunio con funcionarios nacionales." *El Ancasti,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 13 November 2013 http://www.elancasti.com.ar/politica-economia/2013/11/13/corpacci-reunio-funcionarios-nacionales-218068.html

[70] "La Gobernadora firmo convenios con Nacion para fortalecer acciones de seguridad." *La Union Digital,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 19 September 2013 http://www.launiondigital.com.ar/noticias/99087-gobernadora-firmo-convenios-nacion-fortalecer-acciones-seguridad

[71] Ybarra, Gustavo. "Catamarca sera el primer test electoral del Gobierno." *La Nación,* [San Fernando del Valle de Catamarca] 17 December 2012 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1537731-catamarca-sera-el-primer-test-electoral-del-gobierno ; "Cumbre de gobernadores K en San Juan, tras la derrota en las elecciones." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1633577-cumbre-de-gobernadores-k-en-san-juan-tras-la-derrota-en-las-elecciones

[72] "Catamarca: Tres alianzas para las elecciones." *Argentina.ar* 13 June 2013 http://argentina.ar/2013/06/13/pais-19698-catamarca-tres-alianzas-para-las-elecciones.php

Chaco

2007

In 2007 Chaco elected governor, vice-governor, and sixteen local deputies. Eight coalitions competed for the executive, and two garnered a majority of the vote: Frente Chaco Merece Más and Frente de Todos. Jorge Capitanich, who headed the Frente Chaco Merece Más ticket, was elected with 46.8% of the vote. Frente de Todos, the coalition that governed the province since 1995 and was supported by the incumbent governor, came in a close second with 46.6% of the vote.[1]

Jorge Capitanich belongs to the Peronist Party (PJ).[2] In fact, the campaign was structured around the two traditional Argentine parties: Unión Cívica Radical (UCR) and Peronism. La Nación newspaper described Capitanich as the Peronist - Kirchnerista candidate in the elections.[3] However, Capitanich used the "Frente Chaco Merece Más" and not the "Frente para la Victoria" party tag in this election.[4]

Capitanich expressed his support for the national administration on numerous occasions. After being elected, he thanked Néstor and Cristina Kirchner for their support, and affirmed that Cristina Kirchner would be the next President of the country.[5] The elected governor also

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[1] "Una reñida pelea del PJ y la UCR en Chaco". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 14 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/943916-una-renida-pelea-del-pj-y-la-ucr-en-chaco ; Dandan, Alejandra. "Chaco, a uno y otro lado de Soberanía Nacional". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 15 September 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-91390-2007-09-15.html.

[2] "Se definen las últimas elecciones provinciales previas a octubre". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 15 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/944414-se-definen-las-ultimas-elecciones-provinciales-previas-a-octubre ; Gallo, Daniel. "La UCR busca un triunfo para llegar mejor a octubre". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 16 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/944492-la-ucr-busca-un-triunfo-para-llegar-mejor-a-octubre ; Gallo, Daniel. "El peronista Capitanich ganaba en Chaco". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/944887-el-peronista-capitanich-ganaba-en-chaco ; "De la Sota pidió que se confíe en la Justicia". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 23 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/946631-de-la-sota-pidio-que-se-confie-en-la-justicia ; "Por el mismo camino". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 14 September 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-91353-2007-09-14.html ; Dandan, Alejandra. "Chaco, a uno y otro lado de Soberanía Nacional". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 15 September 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-91390-2007-09-15.html ; "Rozas y Capitanich están cerca". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 16 September 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-91498-2007-09-16.html.

[3] "Una reñida pelea del PJ y la UCR en Chaco". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 14 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/943916-una-renida-pelea-del-pj-y-la-ucr-en-chaco ; "Se definen las últimas elecciones provinciales previas a octubre". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 15 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/944414-se-definen-las-ultimas-elecciones-provinciales-previas-a-octubre.

[4] "Se definen las últimas elecciones provinciales previas a octubre". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 15 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/944414-se-definen-las-ultimas-elecciones-provinciales-previas-a-octubre ; "Pelea voto a voto en Chaco". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 16 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/944660-pelea-voto-a-voto-en-chaco ; Pagni, Carlos. "Un final que esconde una cantidad de paradojas". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 18 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/945092-un-final-que-esconde-una-cantidad-de-paradojas ; "Chaco: se reanudó el escrutinio definitivo". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 22 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/946450-chaco-se-reanudo-el-escrutinio-definitivo ; Capitanich a la cabeza". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 24 September 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-91904-2007-09-24.html.

[5] "Rozas y Capitanich se autoproclaman ganadores". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/944894-rozas-y-capitanich-se-autoproclaman-ganadores.

declared that he would fully support Cristina Kirchner's administration if she became President.[6] When he visited the Casa Rosada (Argentina's White House), Capitanich declared that Néstor and Cristina Kirchner's support was crucial for him to win the election.[7] In that same visit, he restated that Cristina Kirchner would win the forthcoming presidential election and that the province of Chaco would support her.[8]

Capitanich made several appearances with members of the national government. The night of the election, Néstor Kirchner and the Ministro del Interior (Minister of the Interior) called Capitanich to congratulate him for the successful outcome.[9] After the election, Capitanich travelled to Buenos Aires and held a meeting with Néstor and Cristina Kirchner at the Casa Rosada.[10] During that meeting, they agreed that Cristina Kirchner would campaign in Chaco by speaking in a public act in the province a few weeks later.[11] Furthermore, the Jefe de Gabinete (Chief of Staff) organized a dinner to celebrate Capitanich's electoral success; the event was attended by national ministers and aligned governors.[12]

National newspapers characterized the elected governor as aligned with the President. Several articles from La Nación and Página 12 described Capitanich as "Kirchnerista."[13] Página

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[6] "El PJ solo no podía ganar la elección". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 18 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/945093-el-pj-solo-no-podia-ganar-la-eleccion.

[7] "Felicitaciones K para Capitanich". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 19 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/945153-felicitacion-k-para-capitanich.

[8] "Felicitaciones K para Capitanich". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 19 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/945153-felicitacion-k-para-capitanich.

[9] Verón, Mariana. "Dos resultados que ayudan a los planes de Cristina Kirchner". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/944885-dos-resultados-que-ayudan-a-los-planes-de-cristina-kirchner ; Gallo, Daniel. "El peronista Capitanich ganaba en Chaco". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/944887-el-peronista-capitanich-ganaba-en-chaco ; "Rozas y Capitanich están cerca". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 16 September 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-91498-2007-09-16.html.

[10] "Felicitaciones K para Capitanich". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 19 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/945153-felicitacion-k-para-capitanich ; "Esto no es Córdoba". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 19 September 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-91635-2007-09-19.html.

[11] "Felicitaciones K para Capitanich". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 19 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/945153-felicitacion-k-para-capitanich ; "Voto cantado". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 16 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/953461-voto-cantado.

[12] Schurman, Diego. "Una alegre cena K". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 11 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-92820-2007-10-11.html.

[13] "Una reñida pelea del PJ y la UCR en Chaco". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 14 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/943916-una-renida-pelea-del-pj-y-la-ucr-en-chaco ; "Pelea voto a voto en Chaco". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 16 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/944660-pelea-voto-a-voto-en-chaco ; Verón, Mariana. "Dos resultados que ayudan a los planes de Cristina Kirchner". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/944885-dos-resultados-que-ayudan-a-los-planes-de-cristina-kirchner; "El secreto de reunir los extremos". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/944892-el-secreto-de-reunir-los-extremos ; "Rozas y Capitanich se autoproclaman ganadores". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/944894-rozas-y-capitanich-se-autoproclaman-ganadores. Ybarra, Gustavo. "Para López Murphy, el apoyo a Capitanich respetó la autonomía". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 18 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/945060-para-lopez-murphy-el-apoyo-a-capitanich-respeto-la-autonomia ; "Chaco: se reanudó el escrutinio definitivo". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 22 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/946450-chaco-se-reanudo-el-escrutinio-definitivo ; Derewicki, José. "Chaco: finalmente ganó Capitanich". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 2 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/949298-chaco-finalmente-gano-capitanich ; Jorquera, Miguel. "El Bulldog, con discurso militar". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 19 September 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-91625-2007-09-19.html ; "En campaña". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 19 September 2007.

12 defined the elected governor as a Peronist-Kirchnerista.[14] The same newspaper stated that Capitanich's electoral victory was a triumph for Frente para la Victoria.[15] Additionally, the elected governor was serving as national senator during the campaign and La Nación newspaper depicted him as an aligned legislator.[16]

Capitanich never held an appointed position in the national government for the 2003-2007 period.

The elected governor's main challenger in this election, Ángel Rozas, was not aligned with the national government. Página 12 newspaper depicted Rozas as a part of the non-Kirchnerista faction of the UCR, one of the main opposition parties at the national level.[17] Moreover, during the campaign Rozas affirmed that he was not Kirchnerista.[18]

2009

In 2009 Chaco elected four national and sixteen local deputies. Seven coalitions competed for the national seats, but only two received a sizable portion of the vote: Frente Chaco Merece Más and Frente de Todos. Frente Chaco Merece Más, the coalition supported by the governor, won the election with 49.9% of the vote. Frente de Todos came in second with 44.4% of the vote.

The governor, Jorge Capitanich, belongs to the Peronist Party. In fact, in 2009 Capitanich was one the vice-presidents of the Peronist Party at the national level.[19] However, the list supported by the governor ran with the Frente Chaco Merece Más and not the Frente para la Victoria party tag.[20]

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http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-91629-2007-09-19.html ; "Capitanich a la cabeza". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 24 September 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-91904-2007-09-24.html.

[14] Dandan, Alejandra. "El voto en el Impenetrable". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 16 September 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-91479-2007-09-16.html.

[15] Wainfeld, Mario. "Apuntes para un politólogo". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 18 September 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-91575-2007-09-18.html.

[16] Serra, Laura. "Más decretos que leyes en el Congreso de Kirchner". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 10 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/942585-mas-decretos-que-leyes-en-el-congreso-de-kirchner ; "Kirchner, eufórico por las victorias en Chubut y Chaco". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/944929-kirchner-euforico-por-las-victorias-en-chubut-y-chaco.

[17] Wainfeld, Mario. "Apuntes para un politólogo". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 18 September 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-91575-2007-09-18.html.

[18] "Somos Radicales genuinos, no somos K". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 16 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/944493-somos-Radicales-genuinos-no-somos-k.

[19] "Otro gobernador Kirchnerista abogó por propiciar un diálogo más amplio en el PJ". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 1 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1145669-otro-gobernador-Kirchnerista-abogo-por-propiciar-un-dialogo-mas-amplio-en-el-pj ; "Capitanich reclama internas". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 5 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1147142-capitanich-reclama-internas ; "Tras los cuestionamientos por la derrota, ahora Capitanich "respeta" a Scioli". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 19 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1152344-tras-los-cuestionamientos-por-la-derrota-ahora-capitanich-respeta-a-scioli ; Dandan, Alejandra. ""Al PJ lo conduce la Presidenta"". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 6 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-127817-2009-07-06.html ; "Gobernadores coincidieron en generar consenso dentro del justicialismo". *Diario Norte,* [Resistencia] 1 July 2009. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/31169/gobernadores-coincidieron-en-generar-consenso-dentro-del-justicialismo-.

[20] "El Kirchnerismo se impuso en doce distritos". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144767-el-Kirchnerismo-se-impuso-en-doce-distritos ; "Se impone el oficialismo en Chaco". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 28 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/subnotas/127410-

Discursively, the governor expressed his alignment with the President in almost every speech and media declaration in which he referred to the national administration. Before the election, Capitanich publicly thanked Néstor and Cristina Kirchner for financing the extension of a highway in the province.[21] After Kirchnerismo lost the legislative election and thus its majority in Congress, Néstor Kirchner resigned his position as President of the Peronist Party;[22] in response, Capitanich praised his administration of the party.[23] The governor also repeatedly affirmed that Cristina Kirchner was the natural leader of the Peronist Party.[24] Additionally, Capitanich declared that the Peronist Party should support Cristina Kirchner's legislative agenda.[25] He also asserted that he had a constant dialogue with Néstor and Cristina Kirchner.[26]

Capitanich made several appearances with members of the national government. The day of the election a prominent cabinet member called aligned governors, including Capitanich, to receive news about the electoral results.[27] In addition, the governor spoke with Néstor Kirchner after the election, who explained his motives for resigning to the presidency of the Peronist Party.[28] After the election, Capitanich travelled to the city of Buenos Aires and attended two different swearing-in ceremonies of new cabinet members.[29] Several aligned governors,

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40797-2009-06-28.html ; "En siete días se decide en el Chaco y el país". *Diario Norte,* [Resistencia] 20 June 2009. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/30778/en-siete-dias-se-decide-en-el-chaco-y-el-pais.

[21] "Ya se puede llegar por la autopista desde ruta 11 al puente Chaco Corrientes". *Diario Norte,* [Resistencia] 20 June 2009. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/30810/ya-se-puede-llegar-por-la-autopista-desde-ruta-11-al-puente-chaco-corrientes.

[22] Miguez, Daniel. "Scioli puso primera con la lancha del PJ". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 1 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-127550-2009-07-01.html.

[23] "Otro gobernador Kirchnerista abogó por propiciar un diálogo más amplio en el PJ". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 1 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1145669-otro-gobernador-Kirchnerista-abogo-por-propiciar-un-dialogo-mas-amplio-en-el-pj ; "Gobernadores coincidieron en generar consenso dentro del justicialismo". *Diario Norte,* [Resistencia] 1 July 2009. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/31169/gobernadores-coincidieron-en-generar-consenso-dentro-del-justicialismo-.

[24] "Capitanich se diferenció de Scioli y reclamó medidas a la Presidenta". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 5 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1147318-capitanich-se-diferencio-de-scioli-y-reclamo-medidas-a-la-presidenta ; "Capitanich suma sus críticas a Scioli". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 6 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1147481-capitanich-suma-sus-criticas-a-scioli ; Carpena, Ricardo. ""El gobierno debe generar consensos más fuertes"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 12 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1149423-el-gobierno-debe-generar-consensos-mas-fuertes ; "Para Capitanich es CFK quien conduce el PJ". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 5 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-127796-2009-07-05.html ; Dandan, Alejandra. ""Al PJ lo conduce la Presidenta"". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 6 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-127817-2009-07-06.html.

[25] "Otro gobernador Kirchnerista abogó por propiciar un diálogo más amplio en el PJ". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 1 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1145669-otro-gobernador-Kirchnerista-abogo-por-propiciar-un-dialogo-mas-amplio-en-el-pj ; "Gobernadores coincidieron en generar consenso dentro del justicialismo". *Diario Norte,* [Resistencia] 1 July 2009. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/31169/gobernadores-coincidieron-en-generar-consenso-dentro-del-justicialismo-.

[26] Carpena, Ricardo. ""El gobierno debe generar consensos más fuertes"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 12 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1149423-el-gobierno-debe-generar-consensos-mas-fuertes.

[27] Miguez, Daniel. "Un golpe duro e inesperado". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-127445-2009-06-29.html.

[28] "Otro gobernador Kirchnerista abogó por propiciar un diálogo más amplio en el PJ". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 1 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1145669-otro-gobernador-Kirchnerista-abogo-por-propiciar-un-dialogo-mas-amplio-en-el-pj ; "Gobernadores coincidieron en generar consenso dentro del justicialismo". *Diario Norte,* [Resistencia] 1 July 2009. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/31169/gobernadores-coincidieron-en-generar-consenso-dentro-del-justicialismo-.

[29] "Asumieron Fernández y Boudou, los recientes ascendidos en el Gabinete". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 8 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1148437-asumieron-fernandez-y-boudou-los-recientes-ascendidos-en-el-gabinete

including Capitanich, as well as other members of the cabinet, participated in the events.[30] Moreover, the governor had a meeting with Cristina Kirchner, the Chief of Staff, and the Minister of the Interior when the President held a round of talks with several governors, both aligned and non-aligned.[31] After meeting with Cristina Kirchner at the Casa Rosada, Capitanich also spoke with Néstor Kirchner.[32]

Several articles from the national newspapers depicted the governor as Kirchnerista.[33] La Nación described Capitanich as Kirchnerismo's unconditional ally.[34] Moreover, Página 12

; "Un gesto de apoyo de los gobernadores". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 8 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1148486-un-gesto-de-apoyo-de-los-gobernadores ; Piqué, Martín. "El día que las sonrisas volvieron a la Rosada". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 9 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/127976-41072-2009-07-09.html ; "Asumieron los nuevos ministros del Gabinete". *Diario Norte,* [Resistencia] 8 July 2009. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/31404/asumieron-los-nuevos-ministros-del-gabinete.

[30] "Asumieron Fernández y Boudou, los recientes ascendidos en el Gabinete". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 8 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1148437-asumieron-fernandez-y-boudou-los-recientes-ascendidos-en-el-gabinete ; "Un gesto de apoyo de los gobernadores". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 8 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1148486-un-gesto-de-apoyo-de-los-gobernadores ; Piqué, Martín. "El día que las sonrisas volvieron a la Rosada". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 9 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/127976-41072-2009-07-09.html ; "Asumieron los nuevos ministros del Gabinete". *Diario Norte,* [Resistencia] 8 July 2009. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/31177/asumio-sus-funciones-el-nuevo-ministro-de-salud.

[31] "Desde hoy la Presidenta recibe a los gobernadores". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 21 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1152926-desde-hoy-la-presidenta-recibe-a-los-gobernadores ; "Los que llegan con la billetera vacía". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 21 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-128573-2009-07-21.html ; Miguez, Daniel. "Sobre política y economía chaqueñas". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 22 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/128647-41351-2009-07-22.html ; "Grandes obras y el campo, temas de Capitanich con la Presidenta". *Diario Norte,* [Resistencia] 21 July 2009. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/31920/grandes-obras-y-el-campo-temas-de-capitanich-con-la-presidenta.

[32] Obarrio, Mariano. "La Casa Rosada escucha, pero aún no da respuestas". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 23 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1153973-la-casa-rosada-escucha-pero-aun-no-da-respuestas.

[33] Crettaz, José. "La Comisión de Enlace, de campaña con los agrocandidatos". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 15 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1139596-la-comision-de-enlace-de-campana-con-los-agrocandidatos ; Bertello, Fernando. "Está en la intención de la Presidenta convocar al diálogo con el campo". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 18 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1140666-esta-en-la-intencion-de-la-presidenta-convocar-al-dialogo-con-el-campo ; "El Kirchnerismo se impuso en doce distritos". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144767-el-Kirchnerismo-se-impuso-en-doce-distritos ; "Otro gobernador Kirchnerista abogó por propiciar un diálogo más amplio en el PJ". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 1 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1145669-otro-gobernador-Kirchnerista-abogo-por-propiciar-un-dialogo-mas-amplio-en-el-pj ; Carpena, Ricardo. ""El gobierno debe generar consensos más fuertes"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 12 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1149423-el-gobierno-debe-generar-consensos-mas-fuertes ; Crettaz, José. "Vuelven a la Rural los stands que el Gobierno vetó el año pasado". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 20 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1152507-vuelven-a-la-rural-los-stands-que-el-gobierno-veto-el-ano-pasado ; Miguez, Daniel. "Los movimientos del día después en Olivos". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 30 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-127493-2009-06-30.html ; "Más voces para una reunión". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 7 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-127870-2009-07-07.html ; "Los que llegan con la billetera vacía". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 21 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-128573-2009-07-21.html.

[34] Sued, Gabriel. "Capitanich se juega todo con la lógica del plebiscito". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 7 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1136588-capitanich-se-juega-todo-con-la-logica-del-plebiscito ; "Capitanich apoyó el papel de Scioli en el PJ". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 20 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1152489-capitanich-apoyo-el-papel-de-scioli-en-el-pj.

characterized Capitanich as allied with the national government and as one of the most loyal Kirchnerista governors.[35]

Capitanich never held a position in the national government for the 2003-2009 period.

At the provincial level, Frente para Todos opposed the national government. This coalition was formed by three non-Peronist opposition parties.[36] The candidate who headed the Frente para Todos ticket declared that Néstor and Cristina Kirchner's political project was based on confrontation.[37] Moreover, La Nación affirmed that Frente para Todos tried to nationalize the legislative election in the province, and therefore framed it as a competition between Kirchner and the rural producers (who opposed the national government's economic policies).[38]

2011

In 2011, Chaco's electorate chose governor, vice-governor, sixteen provincial deputies, and mayors and council members for 66 municipalities. Although a total of 32 political parties and six candidates competed for the gubernatorial election, two coalitions captured most of the vote: Frente Chaco Merece Más and Alianza Frente de Todos. The Frente Chaco Merece Más candidate, Jorge Capitanich, was reelected with 66.6 % of the vote. Alianza Frente de Todos obtained 30.3% of the electoral support.

The governor of Chaco belongs to the Peronist Party. Capitanich occupies a high position in the national administration of the party, serving as its Vice President. He has also been an elected national senator for the party and actively involved with the Peronist federal government prior to occupying the gubernatorial position. [39] In addition, Peronist unions in the province supported Capitanich's campaign.[40] Capitanich did not use the Frente para la Victoria party tag, he used the Frente Chaco Merece Más tag, which includes a provincial branch of the Peronist party and other local parties that are aligned with the national government.[41]

The governor's discourse showed a strong adherence to the President. Throughout the electoral campaign, Capitanich advocated for the Kirchner's model of governance and its

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[35] Wainfeld, Mario. "El sol del 29 viene asomando". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 14 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-126641-2009-06-14.html ; "Más voces para una reunión". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 7 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-127870-2009-07-07.html.

[36] Sued, Gabriel. "Capitanich se juega todo con la lógica del plebiscito". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 7 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1136588-capitanich-se-juega-todo-con-la-logica-del-plebiscito.

[37] Sued, Gabriel. "Capitanich se juega todo con la lógica del plebiscito". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 7 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1136588-capitanich-se-juega-todo-con-la-logica-del-plebiscito.

[38] Sued, Gabriel. "Capitanich se juega todo con la lógica del plebiscito". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 7 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1136588-capitanich-se-juega-todo-con-la-logica-del-plebiscito.

[39] "Perfiles de los principales candidatos." *Diario Norte,* [Resistencia] 17 September 2011. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/65540/perfiles-de-los-principales-candidatos

[40] "La UOM ratificó su apoyo al Frente Chaco Merece Más." *Diario Norte,* [Resistencia] 13 September 2011. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/65317/la-uom-ratifico-su-apoyo-al-frente-chaco-merece-mas-

[41] "El Frente Para la Victoria presentará mañana a sus candidatos." *Diario Norte,* [Resistencia] 29 August 2011. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/64634/el-frente-para-la-victoria-presentara-manana-sus-candidatos- ; "La Guëmes Chaco ratificó su acompañamiento al Frente Chaco Merece Más." *Diario Norte,* [Resistencia] 29 August 2011. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/64652/la-g%C3%BCemes-chaco-ratifico-su-acompanamiento-al-frente-chaco-merece-mas-

application at the provincial level.[42] At the inauguration of a community center that offers social services to Chaco residents, Capitanich indicated that active social policies have been federal practices he had incorporated into his provincial mandate.[43] The community center was named Néstor Carlos Kirchner, in honor of the late president.[44] During a visit by Uruguay's president José Mujica, Capitanich praised Mujica and Cristina Kirchner for the strengthening of MERCOSUR and UNASUR.[45] Once reelected, Capitanich reassured his support for the president's national project.[46] Additionally, at his reelection victory speech, the governor dedicated his triumph to Néstor and Cristina Kirchner and highlighted the crucial support of the president in his electoral win.[47] During the 2011 presidential election race, in particular, he actively supported Cristina Kirchner by coordinating his campaign with the presidential one.[48]

The Chaco governor and other high-ranking provincial officials participated in multiple public acts with various members of the national cabinet. Prior to winning his second term, Cristina Kirchner visited the province at least seven times and members of the national cabinet traveled to meet Capitanich multiple times.[49] The governor inaugurated a community center together with the Minister of Education, who praised the provincial public investment in education.[50] Also, the Ministro de Agricultura (Minister of Agriculture) accompanied the governor during a public videoconference with the president.[51] In fact, the President participated

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[42] "Capitanich felicitó a Peppo por sus gestión y llamó a la ciudadanía a seguir trasnformando la provincia." *Diario Norte*, [Resistencia] 7 September 2011. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/65036/capitanich-felicito-a-peppo-por-su-gestion-y-llamo-a-la-ciudadania-a-seguir-transformando-la-provincia-

[43] "Con fondos municipales se inauguró el centro de integración comunitario." *Diario Norte*, [Resistencia] 31 August 2011. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/64754/con-fondos-municipales-se-inauguro-el-centro-de-integracion-comunitario

[44] "Con fondos municipales se inauguró el centro de integración comunitario." *Diario Norte*, [Resistencia] 31 August 2011. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/64754/con-fondos-municipales-se-inauguro-el-centro-de-integracion-comunitario

[45] "Mujica y Capitanich destacaron la figura de Artigas y la unidad latinomaericana." *Diario Norte*, [Resistencia] 27 August 2011. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/64580/mujica-y-capitanich-destacaron-la-figura-de-artigas-y-la-unidad-latinoamericana

[46] "La gran coincidencia: jornada democrática ejemplar." *Diario Norte*, [Resistencia] 18 September 2011. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/65597/capitanich-tras-su-reeleccion-afirmo-que-el-desafio-es-trabajar-juntos-por-el-pais

[47] "Capitanich tras su reelección afirmó que 'El desafío es trabajar juntos por el país'." *Diario Norte*, [Resistencia] 18 September 2011. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/65597/capitanich-tras-su-reeleccion-afirmo-que-el-desafio-es-trabajar-juntos-por-el-pais; "Capitanich: 'El gran desafío es hacer lo que nos falta." *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 18 September 2011. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-177061-2011-09-18.html

[48] "Es un error creer que Cristina ya ganó y provocar desmovilización." *Diario Norte*, [Resistencia] 17 September 2011. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/67059/es-un-error-creer-que-cristina-ya-gano-y-provocar-desmovilizacion-

[49] "Capitanich agradeció al pueblo por el 'reconocimiento a la gestión en las urnas.'" *Diario Norte*, [Resistencia] 18 September 2011. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/65616/capitanich-agradecio-al-pueblo-por-el-reconocimiento-a-la-gestion-en-las-urnas

[50] "Sileoni valoró la política educativa provincial." *Diario Norte*, [Resistencia] 26 August 2011. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/64527/sileoni-valoro-la-politica-educativa-provincial- ; "El ministro Sileoni vuelve al Chaco para inaugurar un CIC en Hermoso Campo." *Diario Norte*, [Resistencia] 26 August 2011. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/64492/el-ministro-sileoni-vuelve-al-chaco-para-inaugurar-un-cic-en-hermoso-campo

[51] "Feria Nacional de Semillas: Cristina mantendrá videoconferencia con el Chaco y dos provincias más." *Diario Norte*. [Resistencia] 31 August 2011. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/64734/feria-nacional-de-semillas-cristina-mantendra-videoconferencia-con-el-chaco-y-dos-provincias-mas-

in a number of acts in the province through videoconference.[52] The governor also joined the president in a number of public acts in Buenos Aires.[53] Additionally, the Ministro de Salud (Minister of Health) joined the governor in launching health policies that incorporate indigenous practices.[54] Numerous members of the national administration also accompanied the governor in the inauguration of an international congress for people with special needs that took place in the province.[55] The president called Capitanich to commend him for his electoral victory[56] and the Minister of the Interior and the Ministro de Economía (Minister of Economy) accompanied him at his electoral victory speech.[57] Finally, during Cristina Kirchner's presidential campaign, Capitanich made a number of public appearances with her.[58]

Both provincial and national newspapers, as well as other relevant actors, consistently characterize Capitanich as a Kirchnerista governor. Prior and after his reelection, the local media highlighted the coherent discourse of the governor in favor of Cristina Kirchner's public policies,[59] and the extensive fiscal and political support Chaco received from the federal government.[60] The local opposition leader publicly placed Capitanich as a primary supporter of the president during the electoral race.[61] The national media also saw Capitanich as directly allied with the Presidency.[62] He was tied to the emergence of Kirchnerismo in the country and he

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[52] "Inauguraron la ampliación de la planta de santana que sustituirá importaciones." *Diario Norte,* [Resistencia] 9 September 2011. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/65160/inauguraron-la-ampliacion-de-la-planta-de-santana-que-sustituira-importaciones-

[53] "Chaco participó de la cena nacional de los industriales." *Diario Norte,* [Resistencia] 2 September 2011. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/64834/chaco-participo-de-la-cena-nacional-de-los-industriales-

[54] "Con la presencia de Manzú se anunció la incorporación de 260 agentes sanitarios indígenas." *Diario Norte,* [Resistencia] 8 September 2011. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/65103/con-la-presencia-de-manzur-se-anuncio-la-incorporacion-de-260-agentes-sanitarios-indigenas

[55] "Comenzó el Primer Congreso Internacional de Discapacidad." *Diario Norte,* [Resistencia] 24 August 2011. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/64391/comenzo-el-primer-congreso-internacional-de-discapacidad- ; "Gran marco de público y mucho interés en el inicio del Congreso sobre Discapacidad." *Diario Norte,* [Resistencia] 24 August 2011. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/64418/gran-marco-de-publico-y-mucho-interes-en-el-inicio-del-congreso-sobre-discapacidad-

[56] Verón, Mariana. "Una elección sin riesgos ni sopresas para el gobierno." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 19 September 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1407419-una-eleccion-sin-riesgo-ni-sorpresas-para-el-gobierno

[57] "El Gobierno destacó el triunfo de Capitanich." *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 19 September 2011. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/subnotas/177109-55754-2011-09-19.html

[58] Bossi, Jessica. "Una puesta en escena muy cuidada para sorprender." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 20 October 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1416186-una-puesta-en-escena-muy-cuidada-para-sorprender ; "El Frente Chaco Merece Más se reunirá hoy en Sáenz Peña." *Diario Norte,* [Resistencia] 14 October 2011. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/66960/el-frente-chaco-merece-mas-se-reunira-hoy-en-saenz-pena-

[59] "Diálogo sobre el Chaco y temas nacionales entre la presidente y el gobernador." *Diario Norte,* [Resistencia] 27 September 2011. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/66079/dialogo-sobre-el-chaco-y-temas-nacionales-entre-la-presidente-y-el-gobernador

[60] Rosemberg, Jaime. "Capitanich busca un triunfo amplio." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 16 September 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1406542-capitanich-busca-un-triunfo-amplio ; http://www.diarionorte.com/article/65554/seis-formulas-para-la-gobernacion-

[61] "Nikisch propone un mejor manejor de los fondos públicos comos eje de su campaña." *Diario Norte,* [Resistencia] 25 August 2011. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/64467/nikisch-propone-un-mejor-manejo-de-los-fondos-publicos-como-eje-de-su-campana-

[62] Rosemberg, Jaime. "Capitanich busca un triunfo amplio." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 16 September 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1406542-capitanich-busca-un-triunfo-amplio ; Rosemberg, Jaime. "En Chaco arrasí Capitanich, un fuerte aliado de la Casa Rosada." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 19 September 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1407415-en-chaco-arraso-capitanich-un-fuerte-aliado-de-la-casa-rosada; "'Este triunfo

was explicitly qualified as a prominent Kirchnerista building support for the president at the provincial and departmental levels.[63]

Throughout Cristina Kirchner's administration, Capitanich was appointed committee member of a newly created agency to implement a media law, Directorio de Autoridad Federal de Servicios de Comunicación Audiovisual (Federal Committee for Audiovisual Communication Services).[64]

The coalition that competed against Capitanich, the Alianza Frente de Todos, included the UCR and other parties that were in opposition to the national government.[65]

2013

In 2013, Chaco held elections to choose national deputies and senators, as well as several provincial legislators. Although eight political parties participated in this contest only two obtained most of the votes, the Frente Para la Victoria and the Unión por Chaco. These two groups represent the traditional two-party system between Peronism and UCR, respectively.[66] Frente para la Victoria won these elections with 59.3% of the votes for the lower chamber (versus 36.1% for Unión por Chaco) and 60.7% (versus 34.9%) for the Senate.[67]

Jorge Capitanich, governor of the province since 2011 and substitute candidate for the senate in these elections, self-identifies as Peronist and formally belongs to the Peronist Party.[68] He served as Vice President of the national party and led the celebrations of Día de la Lealtad (Day of Loyalty).[69] In addition, he declared that Peronism was the backbone of Frente para la

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es suyo, Cristina,' afirmó Capitanich al celebrar su reelección." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 19 September 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1407235-capitanich-busca-su-reeleccion-en-chaco ; "Es una irresposabilidad pensar en el 2012." *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 18 September 2011. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-177049-2011-09-18.html ; "Brushtein, Julián. "Otro aluvión de votos para el Kirchnerismo." *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 19 September 2011.
http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-177101-2011-09-19.html

[63] Pagni, Carlos. "Se abrió la batalla por el peronismo." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 11 August 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1396710-se-abrio-la-batalla-por-el-peronismo; Sued, Gabriel. "El romance que une a dos pueblos." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 02 September 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1402671-el-romance-que-une-a-dos-pueblos

[64] "Perfiles de los principales candidatos." *Diario Norte*, [Resistencia] 17 September 2011. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/65540/perfiles-de-los-principales-candidatos

[65] "Nikish propone un mejor manejo de los fondos públicos." *Diario Norte*, [Resistencia] 25 August 2011. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/64467/nikisch-propone-un-mejor-manejo-de-los-fondos-publicos-como-eje-de-su-campana-

[66] "El Chaco resolverá hoy con su voto la última puja entre Capitanich y Rozas." *Diario Norte*, [Resistencia] 26 October 2013. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/97548/el-chaco-resolvera-hoy-con-su-voto-la-ultima-puja-entre-capitanich-y-rozas

[67] "El Oficialismo ganó 10 bancas y consolidó su mayoría en la legislatura chaqueña." *Diario Norte*, [Resistencia] 28 October 2013. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/97619/el-oficialismo-gano-10-bancas-y-consolido-su-mayoria-en-la-legislatura-chaquena

[68] "Capitanich confirma que la Liga de Gobernadores se reunirá en Jujuy." *Diario Norte*, [Resistencia] 31 October 2013. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/96838/quedan-once-dias-de-campana-electoral

[69] "Sorpresa y media: proyección nacional de Capitanich y el Chaco gobernado por el vice." *Diario Norte*, [Resistencia] 19 November 2013. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/98716/sorpresa-y-media-proyeccion-nacional-de-capitanich-y-el-chaco-gobernado-por-el-vice; "Capitanich encabezará el acto central por el día de la lealtad Peronista." *Diario Chaco*, [Resistencia] 17 October 2013. http://www.diariochaco.com/noticia/capitanich-encabezar%C3%A1-el-acto-central-por-el-d%C3%ADa-de-la-lealtad-peronista

Victoria.[70] After winning the election, Capitanich participated in a summit of Peronist governors held in the province of San Juan to discuss election results and the upcoming selection of Peronist council representatives.[71] The governor participated in these elections with the Frente para la Victoria party tag.[72]

During the electoral campaign, Capitanich advocated for the continuity of the model advanced by the Kirchners in multiple occasions. In the 2013 Frente para la Victoria's Congreso de la Juventud (Youth Convention), he commended the President's plan and asked the younger supporters to defend and support the President's leadership.[73] He also expressed that by voting for the party, the electorate would be supporting both his provincial administration as well as the national government.[74] He also highlighted the President's personal characteristics in a public speech: he declared that the President was the kind of person that gives her life for the people and attributed all positive outcomes accomplished during his provincial administration to her constant support.[75] When the President underwent surgery, he wished her well and declared that everyone in Chaco should be thankful to her for everything she had done for the province.[76] At his victory speech, Capitanich dedicated his triumph to Néstor and Cristina Kirchner.[77] In that same speech, he asked his supporters to support Cristina Kirchner in all her decisions and projects.[78]

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[70] "Capitanich duro con la oposición: fustigó a Rozas, Maldonado y habló de la 'falta de capacidad para gobernar'." *Diario Norte*, [Resistencia] 1 October 2013. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/96231/capitanich-duro-con-la-oposicion-fustigo-a-rozas-maldonado-y-hablo-de-falta-de-capacidad-para-gobernar

[71] "Cumbre de gobernadores Kirchneristas en San Juan: una señal de unidad a dos días de las legislativas." *Diario Chaco*, [Resistencia] 29 October 2013. http://www.diariochaco.com/noticia/cumbre-de-gobernadores-Kirchneristas-en-san-juan-una-senal-de-unidad-dos-dias-de-las; "Capitanich confirma que la Liga de Gobernadores se reunirá en Jujuy." *Diario Norte*, [Resistencia] 31 October 2013. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/96838/quedan-once-dias-de-campana-electoral; "Cumbre de gobernadores K en San Juan tras la derrota en las elecciones." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 29 October 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1624715-daniel-scioli-vuelve-a-reunir-al-pj-nacional-tras-cinco-meses-de-inactividad

[72] "Elecciones nacionales para renovar un tercio del Senado y la mitad de Diputados." *Diario Norte*, [Resistencia] 25 October 2013. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/97470/elecciones-nacionales-para-renovar-un-tercio-del-senado-y-la-mitad-de-diputados%EF%BB%BF

[73] "Capitanich pidió a los jóvenes prepararse para terminar con la injusticia." *Diario Chaco*, [Resistencia] 5 October 2013. http://www.diariochaco.com/noticia/capitanich-pidi%C3%B3-los-j%C3%B3venes-prepararse-para-terminar-con-la-injusticia

[74] "Quedan once días de campaña electoral." *Diario Norte*, [Resistencia] 12 October 2013. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/96838/quedan-once-dias-de-campana-electoral

[75] "Capitanich: 'Cristina es una de esas personas que da la vida por la gente'." *Diario Norte*, [Resistencia] 7 October 2013. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/96550/capitanich-cristina-es-una-de-esas-personas-que-da-la-vida-por-la-gente

[76] "'Oramos y rezamos para que vaya todo bien,' dijo Capitanich." *Diario Norte*, [Resistencia] 8 October 2013. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/96605/oramos-y-rezamos-para-que-vaya-todo-bien-dijo-capitanich

[77] "Elecciones nacionales para renovar un tercio del Senado y la mitad de Diputados." *Diario Norte*, [Resistencia] 25 October 2013. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/97470/elecciones-nacionales-para-renovar-un-tercio-del-senado-y-la-mitad-de-diputados%EF%BB%BF

[78] "Capitanich dice que el nuevo canje de deuda defiende interés del país." *Diario Norte*, [Resistencia] 27 August 2013. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/94281/capitanich-dice-que-el-nuevo-canje-de-deuda-defiende-intereses-del-pais; "Capitanich negó apoyo a la eventual candidatura presidencial de Scioli." *Diario Chaco*, [Resistencia] 31 October 2013. http://www.diariochaco.com/noticia/185249/Capitanich-nego-apoyo-a-la-eventual-candidatura-presidencial-de-Scioli.html ; "Capitanich festejó el triunfo en la plaza: 'Gracias Chaco, de corazón'." *Diario Norte*, [Resistencia] 27 October 2013. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/97594/capitanich-festejo-el-triunfo-en-la-plaza-gracias-chaco-de-corazon

A few days prior to the elections, the Vice President visited Chaco to accompany Capitanich in a public ceremony and the Ministra de Industria (Minister of Industry) joined the governor in the inauguration of a textile factory.[79] Additionally, he participated in an official meeting of the National Peronist Council along with other Kirchnerista governors and candidates in these elections. In that meeting, participants restated their support of the president.[80] After the elections, Capitanich held separate meetings in Buenos Aires with the Chief of Staff, the Frente para la Victoria Senate leader, and the Ministro de Planificación Federal (Minister of Federal Planning) to discuss provincial projects and celebrate his electoral success.[81]

Provincial and national newspapers referred to Capitanich as a Kirchnerista governor, as aligned with the President, as a "K governor," or as an "ultraKirchnerista governor" emphasizing his allegiance to the president.[82] During a meeting of Frente para la Victoria candidates, a Peronist leader attributed the positive transformations accomplished in Chaco during the last years to the coordinated and sustained work between Cristina Kirchner and Capitanich.[83] When Capitanich was appointed Chief of Staff in November 2013, the media showed no surprise given his high level of discipline in relation to the President.[84] Local and national leaders praised this decision and highlighted the governor's unconditional support to the national government.[85] Finally, journalists, and union members considered Capitanich to be one of the front runners for

[79] "En medio de una gran expectativa, Cristina regresa a la presidencia este lunes." *Diario Norte,* [Resistencia] 17 November 2013. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/98610/en-medio-de-una-gran-expectativa-cristina-regresa-a-la-presidencia-este-lunes ; "Junto a la ministra Giorgi, Capitanich inauguró en Fontana la pata textil de Pampero." *Diario Chaco,* [Resistencia] 12 October 2013. http://www.diariochaco.com/noticia/junto-la-ministra-giorgi-capitanich-inaugur%C3%B3-en-fontana-la-planta-textil-de-pampero

[80] "Daniel Scioli destacó la 'defensa irrestricta' del Consejo del PJ a cristina Kirchner." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 30 September 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1624715-daniel-scioli-vuelve-a-reunir-al-pj-nacional-tras-cinco-meses-de-inactividad; Ybarra, Gustavo. "El PJ se mostró unido detrás del Gobierno, pero atento a 2015." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 1 October 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1624848-el-pj-se-mostro-unido-detras-del-gobierno-pero-atento-a-2015

[81] "Capitanich se mostró con Abal Medina, De Vido y Pichetto." *Diario Norte,* [Resistencia] 1 November 2013. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/97844/capitanich-se-mostro-con-abal-medina-de-vido-y-pichetto

[82] "El Chaco resolverá hoy con su voto la última puja entre Capitanich y Rozas." *Diario Norte,* [Resistencia] 26 October 2013. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/97548/el-chaco-resolvera-hoy-con-su-voto-la-ultima-puja-entre-capitanich-y-rozas; "Cumbre de gobernadores Kirchneristas en San Juan: una señal de unidad a dos días de las legislativas." *Diario Chaco,* [Resistencia] 29 October 2013. http://www.diariochaco.com/noticia/cumbre-de-gobernadores-Kirchneristas-en-san-juan-una-senal-de-unidad-dos-dias-de-las; "El PJ se mostró unido detrás del Gobierno, pero atento a 2015." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 1 October 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1624848-el-pj-se-mostro-unido-detras-del-gobierno-pero-atento-a-2015 ; "Jorge Capitanich: 'En la Argentina existe plena libertad de expresión'." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 10 November 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1637070-jorge-capitanich-en-la-argentina-existe-plena-libertad-de-expresion

[83] "Capitanich encabezará este viernes un acto de campaña en Quitilipi." *Diario Chaco,* [Resistencia] 17 October 2013. http://www.diariochaco.com/noticia/capitanich-encabezar%C3%A1-este-viernes-un-acto-de-campa%C3%B1a-en-quitilipi

[84] Morales Solá., Joaquín. "La tácita admisión de una derrota ." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 20 November 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1639938-la-tacita-admision-de-una-derrota

[85] "Intendentes del PJ despidieron a Capitanich antes de su asunción como jefe de gabinete." *Diario Chaco,* [Resistencia] 20 November 2013. http://www.diariochaco.com/noticia/intendentes-del-pj-despidieron-capitanich-antes-de-su-asuncion-como-jefe-de-gabinete ; "Gobernadores y legisladores destacaron los cambios en el gabinete." *Diario Norte,* [Resistencia] 19 November 2013. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/98746/gobernadores-y-legisladores-destacaron-los-cambios-en-el-gabinete

the 2015 presidential elections.[86] Even a prominent opposition leader considered Capitanich a possible heir of Kirchnerismo.[87]

Cristina Kirchner appointed Capitanich Chief of Staff after 2013 elections.[88] As Chief of Staff, Capitanich represented the national government in press conferences, inaugural ceremonies, and meetings with legislators, governors, and key business leaders.[89]

The Frente Chaco Merece Más was aligned with the UCR, which is in opposition to the President.[90] In fact, a national UCR leader joined the campaign in Chaco in support of Frente Chaco Merece Más' candidates.[91]

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[86] "Incluyen a Capitanich entre los presidenciables del PJ para 2015." *Diario Norte*, [Resistencia] 21 October 2013. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/97300/incluyen-a-capitanich-entre-los-presidenciables-del-pj-para-2015; "Capitanich reconoció el anhelo de protagonismo nacional de cara a 2015." *Diario Norte*, [Resistencia] 31 October 2013. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/97783/capitanich-reconocio-el-anhelo-de-protagonismo-nacional-de-cara-a-2015; "Para Cobos, Capitanich es el 'heredero' del Kirchnerismo'." *Diario Norte*, [Resistencia] 19 November 2013. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/98724/para-cobos-capitanich-es-el-heredero-del-Kirchnerismo; "Ganadores y perdedores entre los presidenciable para 2015." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1633209-ganadores-y-perdedores-entre-los-presidenciables-para-2015; "Barrionuevo: 'Hoy el que está ejerciendo el poder es Capitanich." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 22 November 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1640666-barrionuevo-hoy-el-que-esta-ejerciendo-el-poder-es-capitanich; Vales, Claudia. "De regreso a la Jefatura." *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 19 November 2013. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-233921-2013-11-19.html

[87] "Para Cobos, Capitanich es el 'heredero' del Kirchnerismo'." *Diario Norte*, [Resistencia] 19 November 2013. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/98724/para-cobos-capitanich-es-el-heredero-del-Kirchnerismo

[88] Due to this change, Chaco's vice-governor replaced Capitanich for the last two years of his administration. Although Capitanich and his vice-governor have publicly disagreed on a number of issues, they are both still aligned with the President. "Sorpresa y media: proyección nacional de Capitanich y el Chaco gobernado por el vice." *Diario Norte*, [Resistencia] 19 November 2013. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/98716/sorpresa-y-media-proyeccion-nacional-de-capitanich-y-el-chaco-gobernado-por-el-vice ; Vales, Claudia. "De regreso a la Jefatura." *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 19 November 2013. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-233921-2013-11-19.html

[89] "El gobierno satura la agenda y promueve un posible sucesor." *Diario Norte*, [Resistencia] 22 November 2013. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/98943/el-gobierno-satura-la-agenda-y-promueve-un-posible-sucesor; Lantos, Nocilás. "De regreso a la Jefatura." *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 22 November 2013. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/economia/2-234147-2013-11-22.html

[90] "Elecciones legislativas: entre las administración que debe completar mandato y la mirada en 2015." *Diario Norte*, [Resistencia] 23 October 2013. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/97362/elecciones-legislativas-entre-la-administracion-que-debe-completar-mandato-y-la-mirada-en-2015%EF%BB%BF; "El Chaco resolverá hoy con su voto la última puja entre Capitanich y Rozas." *Diario Norte*, [Resistencia] 26 October 2013. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/97548/el-chaco-resolvera-hoy-con-su-voto-la-ultima-puja-entre-capitanich-y-rozas

[91] "Para Ernesto Sanz, en las elecciones del 27 octubre 'podría haber una sorpresa' en Chaco." *Diario Norte*, [Resistencia] 3 October 2013. http://www.diarionorte.com/article/96338/para-ernesto-sanz-en-las-elecciones-del-27-octubre-podria-haber-una-sorpresa-en-chaco

Chubut

2007

In 2007 Chubut elected a governor, a vice-governor, and 27 local deputies.[1] Four coalitions competed for the local executive, and one garnered a majority of the vote. Mario Das Neves, from the Peronist Party, was reelected by a wide margin with 76.7% of the vote.[2] UCR (Radical Party) came in second with 13.4% of the vote.[3]

The governor, Mario Das Neves, belongs to the Peronist Party. Das Neves referred to his own reelection as the most important Peronist victory in the history of the province.[4] The governor used the Justicialista (Peronist) and not the Frente para la Victoria party tag in this election.[5]

Das Neves expressed his support for the national administration on numerous occasions. Before the election, the governor declared that he had a really good relationship with Cristina Kirchner.[6] He also referred to Cristina Kirchner as the next President of the country on more than one occasion.[7] Moreover, Das Neves praised Néstor Kirchner for investing on public works in southern provinces like Chubut.[8] The governor also praised Néstor Kirchner for his commitment to the province, and he urged his supporters to vote for Cristina Kirchner in the forthcoming presidential election.[9] Additionally, Das Neves stated that Chubut was part of the national project headed by Néstor Kirchner.[10] The night of the election, the governor expressed his belief that Chubut's voters would support Cristina Kirchner's candidacy.[11] After the election, Das Neves affirmed that he would keep working for the social inclusion policies led by Néstor and Cristina

[1] In 2007 Chubut also elected president, vice-president, and three national deputies. However, the elections were not concurrent.

[2] Das Neves received the votes of both the Peronist Party and a *colectora* that used the party tag "Proyección Vecinalista de Chubut". See: "Das Neves logró la reelección". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 16 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/944659-das-neves-logro-la-reeleccion.

[3] Tronfi, Ana. "Cómodo triunfo Kirchnerista en Chubut". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/944883-comodo-triunfo-Kirchnerista-en-chubut.

[4] "Das Neves dijo que su triunfo es la antesala de la victoria de Cristina". *El Diario de Madryn,* [Puerto Madryn] 17 September 2007. http://eldiariodemadryn.com/archivo/vernoti.php?ID=79883.

[5] "En campaña". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 12 September 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-91236-2007-09-12.html.

[6] "Confirman la visita presidencial a Madryn". *El Diario de Madryn,* [Puerto Madryn] 18 August 2007. http://eldiariodemadryn.com/archivo/vernoti.php?ID=78671.

[7] "Confirman la visita presidencial a Madryn". *El Diario de Madryn,* [Puerto Madryn] 18 August 2007. http://eldiariodemadryn.com/archivo/vernoti.php?ID=78671 ; "Mañana el Presidente firma la obra de la autovía Trelew-Madryn". *El Diario de Madryn,* [Puerto Madryn] 4 September 2007. http://eldiariodemadryn.com/archivo/vernoti.php?ID=79353.

[8] "Das Neves: "los gobernantes se van pareciendo más a los gobernados"". *El Diario de Madryn,* [Puerto Madryn] 28 August 2007. http://eldiariodemadryn.com/archivo/vernoti.php?ID=79074.

[9] "Das Neves reivindicó logros de su gestión y respaldó la candidatura de Cristina". *El Diario de Madryn,* [Puerto Madryn] 4 September 2007. http://eldiariodemadryn.com/archivo/vernoti.php?ID=79349.

[10] ""Comodoro es la capital de la Patagonia", dijo Das Neves en el cierre de campaña". *El Diario de Madryn,* [Puerto Madryn] 13 September 2007. http://eldiariodemadryn.com/archivo/vernoti.php?ID=79709.

[11] Tronfi, Ana. "Cómodo triunfo Kirchnerista en Chubut". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/944883-comodo-triunfo-Kirchnerista-en-chubut.

Kirchner.[12] Furthermore, the governor launched a campaign with the slogan "Cristina Presidente" (Cristina Kirchner for President).[13] Das Neves urged his supporters to vote for Cristina Kirchner on several occasions, and he expressed his belief that she would be elected.[14] Moreover, he repeatedly affirmed that Cristina Kirchner would continue and deepen Néstor Kirchner's national project.[15]

The governor participated in several public acts and meetings with members of the national government. Before the election, Das Neves participated in a public act with the national Secretario de Derechos Humanos (Secretary of Human Rights) and the viceministro de Defensa (vice-Minister of Defense).[16] Moreover, Néstor and Cristina Kirchner, together with some members of the cabinet, travelled to Chubut and shared a public act with the governor.[17] Das Neves also signed an agreement with the Secretario de Agricultura (Secretary of Agriculture) in Buenos Aires.[18] Additionally, the governor and Néstor Kirchner publicly agreed on the construction of a highway and the paving of a local route.[19] The governor also shared two public acts and signed an agreement with the Ministro de Salud (Minister of Health) when the latter

[12] "Das Neves dijo que su triunfo es la antesala de la victoria de Cristina". *El Diario de Madryn,* [Puerto Madryn] 17 September 2007. http://eldiariodemadryn.com/archivo/vernoti.php?ID=79883.

[13] "Das Neves lanzó en Chubut la campaña "Cristina Presidente"". *El Diario de Madryn,* [Puerto Madryn] 30 September 2007.http://eldiariodemadryn.com/archivo/vernoti.php?ID=80433.

[14] "Das Neves lanzó en Chubut la campaña "Cristina Presidente"". *El Diario de Madryn,* [Puerto Madryn] 30 September 2007.http://eldiariodemadryn.com/archivo/vernoti.php?ID=80433 ; "Das Neves llevó la "cruzada cristinista" a Río Negro". *El Diario de Madryn,* [Puerto Madryn] 7 October 2007. http://eldiariodemadryn.com/archivo/vernoti.php?ID=80781 ; "Das Neves cree que Cristina sacará en Chubut la mayor diferencia de todo el país". *El Diario de Madryn,* [Puerto Madryn] 14 October 2007. http://eldiariodemadryn.com/archivo/vernoti.php?ID=81086 ; "Das Neves deploró a los "escépticos y pesimistas"". *El Diario de Madryn,* [Puerto Madryn] 15 October 2007. http://eldiariodemadryn.com/archivo/vernoti.php?ID=81138.

[15] "Das Neves lanzó en Chubut la campaña "Cristina Presidente"". *El Diario de Madryn,* [Puerto Madryn] 30 September 2007.http://eldiariodemadryn.com/archivo/vernoti.php?ID=80433 ; "Das Neves llevó la "cruzada cristinista" a Río Negro". *El Diario de Madryn,* [Puerto Madryn] 7 October 2007. http://eldiariodemadryn.com/archivo/vernoti.php?ID=80781 ; "Das Neves cree que Cristina sacará en Chubut la mayor diferencia de todo el país". *El Diario de Madryn,* [Puerto Madryn] 14 October 2007. http://eldiariodemadryn.com/archivo/vernoti.php?ID=81086 ; "Das Neves deploró a los "escépticos y pesimistas"". *El Diario de Madryn,* [Puerto Madryn] 15 October 2007. http://eldiariodemadryn.com/archivo/vernoti.php?ID=81138.

[16] "Se inauguró el Centro Cultural de la Memoria en el ex aeropuerto de Trelew". *El Diario de Madryn,* [Puerto Madryn] 23 August 2007. http://eldiariodemadryn.com/archivo/vernoti.php?ID=78890.

[17] "Aluar inauguró la ampliación de su planta". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/940501-aluar-inauguro-la-ampliacion-de-su-planta.

[18] "Invertirán más de doce millones para el desarrollo rural en Chubut". *El Diario de Madryn,* [Puerto Madryn] 6 September 2007. http://eldiariodemadryn.com/archivo/vernoti.php?ID=79455.

[19] "Más de trescientos millones para la autopista y las cien cuadras para Madryn". *El Diario de Madryn,* [Puerto Madryn] 6 September 2007. http://eldiariodemadryn.com/archivo/vernoti.php?ID=79439 ; "Kirchner aseguró que "Chubut se convirtió en una de las grandes provincias argentinas"". *El Diario de Madryn,* [Puerto Madryn] 8 September 2007. http://eldiariodemadryn.com/archivo/vernoti.php?ID=79506.

visited Chubut.[20] The Ministro de Salud also joined Das Neves in celebrating his reelection.[21] Moreover, the President, the vice-President, and Cristina Kirchner called the governor to congratulate him for the electoral results.[22] After the election, Néstor and Cristina Kirchner received the governor at the Casa Rosada.[23] Moreover, Néstor Kirchner, the Ministro de Trabajo (Minister of Labor), and the governor attended the Congreso de la Federación Argentina de Empleados de Comercio y Servicios (Congress of the Argentine Federation of Commerce and Service Employees).[24] Additionally, Néstor Kirchner, some members of the cabinet, and the Das Neves travelled to Santa Cruz to support a gubernatorial candidate.[25] Finally, the governor participated in the II Congreso Latinoamericano de Parques Nacionales y otras Áreas Protegidas (Latin American Congress on National Parks and Other Protected Areas); the Ministra de Ambiente y Desarrollo Sustentable (Minister of Environment and Sustainable Development) also attended the event.[26]

National newspapers referred to the governor as Kirchnerista.[27] Página 12 and La Nación newspapers interpreted Das Neves' reelection as a victory for the national government.[28] Additionally, Página 12 stated that the governor had strong ties with the national government.[29]

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[20] ""La Argentina está orgullosa de tu gobierno" le dijo Ginés González a Das Neves". *El Diario de Madryn,* [Puerto Madryn] 8 September 2007. http://eldiariodemadryn.com/archivo/vernoti.php?ID=79529 ; "Chubut adhirió a Nuevo programa sanitario con financiamiento millonario". *El Diario de Madryn,* [Puerto Madryn] 8 September 2007. http://eldiariodemadryn.com/archivo/vernoti.php?ID=79528 ; "Das Neves inauguró el Nuevo hospital de Cholila". *El Diario de Madryn,* [Puerto Madryn] 9 September 2007. http://eldiariodemadryn.com/archivo/vernoti.php?ID=79561.

[21] "Das Neves logró la reelección". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 16 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/944659-das-neves-logro-la-reeleccion.

[22] "Das Neves logró la reelección". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 16 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/944659-das-neves-logro-la-reeleccion ; "Ganó Das Neves en Chubut". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 16 September 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-91497-2007-09-16.html.

[23] "Das Neves participará con Kirchner y Cristina de un acto en Puerto Deseado". *El Diario de Madryn,* [Puerto Madryn] 19 September 2007. http://eldiariodemadryn.com/archivo/vernoti.php?ID=79933.

[24] "Kirchner exigió responsabilidad a los empresarios con los precios". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 18 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/945159-kirchner-exigio-responsabilidad-a-los-empresarios-con-los-precios ; Laugé, Luis. "Fuerte gesto de Kirchner a Cavalieri". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 19 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/945426-fuerte-gesto-de-kirchner-a-cavalieri.

[25] "Duras críticas de Kirchner a Macri y a Acevedo". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 21 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/945996-duras-criticas-de-kirchner-a-macri-y-a-acevedo ; "Das Neves arribó junto al Presidente a Puerto Deseado". *El Diario de Madryn,* [Puerto Madryn] 21 September 2007. http://eldiariodemadryn.com/archivo/vernoti.php?ID=80017.

[26] "Congreso Latinoamericano de áreas protegidas". *Diario Crónica,* [Comodoro Rivadavia] 7 October 2007. http://www.diariocronica.com.ar/index.php?r=noticias/verNoticia&q=168.

[27] "En Chubut, otro test para el Kirchnerismo". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 14 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/943915-en-chubut-otro-test-para-el-Kirchnerismo ; "El peronismo, en busca de renovar el título en Chubut". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 16 September 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-91480-2007-09-16.html.

[28] Verón, Mariana. "Dos resultados que ayudan a los planes de Cristina Kirchner". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/944885-dos-resultados-que-ayudan-a-los-planes-de-cristina-kirchner ; "Con el PJ y una colectora, llegó la cómoda reelección de Das Neves". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 17 September 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-91534-2007-09-17.html.

[29] "El peronismo, en busca de renovar el título en Chubut". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 16 September 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-91480-2007-09-16.html.

The governor never held an appointed position in the national government for the 2003-2007 period. Das Neves became the governor of the province in 2003.[30]

At the local level, UCR was not aligned with the national government. Página 12 affirmed that the UCR candidate was aligned with Gerardo Morales, the president of the UCR at the national level and a member of the national opposition.[31] Morales was the vice-presidential candidate that would compete against the FPV ticket, headed by Cristina Kirchner, in the forthcoming election.[32]

2009

In 2009 Chubut elected three national senators and two national deputies. Seven coalitions competed in the election, and one garnered a majority of the vote. Frente para la Integración, the coalition supported by the governor, won the races for the Senate and the Deputy Chamber with 55.9% and 55.5% of the vote, respectively.[33] Unión Cívica Radical (UCR) came in second.[34]

The governor, Mario Das Neves, belongs to the Peronist Party. National newspapers referred to Das Neves as a Peronist governor.[35] However, the list supported by the governor used the Frente para la Integración and not the Frente para la Victoria party tag in this election.[36] The governor changed his position from 2007 to 2009 election from alignment to opposition. This position is manifested in the goevrnor's opposition discourse and the opinion of experts.

Das Neves expressed his opposition to the President in almost every newspaper article in which he referred to the national administration, especially after the election. Before the election, the governor declared that Kirchnerismo was over.[37] After the election, Das Neves expressed his belief that Kirchnerismo was no longer able to lead the Peronist Party.[38] He also affirmed that Kirchnerismo was dead.[39] Additionally, the governor stated that the results of the legislative election were unfavorable to the national government because Néstor and Cristina Kirchner

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[30] "Frontal e hiperactivo". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/944884-frontal-e-hiperactivo.

[31] "El peronismo, en busca de renovar el título en Chubut". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 16 September 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-91480-2007-09-16.html.

[32] "El peronismo, en busca de renovar el título en Chubut". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 16 September 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-91480-2007-09-16.html.

[33] "Contundente ventaja del PJ en Chubut". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144826-contundente-ventaja-del-pj-en-chubut.

[34] "Contundente ventaja del PJ en Chubut". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144826-contundente-ventaja-del-pj-en-chubut.

[35] Dinatale, Martín. "Fuerte reclamos de gobernadores del PJ". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 1 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1145580-fuerte-reclamo-de-gobernadores-del-pj ; Cibeira, Fernando. "En la línea de largada". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 28 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-127398-2009-06-28.html.

[36] "Provincia por provincia, cómo se resuelve la pelea por el nuevo poder". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144475-provincia-por-provincia-como-se-resuelve-la-pelea-por-el-nuevo-poder.

[37] "Provincia por provincia, cómo se resuelve la pelea por el nuevo poder". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144475-provincia-por-provincia-como-se-resuelve-la-pelea-por-el-nuevo-poder.

[38] "Scioli comenzó con la reorganización del PJ". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 30 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-127509-2009-06-30.html.

[39] "Das Neves dijo que el Kirchnerismo está más muerto que nunca". *El Diario de Madryn,* [Puerto Madryn] 4 July 2009. http://eldiariodemadryn.com/archivo/vernoti.php?ID=106896.

mistreated the Argentine society.[40] Das Neves also criticized Néstor Kirchner for visiting Chubut after the election, and he affirmed that Kirchner's behavior was high-handed.[41] Furthermore, the governor declared that the President was a hypocrite when referring to the governor as his friend.[42] Das Neves also affirmed that Néstor Kirchner was out of control.[43]

In spite of his discursive opposition, the governor shared a number of meetings with members of the national government. Before the election, Das Neves signed an agreement with the Jefe de Gabinete (Chief of Staff) and the Secretario de Ambiente y Desarrollo Sustentable (Secretary of Environment and Sustainable Development).[44] The governor also participated in a public act headed by Cristina Kirchner in Chubut.[45] Moreover, Das Neves had a meeting with the Subsecretario de Vivienda (Undersecretary of Housing).[46] The governor also signed an agreement with the Secretario de Transporte (Secretary of Transport) and the Gerente General de Aerolíneas Argentinas (General Manager of Aerolíneas Argentinas).[47] Additionally, Das Neves participated in a ceremony in Chubut with the Ministro de Educación (Minister of Education) and the Subsecretario de Planeamiento Educativo (Subsecretary of Educational Planning).[48] After the election, the governor had a meeting with both the Ministro and the Viceministra de Trabajo (Minister and vice-Minister of Labor).[49] Das Neves also participated in a meeting with the Ministro de Planificación Federal (Minister of Federal Planning) and the CEO of the national oil company (YPF).[50] Furthermore, the governor was scheduled to sign an agreement to rise the domestic price of gas with Cristina Kirchner and several governors.[51] Local newspapers interpreted most of the meetings between the Das Neves and members of the national government as a part of a gubernatorial strategy to protect local interests.[52] Finally, Das Neves

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[40] "Das Neves dijo que el Kirchnerismo está más muerto que nunca". *El Diario de Madryn,* [Puerto Madryn] 4 July 2009. http://eldiariodemadryn.com/archivo/vernoti.php?ID=106896.

[41] "Das Neves calificó a Kirchner de hipócrita y subrayó que llegó a Chubut en un avión oficial". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 14 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1150402-das-neves-califico-a-kirchner-de-hipocrita-y-subrayo-que-llego-a-chubut-en-un-avion-oficial.

[42] "Das Neves calificó a Kirchner de hipócrita y subrayó que llegó a Chubut en un avión oficial". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 14 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1150402-das-neves-califico-a-kirchner-de-hipocrita-y-subrayo-que-llego-a-chubut-en-un-avion-oficial.

[43] "Das Neves: "Néstor Kirchner está descontrolado"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 21 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1153265-das-neves-nestor-kirchner-esta-descontrolado.

[44] "Importante avance por la construcción de la planta de tratamiento para el Valle". *Diario Crónica,* [Comodoro Rivadavia] 28 May 2009. http://www.diariocronica.com.ar/index.php?r=noticias/verNoticia&q=17181.

[45] ""Chocaron dos veces el país"". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 2 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/125958-40273-2009-06-02.html.

[46] "Obras para Rawson y el interior provincial". *El Diario de Madryn,* [Puerto Madryn] 3 June 2009. http://eldiariodemadryn.com/archivo/vernoti.php?ID=105633.

[47] "Qué pasa". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 11 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1137919-que-pasa.

[48] "Chubut "sobrecumplió" las metas de la ley de financiamiento educativo". *Diario Crónica,* [Comodoro Rivadavia] 19 June 2009. http://www.diariocronica.com.ar/index.php?r=noticias/verNoticia&q=17871.

[49] "Gestiones ante Tomada". *Diario Crónica,* [Comodoro Rivadavia] 17 July 2009. http://www.diariocronica.com.ar/index.php?r=noticias/verNoticia&q=18696.

[50] "Estrategia de conjunto para llegar a un barril de 48 dólares". *Diario Crónica,* [Comodoro Rivadavia] 23 July 2009. http://www.diariocronica.com.ar/index.php?r=noticias/verNoticia&q=18856.

[51] "Firman el acuerdo que mejorará los ingresos por regalías gasíferas". *El Diario de Madryn,* [Puerto Madryn] 28 July 2009. http://eldiariodemadryn.com/archivo/vernoti.php?ID=107893.

[52] "Gestiones ante Tomada". *Diario Crónica,* [Comodoro Rivadavia] 17 July 2009. http://www.diariocronica.com.ar/index.php?r=noticias/verNoticia&q=18696 ; "Estrategia de conjunto para llegar a un barril de 48 dólares". *Diario Crónica,* [Comodoro Rivadavia] 23 July 2009. http://www.diariocronica.com.ar/index.php?r=noticias/verNoticia&q=18856 ; "Firman el acuerdo que mejorará los

also spoke to Mauricio Macri, the mayor of the city of Buenos Aires who clearly opposed the national government.[53]

La Nación newspaper stated that the governor was moving away from Néstor Kirchner.[54] An article from the same newspaper asserted that Das Neves was part of the new map of dissident Peronism (a faction of the Peronist Party that was not aligned with the national government).[55] This newspaper also affirmed that the governor was trying to expel Kirchnerismo from the Peronist Party.[56] Additionally, Página 12 stated that Das Neves had already taken a step away from Kirchnerismo.[57] The same newspaper asserted that the governor was trying to break away from the national government.[58] Finally, both La Nación and Página 12 described Das Neves as a possible presidential candidate for the 2011 election.[59]

The governor never held an appointed position in the national government for the 2003-2009 period.

At the local level, UCR was clearly not aligned with the national government. After the election, the candidate who headed the UCR ticket for the Senate had a meeting with the vice-President, who became a prominent opposition member in 2008.[60] The UCR candidate also expressed his belief that his party would win the election because voters were fed up with the way the national government handled power.[61]

2011

In 2011, Chubut held gubernatorial elections. While several coalitions participated in the contest, only two garnered a significant amount of the vote – Modelo Chubut and Frente para la Victoria. Modelo Chubut won the election with 37.8% of the vote, while Frente para la Victoria

ingresos por regalías gasíferas". *El Diario de Madryn,* [Puerto Madryn] 28 July 2009. http://eldiariodemadryn.com/archivo/vernoti.php?ID=107893.

[53] Serra, Laura. "Macri: "Hoy me siento más cerca del peronismo"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 30 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1145159-macri-hoy-me-siento-mas-cerca-del-peronismo.

[54] "Provincia por provincia, cómo se resuelve la pelea por el nuevo poder". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144475-provincia-por-provincia-como-se-resuelve-la-pelea-por-el-nuevo-poder.

[55] Dinatale, Martín. "Reutemann o Macri, el dilema del PJ disidente". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1146792-reutemann-o-macri-el-dilema-del-pj-disidente.

[56] Morales Solá, Joaquín. "Algunos empiezan a asumir la derrota". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 16 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1151031-algunos-empiezan-a-asumir-la-derrota.

[57] Pertot, Werner. "De vuelta por el PJ". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 1 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-127621-2009-07-02.html.

[58] "Llegó la hora de los gobernadores". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 17 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-128403-2009-07-17.html.

[59] "Ganadores y perdedores". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 30 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1145243-ganadores-y-perdedores ; Wainfeld, Mario. "Dos presencias y una renuncia". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 30 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-127491-2009-06-30.html.

[60] "Cimadevilla se reunió con Cobos". *Diario Crónica,* [Comodoro Rivadavia] 10 July 2009. http://www.diariocronica.com.ar/index.php?r=noticias/verNoticia&q=18513.

[61] "Cimadevilla y Solari Yrigoyen aseguraron que la UCR va a ganar las elecciones". *Diario Crónica,* [Comodoro Rivadavia] 29 May 2009. http://www.diariocronica.com.ar/index.php?r=noticias/verNoticia&q=17229.

came in second with a close 37.2% of the vote.[62] Following a recount, only about 400 votes separated the candidates.[63]

The governor of the province, Martín Buzzi, is a Peronist. Both La Nación and Página 12 referred to Buzzi as a Peronist.[64] La Nación called Buzzi's victory a win for Federal Peronism.[65] Buzzi did not use the Frente para la Victoria party tag; instead, he used the Modelo Chubut party tag.[66] In spite of his differences with the national government, after his electoral victory the governor publicly supported Cristina Kirchner in the Presidential election and that is the main reason for coding him as aligned with the national administration.[67] In general, his position towards the national government changed from opposition during the electoral campaign to alignment after being elected.

Before the election, Buzzi did not speak favorably of the national government. In an interview, the governor criticized the national government for the high levels of inflation and social violence, and for cutting supplies to the province.[68] In the same interview, he associated the national government with coercively exercising their power.[69] In another interview, Buzzi predicted there would be a new President to replace Cristina Kirchner after 2011.[70] However, after the recount that confirmed Buzzi's electoral success, he vowed to have the best relationship with national administration as possible, whether it be Cristina Kirchner or otherwise.[71] He also called for a rapprochement with the Casa Rosada (Argentina's White House).[72] Finally, the governor formally and publicly supported the candidacy of Cristina Kirchner in the Presidential election instead of the opposition formula that had his political mentor as the vice-presidential candidate.[73]

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[62] Sued, Gabriel. "Polémico triunfo en Chubut del peronismo disidente." *La Nación,* [Rawson] 21 March 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1359172-polemico-triunfo-en-chubut-del-peronismo-disidente

[63] Sued, Gabriel. "Terminó el escrutinio en Chubut y no hay ganador." *La Nación,* [Rawson] 1 April 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1361976-termino-el-escrutinio-en-chubut-y-no-hay-ganador

[64] "Chubut: declaran la nulidad de otra mesa." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 March 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1360957-chubut-comienza-el-recuento-de-votos-de-la-seccion-electoral-mas-importante ; "De visita con los suyos." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 13 March 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-164070-2011-03-13.html

[65] Sued, Gabriel. "Polémico triunfo en Chubut del peronismo disidente." *La Nación,* [Rawson] 21 March 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1359172-polemico-triunfo-en-chubut-del-peronismo-disidente

[66] Sued, Gabriel. "Polémico triunfo en Chubut del peronismo disidente." *La Nación,* [Rawson] 21 March 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1359172-polemico-triunfo-en-chubut-del-peronismo-disidente

[67] "Buzzi le soltó la mano a Das Neves." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-171102-2011-06-29.html

[68] "'Se va a terminar la política del apriete.'" *La Nación,* [Trelew] 18 March 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1358346-se-va-a-terminar-la-politica-del-apriete

[69] "'Se va a terminar la política del apriete.'" *La Nación,* [Trelew] 18 March 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1358346-se-va-a-terminar-la-politica-del-apriete

[70] "Con críticas al Kirchnerismo." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 20 March 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/164576-52615-2011-03-20.html

[71] "Chubut: Buzzi no se alejará del Gobierno." *La Nación,* [Comodoro Rivadavia] 6 June 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1379225-chubut-buzzi-no-se-alejara-del-gobierno

[72] Lantos, Nicolas. "El efecto estampida en Chubut." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 6 June 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-169561-2011-06-06.html

[73] "Buzzi, el nuevo gobernador K." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 30 June 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-171154-2011-06-30.html

Buzzi did not meet with any national officials throughout the election cycle. However, his predecessor, who ardently campaigned for Buzzi, later became the Vice Presidential candidate for an opposition Peronist leader.[74]

La Nación characterized Buzzi's candidacy as an opposition to a new mandate of Cristina Kirchner.[75] However, once the governor decided to support the candidacy of Cristina Kirchner in the Presidential elections, Página 12 referred to him as Kirchnerista.[76]

Buzzi did not hold a position in the national government between 2003 and 2011.

At the local level, Buzzi's main opponents were aligned with the national government. They used the Frente para la Victoria party tag, Cristina Kirchner went to the province to support their candidacy, and national newspapers frequently referred to them as Kirchnerista.[77]

2013

In 2013, Chubut held legislative elections for national deputies. While several coalitions participated in the election, two received a significant amount of the vote – Partido de Acción Chubutense and Frente para la Victoria. Partido de Acción Chubutense won the election with 52.7% of the vote, while Frente para la Victoria received 23.2% of the vote.[78]

The governor of the province, Martin Buzzi, is a Peronist. He participated in a meeting of the National Council of the Partido Justicialista – the Peronist party.[79] In a speech, Buzzi emphasized that his government included many factions, but they all belonged to the Peronist

[74] "Chubut: Buzzi no se alejará del Gobierno." *La Nación,* [Comodoro Rivadavia] 6 June 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1379225-chubut-buzzi-no-se-alejara-del-gobierno

[75] Tronfi, Ana. "Buzzi tendrá una minoría legislativa." *La Nación,* [Comodoro Rivadavia] 22 March 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1359345-buzzi-tendra-una-minoria-legislativa

[76] "Buzzi, el nuevo gobernador K." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 30 June 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-171154-2011-06-30.html

[77] "La fuerte disputa entre dos ex aliados." *La Nación,* [Trelew] 20 March 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1358880-la-fuerte-disputa-entre-dos-ex-aliados ; Sued, Gabriel. "Polémico triunfo en Chubut del peronismo disidente." *La Nación,* [Rawson] 21 March 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1359172-polemico-triunfo-en-chubut-del-peronismo-disidente ; Tronfi, Ana. "El Kirchnerismo quiere que se abran todas las urnas." *La Nación,* [Rawson] 27 March 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1360627-el-Kirchnerismo-quiere-que-se-abran-todas-las-urnas ; Tronfi, Ana. "Cristina fue a Chubut a hacer campaña contra Das Neves." *La Nación,* [Comodoro Rivadavia] 13 March 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1356993-cristina-fue-a-chubut-a-hacer-campana-contra-das-neves ; "De visita con los suyos." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 13 March 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-164070-2011-03-13.html

[78] "Elecciones 2013: mirá los resultados en Chubut." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1633021-elecciones-2013-mira-los-resultados-en-chubut

[79] Bruschtein, Julian. "'Un voto a favor de estas políticas.'" *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 1 October 2013 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-230262-2013-10-01.html ; "Buzzi participó de la reunión del Consejo Nacional del PJ, que pidió defender la gestión de Cristina." *Diario Jornada,* [Rawson] 30 September 2013 http://www.diariojornada.com.ar/80407/politica/Buzzi_participo_de_la_reunion_del_Consejo_Nacional_del_PJ_que_pidio_defender_la_gestion_de_Cristina

party.[80] The governor supported the Frente Para la Victoria party tag in the primaries but remained distant in the general election.[81]

His decision to remain distant in the election meant that Buzzi did not make many explicit statements in regards to the national government. He did however declare his unrestricted support for Cristina Kirchner in a statement signed by other aligned officials at the meeting of the National Council of the Peronist party.[82]

At that meeting of the National Council of the Peronist party, Buzzi met with the Jefe de Gabinete (Chief of Staff), the Ministro de Defensa (Minister of Defense), and several aligned governors before the election.[83] After the election, the governor met again with the Chief of Staff.[84]

Experts frequently associated Buzzi with the national government. La Nación acknowledged that the governor was aligned with the national government, despite his local conflict with the Frente para la Victoria candidate in Chubut, who was also the Ministro de Agricultura (Minister of Agriculture).[85] A local newspaper also referenced that the national government wanted to support the governor without alienating the Minister of Agriculture.[86] The Minister of Agriculture himself acknowledged that despite differences between him and Buzzi, the national government still supported the governor.[87] La Nación reported that Buzzi renewed his alignment with Cristina Kirchner following the election.[88] A local newspaper reported that

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[80] "Buzzi: 'Estamos para atender los problemas reales y no los egos.'" *Diario Jornada,* [Rawson] 2 November 2013 http://www.diariojornada.com.ar/82927/politica/Buzzi_Estamos_para_atender_los_problemas_reales_y_no_los_egos

[81] Tronfi, Ana. "En Chubut, la derrota abrió una dura interna en el Kirchnerismo." *La Nación,* [Comodoro Rivadavia] 1 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1634425-en-chubut-la-derrota-abrio-una-dura-interna-en-el-Kirchnerismo

[82] Bruschtein, Julian. "'Un voto a favor de estas políticas.'" *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 1 October 2013 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-230262-2013-10-01.html ; "Buzzi participó de la reunión del Consejo Nacional del PJ, que pidió defender la gestión de Cristina." *Diario Jornada,* [Rawson] 30 September 2013 http://www.diariojornada.com.ar/80407/politica/Buzzi_participo_de_la_reunion_del_Consejo_Nacional_del_PJ_que_pidio_defender_la_gestion_de_Cristina

[83] Bruschtein, Julian. "'Un voto a favor de estas políticas.'" *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 1 October 2013 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-230262-2013-10-01.html ; "Buzzi participó de la reunión del Consejo Nacional del PJ, que pidió defender la gestión de Cristina." Diario Jornada, [Rawson] 30 September 2013 http://www.diariojornada.com.ar/80407/politica/Buzzi_participo_de_la_reunion_del_Consejo_Nacional_del_PJ_que_pidio_defender_la_gestion_de_Cristina

[84] "Nueva etapa de Buzzi, con decisiones y un claro gesto de apoyo desde Nación." *Diario Jornada,* [Rawson] 10 November 2013 http://www.diariojornada.com.ar/83516/politica/Nueva_etapa_de_Buzzi_con_decisiones_y_un_claro_gesto_de_apoyo_desde_Nacion

[85] Tronfi, Ana. "En Chubut, la derrota abrió una dura interna en el Kirchnerismo." *La Nación,* [Comodoro Rivadavia] 1 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1634425-en-chubut-la-derrota-abrio-una-dura-interna-en-el-Kirchnerismo

[86] "Nueva etapa de Buzzi, con decisiones y un claro gesto de apoyo desde Nación." *Diario Jornada,* [Rawson] 10 November 2013 http://www.diariojornada.com.ar/83516/politica/Nueva_etapa_de_Buzzi_con_decisiones_y_un_claro_gesto_de_apoyo_desde_Nacion

[87] "Yauhar aclaró que Buzzi tiene el aval de Nación pero admitió que hay 'visiones distintas.'" *Diario Jornada,* [Rawson] 12 November 2013 http://www.diariojornada.com.ar/83705/politica/Yauhar_aclaro_que_Buzzi_tiene_el_aval_de_Nacion_pero_admitio_que_hay_visiones_distintas_

[88] "Buzzi intenta sortear una crisis política en Chubut." *La Nación,* [Rawson] 5 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1635497-buzzi-intenta-sortear-una-crisis-politica-en-chubut

the governor had support from the Ministra de Desarrollo Social (Minister of Social Development) and sister in law of the President.[89]

Buzzi did not hold a position in the national government between 2003 and 2013.

At the local level, the opposition had ties to the national opposition. La Nación associated the candidate of Partido de Acción Chubutense with a prominent national opposition leader.[90] In a speech, the candidate spoke favorably of this leader's policy proposals.[91] Moreover, the candidate met with this national opposition leader after the election.[92]

[89] "Buzzi inauguró en Trevelin el Primer Simposio Patagónico de Ciencias Aplicadas al Deporte." *Diario Jornada*, [Rawson] 5 October 2013 http://www.diariojornada.com.ar/80766/politica/Buzzi_inauguro_en_Trevelin_el_Primer_Simposio_Patagonico_de_Ciencias_Aplicadas_al_Deporte

[90] Serra, Laura. "El Gobierno busca contener a la tropa propia en Diputados." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 29 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1633544-el-gobierno-busca-contener-a-la-tropa-propia-en-diputados

[91] "Sergio Massa: 'Si alguien está pensando en el 2015 es un irresponsable.'" *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 15 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1638771-sergio-massa-si-alguien-esta-pensando-en-el-2015-es-un-irresponsable

[92] "Con el sueño de conseguir un armado nacional." *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 14 November 2013 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-233574-2013-11-14.html ; "Sergio Massa ratificó la alianza con Das Neves y aseguró que todavía está lejos el 2015." *Diario Jornada*, [Rawson] 16 November 2013 http://www.diariojornada.com.ar/84041/politica/Massa_ratifico_la_alianza_con_Das_Neves_y_aseguro_que_todavia_2015_esta_lejos

Córdoba

2007

In 2007 Córdoba held elections to fill the positions of governor, vice-governor, and 70 local deputies. Nine coalitions competed for the executive, and three garnered a sizable portion of the vote: Unión por Córdoba, Frente Cívico, and Unión Cívica Radical (UCR). Juan Schiaretti, who headed the Unión por Córdoba ticket and whose candidacy was supported by the incumbent governor, was elected with 37.1% of the vote. Frente Cívico came in a close-second with 36% of the vote, and UCR came in third. Frente Cívico accused Schiaretti of committing fraud in the election, which led to a convoluted post-electoral period.[1]

The elected governor, Juan Schiaretti, belongs to the Peronist Party.[2] La Nación newspaper identified Schiaretti as part of the Kirchnerista Peronism.[3] However, the elected governor ran with the Unión por Córdoba, and not the Frente para la Victoria, party tag.[4]

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[1] Krell, Tamara. "Tensión y vigilia en Córdoba por la demora en el resultado". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/940469-tension-y-vigilia-en-cordoba-por-la-demora-en-el-resultado ; "Schiaretti gana por un punto, pero Juez dice que hubo robo". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/940487-schiaretti-gana-por-un-punto-pero-juez-dice-que-hubo-robo ; Jorquera, Miguel. "Por un pelo, pero además está en discusión". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 4 September 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-90795-2007-09-04.html ; "Schiaretti se adjudicó el triunfo y Juez denunció fraude". *La Voz del Interior,* [Córdoba] 2 September 2007. http://archivo.lavoz.com.ar/07/09/02/secciones/politica/nota.asp?nota_id=110728.

[2] Ybarra, Gustavo. "Córdoba elegirá su nuevo gobernador". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 2 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/940120-cordoba-elegira-su-nuevo-gobernador ; Morales Solá, Joaquín. *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/940454-triunfo-un-estilo-de-hacer-politica ; Pagni, Carlos."Una interpelación al modelo del Presidente". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/940458-una-interpelacion-al-modelo-del-presidente ; Vaca, Juan Carlos. "Un peronista clásico que tuvo una amistad con Juez". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 Septembter 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/940453-un-peronista-clasico-que-tuvo-una-amistad-con-juez ; Verón, Mariana. "Córdoba expone la interna del Gobierno". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/940697-cordoba-expone-la-interna-del-gobierno ; "Con delasotistas y juecistas". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 5 August 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-89233-2007-08-05.html ; "Un cruce con tres ganadores". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 7 August 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-89314-2007-08-07.html ; Pasquini Durán, J. M. "Concesiones". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 1 September 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-90653-2007-09-01.html ; Jorquera, Miguel. "Desde Córdoba, y pensando en la Nación". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 2 September 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-90703-2007-09-02.html ; Pasquini Durán, J.M. "Autonómicas". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 3 September 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-90743-2007-09-03.html ; Audrito, Denise. "Schiaretti dijo que ganará por "goleada". *La Voz del Interior,* [Córdoba] 31 August 2007. http://archivo.lavoz.com.ar/07/08/31/secciones/politica/nota.asp?nota_id=109946.

[3] Ybarra, Gustavo. "Virtual empate entre Schiaretti y Juez". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/940452-virtual-empate-entre-schiaretti-y-juez.

[4] "Cierre de campaña en Santa Fe y Córdoba". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 30 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/939339-cierre-de-campana-en-santa-fe-y-cordoba ; "Rige la veda en Santa Fe y Córdoba". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 31 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/939575-rige-la-veda-en-santa-fe-y-en-cordoba ; Ybarra, Gustavo. "Córdoba elegirá su nuevo gobernador". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 2 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/940120-cordoba-elegira-su-nuevo-gobernador ; "El proseletismo de

Schiaretti expressed his support for the national administration on numerous occasions. The elected governor declared that if he won the election it would be a victory of Néstor Kirchner's policies.[5] In his victory speech, he restated that the elections were a success of President Kirchner's government.[6] He also promised that if he became governor he would actively support Cristina Kirchner's presidential candidacy.[7] After the provincial election, he reaffirmed that he would support Cristina Kirchner in the forthcoming presidential election, and that he would campaign for her in Córdoba.[8] In addition, Schiaretti assured he had a very good personal relationship with Néstor and Cristina Kirchner.[9]

Córdoba is the second largest province after Buenos Aires and thus electorally very significant. Partly as a result of that, then presidential candidate Cristina Kirchner actively participated in the province's elections in support of Schiaretti. Schiaretti attended a public act in Córdoba which was headed by Cristina Kirchner and by the governor of the province, who also supported Schiaretti's candidacy.[10] Tthe elected governor even received Cristina Kirchner at the airport.[11] Moreover, the Secretario de Transporte (Secretary of Transportation) travelled to Córdoba the night of the election and participated in Schiaretti's press conference.[12] Schiaretti also asserted that the Ministro del Interior (Minister of Interior) called him the night of the election to congratulate him on the outcome.[13]

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cierre viaja en caravana". *La Voz del Interior,* [Córdoba] 30 August 2007. http://archivo.lavoz.com.ar/07/08/30/secciones/politica/nota.asp?nota_id=109599.

[5] "El voto de los principales candidatos". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 2 September 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/940402-el-voto-de-los-principales-candidatos.

[6] Ybarra, Gustavo. "Ganó Schiaretti y Juez denunció fraude". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/940708-gano-schiaretti-y-juez-denuncio-fraude.

[7] "El voto de los principales candidatos". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 2 September 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/940402-el-voto-de-los-principales-candidatos.

[8] Vaca, Juan Carlos. ""Voy a tener una relación cordial, pero de independencia"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/940710-voy-a-tener-una-relacion-cordial-pero-de-independencia ; Jorquera, Miguel. "Schiaretti y un triunfo dediKado". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 4 September 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/90795-28965-2007-09-04.html ; "Schiaretti: Ganamos, estoy muy tranquilo". *La Voz del Interior,* [Córdoba] 2 September 2007. http://archivo.lavoz.com.ar/07/09/02/secciones/politica/nota.asp?nota_id=110793.

[9] Vaca, Juan Carlos. ""Voy a tener una relación cordial, pero de independencia"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/940710-voy-a-tener-una-relacion-cordial-pero-de-independencia.

[10] "Acto de apoyo a Schiaretti". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/931574-acto-de-apoyo-a-schiaretti ; Rosemberg, Jaime. "Cristina Kirchner fue a Córdoba a dar su respaldo a Schiaretti". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 5 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/931884-cristina-kirchner-fue-a-cordoba-a-dar-su-respaldo-a-schiaretti ; Serafini, Horacio. "Cristina viene a hacer campaña a Córdoba". *La Voz del Interior,* [Córdoba] 2 August 2007. http://archivo.lavoz.com.ar/07/08/02/secciones/politica/nota.asp?nota_id=96338 ; "Llega Cristina, en medio de la campaña". *La Voz del Interior,* [Córdoba] 4 August 2007. http://archivo.lavoz.com.ar/07/08/04/secciones/politica/nota.asp?nota_id=96975.

[11] "Con delasotistas y juecistas". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 5 August 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-89233-2007-08-05.html ; Paillet, Carlos. "Bajo perfil de Cristina en su paso por Córdoba". *La Voz del Interior,* [Córdoba] 5 August 2007. http://archivo.lavoz.com.ar/07/08/05/secciones/politica/nota.asp?nota_id=97330.

[12] Verón, Mariana. "Córdoba expone la interna del Gobierno". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/940697-cordoba-expone-la-interna-del-gobierno ; Jorquera, Miguel. "Por un pelo, pero además está en discusión". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 4 September 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-90795-2007-09-04.html.

[13] Vaca, Juan Carlos. ""Voy a tener una relación cordial, pero de independencia"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/940710-voy-a-tener-una-relacion-cordial-pero-de-independencia ; "Schiaretti arremetió contra Alberto Fernández". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 5 September 2007.

Numerous articles from La Nación and Página 12 newspapers depicted Schiaretti as Kirchnerista.[14] Additionally, La Nación referred to Schiaretti as the national government's candidate.[15] Furthermore, Página 12 described Schiaretti as the candidate of the Casa Rosada (Argentina's White House).[16] La Nación also characterized Schiaretti as an ally of the national government.[17] A local newspaper also described the elected governor as aligned with the national government.[18] Moreover, the UCR opposition candidate affirmed that both Unión por Córdoba and Frente Cívico responded to the national government.[19]

Schiaretti never held an appointed position in the national government for 2003-2007. During this period, he was the vice governor of the province.[20]

At the local level, UCR was clearly not aligned with the President; in fact, the candidate who headed the UCR ticket criticized Schiaretti for being aligned with Kirchnerismo.[21] Moreover, the UCR received the support of several prominent opposition leaders.[22] Additionally,

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http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-90849-2007-09-05.html ; Giannoni, Walter y Cañas, Julián. "Mi triunfo fue transparente". *La Voz del Interior,* [Córdoba] 4 September 2007. http://archivo.lavoz.com.ar/07/09/04/secciones/politica/nota.asp?nota_id=111292.

[14] Vaca, Juan Carlos. "Dos Kirchneristas y un Radical definen los comicios en Córdoba". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 26 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/938055-dos-Kirchneristas-y-un-Radical-definen-los-comicios-en-cordoba ; "Negri: "Hay hastío del Kirchnerismo". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 26 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/938057-negri-hay-hastio-del-Kirchnerismo ; "Rige la veda en Santa Fe y Córdoba". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 31 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/939575-rige-la-veda-en-santa-fe-y-en-cordoba ; "La oposición festejó y ve debilitado al Gobierno". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/940460-la-oposicion-festejo-y-ve-debilitado-al-gobierno ; Ybarra, Gustavo. "Virtual empate entre Schiaretti y Juez". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/940452-virtual-empate-entre-schiaretti-y-juez ; Krell, Tamara. "Tensión y vigilia en Córdoba por la demora en el resultado". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/940469-tension-y-vigilia-en-cordoba-por-la-demora-en-el-resultado ; Pasquini Durán, J. M. "Concesiones". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 1 September 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-90653-2007-09-01.html.

[15] "Cuenta regresiva para las elecciones en dos provincias clave" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 1 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/939983-cuenta-regresiva-para-las-elecciones-en-dos-provincias-clave ; Juárez, Paola. "Desde El Calafate los Kirchner buscan minimizar la derrota". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 September 2007. .http://www.lanacion.com.ar/940459-desde-el-calafate-los-kirchner-buscan-minimizar-la-derrota.

[16] Kollman, Raúl. "Cinco domingos electorales". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 5 August 2007.http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-89244-2007-08-05.html.

[17] Grondona, Mariano. "Ni Radicales ni peronistas: continuistas". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 2 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/940087-ni-Radicales-ni-peronistas-continuistas.

[18] Micca, Fernando. "Seguir, llegar, volver". *La Voz del Interior,* [Córdoba] 30 August 2007. http://archivo.lavoz.com.ar/07/08/30/secciones/opinion/nota.asp?nota_id=109574.

[19] "Ironías y roces en el debate de Córdoba". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 7 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/932386-ironias-y-roces-en-el-debate-de-cordoba.

[20] "Schiaretti: "Cinco años de superávit"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/938056-schiaretti-cinco-anos-de-superavit ; "El sucesor del poder de De la Sota". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 2 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/940122-el-sucesor-del-poder-de-de-la-sota.

[21] "Ironías y roces en el debate de Córdoba". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 7 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/932386-ironias-y-roces-en-el-debate-de-cordoba. ; Ybarra, Gustavo. "El apellido Kirchner, lejos de la campaña cordobesa". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 1 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/939886-el-apellido-kirchner-lejos-de-la-campana-cordobesa.

[22] Rosemberg, Jaime. "Carrió apoyó a Negri en Córdoba y suma más socios Radicales". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 11 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/933621-carrio-apoyo-a-negri-en-cordoba-y-suma-mas-socios-Radicales ; Vaca, Juan Carlos. "Dos Kirchneristas y un Radical definen los comicios en Córdoba". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 26 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/938055-dos-Kirchneristas-y-un-Radical-definen-los-comicios-en-cordoba ; Pasquini Durán, J.M. "Autonómicas". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 3 September 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-90743-2007-09-03.html ; "Carrió llega a Córdoba para respaldar a

numerous articles from La Nación stated that the candidate who headed the UCR ticket clearly opposed the national government.[23] The coalition that came in second, however, was initially aligned with a faction of the national government: Luis Juez's candidacy was actually supported by the Jefe de Gabinete (Chief of Staff).[24] An article from La Nación referred to Juez as Kirchnerista.[25] Página 12 also stated that Juez was close to the national government.[26] However, this candidate progressively distanced himself from the national government.[27] Two days before the election he declared that he was not Kirchnerista.[28] After the election, Juez declared that he would not support any presidential candidate in the forthcoming election.[29] He also alleged that the national government was partially responsible for the fraudulent election in Córdoba. [30] Finally, an article from La Nación affirmed that Juez had broken with the national government after he was not supported by it when he accused Schiaretti of committing fraud in election.[31]

2009

In 2009 Córdoba elected nine national deputies and three national senators. Thirteen coalitions competed in the senatorial election; three garnered a majority of the vote. Frente Cívico won the election for the senate with 30.6% of the vote and the UCR came in second with 26.6% of the vote. Unión por Córdoba, the coalition supported by the governor, came in third. In

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Negri". *La Voz del Interior,* [Córdoba] 10 August 2007. http://archivo.lavoz.com.ar/07/08/10/secciones/politica/nota.asp?nota_id=98939 ; "Sería bueno que Córdoba le pusiera límites al poder central". *La Voz del Interior,* [Córdoba] 24 August 2007. http://archivo.lavoz.com.ar/07/08/24/secciones/politica/nota.asp?nota_id=107728.

[23] "Negri: "Hay hastío del Kirchnerismo"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 26 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/938057-negri-hay-hastio-del-Kirchnerismo ; Ybarra, Gustavo. "El apellido Kirchner, lejos de la campaña cordobesa". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 1 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/939886-el-apellido-kirchner-lejos-de-la-campana-cordobesa.

[24] "En Córdoba, debate en la televisión". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 6 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/932121-en-cordoba-debate-en-la-television ; Ybarra, Gustavo. "La guerra verbal alteró la paz en Córdoba". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 31 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/939513-la-guerra-verbal-de-los-candidatos-altero-la-paz-en-cordoba ; Verbitsky, Horacio. "San-co-cho". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 2 September 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-90706-2007-09-02.html.

[25] Vaca, Juan Carlos. "Dos Kirchneristas y un Radical definen los comicios en Córdoba". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 26 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/938055-dos-Kirchneristas-y-un-Radical-definen-los-comicios-en-cordoba.

[26] Kollman, Raúl. "Cinco domingos electorales". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 5 August 2007.http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-89244-2007-08-05.html.

[27] Juárez, Paola. "Desde El Calafate los Kirchner buscan minimizar la derrota". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 September 2007. .http://www.lanacion.com.ar/940459-desde-el-calafate-los-kirchner-buscan-minimizar-la-derrota ; Jorquera, Miguel. "Desde Córdoba, y pensando en la Nación". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 2 September 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-90703-2007-09-02.html ; Verbitsky, Horacio. "Balas y anchoas". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 9 September 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-91117-2007-09-09.html.

[28] Ybarra, Gustavo. "El apellido Kirchner, lejos de la campaña cordobesa". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 1 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/939886-el-apellido-kirchner-lejos-de-la-campana-cordobesa.

[29] Sued, Gabriel. "Juez llama a votar en blanco en octubre". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 8 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/942126-juez-llama-a-votar-en-blanco-en-octubre.

[30] Sued, Gabriel. "Juez llama a votar en blanco en octubre". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 8 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/942126-juez-llama-a-votar-en-blanco-en-octubre.

[31] Vaca, Juan Carlos. "Córdoba: abrirán 205 urnas para el conteo". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 25 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/947110-cordoba-abriran-205-urnas-para-el-conteo.

addition, 23 parties competed in the election for deputies. UCR won the election with 29% of the vote and Frente Cívico came in a close-second with 28% of the vote. The Peronist Party, which received the governor's support, came in third.

The governor, Juan Schiaretti, is a Peronist.[32] The coalition supported by the governor in the election did not use the Frente para la Victoria party tag; they used Unión por Córdoba tag.[33] The governor changed his position from the last election by expressing open opposition to the President. The conflict between the governor and the national government started in 2008, when Schiaretti supported the claims of the rural producers who opposed the increase of the export tax on rural products.[34]

During the campaign, Schiaretti repeatedly affirmed that the conflict that the national government had initiated with the rural producers had caused Argentina's economic crisis and a considerable loss of jobs in Córdoba.[35] He also predicted that Kirchnerismo would lose the forthcoming legislative election.[36] Moreover, Schiaretti sued the national government in the Supreme Court for the money it owed to Córdoba's pension funds.[37] The legal claim also

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[32] "La gripe porcina, una excusa electoral". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 20 May 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1133491-la-gripe-porcina-una-excusa-electoral ; Crettaz, José. "Reapareció de Angeli y fue muy duro con Kirchner". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 June 2009.http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1135453-reaparecio-de-angeli-y-fue-muy-duro-con-kirchner ; Dinatale, Martín. "En Entre Ríos los votos definen la pelea del Kirchnerismo con el agro". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 5 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1135910-en-entre-rios-los-votos-definen-la-pelea-del-Kirchnerismo-con-el-agro ; Crettaz, José. "Casi 300 ruralistas quieren ser legisladores provinciales o ediles". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 7 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1136593-casi-300-ruralistas-quieren-ser-legisladores-provinciales-o-ediles ; "Reutemann busca armar un interbloque". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 11 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1137929-reutemann-busca-armar-un-interbloque ; "Mano a mano". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 14 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1138885-mano-a-mano ; "Buscamos un PJ más plural, tolerante y democrático". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1138876-buscamos-un-pj-mas-plural-tolerante-y-democratico ; Dinatale, Martín. "El peronismo que se viene". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1142675-el-peronismo-que-se-viene .

[33] "En Córdoba se vota con la mente puesta en 2011". *La Voz del Interior,* [Córdoba] 28 June 2009. http://archivo.lavoz.com.ar/nota.asp?nota_id=529402.

[34] Vaca, Juan Carlos. "Córdoba denuncia al gobierno en la Corte". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 10 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1137549-cordoba-denuncia-al-gobierno-en-la-corte ; Ventura, Adrián. "El Gobierno ahora a las provincias". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 11 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1137915-el-gobierno-ahoga-a-las-provincias ; Andrada, Orlando. "Córdoba: Juez es el favorito en su pelea contra Schiaretti". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144495-cordoba-juez-es-el-favorito-en-su-pelea-contra-schiaretti ; Wainfeld, Mario. "La hora de acusar recibo". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 2 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-127612-2009-07-02.html.

[35] "Breves". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 31 May 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1134084-breves ; "Schiaretti dijo que el conflicto con el campo es la causa de la actual crisis económica". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1135577-schiaretti-dijo-que-el-conflicto-con-el-campo-es-la-causa-de-la-actual-crisis-economica ; "Buscamos un PJ más plural, tolerante y democrático". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1138876-buscamos-un-pj-mas-plural-tolerante-y-democratico ; "Schiaretti: Su política de confrontación ha sido repudiada". *La Voz del Interior,* [Córdoba] 29 June 2009. http://archivo.lavoz.com.ar/09/06/29/Schiaretti-politica-confrontacion-ha-sido-repudiada.html.

[36] "Schiaretti dijo que el conflicto con el campo es la causa de la actual crisis económica". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1135577-schiaretti-dijo-que-el-conflicto-con-el-campo-es-la-causa-de-la-actual-crisis-economica.

[37] "Córdoba acudirá a la Corte para intimar a Nación por el pago de una deuda millonaria". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 9 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1137512-cordoba-acudira-a-la-corte-para-intimar-a-la-nacion-por-el-pago-de-una-deuda-millonaria ; Vaca, Juan Carlos. "Córdoba denuncia al gobierno en la Corte". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 10 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1137549-cordoba-denuncia-al-gobierno-en-la-corte ;

included the funds that the national government owed the province in concept of the Programa de Asistencia Financiera (Financial Assistance Program).[38] The governor stated that the delay in the disbursement of these funds was an act of discrimination because the national government had transferred the funds on time to every province except Córdoba.[39] He also affirmed that the national administration thought it was above the law.[40] Furthermore, Schiaretti declared his strong opposition to the President's 2008 bill that raised the export tax for rural products.[41] Schiaretti also declared that the conflict between the national government and the rural producers uncovered the national government's intolerance for dissent.[42] After the election, the governor asserted that more than 90% of the people from Córdoba voted against Cristina Kirchner's authoritarian government; this was in light of the fact that the Kirchnerista candidate had received less than 10% of the vote.[43] Schiaretti also blamed the national government for the fact that the coalition he supported in the election came in third: the governor declared that if some local Peronist leaders had not been coopted by the national government, his coalition would have won the election.[44]

Schiaretti did not share any public acts with members of the national government. He shared a number of meetings with groups and parties in opposition to the President. Before the election, Schiaretti met with the Vice President and member of the national opposition since the aforementioned 2008 conflict with rural producers, Julio Cobos, when he visited Córdoba.[45] The

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"Doble demanda de Schiaretti ante la Corte". *La Voz del Interior,* [Córdoba] 10 June 2009. http://archivo.lavoz.com.ar/09/06/10/secciones/economia/nota.asp?nota_id=524207.

[38] "Córdoba acudirá a la Corte para intimar a Nación por el pago de una deuda millonaria". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 9 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1137512-cordoba-acudira-a-la-corte-para-intimar-a-la-nacion-por-el-pago-de-una-deuda-millonaria ; Vaca, Juan Carlos. "Córdoba denuncia al gobierno en la Corte". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 10 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1137549-cordoba-denuncia-al-gobierno-en-la-corte ; "Doble demanda de Schiaretti ante la Corte". *La Voz del Interior,* [Córdoba] 10 June 2009. http://archivo.lavoz.com.ar/09/06/10/secciones/economia/nota.asp?nota_id=524207.

[39] "Córdoba acudirá a la Corte para intimar a Nación por el pago de una deuda millonaria". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 9 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1137512-cordoba-acudira-a-la-corte-para-intimar-a-la-nacion-por-el-pago-de-una-deuda-millonaria ; Vaca, Juan Carlos. "Córdoba denuncia al gobierno en la Corte". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 10 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1137549-cordoba-denuncia-al-gobierno-en-la-corte.

[40] "Schiaretti: "La Argentina no es un reino, es una República"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 16 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1139862-schiaretti-la-argentina-no-es-un-reino-es-una-republica.

[41] "Buscamos un PJ más plural, tolerante y democrático". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1138876-buscamos-un-pj-mas-plural-tolerante-y-democratico.

[42] "Buscamos un PJ más plural, tolerante y democrático". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1138876-buscamos-un-pj-mas-plural-tolerante-y-democratico.

[43] "Un panorama complicado para Schiaretti". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144809-un-panorama-complicado-para-schiaretti ; Vaca, Juan Carlos. "Ganó Juez en Córdoba, pero los Radicales también festejaron". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144784-gano-juez-en-cordoba-pero-los-Radicales-tambien-festejaron ; Martoccia, Hugo. "Un triunfo agridulce". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-127431-2009-06-29.html ; Cañas, Julián. "Schiaretti culpó a la billetera K por la derrota del PJ en Córdoba". *La Voz del Interior,* [Córdoba] 29 June 2009. http://archivo.lavoz.com.ar/nota.asp?nota_id=529654.

[44] "Schiaretti cargó contra el gobierno y pidió fondos". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 1 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1145569-schiaretti-cargo-contra-el-gobierno-y-pidio-fondos ; Cañas, Julián. "Schiaretti culpó a la billetera K por la derrota del PJ en Córdoba". *La Voz del Interior,* [Córdoba] 29 June 2009. http://archivo.lavoz.com.ar/nota.asp?nota_id=529654.

[45] "La gripe porcina, una excusa electoral". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 20 May 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1133491-la-gripe-porcina-una-excusa-electoral ; "Cobos y Schiaretti criticaron a Cristina". *La Voz del Interior,* [Córdoba] 29 May 2009. http://archivo.lavoz.com.ar/nota.asp?nota_id=520724.

governor also participated in a meeting with an influential non-aligned senator and four members of the rural producer's associations, who also opposed the national government. [46] After the election, Schiaretti held a meeting with a prominent non-aligned Peronist leader from the province of Buenos Aires.[47] The governor also participated in an annual event organized by the rural producers in Buenos Aires, where he met with several prominent anti-Kirchnerista producers.[48]

The national newspapers characterized the governor as non-aligned with the national administration. La Nación newspaper asserted that Schiaretti opposed the national government.[49] This newspaper also depicted the governor as one of the leaders of the anti-Kirchnerista Peronism.[50] Moreover, Página 12 described Schiaretti as a Peronist not aligned with the national government.[51] Additionally, an article from this newspaper depicted the governor as fiercely opposed to the national administration.[52] A local newspaper also referred to Schiaretti as anti-Kirchnerista.[53]

The governor never held an appointed position in the national government for the 2003-2009 period.

In a province where Kirchnerismo was highly unpopular, Frente Cívico and UCR were not aligned with the national government.[54] Only the coalition which used the Frente para la

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[46] Vaca, Juan Carlos. "Schiaretti se mostró junto a Reutemann". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 21 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1141628-schiaretti-se-mostro-junto-a-reutemann ; "Para Lole la campana es "grosera"". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 21 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/suplementos/rosario/10-19031-2009-06-21.html ; "Protesta lechera en campaña". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 21 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/economia/subnotas/127006-40642-2009-06-21.html ; "Reutemann y Schiaretti, otra vez juntos". *La Voz del Interior,* [Córdoba] 21 June 2009. http://archivo.lavoz.com.ar/nota.asp?nota_id=527300.

[47] "Una movida peronista". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 23 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/128696-41372-2009-07-23.html ; "Schiaretti y Solá intentaron fortalecer al PJ disidente". *La Voz del Interior,* [Córdoba] 23 July 2009. http://archivo.lavoz.com.ar/nota.asp?nota_id=536268.

[48] Colombres, Mercedes. "Schiaretti reclamó que se termine el conflicto con el campo". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1155965-schiaretti-reclamo-que-se-termine-el-conflicto-con-el-campo.

[49] Crettaz, José. "Reapareció de Angeli y fue muy duro con Kirchner". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 June 2009.http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1135453-reaparecio-de-angeli-y-fue-muy-duro-con-kirchner.

[50] Dinatale, Martín. "En Entre Ríos los votos definen la pelea del Kirchnerismo con el agro". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 5 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1135910-en-entre-rios-los-votos-definen-la-pelea-del-Kirchnerismo-con-el-agro ; "Reutemann busca armar un interbloque". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 11 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1137929-reutemann-busca-armar-un-interbloque ; Dinatale, Martín. "El peronismo que se viene". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1142675-el-peronismo-que-se-viene ; Andrada, Orlando. "Córdoba: Juez es el favorito en su pelea contra Schiaretti". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144495-cordoba-juez-es-el-favorito-en-su-pelea-contra-schiaretti ; Dinatale, Martín. "Unos comicios que redefinieron la lista de presidenciables". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144792-unos-comicios-que-redefinieron-la-lista-depresidenciables ; Dinatale, Martín. "Reutemann o Macri, el dilema del PJ disidente". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1146792-reutemann-o-macri-el-dilema-del-pj-disidente.

[51] Miguez, Daniel. "Una cuenta muy difícil de resolver". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 21 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-127011-2009-06-21.html.

[52] Wainfeld, Mario. "La hora de acusar recibo". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 2 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-127612-2009-07-02.html.

[53] Curto, Rubén. "Juez en senadores, Aguad en diputados". *La Voz del Interior,* [Córdoba] 29 June 2009. http://archivo.lavoz.com.ar/nota.asp?nota_id=529690.

[54] Vaca, Juan Carlos. "Córdoba denuncia al gobierno en la Corte". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 10 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1137549-cordoba-denuncia-al-gobierno-en-la-corte ; "Buscamos un PJ más plural,

Victoria party tag was aligned with the President; this alliance received less than 10% of the vote in the election.[55] In fact, La Nación newspaper stated that more than 90% of the people from Córdoba had reaffirmed their anti-Kirchnerismo in the election.[56]

2011

In 2011, Córdoba elected governor, vice-governor, 44 deputies at the district level, and 26 deputies at the provincial level. Although twelve coalitions participated in this competitive contest, only three captured most of the vote for the provincial executive.[57] The Alianza Unión por Córdoba secured 42.6% of the vote, followed by Frente Cívico and UCR with 22.9% and 29.6% of the vote, respectively. A few days after this sub-national election, there were national primary elections to choose the president, vice president, and deputies for the province.[58]

The elected governor was José Manuel De la Sota, who represented the local Peronist party.[59] He self-identifies as a Peronist.[60] In addition, De la Sota was endorsed by the outgoing Peronist governor, who occupies a leadership position in the provincial Peronist party. In spite of belonging to the Peronist party, the governor did not run with the Frente para la Victoria party tag.[61] Kirchnerismo has actually not been very popular in Córdoba, and in fact no coalition used the president's party tag for the gubernatorial elections.[62] The elected governor represented the

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tolerante y democrático". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1138876-buscamos-un-pj-mas-plural-tolerante-y-democratico ; Cañas, Julián. "Como anillo al dedo". *La Voz del Interior,* [Córdoba] 28 May 2009. http://archivo.lavoz.com.ar/nota.asp?nota_id=520414 ; "En Córdoba se vota con la mente puesta en 2011". *La Voz del Interior,* [Córdoba] 28 June 2009. http://archivo.lavoz.com.ar/nota.asp?nota_id=529402.

[55] Krell, Tamara. "El candidato Kirchnerista de Córdoba no se rinde pese a las encuestas". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 25 june 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1142885-el-candidato-Kirchnerista-de-cordoba-no-se-rinde-pese-a-las-encuestas ; Andrada, Orlando. "Córdoba: Juez es el favorito en su pelea contra Schiaretti". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144495-cordoba-juez-es-el-favorito-en-su-pelea-contra-schiaretti; Vaca, Juan Carlos. "Ganó Juez en Córdoba, pero los Radicales también festejaron". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144784-gano-juez-en-cordoba-pero-los-Radicales-tambien-festejaron ; "En Córdoba se vota con la mente puesta en 2011". *La Voz del Interior,* [Córdoba] 28 June 2009. http://archivo.lavoz.com.ar/nota.asp?nota_id=529402.

[56] Vaca, Juan Carlos. "Ganó Juez en Córdoba, pero los Radicales también festejaron". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144784-gano-juez-en-cordoba-pero-los-Radicales-tambien-festejaron.

[57] "Con el triunfo de De la Sota, surge un nuevo referente del PJ." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 8 August 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1395814-arranco-el-recuento-de-votos-en-los-cruciales-comicios-de-cordoba

[58] "El Kirchnerismo se impuso en la lucha por las bancas en el Congreso." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 15 August 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1397890-las-bancas-en-el-congreso-la-otra-lucha-de-las-internas

[59] Andrada, Orlando. "Final cerrado entre De la Sota, Juez y Aguag en Córdoba." *La Nación.* [Resistencia] 19 July 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1390720-final-cerrado-entre-de-la-sota-juez-y-aguad-en-cordoba.

[60] Serra, Laura. "De la Sota sugirió un apoyo a Cristina y después lo negó." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 August 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1394524-de-la-sota-sugirio-un-apoyo-a-cristina-y-despues-lo-nego; " Reutemann respalda a De la Sota en Córdoba." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 July 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1393195-reutemann-respalda-a-de-la-sota-en-cordoba

[61] Andrada, Orlando. "De la Sota pide al gobierno que no se enoje con el PJ." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 11 August 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1396639-de-la-sota-pide-al-gobierno-que-no-se-enoje-con-el-pj

[62] "Silencio para evitar complicaciones." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 6 August 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1395484-silencio-para-evitar-complicaciones; "El Frente para la Victoria no apoya candidatos a gobernador." *La Voz,* [Córdoba] 9 July 2011. http://www.lavoz.com.ar/noticias/politica/frente-para-victoria-no-apoya-candidatos-gobernador ; "Cerca del cierre de urnas, crece la expectativa en un comicio de impacto nacional." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 7 August 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1395783-cordoba-elige-al-

Alianza Unión por Córdoba coalition, which integrated eight different parties, including the Peronist Party. For the national primaries, the governor supported a list that used the party tag Alianza Justicialista Distrito Córdoba that competed against a coalition that used the Frente para la Victoria party tag.[63]

Throughout the electoral campaign, De la Sota's public discourse in reference to the national government was mostly negative leading up to the gubernatorial elections but less confrontational after the primaries. Before the provincial elections, De la Sota refused to let the President impose a candidate for vice governor and to decide on the names of provincial deputies for his party list.[64] In fact, De la Sota chose as his running mate a mayor who had been in opposition to the President in a major conflict over agricultural taxes.[65] In addition, the governor had a critical discourse towards national policies. He criticized the economic model advanced by the president and asked her to follow the lead of the Brazilian government to help Argentina become an active actor in a competitive world economy.[66] As the elections were getting closer, De la Sota declined to give public statements to the media. The few times he disclosed any opinions about the President, his position was ambivalent. In a public speech he gave at the Unión Industrial de Córdoba (Córdoba's Industrial Union), he first suggested that he would support Cristina Kirchner in the upcoming primaries. But in light of the commotion caused among the Peronist Party, a few hours later he indicated that he would need to reassess that decision after the gubernatorial elections.[67] He highlighted that his victory would mean more autonomy for the province.[68] During the presidential primary campaign, De la Sota initially decided not to endorse the President's list and present a different list for the Lower House.[69] However, in the end De la Sota endorsed the candidacy of Cristina Kirchner and dropped the

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sucesor-de-schiaretti-en-una-eleccion-clave-a-nivel-nacional; Jorquera, Miguel. "Sin la bendición de la Casa Rosada." *Página 12* [Buenos Aires] 25 July 2011. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-172976-2011-07-25.html

[63] "El Kirchnerismo se impuso en la lucha por las bancas en el Congreso." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 15 August 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1397890-las-bancas-en-el-congreso-la-otra-lucha-de-las-internas; Serra. Laura. "De la Sota, enfrentado con el Gobierno." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 9 August 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1396202-cont-de-la-sota-desafia-a-la-lista-del-gobierno

[64] Argentina has a closed list PR system. Ybarra, Gustavo. "Calendario electoral difícil hasta octubre." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 12 July 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1388846-calendario-electoral-dificil-hasta-octubre; Andrada, Orlando. "Final cerrado entre De la Sota, Juez y Aguad en Córdoba." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 19 July 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1390720-final-cerrado-entre-de-la-sota-juez-y-aguad-en-cordoba

[65] Verón, Marina. "La Presidenta felicitó a De la Sota y en la Casa Rosada mostraron alivio." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 8 August 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1395972-la-presidenta-felicito-a-de-la-sota-y-en-la-casa-rosada-mostraron-alivio

[66] "Con Brasil, De la Sota atacó a Cristina." *La Voz*, [Córdoba] 21 July 2011. http://www.lavoz.com.ar/noticias/politica/con-brasil-sota-ataco-cristina

[67] "Silencio para evitar complicaciones." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 6 August 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1395484-silencio-para-evitar-complicaciones; "De la Sota se vio obligado a aclarar que aún no decidió su voto a Cristina." *La Voz*, [Córdoba] 3 August 2011. http://www.lavoz.com.ar/noticias/politica/sota-se-vio-obligado-aclarar-que-aun-no-decidio-su-voto-cristina

[68] Obarrio, Mariano. "El Gobierno teme que PRO sea eje de una alianza en el peronismo disidente." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 1 August 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1394025-el-gobierno-teme-que-pro-sea-eje-de-una-alianza-en-el-peronismo-disidente; "Con libertad para elegir presidente." *Página 12* [Buenos Aires] 10 August 2011. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-174166-2011-08-10.html

[69] Andrada, Orlando. "De la Sota dio libertad de acción en el PJ y se despegó de Cristina." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 10 August 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1396458-de-la-sota-dio-libertad-de-accion-en-el-pj-y-se-despego-de-cristina

provincial independent list for Congress as a step towards a better relationship between the province and the national government.[70]

The few meetings that De la Sota or local actors allied to him held with national government officials appeared to be a formality and signaled confrontation or, at least, an uncertain relationship. Prior to the gubernatorial election the Secretario Legal y Técnica de la Nación (Legal and Technical Secretary), visited De la Sota to discuss the possibility of dedicating his potential triumph to the President.[71] However, the governor maintained a neutral stance throughout his campaign and did not recognize Cristina Kirchner in his victory speech.[72] In fact, members of the national opposition expressed their support to De la Sota and he seemed to have secretly met with some of them.[73] Given the hostile interactions between Cristina Kirchner and Peronism in Córdoba, during the primaries the President expressed her interest in improving the dialogue with the provincial government.[74]

The media considered De la Sota as clearly non-aligned to the President. Prior to the gubernatorial elections, La Nación newspaper emphasized that the strained relations between the provincial and the national governments had led to an electoral contest without a Kirchnerista candidate in Córdoba.[75] The same newspaper characterized De la Sota as a dissident Peronist, a Peronist confronting the national government, and as anti-Kirchnerista.[76] However, as the campaign unfolded, national and provincial media characterized his position with respect to the President as ambivalent.[77] La Nación suggested his ambivalence was a practical strategy to

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[70] "De la Sota bajó la lista de diputados en Córdoba ." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 4 September 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1403220-de-la-sota-bajo-la-lista-de-diputados-en-cordoba; Bruschtein, Julián. "En la búsqueda de cinco bancas." *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 6 September 2011. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-176147-2011-09-06.html

[71] Obarrio, Mariano. "El Gobierno teme que PRO sea eje de una alianza en el peronismo disidente." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 1 August 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1394025-el-gobierno-teme-que-pro-sea-eje-de-una-alianza-en-el-peronismo-disidente

[72] "Aires de euforia que llevaron el sello del peronismo ortodoxo." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 8 August 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1395955-aires-de-euforia-que-llevaron-el-sello-del-peronismo-ortodoxo

[73] Obarrio, Mariano. "El Gobierno teme que PRO sea eje de una alianza en el peronismo disidente." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 1 August 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1394025-el-gobierno-teme-que-pro-sea-eje-de-una-alianza-en-el-peronismo-disidente; "Con libertad para elegir presidente." *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 10 August 2011. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-174166-2011-08-10.html; Serra, Laura. "Córdoba entra con final abierto en la semana clave." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 31 July 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1393774-cordoba-entra-con-final-abierto-en-la-semana-clave; Serra, Laura. "Córdoba: guiño de Macri a Aguad y De la Sota." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 2 August 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1394203-cordoba-guino-de-macri-a-aguad-y-de-la-sota; Jorquera, Miguel. "De la Sota recibe apoyos de todo el PJ." *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 29 July 2011. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-173298-2011-07-29.html

[74] "La presidenta recibió a Schiaretti por los fondos que exige Córdoba." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 30 August 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1401799-la-presidenta-recibio-a-schiaretti-por-los-fondos-que-exige-cordoba

[75] Bullrich, Lucrecia. "Abran juego." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 8 July 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1387679-abran-juego-las-fichas-listas-para-caer; Andrada, Orlando. "Final cerrado entre De la Sota, Juez y Aguad en Córdoba." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 19 July 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1390720-final-cerrado-entre-de-la-sota-juez-y-aguad-en-cordoba

[76] Fraga, Rosendo. "¿Elección particular o cambio de tendencia? *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 10 July 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1388500-eleccion-particular-o-cambio-de-tendencia; Solá Morales, Joaquín. "Terminó la luna de miel con la Presidenta." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 27 July 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1392746-termino-la-luna-de-miel-con-la-presidenta; Obarrio, Mariano. "El Gobierno teme que PRO sea eje de una alianza en el peronismo disidente." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 1 August 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1394025-el-gobierno-teme-que-pro-sea-eje-de-una-alianza-en-el-peronismo-disidente

[77] Serra, Laura. "De la Sota sugirió un apoyo a Cristina y después lo negó." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 3 August 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1394524-de-la-sota-sugirio-un-apoyo-a-cristina-y-despues-lo-nego; "Inestable

defeat his opponents, because he needed the Kirchnerista votes, but overall his relationship with the national government was fractured and reflecting non-alignment because Kirchnerismo was not very popular in the province.[78] Página 12 , in turn, emphasized the lack of official endorsement from the Casa Rosada to any candidate in the province.[79] Members of the President's cabinet expressed that there was not a Kirchnerista candidate for the gubernatorial elections in the province.[80] In fact, a leader of the provincial Frente para la Victoria asked Kirchnerista followers to vote for whoever they wanted, showing there was no Kirchnerista candidate in the election.[81] At the same time, members of the governor's inner circle qualified the relationship with the President as broken.[82]

The governor has never occupied a position in the national government.

The Frente Cívico and UCR, the two main parties that competed against De la Sota, are also not aligned with the President.[83] In fact, De la Sota did not face a local opposition aligned with the national government in the gubernatorial elections.

2013

In 2013, Córdoba held legislative elections to choose nine deputies at the national level. Out of the six coalitions that participated in this competitive process, four secured deputy seats. The two most prominent coalitions, Unión por Córdoba and UCR, each obtained three deputy seats, with 26.6% and 22.7% of the vote respectively.[84] Unión por Córdoba encompasses eight different parties, including the Peronist party. In addition, Frente para la Victoria obtained 15.3% of the vote (two seats) and Unión PRO received 14.4% of the electoral support (one seat).

The governor, José Manuel De la Sota, belongs to the Partido Justicialista Cordobés (PJC) and self-identifies as a Peronist. [85] However, the list endorsed by the governor did not run

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pacto de silencio entre Cristina y el PJ Cordobés" *La Voz*, [Córdoba] 30 July 2011. http://www.lavoz.com.ar/noticias/politica/inestable-pacto-silencio-entre-cristina-pj-cordobes

[78] "De la Sota suma apoyos Kirchneristas." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 4 August 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1394790-de-la-sota-suma-apoyos-Kirchneristas

[79] "De la Sota prefiere esperar un poco." *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 3 August 2011. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-173648-2011-08-03.html; Jorquera, Miguel. "Sin la bendición de la Casa Rosada." *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 7 August 2011. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-172976-2011-07-25.html

[80] "Silencio para evitar complicaciones." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 6 August 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1395484-silencio-para-evitar-complicaciones; "El Frente para la Victoria no apoya candidatos a gobernador." *La Voz*, [Córdoba] 9 July 2011. http://www.lavoz.com.ar/noticias/politica/frente-para-victoria-no-apoya-candidatos-gobernador

[81] "El Kirchnerismo dice que deja libertad de acción para votar." *La Voz*, [Córdoba] 27 July 2011. http://www.lavoz.com.ar/noticias/politica/Kirchnerismo-dice-que-deja-libertad-accion-para-votar

[82] Serra, Laura. "Arrasó De la Sota: surge en el PJ otro referente nacional." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 8 August 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1395974-arraso-de-la-sota-surge-en-el-pj-otro-referente-nacional

[83] Fraga, Rosendo. "¿Elección particular o cambio de tendencia?" *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 10 July 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1388500-eleccion-particular-o-cambio-de-tendencia

[84] Frías, Juan Manuel. "Con una cosecha menguante de votos." *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2013. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-232301-2013-10-28.html

[85] "Contra la ley de derribo." *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 15 November 2013. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-233664-2013-11-15.html; "Córdoba: una extraña campaña marcada por el narcoescándalo." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 20 October 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1630767-cordoba-una-extrana-campana-marcada-por-el-narcoescandalo

with the Frente para la Victoria party tag; it run with the Unión por Córdoba tag.[86] Although there is a long-standing tradition of Peronism in Córdoba, Kirchnerismo had not been historically popular prior to this electoral contest, in which some support emerged for the president's party. As a result, the governor is affiliated to Peronism, not to kirchnerirmo.

The governor's discourse was negative and confrontational with regard to the national government throughout the electoral process. De la Sota denounced the President's budget as discriminatory and as an "anti-Córdoba mess" because it allocated a limited amount of transfers to the province.[87] He strongly criticized the Kirchnerista national deputies representing Córdoba who voted in favor of the budget because they had gone against the interests of the province.[88] In another occasion, De la Sota publicly denounced the President's behavior towards a seed-processing company as false and two-faced because of the President's attempt to block the functioning of a plant she had previously applauded. The functioning of this corporation, called Monsanto, generated strong opposition from environmental groups.[89] As a result, the governor accused the President via his Twitter account of creating divisions among Córdoba residents.[90] A few days prior to the electoral contest, De la Sota stressed that the national government had developed a negative campaign full of attacks and insults against his party.[91] The day of the election, promising results for De la Sota's Unión por Córdoba led him to say that in Córdoba, they would defeat Cristina Kirchner.[92] He characterized the triumph of the Unión por Córdoba coalition as a victory of the opposition.[93]

There are no reported interactions between the governor and the President or key members of the national government throughout this electoral cycle. De la Sota campaigned side by side with the first candidate in the list, Juan Schiaretti, a Peronist leader representing Córdoba in Congress who had challenged the President. In particular, Schiaretti also qualified the national budget as discriminatory and harmful against Córdoba.[94]

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[86] http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1630767-cordoba-una-extrana-campana-marcada-por-el-narcoescandalo

[87] "Cómo votaron los diputados cordobenses." *La Voz*, [Córdoba] 27 September 2013. http://www.lavoz.com.ar/politica/como-votaron-los-diputados-cordobeses; Cañas, Julián. "El PJ denunció campaña sucia y discriminación de los K." *La Voz*, [Córdoba] 16 October 2013. http://www.lavoz.com.ar/politica/el-pj-denuncio-campana-sucia-y-discriminacion-de-los-k

[88] Cámara, Javier. "La sanción del Presupuesto nacional desató una polémica en Córdoba." *La Voz*, [Córdoba] 27 September 2013. http://www.lavoz.com.ar/politica/la-sancion-del-presupuesto-nacional-desato-una-polemica-en-cordoba

[89] Andrada, Orlando. "Se mantiene el bloqueo contra la planta de Monsanto en Córdoba." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 2 October 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1625109-se-mantiene-el-bloqueo-contra-la-planta-de-monsanto-en-cordoba; "De la Sota le apuntó a la Presidenta y el intendente Arzani descartó una consulta." *La Voz*, [Córdoba] 1 October 2013. http://www.lavoz.com.ar/politica/de-la-sota-le-apunto-la-presidenta-y-el-intendente-arzani-descarto-una-consulta

[90] Andrada, Orlando. "Se mantiene el bloqueo contra la planta de Monsanto en Córdoba." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 2 October 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1625109-se-mantiene-el-bloqueo-contra-la-planta-de-monsanto-en-cordoba

[91] Cañas, Julián. "El PJ denunció campaña sucia y discriminación de los K." *La Voz*, [Córdoba] 16 October 2013 http://www.lavoz.com.ar/politica/el-pj-denuncio-campana-sucia-y-discriminacion-de-los-k

[92] "Scioli, Macri, De la Sota y Sanz: juegan, pero no compiten." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 27 October 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1632926-scioli-macri-de-la-sota-y-sanz-juegan-pero-no-compiten

[93] Frías, Juan Manuel. "Con una consecha menguante de votos." *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2013. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-232301-2013-10-28.html

[94] Del Mar, María. "Hay una actitud de discriminación y de ensañamiento." *La Voz*, [Córdoba] 20 October 2013. http://www.lavoz.com.ar/politica/hay-una-actitud-de-discriminacion-y-de-ensanamiento

National and local media consistently characterized De la Sota as non-aligned with the President. La Nación qualified the 2013 legislative electoral contest as a battle between the Kirchnerismo versus "delasotismo" (referring to the governor's surname).[95] Página 12 identified De la Sota's party as one of the five opposition parties that defeated the national government in the legislative elections across the country.[96] This newspaper also characterized De la Sota as part of the "Peronismo anti-K" (Peronist movement in opposition to Kirchnerismo).[97] Both La Nación and Página 12 expected that De la Sota would become a main contender of Kirchnerismo in the 2015 presidential elections.[98] Along similar lines, in an interview carried out by local newspaper La Voz Del Interior, Schiaretti said that in light of the imminent fall of Kirchnerismo, De la Sota could become a new alternative for the 2015 presidential elections.[99] The same newspaper stressed the constant conflict between De la Sota and the national government.[100] This media source also pointed out that although the governor was open to dialogue with the President right after the elections, he maintained his anti-Kirchnerista stance and only appeared cooperative with the national government to try to receive federal payments as part of an outstanding debt from the 1990s.[101]

De la Sota has never held a position in the national government.

In this electoral contest, the Unión por Córdoba faced three main contenders: UCR, Frente para la Victoria, and Unión PRO. The UCR and PRO coalitions were not aligned with the President.[102] However, the Frente para la Victoria received the endorsement of the national government and used the President's party tag. In addition, the first candidate in their list dedicated her success to the memory of Néstor Kirchner and wished the President a well and safe recovery from her health issues.[103]

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[95] "Córdoba: una extraña campaña marcada por el narcoescándalo." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 20 October 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1630767-cordoba-una-extrana-campana-marcada-por-el-narcoescandalo

[96] "La decision de 30 millones a 30 años de democracia." *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 27 October 2013. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-232232-2013-10-27.html

[97] "Contra la ley de derribo." *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 15 November 2013. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-233664-2013-11-15.html

[98] "Córdoba: una extraña campaña marcada por el narcoescándalo." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 20 October 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1630767-cordoba-una-extrana-campana-marcada-por-el-narcoescandalo; "Scioli, Macri, De la Sota y Sanz: juegan, pero no compiten." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 27 October 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1632926-scioli-macri-de-la-sota-y-sanz-juegan-pero-no-compiten; "La decision de 30 millones a 30 años de democracia." *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 27 October 2013. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-232232-2013-10-27.html

[99] "No tenemos que explicar por qué no ganamos por goleada." *La Voz*, [Córdoba] 29 October 2013. http://www.lavoz.com.ar/politica/no-tenemos-que-explicar-por-que-no-ganamos-por-goleada

[100] Cañas, Julián. "El PJ denunció campaña sucia y discriminación de los K." *La Voz*, [Córdoba] 16 October 2013. http://www.lavoz.com.ar/politica/el-pj-denuncio-campana-sucia-y-discriminacion-de-los-k

[101] Cañas, Julián. "De la Sota busca negociar con los K." *La Voz*, [Córdoba] 3 November 2013. http://www.lavoz.com.ar/politica/de-la-sota-busca-negociar-con-los-k

[102] "Scioli, Macri, De la Sota y Sanz: juegan, pero no compiten." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 27 October 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1632926-scioli-macri-de-la-sota-y-sanz-juegan-pero-no-compiten; Frías, Juan Manuel. "Con una cosecha menguante de votos." *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2013. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-232301-2013-10-28.html

[103] Frías, Juan Manuel. "Con una cosecha menguante de votos." *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2013. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-232301-2013-10-28.html

Corrientes

2007

In 2007 Corrientes elected president, vice-president, and four national deputies.[1] Nineteen coalitions competed for the legislative seats, and only one garnered a sizable portion of the vote. Frente de Todos, the coalition supported by the incumbent governor, won the election with 32.1% of the vote.[2] The Peronist Party came in second with 15.8% of the vote.[3]

The governor, Arturo Colombi, does not belong to the Peronist Party; he belongs to Unión Cívica Radical (UCR) or Radical Party. National newspapers depicted him as Radical Kirchnerista–a Kirchnerista member of the UCR.[4] Additionally, the coalition supported by Colombi used the Frente de Todos and not the Frente para la Victoria party tag.[5] We code the governor as aligned with the President due to his positive discourse toward the national administration, the opinion of experts, and his meetings with members of the national government.

Colombi expressed his support for the national government on numerous occasions throughout the election cycle. During the campaign, the governor explicitly stated that his party (Frente de Todos) supported the national administration.[6] Colombi also affirmed that he would work for Cristina Kirchner's presidential candidacy.[7] Additionally, he predicted that Cristina Kirchner would win the forthcoming presidential election.[8] The governor also declared that the province's housing policies reflected the cooperation between his administration and the national government.[9] After the election, Colombi asserted that he had rightly predicted that Cristina

[1] In 2007 Corrientes also elected thirteen local deputies and five local senators. However, the elections were not concurrent.
[2] "Cristina ganó en Corrientes y el Frente de Todos fue clave". *La República,* [Corrientes] 29 October 2007. http://diariolarepublica.com.ar/notix/noticia.php?i=133987&f=2007-10-29#.WAuPDvnhDIU.
[3] "Cristina ganó en Corrientes y el Frente de Todos fue clave". *La República,* [Corrientes] 29 October 2007. http://diariolarepublica.com.ar/notix/noticia.php?i=133987&f=2007-10-29#.WAuPDvnhDIU.
[4] Zampa, José Luis. "Triunfo del gobernador Colombi en Corrientes". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 2 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/949300-triunfo-del-gobernador-colombi-en-corrientes ; "La guerra de primos la ganaba Arturo". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 1 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-92296-2007-10-01.html.
[5] "El oficialismo saboreó una victoria que lo dejó más que satisfecho". *El Litoral,* [Corrientes] 29 October 2007. http://www.ellitoral.com.ar/72216/El-oficialismo-saboreo-una-victoria-que-lo-dejomas-que-satisfecho.
[6] "Arturo Colombi se impuso en las elecciones correntinas". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 1 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/949056-arturo-colombi-se-impuso-en-las-elecciones-correntinas ; "Llamado del Gobernador: "Apoyar la concertación"". *La República,* [Corrientes] 25 October 2007. http://diariolarepublica.com.ar/notix/noticia.php?i=133791&f=2007-10-25#.WAt_-fnhDIU.
[7] "Arturo Colombi se impuso en las elecciones correntinas". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 1 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/949056-arturo-colombi-se-impuso-en-las-elecciones-correntinas.
[8] "El primo Arturo, de festejo correntino". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 2 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/92329-29349-2007-10-02.html.
[9] "La alianza estratégica con el gobierno nacional para obras de infraestructura". *La República,* [Corrientes] 17 October 2007. http://diariolarepublica.com.ar/notix/noticia.php?i=133372&f=2007-10-17#.WAt-WPnhDIU.

Kirchner would win the election in Corrientes.[10] He also stated that Cristina Kirchner's victory was very important for the province's economic growth.[11]

The governor shared several public acts and meetings with members of the national government. Before the election, Colombi attended a public act headed by Néstor Kirchner at the Casa Rosada (Argentina's White House).[12] Several cabinet members, as well as two other aligned governors also attended the event.[13] The governor also shared a press conference in the province with Julio Cobos, Cristina Kirchner's running mate.[14] After the election, Colombi had a meeting with three governors that also belonged to the Kirchnerista faction of the UCR.[15] The governor also had a meeting with the national Secretaria de Medio Ambiente (Secretary of Environment).[16] Finally, Colombi had a private meeting with Julio Cobos, after which they met with several governors and legislators that also belonged to the Kirchnerista faction of the Radical Party.[17]

National and local newspapers referred to Colombi as Radical-Kirchnerista."[18] Moreover, local newspapers underscored that the Frente para Todos ticket was headed by Cristina Kirchner's presidential candidacy.[19] Local newspapers also stated that Frente de Todos contributed to Cristina Kirchner's victory in Corrientes.[20]

Colombi never held an appointed position in the national government for the 2003-2007 period.

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[10] "El Gobierno busca instalar figuras en la carrera al 2009". *El Litoral,* [Corrientes] 30 October 2007. http://www.ellitoral.com.ar/72320/El-Gobierno-busca-instalarfiguras-en-la-carrera-al-2009.

[11] "Cristina ganó en Corrientes y el Frente de Todos fue clave". *La República,* [Corrientes] 29 October 2007. http://diariolarepublica.com.ar/notix/noticia.php?i=133987&f=2007-10-29#.WAuPDvnhDIU.

[12] "Una obra eléctrica con 7 interesados". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 13 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/952772-una-obra-electrica-con-7-interesados.

[13] "Una obra eléctrica con 7 interesados". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 13 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/952772-una-obra-electrica-con-7-interesados.

[14] "Cobos elogió el modelo correntino". *El Litoral,* [Corrientes] 18 October 2007. http://www.ellitoral.com.ar/71433/Cobos-elogio-el-modelo-correntino ; "Cobos llamó a votar por el FdeT y criticó a los Borocotó". *La República,* [Corrientes] 18 October 2007. http://diariolarepublica.com.ar/notix/noticia.php?i=133409&f=2007-10-18#.WAt-gvnhDIU.

[15] "Cobos juntó a los Radicales K y armaron bloques por separado". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 8 November 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-94336-2007-11-08.html.

[16] "Corrientes podría tener la primera fábrica de biocombustible del país". *El Litoral,* [Corrientes] 18 November 2007. http://www.ellitoral.com.ar/73703/Corrientes-podria-tener-la-primera-fabrica-de-biocombustible-del-pais.

[17] "Arturo presentó a Roldán como diputado K". *El Litoral,* [Corrientes] 23 November 2007. http://www.ellitoral.com.ar/74088/Arturo-presento-a-Roldan-como-diputado-K ; "Arturo Colombi confirmó a Julio Cobos que Roldán será un ariete nacional". *La República,* [Corrientes] 22 November 2007. http://diariolarepublica.com.ar/notix/noticia.php?i=135177&f=2007-11-22#.WAubzvnhDIU.

[18] Zampa, José Luis. "Triunfo del gobernador Colombi en Corrientes". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 2 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/949300-triunfo-del-gobernador-colombi-en-corrientes ; "La guerra de primos la ganaba Arturo". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 1 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-92296-2007-10-01.html ; "Desinterés nacional por lo que sucedía en Corrientes". *El Litoral,* [Corrientes] 1 October 2007. http://www.ellitoral.com.ar/70235/Desinteres-nacional-por-loque-sucedia-en-Corrientes ; "Arturo con Kirchner, a dos semanas de las presidenciales". *La República,* [Corrientes] 13 October 2007. http://diariolarepublica.com.ar/notix/noticia.php?i=133166&f=2007-10-13#.WApwqvnhDIU.

[19] "Pobreza electoral: los K replantean la estrategia". *El Litoral,* [Corrientes] 5 October 2007. http://www.ellitoral.com.ar/70446/Pobreza-electoral-los-K-replantean-la-estrategia ; "La dirigencia local reparte su apoyo a los presidenciables". *La República,* [Corrientes] 8 October 2007. http://diariolarepublica.com.ar/notix/noticia.php?i=132832&f=2007-10-8#.WApvafnhDIU.

[20] "El Gobierno festejó con Cristina y consolidó su supremacía electoral". *El Litoral,* [Corrientes] 29 October 2007. http://www.ellitoral.com.ar/72213/El-Gobierno-festejo-con-Cristina-yconsolido-su-supremacia-electoral.

At the local level, the Peronist Party was also aligned with the national government. A local newspaper described the PJ candidate as ultra-Kirchnerista.[21] Local newspapers also underscored that the Peronist ticket was headed by Cristina Kirchner's presidential candidacy.[22] Additionally, the PJ candidate travelled to the province of Chaco with Cristina Kirchner, where she headed a public act.[23]

2009

In 2009 Corrientes elected a governor, a vice-governor, four provincial senators, and thirteen provincial deputies.[24] Five coalitions competed for the gubernatorial position, and three garnered a significant portion of the vote: Encuentro por Corrientes, Frente de Todos, and Correntinos por el Cambio.[25] Ricardo Colombi, who headed the Encuentro por Corrientes ticket, won the first round of the election with 36.3% of the vote and the runoff with 62.3%.[26] The winner's cousin was the incumbent governor, Arturo Colombi from Frente de Todos, who came in second with 31.6% of the vote in the first round and lost the elections in the runoff.[27] Finally, Correntinos por el Cambio came in third and was excluded from the runoff, with 30.7% of the vote in the first round.[28] We code the governor of Corrientes in 2009 as opposed to the national administration.

The elected governor, Ricardo Colombi, does not belong to the Peronist Party; he belongs to the Radical Party.[29] National newspapers stated that Colombi was clearly aligned with Gerardo Morales, the president of the UCR and member of the national opposition.[30]

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[21] "El Gobierno festejó con Cristina y consolidó su supremacía electoral". *El Litoral,* [Corrientes] 29 October 2007. http://www.ellitoral.com.ar/72213/El-Gobierno-festejo-con-Cristina-yconsolido-su-supremacia-electoral.

[22] "El PJ apela a un milagro K para sostener a Perié". *El Litoral,* [Corrientes] 3 October 2007. http://www.ellitoral.com.ar/70282/El-PJ-apela-a-un-milagroK-para-sostener-a-Perie ; "Confuso panorama para los votantes el 28 de octubre". *La República,* [Corrientes] 9 October 2007. http://diariolarepublica.com.ar/notix/noticia.php?i=132894&f=2007-10-9#.WApv2PnhDIU.

[23] "Treinta mil personas en el acto". *El Litoral,* [Corrientes] 17 October 2007. http://www.ellitoral.com.ar/71320/Treinta-mil-personas-en-el-acto.

[24] In 2009 Corrientes also elected three national senators and three national deputies. However, the elections were not concurrent.

[25] Rosemberg, Jaime. "En Corrientes habrá ballotage entre los primos Colombi". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 14 September 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1174457-en-corrientes-habra-ballottage-entre-los-primos-colombi.

[26]Rosemberg, Jaime. "En Corrientes habrá ballotage entre los primos Colombi". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 14 September 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1174457-en-corrientes-habra-ballottage-entre-los-primos-colombi ; Rosemberg, Jaime. "Ricardo Colombi arrasó a su primo y será gobernador de Corrientes". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 5 October 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1182671-ricardo-colombi-arraso-a-su-primo-y-sera-gobernador-de-corrientes.

[27] Rosemberg, Jaime. "En Corrientes habrá ballotage entre los primos Colombi". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 14 September 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1174457-en-corrientes-habra-ballottage-entre-los-primos-colombi ; Rosemberg, Jaime. "Ricardo Colombi arrasó a su primo y será gobernador de Corrientes". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 5 October 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1182671-ricardo-colombi-arraso-a-su-primo-y-sera-gobernador-de-corrientes.

[28] Rosemberg, Jaime. "En Corrientes habrá ballotage entre los primos Colombi". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 14 September 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1174457-en-corrientes-habra-ballottage-entre-los-primos-colombi.

[29] Rosemberg, Jaime. "El ballotage obsesiona a los primos Colombi". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 12 September 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1173585-el-ballottage-obsesiona-a-los-primos-colombi.

[30] "Corrientes: cierre de campaña para las elecciones del domingo". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 10 September 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1173241-corrientes-cierre-de-campana-para-las-elecciones-del-domingo ; Abrevaya,

Additionally, the elected governor used the Encuentro por Corrientes and not the Frente para la Victoria party tag in this election.[31]

Colombi presented a mild opposition discourse toward the national government. After the first round of the election, the elected governor expressed his belief that the national administration had to change its conflictive relationship with the productive sectors of the economy.[32] At the same time, Colombi declared that if he was elected he would try to reach an agreement with the national government to improve the economic situation of the rural sector in Corrientes.[33] After the runoff, Colombi stated that he expected to have a mature relationship with the national government.[34] He also asserted that he had no relationship whatsoever with either Cristina or Néstor Kirchner, but that he would try to maintain an institutional relationship with the national government in the best interest of the province.[35]

Colombi did not share any public acts with members of the national government throughout the election cycle. Conversely, the elected governor met with Gerardo Morales a number of times, who is a leader of the national opposition. Before the election, Colombi shared a public act with Morales and an opposition legislator.[36] Morales also travelled to the province both before the first round of the election and the night of the runoff to support the elected governor.[37]

National newspapers repeatedly stated that Colombi was aligned with Gerardo Morales, a prominent member of the national opposition.[38] Additionally, La Nación newspaper interpreted the results of the election in the province as a victory for Morales, and therefore not the national government.[39] Página 12 also stated that while Colombi had been a Radical-Kirchnerista until 2007, he had distanced himself from the national government shortly afterwards.[40]

Sebastián. "La elección queda en familia". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 7 September 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-131337-2009-09-07.html.

[31] "Corrientes: cierre de campaña para las elecciones del domingo". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 10 September 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1173241-corrientes-cierre-de-campana-para-las-elecciones-del-domingo.

[32] ""El Gobierno tiene que cambiar la forma de gobernar"". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 15 September 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1174781-el-gobierno-tiene-que-cambiar-la-forma-de-gobernar.

[33] ""El Gobierno tiene que cambiar la forma de gobernar"". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 15 September 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1174781-el-gobierno-tiene-que-cambiar-la-forma-de-gobernar.

[34] Dandan, Alejandra. ""Es muy dudoso todo"". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 6 October 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/132993-42884-2009-10-06.html.

[35] "Cómo será la futura relación de la Provincia con la Nación". *La República*, [Corrientes] 10 October 2009. http://diariolarepublica.com.ar/notix/noticia.php?i=162482&f=2009-10-10#.WBPjKy3hDIU.

[36] "Un test Radical". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 31 August 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-130900-2009-08-31.html.

[37] Rosemberg, Jaime. "Corrientes define su futuro político". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 13 September 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1174020-corrientes-define-su-futuro-politico ; Rosemberg, Jaime. "Ricardo Colombi le ganó la gobernación a su primo Arturo". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 4 October 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1182391-ricardo-colombi-le-gano-la-gobernacion-a-su-primo-arturo.

[38] "Corrientes: cierre de campaña para las elecciones del domingo". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 10 September 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1173241-corrientes-cierre-de-campana-para-las-elecciones-del-domingo ; Abrevaya, Sebastián. "La elección queda en familia". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 7 September 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-131337-2009-09-07.html.

[39] Rosemberg, Jaime. "Ricardo Colombi arrasó a su primo y será gobernador de Corrientes". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 5 October 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1182671-ricardo-colombi-arraso-a-su-primo-y-sera-gobernador-de-corrientes.

[40] Abrevaya, Sebastián. "Un apoyo que ya no es garantía segura de triunfo". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 5 October 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/132950-42869-2009-10-05.html.

The elected governor never held an appointed position in the national government for the 2003-2009 period. Colombi governed Corrientes from 2001 to 2005, and at the time of the election he was a local senator.[41]

At the local level, the incumbent governor was not aligned with the national government. La Nación and Página 12, as well as a local newspaper, stated that he was aligned with Julio Cobos, the vice-President who was also a prominent member of the national opposition.[42] Moreover, Página 12 and a local newspaper stated that the incumbent governor distanced himself from Kirchnerismo after the conflict between the national government and the rural producers in 2008.[43] On the other hand, the candidate who headed the Correntinos por el Cambio ticket was aligned with the President. The candidate belongs to the Peronist Party, and both national and local newspapers referred to him as Kirchnerista.[44]

2011

In 2011, Corrientes held elections for provincial legislators. Many coalitions participated, including Encuentro por Corrientes, Frente para la Victoria, Frente Compromiso Correntino, and Unión Pro. Encuentro por Corrientes won the election with 47% of the vote, while Frente para la Victoria came in second with 37.2% of the vote; Frente Compromiso Corrientino and Unión PRO secured 7.8% and 3.3% of the vote, respectively.[45]

[41] "Cerraron los comicios en Corrientes: optimismo en la sede de Arturo Colombi". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 14 September 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1174175-cerraron-los-comicios-en-corrientes-optimismo-en-la-sede-de-arturo-colombi ; ""Sólo benefician a los amigos del poder"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 6 September 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1171311-solo-benefician-a-los-amigos-del-poder.

[42] Rosemberg, Jaime. "Los Colombi ya seducen al PJ para la segunda vuelta". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 15 September 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1174780-los-colombi-ya-seducen-al-pj-para-la-segunda-vuelta ; "Un test Radical". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 31 August 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-130900-2009-08-31.html ; "El rol de la Nación y los cruces en la campaña correntina". *La República,* [Corrientes] 21 August 2009. http://diariolarepublica.com.ar/notix/noticia.php?i=161077&f=2009-8-21#.WBPXbS3hDIU.

[43] Abrevaya, Sebastián. "Un apoyo que ya no es garantía segura de triunfo". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 5 October 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/132950-42869-2009-10-05.html ; "La Nación tiene fondos para cancelar deuda con Corrientes". *La República,* [Corrientes] 12 September 2009. http://diariolarepublica.com.ar/notix/noticia.php?i=161699&f=2009-9-12#.WBPf2y3hDIU.

[44] "Corrientes: marcha del candidato K para que se cuenten los votos". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 September 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1175729-corrientes-marcha-del-candidato-k-para-que-se-cuenten-los-votos ; "Un test Radical". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 31 August 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-130900-2009-08-31.html ; "Se disputa la gobernación". *La República,* [Corrientes] 13 September 2009. http://diariolarepublica.com.ar/notix/noticia.php?i=161722&f=2009-9-13#.WBPf6i3hDIU ; "Las encuestas marcan el debate en una campaña supeditada al oráculo". *El Litoral,* [Corrientes] 21 August 2009. http://www.ellitoral.com.ar/116500/Las-encuestas-marcan-el-debate-en-una-campana-supeditada-al-oraculo.

[45] "La UCR ganó los comicios de Corrientes." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 19 September 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1407421-la-ucr-gano-los-comicios-de-corrientes

The governor of the province, Ricardo Colombi, is not a Peronist. Newspapers identify him as a member of the Radical Party.[46] He also self-identifies as a Radical.[47] Colombi did not support the list that used the Frente para la Victoria party tag in this election; instead, he supported the Encuentro por Corrientes list.[48] His coalition included the Unión Cívica Radical party.[49] These indicators, together with experts' opinions and a local opposition aligned with the national government, suggest that the governor is in opposition to the national administration.

Colombi used mixed rhetoric when referring to Cristina Kirchner and the national government. On one hand, the governor criticized a national deputy from the province for having supposed ties with the national government.[50] On the other hand, Colombi promoted an institutional relationship with the national government to avoid conflict.[51] He even stressed the need to be as close as possible to the national government.[52]

After the elections, on the Día de la Industria (Day of Industry), Colombi had dinner with Cristina Kirchner.[53] The governor participated in a ceremony in Buenos Aires for an agricultural national program. The President and the Ministro de Agricultura (Minister of Agriculture) also participated in this ceremony and the three of them were also present in a later ceremony on

[46] "'La relación con la Nación va "más allá del color politico,' dijo Vignolo." *La República,* [Corrientes] 16 November 2011 http://www.diariolarepublica.com.ar/notix/noticia.php?i=178722&f=2011-11-16#.VlcIGXarSM8 ; "La UCR ganó los comicios de Corrientes." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 19 September 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1407421-la-ucr-gano-los-comicios-de-corrientes ; Bossi, Jesica. "El Gobierno pone condiciones en el "libro de pases" a sus filas." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 25 September 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1409051-el-gobierno-pone-condiciones-en-el-libro-de-pases-a-sus-filas ; Rosemberg, Jaime. "Corrientes avanza con un plan para construir papeleras." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 December 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1430008-corrientes-avanza-con-un-plan-para-construir-papeleras

[47] "Por créditos productivos, Ricardo volvió a cruzarse con la Presidenta." *El Litoral,* [Corrientes] 17 November 2011 http://www.ellitoral.com.ar/179154/Por-creditos-productivos-Ricardo-volvio-a-cruzarse-con-la-Presidenta

[48] "La UCR ganó los comicios de Corrientes." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 19 September 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1407421-la-ucr-gano-los-comicios-de-corrientes

[49] Capriata, Laura. "La UCR, en su peor momento." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 13 November 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1422853-la-ucr-en-su-peor-momento

[50] "Liberales cruzan duro a Josefina por sus quejas contra el Gobierno." *La República,* [Corrientes] 9 November 2011 http://www.diariolarepublica.com.ar/notix/noticia.php?i=178634&f=2011-11-9 ; "Severa respuesta de Ricardo tras el pataleo de Josefina Meabe." *El Litoral,* [Corrientes] 9 November 2011 http://www.ellitoral.com.ar/178420/Severa-respuesta-de-Ricardo-trasel-pataleo-de-Josefina-Meabe

[51] "'La relación con la Nación va "más allá del color politico,' dijo Vignolo." *La República,* [Corrientes] 16 November 2011 http://www.diariolarepublica.com.ar/notix/noticia.php?i=178722&f=2011-11-16#.VlcIGXarSM8

[52] "Ricardo llamó a 'estar lo más cerca posible del Gobierno Nacional.'" *El Litoral,* [Corrientes] 18 October 2011 http://www.ellitoral.com.ar/176464/Ricardo-llamo-a-estar-lo-mas-cercaposible-del-Gobierno-Nacional ; "Por créditos productivos, Ricardo volvió a cruzarse con la Presidenta." *El Litoral,* [Corrientes] 17 November 2011 http://www.ellitoral.com.ar/179154/Por-creditos-productivos-Ricardo-volvio-a-cruzarse-con-la-Presidenta

[53] "Distintas versiones sobre el trato con la Rosada." *El Litoral,* [Corrientes] 27 September 2011 http://www.ellitoral.com.ar/174714/Distintas-versiones-sobre-el-trato-con-la-Rosada

national investment.[54] Finally, Cristina Kirchner inaugurated a highway in Corrientes via videoconference, which Colombi attended.[55]

Journalists portrayed an antagonistic relationship between Colombi and the national government throughout the election cycle. La Nación indicated that Colombi had a tumultuous relationship with the national government.[56] It described the relationship between the governor and the Casa Rosada (Argentina's White House) as being always strained.[57] In another article, the same newspaper referred to the governor's rhetoric as an opposition one.[58] Página 12 noted that the provincial election was polarized between the two political alliances, referring to Colombi's versus the President's alliances.[59]

Colombi did not hold a position in the national government between 2003 and 2011.

At the local level, the main opposition to Colombi had ties with the national government. It used Frente para la Victoria party tag in the elections. In addition, La Nación referred to this coalition as Kirchnerista.[60] Página 12 also referred to runner-ups as part of Kirchnerismo.[61]

2013

In 2013, Corrientes held gubernatorial elections. While many coalitions participated, only two garnered a large share of the vote – Encuentro por Corrientes and Frente para la Victoria. Encuentro por Corrientes won the election with 50.9% of the vote, while Frente para la Victoria secured only 45.8% of the vote.[62]

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[54] "Colombi viaja hoy a Buenos Aires y se encontrará con la Presidenta." *La República,* [Corrientes] 15 November 2011 http://www.diariolarepublica.com.ar/notix/noticia.php?i=178707&f=2011-11-15 ; "'La relación con la Nación va "más allá del color politico,' dijo Vignolo." *La República,* [Corrientes] 16 November 2011 http://www.diariolarepublica.com.ar/notix/noticia.php?i=178722&f=2011-11-16#.VlcIGXarSM8 ; "Con la presencia de Colombi, Cristina anunció inversiones para el campo." *La República,* [Corrientes] 17 November 2011 http://www.diariolarepublica.com.ar/notix/noticia.php?i=178743&f=2011-11-17; "Pasó para hoy el reencuentro entre Ricardo y Cristina." *El Litoral,* [Corrientes] 16 November 2011 http://www.ellitoral.com.ar/179078/Paso-para-hoy-el-reencuentro-entre-Ricardoy-Cristina

[55] "Autopista en Corrientes." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 8 December 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/sociedad/3-182902-2011-12-08.html

[56] Bossi, Jesica. "El Gobierno pone condiciones en el "libro de pases" a sus filas." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 25 September 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1409051-el-gobierno-pone-condiciones-en-el-libro-de-pases-a-sus-filas

[57] Rosemberg, Jaime. "Corrientes avanza con un plan para construir papeleras." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 December 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1430008-corrientes-avanza-con-un-plan-para-construir-papeleras

[58] "Radicales K, una fuerza en lento declive." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 26 September 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1409386-Radicales-k-una-fuerza-en-lento-declive

[59] "Un respaldo al gobernador Colombi." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 19 September 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-177099-2011-09-19.html

[60] "La UCR ganó los comicios de Corrientes." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 19 September 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1407421-la-ucr-gano-los-comicios-de-corrientes

[61] "Un respaldo al gobernador Colombi." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 19 September 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-177099-2011-09-19.html

[62] "Colombi ganó por 5,06 puntos y gobernará hasta 2017." *La República,* [Corrientes] 16 September 2013 http://diariolarepublica.com.ar/notix/noticia.php?i=187174&f=2013-9-16 ; "Tras el triunfo de Ricardo Colombi, la UCR advierte que se consolida como 'la alternativa para 2015.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 16 September 2013

The governor of the province, Ricardo Colombi, is not a Peronist. Journalists from both local and national newspapers associated the governor with the UCR party.[63] Colombi did not use the Frente para la Victoria party tag in this election; he used the Encuentro por Corrientes tag.[64] His coalition included the Unión Cívica Radical.[65]

Colombi criticized Cristina Kirchner and the national government throughout the election cycle. Before the election, he accused the national government of withdrawing support from the province.[66] In an interview with La Nación newspaper, Colombi accused Frente para la Victoria and Kirchnerismo of violating electoral regulations.[67] In that same interview, he stressed that he was not well-regarded by the national government.[68] Colombi insulted the Jefe de Gabinete (Chief of Staff) at a campaign event, calling him a gossiper (alcahuete).[69] In a speech right before the election, the governor said that he resisted being controlled by the remote control of the national government.[70] After the election, Colombi commented in an interview that no one from the national government had called him to congratulate him on his electoral success and that the only possibility for a change in their relationship was if it was based on a rational exchange.[71]

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http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1620350-tras-el-triunfo-de-ricardo-colombi-la-ucr-advierte-que-se-consolida-como-la-alternativa-para

[63] "Corrientes vota el domingo y se elige algo más que un nuevo gobernador." *La República,* [Corrientes] 12 September 2013 http://diariolarepublica.com.ar/notix/noticia.php?i=187121&f=2013-9-12 ; "Camau Espínola reconoció la derrota y felicitó a Colombi." *La República,* [Corrientes] 16 September 2013 http://diariolarepublica.com.ar/notix/noticia.php?i=187177&f=2013-9-16 ; "Denuncian un 'golpe institucional' en Corrientes." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 August 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1614603-denuncian-un-golpe-institucional-en-corrientes ; Bullrich, Lucrecia. "Cumbre de gobernadores oficialistas para empezar a debatir el futuro del PJ." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 30 August 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1615212-cumbre-de-gobernadores-oficialistas-para-empezar-a-debatir-el-futuro-del-pj ; Bullrich, Lucrecia. "Corrientes, un test electoral clave antes de octubre." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 1 September 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1615767-corrientes-un-test-electoral-clave-antes-de-octubre ; "Colombi: 'La presencia del gobierno nacional jugó en contra.'" *El Litoral,* [Corrientes] 16 September 2013 http://www.ellitoral.com.ar/274889/Colombi-La-presencia-del-gobierno-nacional-jugo-en-contra

[64] "Tras el triunfo de Ricardo Colombi, la UCR advierte que se consolida como 'la alternativa para 2015.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 16 September 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1620350-tras-el-triunfo-de-ricardo-colombi-la-ucr-advierte-que-se-consolida-como-la-alternativa-para

[65] "La conducción nacional de la UCR pone el acento en Corrientes." *La República,* [Corrientes] 20 August 2013 http://diariolarepublica.com.ar/notix/noticia.php?i=186665&f=2013-8-20 ; "Colombi retuvo la Gobernación en una reñida elección contra Camau Espínola." *La República,* [Corrientes] 16 September 2013 http://diariolarepublica.com.ar/notix/noticia.php?i=187169&f=2013-9-16

[66] "Colombi criticó a Camau y lo acusó de 'montar una campaña de descrédito.'" *La República,* [Corrientes] 30 August 2013 http://diariolarepublica.com.ar/notix/noticia.php?i=186886&f=2013-8-30

[67] Bullrich, Lucrecia. "Ricardo Colombi: 'El gobierno Kirchnerista le bajó el pulgar a su candidato porque sabe que pierde.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 31 August 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1615560-ricardo-colombi-el-gobierno-kirchnerista-le-bajo-el-pulgar-a-su-candidato-porque-sabe-que-pi

[68] Bullrich, Lucrecia. "Ricardo Colombi: 'El gobierno Kirchnerista le bajó el pulgar a su candidato porque sabe que pierde.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 31 August 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1615560-ricardo-colombi-el-gobierno-kirchnerista-le-bajo-el-pulgar-a-su-candidato-porque-sabe-que-pi

[69] "Hugo Moyano vaticinó una derrota del Kirchnerismo en las elecciones del domingo en Corrientes." *La Nación,* [Corrientes] 2 September 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1616198-hugo-moyano-vaticino-una-derrota-del-kirchnerismo-en-las-elecciones-del-domingo-en-corriente

[70] "Colombi dijo que el correntino "no quiere ser manejado" por control remoto." *La República,* [Corrientes] 12 September 2013 http://diariolarepublica.com.ar/notix/noticia.php?i=187119&f=2013-9-12

[71] Bullrich, Lucrecia. "Ricardo Colombi: 'Muchos vinieron pensando en hacer base para 2015, pero les salió el tiro por la culata.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 September 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1620585-ricardo-colombi-muchos-vinieron-pensando-en-hacer-base-para-2015-pero-les-salio-el-tiro-por-

The governor also noted that the presence of the national government likely hurt his challenger's chance of winning.[72] He finally asked for equal treatment from the national government so the province would receive the same benefits as other provinces.[73]

During the election, Colombi did not meet with any officials from the national government. Conversely, a prominent national leader from the Unión Cívica Radical party – part of the national opposition – joined the governor at campaign stops.[74]

La Nación referred to Colombi as a former Radical-K (UCR aligned with the national government) that had distanced himself from the Casa Rosada three years prior.[75] A local newspaper noted that Colombi was not politically aligned with the Casa Rosada.[76] The same newspaper referred to Colombi's victory a loss for Kirchnerismo.[77] Another local newspaper interpreted Colombi's success as the product of standing-up against the national government, while his opponent embraced it.[78]

Colombi did not hold a position in the national government between 2003 and 2013.

At the local level, Colombi's main opponent had a strong alignment with the national government. Local and national newspapers referred to the candidate as a Kirchnerista.[79]

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[72] "Colombi: 'La presencia del gobierno nacional jugó en contra.'" *El Litoral,* [Corrientes] 16 September 2013 http://www.ellitoral.com.ar/274889/Colombi-La-presencia-del-gobierno-nacional-jugo-en-contra ; "Colombi culpó a la Nación por la derrota de Camau y apostó a una mejor relación." *El Litoral,* [Corrientes] 17 September 2013 http://www.ellitoral.com.ar/274999/Colombi-culpo-a-la-Nacion-por-la-derrota-de-Camau-y-aposto-a-una-mejor-relacion

[73] "Colombi: 'Me cansé de llamar y en Nación no nos atienden.'" *El Litoral,* [Corrientes] 20 September 2013 http://www.ellitoral.com.ar/275509/Colombi-Me-canse-de-llamar-y-en-Nacion-no-nos-atienden ; "Con presencia nacional anti-k, Colombi volvió a disparar contra Nación aunque pidió una futura relación respetuosa." *El Litoral,* [Corrientes] 23 September 2013 http://www.ellitoral.com.ar/275937/Con-presencia-nacional-anti-k-Colombi-volvio-a-disparar-contra-Nacion-aunque-pidio-una-futura-relacion-respetuosa

[74] "La conducción nacional de la UCR pone el acento en Corrientes." *La República,* [Corrientes] 20 August 2013 http://diariolarepublica.com.ar/notix/noticia.php?i=186665&f=2013-8-20 ; Sued, Gabriel. "Tras años de distanciamiento, Scioli se mostró con Sabbatella." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 21 August 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1612525-tras-anos-de-distanciamiento-scioli-se-mostro-con-sabbatella ; "Llega Sanz para respaldar a Colombi y radicales desalientan el voto a Nito." *El Litoral,* [corrientes] 20 august 2013 http://www.ellitoral.com.ar/270169/Llega-Sanz-para-respaldar-a-Colombi--y-Radicales-desalientan-el-voto-a-Nito

[75] Bullrich, Lucrecia. "Corrientes, un test electoral clave antes de octubre." *La Nación,* [Corrientes] 1 September 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1615767-corrientes-un-test-electoral-clave-antes-de-octubre ; "Ricardo Colombi: la resistencia del último gobernador radical." *La Nación,* [Corrientes] 15 September 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1620019-ricardo-colombi-la-resistencia-del-ultimo-gobernador-radical

[76] "Colombi retuvo la Gobernación en una reñida elección contra Camau Espínola." *La República,* [Corrientes] 16 September 2013 http://diariolarepublica.com.ar/notix/noticia.php?i=187169&f=2013-9-16

[77] "El diario El País destaca el triunfo de Colombi a 40 días de las legislativas nacionales." *La República,* [Corrientes] 17 September 2013 http://diariolarepublica.com.ar/notix/noticia.php?i=187206&f=2013-9-17

[78] "Por qué ganó Ricardo Colombi." *El Litoral,* [Corrientes] 16 September 2013 http://www.ellitoral.com.ar/274849/Por-que-gano-Ricardo-Colombi

[79] Rosemberg, Jaime. "Duro revés judicial para Colombi en Corrientes." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 August 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1614270-duro-reves-judicial-para-colombi-en-corrientes ; "Corrientes define su próximo gobernador en una elección nacionalizada." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 15 September 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1619932-corrientes-define-su-proximo-gobernador-en-una-eleccion-nacionalizada ; "Tras el triunfo de Ricardo Colombi, la UCR advierte que se consolida como 'la alternativa para 2015.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 16 September 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1620350-tras-el-triunfo-de-ricardo-colombi-la-ucr-advierte-que-se-consolida-como-la-alternativa-para ; "Daniel Scioli y De la Sota preparan un desembarco en la campaña correntina." *La República,* [Corrientes] 22 August 2013 http://diariolarepublica.com.ar/notix/noticia.php?i=186729&f=2013-8-22 ; "El diario El País destaca el triunfo de

Moreover, the Chief of Staff, the Minister of Agriculture, and several aligned governors went to the province to support his candidacy.[80] In his concession speech, the runner-up thanked the national government for its support.[81]

Colombi a 40 días de las legislativas nacionales." *La República,* [Corrientes] 17 September 2013 http://diariolarepublica.com.ar/notix/noticia.php?i=187206&f=2013-9-17 ; "Colombi culpó a la Nación por la derrota de Camau y apostó a una mejor relación." *El Litoral,* [Corrientes] 17 September 2013 http://www.ellitoral.com.ar/274999/Colombi-culpo-a-la-Nacion-por-la-derrota-de-Camau-y-aposto-a-una-mejor-relacion

[80] "Colombi criticó a Camau y lo acusó de 'montar una campaña de descrédito.'" *La República,* [Corrientes] 30 August 2013 http://diariolarepublica.com.ar/notix/noticia.php?i=186886&f=2013-8-30 ; "Con Moyano, Colombi entregó viviendas y criticó al Kirchnerismo." *La República,* [Corrientes] 2 September 2013 http://diariolarepublica.com.ar/notix/noticia.php?i=186918&f=2013-9-2 ; Bullrich, Lucrecia. "Scioli suma apoyos para reactivar el PJ con la mira en 2015." *La Nación,* [Corrientes] 31 August 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1615664-scioli-suma-apoyos-para-reactivar-el-pj-con-la-mira-en-2015 ;Bullrich, Lucrecia. ""Camau" Espínola recibió todo el respaldo." *La Nación,* [Corrientes] 31 August 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1615665-camau-espinola-recibio-todo-el-respaldo ; "los cruces de corrientes." *Página 12,* [buenos aires] 7 september 2013 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-228519-2013-09-07.html

[81] "Camau reconoció la derrota y dijo que seguirá en política." *La República,* [Corrientes] 17 September 2013 http://diariolarepublica.com.ar/notix/noticia.php?i=187181&f=2013-9-17

Entre Ríos

2007

In 2007 Entre Ríos elected a governor, a vice-governor, 28 local deputies, and 17 local senators.[1] Eight coalitions competed for the gubernatorial position, and three garnered a significant portion of the vote: Frente Justicialista para la Victoria, Unión Cívica Radical (UCR), and Frente para la Victoria y la Justicia Social. Sergio Urribarri, from Frente Justicialista para la Victoria, was elected with 47% of the vote.[2] UCR came in second with 19.8% of the vote, and Frente para la Victoria y la Justicia Social came in third with 18.8%.[3]

The elected governor, Sergio Urribarri, belongs to the Peronist Party. National newspapers described him as a Peronist candidate.[4] At the time of the election, Urribarri had been the President of the provincial Peronist Party since 2003.[5] Moreover, the elected governor used a marginally changed version of the national government'a party tag: the Frente Justicialista para la Victoria.[6]

Urribarri expressed his support for the national administration on numerous occasions. Before the election, the elected governor praised Néstor Kirchner's inclusive policies.[7] After the election, he affirmed that Kirchner had achieved social justice in the country.[8] Additionally, Urribarri stated that he had been elected due to the President's support.[9] The elected governor also declared that he would have an excellent relationship with the national government.[10] Moreover, Urribarri expressed his hope that his victory in the election augured a good outcome

[1] In 2007 Entre Ríos also elected president, vice-president, four national deputies, and three national senators. However, the elections were not concurrent.
[2] "Otro triunfo Kirchnerista en Entre Ríos". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 18 March 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/892537-otro-triunfo-Kirchnerista-en-entre-rios.
[3] Gallo, Daniel. "El oficialismo obtuvo un claro triunfo en Entre Ríos". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 19 March 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/892733-el-oficialismo-obtuvo-un-claro-triunfo-en-entre-rios.
[4] Gallo, Daniel. "El oficialismo obtuvo un claro triunfo en Entre Ríos". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 19 March 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/892733-el-oficialismo-obtuvo-un-claro-triunfo-en-entre-rios ; Piqué, Martín. "Un voto que no pone nerviosa a la Rosada". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 18 March 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-81922-2007-03-18.html.
[5] Piqué, Martín. ""Tiene una actitud de tipo autista"". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 20 March 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-82016-2007-03-20.html.
[6] Tirso Fiorotto, Daniel. "El conflicto por las pasteras se metió en la campaña entrerriana". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 11 March 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/890470-el-conflicto-por-las-pasteras-se-metio-en-la-campana-entrerriana.
[7] "Urribarri y Solanas se cruzaron acusaciones en el programa A Dos Voces". *Diario Junio Digital,* [Concordia] 15 March 2007. http://www.diariojunio.com.ar/noticia.php?noticia=18956.
[8] ""Tendremos una gestión prudente, un presupuesto equilibrado y un espíritu dialoguista", aseveró Urribarri". *Análisis Digital,* [Paraná] 18 March 2007. http://www.analisisdigital.com.ar/noticias.php?ed=1&di=0&sec=1&no=54711.
[9] Gallo, Daniel. ""Kirchner es el gran artífice de este triunfo en Entre Ríos"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 20 March 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/892923-kirchner-es-el-gran-artifice-de-este-triunfo-en-entre-rios.
[10] Gallo, Daniel. ""Kirchner es el gran artífice de este triunfo en Entre Ríos"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 20 March 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/892923-kirchner-es-el-gran-artifice-de-este-triunfo-en-entre-rios.

for the national government in the forthcoming presidential election.[11] The elected governor also affirmed that he was the true representative of Kirchnerismo in the province.[12]

Urribarri participated in a number of public acts and meetings with members of the national government. Before the election, the then governor of the province and the national Ministro de Educación (Minister of Education) signed an agreement.[13] Urribarri, who was the local Ministro de Gobierno (Minister of Government) at that time, was present at the ceremony.[14] The night of the election, Néstor Kirchner called Urribarri to congratulate him for the results.[15] After the election, the then governor of the province, the then vice-governor, and Urribarri had a meeting with the President and the Jefe de Gabinete (Chief of Staff).[16] Urribarri was also scheduled to travel to Spain with the Jefe de Gabinete, the Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores (Minister of Foreign Affairs), the Directora de Asuntos Legales del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores (Director of Legal Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Relations), and the Secretaria de Medio Ambiente (Secretary of Environment).[17]

La Nación and a local newspaper referred to the elected governor as Kirchnerista.[18] La Nación also stated that if either Urribarri or his challenger from Frente para la Victoria y la Justicia Social were elected, it would be a victory for the national government.[19] Additionally, Página 12 affirmed that Frente Justicialista para la Victoria had a good relationship with the national government.[20]

The elected governor never held an appointed position in the national government for the 2003-2007 period. At the time of the election, Urribarri was on leave for his position as Ministro de Gobierno in Entre Ríos.[21]

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[11] Gallo, Daniel. ""Kirchner es el gran artífice de este triunfo en Entre Ríos"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 20 March 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/892923-kirchner-es-el-gran-artifice-de-este-triunfo-en-entre-rios.

[12] Piqué, Martín. ""Tiene una actitud de tipo autista"". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 20 March 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-82016-2007-03-20.html.

[13] "Filmus y Busti firmaron convenio para cumplir con la Ley de Financiamiento Educativo". *Diario Junio Digital,* [Concordia] 12 March 2007. http://www.diariojunio.com.ar/noticia.php?noticia=18905.

[14] "Filmus y Busti firmaron convenio para cumplir con la Ley de Financiamiento Educativo". *Diario Junio Digital,* [Concordia] 12 March 2007. http://www.diariojunio.com.ar/noticia.php?noticia=18905.

[15] "Urribarri ganó en Entre Ríos". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 18 March 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-81955-2007-03-18.html ; Piqué, Martín. ""Tiene una actitud de tipo autista"". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 20 March 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-82016-2007-03-20.html.

[16] "Kirchner invitó a Entre Ríos a integrar la misión Argentina que se reunirá con el facilitador en España". *Diario Junio Digital,* [Concordia] 28 March 2007. http://www.diariojunio.com.ar/noticia.php?noticia=19231.

[17] Obarrio, Mariano. "La Argentina pedirá la relocalización de Botnia". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 13 April 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/899651-la-argentina-pedira-la-relocalizacion-de-botnia.

[18] "Gualeguaychú cumplirá 90 días seguidos con cortes". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 19 February 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/884824-gualeguaychu-cumplira-90-dias-seguidos-con-cortes ; "Kirchner saludó a Urribarri por su triunfo". *Análisis Digital,* [Paraná] 18 March 2007. http://www.analisisdigital.com.ar/noticias.php?ed=1&di=0&sec=1&no=54730.

[19] Gallo, Daniel. "Kirchner se anotará un triunfo gane quien gane". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 18 March 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/892415-kirchner-se-anotara-un-triunfo-gane-quien-gane.

[20] "Oficialismo por triplicado". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 11 March 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-81586-2007-03-11.html.

[21] Gallo, Daniel. "Poca euforia y una elección polarizada por el peronismo". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 March 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/892219-poca-euforia-y-una-eleccion-polarizada-por-el-peronismo.

At the local level, UCR was not aligned with the President. Página 12 stated that the UCR candidate belonged to the national opposition.[22] La Nación n also affirmed that the UCR candidate was supported by Roberto Lavagna, a leader of the national opposition.[23] Moreover, the President of the Comité Nacional (National Committee) of the UCR, who clearly opposed the national government, travelled to Entre Ríos to support the UCR candidate.[24] However, Frente para la Victoria y la Justicia Social was also aligned with the national government. National newspapers described the Frente para la Victoria y Justicia Social candidate as Kirchnerista.[25] The candidate also used the national government's Frente para la Victoria party tag.

2009

In 2009 Entre Ríos elected five national deputies.[26] Ten coalitions competed in the election, and two garnered a significant portion of the vote: Acuerdo Cívico y Social and Frente Justicialista Entrerriano. Acuerdo Cívico y Social won the election with 35% of the vote.[27] Frente Justicialista Entrerriano, the coalition supported by the governor, came in a close second with 34.3% of the vote.[28]

The governor, Sergio Urribarri, belongs to the Peronist Party.[29] However, the coalition supported by the governor used the Frente Justicialista Entrerriano and not the Frente para la Victoria party tag.[30]

Urribarri had a positive discourse toward the national government throughout the election cycle. Before the election, the governor declared that the national government and the province had been cooperating for a long time to reduce informal labor.[31] Urribarri also thanked Néstor and Cristina Kirchner for the attention that the province had received, and he praised their economic and social policies.[32] Additionally, the governor encouraged his voters to support the

[22] "Oficialismo por triplicado". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 11 March 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-81586-2007-03-11.html.
[23] Gallo, Daniel. "El oficialismo obtuvo un claro triunfo en Entre Ríos". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 19 March 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/892733-el-oficialismo-obtuvo-un-claro-triunfo-en-entre-rios.
[24] ""Entre Ríos será la séptima provincia gobernada por el Radicalismo", dijo Gerardo Morales". *Diario Junio Digital,* [Concordia] 22 February 2007. http://www.diariojunio.com.ar/noticia.php?noticia=18548.
[25] "Gualeguaychú cumplirá 90 días seguidos con cortes". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 19 February 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/884824-gualeguaychu-cumplira-90-dias-seguidos-con-cortes ; "Entre campañas". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 16 March 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-81859-2007-03-16.html.
[26] "Provincia por provincia, cómo se resuelve la pelea por el nuevo poder". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144475-provincia-por-provincia-como-se-resuelve-la-pelea-por-el-nuevo-poder.
[27] Riani, Jorge. "Entre Ríos: triunfo del Acuerdo Cívico". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144835-entre-rios-triunfo-del-acuerdo-civico.
[28] Riani, Jorge. "Entre Ríos: triunfo del Acuerdo Cívico". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144835-entre-rios-triunfo-del-acuerdo-civico.
[29] Dinatale, Martín. "Fuerte reclamo de gobernadores del PJ". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 1 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1145580-fuerte-reclamo-de-gobernadores-del-pj ; Piqué, Martín. "El Lole no quiere compartir la escudería". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 2 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-127620-2009-07-02.html.
[30] "Provincia por provincia, cómo se resuelve la pelea por el nuevo poder". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144475-provincia-por-provincia-como-se-resuelve-la-pelea-por-el-nuevo-poder.
[31] "El Ministerio de Trabajo va a cooperar con el Centro de Desarrollo Foresto Industrial de Entre Ríos". *Diario Junio Digital,* [Concordia] 2 June 2009. http://www.diariojunio.com.ar/noticia.php?noticia=33397.
[32] "Fue inaugurado el nuevo puente en Paso Quebracho. Demandó casi $31 millones". *Diario Junio Digital,* [Concordia] 17 June 2009. http://www.diariojunio.com.ar/noticia.php?noticia=33689.

national government's inclusive policies.[33] After the election, Urribarri praised the new members of the President's cabinet.[34] He also praised the national government's policies by declaring that each of the national government's accomplishments had benefited the most vulnerable social sectors of the population.[35]

The governor participated in several meetings and public acts with members of the national government. Before the election, Urribarri met with the national Secretario de Medio Ambiente (Secretary of Environment).[36] The governor also had a meeting with the Ministro de Trabajo (Minister of Labor).[37] Moreover, Urribarri participated in a public act headed by Cristina Kirchner at the Casa Rosada (Argentina's White House).[38] Two members of the President's cabinet and another aligned governor were also present at the event.[39] The governor also inaugurated a bridge in the province together with the Head of Vialidad Nacional (Roads and Hightways Department).[40] After the election, Urribarri attended a swearing-in ceremony in Buenos Aires.[41] The President, a number of members of her cabinet, and several aligned governors were also present at the event.[42] The governor also participated in a meeting with the national Secretario de Transporte (Secretary of Transport) and the Federación Entrerriana de Transporte Automotor de Cargas (Entre Ríos Federation of Cargo Transport).[43] Finally, Urribarri had two separate meetings with the Jefe de Gabinete (Chief of Staff) and the Ministro de Planificación Federal (Minister of Federal Planning).[44]

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[33] "Urribarri: "El 28 de junio se discute un modelo de país y su antítesis"". *Diario Junio Digital,* [Concordia] 24 June 2009. http://www.diariojunio.com.ar/noticia.php?noticia=33826.

[34] "Urribarri destacó la capacidad de los flamantes funcionarios nacionales". *Diario Junio Digital,* [Concordia] 8 July 2009. http://www.diariojunio.com.ar/noticia.php?noticia=34106.

[35] "Urribarri: ""no dejemos que se apropien del poder los sectores que representan el retroceso"". *Diario Junio Digital,* [Concordia] 13 July 2009. http://www.diariojunio.com.ar/noticia.php?noticia=34209.

[36] "Homero Bibiloni: "Es grande y pisa fuerte"". *Diario Junio Digital,* [Concordia] 28 May 2009. http://www.diariojunio.com.ar/noticia.php?noticia=33294.

[37] "El Ministerio de Trabajo va a cooperar con el Centro de Desarrollo Foresto Industrial de Entre Ríos". *Diario Junio Digital,* [Concordia] 2 June 2009. http://www.diariojunio.com.ar/noticia.php?noticia=33397.

[38] "Fondos de la Nación servirán para complementar la ayuda a los productores apícolas". *Diario Junio Digital,* [Concordia] 12 June 2009. http://www.diariojunio.com.ar/noticia.php?noticia=33620.

[39] "Fondos de la Nación servirán para complementar la ayuda a los productores apícolas". *Diario Junio Digital,* [Concordia] 12 June 2009. http://www.diariojunio.com.ar/noticia.php?noticia=33620.

[40] "Fue inaugurado el nuevo puente en Paso Quebracho. Demandó casi $31 millones". *Diario Junio Digital,* [Concordia] 17 June 2009. http://www.diariojunio.com.ar/noticia.php?noticia=33689.

[41] "Asumieron Fernández y Boudou, los recientes ascendidos en el Gabinete". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 8 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1148437-asumieron-fernandez-y-boudou-los-recientes-ascendidos-en-el-gabinete.

[42] "Asumieron Fernández y Boudou, los recientes ascendidos en el Gabinete". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 8 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1148437-asumieron-fernandez-y-boudou-los-recientes-ascendidos-en-el-gabinete ; Piqué, Martín. "El día que las sonrisas volvieron a la Rosada". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 9 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/127976-41072-2009-07-09.html.

[43] "Transportistas entrerrianos gestionaron a la Nación subsidios y cambios en el régimen laboral". *Diario Junio Digital,* [Concordia] 20 July 2009. http://www.diariojunio.com.ar/noticia.php?noticia=34358.

[44] "Entre Ríos solicitó la asistencia de la Nación para promover las radicaciones industriales". *Diario Junio Digital,* [Concordia] 21 July 2009. http://www.diariojunio.com.ar/noticia.php?noticia=34377 ; "Urribarri y De Vido analizaron opciones de financiamiento internacional para una nueva conexión con Santa Fe". *Diario Junio Digital,* [Concordia] 22 July 2009. http://www.diariojunio.com.ar/noticia.php?noticia=34404.

La Nación newspaper described Urribarri as ultra-Kirchnerista.[45] The same newspaper stated that since the coalition supported by the governor came in second, the national government had lost the election in Entre Ríos.[46] Moreover, Página 12 stated that the governor was aligned with Kirchnerismo.[47]

Urribarri never held an appointed position in the national government for the 2003-2009 period.

At the local level, Acuerdo Cívico y Social clearly opposed the national government. The candidate who headed the Acuerdo Cívico y Social ticket belongs to the UCR.[48] La Nación stated that his candidacy was supported by Elisa Carrió and Gerardo Morales, two leaders of the national opposition.[49] The same newspaper also affirmed that the Acuerdo Cívico y Social candidate was supported by the leader of a rural producers' association that clearly opposed the President.[50]

2011

In 2011, Entre Ríos held gubernatorial and legislative elections. In the executive elections, three parties secured a large number of votes – Frente para la Victoria, Frente Progresista Cívico y Social, and Frente Entrerriano Federal. Frente para la Victoria won the election, garnering 57% of the vote; the other parties received 19.4% and 17.4%, respectively.[51]

The reelected governor of the province, Sergio Urribarri, is a Peronist. He participated in a meeting of the National Council of the Partido Justicialista with the aim of showing a strong and united Peronism.[52] Urribarri also celebrated the Día de la Militancia (Day of Party

[45] Dinatale, Martín. "En Entre Ríos, los votos definen la pelea del Kirchnerismo con el agro". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 5 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1135910-en-entre-rios-los-votos-definen-la-pelea-del-Kirchnerismo-con-el-agro.

[46] "Dura derrota de Kirchner". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144840-dura-derrota-de-kirchner.

[47] "El rápido litoraleño". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 1 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/127550-40876-2009-07-01.html.

[48] Dinatale, Martín. "En Entre Ríos, los votos definen la pelea del Kirchnerismo con el agro". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 5 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1135910-en-entre-rios-los-votos-definen-la-pelea-del-Kirchnerismo-con-el-agro.

[49] Dinatale, Martín. "En Entre Ríos, los votos definen la pelea del Kirchnerismo con el agro". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 5 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1135910-en-entre-rios-los-votos-definen-la-pelea-del-Kirchnerismo-con-el-agro.

[50] Dinatale, Martín. "Fuerte reclamo de gobernadores del PJ". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 1 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1145580-fuerte-reclamo-de-gobernadores-del-pj.

[51] Riani, Jorge. "Urribarri fue reelegido en Entre Rios por amplio margen." *La Nación,* [Parana] 24 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1417321-urribarri-fue-reelegido-en-entre-rios-por-amplio-margen ; "Amplio voto a candidatos K." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 24 October 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-179613-2011-10-24.html ; "Urribarri logro un amplio triunfo y fue reelecto gobernador de Entre Rios." *El Diario,* [Parana] 23 October 2011 http://www.eldiario.com.ar/secciones/politica/nota.php?id=24153

[52] Lantos, Nicolas. "Con un respaldo 'mas que nunca' a Cristina Kirchner." *Página 12,* [Rio Gallegos] 18 November 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-181510-2011-11-18.html

Militancy) with other Peronist governors to honor the memory of Néstor Kirchner.[53] He also used the Frente para la Victoria party tag.[54]

Urribarri spoke favorably of the national government in numerous occasions. In a video conference with the President, the governor expressed his gratitude for the work of the national government in the province, and invited her to visit Entre Ríos.[55] In a speech before the election, Urribarri referred to Cristina Kirchner's government as one that had enhanced the greatness of the nation.[56] Following the election, Urribarri attributed his victory to the support from the national government.[57] He also specifically thanked both Néstor and Cristina Kirchner in his victory speech and guaranteed strong cooperation with the national government.[58] On the anniversary of Néstor Kirchner's passing, Urribarri said the former President had paid with his own life for the transformation of Argentina.[59] Urribarri also commended Cristina Kirchner for her excellent work at the G20 Summit.[60]

Before the election, Cristina Kirchner travelled to the province for the bicentennial celebration of a city.[61] At the celebration, the President referred to Urribarri as a friend and a partner, in that order.[62] The governor travelled to Buenos Aires to accompany Cristina Kirchner in her final presidential campaign event alongside Vice Presidential candidate Amado Boudou.[63] After the election, Urribarri attended a ceremony at the mausoleum of Néstor Kirchner, followed by a meeting of the National Council of the Peronist Party in which the party offered unified support to Cristina Kirchner's presidential candidacy. These events were also attended by several aligned governors, Néstor Kirchner's son, and prominent national officials, such as the Ministro del Interior (Minister of the Interior) and the Secretario de Comunicación Pública (Secretary of

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[53] Veneranda, Marcelo. "Scioli reunira al Consejo del PJ." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 November 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1419999-scioli-reunira-al-consejo-del-pj

[54] "Amplio voto a candidatos K." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 24 October 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-179613-2011-10-24.html

[55] "Videoconferencia con Entre Rios." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 8 October 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-178463-2011-10-08.html ; "La Presidenta anuncio que el 18 de octubre estara en Gualeguaychu." *El Diario,* [Parana] 7 October 2011 http://www.eldiario.com.ar/secciones/provinciales/22497-la-presidenta-anuncio-que-el-18-de-octubre-estara-en-gualeguaychu.htm

[56] "Cristina cerro con un llamado a la unidad." *El Diario,* [Parana] 20 October 2011 http://www.eldiario.com.ar/diario/nacionales/nota.php?id=23741

[57] "Ecos de la elecciones." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 25 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1417524-ecos-de-las-elecciones ; "Amplio voto a candidatos K." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 24 October 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-179613-2011-10-24.html

[58] "Urribarri logro un amplio triunfo y fue reelecto gobernador de Entre Rios." *El Diario,* [Parana] 23 October 2011 http://www.eldiario.com.ar/secciones/politica/nota.php?id=24153

[59] "Una figura en el recuerdo de todos." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 October 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-179901-2011-10-27.html

[60] "Urribarri acompano a Cristina en un encuentro con sindicalistas." *El Diario,* [Parana] 3 November 2011 http://www.eldiario.com.ar/diario/nacionales/nota.php?id=25250 ; "Urribarri participo en el Foro Business-20 en Cannes." *El Diario,* [Parana] 3 November 2011 http://www.eldiario.com.ar/secciones/politica/nota.php?id=25309

[61] Lantos, Nicolas. "'A todos los uruguayos les digo que esten tranquilos.'" *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 19 October 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-179243-2011-10-19.html ; "En Gualeguaychu Cristina insto a generar 'puentes de entendimiento.'" *El Diario,* [Parana] 18 October 2011 http://www.eldiario.com.ar/secciones/provinciales/nota.php?id=23624

[62] "En Gualeguaychu Cristina insto a generar 'puentes de entendimiento.'" *El Diario,* [Parana] 18 October 2011 http://www.eldiario.com.ar/secciones/provinciales/nota.php?id=23624

[63] "Cristina cerro con un llamado a la unidad." *El Diario,* [Parana] 20 October 2011 http://www.eldiario.com.ar/diario/nacionales/nota.php?id=23741

Public Communication).[64] Additionally, Urribarri accompanied Cristina Kirchner to the G20 Summit, alongside the Ministro de Trabajo (Minister of Labor), Ministro de Industria (Minister of Industry), and the Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores (Minister of Foreign Relations).[65]

Journalists frequently associated Urribarri with the national government. The newspaper La Nación often referred to him as a Kirchnerista and his victory as a FPV victory.[66] This newspaper assured that Urubarri had always been always close to the President, even when she enacted unpopular policies for the province's interests.[67] Página 12 defined the governor as completely lined up (encolumnado) alongside the President.[68] The same newspaper attributed Urribarri's electoral success in part to his contiguity with the national government.[69]

Urribarri did not hold a position in the national government between 2003 and 2011.

Urribarri's electoral competitors had ties with the national opposition. The runner-up Atilio Benedetti, representing Frente Progresista Cívico y Social, was close to the Unión Cívica Radical party.[70] Benedetti defined himself as the UCR alternative.[71] The candidate also met with Cristina Kirchner's opponent Ricardo Alfonsín before the election.[72] The third local coalition had close ties with Eduardo Duhalde – another of Cristina Kirchner's presidential opponents.[73]

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[64] Veneranda, Marcelo. "Scioli reunira al Consejo del PJ." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 November 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1419999-scioli-reunira-al-consejo-del-pj ; Arias, Mariela. "El PJ respaldo a Cristina 'sin especulaciones.'" *La Nación,* [Rio Gallegos] 17 November 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1424008-cumbre-del-pj-en-un-homenaje-a-nestor-kirchner ; "El PJ se reunira en Rio Gallegos." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 3 November 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-180403-2011-11-03.html ; Lantos, Nicolas. "Con un respaldo 'mas que nunca' a Cristina Kirchner." *Página 12,* [Rio Gallegos] 18 November 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-181510-2011-11-18.html

[65] "Urrbarri acompanara a la Presidenta en la Cumbre del G20." *El Diario,* [Parana] 30 October 2011 http://www.eldiario.com.ar/secciones/provinciales/nota.php?id=24848 ; "Urribarri acompano a Cristina en un encuentro con sindicalistas." *El Diario,* [Parana] 3 November 2011 http://www.eldiario.com.ar/diario/nacionales/nota.php?id=25250

[66] Rosemburg, Jaime. "Seis gobernadores Kirchneristas iran por la reeleccion." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1411651-seis-gobernadores-Kirchneristas-iran-por-la-reeleccion ; Riani, Jorge. "Urribarri fue reelegido en Entre Rios por amplio margen." *La Nación,* [Parana] 24 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1417321-urribarri-fue-reelegido-en-entre-rios-por-amplio-margen

[67] "Amplio voto a candidatos K." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 24 October 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-179613-2011-10-24.html

[68] "Alfonsin pidio frenar 'el intento hegemonico.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 26 September 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1409292-alfonsin-pidio-frenar-el-intento-hegemonico ; Riani, Jorge. "Urribarri fue reelegido en Entre Rios por amplio margen." *La Nación,* [Parana] 24 October 2011http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1417321-urribarri-fue-reelegido-en-entre-rios-por-amplio-margen

[69] "Amplio voto a candidatos K." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 24 October 2011http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-179613-2011-10-24.html

[70] "Alfonsin pidio frenar 'el intento hegemonico.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 26 September 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1409292-alfonsin-pidio-frenar-el-intento-hegemonico ; Riani, Jorge. "Urribarri fue reelegido en Entre Rios por amplio margen." *La Nación,* [Parana] 24 October 2011http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1417321-urribarri-fue-reelegido-en-entre-rios-por-amplio-margen

[71] "Urribarri prometio 'respeto' a las mnorias." *El Diario,* [Parana] 24 October 2011 http://www.eldiario.com.ar/diario/politica/nota.php?id=24204

[72]"Alfonsin pidio frenar 'el intento hegemonico.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 26 September 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1409292-alfonsin-pidio-frenar-el-intento-hegemonico

[73] Lantos, Nicolas. "Un mapa nacional a tono con el Kirchnerismo." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 2 October 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-178049-2011-10-02.html

2013

Entre Ríos held elections for five national deputies and three national senators in 2013. Three major parties participated – Frente para la Victoria, Unión Cívica Radical, and Alianza Unión por Entre Ríos. Frente para la Victoria won in both races; they garnered 46.2% of the vote for senators, and 46.6% for deputies.[74]

The governor of the province, Sergio Urribarri, self-identifies as a Peronist.[75] In an interview with Página 12, Urribarri stated that he was a Peronist, and always had been.[76] Before the election, he celebrated the Día de la Lealtad (Day of Loyalty) in Santa Fe.[77] Urribarri was a potential 2015 presidential candidate representing FPV. His potential candidacy was endorsed by one of the main factions within Peronism.[78] In addition, he used the Frente para la Victoria party tag because he joined the list as a symbolic candidate (candidato testimonial).[79]

Urribarri frequently spoke favorably of the national government. Before the election, he supported Néstor and Cristina Kirchner's policies of inclusion, redistribution, and increased access to social and cultural rights.[80] In an interview with a local newspaper, the governor claimed he wished that Cristina Kirchner, who could not run for a third term in 2015, could continue being president.[81] He assured that Cristina Kirchner was entitled to choose her successor to compete in 2015.[82] In an interview with Página 12, Urribarri referred to Néstor Kirchner's presidency a new period in history, and assured he owed everything to him.[83] Following the electoral victory, Urribarri thanked Néstor and Cristina Kirchner for their support.[84] He particularly acknowledged the national government's policies because they had been beneficial for the province and therefore he declared being a strong supporter of them.[85]

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[74] "Elecciones 2013: panorama en las provincias." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1632864-panorama-en-las-provincias; "Sergio Urribarri se mostro 'orgullosisimo' del pertenecer al FPV pero evito hablar de 2015." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1633321-sergio-urribarri-se-mostro-orgullosisimo-del-pertenecer-al-fpv-pero-evito-hablar-de-2015

[75] "Urribarri: 'Vamos a tener muchos mas votos que el 11 de agosto.'" *El Diario,* [Parana] 24 October 2013 http://www.eldiario.com.ar/secciones/politica/nota.php?id=94822 ; "Interna partidaria, Kirchnerismo, futuro." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 6 October 2013 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-230688-2013-10-06.html

[76] "Interna partidaria, Kirchnerismo, futuro." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 6 October 2013 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-230688-2013-10-06.html

[77] "Daniel Scioli: 'Se viene la decada del desarrollo.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1630090-daniel-scioli-se-viene-la-decada-del-desarrollo

[78] "Se alineo con Urribarri la conduccion de Descamisados." *El Diario,* [Parana] 14 October 2013 http://www.eldiario.com.ar/diario/politica/nota.php?id=93924

[79] "Elecciones 2013: panorama en las provincias." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1632864-panorama-en-las-provincias

[80] "Urribarri respaldo a los candidatos de Santa Fe." *El Diario,* [Parana] 18 October 2013 http://www.eldiario.com.ar/diario/politica/nota.php?id=94294

[81] "Para Urribarri, Entre Rios esta fuente a una oportunidad historica." *El Diario,* [Parana] 25 October 2013 http://www.eldiario.com.ar/diario/politica/nota.php?id=94875

[82] "Urribarri dijo que Cristina sera quien decida sobre la candidature presidencial." *El Diario,* [Parana] 4 November 2013 http://www.eldiario.com.ar/diario/politica/nota.php?id=95637

[83] "Interna partidaria, Kirchnerismo, futuro." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 6 October 2013 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-230688-2013-10-06.html

[84] "Urribarri justifico la victoria por las politicas de Estado transformadoras." *El Diario,* [Parana] 27 October 2013 http://www.eldiario.com.ar/secciones/politica/nota.php?id=95080

[85] "Sergio Urribarri se mostro 'orgullosisimo' del pertenecer al FPV pero evito hablar de 2015." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1633321-sergio-urribarri-se-mostro-orgullosisimo-del-

Before the election, Urrubarri attended a meeting of the National Council of the Peronist Party where the participants ratified their support for the president; many aligned governors as well as the Jefe de Gabinete (Chief of Staff) and Ministro de Defensa (Minister of Defense) also participated in the event.[86] The Vice President joined the governor in a public act in which they inaugurated a recreational center.[87] Urribarri also met with the Ministro de Planificación (Minister of Planning) who contributed 340 billion pesos to develop a power station in the province.[88] Finally, the governor traveled to the Casa Rosada to attend the swearing in of new national cabinet members.[89]

Journalists identified Urribarri as close with Cristina Kirchner and the national government. La Nación identified the governor and the FPV legislative candidates with Kirchnerismo.[90] The same newspaper referred to Urribarri as one of the few governors who could offer an electoral victory to the Casa Rosada in these elections.[91] Página 12 defined him as a member of Frente para la Victoria and Kirchnerismo.[92] The national newspaper Clarín, cited in a local newspaper, referred to Urribarri as the leading candidate to take over as national Chief of Staff following the legislative elections, and called the governor a hardcore Kirchnerista.[93] Both national and local newspapers referred to Urribarri as a likely candidate to succeed Cristina Kirchner as president in 2015.[94]

Urribarri has not held a position in the national government between 2003 and 2013.

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pertenecer-al-fpv-pero-evito-hablar-de-2015 ; "Urribarri planteo los ejes prioritarios de gestion para los proximos dos anos." *El Diario,* [Parana] 7 November 2013 http://www.eldiario.com.ar/secciones/provinciales/nota.php?id=95844

[86] Bruschtein, Julian. "'Un voto a favor de estas politicas.'" *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 1 October 2013 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-230262-2013-10-01.html

[87] "'Hacemos un obra por dia.'" *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 14 November 2013 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-233576-2013-11-14.html ; "Boudou defendio el modelo y destaco la gestion de Urribarri." *El Diario,* [Parana] 14 November 2013 http://www.eldiario.com.ar/diario/entre-rios/nota.php?id=96276

[88] "La Nación destinara $340 milliones para obras energeticas en Entre Rios." *El Diario,* [Parana] 6 November 2013 http://www.eldiario.com.ar/diario/entre-rios/nota.php?id=95786

[89] "Urribarri respaldo los cambios en el Gabinete." *El Diario,* [Parana] 21 November 2013 http://www.eldiario.com.ar/diario/politica/nota.php?id=96796

[90] "Elecciones 2013: panorama en las provincias." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1632864-panorama-en-las-provincias

[91] "Sergio Urribarri se mostro 'orgullosisimo' del pertenecer al FPV pero evito hablar de 2015." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1633321-sergio-urribarri-se-mostro-orgullosisimo-del-pertenecer-al-fpv-pero-evito-hablar-de-2015

[92] "Interna partidaria, Kirchnerismo, futuro." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 6 October 2013 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-230688-2013-10-06.html

[93] "Mencionan a Urribarri como probable jefe de Gabinete." *El Diario,* [Parana] 12 October 2013 http://www.eldiario.com.ar/diario/politica/nota.php?id=93778

[94] "Se alineo con Urribarri la conduccion de Descamisados." *El Diario,* [Parana] 14 October 2013 http://www.eldiario.com.ar/diario/politica/nota.php?id=93924 ; "La decision de recurrir a La Haya abrio fisuras." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1625830-la-decision-de-recurrir-a-la-haya-abrio-fisuras ; "Interna partidaria, Kirchnerismo, futuro." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 6 October 2013 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-230688-2013-10-06.html ; Kollman, Raul. "'Cristina va a ser la gran electora.'" *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 3 November 2013 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-232784-2013-11-03.html

At the local level, the main opposition parties (UCR and AUER) were members of the national opposition. Specifically, AUER included both dissident Peronists and the PRO party.[95] Mauricio Macri, a prominent member of the PRO, visited the province to meet with members of AUER.[96]

[95] "Elecciones 2013: panorama en las provincias." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1632864-panorama-en-las-provincias ; "Sergio Urribarri se mostro 'orgullosisimo' del pertenecer al FPV pero evito hablar de 2015." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1633321-sergio-urribarri-se-mostro-orgullosisimo-del-pertenecer-al-fpv-pero-evito-hablar-de-2015

[96] "Busti con Macri: 'Era peor que me escondiera.'" *El Diario,* [Parana] 22 October 2013 http://www.eldiario.com.ar/diario/politica/94576-busti-con-macri-era-peor-que-me-escondiera.htm

Formosa

2007

In 2007 Formosa elected president, vice-president, governor, vice-governor, three national deputies, and 15 local deputies. Six coalitions competed for the executive, and one garnered a majority of the vote. The incumbent (Gildo Insfrán) was reelected with 76% of the vote and an almost 60% gap with the runner up, Confederación Política y Social.[1] Gildo Insfrán has been the governor of Formosa since 1995.[2]

Gildo Insfrán belongs to the Peronist Party.[3] He used the Justicialista and not the Frente para la Victoria party tag in this election.

Insfrán expressed his support for the national administration on numerous occasions. Before the election, the governor repeatedly declared that Néstor Kirchner was responsible for the improvements in the province.[4] Insfrán also urged the province's residents to vote for Cristina Kirchner in the Presidential elections on several occasions throughout the campaign.[5] Additionally, the governor praised Néstor Kirchner's inclusive policies.[6] He also congratulated the President for focusing on the provinces that had historically been neglected by the federal government.[7]

The governor participated in several public acts with members of the national administration. Insfrán attended an award ceremony for the best highways works of the year; the Ministro de Planificación (Minister of Planning), the Secretario de Obras Públicas (Secretary of Public Works), and the Director of Vialidad Nacional (Roads and Highways Department) also

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[1] "Insfrán se impuso con amplitud en Formosa". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957510-insfran-se-impuso-con-amplitud-en-formosa ; "Insfrán, por cuarta vez". Página 12, [Buenos Aires] 29 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/93712-29733-2007-10-29.html.

[2] "El oficialismo se quedó con las ocho gobernaciones en juego". *Nordeste al Día,* [Formosa] 29 October 2007. http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/04609/1203685112/.

[3] "Voto cantado". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/949859-voto-cantado ; "Insfrán, por cuarta vez". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 29 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/93712-29733-2007-10-29.html.

[4] "Insfrán dijo que la ciudadanía depende de la profundización del cambio en el país". *Nordeste al Día,* [Formosa] 29 October 2007. http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/03802/1340499064/ ; "Ningún Radical me acompañó para conseguir las obras que necesitaban los formoseños". *Nordeste al Día,* [Formosa] 9 October 2007. http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/04003/41705217/.

[5] "Gobernador: "Queremos seguir profundizando este modelo de inclusión y distribución"". *Nordeste al Día,* [Formosa] 3 October 2007. http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/03887/187104876/ ; ""Ningún Radical me acompañó para conseguir las obras que necesitaban los formoseños"". *Nordeste al Día,* [Formosa] 9 October 2007. http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/04003/41705217/ ; "Insfrán dijo que "las tierras no son para las multinacionales sino para los formoseños"". *Nordeste al Día,* [Formosa] 10 October 2007. http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/04015/2077346372/ ; "Insfrán anticipó que antes de fin de año estará construyéndose la línea de 500 kv.". *Nordeste al Día,* [Formosa] 15 October 2007. http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/04119/1008130969/ ; "Insfrán que en el PJ formoseño hay un fuerte liderazgo y conducción". *Nordeste al Día,* [Formosa] 25 October 2007. http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/04436/1004463593/.

[6] "Gobernador: "Queremos seguir profundizando este modelo de inclusión y distribución"". *Nordeste al Día,* [Formosa] 3 October 2007. http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/03887/187104876/.

[7] "Insfrán dijo que el electroducto será el reaseguro para los próximos 30 años". *Nordeste al Día,* [Formosa] 12 October 2007. http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/04080/793767121/.

participated in event.[8] Additionally, the governor attended a public act headed by Néstor Kirchner at the Casa Rosada (Argentina's White House).[9] Several cabinet members, as well as other aligned governors also attended the event.[10] Insfrán also signed an agreement with the president of the Instituto Nacional de Tecnología Industrial (National Institute of Industrial Technology).[11] Furthermore, the governor participated in a public act with the Secretario de Agricultura y Ganadería (Secretary of Agriculture), the president of the Instituto Nacional de Tecnología Agropecuaria (National Institute of Agriculture Technology), and the president of the Servicio Nacional de Sanidad y Calidad Agroalimentaria (National Service of Health and Food Quality).[12] The night of the election, Insfrán spoke to both Néstor and Cristina Kirchner, who congratulated him on the results of the election. After the election, the governor signed an agreement with the Ministro de Salud (Minister of Health) and had a private meeting with Néstor Kirchner.[13]

La Nación newspaper described the governor as a Peronist with a good relationship with the Casa Rosada.[14] Moreover, Página 12 asserted that if Insfrán won the election it would be a victory for Kirchnerismo.[15] The same newspaper also referred to the governor as the Kirchnerista candidate in the election.[16] Additionally, a local newspaper interpreted Insfrán's reelection as a victory for Kirchnerismo.[17]

Insfrán never held an appointed position in the national government for the 2003-2007 period.

At the local level, Confederación Política y Social was not aligned with the national government. The candidate who headed this coalition belongs to the UCR.[18] Moreover, Confederación Política y Social supported Roberto Lavagna's presidential candidacy, who lost the election to Cristina Kirchner.[19]

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[8] "La ruta nacional 81 fue consagrada como la "obra vial de 2007". *Nordeste al Día,* [Formosa] 6 October 2007. http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/03960/105865653/.

[9] "Una obra eléctrica con 7 interesados". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 13 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/952772-una-obra-electrica-con-7-interesados.

[10] "Una obra eléctrica con 7 interesados". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 13 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/952772-una-obra-electrica-con-7-interesados.

[11] "Insfrán convino la instalación de un Centro de Investigación y Desarrollo". *Nordeste al Día,* [Formosa] 17 October 2007. http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/04163/1014656481/.

[12] "Insfrán dijo que los formoseños defienden el medio ambiente y la agricultura familiar". *Nordeste al Día,* [Formosa] 21 October 2007. http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/04297/479441849/.

[13] "González García dijo que es ejemplar la operación contra el dengue en Formosa". *Nordeste al Día,* [Formosa] 8 November 2007. http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/04963/830154770/ ; "La situación socioeconómica y política abordó Gildo Insfrán con el Presidente". *Nordeste al Día,* [Formosa] 20 November 2007. http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/05329/1438102966/.

[14] "La asunción de Cristina cambia una tradición". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 26 November 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/965672-la-asuncion-de-cristina-cambia-una-tradicion.

[15] Meyer, Adriana. "Las provincias eligen lo suyo". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-93682-2007-10-28.html.

[16] "Formosa". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 30 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-93765-2007-10-30.html.

[17] "El oficialismo se quedó con las ocho gobernaciones en juego". *Nordeste al Día,* [Formosa] 29 October 2007. http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/04609/1203685112/.

[18] Urbieta, Justo L. "Formosa: Insfrán persigue un récord". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957214-formosa-insfran-persigue-un-record.

[19] Urbieta, Justo L. "Formosa: Insfrán persigue un récord". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957214-formosa-insfran-persigue-un-record.

2009

In 2009 Formosa elected two national and fifteen local deputies. Only two coalitions competed for the national seats: Frente para la Victoria and Acuerdo Cívico y Social.[20] Frente para la Victoria, the coalition supported by the governor, won the election with 64.3% of the vote, which translated into one deputy seat. Acuerdo Cívico y Social received 35.6% of the vote, and obtained the remaining deputy seat.[21]

The incumbent governor, Gildo Insfrán, belongs to the Peronist Party. An article from La Nación newspaper explained that Insfrán controlled the Peronist Party in Formosa.[22] Moreover, the coalition supported by the governor used the Frente para la Victoria party tag.[23]

Insfrán repeatedly expressed his support for the national administration throughout the election cycle. Before the election, the governor affirmed that Formosa would continue to support Néstor and Cristina Kirchner's political project.[24] Furthermore, Insfrán praised Néstor and Cristina Kirchner's inclusive policies on numerous occasions, and he also congratulated them for helping the poorer provinces during their administrations.[25] Additionally, the governor praised Cristina Kirchner's macroeconomic policies during the global economic crisis.[26]

The governor shared several public acts with members of the national administration. Cristina Kirchner visited Formosa during the campaign and headed a public act with Insfrán.[27] The governor also participated in a public act with the Secretario de Agricultura y Ganadería (Secretary of Agriculture) and the president of the Servicio Nacional de Sanidad y Calidad Agroalimentaria (National Service of Health and Food Quality).[28] Moreover, Cristina Kirchner

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[20] "Provincia por provincia, cómo se resuelve la pelea por el nuevo poder". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144475-provincia-por-provincia-como-se-resuelve-la-pelea-por-el-nuevo-poder.

[21] "Optimismo formoseño". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 30 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-127480-2009-06-30.html.

[22] Crettaz, José. "Formosa: aborígenes wichí denuncian a un intendente por sustracción de DNI". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1142847-formosa-aborigenes-wichi-denuncian-a-un-intendente-por-sustraccion-de-dni.

[23] "Provincia por provincia, cómo se resuelve la pelea por el nuevo poder". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144475-provincia-por-provincia-como-se-resuelve-la-pelea-por-el-nuevo-poder.

[24] "La reparación histórica ha aportado a la transformación de la provincia". *Nordeste al Día,* [Formosa] 28 May 2009. http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/24304/1388352980/.

[25] "Gildo Insfrán resaltó el federalismo con equidad que impulsa la Presidenta de la Nación". *Nordeste al Día,* [Formosa] 9 June 2009. http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/24733/455214453/ ; "Insfrán instó a ratificar el modelo provincial y a desdeñar a los gobiernos corporativos". *Nordeste al Día,* [Formosa] 13 June 2009. http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/24905/2059068610/ ; "Insfrán dijo que la ruta 81 fue posible porque Kirchner cree en el federalismo con equidad". *Nordeste al Día,* [Formosa] 16 June 2009. http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/24957/2118162886/ ; "Insfrán habilitó la planta de agua potable que servirá para los próximos 30 años". *Nordeste al Día,* [Formosa] 20 June 2009. http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/25183/281193542/ ; "Insfrán, categórico: "Todo el peso de la ley sobre quien vulnere derechos ciudadanos"". *Nordeste al Día,* [Formosa] 26 June 2009. http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/25354/1743290554/.

[26] "Gildo Insfrán resaltó el federalismo con equidad que impulsa la Presidenta de la Nación". *Nordeste al Día,* [Formosa] 9 June 2009. http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/24733/455214453/.

[27] Urbieta, Justo. "En Formosa Cristina admitió que el Nordeste está postergado". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 9 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1137371-en-formosa-cristina-admitio-que-el-nordeste-esta-postergado.

[28] "Importantes aportes a los segmentos productivos ganadero, bananero, apícola y lechero". *Nordeste al Día,* [Formosa] 18 June 2009. http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/25055/435127531/.

called Insfrán the night of the election in order to congratulate him.[29] After the election, he attended three swearing-in ceremonies of the new cabinet members in Buenos Aires.[30] The President, several members of the cabinet, and other aligned governors also attended the events.[31]

La Nación newspaper referred to Insfrán as ultra-Kirchnerista.[32] Página 12 also depicted the governor as being close to the national administration.[33] Additionally, an article from a local newspaper asserted that Insfrán was completely identified with Néstor and Cristina Kirchner's political project.[34]

The governor never held an appointed position in the national government.

At the local level, Acuerdo Cívico y Social was clearly not aligned with the President. The candidate who headed the Acuerdo Cívico y Social ticket was the vice-president of a rural producers' association that opposed the President since she had presented a bill in 2008 that raised the export tax for rural products.[35] Additionally, both La Nación and a local newspaper described the Acuerdo Cívico y Social candidate as opposed to the national government.[36]

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[29] "La ciudadanía avaló el modelo de Insfrán con más del 60% de los votos". *Nordeste al Día,* [Formosa] 1 July 2009. http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/25497/1725329037/.

[30]"Asumieron Fernández y Boudou, los recientes ascendidos en el Gabinete". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 8 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1148437-asumieron-fernandez-y-boudou-los-recientes-ascendidos-en-el-gabinete ; Sileone y Tedesco asumieron sus nuevos cargos". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1154261-sileoni-y-tedesco-asumieron-sus-nuevos-cargos ; "Insfrán acompañó a la presidenta en el juramento del ministro Manzur". *Nordeste al Día,* [Formosa] 2 July 2009. http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/25541/1822097166/.

[31] "Asumieron Fernández y Boudou, los recientes ascendidos en el Gabinete". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 8 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1148437-asumieron-fernandez-y-boudou-los-recientes-ascendidos-en-el-gabinete ; Sileone y Tedesco asumieron sus nuevos cargos". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1154261-sileoni-y-tedesco-asumieron-sus-nuevos-cargos; Veiras, Nora. "Un juramento a dos bandas". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 24 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-128766-2009-07-24.html ; "Insfrán acompañó a la presidenta en el juramento del ministro Manzur". *Nordeste al Día,* [Formosa] 2 July 2009. http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/25541/1822097166/.

[32] Sued, Gabriel. "Un nuevo desafío para Insfrán, el gobernador eterno de Formosa". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 11 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1137926-un-nuevo-desafio-para-insfran-el-gobernador-eterno-de-formosa.

[33] "Llegó la hora de los gobernadores". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 17 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-128403-2009-07-17.html.

[34] Urbieta, Justo L. "El 38 de junio los comicios coinciden con los 54 años de la provincialización de Formosa". *Nordeste al Día,* [Formosa] 27 June 2009. http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/25393/469528222/.

[35] Sued, Gabriel. "Un nuevo desafío para Insfrán, el gobernador eterno de Formosa". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 11 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1137926-un-nuevo-desafio-para-insfran-el-gobernador-eterno-de-formosa ; "El oficialismo perdió un diputado". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144818-el-oficialismo-perdio-un-diputado ; "Provincia por provincia, cómo se resuelve la pelea por el nuevo poder". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144475-provincia-por-provincia-como-se-resuelve-la-pelea-por-el-nuevo-poder.

[36] Altamirano, Coco. "El voto independiente, los nuevos votantes y el "ñembo-voto"". *Noticias Formosa,* [Formosa] 28 June 2009. http://www.noticiasformosa.com.ar/2009/06/28/el-voto-independiente-los-nuevos-votantes-y-el-nembo-voto/ ; Crettaz, José. "Formosa: aborígenes wichí denuncian a un intendente por sustracción de DNI". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1142847-formosa-aborigenes-wichi-denuncian-a-un-intendente-por-sustraccion-de-dni.

2011

In 2011, Formosa held gubernatorial elections. Two main parties participated: Frente para la Victoria and Frente Amplio Formoseño. Gildo Insfrán secured 75.3% of the vote, defeating the opposition coalition that secured 24.1% of the vote.[37] Insfrán has governed the province uninterruptedly since 1995, so this elections marked his fifth reelection.[38]

The governor of Formosa is part of Peronism. To begin with, he is part of the national organization of the Peronist party.[39] In addition, he self-identified as Peronist in a number of speeches.[40] He also participated in the Día de la Lealtad (Day of Loyalty).[41] Additionally, journalists and other experts have identified Insfrán as a Peronist.[42] For this election, Insfrán ran with the Frente para la Victoria party tag.[43]

Discursively, Insfrán iterated several times before the election that he aimed to continue the popular and national project that Néstor and Cristina Kirchner had started.[44] He was one of

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[37] "Contundente triunfo de Insfran con mas del 75% de los votos." *Nordeste al Dia,* [Formosa] 24 October 2011 http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/40217/1382794505/

[38] Sued, Gabriel. "Los reelegidos de siempre." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 November 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1426442-los-reelegidos-de-siempre

[39] "Insfran dijo que Formosa acertara si vuelve apostar al proyecto nacional." *Nordeste al Dia,* [Formosa] 20 October 2011 http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/40185/1632078454/

[40] "Insfran insto a votar con alegria y ratifico su apoyo a la presidenta." *Nordeste al Dia,* [Formosa] 21 October 2011 http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/40202/937918464/ ;
"Insfran dijo que en el modelo hay un lugar y un deber para todo el pueblo." *Nordeste al Dia,* [Formosa] 1 October 2011 http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/39998/491187440/ ;
"Insfran y De Vido acordaran nuevas viales, ferroviaras y de conectividad." *Nordeste al Dia,* [Formosa] 7 October 2011 http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/40059/1418789006/

[41] "Insfran insto a emprender el ultimo envion para reafirmar la victoria." *Nordeste al Dia,* [Formosa] 18 October 2011 http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/40169/941487973/

[42] "Multitudinario apoyo a Jose izquierdo." *Diario Formosa,* [Formosa] http://www.diarioformosa.net/notix/noticia/06758_multitudinario-apoyo-a-jose-izquierdo.htm ;
"Denuncia de Nazar." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 21 September 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-177262-2011-09-21.html ;
Bruschtein, Julian. "Asuntos de provincia." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 23 October 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-179557-2011-10-23.html

[43] "Insfran dijo que Formosa acertara si vuelve apostar al proyecto nacional." *Nordeste al Dia,* [Formosa] 20 October 2011 http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/40185/1632078454/ ;
"Contundente triunfo de Insfran con mas del 75% de los votos." *Nordeste al Dia,* [Formosa] 24 October 2011 http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/40217/1382794505/ ; Cappiello, Hernan. "Arraso Insfran y consiguio su quinto reeleccion en Formosa." *La Nación,* [Formosa] 24 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1417322-arraso-insfran-y-consiguio-su-cuarta-reeleccion-en-formosa ;
"La Justicia aprobo la candidatura del sacerdote Nazar." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 21 September 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-177280-2011-09-21.html

[44] "Insfran dijo que 'la opcion es volver hacia atras o profundizar el modelo." *Nordeste al Dia,* [Formosa] 6 October 2011http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/40043/2147093821/ ; "Insfran insto a emprender el ultimo envion para reafirmar la victoria." *Nordeste al Dia,* [Formosa] 18 October 2011 http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/40169/941487973/ ; "Insfran dijo que Formosa acertara si vuelve apostar al proyecto nacional." *Nordeste al Dia,* [Formosa] 20 October 2011 http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/40185/1632078454/ ; "Insfran insto a votar con alegria y ratifico su apoyo a la presidenta." *Nordeste al Dia,* [Formosa] 21 October 2011 http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/40202/937918464/ ; "Insfran y De Vido acordaran nuevas viales, ferroviaras y de conectividad." *Nordeste al Dia,* [Formosa] 7 October 2011 http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/40059/1418789006/

the first supporters of Néstor Kirchner, even when the former President was virtually unknown.[45] The governor contended that the best way to pay tribute to Néstor Kirchner was to continue his project, which included social policies to combat poverty.[46] There is even an avenue in the capital of the province called Néstor Kirchner.[47] In addition, the governor's and Cristina Kirchner's names are on every public work inaugurated in the past years.[48] During a campaign speech, Insfrán expressed that the province's development model is the one led by President Cristina Fernández de Kirchner, and that he completely identified with it.[49] Following the election, he dedicated his victory to Nestor Kirchner's memory.[50] In addition, his first trip after the elections was to the province of Santa Cruz to meet with the members of the Peronist party and to honor Néstor Kirchner's memory at his resting place.[51]

Insfrán appeared with national actors throughout the campaign. He accompanied Cristina Kirchner in the inauguration of a nuclear power plant and in the announcement of a new environmental policy (Plan Producción Limpia Para Todos; Clean Production for Everyone).[52] Many campaign posters in Formosa featured Cristina Kirchner and Insfrán together.[53] The governor also attended a ceremony for the opening of a major railway with the Ministro de Planificación Federal (Minister of Federal Planning).[54] The pair also appeared together in the

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[45] Cappiello, Hernan. "Formosa elige entre un cura o perpetuar a Insfran." *La Nación,* [Formosa] 23 October 2011http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1416992-formosa-elige-entre-un-cura-o-perpetuar-a-insfran ;
"El oficialismo se impuso en ocho de las nueve gobernaciones en juego." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 October 2011http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1417171-renidas-elecciones-en-varias-provincias-que-eligen-gobernador-mendoza-formosa-y-santa-cruz

[46] "Insfran insto a votar con alegria y ratifico su apoyo a la presidenta." *Nordeste al Dia,* [Formosa] 21 October 2011http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/40202/937918464/ ;
"El gobernador fustigo a quienes se oponen a distribuir la riqueza." *Nordeste al Dia*, [Formosa] 24 September 2011http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/39887/1230065623/

[47] "De Vido insto a acompanar 'este modelo de realizaciones' ante los que 'predican el rencor.'" *Nordeste al Dia,* [Formosa] 5 October 2011http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/40025/106790861/

[48] Cappiello, Hernan. "Formosa elige entre un cura o perpetuar a Insfran." *La Nación,* [Formosa] 23 October 2011http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1416992-formosa-elige-entre-un-cura-o-perpetuar-a-insfran

[49] "Insfran dijo que en el modelo hay un lugar y un deber para todo el pueblo." *Nordeste al Dia,* [Formosa] 1 October 2011http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/39998/491187440/

[50] "Insfran dijo que triunfo un modelo que trasciende a los hombres." *Nordeste al Dia,* [Formosa] 24 October 2011 http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/40218/216777667/

[51] "Insfran en homenaje a Kirchner y parte de la reunion del Consejo Nacional del PJ." *Nordeste al Dia,* [Formosa] 18 November 2011 http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/40356/403509720/ ;
Romero, Luis Alberto. "Bajen a Roca, alcen a Nestor." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 5 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1411886-bajen-a-roca-alcen-a-nestor

[52] "Insfran acompana a la Presidenta en la puesta en marcha de Atucha II." *Nordeste al Dia,* [Formosa] 28 September 2011http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/39946/220490113/ ;
"Insfran acompana a la Presidenta en la puesta en marcha de Atucha II." *Diario Formosa,* [Formosa] http://www.diarioformosa.net/notix/noticia/06039_insfran-acompana-a-la-presidenta-en-la-puesta-en-marcha-de-atucha-ii.htm ; "Insfran junto a CFK en lanzamiento del Plan Produccion Limpia para Todos." *Nordeste al Dia,* [Formosa] 29 September 2011 http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/39966/1230626217/ ;
"Insfran junto a CFK en lanzamiento del Plan Limpia para Todos." *Diario Formosa,* [Formosa] http://www.diarioformosa.net/notix/noticia/06041_insfran-junto-a-cfk-en-lanzamiento-del-plan-limpia-para-todos.htm

[53] Cappiello, Hernan. "Cristina monopolizo la campana de Formosa gracias al poder de Insfran." *La Nación,* [Formosa] 20 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1416194-cristina-monopolizo-la-campana-de-formosa-gracias-al-poder-de-insfran

[54] "Insfran y De Vido acordaran nuevas viales, ferroviaras y de conectividad." *Nordeste al Dia,* [Formosa] 7 October 2011 http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/40059/1418789006/

inauguration of a large, bronze statue of Néstor Kirchner on the anniversary of his passing.[55] On the Día de la Militancia Justicialista (Day of Peronist Militancy), Insfrán joined other provincial governors allied to the national government (such as Daniel Scioli of Buenos Aires and Jorge Capitanich of Chaco) at the resting place of Néstor Kirchner to pay tribute to his legacy.[56]

Journalists associated Insfrán with the national government. A journalist from La Nación identified several Kirchnerista governor up for reelection, and Insfrán was included among them.[57] Following the election, another journalist from La Nación also referred to Insfrán as the Kirchnerista candidate.[58] Página12 also characterized the governor as kirchnerista.[59] In a campaign speech, the Ministro de Planificación Federal also referred to Insfrán as an inseparable part of the Kirchnerista national project.[60]

Insfrán has not held a position in the national government between 2003 and 2015.

At the local level, the coalition that ran against Insfrán is not aligned with the national government. It consists of five different political parties, including the PRO, UCR, and dissident Peronists – all of which are opposed to the national government.[61]

2013

In 2013, Formosa held national legislative elections. The electorate chose 15 provincial deputies and two national deputies. Two coalitions were the main participants: Frente para la Victoria and Alianza Formosa. Frente para la Victoria secured 61.5% of the vote, beating Alianza Formosa by roughly 30 points.

The governor of Formosa, Gildo Insfrán, self-identifies as a Peronist and supported the list that used the Frente para la Victoria party tag.[62]

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[55] "De Vido: 'El mejor homenaje a Kirchner es el resultado en las urnas.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1418495-de-vido-el-mejor-homenaje-a-kirchner-es-el-resultado-en-las-urnas "Un recuerdo que recorrio todo el pais." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-179977-2011-10-28.html

[56] "Insfran en homenaje a Kirchner y parte de la reunion del Consejo Nacional del PJ." *Nordeste al Dia,* [Formosa] 18 November 2011 http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/40356/403509720/

[57] Rosemberg, Jaime. "Seis gobernadores Kirchneristas iran por la reeleccion." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1411651-seis-gobernadores-Kirchneristas-iran-por-la-reeleccion

[58] "El oficialismo se impuso en ocho de las nueve gobernaciones en juego." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1417171-renidas-elecciones-en-varias-provincias-que-eligen-gobernador-mendoza-formosa-y-santa-cruz

[59] "Lo que resta se juega todo al 23." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 26 September 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/177586-55868-2011-09-26.html ; "Amplio voto a candidatos K." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 24 October 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-179613-2011-10-24.html

[60] "Gildo y Floro son parte inescindible del proyecto nacional y popular." *Diario Formosa,* [Formosa] http://www.diarioformosa.net/notix/noticia/06346_gildo-y-floro-son-parte-inescindible-del-proyecto-nacional-y-popular-.htm

[61] "Denuncia de Nazar." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 21 September 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-177262-2011-09-21.html ; Cappiello, Hernan. "Nazar busca un milagro ante el eterno Insfran." *La Nación,* [Formosa] 22 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1416853-nazar-busca-un-milagro-ante-el-eterno-insfran ; Caminos, Mauricio. "Las elecciones que aun tienen suspenso." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 16 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1415115-las-elecciones-que-aun-tienen-suspenso

[62] "Insfran dijo que el pueblo decidio el 27 y respaldo el modelo formoseno." *Diario Formosa,* [Formosa] 11 November 2013. http://www.diarioformosa.net/notix/noticia/28405_insfran-dijo-que-el-pueblo-decidio-el-27-y-respaldo-el-modelo-formoseno.htm

The governor's discourse has been unequivocally supportive of the national government. Insfrán praised both the President and her late husband for overcoming inequalities in Argentina.[63] Also, at the binational Summit of Governors and Ministers, Insfrán praised the president for her bilateral agreements with Paraguay.[64] In general, Insfrán showed gratitude to the Kirchners in a number of speeches.[65]

The governor participated at the meeting of the Consejo Nacional del Partido Justicialista (National Council of the Peronist Party) before the elections. At this meeting, the leaders pledged their unconditional support for the President.[66] In addition, the Ministro de Planificación Federal met with the governor right after his success in the mid-term elections and the governor visited the national Chief of Staff in Buenos Aires. These meetings were to discuss infrastructure works and collaboration with the bordering Paraguay, respectively.[67]

Experts observed the alignment of the governor toward the President around the time of the elections. A Frente para la Victoria candidate for national deputy and the mayor of a town in the province, for instance, praised Insfrán and commended him for upholding the project that Néstor Kirchner had started.[68] Additionally, a former deputy and at the time Secretaria de la Mujer del Partido Justicialista (Secretary of the Women of the Peronist Party) equaled the projects of Kirchner and Insfrán.[69] Similarly, the Ministro de la Comunidad (Minister of Community) referred to the similarity of both national and provincial projects.[70] A community leader urged her followers to vote for the Frente para la Victoria in the elections, including the

[63] "El gobernador insto a optar por los que incluyen a los formosenos." *Diario Formosa.* [Formosa] 9 October 2013. http://www.diarioformosa.net/notix/noticia/27471_el-gobernador-insto-a-optar-por-los-que-incluyen-a-los-formosenos.htm

[64] "Insfran en la cumbre binacional de ministros y gobernadores fronterizos." *Diario Formosa.* [Formosa] 15 November 2013. http://www.diarioformosa.net/notix/noticia/28447_insfran-en-la-cumbre-binacional-de-ministros-y-gobernadores-fronterizos.htm

[65] "Con la atenta mirada puesta en el día 27." *Diario Formosa*. [Formosa] October 15, 2013. http://www.diarioformosa.net/notix/noticia/27662_con-la-atenta-mirada-puesta-en-el-dia-27.htm

[66] "Daniel Scioli desctacó la 'defensa irrestricta' del Consejo del PJ a Cristina Kirchner." *La Nación.* [Buenos Aires] 30 September 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1624715-daniel-scioli-vuelve-a-reunir-al-pj-nacional-tras-cinco-meses-de-inactividad. "Un voto a favor de estas políticas." *Página 12*. [Buenos Aires] 1 October 2013. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-230262-2013-10-01.html
"Insfran se hizo presente en la reunion." *Diario Formosa.* [Formosa]1 October 2013. http://www.diarioformosa.net/notix/noticia/27236_insfran-se-hizo-presente-en-la-reunion.htm

[67] "Insfrán analizó con el ministro De Vido el progreso de las obras en la provincia." *Diario Formosa*. [Formosa] November 8, 2013. http://www.diarioformosa.net/notix/noticia/28303_insfran-analizo-con-el-ministro-de-vido-el-progreso-de-las-obras-en-la-provincia.htm. "Insfram participo de la cumber binacional de ministros y gobernadores fronterizos." *Nordeste al día.* November 15, 2013. http://www.nordestealdia.com/formosa/notix/noticia/43820/1249806119/

[68] "Jornada festiva donde tambien se anuncio obra educativa para la zona." *Diario Formosa.* [Formosa] 28 September 2013. http://www.diarioformosa.net/notix/noticia/27168_jornada-festiva-donde-tambien-se-anuncio-obra-educativa-para-la-zona.htm

[69] "Una multidud en el Partido Justicialista." *Diario Formosa*. [Clorinda] 3 October 2013. http://www.diarioformosa.net/notix/noticia/27292_una-multitud-en-el-partido-justicialista.htm

[70] "La gente no votara a una oposicion que quiere eliminar tantas conquistas sociales." *Diario Formosa.* [Formosa] 24 October 2013. http://www.diarioformosa.net/notix/noticia/27958_-la-gente-no-votara-a-una-oposicion-que-quiere-eliminar-tantas-conquistas-sociales-.htm

lists of Insfrán and Cristina Kirchner.[71] Last, the national newspaper La Nación categorized Insfrán as ultra-Kirchnersita.[72]

Insfrán has not held a position in the national government.

At the local level, the opposition Alianza Formosa includes parties in opposition to the federal government, such as the Union Cívica Radical (UCR).

[71] "Exhortan a no votar a quienes consideran gasto apoyar a emprendedores." 2 October 2013.

[72] "El resultado electoral complicó el future de varios gobernadores del Kirchnerismo." *La Nación.* [Formosa] 3 November 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1635068-el-resultado-electoral-complico-el-futuro-de-varios-gobernadores-del-Kirchnerismo

Jujuy

2007

In 2007 Jujuy elected president, vice-president, governor, vice-governor, three national deputies, and 24 local deputies. Nine coalitions competed for the governorship, and three garnered a significant portion of the vote: Frente para la Victoria, Primero Jujuy, and Frente Jujeño. The Frente para la Victoria candidate, Walter Barrionuevo, was elected with 35.9% of the vote. Primero Jujuy came in a close second with 29.9% of the vote, and Frente Jujeño came in third.[1]

The elected governor, Walter Barrionuevo, belongs to the Peronist Party.[2] He also used the Frente para la Victoria party tag in this election.[3]

Barrionuevo made few explicit references to the national administration throughout the election cycle. He associated his administration with the national one by declaring that the people from Jujuy had elected him because they trusted Cristina Kirchner's political project.[4]

The elected governor made a few appearances with members of the national government. After the election, Barrionuevo inaugurated a school in Jujuy with the national Ministro de Educación (Minister of Education).[5] Additionally, the elected governor was scheduled to attend Cristina Kirchner's swearing in ceremony.[6]

National newspapers depicted Barrionuevo as Kirchnerista.[7] Página 12 newspaper described the competition between he and his runner up, the Primero Jujuy candidate, as a fight between Kirchneristas.[8]

The elected governor never held an appointed position in the national government for the 2003-2007 period. Before becoming governor, Barrionuevo served as vice-governor from 2003 to 2007.[9]

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[1] "Avanza Closs en Misiones". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957338-avanza-closs-en-misiones.

[2] Pagni, Carlos. "El nuevo mapa del poder político". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957470-el-nuevo-mapa-del-poder-politico.

[3] "Barrionuevo gobernador". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 29 October 2007 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/93712-29732-2007-10-29.html.

[4] "En Jujuy se imponía el candidato oficial". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957509-en-jujuy-se-imponia-el-candidato-oficial.

[5] Premat, Silvina. "Los chicos de Purmamarca ya tienen edificio para su escuela secundaria". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 November 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/965088-los-chicos-de-purmamarca-ya-tienen-edificio-para-su-escuela-secundaria.

[6] "La asunción de Cristina cambia una tradición". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 26 November 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/965672-la-asuncion-de-cristina-cambia-una-tradicion.

[7] "Avanza Closs en Misiones". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957338-avanza-closs-en-misiones ; "Diputa entre Kirchneristas". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 30 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-93780-2007-10-30.html.

[8] "Diputa entre Kirchneristas". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 30 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-93780-2007-10-30.html.

[9] "Jujuy dirime otra interna oficialista". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957211-jujuy-dirime-otra-interna-oficialista.

At the local level, Primero Jujuy was also aligned with the President. National newspapers described the candidate who headed the Primero Jujuy ticket as Kirchnerista.[10] The coalition that came in third, Frente Jujeño, was characterized as opposed to the national government by La Nación newspaper.[11] Frente Jujeño was aligned with a candidate from the UCR that lost the presidential election to Cristina Kirchner.[12]

2009

In 2009 Jujuy elected three national deputies and 24 local deputies. Seven coalitions competed for the national seats, and two garnered a significant portion of the vote. Frente para la Victoria, the coalition supported by the incumbent governor, came in first with 39.8% of the vote. Frente Acuerdo Cívico y Social came in second with 30.9% of the vote.[13]

The governor, Walter Barrionuevo, belongs to the Peronist Party. After the legislative election, the President of the Party called Barrionuevo to congratulate him. His phone calls included other Peronist governors who had won the elections.[14] Additionally, the coalition that the governor supported in the election used the Frente para la Victoria party tag.[15]

Discursively, Barrionuevo expressed his alignment with the President in almost every newspaper article in which he referred to the national administration. Before the election, the governor criticized the national opposition for being in favor of privatizations and social inequalities, while he applauded the national government for promoting social justice and inclusion.[16] After the election, Barrionuevo interpreted the Frente para la Victoria's victory in thirteen provinces as political support for Néstor and Cristina Kirchner's project.[17] The governor also stated that Kirchnerismo won in the poorer provinces of the country because Kirchner had

[10] "El presupuesto avanza en el Congreso". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 21 November 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/964233-el-presupuesto-avanza-en-el-congreso ; Jorquera, Miguel. "Aprobado pero con críticas". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 15 November 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-94702-2007-11-15.html.

[11]"Jujuy dirime otra interna oficialista". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957211-jujuy-dirime-otra-interna-oficialista.

[12] "Jujuy dirime otra interna oficialista". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957211-jujuy-dirime-otra-interna-oficialista.

[13] "Clara victoria para el Kirchnerismo". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144820-clara-victoria-para-el-Kirchnerismo.

[14] "Scioli puso primera con la lancha del PJ". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 1 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-127550-2009-07-01.html.

[15] "Clara victoria para el Kirchnerismo". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144820-clara-victoria-para-el-Kirchnerismo.

[16] "Una hinchada contra las privatizaciones". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 20 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-126964-2009-06-20.html.

[17] "Barrionuevo confía en que Fellner se imponga en los comicios de 2011". *El Libertario,* [San Salvador de Jujuy] 30 June 2009. http://www.ellibertario.com/2009/06/30/barrionuevo-confia-en-que-fellner-se-imponga-en-los-comicios-de-2011/.

implemented a truly popular program.[18] Furthermore, Barrionuevo positively evaluated the changes in the national cabinet after the election.[19]

The governor participated in several public acts with members of the national government. Before the election, Barrionuevo signed an agreement with the Director of a healthcare program to finance the construction of a hospital in Jujuy.[20] The governor also signed an agreement with an official from the national Ministerio de Trabajo (Minister of Labor).[21] Furthermore, Barrionuevo inaugurated a bridge in the province and the Director of Vialidad Nacional (Roads and Highways Department) attended the public act.[22] After the election, the governor attended the swearing-in ceremony of new cabinet members at the Casa Rosada (Argentina's White House).[23] Additionally, Barrionuevo signed an agreement with the national Secretario de Minería (Secretary of Mining).[24]

National newspapers depicted the governor as Kirchnerista.[25] Moreover, Página 12 characterized Barrionuevo as being close to the national government.[26] A local newspaper stated that the governor had a strong political alignment with the national administration.[27]

Barrionuevo never held an appointed position in the national government for the 2003-2009 period.

At the local level, Frente Acuerdo Cívico y Social was not aligned with the national government. The candidates of this coalition shared several public acts with the President of the Comité National (National Committee) of the Radical Party.[28] Moreover, a local newspaper

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[18] "Barrionuevo confía en que Fellner se imponga en los comicios de 2011". *El Libertario,* [San Salvador de Jujuy] 30 June 2009. http://www.ellibertario.com/2009/06/30/barrionuevo-confia-en-que-fellner-se-imponga-en-los-comicios-de-2011/.

[19] "Un gesto de apoyo de los gobernadores". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 8 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1148486-un-gesto-de-apoyo-de-los-gobernadores.

[20] "Firmaron convenio para la construcción de un nuevo hospital en Abra Pampa". *El Libertario,* [San Salvador de Jujuy] 10 June 2009. http://www.ellibertario.com/2009/06/10/firmaron-convenio-para-la-construccion-de-un-nuevo-hospital-en-abra-pampa/.

[21] "Firmaron convenio interzafra que beneficia a más de cinco mil trabajadores del tabaco". *El Libertario,* [San Salvador de Jujuy] 17 June 2009. http://www.ellibertario.com/2009/06/17/firmaron-convenio-interzafra-que-beneficia-a-mas-de-cinco-mil-trabajadores-del-tabaco/.

[22] "Inauguraron el puente nuevo sobre el Río San Lorenzo". *El Libertario,* [San Salvador de Jujuy] 18 June 2009. http://www.ellibertario.com/2009/06/18/inauguraron-el-puente-nuevo-sobre-el-rio-san-lorenzo/.

[23] "Un gesto de apoyo de los gobernadores". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 8 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1148486-un-gesto-de-apoyo-de-los-gobernadores.

[24] "Acordaron un convenio de gestión ambiental minera". *El Libertario,* [San Salvador de Jujuy] 23 July 2009. http://www.ellibertario.com/2009/07/23/acordaron-un-convenio-de-gestion-ambiental-minera/.

[25] "Clara victoria para el Kirchnerismo". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144820-clara-victoria-para-el-Kirchnerismo ; Miguez, Daniel. "Una cuenta muy difícil de resolver". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 21 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-127011-2009-06-21.html.

[26] "Llegó la hora de los gobernadores". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 17 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-128403-2009-07-17.html.

[27] "En el oficialismo no todo es alegría". *El Libertario,* [San Salvador de Jujuy] 29 June 2009. http://www.ellibertario.com/2009/06/29/en-el-oficialismo-no-todo-es-alegria/.

[28] "El Radicalismo recorrió las calles de San Pedro". *El Libertario,* [San Salvador de Jujuy] 1 June 2009. http://www.ellibertario.com/2009/06/01/el-Radicalismo-recorrio-las-calles-de-san-pedro/ ; "Morales fustigó al Gobierno por el abandono que sufren los ganaderos de la Puna". *El Libertario,* [San Salvador de Jujuy] 2 June 2009. http://www.ellibertario.com/2009/06/02/morales-fustigo-al-gobierno-por-el-abandono-que-sufren-los-ganaderos-de-la-puna/ ; "Gerardo Morales llamó a cuidar las urnas en el cierre de la campaña". *El Libertario,* [San Salvador de Jujuy] 25 June 2009. http://www.ellibertario.com/2009/06/25/gerardo-morales-llamo-a-cuidar-las-urnas-en-el-cierre-de-la-campana/.

stated that this coalition tried to take electoral advantage of the population's dissatisfaction with Kirchnerismo.[29]

2011

In 2011, Jujuy held competitive elections to choose governor, vice-governor, national deputies and senators. Out of the seven coalitions that competed for governor, only two received a significant portion of the vote.[30] The Frente Para la Victoria, represented by Eduardo Fellner, won the election by a large margin with 57% of the vote, followed by Unión Para el Desarrollo Social with 27.5% of the vote.[31]

Fellner is a self-identified Peronist governor.[32] He has been a member of the Peronist Party for many years.[33] In addition, Fellner announced his candidacy for governor at a local Peronist meeting and participated in the national meeting of the Peronist Council.[34] At the time of his victory, he was the president of the national Peronist Party.[35] The governor ran with the Frente para la Victoria party tag.[36]

Fellner's public discourse signals clear affinity with the national government. He campaigned for the President in the primaries and stated that he had been the liaison between the national government and Jujuy for many years.[37] He asked Jujuy denizens to support Cristina Kirchner's reelection, by publicly highlighting the positive changes instituted by the Kirchners in the province and the country as a whole.[38] After the triumph of the President in the primaries in

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[29] "La campaña electoral entra en sus últimas dos semanas". *El Libertario,* [San Salvador de Jujuy] 15 June 2009. http://www.ellibertario.com/2009/06/15/la-campana-electoral-entra-en-sus-dos-ultimas-semanas/.

[30] "A la medianoche el triunfo del FPV en Jujuy se convertía en irreversible." *Jujuy al Día,* [San Salvador] 24 October 2011. http://www.jujuyaldia.com.ar/2011/10/24/a-la-medianoche-el-triunfo-del-fpv-en-jujuy-se-convertia-en-irreversible/.

[31] "Amplio voto a candidatos K." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 24 October 2011. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-179613-2011-10-24.html; "A la medianoche el triunfo del FPV en Jujuy se convertía en irreversible." *Jujuy al Día,* [San Salvador] 24 October 2011. http://www.jujuyaldia.com.ar/2011/10/24/a-la-medianoche-el-triunfo-del-fpv-en-jujuy-se-convertia-en-irreversible/

[32] "Fellner negó clientelismo en las políticas sociales del Gobierno." *EL Libertario,* [San Salvador] 28 October 2011. http://www.ellibertario.com/2011/10/28/fellner-nego-clientelismo-en-las-politicas-sociales-del-gobierno/

[33] Balinotti, Nicolás. "Fellner maneja Jujuy desde el poder en las sombras." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 8 August 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1395893-fellner-maneja-jujuy-desde-el-poder-en-las-sombras

[34] "El Frente para la Victoria lanzó su campaña electoral en Jujuy." *EL Libertario,* [San Salvador] 23 September 2011. http://www.ellibertario.com/2011/09/23/el-frente-para-la-victoria-lanzo-su-campana-electoral-en-jujuy/; "Fellner destacó el 'más que merecido homenaje a Néstor Kirchner: nuestro primer militante de este proyecto nacional y popular'." *Jujuy al Día,* [San Salvador] 17 November 2011. http://www.jujuyaldia.com.ar/2011/11/17/fellner-destaco-el-%E2%80%9Cmas-que-merecido-homenaje-a-nestor-kirchner-nuestro-primer-militante-de-este-proyecto-nacional-y-popular%E2%80%9D/

[35] Andrada, Orlando. "Final cerrado entre De la Sota, Juez y Aguag en Córdoba." *La Nación.* [Resistencia] 19 July 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1390720-final-cerrado-entre-de-la-sota-juez-y-aguad-en-cordoba.

[36] "Amplio voto a candidatos K." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 24 October 2011. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-179613-2011-10-24.html; "A la medianoche el triunfo del FPV en Jujuy se convertía en irreversible." *Jujuy al Día,* [San Salvador] 24 October 2011. http://www.jujuyaldia.com.ar/2011/10/24/a-la-medianoche-el-triunfo-del-fpv-en-jujuy-se-convertia-en-irreversible/

[37] Balinotti, Nicolás. "Fellner maneja Jujuy desde el poder en las sombras." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 8 August 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1395893-fellner-maneja-jujuy-desde-el-poder-en-las-sombras

[38] "Fellner: 'este domingo, usemos el voto como un grito de esperanza hacia adelante'." *Jujuy al Día,* [San Salvador] 20 October 2011. http://www.jujuyaldia.com.ar/2011/10/20/fellner-%E2%80%9Ceste-domingo-usemos-el-voto-

Jujuy, the governor indicated that he had defended the popular and national project advanced by the President from the very beginning.[39] He expressed that the reelection of Cristina Kirchner came as no surprise, as people believed in her and in her capacity to govern the country.[40] The governor even interpreted his own electoral success as a ratification of the commitment to move the province closer to the federal government's project.[41] Finally, the Peronist National Council meeting, in which Fellner participated, reassured the Party's support to the President and honored the memory of the late Néstor Kirchner.[42]

The governor met with high-ranking Kirchenrista leaders in many occasions. Fellner participated in the national meeting of the Peronist Council alongside other aligned governors.[43] During an official visit to Buenos Aires, the governor met with the President to discuss key goals of his administration in Jujuy and participated in a number of public acts with her.[44] Also in Buenos Aires, the governor met with the Ministro de Planificación Federal (Federal Planning Minister) to talk about the implementation of federally-funded projects.[45]

Provincial and national newspapers depicted Fellner as a Peronist Kirchnerista governor. La Nación called him a Kirchnerista governor and defined Jujuy's provincial government as one that adhered the most to the national government.[46] Página 12 referred to him as a Kirchnerista candidate and stressed how Fellner's electoral victory represented a triumph for the national

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como-un-grito-de-esperanza-hacia-adelante%E2%80%9D/. "Fellner: 'a los problemas hay que enfrentarlos para solucionarlos: sólo así construiremos una provincia de iguales'." *Jujuy al Día*, [San Salvador] 7 October 2011. http://www.jujuyaldia.com.ar/2011/10/07/fellner-%E2%80%9Ca-los-problemas-hay-que-enfrentarlos-para-solucionarlos-solo-asi-construiremos-una-provincia-de-iguales%E2%80%9D/; "Fellner confirmó en Yuto que 'cada ciudadano tendrá gas natural en su casa'." *Jujuy al Día*, [San Salvador] 16 October 2011. http://www.jujuyaldia.com.ar/2011/10/16/fellner-confirmo-en-yuto-que-%E2%80%9Ccada-ciudadano-tendra-gas-natural-en-su-casa%E2%80%9D/

[39] "El Frente para la Victoria lanzó su campaña electoral en Jujuy." *EL Libertario*, [San Salvador] 23 September 2011. http://www.ellibertario.com/2011/09/23/el-frente-para-la-victoria-lanzo-su-campana-electoral-en-jujuy; "Lanzamiento de Fellner." *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 23 September 2011. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-177412-2011-09-23.html

[40] "Fellner negó clientelismo en las políticas sociales del Gobierno." *EL Libertario*, [San Salvador] 28 October 2011. http://www.ellibertario.com/2011/10/28/fellner-nego-clientelismo-en-las-politicas-sociales-del-gobierno/

[41] "Amplio voto a candidatos K." *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 24 October 2011. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-179613-2011-10-24.html

[42] "Fellner destacó el 'más que merecido homenaje a Néstor Kirchner: nuestro primer militante de este proyecto nacional y popular'." *Jujuy al Día*, [San Salvador] 17 November 2011. http://www.jujuyaldia.com.ar/2011/11/17/fellner-destaco-el-%E2%80%9Cmas-que-merecido-homenaje-a-nestor-kirchner-nuestro-primer-militante-de-este-proyecto-nacional-y-popular%E2%80%9D/

[43] Lantos, Nicolás. "Con un respaldo 'más que nunca' a Cristina Kirchner." *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 18 November. 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-181510-2011-11-18.html

[44] "Cristina Kirchner recibió en Olivos a Eduardo Fellner." *Jujuy al Día*, [San Salvador] 10 November 2011. http://www.jujuyaldia.com.ar/2011/11/10/cristina-kirchner-recibio-en-olivos-a-eduardo-fellner; "Reunión con la Presidenta." *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 10 November 2011. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-180924-2011-11-10.html

[45] "Cristina Kirchner recibió en Olivos a Eduardo Fellner." *Jujuy al Día*, [San Salvador] 10 November 2011. http://www.jujuyaldia.com.ar/2011/11/10/cristina-kirchner-recibio-en-olivos-a-eduardo-fellner.

[46] Pagni, Carlos. "El resultado de privatizar la acción social." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 6 August 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1395506-el-resultado-de-privatizar-la-accion-social.; "6 gobernadores Kirchneristas irán por la reelección." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 4 October 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1411651-seis-gobernadores-Kirchneristas-iran-por-la-reeleccion

government.[47] The Institute for Peronist Studies and Political Training (Instituto de Estudios y Formación Política del PJ – GESTAR) supported Fellner in full and claimed that he was "the only one that could carry out the national project at the provincial level, with the aim of advancing economic development and social inclusion."[48] The previous governor of the province from 2007 to 2011 suggested said that Fellner's electoral success guaranteed the continuation of a harmonious relationship with the national government.[49]

Fellner has never occupied a position in the national administration. Before being elected governor, he was president of the provincial legislature, governor of Jujuy, president of the national Peronist Party, and president of the national chamber of deputies.[50]

The Unión Para el Desarrollo Social, the main coalition that competed against Fellner in the gubernatorial elections, includes the Unión Cívica Radical, which is in opposition to the national government.[51] This coalition's candidate met in public with Ricardo Alfonsín, Cristina Kirchner's main contender in the presidential race.[52] Finally, Fellner's challenger criticized the economic model implemented by the President and the projects carried out by the national government in Jujuy and across the country.[53]

2013

In 2013, Jujuy held competitive elections to choose three national deputies, 24 provincial deputies, and municipal mayors and council members. Although seven coalitions participated in this competitive process, only two secured national deputy seats. The Frente Jujeño obtained two seats with 40.2% of the vote, closely followed by the Frente Para la Victoria, which filled one

[47]"Lanzamiento de Fellner." *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 23 September 2011. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-177412-2011-09-23.html; Amplio voto a candidatos K." *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 24 October 2011. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-179613-2011-10-24.html

[48] "Para Gestar el único candidato en Jujuy es Eduardo Fellner." *Jujuy al Día*, [San Salvador] 15 September 2011. http://www.jujuyaldia.com.ar/2011/09/15/para-gestar-el-unico-candidato-en-jujuy-es-eduardo-fellner/

[49] "El Frente para la Victoria lanzó su campaña electoral en Jujuy." *El Libertario*, [San Salvador] 23 September. http://www.ellibertario.com/2011/09/23/el-frente-para-la-victoria-lanzo-su-campana-electoral-en-jujuy.

[50] "El Frente para la Victoria lanzó su campaña electoral en Jujuy." *El Libertario*, [San Salvador] 23 September. http://www.ellibertario.com/2011/09/23/el-frente-para-la-victoria-lanzo-su-campana-electoral-en-jujuy. Balinotti, Nicolás. "Fellner maneja Jujuy desde el poder en las sombras." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 8 August 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1395893-fellner-maneja-jujuy-desde-el-poder-en-las-sombras "Jujuy: renunció el gobernador." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 26 November 1998. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/119333-jujuy-renuncio-el-gobernador; "Fellner negó clientelismo en las políticas sociales del Gobierno." *EL Libertario*, [San Salvador] 28 October 2011. http://www.ellibertario.com/2011/10/28/fellner-nego-clientelismo-en-las-politicas-sociales-del-gobierno "A la medianoche el triunfo del FPV en Jujuy se convertía en irreversible." *Jujuy al Día*, [San Salvador] 24 October 2011. http://www.jujuyaldia.com.ar/2011/10/24/a-la-medianoche-el-triunfo-del-fpv-en-jujuy-se-convertia-en-irreversible

[51] "A la medianoche el triunfo del FPV en Jujuy se convertía en irreversible." *Jujuy al Día*, [San Salvador] 24 October 2011. http://www.jujuyaldia.com.ar/2011/10/24/a-la-medianoche-el-triunfo-del-fpv-en-jujuy-se-convertia-en-irreversible.

[52] "Mario Fiad: 'En 4 años vamos a construir en Jujuy 16.800 viviendas'." *Jujuy al Día*, [San Salvador] 10 October 2011. http://www.jujuyaldia.com.ar/2011/10/10/mario-fiad-"en-4-anos-vamos-a-construir-en-jujuy-16-800-viviendas"/

[53] "Mario Fiad: 'En 4 años vamos a construir en Jujuy 16.800 viviendas'." *Jujuy al Día*, [San Salvador] 10 October 2011. http://www.jujuyaldia.com.ar/2011/10/10/mario-fiad-"en-4-anos-vamos-a-construir-en-jujuy-16-800-viviendas"/

seat with 38.9% of the vote.[54] Eduardo Fellner, governor of the province since 2011, supported the Frente para la Victoria list.[55]

The governor belongs to the Peronist Party and serves as the president of the local branch of the Party.[56] The list supported by the governor ran with the Frente para la Victoria party tag.

Fellner's public discourse shows his support for the national government. Prior to the elections, the governor highlighted that the Frente para la Victoria candidates supported the national and provincial project led by Cristina Kirchner.[57] Additionally, Fellner closed the national convention of the Peronist Party explaining that the participants agreed on the Kirchnerista model and had ratified their support for the President.[58] The day of the elections, he restated his support for the President and said he was confident his party would have successful results.[59]

The governor participated in public events with Peronist leaders and members of the national government. Prior to the elections, Fellner joined other governors and national Frente para la Victoria leaders in a Peronist gathering to reiterate their support for Cristina Kirchner.[60] Fellner also attended a national meeting of the Peronist Party in Buenos Aires and appeared next to other Kirchnerista governors and key PJ leaders in a press conference at the end of the meeting.[61] After the elections, Fellner and several Kirchnerista governors met with the Jefe de Gabinete (Chief of the Staff) to assess the electoral results and to plan an upcoming national Peronist convention in Jujuy.[62]

Provincial and national newspapers, as well as local politicians, depicted Fellner as an ally of the national government. La Nación referred to him as a Kirchnerista governor, and highlighted his overt support for the national government.[63] The local newspaper Criterio 24

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[54] "Elecciones 2013: mirá los resultados en Jujuy." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 27 October 2013. www.lanacion.com.ar/1633004-elecciones-2013-mira-los-resultados-en-jujuy

[55] "Cómo se vive la elección en las provincias." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 27 October 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1632955-como-se-vive-la-eleccion-en-las-provincias

[56] "Fellner: 'se priorizó el interés general por sobre las legítimas aspiraciones personales.' *Criterio 24*, [El Salvador] 19 August 2013. http://www.criterio24.com.ar/gubernamental/gobierno/7354-fellner-se-priorizo-el-interes-general-por-sobre-las-legitimas-aspiraciones-personales

[57] "Fellner: 'se priorizó el interés general por sobre las legítimas aspiraciones personales.' *Criterio 24*, [San Salvador] 19 August 2013. http://www.criterio24.com.ar/gubernamental/gobierno/7354-fellner-se-priorizo-el-interes-general-por-sobre-las-legitimas-aspiraciones-personales

[58] "Daniel Scioli destacó la 'defensa irrestricta' del Consejo del PJ a Cristina Kirchner." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 30 September 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1624715-daniel-scioli-vuelve-a-reunir-al-pj-nacional-tras-cinco-meses-de-inactividad

[59] "Cómo se vive la elección en las provincias." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 27 October 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1632955-como-se-vive-la-eleccion-en-las-provincias

[60] "Cumbre de gobernadores del FpV de cara a las PASO." *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 31 July 2013. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-225710-2013-07-31.html

[61] Ybarra, Gustavo. "El PJ se mostró unido detrás del Gobierno, pero atento a 2015." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 1 October 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1624848-el-pj-se-mostro-unido-detras-del-gobierno-pero-atento-a-2015

[62] Bossi, Jessica. "El Gobierno busca contener a los mandatarios del PJ." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 3 November 2013. www.lanacion.com.ar/1635062-el-gobierno-busca-contener-a-los-mandatarios-del-pj

[63] Ybarra, Gustavo. "Jujuy: el poder peronista, acechado por el fuerte avance de Milagro Sala." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 30 September 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1624490-jujuy-el-poder-peronista-acechado-por-el-fuerte-avance-de-milagro-sala; "Daniel Scioli destacó la 'defensa irrestricta' del Consejo del PJ a Cristina Kirchner." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 30 September 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1624715-daniel-scioli-vuelve-a-reunir-al-pj-nacional-tras-cinco-meses-de-inactividad; Ybarra, Gustavo. "El PJ se mostró unido detrás del Gobierno, pero atento a 2015." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 1 October 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1624848-el-pj-se-mostro-

emphasized Fellner's efforts to unify provincial Peronism under the umbrella of Frente pare la Victoria.[64] Local opposition leaders also characterized Fellner as a representative of Kirchnerismo in Jujuy.[65]

Fellner was the president of the national Peronist Party and the President of the Argentine Chamber of Deputies from 2007-2011. Prior to becoming governor in 2011, he served in several positions in the provincial government, representing the local Frente para la Victoria.[66]

The Frente Jujeño coalition was the main challenger to the Frente para la Victoria ticket and was in opposition to the national government. The coalition includes the Unión Cívica Radical, the Partido Socialista, and the Partido Renovador. The coalition's leaders and candidates expressed opposition to the national government in different occasions, criticizing the massive influx of federal resources to the province used for social spending.[67] The Frente para la Victoria also faced an internal dispute between Fellner and Milagros Sala, leader of the Frente Unidos y Organizados por la Soberanía Popular. Both factions of the Frente para la Victoria have received support from the national government.[68] Although Sala's movement sought only provincial positions, this internal fraction negatively affected the electoral support for Fellner's candidates for the national legislative seats.[69]

unido-detras-del-gobierno-pero-atento-a-2015; Bossi, Jessica. "El Gobierno busca contener a los mandatarios del PJ." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 3 November 2013. www.lanacion.com.ar/1635062-el-gobierno-busca-contener-a-los-mandatarios-del-pj;

[64] "Fellner: 'se priorizó el interés general por sobre las legítimas aspiraciones personales.' *Criterio 24*, [El Salvador] 19 August 2013. http://www.criterio24.com.ar/gubernamental/gobierno/7354-fellner-se-priorizo-el-interes-general-por-sobre-las-legitimas-aspiraciones-personales

[65] Ybarra, Gustavo. "Jujuy: el poder peronista, acechado por el fuerte avance de Milagro Sala." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 30 September 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1624490-jujuy-el-poder-peronista-acechado-por-el-fuerte-avance-de-milagro-sala;

[66] See a more detailed description of positions held by Fellner in the profile above.

[67] Ybarra, Gustavo. "Jujuy: el poder peronista, acechado por el fuerte avance de Milagro Sala." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 30 September 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1624490-jujuy-el-poder-peronista-acechado-por-el-fuerte-avance-de-milagro-sala; "A la medianoche el triunfo del FPV en Jujuy se convertía en irreversible." *Jujuy al Día*, [San Salvador] 24 October 2011. http://www.jujuyaldia.com.ar/2011/10/24/a-la-medianoche-el-triunfo-del-fpv-en-jujuy-se-convertia-en-irreversible.

[68] Ybarra, Gustavo. "Jujuy: el poder peronista, acechado por el fuerte avance de Milagro Sala." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 30 September 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1624490-jujuy-el-poder-peronista-acechado-por-el-fuerte-avance-de-milagro-sala

[69] Bossi, Jessica. "El Gobierno busca contener a los mandatarios del PJ." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 3 November 2013. www.lanacion.com.ar/1635062-el-gobierno-busca-contener-a-los-mandatarios-del-pj

La Pampa

2007

In 2007 La Pampa elected president, vice-president, governor, vice-governor, two national deputies, and 26 local deputies. Seven coalitions competed for the governorship, and two garnered a majority of the vote: the Peronist Party and Frente Pampeano Cívico y Social. Oscar Mario Jorge, the Peronist candidate, was elected with 53.4% of the vote. Frente Pampeano Cívico y Social came in second with 36.5% of the vote.[1] In spite of the limited availability of information, the governor is clearly aligned with the President given his belonging to the Peronist Party, his positive discourse toward the national administration, the opinion of experts, and his local opposition's alignments.

The elected governor, Oscar Mario Jorge, belongs to the Peronist Party. National newspapers characterized Jorge as a Peronist.[2] However, the elected governor used the Justicialista and not the Frente para la Victoria party tag in this election.

Jorge had a positive discourse towards the national government. When he was elected governor, Jorge declared that both Néstor and Cristina Kirchner has implemented very popular policies.[3] The elected governor also stated that Néstor and Cristina Kirchner supported his administration.[4]

The elected governor did not participate in any public acts with members of the national government or the opposition.

National newspapers associated the elected governor with the national administration, stating that the Peronist ticket in La Pampa was headed by Cristina Kirchner's presidential candidacy.[5] Moreover, Página 12 asserted that the elected deputy from the Peronist Party would join the Kirchnerista block in the Chamber of Deputies.[6]

Jorge never held an appointed position in the national government for the 2003-2007 period.[7]

At the local level, Frente Pampeano Cívico y Social was not aligned with the President. National newspapers depicted this coalition as aligned with a presidential candidate that had lost

[1] "Avanza Closs en Misiones". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957338-avanza-closs-en-misiones.
[2] "El PJ quiere más en La Pampa". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957212-el-pj-quiere-mas-en-la-pampa ; Meyer, Adriana. "Las provincias que eligen lo suyo". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-93682-2007-10-28.html.
[3] "Otra vez el PJ". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 29 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/93712-29731-2007-10-29.html.
[4] "Otra vez el PJ". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 29 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/93712-29731-2007-10-29.html.
[5] Meyer, Adriana. "Las provincias que eligen lo suyo". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-93682-2007-10-28.html ; "El PJ quiere más en La Pampa". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957212-el-pj-quiere-mas-en-la-pampa.
[6] "El PJ sigue en La Pampa". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 30 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-93768-2007-10-30.html.
[7] Romano, Sergio. "El PJ logró mantener el poder en La Pampa". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957508-el-pj-logro-mantener-el-poder-en-la-pampa.

the election to Cristina Kirchner.[8] Moreover, the candidate who headed the Frente Pampeano Cívico y Social ticket was the President of the Radical Party in the province of La Pampa.[9]

2009

In 2009 La Pampa elected three national senators and three national deputies.[10] Seven coalitions competed in the election, and the same two as in the previous election garnered a significant portion of the vote: the Peronist Party and Frente Pampeano Cívico y Social. The Peronist Party won the race for the Senate and the race for the Deputy Chamber with 38.7% and 37.7% of the vote, respectively. Frente Pampeano Cívico y Social came in second with 34.7% of the vote for the Senate and 35.5% of the vote for the Chamber of Deputies.[11]

The incumbent governor, Oscar Mario Jorge, belongs to the winning Peronist Party. After the legislative election, Jorge was scheduled to have a meeting with the President of the Peronist Party in the context of a round of talks between the President of the Party and Peronist governors.[12] A local newspaper described Jorge as Justicialista.[13] However, the coalition supported by the governor used the Justicialista and not the Frente para la Victoria party tag in this election.[14] The governor continues to be coded as aligned with the President due to his belonging to the Peronist party, the opinion of experts, and facing a local opposition that opposes the national administration. His alignment is weaker compared with the previous election.

Jorge did not make any statements regarding the national government throughout the election cycle. In fact, a local newspaper stressed the governor's lack of participation in the campaign.[15]

The governor did not participate in any public acts with members of the national government. An article from La Nación newspaper asserted that Jorge did not want Cristina Kirchner to campaign in the province due to the unpopularity of the national government in the rural areas of the country, such as La Pampa.[16] This happened after the government proposed a tax reform that particularly affected the rural sector.

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[8] "El PJ quiere más en La Pampa". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957212-el-pj-quiere-mas-en-la-pampa ; "Otra vez el PJ". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 29 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/93712-29731-2007-10-29.html.

[9] "El PJ sigue en La Pampa". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 30 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-93768-2007-10-30.html ; "Avanza Closs en Misiones". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957338-avanza-closs-en-misiones.

[10] "El Kirchnerismo sufrió su primera derrota en Santa Cruz". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144252-el-Kirchnerismo-sufrio-su-primera-derrota-en-santa-cruz.

[11] "Verna ganó con lo justo en La Pampa". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144828-verna-gano-con-lo-justo-en-la-pampa.

[12] Morales, Juan Pablo. "Scioli empezó el plan para reconstruir el peronismo". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 1 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1145581-scioli-empezo-el-plan-para-reconstruir-el-peronismo.

[13] "Los pampeanos definen seis bancas en el Congreso". *La Arena,* [Santa Rosa] 28 June 2009. http://www.laarena.com.ar/la_ciudad-los_pampeanos_definen_seis_bancas_en_el_congreso-35834-115.html.

[14] "Provincia por provincia, cómo se resuelve la pelea por el nuevo poder". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144475-provincia-por-provincia-como-se-resuelve-la-pelea-por-el-nuevo-poder.

[15] "Elecciones en La Pampa: lo que se juega y lo que ya está jugando". *La Arena,* [Santa Rosa] 22 June 2009. http://www.laarena.com.ar/opinion-elecciones_en_la_pampa_lo_que_se_juega_y_lo_que_ya_se_esta_jugando-35567-111.html.

[16] Pagni, Carlos. "La trampa del vandalismo". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 30 May 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1133811-la-trampa-del-vandalismo.

Página 12 newspaper described Jorge as close with the national government.[17] Additionally, a local newspaper characterized the governor as aligned with the President.[18]

The governor never held an appointed position in the national government for the 2003-2009 period.

At the local level, Frente Pampeano Cívico y Social was not aligned with the President. This coalition was described as "non-Peronist" by a local newspaper.[19] Moreover, La Nación depicted Frente Pampeano Cívico y Social as opposed to the national government.[20] An article from the same newspaper stated that this coalition tried to take electoral advantage of the population's dissatisfaction with Kirchnerismo by selecting the vice-president of a rural producer's association as a deputy candidate.[21]

2011

In 2011, La Pampa held gubernatorial, legislative, and local elections. Two major parties participated in the executive election – Partido Justicialista and Frente Pampeano Cívico y Social. Partido Justicialista won the election with 42.6% of the vote, while Frente Pampeano Cívico y Social received 22.6%.[22]

The governor of the province, Oscar Mario Jorge, belongs to the Peronist Party.[23] Newspapers identify the governor as a Peronist.[24] In addition, Jorge appealed to all Peronists in the province during the campaign.[25] The governor ran with the Partido Justicialista party tag and

[17] "Llegó la hora de los gobernadores". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 17 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-128403-2009-07-17.html.

[18] "Cristina Kirchner convocará a los gobernadores". *La Arena,* [Santa Rosa] 17 July 2009. http://www.laarena.com.ar/el_pais-cristina_kirchner_convocara_a_los_gobernadores-36521-113.html.

[19] "La fragmentación del peronismo fue la nota en estas elecciones". *La Arena,* [Santa Rosa] 1 July 2009. http://www.laarena.com.ar/opinion-la_fragmentacion_del_peronismo_fue_la_nota_en_estas_elecciones-35939-111.html.

[20] "Provincia por provincia, cómo se resuelve la pelea por el nuevo poder". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144475-provincia-por-provincia-como-se-resuelve-la-pelea-por-el-nuevo-poder.

[21] Romano, Sergio. "El Kirchnerismo ausente en La Pampa". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 23 June 2009.http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1142460-el-Kirchnerismo-ausente-en-la-pampa.

[22] "El oficialismo se impuso en ocho de las nueve gobernaciones en juego." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1417171-renidas-elecciones-en-varias-provincias-que-eligen-gobernador-mendoza-formosa-y-santa-cruz ; "En La Pampa, el justicialismo retuvo la gobernacion." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1417323-en-la-pampa-el-justicialismo-retuvo-la-gobernacion ; "Amplio voto a candidatos K." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 24 October 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-179613-2011-10-24.html

[23] "El PJ y el Frepam cerraron campanas apelando a la unidad." *La Arena,* [Santa Rosa] 12 August 2011 http://www.laarena.com.ar/la_ciudad-el_pj_y_el_frepam_cerraron_campanas_apelando_a_la_unidad-64385-115.html ; "En La Pampa, el justicialismo retuvo la gobernacion." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1417323-en-la-pampa-el-justicialismo-retuvo-la-gobernacion

[24] "La renuncia de un candidato." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 5 July 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-171517-2011-07-05.html

[25] "El PJ y el Frepam cerraron campanas apelando a la unidad." *La Arena,* [Santa Rosa] 12 August 2011 http://www.laarena.com.ar/la_ciudad-el_pj_y_el_frepam_cerraron_campanas_apelando_a_la_unidad-64385-115.html

not the Frente para la Victoria tag.[26] However, the Partido Justicialista and Frente para la Victoria agreed on a single list that represented both of them.[27]

Jorge's discourse throughout the election cycle was favorable towards the President and the national government. At a rally before the election, he called on his supporters to support Cristina Kirchner's reelection.[28] At the inauguration of a biodiesel plant in the province, the governor thanked Néstor Kirchner for his promotion of this industry when he was president.[29] In addition, at the inauguration of a railroad, the governor expressed his agreement with the rural policies implemented by the national government.[30] Jorge also repeatedly commended Cristina Kirchner's support for public works projects in the province in public acts and television ads.[31] After winning the election, the governor applauded the national government's policies that improved provincial production and exports.[32]

Before the election, Jorge attended the inauguration of a biodiesel plant in the province, chaired by Cristina Kirchner via teleconference.[33] The governor also accompanied the President in the inauguration of a railroad project linking the City of Buenos Aires with a city in La Pampa.[34] In addition, the governor travelled to Buenos Aires for the launching of a new national program for agricultural production.[35] Following the election, Jorge joined the Ministro del Interior (Minister of the Interior), Secretario de Comunicacion Pública (Secretary of Public Communication), and other aligned governors in a meeting of the National Council of the Peronist Party. This meeting ended with a declaration of unanimous support to Cristina Kirchner's reelection.[36]

Journalists associated Jorge with the national government. La Nación wrote that the Casa Rosada (Argentina's White House) was represented in La Pampa following Jorge's electoral

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[26] "En La Pampa, el justicialismo retuvo la gobernacion." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1417323-en-la-pampa-el-justicialismo-retuvo-la-gobernacion

[27] "La renuncia de un candidato." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 5 July 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-171517-2011-07-05.html

[28] "El PJ y el Frepam cerraron campanas apelando a la unidad." *La Arena,* [Santa Rosa] 12 August 2011 http://www.laarena.com.ar/la_ciudad-el_pj_y_el_frepam_cerraron_campanas_apelando_a_la_unidad-64385-115.html

[29] "Cristina inauguro planta de biodiesel a traves de teleconferencia." *La Arena,* [Santa Rosa] 14 October 2011 http://www.laarena.com.ar/la_provincia-cristina_inauguro_planta_de_biodiesel_a_traves_de_teleconferencia-66535-114.html

[30] "Inauguraron ramal ferroviario que llega a Realico." *Region,* [Santa Rosa] 8 September 2011 http://www.region.com.ar/productos/semanario/archivo/1008-noticias-la-pampa/inauguracion-ramal-ferroviario-realico-1008.html

[31] "El Gobierno 'ahorro' $848 milliones en obras publicas." *La Arena,* [Santa Rosa] 16 October 2011 http://www.laarena.com.ar/la_provincia-el_gobierno__ahorro__$848_millones_en_obras_publicas-66588-114.html

[32] "Crearon la aduana de General Pico." *La Arena,* [Santa Rosa] 24 November 2011 http://www.laarena.com.ar/la_provincia-crearon_la_aduana_de_general_pico-67938-114.html

[33] "Cristina inauguro planta de biodiesel a traves de teleconferencia." *La Arena,* [Santa Rosa] 14 October 2011 http://www.laarena.com.ar/la_provincia-cristina_inauguro_planta_de_biodiesel_a_traves_de_teleconferencia-66535-114.html

[34] "Inauguraron ramal ferroviario que llega a Realico." *Region,* [Santa Rosa] 8 September 2011 http://www.region.com.ar/productos/semanario/archivo/1008-noticias-la-pampa/inauguracion-ramal-ferroviario-realico-1008.html

[35] "Muy buena realizacion de la 79 Expo Rural de General Pico." *Region,* [Santa Rosa] 22 September 2011 http://www.region.com.ar/productos/semanario/archivo/1010-noticias-la-pampa/fotos-79-expo-rural-general-pico-2011-1010.html

[36] Lantos, Nicolas. "Con un respaldo 'mas que nunca' a Cristina Kirchner." *Página 12,* [Rio Gallegos] 18 November 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-181510-2011-11-18.html

victory.[37] The same newspaper claimed the governor subscribed to the same party list as Cristina Kirchner.[38] A journalist from Página 12 called Jorge a Kirchnerista.[39]

Jorge did not hold a position in the national government between 2003 and 2011.

The local opposition to the governor had an alliance with opposition parties at the national level. The Radical and Socialist party comprised Frente Pampeano Cívico y Social.[40] In fact, Jorge's electoral opponent identified with the UCR.[41] Journalists also associated the Frente Pampeano Cívico y Social candidate with the UCR.[42] More specifically, a journalist from Página 12 associated the party with the candidacies of Ricardo Alfonsín and Hermes Binner, UCR and Socialist candidates respectively.[43]

2013

La Pampa held competitive legislative elections for national deputies in 2013. Three major parties participated – Compromiso Peronista (which had won the Frente para la Victoria primary), Frente Pampeano Cívico y Social, and Frente Propuesta Federal. Compromiso Peronista won the election with 35.2% of the vote, while Frente Pampeano Cívico y Social received 34.4%, and Frente Propuesta Federal received 19.3%.[44]

[37] "El oficialismo se impuso en ocho de las nueve gobernaciones en juego." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1417171-renidas-elecciones-en-varias-provincias-que-eligen-gobernador-mendoza-formosa-y-santa-cruz

[38] "El oficialismo se impuso en ocho de las nueve gobernaciones en juego." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1417171-renidas-elecciones-en-varias-provincias-que-eligen-gobernador-mendoza-formosa-y-santa-cruz

[39] "Amplio voto a candidatos K." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 24 October 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-179613-2011-10-24.html

[40] "El PJ y el Frepam cerraron campanas apelando a la unidad." *La Arena,* [Santa Rosa] 12 August 2011 http://www.laarena.com.ar/la_ciudad-el_pj_y_el_frepam_cerraron_campanas_apelando_a_la_unidad-64385-115.html ; Bruschtein, Julian. "Asuntos de provincia." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 23 October 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-179557-2011-10-23.html ; "Amplio voto a candidatos K." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 24 October 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-179613-2011-10-24.html

[41] "El PJ y el Frepam cerraron campanas apelando a la unidad." *La Arena,* [Santa Rosa] 12 August 2011 http://www.laarena.com.ar/la_ciudad-el_pj_y_el_frepam_cerraron_campanas_apelando_a_la_unidad-64385-115.html

[42] "El oficialismo se impuso en ocho de las nueve gobernaciones en juego." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1417171-renidas-elecciones-en-varias-provincias-que-eligen-gobernador-mendoza-formosa-y-santa-cruz ; "En La Pampa, el justicialismo retuvo la gobernacion." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1417323-en-la-pampa-el-justicialismo-retuvo-la-gobernacion

[43] Bruschtein, Julian. "Asuntos de provincia." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 23 October 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-179557-2011-10-23.html

[44] "Elecciones 2013: mira los resultados en La Pampa." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1633018-elecciones-2013-mira-los-resultados-en-la-pampa

The governor of the province, Oscar Mario Jorge, supported the Compromiso Peronista party.[45] A journalist from La Nación referred to Jorge as a Peronist governor.[46] The governor did not use the Frente para la Victoria party tag in these elections; he led the Compromiso Peronista party list.[47]

Jorge spoke positively about Cristina Kirchner throughout the election cycle. Upon receiving national monies for the construction of a hospital, Jorge called the President an excellent administrator, and acknowledged the importance of her support.[48] He commended the national project, and claimed the provincial opposition could not advance a positive alternative.[49] Jorge also criticized the opposition for wishing bad things happen to Cristina Kirchner in order to win the election.[50] In the context of a public ceremony for launching Frente para la Victoria's candidates, Jorge commented that he had always supported the President.[51]

The governor participated in a ceremony in Buenos Aires that launched Frente para la Victoria's candidates, including La Pampa candidates supported by the governor. The ceremony was headed by President Cristina Kirchner.[52] The governor also attended a ceremony where Cristina Kirchner inaugurated a biodiesel plant via teleconference. This public act took place in La Pampa and was also attended by the Kirchnerista youth organization called La Cámpora.[53] He also met with the Jefe de Gabinete (Chief of Staff) to talk about joint projects between the provincial and national governments.[54]

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[45] "El gobernador pampeano triunfo en la interna." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 12 August 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1609869-el-gobernador-pampeano-triunfo-en-la-interna ; "Jorge y sus candidatos, con Cristina." *La Arena,* [Buenos Aires] 30 June 2013 http://www.laarena.com.ar/la_ciudad-jorge_y_sus_candidatos__con_cristina-96796-115.html ; "Presentaron a Espartaco Marin y Alicia Campo como candidatos a senadores por el Frente para la Victoria." *La Reforma,* [Santa Rosa] 30 June 2013 http://www.diariolareforma.com.ar/2013/presentaron-a-espartaco-marin-y-alicia-campo-como-candidatos-a-senadores-por-el-frente-para-la-victoria/

[46] "El gobernador pampeano triunfo en la interna." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 12 August 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1609869-el-gobernador-pampeano-triunfo-en-la-interna

[47] "Legislativas 2013: Gustavo Fernandez Mendia, Veronica Leduc y Espartaco Marin en la Unidad Basica." *La Reforma,* [Santa Rosa] 27 September 2013 http://www.diariolareforma.com.ar/2013/legislativas-2013-el-peronismo-lanzo-la-campana-en-general-pico-sin-la-presencia-de-jorge

[48] "Jorge adelanto que el nuevo hospital estara listo en 2015." *La Arena,* [Santa Rosa] 3 May 2013 http://www.laarena.com.ar/la_ciudad-jorge_adelanto_que_el_nuevo_hospital_estara_listo_en_2015-93150-115.html

[49] "Jorge y sus candidatos, con Cristina." *La Arena,* [Buenos Aires] 30 June 2013 http://www.laarena.com.ar/la_ciudad-jorge_y_sus_candidatos__con_cristina-96796-115.html ; "Presentaron a Espartaco Marin y Alicia Campo como candidatos a senadores por el Frente para la Victoria." *La Reforma,* [Santa Rosa] 30 June 2013 http://www.diariolareforma.com.ar/2013/presentaron-a-espartaco-marin-y-alicia-campo-como-candidatos-a-senadores-por-el-frente-para-la-victoria/

[50] "Presentaron a Espartaco Marin y Alicia Campo como candidatos a senadores por el Frente para la Victoria." *La Reforma,* [Santa Rosa] 30 June 2013 http://www.diariolareforma.com.ar/2013/presentaron-a-espartaco-marin-y-alicia-campo-como-candidatos-a-senadores-por-el-frente-para-la-victoria/

[51] "Presentaron a Espartaco Marin y Alicia Campo como candidatos a senadores por el Frente para la Victoria." *La Reforma,* [Santa Rosa] 30 June 2013 http://www.diariolareforma.com.ar/2013/presentaron-a-espartaco-marin-y-alicia-campo-como-candidatos-a-senadores-por-el-frente-para-la-victoria/

[52] "Jorge y sus candidatos, con Cristina." *La Arena,* [Buenos Aires] 30 June 2013 http://www.laarena.com.ar/la_ciudad-jorge_y_sus_candidatos__con_cristina-96796-115.html

[53] "Biodiesel: Cristina inauguro la segunda planta en La Pampa." *La Arena,* [Santa Rosa] 24 July 2013 http://www.laarena.com.ar/la_provincia-biodiesel__cristina_inauguro_la_segunda_planta_en_la_pampa-98278-114.html

[54] "Abal con Oscar Jorge." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 13 November 2013 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-233495-2013-11-13.html

Journalists linked Jorge with the national government. In a local newspaper, a journalist referenced Jorge's party list as being supported by the national government.[55] Another local newspaper referred to this list as the one that included the candidates of the national project.[56] In addition, a candidate from La Pampa expressed the choice in the election as two simple alternatives: the national and provincial governments or the opposition.[57] La Nación interpreted the election as a victory of Kirchnerismo.[58] However, the same newspaper also indicated that Jorge's alliance with the national government could weaken in the future.[59]

Jorge did not hold a position in the national government between 2003 and 2013.

The governor's local opposition opposed the President. La Nación referred to Frente Propuesta Federal as Macrista, in reference to the national opposition leader Mauricio Macri.[60] The same newspaper associated Frente Pampeano Cívico y Social with the national UCR opposition.[61]

[55] "Presentaron a Espartaco Marin y Alicia Campo como candidatos a senadores por el Frente para la Victoria." *La Reforma,* [Santa Rosa] 30 June 2013 http://www.diariolareforma.com.ar/2013/presentaron-a-espartaco-marin-y-alicia-campo-como-candidatos-a-senadores-por-el-frente-para-la-victoria/

[56] "Jorge y sus candidatos, con Cristina." *La Arena,* [Buenos Aires] 30 June 2013 http://www.laarena.com.ar/la_ciudad-jorge_y_sus_candidatos__con_cristina-96796-115.html

[57] "Jorge y sus candidatos, con Cristina." *La Arena,* [Buenos Aires] 30 June 2013 http://www.laarena.com.ar/la_ciudad-jorge_y_sus_candidatos__con_cristina-96796-115.html

[58] "Elecciones 2013: mira los resultados en La Pampa." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1633018-elecciones-2013-mira-los-resultados-en-la-pampa

[59] Serra, Laura. "El Gobierno busca contener a la tropa propia en Diputados." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1633544-el-gobierno-busca-contener-a-la-tropa-propia-en-diputados

[60] "El gobernador pampeano triunfo en la interna." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 12 August 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1609869-el-gobernador-pampeano-triunfo-en-la-interna

[61] "Elecciones 2013: mira los resultados en La Pampa." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1633018-elecciones-2013-mira-los-resultados-en-la-pampa

La Rioja

2007

In 2007 La Rioja elected a governor and a vice-governor.[1] Nine coalitions competed in the election, and three garnered a significant portion of the vote: Frente del Pueblo Riojano, Frente para la Victoria, and Lealtad y Dignidad. The interim governor of the province, Luis Beder Herrera from Frente del Pueblo Riojano, was elected with 42.5% of the vote.[2] Frente para la Victoria came in second with 27.8% of the vote, and Lealtad y Dignidad came in third with 22.3% of the vote.[3]

The elected governor, Luis Beder Herrera, belongs to the Peronist Party. After the election, Beder Herrera stated that he considered himself a Peronist.[4] Moreover, Página 12 newspaper described the elected governor as one of the three Peronist candidates in the election.[5] However, Beder Herrera used the Frente del Pueblo Riojano and not the Frente para la Victoria party tag.[6]

Beder Herrera expressed his support for the national administration on numerous occasions. Before the election, the elected governor declared that Cristina Kirchner was the ideal presidential candidate for the upcoming elections, and that he had faith in her political project.[7] Throughout the campaign, Beder Herrera also thanked Néstor Kirchner for sending funds to La Rioja and for financing public works in the province.[8] Moreover, the elected governor declared his support to Kirchner's administration.[9] The night of the election, Beder Herrera expressed his belief that Néstor and Cristina Kirchner would support his administration.[10] After the election,

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[1] In 2007 La Rioja also elected president, vice-president, three national and nine local deputies. However, the elections were not concurrent.

[2] "Beder Herrera obtuvo un cómodo triunfo en La Rioja". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 19 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/936012-beder-herrera-obtuvo-un-comodo-triunfo-en-la-rioja.

[3] "Beder Herrera obtuvo un cómodo triunfo en La Rioja". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 19 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/936012-beder-herrera-obtuvo-un-comodo-triunfo-en-la-rioja.

[4] Ortiz Sosa, Arturo. ""No seré un delegado del poder central"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 21 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/936335-no-sere-un-delegado-del-poder-central.

[5] Dandan, Alejandra. "Final para un fantasma del pasado". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 20 August 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-89998-2007-08-20.html.

[6] "Beder Herrera ganó en La Rioja". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 19 August 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-89968-2007-08-19.html.

[7] "Elecciones. Beder: Cristina K "devolverá autonomía a riojanos". *Rioja Virtual,* [La Rioja] 19 July 2007. http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/elecciones_beder_cristina_k_devolvera_autonomia_a_riojanos.

[8] "Elecciones. Beder: "estoy harto de trabajar para otros"". *Rioja Virtual,* [La Rioja] 4 August 2007. http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/elecciones_beder_estoy_harto_de_trabajar_para_otros ; "El gobierno pide que los estatales se jubilen con el 82% ciento móvil". *Rioja Virtual,* [La Rioja] 9 August 2007. http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/el_gobierno_pide_que_los_estatales_se_jubilen_con_el_82_movil ; ""Apoyo al presidente Kirchner y punto"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 18 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/935663-apoyo-al-presidente-kirchner-y-punto.

[9] ""Apoyo al presidente Kirchner y punto"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 18 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/935663-apoyo-al-presidente-kirchner-y-punto.

[10] "Elecciones. Tras la victoria, Beder ratifica que hará un gobierno progresista". *Rioja Virtual,* [La Rioja] 20 August 2007. http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/elecciones_tras_la_victoria_beder_ratifica_que_hara_un_gobierno_progresista.

the elected governor asserted that he represented the national administration in the province, and therefore the Kirchner's political project had won the elections in the province.[11] Beder Herrera also thanked Néstor Kirchner for bringing back public works to the country.[12]

The elected governor participated in several public acts and meetings with members of the national administration. Before the election, Beder Herrera attended Cristina Kirchner's first public act as a presidential candidate.[13] Additionally, the elected governor had three separate meetings with the Secretario de Hacienda (Secretay of Treasury), the Secretario General de la Presidencia (General Secretary of the Presidency), and the Ministra de Desarrollo Social (Minister of Social Development).[14] Beder Herrera also had a meeting with the Ministro de Economía (Minister of Economy).[15] Furthermore, President Néstor Kirchner and the Secretario General de la Presidencia had a meeting with the elected governor three days before the election.[16] Beder Herrera organized a public act to close his campaign, and that act was attended by the Secretaria de Industria (Secretary of Industry) and the Secretario de Minería (Secretary of Mining).[17] The night of the election, Néstor and Cristina Kirchner called the elected governor to congratulate him for the results.[18] After the election, Beder Herrera attended an act to launch the vice-president's gubernatorial candidacy; Néstor and Cristina Kirchner also participated in the event.[19] The elected governor also had a series of meetings with Cristina Kirchner, the Secretario General de la Presidencia, the Ministro de Planificación Federal (Minister of Federal Plaanning), the Ministro de Salud (Minister of Health), the Secretario de Vivienda (Secretary of Housing), the Ministro de Economía, the Ministro del Interior (Minister of Interior), the Ministro de Trabajo (Minister of Labor), the Secretario Legal y Técnico (Legal and Technical Secretary), and the subsecretario de Coordinación del Ministerio de Planificación (Subsecretary of Coordination).[20] Moreover, Beder Herrera had a meeting with the aligned governor and vice-

[11] Ortiz Sosa, Arturo. ""No seré un delegado del poder central"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 21 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/936335-no-sere-un-delegado-del-poder-central.
[12] "Beder inauguró viviendas y lanzó una dura advertencia". *Rioja Virtual,* [La Rioja] 4 September 2007. http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/beder_inauguro_viviendas_y_lanzo_una_dura_advertncia.
[13] "Elecciones. Beder: Cristina K "devolverá autonomía a riojanos". *Rioja Virtual,* [La Rioja] 19 July 2007. http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/elecciones_beder_cristina_k_devolvera_autonomia_a_riojanos.
[14] "El gobierno nacional regulariza envíos de fondos "extras"". *Rioja Virtual,* [La Rioja] 25 July 2007. http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/el_gobierno_nacional_regulariza_envios_de_fondos_extras.
[15] "Beder consiguió un fuerte respaldo a su política económica". *Rioja Virtual,* [La Rioja] 10 August 2007. http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/beder_consiguio_un_fuerte_respaldo_a_su_politica_economica.
[16] "Kirchner recibió al rival de Menem en la Casa Rosada". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 15 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/934743-kirchner-recibio-al-rival-de-menem-en-la-casa-rosada.
[17] Lladós, José Ignacio. *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/935253-doble-apuesta-de-kirchner-en-la-rioja.
[18] Lladós, José Ignacio. "El Kirchnerismo se impuso en La Rioja". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 20 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/936199-el-Kirchnerismo-se-impuso-en-la-rioja.
[19] "Fiel al discurso del "optimismo"". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 22 August 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-90093-2007-08-22.html.
[20] "Beder encuentra abiertas todas las puertas de la Nación". *Rioja Virtual,* [La Rioja] 25 August 2007. http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/beder_encuentra_abiertas_todas_las_puertas_de_la_nacion ; "De Vido, otra escala de Beder en despachos de la Nación". *Rioja Virtual,* [La Rioja] 27 August 2007. http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/de_vido_otra_escala_de_beder_en_despachos_de_la_nacion ; "Beder encontró en Peirano un aliado clave". *Rioja Virtual,* [La Rioja] 31 August 2007. http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/beder_encontro_en_peirano_un_aliado_clave ; "La Nación analiza propuesta riojana para mejorar jubilaciones". *Rioja Virtual,* [La Rioja] 2 September 2007. http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/la_nacion_analiza_propuesta_riojana_para_mejorar_jubilaciones.

presidential candidate from Frente para la Victoria, Julio Cobos.[21] The elected governor also participated in a public act headed by Néstor Kirchner in the province of Catamarca; other aligned governors, as well as several members of the cabinet, participated in the event.[22] Finally, President Néstor Kirchner received the elected governor at the Casa Rosada (Argentina's White House).[23]

National as well as a local newspaper referred to the elected governor as Kirchnerista.[24] A local newspaper also depicted Beder Herrera as aligned with Kirchnerismo.[25] Furthermore, La Nación interpreted the electoral results in La Rioja as a victory for the national government.[26]

The elected governor never held an appointed position in the national government for the 2003-2007 period. Beder Herrera had been the vice-governor of the province since 1995, and in 2007 he became the interim governor after the then governor was displaced from his position.[27]

At the local level, the candidate who headed the FPV ticket was also aligned with the national government. La Nación and Página 12, as well as a local newspaper, described the FPV candidate as Kirchnerista.[28] However, the Lealtad y Dignidad candidate, former President Carlos Menem, was depicted as a member the anti-Kirchnerista Peronism by Página 12 and La Nación newspapers.[29] La Nación also described Menem as an enemy of the national government.[30]

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[21] "Cobos pasó por La Rioja y, en campaña, hizo promesas". *Rioja Virtual*, [La Rioja] 13 September 2007. http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/cobos_paso_por_la_rioja_y_en_campana_hizo_promesas.

[22] "Kirchner vendrá a La Rioja y recibirá a Beder en Buenos Aires". *Rioja Virtual*, [La Rioja] 13 September 2007. http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/kirchner_vendra_a_la_rioja_y_recibira_a_beder_en_buenos_aires.

[23] "Beder le arrancó a Kirchner los fondos necesarios para garantizar la supervivencia". *Rioja Virtual*, [La Rioja] 14 September 2007. http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/beder_le_arranco_a_kirchner_los_fondos_necesarios_para_garantizar_la_supervivencia.

[24] "El PJ disidente anunciará su forma en menos de un mes". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 25 July 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/928783-el-pj-disidente-anunciara-su-formula-en-menos-de-un-mes ; Kollmann, Raúl. "Cinco domingos electorales". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 5 August 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-89244-2007-08-05.html ; "Elecciones. Espectacular cierre de campaña de los candidatos peronistas". *Rioja Virtual*, [La Rioja] 16 August 2007. http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/elecciones_espectacular_cierre_de_campana_de_los_candidatos_peronistas.

[25] "Elecciones. Kirchner se mantiene al margen pero juega a dos puntas". *Rioja Virtual*, [La Rioja], 8 August 2007. http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/elecciones_kirchner_se_mantiene_al_margen_pero_juega_a_dos_puntas.

[26] "Kirchner se llevó la mitad de los triunfos". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 3 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/940447-kirchner-se-llevo-la-mitad-de-los-triunfos.

[27] "El Frente para la Victoria usa a Bergoglio para ganar en La Rioja". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 18 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/935662-el-frente-para-la-victoria-usa-a-bergoglio-para-ganar-en-la-rioja.

[28] "Doble apuesta de Kirchner en La Rioja". 19 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/935958-doble-apuesta-de-kirchner-en-la-rioja ; Kollmann, Raúl. "Cinco domingos electorales". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 5 August 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-89244-2007-08-05.htm ; "Elecciones. Espectacular cierre de campaña de los candidatos peronistas". *Rioja Virtual*, [La Rioja], 16 August 2007. http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/elecciones_espectacular_cierre_de_campana_de_los_candidatos_peronistas.

[29] "Calendario electoral clave para el gobierno". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 12 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/933909-calendario-electoral-clave-para-el-gobierno ; Dandan, Alejandra. "El sueño del ex Papa que quiere ser obispo". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 19 August 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-89949-2007-08-19.html.

[30] Lladós, José Ignacio. "En la campaña riojana reparten dinero, inodoros y remedios". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 16 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/934984-en-la-campana-riojana-reparten-dinero-inodoros-y-remedios.

2009

In 2009 La Rioja elected two national and 27 local deputies. Seven coalitions competed for the national seats, and two garnered a majority of the vote: Frente Justicialista del Pueblo and Frente Cívico y Social. Frente Justicialista del Pueblo, the coalition supported by the incumbent governor, won the election with 53.5% of the vote.[31] Frente Cívico y Social came in second with 32.2% of the vote.[32]

The governor, Luis Beder Herrera, belongs to the Peronist Party. At the time of the election, Beder Herrera was the president of the Party in La Rioja.[33] Moreover, a local newspaper referred to Beder Herrera as a Peronist governor.[34] However, the coalition supported by the governor used the Frente Justicialista del Pueblo and not the Frente para la Victoria party tag.

Beder Herrera spoke favorably of Cristina Kirchner throughout the election cycle. Before the election, the governor declared that he supported the national government by stating that his own provincial policies were consistent with the President's redistributive programs.[35] He also thanked Cristina Kirchner for sending funds to the province on numerous occasions.[36] Moreover, Beder Herrera praised the national government for building schools and public works throughout the country.[37] Additionally, the governor asked his supporters to vote for the Frente del Pueblo Riojano candidates because they would support the national government, and as a result the President would keep sending funds to the province.[38] After the election, Beder Herrera identified himself as an ally of the President by proposing that aligned governors work together to support the national administration.[39]

The governor shared several public acts and meetings with members of the national government. Before the election, Beder Herrera signed a number of agreements with the

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[31] "Yoma ganó, pero resignó una banca". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144822-yoma-gano-pero-resigno-una-banca.

[32] Yoma ganó, pero resignó una banca". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144822-yoma-gano-pero-resigno-una-banca.

[33] "Beder cree que, tras las elecciones, habrá una reorganización en el PJ". *Rioja Virtual,* [La Rioja] 19 June 2009. http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/beder_cree_que_tras_las_elecciones_habra_una_reorganizacion_en_el_pj.

[34] "Los temas que condicionan la permanencia de La Rioja en el Kirchnerismo". *Rioja Virtual,* [La Rioja] 12 July 2009.http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/los_temas_que_condicionan_la_permanencia_de_la_rioja_en_el_Kirchnerismo.

[35] "Beder: "Pensamos como la Nación a la hora de la redistribución del ingreso"". *Rioja Virtual,* [La Rioja] 3 June 2009.http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/beder_pensamos_como_la_nacion_a_la_hora_de_la_redistribucion_del_ingreso.

[36] "Proveerán una laptop a cada alumno de 6º año de escuelas públicas". *Rioja Virtual,* [La Rioja] 2 June 2009. http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/proveeran_una_laptop_a_cada_alumno_de_6_ano_de_escuelas_publicas ; "Beder le dio a Yoma-Griselda el respaldo que no le dan las "colectoras"". *Rioja Virtual,* [La Rioja] 18 June 2009. http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/beder_le_dio_a_yoma_griselda_el_respaldo_que_no_le_dan_las_colectoras ; "Beder reclamó votar a Yoma: "no nos sirve el otro voto" dijo". *Rioja Virtual,* [La Rioja] 23 June 2009. http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/beder_reclamo_votar_a_yoma_no_nos_sirve_el_otro_voto_dijo.

[37] "Beder elogió la política laboral de Cristina Kirchner". *Rioja Virtual,* [La Rioja] 20 June 2009. http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/beder_elogio_la_politica_laboral_de_cristina_kirchner.

[38] "Beder reclamó votar a Yoma: "no nos sirve el otro voto" dijo". *Rioja Virtual,* [La Rioja] 23 June 2009. http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/beder_reclamo_votar_a_yoma_no_nos_sirve_el_otro_voto_dijo.

[39] "Beder apoya a Cristina, pero reclama por la coparticipación". *Rioja Virtual,* [La Rioja] 2 July 2009. http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/beder_apoya_a_cristina_pero_reclama_por_la_coparticipacion.

Ministro de Educación (Minister of Education).[40] The governor also participated in a public act headed by Cristina Kirchner at the Casa Rosada (Argentina's White House); other aligned governors and several members of the cabinet also attended the event.[41] Additionally, Beder Herrera had a meeting with the Ministro de Trabajo (Minister of Labor) and other aligned governors.[42] The governor also participated in a public act with Cristina Kirchner in La Rioja.[43] Furthermore, Beder Herrera participated through videoconference in a public act headed by Cristina Kirchner in Mendoza; the event was also attended by other aligned governors.[44] After the election, the governor attended a swearing-in ceremony at the Casa Rosada; Cristina Kirchner and several aligned governors were also present at the event.[45] Finally, Beder Herrera had two separate meetings with the Ministro de Economía (Minister of Economy) and the Jefe de Gabinete (Chieff of Staff).[46]

La Nación newspaper referrer to the governor as Kirchnerista.[47] Moreover, an article from the same newspaper stated that Beder Herrera had sworn loyalty to Cristina Kirchner.[48] Página 12 also depicted the governor as close to the national government.[49] Additionally, a local newspaper asserted that Beder Herrera was part of the Kirchnerista Peronists.[50]

The governor never held an appointed position in the national government.

At the local level, Frente Cívico y Social was not aligned with the national government. Before the election, the candidate who headed the Frente Cívico y Social ticket asked his supporters to vote in the legislative election to show the national government La Rioja's diagreement with most of the policies implemented by the presidential couple.[51] He also stated that the Kirchners' government had an expiration date.[52] After the election, the Frente Cívico y

[40] "Proveerán una laptop a cada alumno de 6º año de escuelas públicas". *Rioja Virtual*, [La Rioja] 2 June 2009. http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/proveeran_una_laptop_a_cada_alumno_de_6_ano_de_escuelas_publicas.
[41] "54 millones para productores viñateros de La Rioja y la región". *Rioja Virtual*, [La Rioja] 11 June 2009. http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/54_millones_para_productores_vinateros_de_la_rioja_y_la_region.
[42] "Beder elogió la política laboral de Cristina Kirchner". *Rioja Virtual*, [La Rioja] 20 June 2009. http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/beder_elogio_la_politica_laboral_de_cristina_kirchner.
[43] Crettaz, José. "Inaugurar obras, una obsesión de campaña". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 23 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1142456-inaugurar-obras-una-obsesion-de-campana.
[44] "CFK: "Yo trabajo por el bienestar de todos los argentinos"". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 28 May 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-125723-2009-05-28.html.
[45] "Un gesto de apoyo de los gobernadores". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 8 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1148486-un-gesto-de-apoyo-de-los-gobernadores.
[46] "Beder se reunió con Boudou y le pidió asegurar los fondos "extras"". *Rioja Virtual*, [La Rioja] 22 July 2009. http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/beder_se_reunio_con_boudou_y_le_pidio_asegurar_los_fondos_extras ; "Beder sigue "golpeando puertas nacionales" para conseguir más fondos". *Rioja Virtual*, [La Rioja] 23 July 2009. http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/beder_sigue_golpeando_puertas_nacionales_para_conseguir_mas_fondos.
[47] "Provincia por provincia, cómo se resuelve la pelea por el nuevo poder". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 28 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144475-provincia-por-provincia-como-se-resuelve-la-pelea-por-el-nuevo-poder.
[48] Cappiello, Hernán. "El peronismo de La Rioja busca quedarse con todo". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 3 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1135155-el-peronismo-de-la-rioja-busca-quedarse-con-todo.
[49] "Llegó la hora de los gobernadores". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 17 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-128403-2009-07-17.html.
[50] "El gobierno asimila el resultado electoral y ratifica su plan de acción". *Rioja Virtual*, [La Rioja] 29 June 2009. http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/el_gobierno_asimila_el_resultado_electoral_y_ratifica_su_plan_de_accion.
[51] "La UCR pide a los riojanos demostrar "desacuerdo" con los Kirchner". *Rioja Virtual*, [La Rioja] 17 June 2009. http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/la_ucr_pide_a_los_riojanos_demostrar_desacuerdo_con_los_kirchner.
[52] "Para la UCR, Beder y los Kirchner tienen "fecha de vencimiento"". *Rioja Virtual*, [La Rioja] 7 July 2009. http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/para_la_ucr_beder_y_los_kirchner_tienen_fecha_de_vencimiento.

Social candidate had a meeting with the vice-president, Julio Cobos, who opposed the President since 2008.[53]

2011

La Rioja held elections for governor and other provincial positions in 2011. While several coalitions participated, only three garnered a significant amount of votes in the executive contest – Frente Justicialista para la Victoria, Frente Cívico para el Cambio, and Frente Unión Riojana. Frente Justicialista para la Victoria overwhelmingly won the election with 67.2% of the vote, Frente Cívico para el Cambio came in second and Frente Unión Riojana came in third with a meager 19.6% and 10.9% respectively.[54]

The governor of the province, Luis Beder Herrera, is a Peronist. Before the election, an eclectic Peronist leadership collectively supported his candidacy.[55] In addition, La Nación newspaper referred to Beder Herrera as a Peronist.[56] The governor ran with the Frente para la Victoria party tag.[57]

Beder Herrera spoke favorably of Cristina Kirchner throughout the election cycle. Before the election, he attended the launching of a national agrarian policy, where he credited Cristina Kirchner for bolstering the sector.[58] At a campaign stop, the governor said that Cristina Kirchner deserved the support of everyone in the province, because she devoted herself to the country.[59] In an interview with a local newspaper, Beder Herrera affirmed his admiration for the national government, and claimed to use its policies as a frame of reference for the province.[60] At a parade in the province, Beder Herrera again expressed his support for Cristina Kirchner and the

[53] "El Radicalismo riojano mantuvo una reunión con Julio Cobos". *Rioja Virtual*, [La Rioja] 19 July 2009. http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/el_Radicalismo_riojano_mantuvo_una_reunion_con_julio_cobos.

[54] "No veo que sea el final del menemismo en La Rioja." *La Nación,* [La Rioja] 31 May 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1377630-no-veo-que-sea-el-final-del-menemismo-en-la-rioja ; "Beder consiguió un triunfo rotundo y sigue como gobernador en el periodo 2011-2015." *Rioja Virtual,* [La Rioja] 29 May 2011 http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/beder_consiguio_un_triunfo_rotundo_y_sigue_como_gobernador_en_el_periodo_2011_2015

[55] "Beder Herrera cerro su campana pidiendo por la reeleccion de Cristina." *Rioja Virtual,* [La Rioja] 26 May 2011 http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/beder_herrera_cerro_su_campana_pidiendo_por_la_reeleccion_de_cristina ; "La Rioja: claves para entender una elección atravesada por el menemismo." *La Nación, [Buenos Aires]* 29 May 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1377004-la-rioja-claves-para-entender-una-eleccion-atravesada-por-el-menemismo

[56] "La Rioja: claves para entender una elección atravesada por el menemismo." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 May 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1377004-la-rioja-claves-para-entender-una-eleccion-atravesada-por-el-menemismo

[57] "Beder Herrera buscará la reelección en La Rioja." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 May 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1377228-la-rioja-beder-herrera-buscara-la-reelecion

"Beder Herrera ratificó su férreo alineamiento al proyecto Kirchnerista." *Rioja Virtual,* [La Rioja] 20 April 2011

[58]http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/beder_herrera_ratifico_su_ferreo_alineamiento_al_proyecto_Kirchnerista

[59] "De gira por el interior, Beder Herrera pidió por la continuidad de Cristina K." *Rioja Virtual,* [La Rioja] 24 May 2011 http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/de_gira_por_el_interior_beder_herrera_pidio_por_la_continuidad_de_cristina_k

[60]"Beder Herrera cerro su campana pidiendo por la reeleccion de Cristina." *Rioja Virtual,* [La Rioja] 26 May 2011 http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/beder_herrera_cerro_su_campana_pidiendo_por_la_reeleccion_de_cristina

national government.[61] Upon winning the election, the governor dedicated his victory to Cristina Kirchner.[62] After the election, Beder Herrera referred to Cristina Kirchner's announcement to run for reelection as the best thing that could happen to the country.[63] To ratify his support for the national government, he remembered the economic crisis in 2001 and the achievements of the national government since then.[64] In another speech, Beder Herrera referred to himself as a friend of Cristina Kirchner.[65]

Beder Herrera joined Cristina Kirchner in the launching of a national agrarian policy in Buenos Aires before the election.[66] The Ministro de Infraestructura (Minister of Infrastructure) and the Secretario de Ganadería (Secretary of Cattle) also attended this ceremony.[67] Beder Herrera met with the Ministro de Turismo (Minister of Tourism) to sign documents related to tourism projects in the province.[68] The governor also met with the Ministro de Educación (Minister of Education) to coordinate a policy for distributing laptops to students completing secondary education in the province.[69] Cristina Kirchner visited La Rioja and joined Beder Herrera in the celebration of the anniversary of the capital city.[70] Following this meeting, the governor received an endorsement from the Secretario de Energía (Secretary of Energy).[71] He also met with the Ministro de Economía (Minister of the Economy) and candidate for Vice President Amado Boudou to announce a million dollar credit from the World Bank.[72] On

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[61] "'Apoyamos este modelo con convicción.'" *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 26 May 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-168859-2011-05-26.html

[62]"Beder consiguió un triunfo rotundo y sigue como gobernador en el periodo 2011-2015." *Rioja Virtual,* [La Rioja] 29 May 2011 http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/beder_consiguio_un_triunfo_rotundo_y_sigue_como_gobernador_en_el_periodo_2011_2015 ; "Con apoyo del Gobierno, Beder Herrera se adjudicó un 'contundente triunfo.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 30 May 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1377230-la-rioja-elige-gobernador ; "Amplia victoria Kirchnerista en La Rioja." *La Nación,* [La Rioja] 30 May 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1377408-amplia-victoria-Kirchnerista-en-la-rioja

[63] "Beder Herrera: 'Es lo mejor que le puede pasar al país.'" *Rioja Virtual,* [La Rioja] 21 June 2011 http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/beder_herrera_es_lo_mejor_que_le_puede_pasar_al_pais

[64] "Beder y Quintela ratificaron su alineamiento a la administración K." *Rioja Virtual,* [La Rioja] 22 June 2011 http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/beder_y_quintela_ratificaron_su_alineamiento_a_la_administracion_k

[65] "Beder pidió a los riojanos que apoyen la reelección de Cristina K." *Rioja Virtual,* [La Rioja] 28 June 2011 http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/beder_pidio_a_los_riojanos_que_apoyen_la_reeleccion_de_cristina_k

[66]"Beder Herrera ratificó su férreo alineamiento al proyecto Kirchnerista." *Rioja Virtual,* [La Rioja] 20 April 2011 http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/beder_herrera_ratifico_su_ferreo_alineamiento_al_proyecto_Kirchnerista

[67]"Beder Herrera ratificó su férreo alineamiento al proyecto Kirchnerista." *Rioja Virtual,* [La Rioja] 20 April 2011 http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/beder_herrera_ratifico_su_ferreo_alineamiento_al_proyecto_Kirchnerista

[68]"Beder Herrera y Quintela, nuevamente juntos en acto con funcionario K." *Rioja Virtual,* [La Rioja] 12 May 2011 http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/beder_herrera_y_quintela_nuevamente_juntos_en_acto_con_funcionario_k

[69] "Beder Herrera: 'La educación es nuestra principal política de Estado.'" *Rioja Virtual,* [La Rioja] 16 May 2011 http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/beder_herrera_la_educacion_es_nuestra_principal_politica_de_estado

[70]"Beder Herrera recibirá el último gran espaldarazo a días de buscar su reelección." *Rioja Virtual,* [La Rioja] 17 May 2011 http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/beder_herrera_recibira_el_ultimo_gran_espaldarazo_a_dias_de_buscar_su_reeleccion

[71] "La Rioja, paraíso del pragmatismo K." *La Nación,* [La Rioja] 25 May 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1376040-la-rioja-paraiso-del-pragmatismo-k

[72] "La Rioja: claves para entender una elección atravesada por el menemismo." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 May 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1377004-la-rioja-claves-para-entender-una-eleccion-atravesada-por-el-menemismo ; "Amplia victoria Kirchnerista en La Rioja." *La Nación,* [La Rioja] 30 May 2011

Election Day, the governor celebrated his victory with the Ministro del Interior (Minister of Interior).[73] Cristina Kirchner communicated with Beder Herrera to congratulate him on the electoral victory. In addition, the Jefe de Gabinete (Chief of Staff) expressed contentment with the election results.[74] Following the election, Beder Herrera met again with the Minister of the Economy and candidate for Vice President Amado Boudou concerning various topics in the province.[75]

National and local journalists consistently associated Beder Herrera with the national government. La Nación repeatedly called Beder Herrera a Kirchnerista.[76] The same newspaper referred to the governor as pro-government.[77] Página 12 noted that Beder Herrera had support from national Kirchnerismo.[78] A journalist from a local newspaper referred to his government as Kirchnerista.[79]

Beder Herrera did not hold a position in the national government from 2003 to 2011.

Beder Herrera's local opposition had an alignment with the national opposition. Journalists from both La Nación and Página 12 referred to the candidate from Frente Cívico para el Cambio as member of the UCR.[80] Journalists from Página 12 called this coalition an aggregation of UCR, dissident Peronists, socialists, and individuals aligned with Macrismo – referring to national opposition leader Mauricio Macri.[81] Finally, La Nación referred to Beder Herrera's other local opposition, Frente Unión Riojana, as an ally of the national government.[82]

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http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1377408-amplia-victoria-Kirchnerista-en-la-rioja ; Jorquera, Miguel. "Un inicio de veda agitado." *Página 12,* [La Rioja] http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-169005-2011-05-28.html

[73] "Beder Herrera cerro su campana pidiendo por la reeleccion de Cristina." *Rioja Virtual,* [La Rioja] 26 May 2011 http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/beder_consiguio_un_triunfo_rotundo_y_sigue_como_gobernador_en_el_periodo_2011_2015 ; "Con apoyo del Gobierno, Beder Herrera se adjudicó un 'contundente triunfo.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 30 May 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1377230-la-rioja-elige-gobernador

[74] "Aníbal Fernández, 'más que contento' con la elección en Chubut." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 30 May 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-169128-2011-05-30.html

[75] "Beder se reunió con Boudou pero no hay definiciones sobre la Promoción Industrial." *Rioja Virtual,* [La Rioja] 5 June 2011 http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/beder_se_reunio_con_boudou_pero_no_hay_definiciones_sobre_la_promocion_industrial

[76] "El Estado domina hasta el último rincón en La Rioja." *La Nación,* [La Rioja] 28 May 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1376890-el-estado-domina-hasta-el-ultimo-rincon-en-la-rioja ; "Amplia victoria Kirchnerista en La Rioja." *La Nación,* [La Rioja] 30 May 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1377408-amplia-victoria-Kirchnerista-en-la-rioja

[77] "Beder Herrera buscará la reelección en La Rioja." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 May 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1377228-la-rioja-beder-herrera-buscara-la-reelecion

[78] Jorquera, Miguel. "La próxima estación electoral." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 23 May 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-168659-2011-05-23.html ; "El capitulo riojano." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 28 May 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-169020-2011-05-28.html

[79] "Beder pidió a los riojanos que apoyen la reelección de Cristina K." *Rioja Virtual,* [La Rioja] 28 June 2011 http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/beder_pidio_a_los_riojanos_que_apoyen_la_reeleccion_de_cristina_k

[80] "La Rioja: claves para entender una elección atravesada por el menemismo." *La Nación, [Buenos Aires]* 29 May 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1377004-la-rioja-claves-para-entender-una-eleccion-atravesada-por-el-menemismo ; Pagni, Carlos. "Incoherencia en el alma." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 30 May 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1377412-incoherencia-en-el-alma ; "'Apoyamos este modelo con convicción.'" *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 26 May 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-168859-2011-05-26.html

[81] Jorquera, Miguel. "La próxima estación electoral." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 23 May 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-168659-2011-05-23.html ; "El capitulo riojano." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 28 May 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-169020-2011-05-28.html

[82] "Una votación en la que la Casa Rosada apostó fuerte." *La Nación,* [La Rioja] 29 May 2011

2013

In 2013, La Rioja held elections for national deputies. Five coalitions participated but two garnered a majority of the vote – Frente para la Victoria and Fuerza Cívica Riojana. Frente para la Victoria won the election, beating the opposition by less than 1,000 votes.[83]

The governor of the province, Luis Beder Herrera, is a Peronist leader.[84] He attended a meeting of the National Council of the Partido Justicialista – the Peronist party.[85] For this election, the governor supported the list that used the Frente para la Victoria party tag.[86]

Discursively, the governor frequently associated himself with the President and the national government. Before the election, Beder Herrera stressed that the province should continue working side by side the national government.[87] The governor publicly commended the President for the expansion of a housing policy.[88] Additionally, at a meeting of the National Council of the Partido Justicialista, Beder Herrera joined other aligned governors in expressing their unified support to President Cristina Kirchner.[89] At a public act, the governor assured that technological advances in agriculture in the province were possible thanks the support of the national government.[90] After the election, the governor ratified his strong alignment with Cristina Kirchner in a meeting with the Jefe de Gabinete (Chief of Staff).[91] When the President appointed new cabinet ministers; Beder Herrera commended her choices, particularly her choice for Chief

http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1377141-una-votacion-en-la-que-la-casa-rosada-aposto-fuerte

[83] "Confirman el triunfo del FPV en La Rioja." *La Nación,* [La Rioja] 1 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1634428-confirman-el-triunfo-del-fpv-en-la-rioja ; "Fuerte senal de la Casa Rosada hacia Beder Herrera tras el 27-0." *Rioja Virtual,* [La Rioja] 31 October 2013 http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/fuerte_senal_de_la_casa_rosada_hacia_beder_herrera_tras_el_27_o

[84] Ybarra, Gustavo. "El PJ se mostro unido detras del Gobierno, pero atento a 2015." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 1 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1624848-el-pj-se-mostro-unido-detras-del-gobierno-pero-atento-a-2015

[85] "Beder Herrera en la cumbre del PJ nacional." *Noticias NOA,* [La Rioja] 30 September 2013 http://noticiasnoa.com/2013/09/30/beder-herrera-en-la-cumbre-del-pj-nacional/ ; Ybarra, Gustavo. "El PJ se mostro unido detras del Gobierno, pero atento a 2015." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 1 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1624848-el-pj-se-mostro-unido-detras-del-gobierno-pero-atento-a-2015 ; "Daniel Scioli destaco la 'defensa irrestricta' del Consejo del PJ a Cristina Kirchner." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 30 September 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1624715-daniel-scioli-vuelve-a-reunir-al-pj-nacional-tras-cinco-meses-de-inactividad

[86] "Confirman el triunfo del FPV en La Rioja." *La Nación,* [La Rioja] 1 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1634428-confirman-el-triunfo-del-fpv-en-la-rioja ; "Fuerte senal de la Casa Rosada hacia Beder Herrera tras el 27-0." *Rioja Virtual,* [La Rioja] 31 October 2013 http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/fuerte_senal_de_la_casa_rosada_hacia_beder_herrera_tras_el_27_o

[87] "Beder Herrera: 'La presidenta esta tomando medidas transcendentales.'" *Noticias NOA,* [La Rioja] 26 September 2013 http://noticiasnoa.com/2013/09/26/beder-herrera-la-presidenta-esta-tomando-medidas-transcendentales/

[88] "Beder Herrera: 'La presidenta esta tomando medidas transcendentales.'" *Noticias NOA,* [La Rioja] 26 September 2013 http://noticiasnoa.com/2013/09/26/beder-herrera-la-presidenta-esta-tomando-medidas-transcendentales/

[89] "Daniel Scioli destaco la 'defensa irrestricta' del Consejo del PJ a Cristina Kirchner." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 30 September 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1624715-daniel-scioli-vuelve-a-reunir-al-pj-nacional-tras-cinco-meses-de-inactividad

[90] "Beder Herrera afirmo que los riojanos dependemos de los riojanos." *Noticias NOA,* [La Rioja] 11 October 2013 http://noticiasnoa.com/2013/10/11/beder-herrera-afirmo-que-los-riojanos-dependemos-de-los-riojanos/

[91] "Fuerte senal de la Casa Rosada hacia Beder Herrera tras el 27-0." *Rioja Virtual,* [La Rioja] 31 October 2013 http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/fuerte_senal_de_la_casa_rosada_hacia_beder_herrera_tras_el_27_o

of Staff.[92] Finally, the governor expressed his gratitude towards the national government for promoting provincial development that also included the most vulnerable.[93]

Before the election, Beder Herrera met in La Rioja with the governor of Buenos Aires province Daniel Scioli, the strongest contender to succeed Cristina Kirchner as President in 2015 elections. Both governors signed an agreement to provide credit support for small enterprises in La Rioja.[94] Beder Herrera also attended the National Council of the Partido Justicialista in the City of Buenos Aires, alongside the Chief of Staff, Ministro de Defensa (Minister of Defense), and other aligned governors.[95] Additionally, the Ministro de Ciencia, Tecnología e Innovación Productiva (Minister of Science, Technology, and Innovative Production) joined the governor in the inauguration of a biotechnology plant in the province.[96] Just after the election, the governor met with the Chief of Staff to review programs funded by the national government in the province.[97] Later, Beder Herrera met with the new Chief of Staff to discuss issues concerning the province.[98]

Journalists associated the governor with the President and the national government. A local newspaper interpreted the governor's meeting with the Chief of Staff as a ratification of Beder Herrera's alignment with the national government.[99]

Beder Herrera did not hold a position in the national government between 2003 and 2013.

At the local level, the opposition party, Fuerza Cívica Riojana, was aligned with the national opposition Unión Cívica Radical.[100] The national delegate representing this party publicly criticized Kirchnerismo and Beder Herrera.[101] Following the election, this national deputy accused Frente para la Victoria of clientelistic practices during the electoral campaign.[102]

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[92]"Beder Herrera respaldo los cambios de gabinete en el gobierno K." *Rioja Virtual,* [La Rioja] 19 November 2013 http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/beder_herrera_respaldo_los_cambios_de_gabinete_en_el_gobierno_k ; "Satisfaccion con los cambios." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 20 November 2013 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/234001-65776-2013-11-20.html

[93] Beder, Menem, y dirigentes K homenajearon al 'Chacho' Penaloza." *Rioja Virtual,* [La Rioja] 12 November 2013 http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/beder_menem_y_dirigentes_k_homenajearon_al_chacho_penaloza

[94]"Daniel Scioli llega a La Rioja de la mano de Beder Herrera." *Rioja Virtual,* [La Rioja] 29 September 2013 http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/daniel_scioli_llega_a_la_rioja_de_la_mano_de_beder_herrera

[95] "Beder Herrera en la cumbre del PJ nacional." *Noticias NOA,* [La Rioja] 30 September 2013 http://noticiasnoa.com/2013/09/30/beder-herrera-en-la-cumbre-del-pj-nacional/ ; Ybarra, Gustavo. "El PJ se mostro unido detras del Gobierno, pero atento a 2015." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 1 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1624848-el-pj-se-mostro-unido-detras-del-gobierno-pero-atento-a-2015 ; "Daniel Scioli destaco la 'defensa irrestricta' del Consejo del PJ a Cristina Kirchner." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 30 September 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1624715-daniel-scioli-vuelve-a-reunir-al-pj-nacional-tras-cinco-meses-de-inactividad

[96] "Beder Herrera afirmo que los riojanos dependemos de los riojanos." *Noticias NOA,* [La Rioja] 11 October 2013 http://noticiasnoa.com/2013/10/11/beder-herrera-afirmo-que-los-riojanos-dependemos-de-los-riojanos/

[97]"Fuerte senal de la Casa Rosada hacia Beder Herrera tras el 27-0." *Rioja Virtual,* [La Rioja] 31 October 2013 http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/fuerte_senal_de_la_casa_rosada_hacia_beder_herrera_tras_el_27_o

[98] "Positivo encuentro de Beder con el flamante jefe de Gabinete K." *Rioja Virtual,* [La Rioja] 27 November 2013 http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/positivo_encuentro_de_beder_con_el_flamante_jefe_de_gabinete_k

[99]"Fuerte senal de la Casa Rosada hacia Beder Herrera tras el 27-0." *Rioja Virtual,* [La Rioja] 31 October 2013 http://riojavirtual.com.ar/noticias/locales/fuerte_senal_de_la_casa_rosada_hacia_beder_herrera_tras_el_27_o

[100] "Confirman el triunfo del FPV en La Rioja." *La Nación,* [La Rioja] 1 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1634428-confirman-el-triunfo-del-fpv-en-la-rioja

[101] "Julio Martinez: 'Queremos soluciones reales frente a la corrupcion." *Noticias NOA,* [La Rioja] 9 September 2013 http://noticiasnoa.com/2013/09/09/julio-martinez-queremos-soluciones-reales-frente-a-la-corrupcion/

[102] "Confirman el triunfo del FPV en La Rioja." *La Nación,* [La Rioja] 1 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1634428-confirman-el-triunfo-del-fpv-en-la-rioja

Mendoza

2007

In 2007 Mendoza elected president, vice-president, governor, vice-governor, five national deputies, 24 local deputies, and nineteen local senators. Thirteen coalitions participated in the election for governor, and two garnered a majority of the vote: the Peronist Party and Para la Concertación Ciudadana. The Peronist candidate, Celso Jaque, was elected with 37.8% of the vote. Para la Concertación Ciudadana came in second with 29.9% of the vote.

In this election, both the elected governor, Celso Jaque, and his challenger were aligned with the national government. Celso Jaque belongs to the Peronist party.[1] He used the Partido Justicialista and not the Frente para la Victoria party tag.[2]

The elected governor expressed his support for the national administration on numerous occasions. Before the election, Jaque declared that he had a good relationship with the national government since 2003 – the year Néstor Kirchner was elected.[3] The elected governor also affirmed that if Kirchner could vote in Mendoza's election, he would choose Jaque.[4] Moreover, the governor expressed his support to the President's political project.[5] The day after the election Jaque declared that he felt supported by the President.[6] Furthermore, after Cristina Kirchner won the presidential election, the governor declared that Néstor Kirchner should be the new president of the Peronist party.[7]

Jaque made several appearances with members of the national government throughout the campaign and after being elected. Before the election, Jaque travelled to the province of San

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[1] Cappiello, Hernán. "Cobos se juega en Mendoza su poder futuro". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 27 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957012-cobos-se-juega-en-mendoza-su-poder-futuro ; Cappiello, Hernán. "Duelo de Kirchneristas en la tierra de Cobos". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957210-duelo-de-Kirchneristas-en-la-tierra-de-cobos ; Jorquera, Miguel. "Un Radical K y un peronista K, favoritos en la tierra del vino". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 23 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-93387-2007-10-23.html.

[2] "Mendoza: Celso Jaque, el nuevo gobernador". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957345-mendoza-celso-jaque-el-nuevo-gobernador ; Jorquera, Miguel. "Un Radical K y un peronista K, favoritos en la tierra del vino". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 23 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-93387-2007-10-23.html ; Boggia, Analía. "Los candidatos prefieren el contacto directo con la gente". *Diario Los Andes*, [Mendoza] 1 October 2007. http://losandes.com.ar/article/politica-243598.

[3] Cappiello, Hernán. "Mendoza: Nuevo round de peronistas contra Radicales K". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 26 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/956616-mendoza-nuevo-round-de-peronistas-contra-Radicales-k.

[4] Fiochetta, Laura. "Jaque: La gente no quiere promeses, sino ser escuchadas". *Diario Los Andes*, [Mendoza] 14 October 2007. http://losandes.com.ar/article/politica-244904.

[5] Fiochetta, Laura. "Jaque: La gente no quiere promeses, sino ser escuchadas". *Diario Los Andes*, [Mendoza] 14 October 2007. http://losandes.com.ar/article/politica-244904.

[6] "Jaque dio las gracias a Kirchner por apoyarlo". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 30 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957673-jaque-dio-las-gracias-a-kirchner-por-apoyarlo ; Fiore, Mario y Fiochetta, Laura. "Con los recursos que tenemos, se puede mejorar la seguridad". *Diario Los Andes*, [Mendoza] 30 October 2007. http://www.losandes.com.ar/article/politica-246562.

[7] "Jaque quiere que Kirchner conduzca el justicialismo". *Diario Los Andes*, [Mendoza] 17 November 2007. http://www.losandes.com.ar/article/politica-248509.

Juan in order to attend a public act headed by Néstor Kirchner.[8] Additionally, two governors aligned with the national government participated in a fund-raising event for Jaque's candidacy.[9] He also participated in a public act headed by Cristina Kirchner in Mendoza.[10] Moreover, the night of the election Néstor and Cristina Kirchner called the elected governor in order to congratulate him for the results.[11] After the election, the governor travelled to Buenos Aires for a meeting with Néstor and Cristina Kirchner at the Casa Rosada (Argentina's White House).[12] He also met with a prominent cabinet member on that occasion.[13]

National and local newspapers described Jaque as Kirchnerista.[14] Moreover, national newspapers stated that President Néstor Kirchner supported both Celso Jaque and his challenger in this election.[15] La Nación newspaper also affirmed that the elected governor's candidacy was supported by several Peronist members from the Casa Rosada.[16] Additionally, an article from Página 12 stated that if Jaque won the election it would be a victory for the national administration.[17]

Jaque has never held an appointed position in the national government for the 2003-2007 period. Before becoming governor, he served as a national senator from 2003 to 2007.[18] In 2005,

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[8] Fernández Rojas, Jorge. "Cobos volvió a mostrarse con Kirchner para alejar rumores de una pelea". *Diario Los Andes*, [Mendoza] 4 October 2007. http://losandes.com.ar/article/politica-243897.

[9] "Jaque organizó una cena con empresarios para recaudar fondos". *Diario Los Andes*, [Mendoza] 5 October 2007. http://losandes.com.ar/article/politica-243980.

[10] Boggia, Analía. "Biffi sacó ventaja y logró algunas imágenes juntos". *Diario Los Andes*, [Mendoza] 13 October 2007. http://losandes.com.ar/article/politica-341504 ; Fiochetta, Laura. "A Jaque lo aislaron y se conformó con el saludo". *Diario Los Andes*, [Mendoza] 13 October 2007. http://losandes.com.ar/article/politica-341505.

[11] Fiore, Mario. "Jaque ganó con comodidad y golpeó con dureza a la Concertación de Cobos". *Diario Los Andes*, [Mendoza] 29 October 2007. http://www.losandes.com.ar/article/politica-246463.

[12] "La agenda con la Casa Rosada". *Diario Los Andes*, [Mendoza] 30 October 2007. http://www.losandes.com.ar/article/politica-341401 ; "Mañana vuelve a Malargüe y luego se reúne con Kirchner y Cristina". *Diario Los Andes*, [Mendoza] 2 November 2007. http://www.losandes.com.ar/article/politica-341845 ; Fiochetta, Laura. "Jaque podría reunirse mañana con Kirchner en la Rosada". *Diario Los Andes*, [Mendoza] 14 November 2007. http://www.losandes.com.ar/article/politica-248149.

[13] Fiochetta, Laura. "Jaque podría reunirse mañana con Kirchner en la Rosada". *Diario Los Andes*, [Mendoza] 14 November 2007. http://www.losandes.com.ar/article/politica-248149.

[14] "Cristina Kirchner, presidenta". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 29 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957463-cristina-kirchner-presidenta ; Cappiello, Hernán. "Duelo de Kirchneristas en la tierra de Cobos". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957210-duelo-de-Kirchneristas-en-la-tierra-de-cobos ; Jorquera, Miguel. "Un Radical K y un peronista K, favoritos en la tierra del vino". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 23 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-93387-2007-10-23.html ; Wainfeld, Mario. "A la hora señalada". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-93669-2007-10-28.html ; Fiore, Mario. "Un nuevo proyecto de país y de provincia está en juego". *Diario Los Andes*, [Mendoza] 28 October 2007. http://www.losandes.com.ar/article/politica-246322.

[15] Cappiello, Hernán. "Cobos se juega en Mendoza su poder futuro". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 27 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957012-cobos-se-juega-en-mendoza-su-poder-futuro; Cappiello, Hernán. "El festejo agridulce de Cobos". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 30 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957672-el-festejo-agridulce-de-cobos ; Wainfeld, Mario. "Kirchner, presidenta con "A" final". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 20 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-93719-2007-10-29.html.

[16] "Cobos reclama mayor institucionalidad". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 25 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/956306-cobos-reclama-mayor-institucionalidad.

[17] "Un Radical K y un peronista K, favoritos en la tierra del vino". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 23 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-93387-2007-10-23.html.

[18] "Perfil". *Diario Los Andes*, [Mendoza] 14 October 2007. http://losandes.com.ar/article/politica-341593.

he participated in a federal intervention to the province of Santiago del Estero under Néstor Kirchner's presidency.[19]

The elected governor's main challenger in this election was also aligned with the President. The national newspapers depicted the Para la Concertación Ciudadana candidate as a Radical Kirchnerista (a Kirchnerista member of the UCR).[20] Moreover, his candidacy was supported by the incumbent governor of Mendoza and Frente para la Victoria vice presidential candidate, Julio Cobos.[21]

2009

In 2009 Mendoza elected three national senators, five national deputies, nineteen local senators, and 24 local deputies.[22] Twelve coalitions competed in the race for the Senate, and two garnered a majority of the vote: Frente Cívico Federal UCR-CONFE and Frente para la Victoria. Frente Cívico Federal UCR-CONFE won the race for the Senate with 48.7% of the vote. Frente para la Victoria, the coalition supported by the incumbent governor, came in second with 27.2% of the vote.[23] Frente Cívico Federal UCR-CONFE also won the race for the Lower Chamber with 48.5% of the vote.[24]

The governor, Celso Jaque, belongs to the Peronist Party.[25] After the legislative election the President of the Peronist party called several Peronist governors, and Jaque was among

[19] Veneranda, Marcelo. "Mendoza: Perez apura una reforma constitucional." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 20 November 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1424824-mendoza-perez-apura-una-reforma-constitucional

[20] Obarrio, Mariano. "Kirchner no se lo tomó con Soda". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 22 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/955317-kirchner-no-se-lo-tomo-con-soda.

[21] Obarrio, Mariano. "Kirchner no se lo tomó con Soda". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 22 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/955317-kirchner-no-se-lo-tomo-con-soda ; "Cobos reclama mayor institucionalidad". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 25 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/956306-cobos-reclama-mayor-institucionalidad ; Cappiello, Hernán. "Mendoza: Nuevo round de peronistas contra Radicales K". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 26 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/956616-mendoza-nuevo-round-de-peronistas-contra-Radicales-k ; Kollmann, Raúl. "Con final abierto". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 26 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/93560-29709-2007-10-26.html ; "Cornejo se lanzó en Godoy Cruz con el apoyo de Cobos". *Diario Los Andes,* [Mendoza] 13 October 2007. http://losandes.com.ar/article/un-244855 ; "Cornejo volvió a pegarle al PJ por los fondos que usa". *Diario Los Andes,* [Mendoza] 16 October 2007. http://www.losandes.com.ar/article/politica-343039 ; Fiochetta, Laura. "El Gobernador fue al Parque para cortar la última cinta". *Diario Los Andes,* [Mendoza] 21 October 2007. http://www.losandes.com.ar/article/politica-245570 ; "Biffi se pegó a Cobos y dijo que ganará por 7 puntos". *Diario Los Andes,* [Mendoza] 24 October 2007. http://www.losandes.com.ar/article/politica-245903.

[22] Fiore, Mario. "Jaque se juega la gobernabilidad y Cobos su sueño de la Presidencia". *Diario Los Andes,* [Mendoza] 28 June 2009. http://www.losandes.com.ar/article/politica-432210.

[23] Fiore, Mario. "Victoria histórica del Frente Cívico y durísimo revés para Jaque". *Diario Los Andes,* [Mendoza] 29 June 2009. http://www.losandes.com.ar/article/politica-432444.

[24] Fiore, Mario. "Victoria histórica del Frente Cívico y durísimo revés para Jaque". *Diario Los Andes,* [Mendoza] 29 June 2009. http://www.losandes.com.ar/article/politica-432444.

[25] Rosemberg, Jaime e Ybarra, Gustavo. "Gobernadores derrotados, en crisis". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 7 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1147776-gobernadores-derrotados-en-crisis.

them.[26] The list supported by the governor in the race for the Senate used the Frente para la Victoria party tag.[27]

During the campaign, the governor compared Cristina Kirchner with a fairy godmother for the province of Mendoza.[28] Jaque also expressed the hope that the population would support his candidates, which were also the candidates of the national government, because both levels of government had worked hard for the people of Mendoza.[29] Moreover, the governor criticized Julio Cobos, the Vice President and member of the national opposition since the conflict with agrarian export taxes in 2008, for supporting the opposition candidates in Mendoza while he was still Vice President.[30]

Jaque made several appearances with members of the national government throughout the campaign and after the legislative election. The governor participated in a public act headed by President Cristina Kirchner in the province of Mendoza; other aligned governors also attended the event.[31] Jaque and other aligned governors also participated in a public act led by the President at the Casa Rosada.[32] The governor also inaugurated a school-factory in Mendoza with the Ministro de Trabajo (Minister of Labor).[33] After the election, Jaque travelled to Buenos Aires and held eleven meetings with several members of the cabinet at the Casa Rosada, including a brief meeting with Cristina Kirchner.[34]

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[26] Miguez, Daniel. "Scioli puso primera con la lancha del PJ". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 1 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-127550-2009-07-01.html.

[27] "La campaña cerró con polémica por el cambio de boleta del PJ". *Diario Los Andes*, [Mendoza] 26 June 2009. http://www.losandes.com.ar/article/politica-431866.

[28] Fiochetta, Laura. "Cristina dio inicio a una esperada obra y apoyó a Jaque y sus candidatos". *Diario Los Andes*, [Mendoza] 29 May 2009. http://www.losandes.com.ar/article/politica-426741.

[29] Larregle, Daniel. "El Gobernador acusó al Vicepresidente de iniciar "una espiral de agravios"". *Diario Los Andes*, [Mendoza] 2 June 2009. http://www.losandes.com.ar/article/politica-427471.

[30] "Jaque: Si llegara a la presidencia mi primera medida sería reunir a todos los ex presidentes". *Diario Los Andes*, [Mendoza] 9 June 2009. http://www.losandes.com.ar/article/un-428841 ; "Jaque critica a Cobos, dice que la seguridad mejoró y trae beneficios para la vitivinicultura". *Diario Los Andes*, [Mendoza] 11 June 2009. http://www.losandes.com.ar/article/politica-429129.

[31] "CFK: "Yo trabajo por el bienestar de todos los argentinos"". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 28 May 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-125723-2009-05-28.html ; Larregle, Daniela. "Rodeada de gobernadores e intendentes leales". *Diario Los Andes*, [Mendoza] 29 May 2009. http://www.losandes.com.ar/article/politica-426742.

[32] "Jaque critica a Cobos, dice que la seguridad mejoró y trae beneficios para la vitivinicultura". *Diario Los Andes*, [Mendoza] 11 June 2009. http://www.losandes.com.ar/article/politica-429129.

[33] Rodríguez Niell, Paz. "Otra queja del Gobierno irritó al vicepresidente en Mendoza". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 25 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1143227-otra-queja-del-gobierno-irrito-al-vicepresidente-en-mendoza

[34] Fiore, Mario y Sivera, Marcelo. "Jaque se relanzó con 11 reuniones en la Rosada". *Diario Los Andes*, [Mendoza] 16 July 2009. http://www.losandes.com.ar/article/politica-435360.

National newspapers described the governor as an ally of the national government.[35] Both La Nación and Página 12 characterized Jaque as Kirchnerista.[36] Furthermore, a local newspaper stated that the governor was close to the national administration.[37]

Jaque has never held an appointed position in the national government for the 2003-2009 period but participated in a 2005 provincial intervention.

At the local level, Frente Cívico UCR-CONFE clearly opposed the national government. The candidates of this coalition shared several public acts with Julio Cobos, who became a prominent member of the opposition in 2008.[38] The local newspaper interpreted the electoral results in Mendoza as a defeat for the national government.[39]

2011

In 2011, Mendoza held its gubernatorial election. Three parties competed in these elections: Frente para la Victoria, Frente Cívico Radical, and Compromiso Federal. Francisco "Paco" Pérez of Frente para la Victoria won the race with 39.4% of the vote, followed by Roberto Iglesias of Frente Cívico Radical with 24.1%.[40]

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[35] "Cobos hizo campaña en Mendoza y criticó al gobernador Celso Jaque". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 May 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1133580-cobos-hizo-campana-en-mendoza-y-critico-al-gobernador-celso-jaque ; ""Es una gran incoherencia"". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 11 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/126472-40466-2009-06-11.html.

[36] "Cobos calienta la campaña". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 30 May 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1133834-cobos-calienta-la-campana ; Dimaría, Sergio. "Cobos le pide al Gobierno parar con la hostilidad". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 31 May 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1134146-cobos-pide-al-gobierno-parar-con-la-hostilidad ; Dimaría, Sergio. "Cobos pidió compensar los costos del productor". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 7 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1136594-cobos-pidio-compensar-los-costos-del-productor ; Dapelo, Santiago. "Mendoza: la indecisión y la apatía dominan el escenario preelectoral". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 10 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1137355-mendoza-la-indecision-y-la-apatia-dominan-el-escenario-preelectoral ; "Mensajes de texto". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 15 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-126667-2009-06-15.html.

[37] "Cristina recibirá, de a uno, a los gobernadores; primero sería Macri". *Diario Los Andes,* [Mendoza] 16 July 2009. http://www.losandes.com.ar/article/politica-435562.

[38] Dapelo, Santiago. "Mendoza, Cobos y su campaña presidenciable". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 12 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1138093-mendoza-cobos-y-su-campana-presidenciable ; Rodríguez Niell, Paz. "Otra queja del Gobierno irritó al vicepresidente en Mendoza". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 25 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1143227-otra-queja-del-gobierno-irrito-al-vicepresidente-en-mendoza ; "Cobos en San Rafael". *Diario Los Andes,* [Mendoza] 4 June 2009. http://www.losandes.com.ar/article/politica-427806 ; "Cobos y Bermejo encabezaron las caravanas en el cierre de campaña". *Diario Los Andes,* [Mendoza] 23 June 2009. http://www.losandes.com.ar/article/un-431373 ; Icardi, Pablo. "Cobos acusó al PJ de financiar la "campaña sucia" de partidos chicos". *Diario Los Andes,* [Mendoza] 24 June 2009. http://www.losandes.com.ar/article/politica-431427 ; Icario, Pablo. "Como si fuera candidato, Cobos pide que lo voten". *Diario Los Andes,* [Mendoza] 25 June 2009. http://www.losandes.com.ar/article/politica-431679 ; Icardi, Pablo. "El cobismo se mostró unido y confiado en su último acto". *Diario Los Andes,* [Mendoza] 26 June 2009. http://www.losandes.com.ar/article/politica-431870.

[39] Fiore, Mario. "Victoria histórica del Frente Cívico y durísimo revés para Jaque". *Diario Los Andes,* [Mendoza] 29 June 2009. http://www.losandes.com.ar/article/politica-432444.

[40] Gallo, Daniel. "En Mendoza, se impuso el FPV." *La Nación,* [Mendoza] 24 October 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1417344-en-mendoza-se-impuso-el-fpv

Pérez identifies as Peronist.[41] In addition, he used the Frente para la Victoria party tag in these elections.[42]

As candidate for governor, Pérez strongly aligned himself with the president on the campaign trail. By doing so, he was able to build off the momentum from her presidential victory.[43] Due to his religious background, however, Pérez expressed his opposition on two controversial issues at the national level: his opposition to abortion and the legalization of drug consumption. Besides these issues, his discourse was highly supportive of the national administration.[44] In his inaugural speech, he promised to work side by side the President to promote development in Mendoza and the region.[45] He also expressed happiness with the provincial electorate for voting to continue the national project headed by the President.[46] Shortly after being elected, Pérez promised stronger cooperation with the national government on different projects.[47]

At a ceremony in Congress, Cristina Kirchner commended Pérez many times in a show of support.[48] Pérez also accompanied the President on her campaign stops in Mendoza.[49] The President even appeared in a television spot and in printed ads in support of Pérez's campaign.[50] Also during the election cycle, Pérez attended an event with the Ministro de Economía (Minister of Economy) and candidate for vice president Amado Boudou, who strongly criticized Pérez's

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[41] "'Hay que humanizar la politica.'" *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 26 October 2011. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-179777-2011-10-26.html ;
Soler, Constanza. "El PJ empieza contraofensiva para 'aduenarse' de Cristina." *Los Andes,* [Mendoza] 28 September 2011.
http://losandes.com.ar/article/empieza-contraofensiva-para-aduenarse-cristina-596597

[42] Gallo, Daniel. "En Mendoza, se impuso el FPV." *La Nación,* [Mendoza] 24 October 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1417344-en-mendoza-se-impuso-el-fpv

[43] Capriata, Laura. "Iglesias no podra separar su boleta." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 September 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1410147-iglesias-no-podra-separar-su-boleta
Gallo, Daniel. "El corte de boleta definira la suerte en Mendoza." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 22 October 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1416852-el-corte-de-boleta-definira-la-suerte-en-mendoza ;
Gallo, Daniel. "En Mendoza todos se atan al aluvion presidencial." *La Nación,* [Mendoza] 23 October 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1417032-en-mendoza-todos-se-atan-al-aluvion-presidencial

[44] Gallo, Daniel. "En Mendoza, se impuso el FPV." *La Nación,* [Mendoza] 24 October 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1417344-en-mendoza-se-impuso-el-fpv

[45] Bullentini, Ailin. "El batacazo de Paco." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 25 October 2011. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-179679-2011-10-25.html

[46] Bullentini, Ailin. "El batacazo de Paco." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 25 October 2011. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-179679-2011-10-25.html

[47] Gallo, Daniel. "Mendoza buscara acercarse mas al gobierno nacional." *La Nación,* [Mendoza] 25 October 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1417586-mendoza-buscara-acercarse-mas-al-gobierno-nacional

[48] "Desde Mendoza, la Presidenta llamo a 'debatir ideas.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 September 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1409559-desde-mendoza-la-presidenta-llamo-a-debatir-ideas

[49] "Al final Perez y Ciurca se reuniran manana con Cristina." *Los Andes,* [Mendoza] 3 October 2011. http://losandes.com.ar/article/final-perez-ciurca-reuniran-manana-cristina-597747 ;
"Cristina en Mendoza: 'Llegar con la energia donde no hay, es llegar con el progreso.'" *Los Andes,* [Mendoza] 26 September 2011. http://losandes.com.ar/article/cristina-mendoza-llegar-energia-donde-hay-llegar-progreso-596221

[50] "Al final Perez y Ciurca se reuniran manana con Cristina." *Los Andes,* [Mendoza] 3 October 2011. http://losandes.com.ar/article/final-perez-ciurca-reuniran-manana-cristina-597747 ;
Fiore, Mario. "Perez logro su meta: la foto con Cristina." *Los Andes,* [Buenos Aires] 4 October 2011. http://losandes.com.ar/article/perez-logro-meta-foto-cristina-598093

local opponent Roberto Iglesias.[51] Cristina Kirchner even invited Pérez to participate in the United Nations assembly meeting.[52] After the electoral success in the province, the President called Pérez to congratulate him and also mentioned him in her inaugural speech.[53]

In an article on the prospects of Kirchneristas getting elected to governorships, La Nación lumped Pérez with the likes of Daniel Scioli in Buenos Aires and Gildo Insfrán in Formosa, who are strongly aligned with the president.[54] The other major national newspaper, Página12, also identified Pérez as a Kirchnerista.[55]

Pérez participated in 2005 federal intervention to the province of Santiago del Estero under Néstor Kirchner's presidency.[56]

None of the parties that ran against Pérez have an alignment with the national government. In fact, his main opponent Roberto Iglesias belongs to the Unión Cívica Radical and was therefore aligned with a candidate running against Cristina Kirchner in 2011 – Ricardo Alfonsín. He was also close with Julio Cobos, the Radical Vice President who moved to the opposition in the 2008 agrarian conflict.[57] However, given that the President was so popular in these elections, the opposition candidate tried, with no luck, to distance himself from the national elections taking place at the same time. To do so, he unsuccessfully proposed to separate the provincial from the national party lists.[58]

2013

In 2013, Mendoza held legislative elections to fill national deputy and senate positions, as well as 24 provincial deputy positions. Three coalitions participated, including the UCR, the

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[51] Soler, Constanza. "Boudou vino a apoyar a 'Paco' Perez y pidio no cortar boleta." *Los Andes,* [Mendoza] 12 October 2011.http://losandes.com.ar/article/boudou-vino-apoyar-paco-perez-pidio-cortar-boleta-599625

[52] "'Paco' Perez aseguro que el apoyo de Cristina fue contundente." *Los Andes,* [Mendoza] 27 September 2011. http://losandes.com.ar/article/paco-perez-aseguro-apoyo-cristina-contundente-596428

[53] Veron, Mariana. "La large noche del festejo oficialista." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 25 October 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1417626-la-larga-noche-del-festejo-oficialista ;
Gallo, Daniel. "Mendoza buscara acercarse mas al gobierno nacional." *La Nación,* [Mendoza] 25 October 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1417586-mendoza-buscara-acercarse-mas-al-gobierno-nacional

[54] Rosemburg, Jaime. "Seis gobernadores Kirchneristas iran por la reeleccion." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 October 2011.
http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1411651-seis-gobernadores-Kirchneristas-iran-por-la-reeleccion

[55] "Una disputa cabeza a cabeza." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 2 October 2011. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-178050-2011-10-02.html ;
Lantos, Nicolas. "Un mapa nacional a tono con el Kirchnerismo." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 2 October 2011. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-178049-2011-10-02.html ;
Bullentini, Ailin. "El batacazo de Paco." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 25 October 2011. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-179679-2011-10-25.html

[56] Veneranda, Marcelo. "Mendoza: Perez apura una reforma constitucional." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 20 November 2011.
http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1424824-mendoza-perez-apura-una-reforma-constitucional

[57] Gallo, Daniel. "En Mendoza, se impuso el FPV." *La Nación,* [Mendoza] 24 October 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1417344-en-mendoza-se-impuso-el-fpv

[58] Gallo, Daniel. "El corte de boleta definira la suerte en Mendoza." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 22 October 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1416852-el-corte-de-boleta-definira-la-suerte-en-mendoza ;
Caminos, Mauricio. "Las elecciones que aun tienen suspenso." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 16 October 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1415115-las-elecciones-que-aun-tienen-suspenso

Frente de Izquierda y de los trabajadores, and Frente para la Victoria. In the election for deputy seats, Julio Cobos of the UCR defeated the Frente para la Victoria with a margin of over 20%.

The governor of the province, Francisco Pérez, belongs to the Peronist Party. Before the mid-term elections, the governor participated in the National Council of the Peronist Party (Consejo Nacional del Partido Justicialista).[59] Pérez supported the list that used the Frente para la Victoria party tag.

The governor discursively supported the President on numerous occasions. He particularly highlighted the economic support he received from the federal government. The opposition criticized the federal budget for the low amount of transfers to the province, while the governor responded arguing for the money that the federal government constantly invested in infrastructural development in the province.[60] In addition, members of Pérez's cabinet defended the federal budget in public.[61]

Before the elections, Pérez attended a meeting of the National Council of the Peronist Party, which concluded with a document of unconditional support for the president. The main opposition actors were absent from this meeting.[62] Two days after the electoral defeat, the group reconvened and reaffirmed their support to the President in the face of adversity.[63] In addition, after the election Pérez traveled to Buenos Aires to meet with prominent national ministers; at his return he highlighted the frequency with which representatives from the national government visit Mendoza to provide support.[64]

Journalists from La Nación referred to Pérez as Kirchnerista,[65] an ultra-Kirchnerista,[66] and as a Cristinista governor.[67] The main local newspaper also analyzed the way in which the provincial executive showed a unified support to the national government.[68] In addition, local

[59] "Perez participa hoy de la reunion nacional del PJ." *Los Andes.* [Buenos Aires] 29 September 2013. http://losandes.com.ar/article/perez-participa-reunion-nacional-741273

[60] "Pérez se defendió de las críticas de la UCR local al impacto del Presupuesto nacional en Mendoza." *Los Andes,* [Mendoza] 27 September 2013. http://losandes.com.ar/article/perez-defendio-criticas-local-impacto-presupuesto-nacional-mendoza-740791

[61] "El gobierno retruca a la UCR por sus críticas al Presupuesto nacional." *Los Andes,* [Mendoza] 30 September 2013. http://losandes.com.ar/article/gobierno-retruca-criticas-presupuesto-nacional-741353

[62] "Perez participa hoy de la reunion nacional del PJ." *Los Andes.* [Buenos Aires] 29 September 2013. http://losandes.com.ar/article/perez-participa-reunion-nacional-741273

[63] "Cumbre K en San Juan: mimos a Gioja y respaldo a Cristina." *Los Andes,* [Mendoza] 29 October 2013. http://losandes.com.ar/article/cumbre-juan-mimos-gioja-respaldo-cristina-747154

[64] Fiore, Mario. "Pérez desmintió que en la Casa Rosada estén enojados con él." *Los Andes,* [Buenos Aires] 24 October 2013. http://losandes.com.ar/article/perez-desmintio-casa-rosada-esten-enojados-746101

[65] Jueguen, Francisco. "Cobos, camina hacia la instalación de su candidatura para 2015." *La Nación,* [Mendoza] 27 October 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1632906-cobos-camino-hacia-la-instalacion-de-su-candidatura-para-2015

[66] Jueguen, Francisco. "Cobos, camino hacia la instalacion de su candidatura para 2015." *La Nación,* [Mendoza] 27 October 2013.
http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1632906-cobos-camino-hacia-la-instalacion-de-su-candidatura-para-2015

[67] Bossi, Jesica. "Scioli conquetea con Perez y desde Mendoza reactiva el PJ para 2015." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 31 October 2013.
http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1634080-scioli-coquetea-con-perez-y-desde-mendoza-reactiva-el-pj-para-2015

[68] "El PJ sigue 'en línea' con La Nación." *Los Andes.* 1 October 2013. http://www.losandes.com.ar/article/sigue-en-linea-nacion-741469

opposition politicians criticized Pérez for not benefitting the province more as a result of his close relationship with the federal government.[69]

Pérez never held an appointed position in the federal government. However, his name appeared as a possible Frente para la Victoria candidate for vice-President for 2015 presidential elections.[70]

Pérez's local opposition in this election was the UCR – a member of the national opposition to the President. The national opposition was led by Julio Cobos for this election, the first candidate in the list for national deputies, a former governor and former Vice President of Critina Kirchner in 2007 elections.[71]

[69] "Pérez se defendió de las críticas de la UCR local al impacto del Presupuesto nacional en Mendoza." *Los Andes,* [Mendoza] 27 September 2013. http://losandes.com.ar/article/perez-defendio-criticas-local-impacto-presupuesto-nacional-mendoza-740791

[70] Bossi, Jesica. "Scioli coquetea con Pérez y desde Mendoza reactiva el PJ para 2015."*La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 31 October 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1634080-scioli-coquetea-con-perez-y-desde-mendoza-reactiva-el-pj-para-2015

[71] Jueguen, Francisco. "Cobos, camina hacia la instalación de su candidatura para 2015." *La Nación,* [Mendoza] 27 October 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1632906-cobos-camino-hacia-la-instalacion-de-su-candidatura-para-2015

Misiones

2007

In 2007 Misiones elected president, vice-president, four national and twenty local deputies, governor, and vice-governor. Ten coalitions competed for the gubernatorial position, and two garnered a significant portion of the vote. Maurice Closs, from Frente Renovador de la Concordia, was elected with 38.4% of the vote.[1] Frente para la Victoria came in second with 28.6% of the vote.[2]

The elected governor, Maurice Closs, does not belong to the Peronist Party. National newspapers referred to Closs as a member of the Unión Cívica Radical.[3] In spite of this, the elected governor participated in the celebrations of the Día de la Lealtad (Day of Loyalty).[4] Additionally, Closs used the Frente Renovador de la Concordia and not the Frente para la Victoria party tag in this election.[5] However, his positive discourse toward the national administration, the opinion of experts, and his meetings with members of the national government lead us to code the elected governor as aligned with the President.

Closs spoke favorably of the national government on numerous occasions throughout the election cycle. Before the election, he declared that Argentines had the opportunity to elect the first female President (Cristina Kirchner) in the history of the country.[6] The elected governor also urged his voters to defend the national project developed by Néstor and Cristina Kirchner.[7] Moreover, Closs expressed his belief that Cristina Kirchner would receive more than 60% of the vote in the forthcoming presidential election in Misiones.[8] The elected governor also predicted that Cristina Kirchner would be elected in the first round of the election.[9] The night of the election, Closs affirmed that alongside Cristina Kirchner, he would deepen the political project

[1] "Rovira tiene quien lo continúe". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 30 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-93767-2007-10-30.html.
[2] "Rovira tiene quien lo continúe". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 30 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-93767-2007-10-30.html.
[3] Ybarra, Gustavo. "Traiciones, ambiciones y lealtades en Misiones". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 21 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957014-traiciones-ambiciones-y-lealtades-en-misiones ; "Rovira tiene quien lo continúe". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 30 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-93767-2007-10-30.html.
[4] "Closs destacó "la lealtad popular verdadera"". *Misiones Online,* [Posadas] 18 October 2007. http://misionesonline.net/2007/10/18/closs-destaco-la-lealtad-popular-verdadera/.
[5] Ybarra, Gustavo. "Un candidato de Rovira se imponía en Misiones", *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957445-un-candidato-de-rovira-se-imponia-en-misiones.
[6] "Closs: "La Renovación se consolida de la mano de las mujeres"". *Misiones Online,* [Posadas] 3 October 2007. http://misionesonline.net/2007/10/03/closs-la-renovacion-se-consolida-de-la-mano-de-las-mujeres/.
[7] "Closs: "La elección volverá a ser el choque de dos modelos"". *Misiones Online,* [Posadas] 15 October 2007. http://misionesonline.net/2007/10/15/closs-la-eleccion-volvera-a-ser-el-choque-de-dos-modelos/.
[8] "Closs: "Al gobernador de Misiones lo vamos a elegir los misioneros"". *Misiones Online,* [Posadas] 19 October 2007. http://misionesonline.net/2007/10/19/closs-al-gobernador-de-misiones-lo-vamos-a-elegir-los-misioneros/.
[9] "Closs y Giménez recorrieron ayer varios municipios de la zona centro". *Misiones Online,* [Posadas] 21 October 2007. http://misionesonline.net/2007/10/21/closs-y-gimenez-recorrieron-ayer-varios-municipios-de-la-zona-centro/.

started by Néstor Kirchner.[10] After the election, Closs assured that he would support Cristina Kirchner throughout his government.[11]

The elected governor participated in several meetings and public acts with members of the national government. The night of the election, Cristina Kirchner called Closs to congratulate him for the outcome.[12] After the election, the Ministro de Salud (Minister of Health) travelled to Misiones and shared a public act with the elected governor.[13] Furthermore, Closs also had two separate meetings with the Ministro de Planificación Federal (Minister of Federal Planning) and the Ministro de Trabajo (Minister of Labor).[14] The elected governor also attended the Feria Internacional de Turismo (International Tourism Fair), where he was received by the Secretario de Turismo (Secretary of Tourism).[15] Moreover, Closs participated in the legislative ceremony that officially proclaimed Cristina Kirchner the elected President.[16]

National newspapers underscored that the elected governor supported Cristina Kirchner in the presidential election.[17] Página 12 referred to Closs as Kirchnerista.[18] The same newspaper depicted the elected governor as allied with the national government.[19]

Closs never held an appointed position in the national government for the 2003-2007 period. He was a national senator from 2003 to 2007.[20]

At the local level, Frente para la Victoria was also aligned with the national government. The Frente para la Victoria candidate used the President's party tag, and Página 12 depicted him

[10] "Rovira tiene quien lo continúe". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 30 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-93767-2007-10-30.html.
[11] "Closs: "Tschirsch quiere alzarse con un poder del Estado"". *Misiones Online,* [Posadas] 9 November 2007. http://misionesonline.net/2007/11/09/closs-tschirsch-quiere-alzarse-con-un-poder-del-estado/.
[12] ""Compañero Gobernador, te habla Cristina"". *Misiones Online,* [Posadas] 30 October 2007. http://misionesonline.net/2007/10/30/companero-gobernador-te-habla-cristina/.
[13] "Ginés apoyó municipalización de atención primaria de la salud". *Misiones Online,* [Posadas] 8 November 2007. http://misionesonline.net/2007/11/08/gines-apoyo-municipalizacion-de-atencion-primaria-de-la-salud/.
[14] "Fuerte gesto de Closs para contar con más vuelos locales". *Misiones Online,* [Posadas] 20 November 2007. http://misionesonline.net/2007/11/20/fuerte-gesto-de-closs-para-contar-con-mas-vuelos-locales/ ; "Closs gestionó la puesta en marcha de Aero Iguazú para Misiones". *Misiones Online,* [Posadas] 20 November 2007. http://misionesonline.net/2007/11/20/closs-gestiono-la-puesta-en-marcha-de-aero-iguazu-para-misiones/.
[15] "Closs gestionó la puesta en marcha de Aero Iguazú para Misiones". *Misiones Online,* [Posadas] 20 November 2007. http://misionesonline.net/2007/11/20/closs-gestiono-la-puesta-en-marcha-de-aero-iguazu-para-misiones/.
[16] "Proclamaron officialmente presidenta a Cristina Fernández". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 21 November 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/964272-proclamaron-oficialmente-presidenta-a-cristina-fernandez ; "Histórico: Closs sostuvo en el Congreso la proclamación de Cristina Kirchner y Julio Cobos". *Misiones Online,* [Posadas] 21 November 2007. http://misionesonline.net/2007/11/21/historico-closs-sostuvo-en-el-congreso-la-proclamacion-de-cristina-kirchner-y-julio-cobos/.
[17] Ybarra, Gustavo. "Misiones vota en un clima tenso". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957209-misiones-vota-en-un-clima-tenso ; "Los mayores distritos". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 30 September 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/92244-29329-2007-09-30.html.
[18] Meyer, Adriana. "Las provincias que eligen lo suyo". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-93682-2007-10-28.html.
[19] "Rovira tiene quien lo continúe". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 30 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-93767-2007-10-30.html.
[20] Ybarra, Gustavo. "Traiciones, ambiciones y lealtades en Misiones". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 21 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957014-traiciones-ambiciones-y-lealtades-en-misiones.

as the closest candidate to the national government.[21] This candidate also had a meeting with Néstor Kirchner during the campaign.[22]

2009

In 2009 Misiones elected three national and twenty local deputies. Nine coalitions competed for the national seats, and one garnered a significant portion of the vote. The coalition supported by the governor, Frente Renovador de la Concordia, won the election with 48.1% of the vote.[23] Frente Unión Pro Dignidad came in second with a meager 16.7% of the vote, and Frente Justicialista de la Dignidad y el Progreso came in third with 16.6%.[24]

The governor, Maurice Closs, does not belong to the Peronist Party. After the election, the governor stated that he was not a Peronist.[25] Moreover, the coalition supported by Closs used the Frente Renovador de la Concordia and not the Frente para la Victoria party tag.[26] However, the opinion of experts, his meetings with members of the national government, and his positive discourse toward the President lead us to keep the coding from the previous election, aligned with the national administration.

Closs had a positive discourse towards the national government. Before the election, the governor encouraged Misiones' residents to support the President.[27] Additionally, Closs praised the President for the round of talks with the governors after the election.[28] The governor declared that the national government should transfer some federal taxes to the provinces, but he also

[21] "Cosa de gobernadores". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 21 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/93303-29632-2007-10-21.html ; Kollmann, Raúl. "Con final abierto". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 26 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/93560-29709-2007-10-26.html.

[22] "Tschirsch llevó a Kirchner sus propuestas de gobierno". *Misiones Online*, [Posadas] 12 October 2007. http://misionesonline.net/2007/10/12/tschirsch-llevo-a-kirchner-sus-propuestas-de-gobierno/.

[23] "Alex Ziegler, Silvia Risko y Ramón Puerta son los diputados nacionales electos por Misiones, de acuerdo al escrutinio provisorio oficial". *Misiones Online*, [Posadas] 29 June 2009. http://misionesonline.net/2009/06/29/alex-ziegler-silvia-risko-y-ramon-puerta-son-los-diputados-nacionales-electos-por-misiones-de-acuerdo-al-escrutinio-provisorio-oficial/.

[24] "Alex Ziegler, Silvia Risko y Ramón Puerta son los diputados nacionales electos por Misiones, de acuerdo al escrutinio provisorio oficial". *Misiones Online*, [Posadas] 29 June 2009. http://misionesonline.net/2009/06/29/alex-ziegler-silvia-risko-y-ramon-puerta-son-los-diputados-nacionales-electos-por-misiones-de-acuerdo-al-escrutinio-provisorio-oficial/.

[25] "Closs: "La última palabra tiene que ser de la Presidenta"". *Misiones Online*, [Posadas] 28 July 2009. http://misionesonline.net/2009/07/28/closs-la-ultima-palabra-tiene-que-ser-de-la-presidenta/.

[26] "En Misiones ganó el oficialismo". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144869-en-misiones-gano-el-oficialismo.

[27] ""El pueblo tiene claro cuál es el mejor proyecto" dijo Closs". *Misiones Online*, [Posadas] 21 June 2009. http://misionesonline.net/2009/06/21/el-pueblo-tiene-claro-cual-es-el-mejor-proyecto-dijo-closs/.

[28] "Para el Gobernador en la oposición "hay un nivel de ansiedad malintencionado"". *Misiones Online*, [Posadas] 16 July 2009. http://misionesonline.net/2009/07/16/para-el-gobernador-en-la-oposicion-hay-un-nivel-de-ansiedad-malintencionado/.

stated that the national administration had invested a lot of resources in the province.[29] Closs also described himself as an ally of Frente para la Victoria.[30]

The governor participated in several meetings and public acts with members of the national government. Before the election, Closs signed an agreement with the Secretario de Ambiente y Desarrollo Sustentable (Secretary of Environment and Sustainable Development).[31] The governor also participated in a public event with the national Secretario de Turismo (Secretary of Tourism).[32] After the election, Closs attended a swearing-in ceremony in Buenos Aires.[33] Cristina Kirchner, other aligned governors, and a number of members of her cabinet were also present at the event.[34] Moreover, the governor had a meeting with the Ministro de Justicia (Minister of Justice).[35] Closs also had two separate meetings with the Jefe de Gabinete (Chief of Staff) and the Ministro del Interior (Minister of Interior).[36] Additionally, the governor was scheduled to have a meeting with Cristina Kirchner in the context of a round of talks between the President and several governors (both aligned and non-aligned).[37] Finally, Closs had a meeting with the Head of Vialidad Nacional (Roads and Highways Department).[38]

Página 12 and a local newspaper referred to the governor as Kirchnerista.[39] Moreover, Página 12 stated that Closs had been allied with the national government since 2003.[40] National newspapers also affirmed that the coalition supported by the governor was aligned with the President.[41]

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[29] "Para el Gobernador en la oposición "hay un nivel de ansiedad malintencionado"". *Misiones Online,* [Posadas] 16 July 2009. http://misionesonline.net/2009/07/16/para-el-gobernador-en-la-oposicion-hay-un-nivel-de-ansiedad-malintencionado/.

[30] "Closs: "La última palabra tiene que ser de la Presidenta"". *Misiones Online,* [Posadas] 28 July 2009. http://misionesonline.net/2009/07/28/closs-la-ultima-palabra-tiene-que-ser-de-la-presidenta/.

[31] "Nación girará un millón de pesos para fortalecer el área ambiental". *Misiones Online,* [Posadas] 2 June 2009. http://misionesonline.net/2009/06/02/nacion-girara-un-millon-de-pesos-para-fortalecer-area-ambiental/.

[32] "Closs y Meyer presidieron lanzamiento de promoción turística de Misiones en Buenos Aires". *Misiones Líder,* [Oberá] 24 June 2009. http://www.misioneslider.com.ar/?modulo=extendido&id=2838.

[33] "Asumieron Fernández y Boudou, los recientes ascendidos en el Gabinete". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 8 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1148437-asumieron-fernandez-y-boudou-los-recientes-ascendidos-en-el-gabinete.

[34]"Asumieron Fernández y Boudou, los recientes ascendidos en el Gabinete". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 8 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1148437-asumieron-fernandez-y-boudou-los-recientes-ascendidos-en-el-gabinete ; Piqué, Martín. "El día que las sonrisas volvieron a la Rosada". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 9 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/127976-41072-2009-07-09.html.

[35] "Alak y Closs acordaron fortalecer la seguridad y prevención en las zonas fronterizas de Misiones". *Misiones Líder,* [Oberá] 27 July 2009. http://www.misioneslider.com.ar/?modulo=extendido&id=3417.

[36] "Closs planteó ante Fernández y Randazzo cuestiones sobre Garabí y finanzas provinciales". *Misiones Líder,* [Oberá] 28 July 2009. http://www.misioneslider.com.ar/?modulo=extendido&id=3431.

[37] "Closs se reunirá el miércoles con la Presidenta en la Rosada". *Misiones Online,* [Posadas] 24 July 2009. http://misionesonline.net/2009/07/24/closs-se-reunira-el-miercoles-con-la-presidenta-en-la-rosada/.

[38] "El Gobierno de Misiones y Vialidad nacional ratificaron obras de conectividad para la producción". *Misiones Online,* [Posadas] 28 July 2009. http://misionesonline.net/2009/07/28/el-gobierno-de-misiones-y-vialidad-nacional-ratificaron-obras-de-conectividad-para-la-produccion/.

[39] Miguez, Daniel. "Lo que viene en la agenda del diálogo". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 25 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-128826-2009-07-25.html ; "Closs: "La última palabra tiene que ser de la Presidenta"". *Misiones Online,* [Posadas] 28 July 2009. http://misionesonline.net/2009/07/28/closs-la-ultima-palabra-tiene-que-ser-de-la-presidenta/.

[40] "Closs también pide reunirse". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 10 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-128034-2009-07-10.html.

[41] "En Misiones ganó el oficialismo". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144869-en-misiones-gano-el-oficialismo ; Miguez, Daniel. "Una cuenta muy difícil

Closs never held an appointed position in the national government for the 2003-2009 period.

At the local level, Unión Pro Dignidad was not aligned with the President. La Nación newspaper asserted that this coalition was aligned with Mauricio Macri, the mayor of the City of Buenos Aires who belonged to the national opposition.[42] In fact, Mauricio Macri and the head of a rural producers' association that opposed the national government travelled to the province to support the candidate who headed the Unión Pro Dignidad ticket.[43] On the other hand, Frente Justicialista de la Dignidad y el Progreso was aligned with the President. La Nación newspaper referred to the candidate that headed this coalition as Kirchnerista.[44]

2011

In 2011, Misiones held gubernatorial elections. Many coalitions participated in the election, including Frente Renovador de la Concordia, Union Cívica Radical, Frente Esperanza, and Partido Agrario y Social. Frente Renovador de la Concordia won the election, beating the second place candidate by nearly 70 points.[45]

The governor of the province, Maurice Closs, is not a Peronist. National newspapers referred to him as a member of the Radical party.[46] Additionally, Closs assured in a public speech that he could never be a Peronist.[47] In spite of this, his electoral coalition, Frente Renovador de la Concordia, included Peronists.[48] A journalist from La Nación referred to the governor as a Radical that embraced Peronism.[49] Closs did not run with the Frente para la

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de resolver". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 21 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-127011-2009-06-21.html.

[42] "En Misiones ganó el oficialismo". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144869-en-misiones-gano-el-oficialismo.

[43] "Anuncian que vienen Mauricio Macri y Alfredo De Angelis a Misiones". *Misiones Online,* [Posadas] 16 June 2009. http://misionesonline.net/2009/06/16/anuncian-que-vienen-mauricio-macri-y-alfredo-de-angelis-a-misiones/ ; "Alfredo De Angeli visitó Misiones para respaldar al Puertismo". *Misiones Líder,* [Oberá] 19 June 2009. http://www.misioneslider.com.ar/?modulo=extendido&id=2752 ; "Macri vino a Misiones y reivindicó a Puerta como "el último gobernador serio que tuvo Misiones"". *Misiones Líder,* [Oberá] 20 June 2009. http://www.misioneslider.com.ar/?modulo=extendido&id=2782.

[44] "En Misiones ganó el oficialismo". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144869-en-misiones-gano-el-oficialismo.

[45] "Closs logró una reelección holgada." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 26 June 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-170887-2011-06-26.html ; Jorquera, Miguel. "Una reelección con mucha diferencia." *Página 12,* [Posadas] 27 June 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-170923-2011-06-27.html ; "Closs afirmó que en octubre 'el pueblo misionero le dará el mismo respaldo a la Presidenta.'" *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 27 June 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-170931-2011-06-27.html ; Ybarra, Gustavo. "Misiones: ganó un aliado del Gobierno." *La Nación,* [Posadas] 27 June 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1384825-misiones-gano-un-aliado-del-gobiernoescrutado-el-14escrutado-el-40

[46] Lantos, Nicolas. "Las tres paradas electorales que siguen." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 6 June 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-169554-2011-06-06.html ; "Un fiel a la Casa Rosada." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 27 June 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/170923-54388-2011-06-27.html

[47] "Un fiel a la Casa Rosada." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 27 June 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/170923-54388-2011-06-27.html

[48] Jorquera, Miguel. "Una reelección con mucha diferencia." *Página 12,* [Posadas] 27 June 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-170923-2011-06-27.html

[49] "Un Radical que abrazó al peronismo." *La Nación,* [Posadas] 27 June 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1384827-un-Radical-que-abrazo-al-peronismo

Victoria party tag; he used the tag of his own party, Frente Renovador de la Concordia.[50] In spite of not being a Peronist and not using the Frente para la Victoria party tag, Closs is aligned with the President, as in the previous two elections.

Throughout the election, Closs spoke favorably of Cristina Kirchner and the national government. In his victory speech, he reiterated his commitment to the national project.[51] Following his electoral victory, when a journalist asked if he supported the president, Closs said he supported the national government in good and bad times.[52] The governor claimed in an interview that he was following a political path that he had started in 2003 by following former President Néstor Kirchner.[53] In another interview, Closs affirmed he would do whatever possible to ensure his voters followed Cristina Kirchner in the presidential elections.[54]

Before the provincial election, Closs attended a ceremony headed by Cristina Kirchner that included other aligned governors.[55] Cristina Kirchner even traveled to Misiones, and was accompanied by the governor in the inauguration of a theater.[56] The day of the election, the Ministro del Interior (Minister of the Interior) went to Misiones to celebrate Closs's electoral victory and Cristina Kirchner called to congratulate him.[57]

National newspapers frequently associated Closs with the national government. A journalist from Página 12 refered to Closs as an ally of the Casa Rosada (Argentina's White House).[58] La Nación referred to the governor's victory as a victory for the Casa Rosada.[59] Both

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[50] "Un fiel a la Casa Rosada." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 27 June 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/170923-54388-2011-06-27.html

[51] Ybarra, Gustavo. "Misiones: ganó un aliado del Gobierno." *La Nación,* [Posadas] 27 June 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1384825-misiones-gano-un-aliado-del-gobiernoescrutado-el-14escrutado-el-40

[52] "Closs logró una reelección holgada." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 26 June 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-170887-2011-06-26.html

[53] "Un fiel a la Casa Rosada." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 27 June 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/170923-54388-2011-06-27.html

[54] Ybarra, Gustavo. "Closs prometió que no forzará un tercer mandato." *La Nación,* [Posadas] 28 June 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1385054-closs-prometio-que-no-forzara-un-tercer-mandato

[55] Lantos, Nicolas. "'Tenemos Patria, estemos orgullosos.'" *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 26 May 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-168874-2011-05-26.html

[56] Cibeira, Fernando. "'Siguen siendo una burda potencia en decadencia.'" *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 17 June 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-170307-2011-06-17.html ; "Inusual dureza de la Presidenta con Gran Bretaña por las Malvinas." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 June 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1382226-cont-malvinas-dura-embestida-presidencial ; "Cristina: 'contar con esto nos hace sentir más argentinos a todos.'" *Noticias del 6,* [Posadas] 16 June 2011 http://www.noticiasdel6.com/ampliar.php?id=78347

[57] Jorquera, Miguel. "Una reelección con mucha diferencia." *Página 12,* [Posadas] 27 June 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-170923-2011-06-27.html ; Ybarra, Gustavo. "Misiones: ganó un aliado del Gobierno." *La Nación,* [Posadas] 27 June 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1384825-misiones-gano-un-aliado-del-gobiernoescrutado-el-14escrutado-el-40 ; "Cristina celebró una victoria por partida doble." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 June 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1384828-cristina-celebro-una-victoria-por-partida-doble ; "Randazzo: la Renovación se encuentra más vigente que nunca." *Noticias del 6,* [Posadas] 27 June 2011 http://www.noticiasdel6.com/ampliar.php?id=78867 ; Jorquera, Miguel. "Una reelección con mucha diferencia." *Página 12,* [Posadas] 27 June 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-170923-2011-06-27.html ; "Cristina celebró una victoria por partida doble." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 June 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1384828-cristina-celebro-una-victoria-por-partida-doble

[58] Lantos, Nicolas. "Las tres paradas electorales que siguen." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 6 June 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-169554-2011-06-06.html

[59] Ybarra, Gustavo. "Closs busca ofrendarle el triunfo a la Presidenta." *La Nación,* [Posadas] 26 June 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1384535-closs-busca-ofrendarle-el-triunfo-a-la-presidenta

national newspapers referred to the governor as Kirchnerista.[60] La Nación even called him an Ultra-Kirchnerista.[61] Both national newspapers also noted that the national government had reason to celebrate following Closs's electoral victory.[62]

Closs did not hold a position in the national government between 2003 and 2011.

Closs' opposition at the local level included a party aligned with the President and two in the opposition. One of Closs's opponents at the local level used the Frente para la Victoria party tag – the party of the President.[63] However, the national government did not endorse the candidate.[64] Another candidate had dinner with Ricardo Alfonsín, who ran against Cristina Kirchner in the presidential election.[65] Finally, a third opposition candidate identified with the PRO party, which ran a candidate against Cristina Kirchner in the presidential election.[66]

2013

Misiones elected national deputies in 2013. While several coalitions participated, only three received a substantial portion of the votes – Frente Renovador de la Concordia, Unión Cívica Radical, and Frente Unidos. Frente Renovador de la Concordia won the election with 42% of the vote, while Unión Cívica Radical and Frente Unidos received 26% and 15% of the vote respectively.[67]

The governor of the province, Maurice Closs, is not a Peronist. The list he supported did not use the Frente para la Victoria party tag; instead, his list competed with the Frente Renovador de la Concordia tag.[68]

Throughout the election, Closs spoke highly of the national government. In a public speech before the election, he praised Cristina Kirchner and said she had improved the quality of

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[60] Cibeira, Fernando. "'Siguen siendo una burda potencia en decadencia.'" *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 17 June 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-170307-2011-06-17.html ; Ybarra, Gustavo. "Diez candidatos pelean en la capital de la pobreza." *La Nación*, [Posadas] 25 June 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1384363-diez-candidatos-pelean-en-la-capital-de-la-pobreza ; "Cristina celebró una victoria por partida doble." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 27 June 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1384828-cristina-celebro-una-victoria-por-partida-doble

[61] Ybarra, Gustavo. "Misiones: ganó un aliado del Gobierno." *La Nación*, [Posadas] 27 June 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1384825-misiones-gano-un-aliado-del-gobiernoescrutado-el-14escrutado-el-40

[62] Jorquera, Miguel. "Una reelección con mucha diferencia." *Página 12*, [Posadas] 27 June 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-170923-2011-06-27.html

[63] Bruschtein, Julian. "Amigos y aliados." *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 13 June 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/170010-54151-2011-06-13.html

[64] Ybarra, Gustavo. "Misiones: ganó un aliado del Gobierno." *La Nación*, [Posadas] 27 June 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1383986-misiones-el-Kirchnerismo-busca-eternizarse-con-closs ; Ybarra, Gustavo. "Closs busca ofrendarle el triunfo a la Presidenta." *La Nación*, [Posadas] 26 June 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1384535-closs-busca-ofrendarle-el-triunfo-a-la-presidenta

[65] "Misiones ya entra en clima." *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 23 June 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-170662-2011-06-23.html

[66] Wainfeld, Mario. "Dos provincias, dos historias," *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 26 June 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/170880-54375-2011-06-26.html

[67] "Pastori agradeció el acompañamiento 'a la propuesta de cambio de la UCR.'" *Noticias del 6*, [Posadas] 28 October 2013 http://www.noticiasdel6.com/ampliar.php?id=122083

[68] "Elecciones 2013: panorama en las provincias." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 27 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1632864-panorama-en-las-provincias

life of all Argentines.[69] In an interview, he stressed the importance of having a strong relationship with the national government.[70] In the inauguration of Néstor Kirchner Avenue in the provincial capital city, he described the former President as a good man.[71] The governor also paid tribute to Néstor Kirchner on the day of his passing, and praised him for starting the great transformation of the country.[72] Following the election, the governor commended the new Jefe de Gabinete (Chief of Staff) for his excellent management experience, while he also criticized the Secretario de Comercio (Secretary of Commerce) for the high levels of inflation.[73]

Before the election, Closs met with Cristina Kirchner, the Ministro de Planificación Federal (Minister of Federal Planning) and the Ministro de Agricultura (Minister of Agriculture), and expressed dismay that the national budget was not unanimously approved.[74] The Ministro de Seguridad (Minister of Security) travelled to the province to participate in the inauguration of a building.[75] The Ministro de Desarrollo Social (Minister of Social Development) also went to the province to inaugurate a new highway with the governor.[76] Following the election, Closs met with other aligned governors to visit the recently injured governor of San Juan, and display a gesture of unity.[77] Later, the governor joined other aligned governors to discuss the state of the economy.[78] Closs met with the new Chief of Staff to discuss issues like public security and economic development.[79] The governor also met with the Minister of Agriculture to discuss infrastructure projects.[80]

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[69] "'Que no los conduzcan los medios', pidió la Presidenta a los politicos." *La Nación,* [Posadas] 27 September 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1623696-que-no-los-conduzcan-los-medios-pidio-la-presidenta-a-los-politicos

[70] "Closs: la verdadera transformación es la educación." *Noticias del 6,* [Posadas] 3 October 2013 http://www.noticiasdel6.com/ampliar.php?id=120750

[71] "Closs recomendó fortalecer yerbales para aumentar la producción." *Noticias del 6,* [Posadas] 7 October 2013 http://www.noticiasdel6.com/ampliar.php?id=120921

[72] "El homenaje a Néstor Kirchner." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 27 October 2013 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-232245-2013-10-27.html

[73] Bruschtein, Julian. "Agenda abierta para la oposición." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 26 November 2013 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-234389-2013-11-26.html ; "El senador Cabral Arrechea seguirá acompañando al bloque Kirchnerista." *Noticias del 6,* [Posadas] 14 November 2013 http://www.noticiasdel6.com/ampliar.php?id=123100

[74] "'Que no los conduzcan los medios', pidió la Presidenta a los politicos." *La Nación,* [Posadas] 27 September 2013http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1623696-que-no-los-conduzcan-los-medios-pidio-la-presidenta-a-los-politicos ; "Acuerdo Nación-Provincia por más de 88 millones para el sector forestal." *Noticias del 6,* [Posadas] 27 September 2013 http://www.noticiasdel6.com/ampliar.php?id=120412

[75]"Closs y Puricelli destacaron la importancia del trabajo conjunto entre vecinos y policías para la seguridad colectiva." *Noticias del 6,* [Posadas] 27 September 2013 http://www.noticiasdel6.com/ampliar.php?id=120435

[76] "Inversión en obras viales implica apuntar a la seguridad, bajar índices de accidentes, mayor productividad y desarrollo, dijo Closs." *Noticias del 6,* [Posadas] 8 October 2013 http://www.noticiasdel6.com/ampliar.php?id=121005

[77] "Cumbre de gobernadores K en San Juan, tras la derrota en las elecciones." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1633577-cumbre-de-gobernadores-k-en-san-juan-tras-la-derrota-en-las-elecciones

[78] Veron, Mariana. "El Gobierno avanza en una batería de medidas para recuperar reservas." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 22 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1640559-el-gobierno-avanza-en-una-bateria-de-medidas-para-recuperar-reservas ; "Hiperactivo, Capitanich instaló un nuevo estilo de gestión." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 22 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1640560-hiperactivo-capitanich-instalo-un-nuevo-estilo-de-gestion

[79] Lantos, Nicolas. "El primer día en funciones." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 22 November 2013 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/economia/2-234147-2013-11-22.html

[80] "'Le pedí a Yahuar que acelere los pagos del FET', dijo Closs." *Noticias del 6,* [Posadas] 14 November 2013 http://www.noticiasdel6.com/ampliar.php?id=123124

Throughout the election cycle, journalists associated Closs with the national government. La Nación called Closs an ally of the Casa Rosada.[81] Another journalist from the same newspaper referred to Closs as part of the governors that were aligned with the national government.[82]

Closs did not hold a position in the national government from 2003 to 2013.

At the local level, the party Frente Unidos was comprised of dissident Peronists and the PRO party – all members of the national opposition.[83] The other prominent party in the election, Union Cívica Radical, was also a member of the national opposition.[84]

[81] "Cumbre de gobernadores K en San Juan, tras la derrota en las elecciones." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1633577-cumbre-de-gobernadores-k-en-san-juan-tras-la-derrota-en-las-elecciones

[82] Veron, Mariana. "El Gobierno alienta candidatos para frenar a Scioli y a Massa." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1638962-el-gobierno-alienta-candidatos-para-frenar-a-scioli-y-a-massa

[83] "Elecciones 2013: panorama en las provincias." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1632864-panorama-en-las-provincias

[84] "El tiempo político que se viene tiene sello misionero." *Noticias del 6,* [Posadas] 31 October 2013 http://www.noticiasdel6.com/ampliar.php?id=122266 ; "Legislativas 2013: diputados del FR apoyarán la gobernabilidad, pero con reclamos misioneristas." *Noticias del 6,* [Posadas] 28 October 2013 http://www.noticiasdel6.com/ampliar.php?id=122081 ; "Pastori agradeció el acompañamiento 'a la propuesta de cambio de la UCR.'" *Noticias del 6,* [Posadas] 28 October 2013 http://www.noticiasdel6.com/ampliar.php?id=122083

Neuquén

2007

In 2007 Neuquén held elections to fill the positions of governor, vice governor, and 35 local deputies. Eight coalitions competed for the executive, but two garnered a majority of the vote: Movimiento Popular Neuquino and Concertación Neuquina para la Victoria. The Movimiento Popular Neuquino candidate, Jorge Sapag, won the elections with 48.2% of the vote. Concertación Neuquina para la Victoria came in second with 35% of the vote.[1] Jorge Sapag's candidacy was supported by the incumbent Movimiento Popular Neuquino governor, who was in open opposition to the President. However, we code the elected governor, Jorge Sapag, as weakly aligned with the President. This is because Sapag had a weakly conciliatory discourse towards the national government, he had friendly interactions with the President and no meetings with members of the national opposition, and experts' opinions categorize him as weakly aligned with the President.

The elected governor does not belong to the Peronist Party; he belongs to Movimiento Popular Neuquino, a local party that governed the province uninterruptedly since Argentina returned to democratic rule in 1983.[2] Moreover, Sapag used the Movimiento Popular Neuquino and not the Frente para la Victoria party tag.[3]

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[1] Ybarra, Gustavo. "Ganó Sapag y el Kirchnerismo no pudo imponerse en Neuquén". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/914472-gano-sapag-y-el-Kirchnerismo-no-pudo-imponerse-en-neuquen ; Jorquera, Miguel. "Otro Sapag para gobernar Neuquén". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 4 June 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-86022-2007-06-04.html ; "El Presidente Kirchner felicitó a Sapag". *Río Negro,* [General Roca] 3 June 2007. http://www1.rionegro.com.ar/diario/2007/06/03/1180918558.php.

[2] Ybarra, Gustavo. "Neuquén elegirá su gobernador entre un Sapag y un Radical K". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 May 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/912137-neuquen-elegira-su-gobernador-entre-un-sapag-y-un-Radical-k ; Ybarra, Gustavo. "El Kirchnerismo busca una victoria en Neuquén". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/914170-el-Kirchnerismo-busca-una-victoria-en-neuquen ; "Dos candidatos en pugna para encarnar el cambio provincial". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/914172-dos-candidatos-en-pugna-para-encarnar-el-cambio-provincial ; "Neuquén: Sapag sucederá a Jorge Sosbich". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/914249-neuquen-sapag-sucedera-a-jorge-sobisch ; Ybarra, Gustavo. "Ganó Sapag y el Kirchnerismo no pudo imponerse en Neuquén". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/914472-gano-sapag-y-el-Kirchnerismo-no-pudo-imponerse-en-neuquen ; Jorquera, Miguel. "Otro Sapag para gobernar Neuquén". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 4 June 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-86022-2007-06-04.html ; Jorquera, Miguel. "Sapag quiere un MPN prescindente en Octubre". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 5 June 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-86079-2007-06-05.html.

[3] Ybarra, Gustavo. "Neuquén elegirá su gobernador entre un Sapag y un Radical K". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 May 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/912137-neuquen-elegira-su-gobernador-entre-un-sapag-y-un-Radical-k ; Ybarra, Gustavo. "El Kirchnerismo busca una victoria en Neuquén". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/914170-el-Kirchnerismo-busca-una-victoria-en-neuquen ; "Dos candidatos en pugna para encarnar el cambio provincial". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/914172-dos-candidatos-en-pugna-para-encarnar-el-cambio-provincial ; "Neuquén: Sapag sucederá a Jorge Sosbich". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/914249-neuquen-sapag-sucedera-a-jorge-sobisch ; Ybarra, Gustavo. "Ganó Sapag y el Kirchnerismo no pudo imponerse en Neuquén". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/914472-gano-sapag-y-el-Kirchnerismo-no-pudo-imponerse-en-neuquen ; Jorquera, Miguel. "El MPN se juega su hegemonía en Neuquén ante los opositores K". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 28 May 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-85642-2007-05-28.html ; "En campaña". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 30 May 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-85735-2007-05-30.html ; Jorquera,

Sapag presented a somewhat conciliatory discourse towards the President. He stated that Neuquén had to build a relationship based on cooperation instead of confrontation with the national government.[4] Moreover, during his last campaign act Sapag affirmed that if he won the election the province would not be an island, referring to the province's stance towards the national administration.[5] After the election, Sapag's discourse expressed even a closer relationship with the President. The night of the election Sapag asserted that he would establish a relationship based on respect and cooperation with the national government.[6] He also declared that he had an excellent personal relationship with Néstor Kirchner.[7] The day after the election Sapag reaffirmed that he did not want Neuquén to be an island.[8] The elected governor also stated that the Movimiento Popular Neuquino would not support any presidential candidate in the forthcoming election -even though the incumbent governor, who had supported Sapag's candidacy, would run for President himself.[9]

The night of the election Néstor Kirchner called Sapag in order to congratulate him for the outcome.[10] After the election Sapag was invited to a meeting with Néstor Kirchner at the Casa Rosada (Argentina's White House) along with an aligned governor and two aligned mayors. The aim of the meeting was to sign a contract for the construction of a bridge that would

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Miguel. "En Neuquén, oficialismo y oposición piden que se vote "por el cambio"". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 2 June 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-85923-2007-06-02.html ; Jorquera, Miguel. "Sapag quiere un MPN prescindente en Octubre". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 5 June 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-86079-2007-06-05.html.

[4] "Dos candidatos en pugna para encarnar el cambio provincial". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/914172-dos-candidatos-en-pugna-para-encarnar-el-cambio-provincial.

[5] "Sapag le puso broche a la campaña en El Chocón, Senillose, y Plottier". *Río Negro,* [General Roca] 2 June 2007. http://www1.rionegro.com.ar/diario/2007/06/02/20076p02s06.php.

[6] Ybarra, Gustavo. "Ganó Sapag y el Kirchnerismo no pudo imponerse en Neuquén". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/914472-gano-sapag-y-el-Kirchnerismo-no-pudo-imponerse-en-neuquen.

[7] Ybarra, Gustavo. "Ganó Sapag y el Kirchnerismo no pudo imponerse en Neuquén". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/914472-gano-sapag-y-el-Kirchnerismo-no-pudo-imponerse-en-neuquen ; "Sigue el recuento y Sapag mantiene su ventaja". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 4 June 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-86034-2007-06-04.html ; "Sapag dijo que la oposición lo subestimó". *Río Negro,* [General Roca] 4 June 2007. http://www1.rionegro.com.ar/diario/2007/06/04/1180992949.php ; "Elecciones en Neuquén: Sapag logró un claro triunfo sobre Quiroga con el apoyo de fuerzas aliadas". *Río Negro,* [General Roca] 4 June 2007. http://www1.rionegro.com.ar/diario/2007/06/04/20076p04s10.php.

[8] Ybarra, Gustavo. "Sapag se diferencia de Sosbich y busca acercarse a Kirchner". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 5 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/914651-sapag-se-diferencia-de-sobisch-y-busca-acercarse-a-kirchner ; Jorquera, Miguel. "Sapag quiere un MPN prescindente en Octubre". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 5 June 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-86079-2007-06-05.html.

[9] Jorquera, Miguel. "Sapag quiere un MPN prescindente en Octubre". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 5 June 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-86079-2007-06-05.html.

[10] "Neuquén: Sapag sucederá a Jorge Sosbich". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/914249-neuquen-sapag-sucedera-a-jorge-sobisch ; Ybarra, Gustavo. "Ganó Sapag y el Kirchnerismo no pudo imponerse en Neuquén". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/914472-gano-sapag-y-el-Kirchnerismo-no-pudo-imponerse-en-neuquen ; Jorquera, Miguel. "Otro Sapag para gobernar Neuquén". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 4 June 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-86022-2007-06-04.html ; "El Presidente Kirchner felicitó a Sapag". *Río Negro,* [General Roca] 3 June 2007. http://www1.rionegro.com.ar/diario/2007/06/03/1180918558.php ; "Elecciones en Neuquén: El gobernador electo prometió un gobierno "para toda la gente" y reivindicó el pluralismo". *Río Negro,* [General Roca] 4 June 2007. http://www1.rionegro.com.ar/diario/2007/06/04/20076p04s11.php ; "Elecciones en Neuquén: Sapag logró un claro triunfo sobre Quiroga con el apoyo de fuerzas aliadas". *Río Negro,* [General Roca] 4 June 2007. http://www1.rionegro.com.ar/diario/2007/06/04/20076p04s10.php.

connect the provinces of Río Negro and Neuquén.[11] Perhaps as important, the elected governor did not participate in any public acts with members of the national opposition.

La Nación and a local newspaper stated that Sapag tried to distance himself from the incumbent governor during the campaign because the latter opposed the national government.[12] Página 12 also asserted that the elected governor deliberately chose to avoid nationalizing the campaign.[13] An article from the same newspaper affirmed that Sapag had a less tense relationship with the national government than the incumbent governor.[14] Furthermore, a local newspaper asserted that Kirchner would not feel disappointed if Sapag beat the candidate sponsored by the Casa Rosada (the Concertación Neuquina para la Victoria candidate) because Sapag was closer to the national government than the incumbent governor.[15]

The elected governor never held an appointed position in the national government for the 2003-2007 period.

At the local level, Concertación Neuquina para la Victoria was clearly aligned with the national government. Several newspaper articles described the candidate who headed the Concertación Neuquina para la Victoria ticket, as a Kirchnerista Radical (a Kirchnerista member of the UCR).[16] Furthermore, La Nación newspaper depicted the Concertación Neuquina para la

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[11] "Acto en Casa Rosada por las obras del nuevo puente". *Río Negro,* [General Roca] 2 July 2007. http://www1.rionegro.com.ar/diario/2007/07/02/1183413160.php ; "Jorge Sapag fue invitado". *Río Negro,* [General Roca] 3 July 2007. http://www1.rionegro.com.ar/diario/2007/07/03/20077r03s17a.php.

[12] "Dos candidatos en pugna para encarnar el cambio provincial". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/914172-dos-candidatos-en-pugna-para-encarnar-el-cambio-provincial ; Ybarra, Gustavo. "Ganó Sapag y el Kirchnerismo no pudo imponerse en Neuquén". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/914472-gano-sapag-y-el-Kirchnerismo-no-pudo-imponerse-en-neuquen ; "Jorge Sapag fue invitado". *Río Negro,* [General Roca] 3 July 2007. http://www1.rionegro.com.ar/diario/2007/07/03/20077r03s17a.php.

[13] Jorquera, Miguel. "En Neuquén, oficialismo y oposición piden que se vote "por el cambio"". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 2 June 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-85923-2007-06-02.html.

[14] Wainfeld, Mario. "Lo particular y lo general". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 1 July 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-87465-2007-07-01.html.

[15] "Cómo jugará K el domingo". *Río Negro,* [General Roca] 29 May 2007. http://www1.rionegro.com.ar/diario/2007/05/29/20075n29s09.php ; "Más allá del Tercer Movimiento histórico". *Río Negro,* [General Roca] 3 June 2007. http://www1.rionegro.com.ar/diario/2007/06/03/20076o03s01.php.

[16] Ybarra, Gustavo. "El Kirchnerismo busca una victoria en Neuquén". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/914170-el-Kirchnerismo-busca-una-victoria-en-neuquen ; "Dos candidatos en pugna para encarnar el cambio provincial". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/914172-dos-candidatos-en-pugna-para-encarnar-el-cambio-provincial ; "Neuquén: Sapag sucederá a Jorge Sosbich". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/914249-neuquen-sapag-sucedera-a-jorge-sobisch ; Ybarra, Gustavo. "Ganó Sapag y el Kirchnerismo no pudo imponerse en Neuquén". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/914472-gano-sapag-y-el-Kirchnerismo-no-pudo-imponerse-en-neuquen ; Ybarra, Gustavo. "Sapag se diferencia de Sosbich y busca acercarse a Kirchner". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 5 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/914651-sapag-se-diferencia-de-sobisch-y-busca-acercarse-a-kirchner ; Colonna, Lucas. "Las insólitas derrotas exitosas de Kirchner". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 25 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/920360-las-insolitas-derrotas-exitosas-de-kirchner ; Jorquera, Miguel. "El MPN se juega su hegemonía en Neuquén ante los opositores K". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 28 May 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-85642-2007-05-28.html ; "En campaña". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 30 May 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-85735-2007-05-30.html ; "Domingo de la verdad". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 1 June 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-85864-2007-06-01.html ; Jorquera, Miguel. "En Neuquén, oficialismo y oposición piden que se vote "por el cambio"". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 2 June 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-85923-2007-06-02.html ; Jorquera, Miguel. "El voto después de Fuentealba". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 3 June 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-85990-2007-06-03.html ; Jorquera, Miguel. "Otro Sapag para gobernar Neuquén". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 4 June

Victoria candidate as the candidate of the Casa Rosada.[17] This candidate also characterized himself as the President's candidate.[18]

2009

In 2009 Neuquén held legislative elections to fill three national deputy positions. Ten coalitions competed in the election, and two garnered a significant portion of the vote: Movimiento Popular Neuquino and Unión Cívica Radical. Movimiento Popular Neuquino won the election with 29.5% of the vote, and the UCR came in a close second with 25.4% of the vote.[19]

The governor, Jorge Sapag does not belong to the Peronist Party; he belongs to the Movimiento Popular Neuquino, a local party that does not identify as Peronist.[20] Moreover, the list supported by the governor used the Movimiento Popular Neuquino and not the Frente para la Victoria party tag.[21] In spite of this, the governor's conciliatory discourse towards the President, his several meetings with the national administration and the opinion of experts take us to keep on coding him as aligned with the national government in this election.

Sapag presented a conciliatory discourse towards the national administration in the few public statements he made on the topic. The governor affirmed that he preferred having a good relationship with the national government instead of criticizing or fighting with the President.[22] He also asserted that the province would not solve its problems if it acted as an island, meaning isolated from or insulting the national government.[23]

The governor shared several public acts with members of the national government throughout the campaign. Sapag attended a public act headed by President Cristina Kirchner in the province of Mendoza; other aligned governors also participated in the event.[24] Moreover,

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2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-86022-2007-06-04.html ; "El Presidente Kirchner felicitó a Sapag". *Río Negro,* [General Roca] 3 June 2007. http://www1.rionegro.com.ar/diario/2007/06/03/1180918558.php.

[17] Ybarra, Gustavo. "Neuquén elegirá su gobernador entre un Sapag y un Radical K". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 May 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/912137-neuquen-elegira-su-gobernador-entre-un-sapag-y-un-Radical-k ; "Macri obtuvo una amplia victoria y Filmus logró llegar al ballotage". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/914275-macri-obtuvo-una-amplia-victoria-y-filmus-logro-llegar-al-ballottage.

[18] "Dos candidatos en pugna para encarnar el cambio provincial". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/914172-dos-candidatos-en-pugna-para-encarnar-el-cambio-provincial ; ""No soy Kirchnerista"". *Río Negro,* [General Roca] 26 May 2007. http://www1.rionegro.com.ar/diario/2007/05/26/20075p26j01a.php.

[19] "El cobismo ganó un lugar en Neuquén". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144805-el-cobismo-gano-un-lugar-en-neuquen.

[20] Ybarra, Gustavo. "El Kirchnerismo perderá las mayorías". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144810-el-Kirchnerismo-perdera-las-mayorias ; "El cobismo ganó un lugar en Neuquén". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144805-el-cobismo-gano-un-lugar-en-neuquen.

[21] "Provincia por provincia: cómo se resuelve la pelea por el nuevo poder". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144475-provincia-por-provincia-como-se-resuelve-la-pelea-por-el-nuevo-poder.

[22] "Jorge Sapag dejó abierta la posibilidad de su reelección". *La Mañana de Neuquén,* [Neuquén] 5 June 2009. http://www.lmneuquen.com/jorge-sapag-dejo-abierta-la-posibilidad-su-reeleccion-n29912.

[23] "Jorge Sapag dejó abierta la posibilidad de su reelección". *La Mañana de Neuquén,* [Neuquén] 5 June 2009. http://www.lmneuquen.com/jorge-sapag-dejo-abierta-la-posibilidad-su-reeleccion-n29912.

[24] "CFK: "Yo trabajo por el bienestar de todos los argentinos"". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 28 May 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-125723-2009-05-28.html.

Néstor Kirchner's sister, who was also a cabinet member, travelled to Neuquén and signed two agreements with the governor regarding the implementation of national programs.[25] The governor was also scheduled to sign agreements with the Secretario de Turismo (Secretary of Tourism).[26] Additionally, Sapag was scheduled to participate in a public act with the Secretario de Energía (Secretary of Energy) to review the bids for the construction of a hydroelectric plant in the province.[27] Furthermore, Sapag participated in a public act headed by the President at the Casa Rosada, during which she announced tax exemptions that benefited several projects in Neuquén.[28] The governor was also scheduled to sign an agreement with the Ministra de Producción (Minister of Production).[29]

La Nación newspaper affirmed that Sapag was aligned with the national administration since he became governor in 2007.[30] This newspaper also characterized his party, Movimiento Popular Neuquino, as allied with the President.[31]

The governor never held an appointed position in the national government for the 2003-2009 period.

At the local level, the UCR was not aligned with the national government. In fact, the party was aligned with Julio Cobos, the Vice President and member of the national opposition since 2008.[32] National newspapers identified the candidate who headed the UCR ticket as part of cobismo.[33] On the other hand, Frente para la Victoria, the coalition that came in third, was aligned with the President. La Nación newspaper described the candidate who headed the Frente para la Victoria ticket as Kirchnerista.[34] Moreover, an article from this newspaper affirmed that the national government sent several members of the cabinet to the province throughout the campaign to support the Frente para la Victoria candidates.[35]

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[25] "Entregan aportes por $6 millones". *La Mañana de Neuquén,* [Neuquén] 2 June 2009. http://www.lmneuquen.com/entregan-aportes-6-millones-n29606.

[26] "Provincia está funcionando con el Presupuesto de 2008". *La Mañana de Neuquén,* [Neuquén] 8 June 2009. http://www.lmneuquen.com/provincia-esta-funcionando-el-presupuesto-2008-n30179.

[27] "Mañana de conocerán las ofertas técnicas para Chihuido I". *Minuto Neuquén,* [Neuquén] 10 June 2009. http://www.minutoneuquen.com/notas/2009/6/10/neuquen-12154.asp.

[28] "Beneficios para inversiones neuquinas". *La Mañana de Neuquén,* [Neuquén] 17 June 2009. http://www.lmneuquen.com/beneficios-inversiones-neuquinas-n31072.

[29] "Débora Giorgi visita Neuquén". *La Mañana de Neuquén,* [Neuquén] 19 June 2009. http://www.lmneuquen.com/debora-giorgi-visita-neuquen-n31310.

[30] Ybarra, Gustavo. "El oficialismo dejaría de ostentar el quórum propio que tiene en el Senado". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 22 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1142093-el-oficialismo-dejaria-de-ostentar-el-quorum-propio-que-tiene-en-el-senado.

[31] "El cobismo ganó un lugar en Neuquén". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144805-el-cobismo-gano-un-lugar-en-neuquen.

[32] "Provincia por provincia: cómo se resuelve la pelea por el nuevo poder". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144475-provincia-por-provincia-como-se-resuelve-la-pelea-por-el-nuevo-poder.

[33] "El cobismo ganó un lugar en Neuquén". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144805-el-cobismo-gano-un-lugar-en-neuquen ; Abrevaya, Sebastián. "Un diálogo demasiado subido de tono". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 17 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-128320-2009-07-16.html.

[34] "El cobismo ganó un lugar en Neuquén". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144805-el-cobismo-gano-un-lugar-en-neuquen.

[35] "Provincia por provincia: cómo se resuelve la pelea por el nuevo poder". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144475-provincia-por-provincia-como-se-resuelve-la-pelea-por-el-nuevo-poder.

2011

In 2011, Neuquén held elections to choose governor, vice governor, 35 provincial legislators, municipal mayors, and council members. Among the six coalitions that participated in this process two garnered the majority of the vote: the Movimiento Popular Neuquino and the Frente Neuquino. The governor, Jorge Sapag, belongs to the Movimiento Popular Neuquino and obtained 45.4% of the vote that guaranteed his reelection. The Frente Neuquino candidate came in second with 34.1% of the electoral support.[36] The Movimiento Popular Neuquino also won the legislative race, becoming the majority in the provincial congress.[37]

The governor of Neuquén is not Peronist. Sapag does not self-identify as Peronist and is not part of the Peronist Party. The Movimiento Popular Neuquino emerged as a pro-Peronist party around the time Perón was forced to exile. Upon his return, Perón ordered the dissolution of the Movimiento Popular Neuquino, but Felipe Sapag – leader of the Movimiento Popular Neuquino and uncle of the current governor – opposed this decision and thus loosened the party's ties with the Peronist Party and strengthened the regional character of the Movimiento Popular Neuquino.[38] With more than 50 years of existence, the MPN can be considered the strongest provincial party in the country.[39] For these elections, the Peronist Party was not part of the Movimiento Popular Neuquino coalition; it was part of the Frente Neuquino coalition. Sapag's electoral coalition did not use the Frente para la Victoria party tag; he used the Movimiento Popular Neuquino. In spite of Sapag being non-Peronist and not using the Frente para la Victoria party tag, his supportive discourse, campaign advertisements, and experts' opinions indicate alignment with the President.

The governor's discourse showed affinity with the national government. Sapag expressed his support for Cristina Kirchner's reelection throughout the campaign and after his electoral victory.[40] In addition, throughout his government, Sapag offered Movimiento Popular Neuquino's support to pass key laws proposed by Kirchnerismo, including the media law, resolution 125 of export taxes, and gay marriage law.[41] At his victory speech, Sapag publicly thanked the President for having called him to congratulate him and announced that he was going to work hard so that Cristina Fernández de Kirchner becomes the next president.[42] In fact, the Movimiento Popular Neuquino held a provincial party convention and voted in favor of

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[36] Lantos, Nicolás."Sapag ganó por amplia diferencia a Farizano." *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 13 June 2011. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-170010-2011-06-13.html; Lantos, Nicolás."La historia de una clan político." *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 13 June 2011. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/170010-54150-2011-06-13.html

[37] "Sapag, aliado del Gobierno, triunfó en Neuquén." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 13 June 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1381193-jorge-sapag-logro-la-reeleccion-en-neuquen

[38] Lantos, Nicolás."La historia de una clan político." *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 13 June 2011. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/170010-54150-2011-06-13.html

[39] Lantos, Nicolás."Un asunto a dirimir entre dos." *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 12 June 2011. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-169960-2011-06-12.html

[40] Bilardo, Gerardo. "En Neuquén, la opción de Cristina es ganar o ganar." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 12 June 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1380886-en-neuquen-la-opcion-de-cristina-es-ganar-o-ganar

[41] "Moderado y amigo de la Casa Rosada." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 13 June 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1381146-moderado-y-amigo-de-la-casa-rosada

[42] "Sapag celebró su victoria." *Diario Río Negro*, [Neuquén] 12 June 2011. http://www.rionegro.com.ar/diario/sapag-celebro-su-victoria-642523-28261-nota.aspx; "Sapag, aliado del Gobierno, triunfó en las elecciones de Neuquén." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 13 June 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1381144-cont-gano-en-neuquen-un-aliado-del-gobierno

making the President their official candidate for the upcoming Presidential elections.[43] In addition, Sapag mentioned that he shared with the President the commitment with social justice and the development of the south of the country.[44]

The electoral campaign included advertisements of Sapag together with President Cristina Kirchner.[45] However, the President did not have to go to Neuquén or meet with Sapag for the electoral campaign, as one expert noted, because both the incumbent and challenger strongly supported her government.[46] After Sapag's electoral victory, he traveled to Buenos Aires to meet with Cristina Kirchner to discuss provincial issues, including the emergency response for the cities affected by the eruption of a volcano and the signing of a contract to build a hydroelectric dam.[47]

Both provincial and national newspapers, as well as other experts, consistently considered the governor a supporter of the President. La Nación newspaper identified Sapag as an ally to the national government.[48] The same media source stressed that although the Movimiento Popular Neuquino was a locally autonomous movement, Sapag's very close friendship with Néstor Kirchner and unconditional support for the Casa Rosada made the national government celebrate his victory as its own.[49] Página 12 indicated that Sapag had been developing a close relationship with the national government.[50] The same newspaper interviewed various political analysts who highlighted how Sapag had moved closer to the national government.[51] Both newspapers emphasized that Neuquén's electoral process gave the President the option of winning or winning because both main competing coalitions were explicit supporters of Kirchnerismo.[52] The Chief of Staff also indicated that Kirchnerismo endorsed the reelection of Sapag and that the governor had always shared the viewpoints of the national

[43] "El MPN llevará a Critstina en la boleta." *Diario Río Negro*, [Neuquén] 15 June 2011. http://www.rionegro.com.ar/diario/el-mpn-llevara-a-cristina-en-la-boleta-644228-9544-nota.aspx
[44] Lantos, Nicolás."Entre cenizas después de la reeleción." *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 14 June 2011. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-170082-2011-06-14.html
[45] Bilardo, Gerardo. "En Neuquén, la opción de Cristina es ganar o ganar." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 12 June 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1380886-en-neuquen-la-opcion-de-cristina-es-ganar-o-ganar
[46] Bruschtein. Nicolás."Amigos y aliados." *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 13 June 2011. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/170010-54151-2011-06-13.html
[47] "Sapag se reunirá con Cristina por la emergencia y Chihuido." *Diario Río Negro*, [Neuquén] 30 June 2011. http://www.rionegro.com.ar/diario/sapag-se-reunira-con-cristina-por-la-emergencia-y-chihuido-655396-9701-nota.aspx; "Sapag quiere saber cuando se firmará contrato por Chihuido I." *Diario Río Negro*, [Neuquén] 4 July 2011. http://www.rionegro.com.ar/diario/sapag-quiere-saber-cuando-se-firmara-contrato-por-chihuido-i-657275-9544-nota.aspx
[48] "Sapag, aliado del Gobierno, triunfó en las elecciones de Neuquén." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 13 June 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1381144-cont-gano-en-neuquen-un-aliado-del-gobierno
[49] "Moderado y amigo de la Casa Rosada." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 13 June 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1381146-moderado-y-amigo-de-la-casa-rosada
[50] Lantos, Nicolás."Las tres paradas electorales que siguen." *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 06 June 2011. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-169554-2011-06-06.html
[51] Bruschtein, Nicolás."Amigos y aliados." *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 13 June 2011. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/170010-54151-2011-06-13.html
[52] Bilardo, Gerardo. "En Neuquén, la opción de Cristina es ganar o ganar." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 12 June 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1380886-en-neuquen-la-opcion-de-cristina-es-ganar-o-ganar; "Neuquén: Sapag se proclamó ganhadora y logra reelección." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 13 June 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1380989-elecciones-en-neuquen-disputa-entre-dos-Kirchneristas; Bruschtein, Nicolás."Amigos y aliados." *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 13 June 2011. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/170010-54151-2011-06-13.html

government.[53] Local opposition Frente Neuquino leaders extensively criticized Sapag during the electoral campaign for his pragmatic, as opposed to ideological, closeness with the national government.[54]

Sapag has never held a position in the national government. He was governor of the province from 2007 to 2011.

The provincial electoral contest faced two major coalitions, both aligned with the President. National media sources characterize both Sapag and Frente Neuquino's candidate as pro-Kirchnerista candidates.[55] The Frente Neuquino candidate expressed his philosophical proximity with the President and referred to himself Cristina Kirchner's candidate in Neuquén.[56] Members of the President's cabinet and affiliates of the national Peronist Party endorsed the Frente Neuquino candidate.[57]

2013

In 2013, Neuquén elected three national senators and three national deputies. Out of the seven coalitions that participated in this electoral contest, only two had enough votes to secure seats: the Movimiento Popular Neuquino and the Frente para la Victoria. The Movimiento Popular Neuquino won both legislative elections with over 40% of the vote, thus securing two seats in each chamber. Frente para la Victoria won one seat in each chamber with over 20% of the vote.[58]

The governor of the province since 2007, Jorge Sapag, belongs to the provincial Movimiento Popular Neuquino. However, the candidate supported by Sapag lost the party's

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[53] Lantos, Nicolás."Entre cenizas después de la reeleción." *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 14 June 2011. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-170082-2011-06-14.html; Bilardo, Gerardo. "Con la ayuda de aliados, Sapag aumentó su poder." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 14 June 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1381382-con-la-ayuda-de-aliados-sapag-aumento-su-poder

[54] They suggested that although Sapag supports the President's project, he does not identify himself as part of it and that sometimes his plans for Neuquén appear incongruent with the national governance model. Lantos, Nicolás."Un cierre de campaña bajo las cenizas." *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 11 June 2011. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-169903-2011-06-11.html; "Neuquén: Sapag se proclamó ganhadora y logra reelección." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 13 June 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1380989-elecciones-en-neuquen-disputa-entre-dos-Kirchneristas

[55] "Sapag, aliado del Gobierno, triunfó en las elecciones de Neuquén." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 13 June 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1381144-cont-gano-en-neuquen-un-aliado-del-gobierno; Lantos, Nicolás."Un cierre de campaña bajo las cenizas." *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 11 June 2011. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-169903-2011-06-11.html; Bilardo, Gerardo. "En Neuquén, la opción de Cristina es ganar o ganar." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 12 June 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1380886-en-neuquen-la-opcion-de-cristina-es-ganar-o-ganar

[56] "Neuquén: Sapag se proclamó ganhadora y logra reelección." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 13 June 2011. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1380989-elecciones-en-neuquen-disputa-entre-dos-Kirchneristas; Lantos, Nicolás."Las tres palabras electorales que siguen." *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 6 June 2011. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-169554-2011-06-06.html

[57] "Peronistas con Cristina." *Diario Río Negro*, [Neuquén] 11 June 2011. http://www.rionegro.com.ar/diario/peronistas-con-cristina-641221-9544-nota.aspx

[58] "Pererira, victorioso, pide diálogo con Sapag." *Diario Río Negro*, [Neuquén] 28 October 2013. http://www.rionegro.com.ar/diario/pereyra,-victorioso,-pide-dialogo-con-sapag-1338325-9544-nota.aspx; "Las otras provincias." *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2013. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-232299-2013-10-28.html; "Entró al Senado un aliado de Hugo Moyano." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1633200-entro-al-senado-un-aliado-de-hugo-moyano

primary elections. This result spurred internal divisions within the Movimiento Popular Neuquino between those who supported the winner of the primary (Guillermo Pereyra) and those who were loyal to Sapag.[59] In particular, Sapag was aligned to the national government while Pereyra was in open opposition to the President.[60] This is possible partly because the Movimiento Popular Neuquino is a regional party with no aspirations to participate in national executive elections. This allows the governor to support the President while remaining within the Movimiento Popular Neuquino because most of the party's concerns are confined to provincial matters.

Jorge Sapag and the Movimiento Popular Neuquino do not belong to the Peronist party. As mentioned above, although the Movimiento Popular Neuquino emerged as a pro-Peronist party in the early 1960s, internal disputes with this national movement made the party evolve as an exclusively provincial party. In addition, the Movimiento Popular Neuquino did not use the Frente para la Victoria party tag in these elections. In spite of all this, Sapag's opposition to Movimiento Popular Neuquino's internal faction, his discourse, public appearances with the national government and experts' opinions show alignment with the President.

The governor's public statements showed affinity with the national government. Sapag publicly supported a number of decisions made by Cristina Kirchner, including changes in the cabinet and an agreement with an oil company.[61] The governor supported a solid and mature relationship between all levels of government and stated that Neuquén would continue to work in coordination with the national government.[62] He even said that he shared with the President the aim of building a great nation and province.[63] His discursive support of the national government went as far as criticizing the winners of Movimiento Popular Neuquino's primary who opposed the national government. The governor publicly criticized these legislators, as well as their supposedly presidential opposition candidate.[64] After the Movimiento Popular Neuquino's electoral victory, Sapag assured that he was going to compete against Pereyra and any other

[59] Ybarra, Gustavo. "Senado: el FPV seguirá teniendo quórum propio." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1633177-senado-el-fpv-seguira-teniendo-quorum-propio

[60] "Cinco incógnitas clave definirán el resultado de las elecciones legislativas." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 26 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1632704-cinco-incognitas-clave-definiran-el-resultado-de-las-elecciones-legislativas; Ybarra, Gustavo. "El Gobierno retendrá el Senado pero perdrá votos clave para los últimos años." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 27 October 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1632925-el-gobierno-retendra-el-senado-pero-perdera-votos-clave-para-los-ultimos-anos

[61] "Sapag vio positivo los cambios en el Gabinete Nacional." *La Mañana de Neuquén*, [Neuquén] 20 November 2013. http://www.lmneuquen.com/sapag-vio-positivos-los-cambios-el-gabinete-nacional-n207227; "Sapag calificó como 'muy bueno' el preacuerdo con Repsol." *La Mañana de Neuquén*, [Neuquén] 26 November 2013. http://www.lmneuquen.com.ar/noticias/2013/11/26/sapag-califico-como-muy-bueno-el-preacuerdo-con-repsol_207849;
"Una agenda amplia y activa." *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 21 November 2013. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/economia/2-234067-2013-11-21.html

[62] "Sapag, por el 'trabajo coordinado con Nación.'" *Diario Río Negro*, [Neuquén] 2 November 2013. http://www.rionegro.com.ar/diario/sapag,-por-el-trabajo-coordinado-con-nacion-1368218-9544-nota.aspx

[63] "Sapag, por el 'trabajo coordinado con Nación.'" *Diario Río Negro*, [Neuquén] 2 November 2013. http://www.rionegro.com.ar/diario/sapag,-por-el-trabajo-coordinado-con-nacion-1368218-9544-nota.aspx

[64] "Sapag:'No hay un joystick wue uno mueva y diriga a dónde vota cada uno.'" *La Mañana de Neuquén*, [Neuquén] 31 October 2013. http://www.lmneuquen.com/sapag-no-hay-un-joystick-que-uno-mueve-y-dirige-donde-vota-cada-uno-n205020;
"'Hubieran dado la cara,' reprochó el mandatario." *Diario Río Negro*, [Neuquén] 1 November 2013. http://www.rionegro.com.ar/diario/hubieran-dado-la-cara,-reprocho-el-mandatario-1361516-9544-nota.aspx

member of the internal faction to secure the leadership of the Movimiento Popular Neuquino and become the party's candidate for the forthcoming gubernatorial elections.[65]

The governor held various private meetings with national executive officials throughout the electoral period. During the electoral campaign, he met with the President in Buenos Aires.[66] Also in the capital city, he met with the Jefe del Gabinete (Chief of Staff) to discuss economic and social issues pertaining to the province.[67] In addition, Sapag's lack of appearances in public events with Pereyra or any other member of the Movimiento Popular Neuquino that belonged to the winning faction signaled the lack of support to a faction that opposed the national government.

National and local newspapers, as well as other experts and local politicians, considered Sapag an ally of the President during this election. La Nación newspaper identified Sapag as aligned to Kirchnerismo.[68] Página 12 also characterized Sapag as a loyal ally of the President and even emphasized how the governor confronted a faction of his own party that opposed the national government.[69] Key political actors in the province also stressed Sapag's alignment with the national government. Sapag's vice-governor expressed that the governor maintained a clear affiliation with the President.[70] Members of Movimiento Popular Neuquino's local faction in opposition to Sapag accused him of betraying the local party for asking his constituency to vote in favor of Frente para la Victoria.[71] This faction's leader criticized the governor's lack of support for Pereyra's campaign as a consequence of being a supporter of the national government.[72]

The governor has never held a position in the national government.

Local opposition to the governor had two sources. On the one hand, the Frente para la Victoria was aligned with the president. The list employed the Frente para la Victoria party tag,

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[65] "'Sin lugar a dudas, las PASO van a tener revancha.'" *La Mañana de Neuquén*, [Neuquén] 29 October 2013. http://www.lmneuquen.com.ar/noticias/2013/10/30/sin-lugar-a-dudas-las-paso-van-a-tener-revancha_204858.

[66] "'Voy a ser el próximo gobernador de Neuquén.'" *La Mañana de Neuquén*, [Neuquén] 20 October 2013. http://www.lmneuquen.com.ar/noticias/2013/10/20/voy-a-ser-el-proximo-gobernador-de-neuquen_203725

[67] "Capitanich recibirá a Sapag" *La Mañana de Neuquén*, [Neuquén] 27 November October 2013. http://www.lmneuquen.com.ar/noticias/2013/11/27/capitanich-recibira-a-sapag_207967

[68] ""El Gobierno retendrá el Senado pero perdrá votos clave para los últimos años." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 27 October 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1632925-el-gobierno-retendra-el-senado-pero-perdera-votos-clave-para-los-ultimos-anos; "El avance que logró la oposición muestra un mapa político disperso con vistas a 2015." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 3 November 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1635067-el-avance-que-logro-la-oposicion-muestra-un-mapa-politico-disperso-con-vistas-a-2015

[69] Jorquera, Miguel. "A votar nuevos diputados y senadores." *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 27 October 2013. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-232231-2013-10-27.html; Jorquera, Miguel. "El quórum en el bolsillo." *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2013. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/232307-65521-2013-10-28.html

[70] "'Aspiro a algo más que una provincia petrolera.'" *Diario Río Negro*, [Neuquén] 24 November 2013. http://www.rionegro.com.ar/diario/aspiro-a-algo-mas-que-una-provincia-petrolera-1385152-9544-nota.aspx

[71] "Sapag:'No hay un joystick wue uno mueva y diriga a dónde vota cada uno.'" *La Mañana de Neuquén*, [Neuquén] 31 October 2013.http://www.lmneuquen.com/sapag-no-hay-un-joystick-que-uno-mueve-y-dirige-donde-vota-cada-uno-n205020; "'Hubieran dado la cara,' reprochó el mandatario." *Diario Río Negro*, [Neuquén] 1 November 2013. http://www.rionegro.com.ar/diario/hubieran-dado-la-cara,-reprocho-el-mandatario-1361516-9544-nota.aspx

[72] "Pereryra: 'Hemos logrado potenciar un partido que estaba dormido.'" *La Mañana de Neuquén*, [Neuquén] 16 October 2013. http://www.lmneuquen.com.ar/noticias/2013/10/16/pereyra-hemos-logrado-potenciar-un-partido-que-estaba-dormido_203363; "Pereyra dice que Sapag no lo ayuda." *Diario Río Negro*, [Neuquén] 17 October 2013. http://www.rionegro.com.ar/diario/pereyra-dice-que-sapag-no-lo-ayuda-1287788-9544-nota.aspx

included Peronists among its members, and was strongly endorsed by the national government.[73] On the other hand, the governor also faced opposition within his own party. The Movimiento Popular Neuquino faction opposed both Sapag and the national government.[74] During his campaign, the leader of this faction accused Frente para la Victoria of causing disturbances during his campaign events.[75] Pereyra also met with a labor union leader opposed to the national government to celebrate his electoral victory and publicly rejected an alliance with the local Frente para la Victoria.[76] He publicly stated that he was going to work to become the next governor of the province and defeat Sapag in the contest for the Movimiento Popular Neuquino leadership.[77] After the elections, however, Pereyra strategically softened his position towards the governor and the President. He met with the leader of the Kirchnerista senators, asked Sapag to meet with him to reconcile their differences, and expressed he was was not an anti-Kirchnerista.[78]

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[73] "Fuentes: 'Pereryra expresa el antiKirchnerismo, nosotros a Cristina.'"" *La Mañana de Neuquén*, [Neuquén] 24 October 2013. http://www.lmneuquen.com.ar/noticias/2013/10/24/fuentes-pereyra-expresa-el-antiKirchnerismo-nosotros-a-cristina_204192; Jorquera, Miguel. "El quórum en el bolsillo." *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2013. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/232307-65521-2013-10-28.html; "Pererira, victorioso, pide diálogo con Sapag." *Diario Río Negro*, [Neuquén] 28 October 2013. http://www.rionegro.com.ar/diario/pereyra,-victorioso,-pide-dialogo-con-sapag-1338325-9544-nota.aspx

[74] Bullrich, Lucrecia and Francisco Jueguen. "Cinco incógnitas clave definirán el resultado de las elecciones legislativas." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 26 October 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1632704-cinco-incognitas-clave-definiran-el-resultado-de-las-elecciones-legislativas

[75] "Pereryra: 'Hemos logrado potenciar un partido que estaba dormido.'" *La Mañana de Neuquén*, [Neuquén] 16 October 2013. http://www.lmneuquen.com.ar/noticias/2013/10/16/pereyra-hemos-logrado-potenciar-un-partido-que-estaba-dormido_203363

[76]"'Voy a ser el próximo gobernador de Neuquén.'" *La Mañana de Neuquén*, [Neuquén] 20 October 2013. http://www.lmneuquen.com.ar/noticias/2013/10/20/voy-a-ser-el-proximo-gobernador-de-neuquen_203725; "'No soy un anti K fundamentalista.'" *La Mañana de Neuquén*, [Neuquén] 28 October 2013. http://www.lmneuquen.com.ar/noticias/2013/10/28/no-soy-un-anti-k-fundamentalista_204607; "Pereryra rechazó una alianza con el Kirchnerismo." *La Mañana de Neuquén*, [Neuquén] 29 October 2013. http://www.lmneuquen.com.ar/noticias/2013/10/29/pereyra-rechazo-una-alianza-con-el-Kirchnerismo_204744; "El Gobierno busca evitar fugas de última hora de intendentes del PJ." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 22 October 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1631301-el-gobierno-busca-evitar-fugas-de-ultima-hora-de-intendentes-del-pj

[77]"'Voy a ser el próximo gobernador de Neuquén.'" *La Mañana de Neuquén*, [Neuquén] 20 October 2013. http://www.lmneuquen.com.ar/noticias/2013/10/20/voy-a-ser-el-proximo-gobernador-de-neuquen_203725

[78] "Pereryra: 'Vamos a acompañar al gobernador.'" *La Mañana de Neuquén*, [Neuquén] 28 October 2013. http://www.lmneuquen.com.ar/noticias/2013/10/27/pereyra-vamos-a-acompanar-al-gobernador_204552; "'No soy un anti K fundamentalista.'" *La Mañana de Neuquén*, [Neuquén] 28 October 2013. http://www.lmneuquen.com.ar/noticias/2013/10/28/no-soy-un-anti-k-fundamentalista_204607; "Pererira habló con Pichetto: 'Entendió que no somos anti-nada.'"" *Diario Río Negro*, [Neuquén] 14 November 2013. http://www.rionegro.com.ar/diario/pereyra-hablo-con-pichetto-entendio-que-no-somos-anti-nada-1377653-9701-nota.aspx; Ybarra, Gustavo. "El Gobierno retendrá el Senado pero perdrá votos clave para los últimos años." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 27 October 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1632925-el-gobierno-retendra-el-senado-pero-perdera-votos-clave-para-los-ultimos-anos; Balinotti, Nicolás. "Con diputados propios, la CGT seguirá dividida y analizan protestas." *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 29 October 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1633469-con-diputados-propios-la-cgt-seguira-dividida-y-analizan-protestas

Río Negro

2007

In 2007 Río Negro elected a governor, a vice-governor, and 43 local deputies.[1] Eight coalitions competed for the local executive, and two garnered a majority of the vote: Concertación para el Desarrollo and Frente para la Victoria. Miguel Saiz, from Concertación para el Desarrollo, was reelected with 47.2% of the vote. Frente para la Victoria came in second with 40.8% of the vote.[2]

The governor, Miguel Saiz, does not belong to the Peronist Party. Saiz belongs to Unión Cívica Radical (UCR).[3] Moreover, the governor used the Concertación para el Desarrollo and not the Frente para la Victoria party tag.[4] However, his positive discourse toward the national administration, the opinion of experts, and his meetings with members of the national government lead us to code the governor as aligned with the President.

Saiz expressed his support for the national government on numerous occasions. Before the election, the governor expressed his belief that Néstor Kirchner preferred his candidacy over that of the Frente oara la Victoria candidate.[5] After the election, Saiz thanked the President for not making his support for any one of the candidates explicit throughout the campaign.[6] The governor also declared that he would vote for Kirchner if he decided to compete in the forthcoming presidential election.[7] Additionally, Saiz verbally supported the national project.[8]

The night of the election, the Ministro del Interior (Minister of Interior) called the governor in order to exchange information on the exit polls.[9] After the election, Saiz explicitly supported the Frente para la Victoria mayoral candidate for the City of Buenos Aires. His support was manifested through a meeting with that candidate (who was also the national

[1] In 2007 Río Negro also elected president, vice-president, three national deputies, and three national senators. However, the elections were not concurrent.
[2] Ybarra, Gustavo. "Ganó un Radical Kirchnerista las elecciones en Río Negro". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 21 May 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/910506-gano-un-Radical-Kirchnerista-las-elecciones-en-rio-negro.
[3] "Mantener el poder es el objetivo". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 20 May 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/910247-mantener-el-poder-es-el-objetivo.
[4] Ybarra, Gustavo. "Ganó un Radical Kirchnerista las elecciones en Río Negro". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 21 May 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/910506-gano-un-Radical-Kirchnerista-las-elecciones-en-rio-negro.
[5] ""Kirchner está más conmigo que con él"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 18 May 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/909616-kirchner-esta-mas-conmigo-que-con-el.
[6] ""La concertación está en marcha"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 21 May 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/910508-la-concertacion-esta-en-marcha.
[7] Ybarra, Gustavo. ""El problema en el Radicalismo es que expulsa a los exitosos"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 22 May 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/910735-el-problema-en-el-Radicalismo-es-que-se-expulsa-a-los-exitosos.
[8] Ybarra, Gustavo. ""El problema en el Radicalismo es que expulsa a los exitosos"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 22 May 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/910735-el-problema-en-el-Radicalismo-es-que-se-expulsa-a-los-exitosos.
[9] "Espaldarazo a la concertación". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 21 May 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/85315-27380-2007-05-21.html.

Ministro de Educación, Minister of Education) and another aligned governor.[10] Moreover, the governor signed two agreements with Néstor Kirchner.[11]

National newspapers depicted Saiz as Radical Kirchnerista (a supporter of the Presdient and member of the UCR).[12] La Nación newspaper also described the governor as loyal to Néstor Kirchner.[13] The same newspaper stated that Saiz and the Frente para la Victoria candidate had both seek the support of the national government.[14] La Nación newspaper also interpreted the governor's reelection as a victory for the national government.[15] Furthermore, Página 12 characterized Saiz as close to the President.[16] A local newspaper also depicted the governor as Kirchnerista.[17]

Saiz never held an appointed position in the national government for the 2003-2007 period. He became the governor of the province in 2003. [18]

At the local level, Frente para la Victoria was also aligned with the President. The candidate used the President's party tag and declared that he felt supported by the national government.[19] Additionally, La Nación stated that this candidate was loyal to Kirchner.[20] Página 12 also depicted the candidate as Kirchnerista.[21]

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[10] "Aval a Filmus de los Radicales K". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 1 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/913547-aval-a-filmus-de-los-Radicales-k ; Dandan, Alejandra. ""Le queremos dar un empujoncito final"". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 1 June 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/85870-27535-2007-06-01.html.

[11] "Se concretará esta tarde el traspaso a Nación de retirados del Decreto 7". *Diario La Palabra,* [Viedma] 13 June 2007. http://www.diariolapalabra.com.ar/noticia/1817/se-concretarsta-tarde-el-traspaso-a-nacie-retirados-del-decreto-7 ; "Se transfirieron a la ANSES los retirados del Decreto 7". *Diario La Palabra,* [Viedma] 14 June 2007. http://www.diariolapalabra.com.ar/noticia/1814/se-transfirieron-a-la-anses-los-retirados-del-decreto-7.

[12] Colonna, Lucas. "El Kirchnerismo gana en Río Negro". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 18 May 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/909615-el-Kirchnerismo-gana-en-rio-negro ; Piqué, Martín. ""Nosotros queremos que el vice sea Julio Cobos"". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 22 May 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-85356-2007-05-22.html.

[13] Colonna, Lucas. "El Kirchnerismo gana en Río Negro". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 18 May 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/909615-el-Kirchnerismo-gana-en-rio-negro.

[14] Verón, Mariana. "El Gobierno, conforme y sin grandes sorpresas". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 21 May 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/910509-el-gobierno-conforme-y-sin-grandes-sorpresas.

[15] Verón, Mariana. "El Gobierno, conforme y sin grandes sorpresas". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 21 May 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/910509-el-gobierno-conforme-y-sin-grandes-sorpresas.

[16] "Saiz aseguró que fue el elegido". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 20 May 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/subnotas/85289-27373-2007-05-20.html.

[17]""Miguel o no Miguel, apenas parte de la cuestión": análisis sobre la elección del 20 de mayo". *Diario La Palabra,* [Viedma] 29 May 2007. http://www.diariolapalabra.com.ar/noticia/1488/qmiguel-o-no-miguel-apenas-parte-de-la-cuesti-ansis-sobre-la-elecciel-20-de-mayo.

[18] Colonna, Lucas. "El Kirchnerismo gana en Río Negro". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 18 May 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/909615-el-Kirchnerismo-gana-en-rio-negro.

[19] ""Nosotros somos la legítima concertación"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 18 May 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/909617-nosotros-somos-la-legitima-concertacion.

[20] Colonna, Lucas. "El Kirchnerismo gana en Río Negro". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 18 May 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/909615-el-Kirchnerismo-gana-en-rio-negro.

[21] Piqué, Martín. "El duelo entre Pichetto y Saiz, dos candidatos K en pugna en Río Negro". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 18 May 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-85167-2007-05-18.html.

2009

In 2009 Río Negro elected two national deputies. Seven coalitions competed in the election, and three garnered a significant portion of the vote. The Peronist Party won the election with 31.4% of the vote.[22] Concertación para el Desarrollo, the coalition supported by the governor, came in a close second with 27.5% of the vote, and Afirmación para una República Igualitaria came in third.[23]

The incumbent governor, Miguel Saiz, does not belong to the Peronist Party; he belongs to Unión Cívica Radical.[24] Additionally, the coalition supported by Saiz used the Concertación para el Desarrollo and not the Frente para la Victoria party tag.[25] However, his positive discourse towards the national administration, his meetings with members of the national government, and experts' opinions lead us to keep the coding from the previous election, as aligned with the President.

Saiz had a positive discourse towards the national government. Before the election, the governor praised the national government's decision to take over Aerolíneas Argentinas (the national airline).[26]After the election, Saiz re-affirmed the alliance between UCR and Kirchnerismo in the province.[27]

The governor participated in several meetings and public acts with members of the national government. Before the election, Saiz participated in a public act headed by Cristina Kirchner in the province of Mendoza; other aligned governors also attended the event.[28] Moreover, Saiz and other aligned governors signed an agreement with Cristina Kirchner in a ceremony at the Casa Rosada (Argentina's White House).[29] Some members of the cabinet were also present at the event.[30] After the election, the governor had a meeting with the Head of Vialidad Nacional (Roads and Highways Department).[31] Saiz also attended a swearing-in ceremony in Buenos Aires; Cristina Kirchner, a number of members of her cabinet, and other aligned governors were also present at the event.[32] Additionally, the governor participated in an

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[22] "El justicialismo se adjudicó la victoria en Río Negro". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 28 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/subnotas/127409-40800-2009-06-28.html.
[23] "El justicialismo se adjudicó la victoria en Río Negro". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 28 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/subnotas/127409-40800-2009-06-28.html.
[24] Miguez, Daniel. "Lo que viene en la agenda del diálogo". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 25 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-128826-2009-07-25.html.
[25] Miguez, Daniel. "Una cuenta muy difícil de resolver". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 21 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-127011-2009-06-21.html.
[26] "Una hinchada contra las privatizaciones". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 20 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-126964-2009-06-20.html.
[27] "Saiz: "la Concertación se mantiene y sumó otros referentes"". *Diario La Palabra,* [Viedma] 14 July 2009. http://www.diariolapalabra.com.ar/noticia/19612/saiz-qla-concertacion-se-mantiene-y-sumros-referentesq-.
[28] "CFK: "Yo trabajo por el bienestar de todos los argentinos"". *Diario La Palabra,* [Viedma] 28 May 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-125723-2009-05-28.html.
[29] "Acta acuerdo entre Nación y las provincias vitivinícolas". *Diario La Palabra,* [Viedma] 10 June 2009. http://www.diariolapalabra.com.ar/noticia/18833/acta-acuerdo-entre-naci-las-provincias-vitivinlas.
[30] "Acta acuerdo entre Nación y las provincias vitivinícolas". *Diario La Palabra,* [Viedma] 10 June 2009. http://www.diariolapalabra.com.ar/noticia/18833/acta-acuerdo-entre-naci-las-provincias-vitivinlas.
[31] "Se priorizarán obras de acceso a la ciudad de Allen". *Diario La Palabra,* [Viedma] 2 July 2009. http://www.diariolapalabra.com.ar/noticia/19410/se-priorizarobras-de-acceso-a-la-ciudad-de-allen.
[32] "Asumieron Fernández y Boudou, los recientes ascendidos en el Gabinete". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 8 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1148437-asumieron-fernandez-y-boudou-los-recientes-ascendidos-en-el-gabinete.

inauguration in Río Negro with the national Subsecretaria de Trabajo (Undersecretary of Labor).[33] Saiz also had a meeting with Cristina Kirchner, the Jefe de Gabinete (Chief of Staff) and the Ministro del Interior (Minister or Interior) in the context of a round of talks between the President and several governors (both aligned and non-aligned).[34] Moreover, Saiz and other governors representing provinces with hydrocarbons signed an agreement with the national government at the Casa Rosada.[35] The ceremony was headed by Cristina Kirchner, and it was also attended by some members of the cabinet. [36]

National newspapers depicted the governor as a Radical Kirchnerista (a Kirchnerista member of the UCR).[37] Additionally, Página 12 characterized Saiz as an ally of the national government.[38]

The governor never held an appointed position in the national administration for the 2003-2007 period.

At the local level, the Peronist Party was also aligned with the national government. Página 12 referred to the Peronist candidates as Kirchneristas.[39] Additionally, the Peronist candidate interpreted the results of the election in the province as a victory for the national government.[40] On the other hand, the third party (Afirmación para una República Igualitaria) clearly opposed the national government. The candidate who headed this ticket declared that the party represented the non-Kirchnerista sector in the province.[41]

2011

In 2011, Rio Negro held gubernatorial elections. While several parties participated, only two had considerable support – Frente para la Victoria and Unión Cívica Radical. In the end,

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[33] "Inauguraron la ampliación de la delegación del Ministerio de Trabajo". *Diario La Palabra,* [Viedma] 21 July 2009. http://www.diariolapalabra.com.ar/noticia/19765/inauguraron-la-ampliacie-la-delegaciel-ministerio-de-trabajo.

[34] Verón, Mariana. ""No soy intermediario del campo"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1155724-no-soy-intermediario-del-campo ; "El gobernador Saiz se reunió hoy con la presidenta de la Nación Cristina Fernández". *Diario La Palabra,* [Viedma] 27 July 2009. http://www.diariolapalabra.com.ar/noticia/19914/el-gobernador-saiz-se-reuniy-con-la-presidenta-de-la-naciristina-fernez.

[35] "Río Negro adhirió al acuerdo para restaurar el equilibrio en el sector de hidrocarburos". *Diario La Palabra,* [Viedma] 28 July 2009. http://www.diariolapalabra.com.ar/noticia/19951/rnegro-adhiril-acuerdo-para-restaurar-el-equilibrio-en-el-sector-de-hidrocarburos.

[36] "Río Negro adhirió al acuerdo para restaurar el equilibrio en el sector de hidrocarburos". *Diario La Palabra,* [Viedma] 28 July 2009. http://www.diariolapalabra.com.ar/noticia/19951/rnegro-adhiril-acuerdo-para-restaurar-el-equilibrio-en-el-sector-de-hidrocarburos.

[37] Rosemberg, Jaime e Ybarra, Gustavo. "Gobernadores derrotados, en crisis". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 7 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1147776-gobernadores-derrotados-en-crisis ; Miguez, Daniel. "Una cuenta muy difícil de resolver". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 21 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-127011-2009-06-21.html.

[38] "Llegó la hora de los gobernadores". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 17 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-128403-2009-07-17.html.

[39] Miguez, Daniel. "Una cuenta muy difícil de resolver". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 21 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-127011-2009-06-21.html.

[40] "Albrieu agradece a "afiliados e independientes"". *Diario La Palabra,* [Viedma] 28 June 2009. http://www.diariolapalabra.com.ar/noticia/19295/albrieu-agradece-a-qafiliados-e-independientesq-.

[41] "Odarda afirma que, según encuestas, el ARI gana en Bariloche". *Diario La Palabra,* [Viedma] 28 June 2009. http://www.diariolapalabra.com.ar/noticia/18455/odarda-afirma-que-segncuestas-el-ari-gana-en-bariloche.

Carlos Soria of the Frente para la Victoria won with 49.1% of the vote, while César Barbeito of the UCR secured only 35.9% of the vote.[42] These elections were significant in that for the first time since 1983, the governor of this province would not belong to the UCR party.[43]

Carlos Soria was murdered by his wife in January 2012. His vice-governor, Alberto Weretilneck, assumed the provincial executive and maintained an alignment with the federal government. To respect the principle of coding around the moment of elections and given the coincidence between Soria and Weretilneck and the fact that the latter barely appeared in the campaign, we decided to code Soria instead of Weretilneck although we note their coincidences throughout the profile.

Governor Carlos Soria was a Peronist. To begin with, he is the president of the Peronist party in the province.[44] During the election campaign, his public acts were attended by Peronist militants.[45] In a speech following the election, he attributed his victory in part to the Peronist vote.[46] The Ministra de Desarrollo Social (Minister of Social Development) also called Soria's victory a victory for Peronism.[47] Additionally, several journalists identified Soria as a Peronist throughout the election.[48] The elected governor and vice-governor ran with the Frente para la Victoria party tag.[49]

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[42] "Soria se impuso en Rio Negro y sumo una nueva victoria para la Casa Rosada." *La Nación,* [Rio Negro] 26 September 2011
http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1409175-dos-aliados-del-gobierno-se-disputan-el-poder-en-rio-negro

[43] "Asumieron Weretilneck y los nuevos diputados." *Diario Rio Negro,* [Viedma] 10 December 2011
http://www.rionegro.com.ar/diario/asumieron-weretilneck-y-los-nuevos-diputados-771273-9701-nota.aspx
Lantos, Nicolas. "Soplo el viento patagonico para los Radicales." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 26 September 2011
http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-177586-2011-09-26.html .

[44] Rulli, Matias. "Hasta el 14 de agosto hay una gran consigna: militar por Cristina." *Diario la Palabra,* [Viedma] 17 July 2011
http://www.diariolapalabra.com.ar/noticia/38025/hasta-el-14-de-agosto-hay-una-gran-consigna-militar-por-cristina

[45] "Fuerte respaldo de Soria a Sabbatella." *Diario la Palabra,* [Viedma] 14 July 2011
http://www.diariolapalabra.com.ar/noticia/37974/fuerte-respaldo-de-soria-a-sabbatella

[46] "Soria se impuso en Rio Negro y sumo una nueva victoria para la Casa Rosada." *La Nación,* [Rio Negro] 26 September 2011
http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1409175-dos-aliados-del-gobierno-se-disputan-el-poder-en-rio-negro

[47] "El Gobierno aposto por reinstalar al peronismo." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 26 September 2011
http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1409387-el-gobierno-aposto-por-reinstalar-al-peronismo

[48] "Fuerte respaldo de Soria a Sabbatella." *Diario la Palabra,* [Viedma] 14 July 2011
http://www.diariolapalabra.com.ar/noticia/37974/fuerte-respaldo-de-soria-a-sabbatella
Maradona, Soledad. "Duelo Kirchnerista en Rio Negro." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 22 September 2011
http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1408169-duelo-Kirchnerista-en-rio-negro/nota-de-opinion-t54045
Maradona, Soledad. "Rio Negro elige entre dos candidatos Kirchneristas." *La Nación,* [San Carlos de Bariloche] 25 September 2011
http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1409071-rio-negro-elige-entre-dos-candidatos-Kirchneristas
Maradona, Soledad. "Soria apoyara el Gobierno, pero hara reclamos para Rio Negro." *La Nación,* [General Roca] 27 September 2011
http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1409558-soria-apoyara-al-gobierno-pero-hara-reclamos-para-rio-negro
"Un Radical K gano en Rio Negro." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 14 March 2011
http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-164116-2011-03-14.html
Lantos, Nicolas. "Soplo el viento patagonico para los Radicales." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 26 September 2011
http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-177586-2011-09-26.html

[49] Maradona, Soledad. "Rio Negro elige entre dos candidatos Kirchneristas." *La Nación,* [San Carlos de Bariloche] 25 September 2011
http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1409071-rio-negro-elige-entre-dos-candidatos-Kirchneristas ;

Discursively, Soria and his vice-governor aligned themselves with the national government. Before the election, Soria emphasized the close relationship he had with the President and defended her against her critics.[50] He also offered his unconditional support for her presidential campaign.[51] His vice-governor also noted the high popular support in the province for the project headed by both Cristina Kirchner and Carlos Soria.[52] In a speech following the election, Soria claimed that the people rewarded the success of Kirchner and the Frente para la Victoria by electing him.[53] He also confirmed his support to the national government, while also highlighting the relevance of local politics for explaining his electoral success.[54] In another speech after the elections, Soria referred to Cristina Kirchner as the "umbrella that sheltered all Argentines."[55]

The elected governor appeared with national actors throughout the campaign season. He was accompanied by the Ministro de Economía (Minister of Economy) and vice-presidential candidate, Amado Boudou, in a speech that addressed the environmental emergency produced by volcanic ash.[56] Soria also accompanied the Ministra de Desarrollo social (Minister of Social Development) in a speech in which she endorsed him.[57] The day of the election, the Ministro del Interior (Minister of Interior) joined Soria in the celebrations.[58] Following the election, Soria and his vice-governor participated in a meeting in Buenos Aires with Cristina Kirchner, alongside other aligned governors like Jorge Capitanich (Chaco) and Maurice Closs (Misiones).[59] After

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Maradona, Soledad. "Soria apoyara el Gobierno, pero hara reclamos para Rio Negro." *La Nación,* [General Roca] 27 September 2011
http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1409558-soria-apoyara-al-gobierno-pero-hara-reclamos-para-rio-negro

[50] "La ayuda de Nacion en Bariloche fue espectacular." *Diario la Palabra,* [Viedma] 21 July 2011
http://www.diariolapalabra.com.ar/noticia/38130/la-ayuda-de-nacin-en-bariloche-fue-espectacular ;
"Soria: 'Con Barbeito solo podría jugar al ludo, a la bolita o cualquier otra cosa infantil.'" *Diario la Palabra,* [Viedma] 16 July 2011
http://www.diariolapalabra.com.ar/noticia/38002/soria-con-barbeito-slo-podra-jugar-al-ludo-a-la-bolita-o-cualquier-otra-cosa-infantil

[51] "Soria, Weretilneck y Costa presentaron la lista del PJ en Allen." *Diario la Palabra,* [Viedma] 8 August 2011
http://www.diariolapalabra.com.ar/noticia/38604/soria-weretilneck-y-costa-presentaron-la-lista-del-pj-en-allen

[52]"Weretilneck en El Bolson y Dina Huapi." *Diario la Palabra,* [Viedma] 15 July 2011
http://www.diariolapalabra.com.ar/noticia/37996/weretilneck-en-el-bolsn-y-dina-huapi

[53] "Soria se reúne mañana con la presidenta Cristina Fernandez." *Diario la Palabra,* [Viedma] 26 September 2011
http://www.diariolapalabra.com.ar/noticia/40327/soria-se-rene-maana-con-la-presidenta-cristina-fernndez

[54] Maradona, Soledad. "Soria apoyara el Gobierno, pero hara reclamos para Rio Negro." *La Nación,* [General Roca] 27 September 2011
http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1409558-soria-apoyara-al-gobierno-pero-hara-reclamos-para-rio-negro

[55] "Cristina siempre respondió." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 27 September 2011
http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-177629-2011-09-27.html

[56] "Imaginemos que es 25 de septiembre y que el 'Gringo' Soria es gobernador." *Diario la Palabra,* [Viedma] 3 September 2011
http://www.diariolapalabra.com.ar/noticia/39522/imaginemos-que-es-25-de-septiembre-y-que-el-gringo-soria-es-gobernador
"El Gobierno aposto por reinstalar al peronismo." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 26 September 2011
http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1409387-el-gobierno-aposto-por-reinstalar-al-peronismo

[57] "La Ministro Alicia Kirchner dio su apoyo a Soria y Sabbatella." *Diario la Palabra,* [Viedma] 19 September 2011
http://www.diariolapalabra.com.ar/noticia/40086/la-ministro-alicia-kirchner-dio-su-apoyo-a-soria-y-sabbatella

[58] "Soria se impuso en Rio Negro y sumo una nueva victoria para la Casa Rosada." *La Nación,* [Rio Negro] 26 September 2011
http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1409175-dos-aliados-del-gobierno-se-disputan-el-poder-en-rio-negro

[59] "Soria se reunió con la Presidenta de La Nación." *Diario la Palabra,* [Viedma] 27 September 2011
http://www.diariolapalabra.com.ar/noticia/40354/soria-se-reuni-con-la-presidenta-de-la-nacin

this event, the elected governor, together with the vice-governor, met with the President and the Minister of the Interior and expressed that he had felt accompanied by the President throughout the campaign.[60] The vice-governor claimed that the newly elected provincial government would follow Cristina Kirchner's national project.[61]

Several journalists have associated Soria with the national government. One journalist from La Nación referred to Soria as a Kirchnerista in multiple articles following the election.[62] Another journalist from the same newspaper also referred to Soria's alignment with the national government.[63] Página 12 referred to Soria's victory as a win for the national government.[64]

Carlos Soria did not hold a previous position in the national government.

Soria's main opponent in the gubernatorial election, César Barbeito, was also aligned with the national government, he was part of the Radicals who supported the Kirchners. Both candidates disputed the national governments' support.[65] Barbeito claimed he had close ties with the national government because of all that Néstor and Cristina Kirchner had done for Río Negro in the past.[66] He also professed support for the national developmental model.[67] Journalists also mentioned his close ties to the national government, calling him a Radical K.[68] Finally, Página 12 emphasized that regardless of the outcome, the national government would be getting a "non-conflicting" partner in Rio Negro.[69]

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[60] "Soria: 'Me sentí acompañado por Cristina.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 September 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1409860-soria-me-senti-acompanado-por-cristina

[61] "Asumieron Weretilneck y los nuevos diputados." *Diario Rio Negro,* [Viedma] 10 December 2011 http://www.rionegro.com.ar/diario/asumieron-weretilneck-y-los-nuevos-diputados-771273-9701-nota.aspx

[62] Maradona, Soledad. "Rio Negro elige entre dos candidatos Kirchneristas." *La Nación,* [San Carlos de Bariloche] 25 September 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1409071-rio-negro-elige-entre-dos-candidatos-Kirchneristas
Maradona, Soledad. "Soria apoyara el Gobierno, pero hara reclamos para Rio Negro." *La Nación,* [General Roca] 27 September 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1409558-soria-apoyara-al-gobierno-pero-hara-reclamos-para-rio-negro

[63] "Soria: 'Verbitsky es un montonero trucho.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 September 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1409984-soria-verbitsky-es-un-montonero-trucho

[64] Wainfeld, Mario. "Recuerdos de provincias." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 26 September 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-177587-2011-09-26.html

[65] "La Ministro Alicia Kirchner dio su apoyo a Soria y Sabbatella." *Diario la Palabra,* [Viedma] 19 September 2011 http://www.diariolapalabra.com.ar/noticia/40086/la-ministro-alicia-kirchner-dio-su-apoyo-a-soria-y-sabbatella

[66] "'Los rionegrinos saben que somos los únicos que podemos dar respuestas.'" *Diario la Palabra,* [Viedma] 15 September 2011http://www.diariolapalabra.com.ar/noticia/39948/los-rionegrinos-saben-que-somos-los-nicos-que-podemos-dar-respuestas

[67] "Multitudinario apoyo a la formula Barbeito-Arriaga en Valle Medio." *Diario la Palabra,* [Viedma] 18 September 2011 http://www.diariolapalabra.com.ar/noticia/40032/multitudinario-apoyo-a-la-frmula-barbeito-arriaga-en-valle-medio

[68] Maradona, Soledad. "Rio Negro elige entre dos candidatos Kirchneristas." *La Nación,* [San Carlos de Bariloche] 25 September 2011http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1409071-rio-negro-elige-entre-dos-candidatos-Kirchneristas
"Soria se impuso en Rio Negro y sumo una nueva victoria para la Casa Rosada." *La Nación,* [Rio Negro] 26 September 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1409175-dos-aliados-del-gobierno-se-disputan-el-poder-en-rio-negro
"El Gobierno aposto por reinstalar al peronismo." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 26 September 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1409387-el-gobierno-aposto-por-reinstalar-al-peronismo
Maradona, Soledad. "Soria apoyara el Gobierno, pero hara reclamos para Rio Negro." *La Nación,* [General Roca] 27 September 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1409558-soria-apoyara-al-gobierno-pero-hara-reclamos-para-rio-negro

[69] Wainfeld, Mario. "Recuerdos de provincias." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 26 September 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-177587-2011-09-26.html

2013

In 2013, Rio Negro held competitive legislative elections for two national deputies and three national senators. Four parties participated in both elections: Frente para la Victoria, Alianza Frente Progresista, Union Cívica Radical, and Partido Obrero. Frente para la Victoria won the elections with a landslide, receiving 50.8% of the vote for national deputies (while Alianza Frente Progresista received 24.6%) and 50% for national senators (while Alianza Frente Progresista received 27% of the vote).

The governor of Rio Negro, Alberto Weretilneck, is not a Peronist. In addition, he does not use the Frente para la Victoria party tag. However, his party, the Frente Grande, joined an electoral coalition with Frente para la Victoria for the 2013 legislative elections.[70]

Weretilneck made many statements indicating alignment with the national government around the time of the elections. At the event that announced the electoral alliance between the two parties, Weretilneck defined the coalition as the means to guarantee the electoral success of the President in the province.[71] He referred to this coalition as an indestructible and unstoppable train at another campaign event.[72] The governor praised the national government's policies, such as the conditional cash transfer Asignación Universal por Hijo, industrial policies and agricultural policies, in numerous occasions.[73] This rhetoric was used multiple times throughout the election cycle.[74] Finally, when the President was sick around the time of the election, Weretilneck took to Twitter to wish her a speedy recovery with the hashtag #FuerzaCristina (#bestrongCristina).[75]

Weretilneck made a number of appearances with national government officials. He attended a presentation by the President in Buenos Aires announcing all the Frente pra la Victoria candidates running in the legislative elections.[76] Later in the electoral cycle, Weretilneck made a speech with the also aligned governor of Buenos Aires province Daniel Scioli

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[70] "Weretilneck: "Estamos poniendo en marcha el triunfo electoral de Frente para la Victoria."" *Agencia Digital de Noticias,* [Viedma] 17 May 2013. http://adnrionegro.com.ar/2013/05/weretilneck-estamos-poniendo-en-marcha-el-triunfo-electoral-del-frente-para-la-victoria/

[71] "Weretilneck: "Estamos poniendo en marcha el triunfo electoral de Frente para la Victoria."" *Agencia Digital de Noticias,* [Viedma] 17 May 2013. http://adnrionegro.com.ar/2013/05/weretilneck-estamos-poniendo-en-marcha-el-triunfo-electoral-del-frente-para-la-victoria/

[72] "" Somos un tren indestructible e imparable," dijo Weretilneck." *Agencia Digital de Noticias,* [Viedma] 29 July 2013. http://adnrionegro.com.ar/2013/07/somos-un-tren-indestructible-e-imparable-dijo-weretilneck/

[73] "Con la presencia de Weretilneck el Frente Grande inauguro Casa en Viedma." *Agencia Digital de Noticias,* [Viedma] 19 June 2013. http://adnrionegro.com.ar/2013/06/con-la-presencia-de-weretilneck-el-frente-grande-inauguro-casa-en-viedma/ ;
"Weretilneck y Pichetto encabezaran la apertura de la 34 Exposicion Ganadera en Choele Choel." *Agencia Digital de Noticias,* [Choele Choel] 22 September 2013. http://adnrionegro.com.ar/2013/09/weretilneck-y-pichetto-encabezaron-la-apertura-de-la-34a-exposicion-ganadera-en-choele-choel/ ;
"Weretilneck dijo que los candidatos del FPV garantizan la senda del crecimiento." *Agencia Digital de Noticias,* [Viedma] 24 September 2013. http://adnrionegro.com.ar/2013/09/weretilneck-dijo-que-los-candidatos-del-fpv-garantizan-la-senda-del-crecimiento/

[74] ""El FPV en Rio Negro es indestructible," aseguro Pichetto." *La Palabra Diario,* [Viedma] 11 August 2013. http://www.diariolapalabra.com.ar/noticia/59948/El-FPV-en-Rio-Negro-es-indestructible-aseguro-Pichetto

[75] "Con el hashtag #FuerzaCristina." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 8 October 2013. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-230811-2013-10-08.html

[76] "Weretilneck y Pichetto asistieron a la presentacion de candidatos del FPV." *Agencia Digital de Noticias,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2013. http://adnrionegro.com.ar/2013/06/weretilneck-y-pichetto-asistieron-a-la-presentacion-de-candidatos-del-frente-para-la-victoria/

denouncing the media's pessimistic news regarding the party and their electoral prospects and highlighting the importance of national policies for the development of the province.[77] Cristina Kirchner inaugurated, through videoconference, a new building in the province for a government agency dedicated to animal and crops safety. The governor, together with other provincial and national political figures, attended this act and was part of the picture that included the President in the live conference.[78] In the same day, Weretilneck signed a number of agreements with the Ministro de Agricultura (Minister of Agriculture) to collaborate with information on agricultural production with the national government and to protect farmers in the event of weather damage to crops.[79] Finally, Weretilneck travelled to the City of Buenos Aires to meet with the Chief of Staff and to attend speeches by the President, in one of which the President announced a gas transportation system set to benefit Río Negro with cheaper energy costs.[80]

At the time of the election cycle, news outlets did not make any indication of Weretilneck's alignment with the national government. In fact, national outlets gave the provincial elections very little coverage.

Weretilneck has not held a position in the national government.

At the local level, no party competing against the governor's coalition was aligned with the national government during this election cycle. Union Cívica Radical opposed both the Governor and the President.[81]

[77] "Weretilneck dijo que los candidatos del FPV garantizan la senda del crecimiento." *Agencia Digital de Noticias,* [Viedma] 24 September 2013. http://adnrionegro.com.ar/2013/09/weretilneck-dijo-que-los-candidatos-del-fpv-garantizan-la-senda-del-crecimiento/

[78] "General Roca: Cristina inauguro varias obras por videoconferencia." *La Palabra Diario,* [Viedma] 9 September 2013. http://www.diariolapalabra.com.ar/noticia/60956/General-Roca-Cristina-inauguro-varias-obras-por-videoconferencia

[79] "Otro aporte multimillionario para los productores fruticolas." *La Palabra Diario,* [Viedma] 14 November 2013. http://www.diariolapalabra.com.ar/noticia/63222/Otro-aporte-multimillonario-para-los-productores-fruticolas ; "General Roca: Cristina inauguro varias obras por videoconferencia." *La Palabra Diario,* [Viedma] 9 September 2013. http://www.diariolapalabra.com.ar/noticia/60956/General-Roca-Cristina-inauguro-varias-obras-por-videoconferencia

[80] "Weretilneck se reunió con Abal Medina." *La Palabra Diario,* [Viedma] 15 November 2013. http://www.diariolapalabra.com.ar/noticia/63243/Weretilneck-se-reunio-con-Abal-Medina ; "Weretilneck fue recibido por Capitanich en Buenos Aires." *La Palabra Diario,* [Viedma] 2 December 2013. http://www.diariolapalabra.com.ar/noticia/63841/Weretilneck-fue-recibido-por-Capitanich-en-Buenos-Aires "Cristina Kirchner: "Quieren volver a esa Argentina de la mano de obra barata y el endeudamiento."" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 September 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1623889-cristina-kirchner-quieren-volver-a-esa-argentina-de-la-mano-de-obra-barata-y-el-endeudamient

[81] "Weretilneck dice que una encuesta le da 46% de imagen positiva." *La Palabra Diario,* [Viedma] 31 July 2013. http://www.diariolapalabra.com.ar/noticia/59529/Weretilneck-dice-que-una-encuesta-le-da-46-de-imagen-positiva

Salta

2007

In 2007 Salta elected a governor, vice governor, four national deputies, three national senators, 30 local deputies, and eleven local senators. Ten coalitions participated in the election for governor, but only two received a sizable portion of the vote: Frente para la Victoria-Partido Renovador de Salta (FPV-PRS) and Frente Justicialista para la Victoria (Frejuvi). The FPV-PRS candidate, Juan Manuel Urtubey, was elected with 46.3% of the vote and his challenger was a close second with 45.3% of the vote.[1]

Urtubey belongs to the Peronist Party; an article from La Nación refers to Urtubey as a Peronist candidate.[2] In addition, he represented the Peronist Party in the lower chamber and was an adviser of the provincial Peronist Party.[3] Urtubey used the Frente para la Victoria party tag in this election.[4]

The elected governor expressed his support for the national administration on numerous occasions. He defined himself as the only candidate in Salta who shared the same concepts and ideas as the national government.[5] Urtubey praised the government by expressing that the presidency of Néstor Kirchner had brought strong economic growth together with a significant recovery in the quality of life of the Argentineans.[6] Urtubey also commented that Néstor Kirchner had strengthened the state,[7] and said he was very optimistic that Cristina Kirchner would continue the positive changes started by Néstor Kirchner.[8]

Urtubey made several appearances with members of the national government throughout the campaign and after being elected. During the campaign, he participated in a dinner party organized by the Jefe de Gabinete (Chief of Staff) and attended by national ministers and aligned

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[1] Pastrana, Carlos F. "Salta: se prolonga la pelea por el resultado". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 November 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/959238-salta-se-prolonga-la-pelea-por-el-resultado. ; Lauge, Luis. "Seguir la política nacional no significa ser chupamedias". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 14 November 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/962098-seguir-la-politica-nacional-no-significa-ser-chupamedias.; Jorquera, Miguel. "Un poder político que oprime". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 8 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-92660-2007-10-08.html.

[2] Pastrana, Carlos F. "El peronismo se disputa Salta". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957213-el-peronismo-se-disputa-salta.

[3] "Una medida que aún se discute en el Congreso". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 2 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/949201-una-medida-que-aun-se-discute-en-el-congreso. ; Pastrana, Carlos F. "El peronismo se disputa Salta". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957213-el-peronismo-se-disputa-salta.

[4] Pastrana, Carlos F. "El peronismo se disputa Salta". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2007.http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957213-el-peronismo-se-disputa-salta.; Pastrana, Carlos F. "En Salta aún no se sabe quién gobernará". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 30 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957757-en-salta-aun-no-se-sabe-quien-gobernara.

[5] Jorquera, Miguel. "Un poder político que oprime". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 8 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-92660-2007-10-08.html.

[6] Jorquera, Miguel. "Un poder político que oprime". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 8 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-92660-2007-10-08.html.

[7] Lauge, Luis. "Seguir la política nacional no significa ser chupamedias". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 14 November 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/962098-seguir-la-politica-nacional-no-significa-ser-chupamedias.

[8] Lauge, Luis. "Seguir la política nacional no significa ser chupamedias". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 14 November 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/962098-seguir-la-politica-nacional-no-significa-ser-chupamedias.

governors. Página 12 newspaper interpreted this gathering as a celebration to promote the Kirchnerista candidates, such as the governor himself.[9] In addition, television ads showed Urtubey together with Néstor and Cristina Kirchner.[10] A few days after the election, Urtubey travelled to Buenos Aires to meet with both the current president, Néstor Kirchner, and the elected president, Cristina Kirchner.[11] A few days later, he participated in a celebration of his victory with members of the national government and Kirchnerista supporters.[12]

The national newspapers characterized the elected governor as aligned with the President. First, La Nación referred to Urtubey as a Peronist that belonged to Kirchnerismo.[13] The same newspaper described Urtubey as the Kirchnerista candidate.[14] Finally, an article from Página 12 referred to Urtubey as the Salta candidate closer to the national government.[15]

Urtubey has never held an appointed position in the national government. Before becoming governor in 2007, he served as a national deputy until he resigned his seat six months before the election to participate in the campaign.[16]

Urtubey's main challenger in this election was also aligned with the President. However, most newspaper articles asserted that Urtubey was closer to the national government than his challenger.[17]

2009

In 2009 Salta held legislative elections to fill three national deputy positions. Twelve coalitions competed in the election, two of which are Kirchneristas and four are Peronists.[18] Three parties garnered a majority of the vote: the Peronist party, Frente Federal, and Salta Somos Todos. The Peronist party won the election with 29.5% of the vote, and Frente Federal came in second.

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[9] Schurman, Diego. "Una alegre cena K". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 11 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-92820-2007-10-11.html.

[10] Cibeira, Fernando. "Salta promete ponerle emoción". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 22 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-93337-2007-10-22.html.

[11] Lauge, Luis. "Seguir la política nacional no significa ser chupamedias". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 14 November 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/962098-seguir-la-politica-nacional-no-significa-ser-chupamedias.

[12] "Mensajes de texto". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 19 November 2007 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-94902-2007-11-19.html.

[13] Pastrana, Carlos F. "El peronismo se disputa Salta". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957213-el-peronismo-se-disputa-salta.

[14] "En el cuarto oscuro la tijera fue protagonista". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 31 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/958062-en-el-cuarto-oscuro-la-tijera-fue-protagonista ; Cibeira, Fernando. "Salta promete ponerle emoción". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 22 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-93337-2007-10-22.html.

[15] "Cosa de gobernadores". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 21 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/93303-29632-2007-10-21.html.

[16] Lauge, Luis. "Seguir la política nacional no significa ser chupamedias". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 14 November 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/962098-seguir-la-politica-nacional-no-significa-ser-chupamedias.

[17] "Cosa de gobernadores". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 21 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/93303-29632-2007-10-21.html.

[18] "Provincia por provincia: cómo se resuelve la pelea por el nuevo poder". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144475-provincia-por-provincia-como-se-resuelve-la-pelea-por-el-nuevo-poder.

The governor, Juan Manuel Urtubey, belongs to the winning Peronist party. Several articles from the national newspapers characterized him as a Peronist governor.[19] He participated in a meeting of the national council of the Peronist party.[20] In addition, the legislative election was portrayed as a competition for the control of the provincial Peronist party between Urtubey and the former governor of the province.[21] However, the list supported by the governor ran with the Partido Justicialista (Peronist Party) and not the Frente para la Victoria party tag.[22]

While Urtubey was aligned with President Cristina Kirchner, he made few and ambivalent statements regarding his stance towards the national administration. Before the election, Urtubey clarified that he was close to the President, against accusations of the contrary.[23] However, after the election he tried to distance himself from the national government by declaring that his alleged alignment with the President was a lie made up by his local rivals.[24] According to a local newspaper, the governor also denied his Kirchnerista origins and declared that the Kirchnerista candidates in the 2007 gubernatorial election were his political rivals.[25] A few days later, the governor assured that he was never aligned or opposed to the national government; instead, he had always defended the province's interests.[26]

In spite of his ambivalent discourse, Urtubey made several appearances with members of the national government throughout the campaign and after the legislative election. Before the elections, the governor met with the Ministro de Cultura (Minister of Culture) to launch a

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[19] Morales Solá, Joaquín. "Los últimos días de tranquilidad en la política". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 21 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1141609-los-ultimos-dias-de-tranquilidad-en-la-politica ; Dinatale, Martín. "Fuerte reclamo de gobernadores del PJ". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 1 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1145580-fuerte-reclamo-de-gobernadores-del-pj; Obarrio, Mariano. "Kirchner convocará a los gobernadores a Olivos". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 18 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1151950-kirchner-convocara-a-los-gobernadores-a-olivos ; "Desde hoy la Presidenta recibe a los gobernadores". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 21 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1152926-desde-hoy-la-presidenta-recibe-a-los-gobernadores ; "Sileone y Tedesco asumieron sus nuevos cargos". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1154261-sileoni-y-tedesco-asumieron-sus-nuevos-cargos ; Miguez, Daniel. "Scioli puso primera con la lancha del PJ". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 1 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-127550-2009-07-01.html ; Piqué, Martín. "El Lole no quiere compartir la escudería". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 2 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-127620-2009-07-02.html ; Piqué, Martín. "Scioli le hace frente al virus". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 3 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-127680-2009-07-03.html ; Miguez, Daniel. "Sobre política y economía chaqueña". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 22 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/128647-41351-2009-07-22.html.

[20] Sued, Gabriel. "Se calienta la pelea por Barrionuevo". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1140165-se-calienta-la-pelea-por-barrionuevo.

[21] "Provincia por provincia: cómo se resuelve la pelea por el nuevo poder". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144475-provincia-por-provincia-como-se-resuelve-la-pelea-por-el-nuevo-poder.

[22] "El Kirchnerismo sufrió su primera derrota en Santa Cruz". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144252-el-Kirchnerismo-sufrio-su-primera-derrota-en-santa-cruz ; Pastrana, Carlos "El Kirchnerismo perdió en Salta un diputado". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144786-el-Kirchnerismo-perdio-en-salta-un-diputado ; "El Kirchnerismo perdería la hegemonía en Salta, según una encuestadora". *El Intransigente,* [Salta] 11 June 2009. http://www.elintransigente.com/salta/2009/6/11/regionales-20837.html.

[23] "El gobernador Urtubey con los tapones de punta con los periodistas". *El Intransigente,* [Salta] 20 June 2009. http://www.elintransigente.com/salta/2009/6/20/regionales-21399.html.

[24] Dinatale, Martín. "Fuerte reclamo de gobernadores del PJ". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 1 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1145580-fuerte-reclamo-de-gobernadores-del-pj.

[25] "Urtubey: "Romero tiene que dar un paso al costado"". *El Intransigente,* [Salta] 30 June 2009 http://www.elintransigente.com/salta/2009/6/30/regionales-22023.html.

[26] "Urtubey se despega del Kirchnerismo". *El Intransigente,* [Salta] 3 July 2009. http://www.elintransigente.com/salta/2009/7/3/regionales-22238.html.

national program that funds small enterprises.[27] During the campaign, Urtubey participated in a public act with President Cristina Kirchner to inaugurate a railroad in Salta.[28] Furthermore, the day of the election a prominent cabinet member called aligned governors to receive news about the electoral results, and Urtubey was among them.[29] After the election, the governor had the flu and the President called him to check on his health.[30] In addition, the governor went to Buenos Aires to attend the inauguration ceremony of two new members of the cabinet.[31] Other aligned governors also attended the event.[32] Finally, after Kirchnerismo lost the midterm elections throughout the country, the President engaged in a round of talks with several governors, both aligned and non-aligned. In this context, Urtubey had a meeting with Cristina Kirchner.[33]

National newspapers characterized the governor as aligned with the President. La Nación referred to Urtubey as Kirchnerista on numerous occasions.[34] In addition, an article from Página 12 depicted the governor as an aligned, pro-government governor.[35] A different article from this newspaper described Urtubey as a Peronist that was close with the national government.[36] A local newspaper went as far as to say that Urtubey was one of the unconditional allies of the

[27] "Apoyo a proyectos culturales del Noroeste". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1135428-apoyo-a-proyectos-culturales-del-noroeste.
[28] "Se recupera un proyecto de país". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 19 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/economia/2-126891-2009-06-19.html ; "Cristina en Salta". *El Intransigente,* [Salta] 18 June 2009. http://www.elintransigente.com/salta/2009/6/18/regionales-21232.html.
[29] Miguez, Daniel. "Un golpe duro e inesperado". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-127445-2009-06-29.html.
[30] "Decretarían un feriado sanitario para el viernes". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 7 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1147946-decretarian-un-feriado-sanitario-para-el-viernes.
[31] "Sileone y Tedesco asumieron sus nuevos cargos". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1154261-sileoni-y-tedesco-asumieron-sus-nuevos-cargos
[32] Veiras, Nora. "Un juramento a dos bandas". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 24 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-128766-2009-07-24.html.
[33] Obarrio, Mariano. "Fuerte presión de los gobernadores". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 20 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1152484-fuerte-presion-de-los-gobernadores ; "Binner y Urtubey se reunieron con la Presidenta". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 23 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1154188-binner-y-urtubey-se-reunieron-con-la-presidenta ; "Binner y Urtubey reclaman fondos". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1154371-binner-y-urtubey-reclaman-fondos ; "Debut con Macri y Capitanich". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 18 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-128455-2009-07-18.html; Miguez, Daniel. "Urtubey llevó una idea de fondo". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 24 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/128787-41405-2009-07-24.html ; "De qué hablaron Cristina y Urtubey". El Intransigente, [Salta] 24 July 2009. http://www.elintransigente.com/salta/2009/7/24/regionales-23595.html.
[34] Bertello, Fernando. "Prevé el agro tiempos difíciles si el gobierno no abre el diálogo". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 19 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1140946-preve-el-agro-tiempos-dificiles-si-el-gobierno-no-abre-el-dialogo ; "El Kirchnerismo se impuso en doce distritos". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144767-el-Kirchnerismo-se-impuso-en-doce-distritos.
[35] Llegó la hora de los gobernadores". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 17 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-128403-2009-07-17.html ; Miguez, Daniel. "Los movimientos del día después en Olivos". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 30 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-127493-2009-06-30.html.
[36] "Debut con Macri y Capitanich". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 18 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-128455-2009-07-18.html.

national government and one of the strongest supporters of Néstor Kirchner in 2007 elections.[37] Finally, a local opposition leader defined Urtubey as Kirchners' delegate.[38]

Urtubey has never held a position in the national government.

At the local level, the runner up Frente Federal opposed the national government.[39] A local newspapers characterized its candidates as anti-Kirchneristas.[40] The same newspaper analyzed that Frente Federal had higher chances of winning because the Kirchnerista vote was divided between the list supported by the governor and another list that came sixth and used the Frente para la Victoria party tag.[41] This list was also aligned with the national government.[42]

2011

In 2011, Salta held elections both for governor and provincial senators and deputies. Multiple parties participated, but only three received a sizeable portion of the vote: Frente Justicialista Renvador para la Victoria (59.57%), Propuesta Republicana (25.12%), and the Movimiento Popular Unido (8.5%).

The winner of this gubernatorial election, Juan Manuel Urtubey, was the current governor and belongs to the Peronist Party.[43] A reporter from La Nacion identified Urtubey as a Peronist, clumping him together with other prominent Peronists such as Daniel Scioli (Buenos Aires) and Jorge Capitanich (Chaco).[44] Urtubey used the Frente para la Victoria party tag, since he runs with the Frente Justicialista Renvador para la Victoria tag. His coalition includes Peronists, Kirchneristas, and members of other parties.[45]

While Urtubey is aligned with the President, he had also been trying to distance himself from the national government since the conflict over export taxes.[46] To do so, during the campaign he highlighted that this was a provincial rather than a national election.[47] In particular,

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[37] "El Kirchnerismo perdería la hegemonía en Salta, según una encuestadora". *El Intransigente,* [Salta] 11 June 2009. http://www.elintransigente.com/salta/2009/6/11/regionales-20837.html.

[38] Pastrana, Carlos. "El Kirchnerismo perdió en Salta un diputado". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144786-el-Kirchnerismo-perdio-en-salta-un-diputado.

[39] Rodríguez Niell, Paz. "El desafío más difícil de Urtubey". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 14 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1139167-el-desafio-mas-dificil-de-urtubey ; Pastrana, Carlos "El Kirchnerismo perdió en Salta un diputado". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144786-el-Kirchnerismo-perdio-en-salta-un-diputado.

[40] "En Salta se impuso el Partido Justicialista". *El Intransigente,* [Salta] 11 June 2009. http://www.elintransigente.com/salta/2009/6/29/regionales-21921.html.

[41] "El Kirchnerismo perdería la hegemonía en Salta, según una encuestadora". *El Intransigente,* [Salta] 11 June 2009. http://www.elintransigente.com/salta/2009/6/11/regionales-20837.html.

[42] "Santiago Payo ratifica su adhesión al modelo Kirchnerista". *El Intransigente,* [Salta] 16 June 2009. http://www.elintransigente.com/salta/2009/6/16/regionales-21129.html.

[43] Veneranda, Marcelo. "La Casa Rosada apuesta por dos candidatos en Salta." *La Nación,* [Salta] 6 April 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1363244-la-casa-rosada-apuesta-por-dos-candidatos-en-salta

[44] Veneranda, Marcelo. "En el PJ se largo la carrera por el 2015." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 18 April 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1366421-en-el-pj-ya-se-largo-la-carrera-por-el-2015

[45] Veneranda, Marcelo. "La Casa Rosada apuesta por dos candidatos en Salta." *La Nación,* [Salta] 6 April 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1363244-la-casa-rosada-apuesta-por-dos-candidatos-en-salta

[46] Veneranda, Marcelo. "Urtubey vs. Romero, la batalla de Salta." *La Nación,* [Salta] 8 April 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1363813-urtubey-vs-romero-la-batalla-de-salta

[47] "Urtubey gano en Salta, pero le puso limites al Gobierno." *La Nación,* [Salta] 11 April 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1364633-cont-urtubey-gano-y-puso-limites-al-gobierno

none of his campaign posters featured Cristina Kirchner, or other prominent figures from the national government.[48] He even criticized the Buenos Aires focus of Kirchnerismo.[49] In spite of these reservations, Urtubey affirmed his support for Cristina Kirchner and the national government on numerous occasions. He insisted that he belonged to the national project headed by the President and on numerous occasions expressed his support for her reelection.[50] Moreover, after the provincial elections Urtubey thanked Cristina Kirchner for the support she had provided in decreasing poverty in the province.[51] Urtubey also celebrated the electoral success of governor-elect Lucia Corpacci (Catamarca) signaling a celebration of Kirchnerismo's electoral success.[52] Finally, Urtubey claimed he never hid his support for the national government, and always remained on the same side.[53] He also assured that he would campaign around the country and province for Cristina Kirchner's reelection.[54]

Urtubey made several appearances with officials from the national government. While campaigning, the President visited the province early on in the cycle to make sure she would have time to go back to the province in case that her support was needed.[55] In fact, she did go back to the province to support Urtubey one more time before the election.[56] In her visit, she announced public works from the national government in the province.[57] The governor also joined the National Director of the Social Security Administration (ANSES) in a public act in Salta.[58] Following the election, the President and national Ministers called the governor to congratulate him.[59] In addition, Cristina Kirchner was scheduled to receive Urtubey in Buenos

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[48] "Un gobernador del PJ que no siente apoyo de la Casa Rosada." *La Nación,* [Salta] 8 April 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1363814-un-gobernador-del-pj-que-no-siente-apoyo-de-la-casa-rosada

[49] "Urtubey gano en Salta, pero le puso limites al Gobierno." *La Nación,* [Salta] 11 April 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1364633-cont-urtubey-gano-y-puso-limites-al-gobierno

[50] "Un gobernador del PJ que no siente apoyo de la Casa Rosada." *La Nación,* [Salta] 8 April 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1363814-un-gobernador-del-pj-que-no-siente-apoyo-de-la-casa-rosada ;
"Urtubey: 'A Moyano habria que ponerle un poco mas de limites.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 12 April 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1364949-se-va-a-dar-cuenta-del-error-que-cometio-reacciono-facundo-moyano-tras-los-dichos-de-urtubey ;
Veneranda, Marcelo. "En el PJ se largo la carrera por el 2015." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 18 April 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1366421-en-el-pj-ya-se-largo-la-carrera-por-el-2015

[51] "Urtubey gano en Salta, pero le puso limites al Gobierno." *La Nación,* [Salta] 11 April 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1364633-cont-urtubey-gano-y-puso-limites-al-gobierno

[52] "Urtubey se sumo al festijo K." *El Tribuno,* [Salta] 14 March 2011 http://www.eltribuno.info/urtubey-se-sumo-al-festejo-k-n1661

[53] "Urtubey: 'A Moyano habria que ponerle un poco mas de limites.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 12 April 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1364685-el-avance-del-escrutinio-amplia-la-diferencia-de-urtubey-en-salta

[54] "Urtubey se quedo con la reeleccion." *Página 12,* [Salta] 10 April 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-165975-2011-04-10.html

[55] Veron, Mariana. "Agenda de campana para la Presidenta." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 March 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1358022-agenda-de-campana-para-la-presidenta

[56] Dinatale, Martin. "El efecto contagio mas deseado." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 April 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1362643-claves-politicas

[57] "Por trabajo en serio y no changas." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 29 March 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-165124-2011-03-29.html ;
Veron, Mariana. "Cristina, satisfecha por el resultado en Salta." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 11 April 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1364637-cristina-satisfecha-por-el-resultado-en-salta

[58] "Anses entrego netbooks en Salta." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 2 April 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/sociedad/3-165393-2011-04-02.html

[59] Veneranda, Marcelo. "Urtubey, muy duro con Moyano: 'Es piantavotos.'" *La Nación,* [Salta] 12 April 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1364908-urtubey-moyano-es-un-piantavotos

Aires for his electoral victory but fell ill and had to cancel their meeting.[60] Also, the Secretario de Minería (Secretary of Mining) joined Urtubey in the inauguration of a production plant for lithium carbonate in the province.[61]

Multiple experts have associated Urtubey with the national government, and have called him a Kirchnerista.[62] Before the election, La Nación referred to Urtubey as the candidate of Kirchnerismo in Salta.[63] The same newspaper also qualified the governor as Kirchnerista after the elections.[64] Página 12 similarly referred to Urtubey as the candidate aligned with Cristina Kirchner and the national government.[65] The local newspaper, El Tribuno, also characterized Urtubey as aligned with the national administration.[66]

Urtubey has never held a position in the national government.

At the local level, Urtubey's main opposition and runner-up was a major soy bean farmer aligned with Mauricio Macri, representing the main opposition to the national government.[67] This opposition candidate also received the support of a former Salta governor who belongs to the Peronist party and opposed the President.[68] However, another competing candidate, Walter Wayar, also aligned himself with the national government and considered himself the real representative of the national government in the province.[69] Wayar had the support of the national government, including the national Ministro de Planificación (Minister of Planning) and the leader of the umbrella union organization (Confederación General del Trabajo, CGT) at the time aligned with the national government.[70]

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[60] "Por un cuadro de hipotension, Cristina suspendio su agenda." *El Tributo,* [Salta] 12 April 2011 http://www.eltribuno.info/por-un-cuadro-hipotension-cristina-suspendio-su-agenda-n12963;
Veron, Mariana. "Un cuadro de baja presion obligo a la Presidenta a cancelar su agenda." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 13 April 2011
http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1365173-un-cuadro-de-baja-presion-obligo-a-la-presidenta-a-cancelar-su-agenda

[61] "Nueva planta de litio." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 19 March 2011
http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/economia/2-164496-2011-03-19.html

[62] "Cuales son los proximos desafios electorales del Gobierno?" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 14 March 2011
http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1357353-cuales-son-los-proximos-desafios-electorales-del-gobierno

[63] Veron, Mariana. "Agenda de campana para la Presidenta." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 March 2011
http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1358022-agenda-de-campana-para-la-presidenta

[64] Veneranda, Marcelo. "En el PJ se largo la carrera por el 2015." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 18 April 2011
http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1366421-en-el-pj-ya-se-largo-la-carrera-por-el-2015

[65] Kollman, Raul. "Saltando hacia la reeleccion." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 7 April 2011
http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-165738-2011-04-07.html ;
"Corpacci: 'Las elecciones estan ganadas.'" *Página 12,* [Catamarca] 13 March 2011
http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-164090-2011-03-13.html ;
Kollman, Raul. "Saltando hacia la reeleccion." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 7 April 2011
http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-165738-2011-04-07.html

[66] "Urtubey, reelecto con 56%." *El Tributo* [Salta] 12 April 2011
http://www.eltribuno.info/urtubey-reelecto-el-56-n12510

[67] "Cuales son los proximos desafios electorales del Gobierno?" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 14 March 2011
http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1357353-cuales-son-los-proximos-desafios-electorales-del-gobierno ;
Veneranda, Marcelo. "La Casa Rosada apuesta por dos candidatos en Salta." *La Nación,* [Salta] 6 April 2011
http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1363244-la-casa-rosada-apuesta-por-dos-candidatos-en-salta

[68] Kollman, Raul. "Saltando hacia la reeleccion." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 7 April 2011
http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-165738-2011-04-07.html ;
Veneranda, Marcelo. "Urtubey vs. Romero, la batalla de Salta." *La Nación,* [Salta] 8 April 2011
http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1363813-urtubey-vs-romero-la-batalla-de-salta

[69] "Con la implementacion del voto electronico, Salta elige gobernador." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 10 April 2011
http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1364233-recta-final-para-elegir-gobernador-en-salta

[70] Veneranda, Marcelo. "La Casa Rosada apuesta por dos candidatos en Salta." *La Nación,* [Salta] 6 April 2011

2013

In 2013, Salta held competitive legislative elections for three national deputies and senators. In the race for national senators, five parties participated: Frente para la Victoria, Frente Popular Salteño, Salta Somos Todos, Partido Obrero, and Partido Renovador de Salta. In these elections, Frente para la Victoria secured 39.6% of the vote, and Frente Popular Salteño received 24.6% of the vote. In the race for national deputies, ten parties participated. The Frente para la Victoria only secured one seat with 19.2% of the vote, while the Frente Popular Salteño received 21% of the vote.

The governor of Salta, Juan Manuel Urtubey, belongs to the Peronist Party. He participated in the Día de la Lealtad (Day of Loyalty) to commemorate Juan Perón.[71] The governor also participated in the National Peronist Council.[72] In addition, Urtubey supported the Frente para la Victoria list in this election.[73]

The governor made many statements signifying alignment with the national government. At the Día de la Lealtad celebration in the province of Santa Fe, Urtubey spoke in favor of the Frenta para la Victoria candidates and stated that their collective goal was to transform the country in the way Cristina and Néstor Kirchner had done.[74] On the day of the elections, Urtubey wished an ill Cristina Kirchner a quick and speedy recovery, and called the elections a transcendental choice for the continuation of democracy.[75] In addition, on the anniversary of Néstor Kirchner's death, Urtubey made a speech commending Néstor for changing Argentina forever.[76] Moreover, before the legislative elections, influential figures from the Peronist party converged to affirm their support for Cristina Kirchner and her platform; Urtubey attended this meeting.[77] Finally, in a public act in the City of Buenos Aires, the governor delivered a public speech in which he said he strongly supported Cristina Kirchner's administration.[78]

Urtubey was received in Buenos Aires by the President's Chief of Staff following the legislative elections. They celebrated the party's victory in the elections and talked about

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http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1363244-la-casa-rosada-apuesta-por-dos-candidatos-en-salta

[71] "Daniel Scioli: "Se viene la decada del desarrollo."" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 October 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1630090-daniel-scioli-se-viene-la-decada-del-desarrollo

[72] "Se reúne el Consejo del PJ en busca de unidad."*La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 September 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1624330-se-reune-el-consejo-del-pj-en-busca-de-unidad
"Daniel Scioli destacó la "defense irrestricta" del Consejo del PJ a Cristina Kirchner."*La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 30 September 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1624715-daniel-scioli-vuelve-a-reunir-al-pj-nacional-tras-cinco-meses-de-inactividad

[73] "Ganadores y perdedores entre los presidenciables para 2015." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1633209-ganadores-y-perdedores-entre-los-presidenciables-para-2015

[74] "Daniel Scioli: "Se viene la decada del desarrollo."" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 October 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1630090-daniel-scioli-se-viene-la-decada-del-desarrollo
Tizziani, Juan Carlos. "El Turco jamas arrugo." *Página 12,* [Santa Fe] 18 October 2013. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/suplementos/rosario/10-41038-2013-10-18.html

[75] "Como se vive la eleccion en las provincias." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 October 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1632955-como-se-vive-la-eleccion-en-las-provincias

[76] "El homenaje a Nestor Kirchner." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 27 October 2013. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-232245-2013-10-27.html

[77] Bossi, Jesica. "Se reune el Consejo del PJ en busca de unidad." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 September 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1624330-se-reune-el-consejo-del-pj-en-busca-de-unidad

[78] "Con vistas a 2015, llamó el PJ porteño a movilizarse."*La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 November 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1642383-con-vistas-a-2015-llamo-el-pj-porteno-a-movilizarse

building houses in Salta for families in need.[79] Additionally, the President invited Urtubey to San Juan where Peronist leaders held a ceremony for injured governor José Gioja.[80]

News outlets identified the governor and his legislative candidates as Kirchnerista.[81] In fact, after 2013 electoral victory, La Nación identified Uturbey as a potential presidential candidate for 2015 elections.[82] Moreover, La Nación indicated that Kirchnerismo in Salta relied on Urtubey as the regional face of the party.[83] At the same time, however, the same newspaper denoted that Urtubey had a strong relationship with Sergio Massa – a dissident Peronist and member of the Frente Revovador;[84] and that this relationship could subsequently weaken Urtubey's closeness with the national government in the near future.[85]

Urtubey has never held a position in the national government.

At the local level, the main opposition to the governor's party includes a faction of the Peronist party and a left party (Partido Obrero), both also in opposition to the national government.[86]

[79] "Una felicitacion en la Rosada." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 14 November 2013. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-233572-2013-11-14.html

[80] "Pronostico reservado." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 13 October 2013. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-231170-2013-10-13.html

[81] Bordon, Jose. "En Santa Fe el PJ reunió a los jefes provinciales." *La Nación,* [Santa Fe] 18 October 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1630192-en-santa-fe-el-pj-reunio-a-los-jefes-provinciales
"Dudas sobre el acto de cierre de la campaña."*La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 20 October 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1630814-dudas-sobre-el-acto-de-cierre-de-la-campana
"Reñida elección entre Uturbey, Romero y el PO." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1633201-renida-eleccion-entre-urtubey-romero-y-el-po
"Salta: se impuso el Kirchnerismo en las dos cámaras legislativas."*La Nación,* [Salta] 10 November 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1637109-salta-se-impuso-el-Kirchnerismo-en-las-dos-camaras-legislativas

[82] Veron, Mariana. "El gobierno alienta candidatos para frenar a Scioli y a Massa."*La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 November 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1638962-el-gobierno-alienta-candidatos-para-frenar-a-scioli-y-a-massa

[83] "Dudas sobre el acto de cierre de la campana." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 20 October 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1630814-dudas-sobre-el-acto-de-cierre-de-la-campana

[84] Ybarra, Gustavo. "Massa busca armar un bloque propio en el Senado, pero por ahora no hace pie." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 11 November 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1637097-massa-busca-armar-un-bloque-propio-en-el-senado-pero-por-ahora-no-hace-pie

[85] Serra, Laura. "El Gobierno busca contener a la tropa propia en Diputados." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 October 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1633544-el-gobierno-busca-contener-a-la-tropa-propia-en-diputados

[86] "Los nuevos rostros de Salta en el Congreso de la Nación."*El Tribuno*, [Salta] 30 October 2013. http://www.eltribuno.info/los-nuevos-rostros-salta-el-congreso-la-nacion-n338321

San Juan

2007

In 2007 San Juan elected a governor, a vice-governor, and 34 local deputies.[1] Nine coalitions competed for the local executive, and two garnered a significant portion of the vote: Frente para la Victoria and Frente para el Cambio.[2] José Luis Gioja, from Frente para la Victoria, was reelected with 61.1% of the vote. Frente para el Cambio came in second with 24.5% of the vote.[3]

The governor, José Luis Gioja, belongs to the Peronist Party. La Nación newspaper described the governor as a historic member of Peronism.[4] Moreover, at the time of the election Gioja was the president of the party in San Juan.[5] Additionally, the governor used the Frente para la Victoria party tag in this election.[6]

Gioja expressed his support for the national administration on numerous occasions. The night of the election, the governor predicted that Cristina Kirchner would win the forthcoming presidential election.[7] He also declared that San Juan was part of the national political project headed by Néstor Kirchner.[8] Additionally, Gioja thanked Néstor Kirchner for supporting the province.[9] After the election, the governor expressed his thought that Néstor Kirchner was the most representative figure of the Peronist Party and thus proposed that he became the president of the Party at the national level. Gioja also asserted that the province had benefitted from the national government's policies throughout Kirchner's administration. Additionally, the governor believed the dialogue between the provinces and the national government would continue if Cristina Kirchner was elected president.[10] He also declared that Cristina Kirchner would be a

[1] In 2007 San Juan also elected president, vice-president, and three national deputies. However, the elections were not concurrent.
[2] Ybarra, Gustavo. "Gioja busca ser reelegido con el aval Kirchnerista". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 12 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/933907-gioja-busca-ser-reelegido-con-el-aval-Kirchnerista.
[3] "Elecciones en San Juan: Gioja consiguió la reelección". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 12 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/933946-elecciones-en-san-juan-gioja-consiguio-la-reeleccion.
[4] Ybarra, Gustavo. "Gioja busca ser reelegido con el aval Kirchnerista". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 12 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/933907-gioja-busca-ser-reelegido-con-el-aval-Kirchnerista.
[5] "Elecciones sanjuaninas". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 11 August 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-89555-2007-08-11.html.
[6] Ybarra, Gustavo. "San Juan se prepara para darle un triunfo electoral a Kirchner". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 11 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/933619-san-juan-se-prepara-para-darle-un-triunfo-electoral-a-kirchner.
[7] "Elecciones en San Juan: Gioja consiguió la reelección". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 12 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/933946-elecciones-en-san-juan-gioja-consiguio-la-reeleccion.
[8] Piqué, Martín. "Gioja tuvo una holgada reelección". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 13 August 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-89643-2007-08-13.html.
[9] "José Luis Gioja celebró el triunfo: "Optamos por no volver atrás"". *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 12 August 2007. http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=235816.
[10] Piqué, Martín. ""El PJ va a seguir siendo la base de sustento político del Gobierno"". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 14 August 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-89669-2007-08-14.html.

great stateswoman.[11] Furthermore, Gioja affirmed that the local Peronist Party would support Cristina Kirchner and Julio Cobos (the vice-presidential candidate) in the forthcoming election.[12]

The governor participated in several public acts and meetings with members of the national government. Before the election, Gioja received Cristina Kirchner in San Juan and attended a talk she gave at the Congreso Internacional de Filosofía (International Congress of Philosophy).[13] Other aligned governors also participated in the event.[14] Moreover, the governor signed a number of agreements with Néstor Kirchner; some members of the cabinet were also present at the event.[15] The same day, Gioja attended the swearing-in ceremony of the Ministro de Economía (Minister of Economy) in Buenos Aires.[16] Néstor and Cristina Kirchner, several cabinet members, and other aligned governor also participated in the ceremony.[17] The governor also attended Cristina Kirchner's first public act as a presidential candidate; Néstor Kirchner, several members of the cabinet and some aligned governors also attended the event.[18] Additionally, the Ministro de Salud (Minister of Health) visited San Juan and participated in several events with Gioja.[19] The governor also announced that the province would offer training in mining in an event attended by the Secretario de Minería (Secretary of Mining).[20] Moreover, Gioja signed an agreement with the Head of the Programa de Atención Médica Integral (Program of Integral Medical Care) during the campaign.[21] The governor also presided a bidding act with the Head of Vialidad Nacional (Roads and Highways Department).[22] The night of the election, Néstor and Cristina Kirchner, the vice-president, the Ministro de Salud, the Ministro del Interior (Minister of Interior), and the FPV vice-presidential candidate called Gioja to congratulate him

[11] Piqué, Martín. ""El PJ va a seguir siendo la base de sustento político del Gobierno"". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 14 August 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-89669-2007-08-14.html.
[12] Leiva, Claudio. "El giojismo tiene candidatos para los comicios de octubre". *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 26 August 2007. http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=238133.
[13] "Cristina eligió el ambiente filosófico para estrenar su candidatura". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 12 July 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/925082-cristina-eligio-el-ambiente-filosofico-para-estrenar-su-candidatura.
[14] "No hay que asustarse ante lo nuevo". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 13 July 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-88051-2007-07-13.html.
[15] "Cierran trato para financiar otro teatro y un estadio para San Juan". *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 17 July 2007. http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=231507.
[16] "Estuvo todo el Gabinete, pero la UIA movilizó hasta el último afiliado". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 18 July 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/88278-28244-2007-07-18.html.
[17] "Estuvo todo el Gabinete, pero la UIA movilizó hasta el último afiliado". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 18 July 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/88278-28244-2007-07-18.html.
[18] "Cristina lanzó su candidatura presidencial en acto multitudinario". *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 19 July 2007. http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=231810.
[19] "Ginés González concluye su visita a San Juan con un acto en Pocito". *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 20 July 2007. http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=232001 ; "Ginés González García entregó ambulancias, equipamiento para consultorios, electrocardiógrafos, firmó convenio con la UNSJ y aportará a la unidad de cirugía cardiovascular de nuevo hospital Rawson". *La Séptima Digital,* [San Juan] 20 July 2007. http://www.laseptima.info/noticias/3080 ; "El ministro de Salud de la Nación visitó las obras del nuevo hospital Rawson". *La Séptima Digital,* [San Juan] 20 July 2007. http://www.laseptima.info/noticias/3081.
[20] "Dictarán cursos de minería". *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 6 August 2007. http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=234731.
[21] "Convenio con PAMI para miniturismo al Valle de la Luna". *La Séptima Digital,* [San Juan] 7 August 2007. http://www.laseptima.info/noticias/3338.
[22] "Corredor bioceánico: licitan un tramo y firman acta para San Guillermo". *La Séptima Digital,* [San Juan] 10 August 2007. http://www.laseptima.info/noticias/3400.

for the results.[23] After the election, the governor attended a campaign act headed by Cristina Kirchner and her vice-presidential candidate, which was also attended by Néstor Kirchner, several members of the cabinet, and a number of aligned governors.[24] Gioja also signed an agreement with the Secretaria de Ambiente y Desarrollo Sustentable (Secretary of Environment and Sustainable Development).[25] Additionally, the governor participated in an event organized by the Unión Industrial Argentina (Argentina's Industrial Union); Néstor and Cristina Kirchner, as well as other cabinet members, also attended the event.[26] Gioja also had a meeting with the Jefe del Ejército (Chief of Army).[27] Finally, the governor headed a public act with the Ministro de Educación (Minister of Education) in San Juan.[28]

La Nación and Página 12 newspapers interpreted Gioja's reelection as a victory for the national government.[29] Moreover, Página 12 referred to the governor as Kirchnerista.[30] A local newspaper also stated that Gioja was clearly aligned with the national administration.[31]

The governor never held an appointed position in the national government for the 2003-2007 period. Gioja became the governor of the province in 2003.[32]

At the local level, Frente para el Cambio was weakly aligned with the national government. Página 12 depicted the candidate who headed the Frente para el Cambio ticket as Kirchnerista.[33]Moreover, La Nación stated that although the Frente para el Cambio candidate did not support Néstor Kirchner in the 2003 presidential election, he aligned himself with the national government afterwards.[34] After the election, the Frente para el Cambio candidate

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[23] "Elecciones en San Juan: Gioja consiguió la reelección". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 12 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/933946-elecciones-en-san-juan-gioja-consiguio-la-reeleccion ; Ybarra, Gustavo. "Gioja obtuvo su reelección en San Juan". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 13 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/934120-gioja-obtuvo-su-reeleccion-en-san-juan ; Piqué, Martín. "Gioja tuvo una holgada reelección". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 13 August 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-89643-2007-08-13.html.

[24] "Cristina Fernández y Julio Cobos lanzaron la fórmula oficialista". *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 14 August 2007. http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=236151.

[25] "Picolotti y Gioja firmaron acuerdo para cerrar basurales a cielo abierto". *La Séptima Digital,* [San Juan] 15 August 2007. http://www.laseptima.info/noticias/3463.

[26] Pérez, Elizabeth y Pestarino, Silvina. "La Nación financiará dos nuevas escuelas en San Juan". *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 7 September 2007. http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=240135.

[27] "El Gobernador Gioja se reunió con el Jefe del Ejército Argentino". *La Séptima Digital,* [San Juan] 7 September 2007. http://www.laseptima.info/noticias/3816.

[28] Walter, Miriam. "Filmus prometió al menos 30 escuelas nuevas para San Juan". *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 11 September 2007. http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=240886.

[29] "Elecciones en San Juan: Gioja consiguió la reelección". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 12 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/933946-elecciones-en-san-juan-gioja-consiguio-la-reeleccion ; "Contundente victoria de Alperovich en Tucumán". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 26 August 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-90345-2007-08-26.html.

[30] Kollmann, Raúl. "Cinco domingos electorales". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 5 August 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-89244-2007-08-05.html.

[31] "Hombre personalista y multifunción". *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 12 August 2007. http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=235625.

[32] "Gioja fue reelecto en San Juan". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 12 August 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-89646-2007-08-12.html.

[33] Kollmann, Raúl. "Cinco domingos electorales". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 5 August 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-89244-2007-08-05.html.

[34] Ybarra, Gustavo. "San Juan se prepara para darle un triunfo electoral a Kirchner". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 11 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/933619-san-juan-se-prepara-para-darle-un-triunfo-electoral-a-kirchner.

attended the campaign act headed by Cristina Kirchner and Julio Cobos.[35] He also declared that he would support Cristina Kirchner's candidacy in the forthcoming presidential election.[36]

2009

In 2009 San Juan elected three national deputies.[37] Seven coalitions competed in the election, and three garnered a significant portion of the vote: Frente para la Victoria, Frente Unión por San Juan, and Acuerdo Cívico y Social. Frente para la Victoria, the coalition supported by the governor, won the election with 56.2% of the vote.[38] Frente Unión por San Juan came in second with 18.9% of the vote, and Acuerdo Cívico y Social came in third.[39]

The incumbent governor, José Luis Gioja, belongs to the Peronist Party. La Nación newspaper described the governor as a provincial Peronist leader.[40] Página 12 newspaper also referred to Gioja as a Peronist governor.[41] Moreover, the coalition supported by the governor used the Frente para la Victoria party tag in this election.[42]

Discursively, Gioja expressed his alignment with the President in almost every speech and media appearance in which he referred to the national administration. Before the election, the governor thanked Néstor and Cristina Kirchner for bringing public works to the province.[43] After the election, Gioja expressed that the Peronist Party had to defend Cristina Kirchner to guarantee the governability of the country.[44] He also praised the President for the round of talks she had initiated with different political sectors after the election.[45] Additionally, the governor supported the political reform process proposed by Cristina Kirchner.[46]

Gioja participated in several meetings and public acts with members of the national government. Before the election, the governor participated in a public act headed by Cristina Kirchner in the province of Mendoza; other aligned governors also attended the event.[47] Gioja

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[35] "Cristina lanzó su candidatura presidencial en acto multitudinario". *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 19 July 2007. http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=231810.
[36] "Roberto Basualdo entregó subsidios". *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 15 August 2007. http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=236351.
[37] "Provincia por provincia, cómo se resuelve la pelea por el nuevo poder". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144475-provincia-por-provincia-como-se-resuelve-la-pelea-por-el-nuevo-poder.
[38] "Tercer escaño, con suspenso en San Juan". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144803-tercer-escano-con-suspenso-en-san-juan.
[39]"Tercer escaño, con suspenso en San Juan". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144803-tercer-escano-con-suspenso-en-san-juan.
[40] Morales Solá, Joaquín. "Los últimos días de tranquilidad en la política". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 21 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1141609-los-ultimos-dias-de-tranquilidad-en-la-politica.
[41] Piqué, Martín. "Scioli le hace frente al virus". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 3 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-127680-2009-07-03.html.
[42] "Tercer escaño, con suspenso en San Juan". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144803-tercer-escano-con-suspenso-en-san-juan.
[43] Martínez, Gustavo. ""Cuando llegamos acá habían hierros, sueños y anhelos"". *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 19 June 2009. http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=348228.
[44] Abrevaya, Sebastián. ""Una rosca tampoco sirve"". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 3 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-127681-2009-07-03.html.
[45] "Gioja celebró la convocatoria que Cristina hizo ayer desde Tucumán". *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 10 July 2009. http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=351801.
[46] "Gioja defendió la propuesta de internas abiertas y simultáneas". *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 25 July 2009. http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=354222.
[47] "CFK: "Yo trabajo por el bienestar de todos los argentinos"". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 28 May 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-125723-2009-05-28.html.

also signed two separate agreements with the Ministra de Defensa (Minister of Defense) and the Ministro de Educación (Minister of Education).[48] Additionally, the governor spoke at the closure of the V Congreso Argentino de Administración Pública (Fifth Argentine Congress of Public Administration); the Ministro de Educación and the Vicejefe de Gabinete (Vice-Chief of Staff) also participated in the event.[49] Moreover, Gioja and the Ministra de Defensa headed a public act to commemorate the 199 anniversary of the Army.[50] The governor also attended a public act headed by Cristina Kirchner in Buenos Aires; several members of her cabinet and a number of aligned governors -including Gioja- also participated in the event.[51] Furthermore, Gioja headed a public act with a high ranking official from the Ministerio de Desarrollo Social (Minister of Social Development).[52] Additionally, Cristina Kirchner visited the province and headed two public acts with the governor.[53] The Ministro de Trabajo (Minister of Labor) also travelled to San Juan and gave a press conference with Gioja and other national authorities.[54] The governor and the Ministro de Trabajo signed an agreement during this visit.[55] The night of the election, Cristina Kirchner and the Ministro del Interior (Minister of Interior) called Gioja to congratulate him for the results.[56] Néstor Kirchner also called him the day after the election.[57] After the election, the governor attended two different swearing-in ceremonies in Buenos Aires.[58] Cristina Kirchner, several members of the cabinet, and other aligned governors were also present at the

[48] "San Juan concretó la compra de la Estancia Manantiales". *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 29 May 2009. http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=344846 ; "El gobierno provincia firmó un convenio bilateral sobre inversión educativa con el Ministerio de Educación de la Nación". *La Séptima Digital,* [San Juan] 29 May 2009. http://laseptima.info/noticias/15147.

[49] "Culminó el V Congreso Argentino de Administración Pública". *La Séptima Digital,* [San Juan] 29 May 2009. http://laseptima.info/noticias/15148.

[50] "Multitudinario desfile por el Día del Ejército". *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 29 May 2009. http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=344831.

[51] "Millonario fondo de ayuda a los productores vitivinícolas". *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 10 June 2009. http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=346945.

[52] "Gioja presidió entrega de pensiones no contributivas". *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 10 June 2009. http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=346900.

[53] "Energía desde San Juan". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 19 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/economia/subnotas/126891-40608-2009-06-19.html ; "El dique Los Caracoles comenzó a generar energía y se avanzó en la licitación del túnel por Agua Negra". *La Séptima Digital,* [San Juan] 18 June 2009. http://laseptima.info/noticias/15531 ; "Cristina inauguró el nuevo hospital Rawson y entregó fondos para terminar la última fase". *La Séptima Digital,* [San Juan] 18 June 2009. http://laseptima.info/noticias/15532.

[54] "Carlos Tomada: Preservamos el empleo". *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 24 June 2009. http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=349242 ; ""Tenemos políticas muy activas en dirección a preservar los puestos de trabajo, es uno de los objetivos centrales para enfrentar la crisis"". *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 24 June 2009. http://laseptima.info/noticias/15653.

[55] "Firmaron convenio para poner en marcha plan nacional". *La Séptima Digital,* [San Juan] 24 June 2009. http://laseptima.info/noticias/15663.

[56] ""Gioja presidente suena lindo"". *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 29 June 2009. http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=349997.

[57] ""El gobierno nacional nos tiraba un poquito para atrás"". *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 5 July 2009. http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=350945.

[58] "Asumieron Fernández y Boudou, los recientes ascendidos en el Gabinete". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 8 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1148437-asumieron-fernandez-y-boudou-los-recientes-ascendidos-en-el-gabinete ; "Juro el nuevo Ministro de Salud de la Nación y anunció nuevas medidas para combatir la Gripe A". *La Séptima Digital,* [San Juan] 1 July 2009. http://laseptima.info/noticias/15816 ; "Juraron los nuevos integrantes del Gabinete nacional". *La Séptima Digital,* [San Juan] 8 July 2009. http://laseptima.info/noticias/15968.

events.[59] Finally, Gioja met with the Ministro de Planificación Federal (Minister of Planning) in Buenos Aires.[60]

National newspapers referred to Gioja as Kirchnerista.[61] Página 12 and La Nación described the governor as an ally of the national administration.[62] Furthermore, Página 12 characterized Gioja as close to the national government.[63] A local newspaper also depicted the governor as linked with the national project.[64]

Gioja never held an appointed position in the national government between 2003 and 2009.

At the local level, Frente Unión por San Juan was not aligned with the President. La Nación stated that Frente Unión por San Juan was an alliance between the PRO Party and a faction of the Peronist Party that was not aligned with the national government.[65] Moreover, a local newspaper asserted that Mauricio Macri, the mayor of the City of Buenos Aires who belonged to the national opposition, travelled to San Juan before the election to support the candidates from Frente Unión por San Juan.[66]

2011

In 2011, San Juan held presidential and gubernatorial elections. While multiple coalitions participated, only two received a significant share of the vote – Frente para la Victoria and Frente Unión, Producción y Trabajo. Frente para la Victoria's candidate, José Luis Gioja, won the election with 69.6% of the vote; his closest competitor received only 19.4%.[67]

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[59] "Asumieron Fernández y Boudou, los recientes ascendidos en el Gabinete". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 8 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1148437-asumieron-fernandez-y-boudou-los-recientes-ascendidos-en-el-gabinete ; "Juro el nuevo Ministro de Salud de la Nación y anunció nuevas medidas para combatir la Gripe A". *La Séptima Digital,* [San Juan] 1 July 2009. http://laseptima.info/noticias/15816 ; "Juraron los nuevos integrantes del Gabinete nacional". *La Séptima Digital,* [San Juan] 8 July 2009. http://laseptima.info/noticias/15968.

[60] "Gioja se reunió con el Ministro De Vido por las obras provinciales". *La Séptima Digital,* [San Juan] 2 July 2009. http://laseptima.info/noticias/15851.

[61] Dinatale, Martín. "Unos comicios que redefinieron la lista de presidenciables". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144792-unos-comicios-que-redefinieron-la-lista-de-presidenciables ; Miguez, Daniel. "Los movimientos del días después en Olivos". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 30 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-127493-2009-06-30.html.

[62] Kanenguiser, Martín. "Renuncias en Economía por un convenio con la minera Barrick". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1146895-renuncias-en-economia-por-un-convenio-con-la-minera-barrick ; Wainfeld, Mario. "El sol del 29 viene asomando". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 14 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-126641-2009-06-14.html.

[63] "Llegó la hora de los gobernadores". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 17 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-128403-2009-07-17.html.

[64] "Cristina le da vuelo a la megaobra Comahue-Cuyo". *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 29 May 2009. http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=344774.

[65] "Tercer escaño, con suspenso en San Juan". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144803-tercer-escano-con-suspenso-en-san-juan.

[66] "Mauricio Macri hizo una visita relámpago". *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 20 June 2009. http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=348543.

[67] "Gioja logró en San Juan su tercer mandato consecutivo." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1417343-gioja-logro-en-san-juan-su-tercer-mandato-consecutivo

José Luis Gioja is a Peronist. At his final campaign stop, Gioja invoked the memory of Juan and Eva Perón, and claimed they would want him to continue working in the Province.[68] After the election, the governor participated in a meeting of the Consejo Nacional del Partido Justicialista (National Council of the Peronist Party).[69] Following the meeting, Gioja referred to the group as Peronist governors.[70] Gioja used the Frente para la Victoria party tag in this election.[71]

Throughout the election cycle, Gioja spoke favorably of the national government. He invoked the memory of Néstor Kirchner and claimed he would want his party to continue fighting.[72] In his victory speech, the governor reaffirmed his supportto the national government and specifically praised Cristina Kirchner.[73] Following Cristina Kirchner's victory as President, Gioja congratulated her on Twitter and thanked the majority of the province for voting for her.[74] On the Día de la Militancia (Day of Party Militancy), the governor paid tribute to Néstor Kirchner at his mausoleum and commended Cristina Kirchner and her economic model for promoting growth and social mobility.[75]

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[68] "Ante una multitud, Gioja cerró su campaña en Capital." *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 20 October 2011 http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=485798 ; "Gioja pidió lealtad con la Presidenta y con San Juan." *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 21 October 2011 http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=485852

[69] "Homenaje a Néstor de gobernadores del PJ." *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 17 November 2011 http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=490522 ; Arias, Mariela. "El PJ respaldó a Cristina 'sin especulaciones.'" *La Nación,* [Rio Gallegos] 17 November 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1424008-cumbre-del-pj-en-un-homenaje-a-nestor-kirchner ; "El PJ se reunirá en Río Gallegos." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 3 November 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-180403-2011-11-03.html

[70] "Gioja descartó un recambio en la cúpula peronista." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 November 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1427195-gioja-descarto-un-recambio-en-la-cupula-peronista ; "Gioja y el sostén." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 29 November 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-182278-2011-11-29.html

[71] "Gioja logró en San Juan su tercer mandato consecutivo." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1417343-gioja-logro-en-san-juan-su-tercer-mandato-consecutivo

[72] "Ante una multitud, Gioja cerró su campaña en Capital." *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 20 October 2011 http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=485798 ; "Gioja pidió lealtad con la Presidenta y con San Juan." *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 21 October 2011 http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=485852

[73] "Gioja: 'Las puertas de mi gobierno están abiertas para todos los sanjuaninos.'" *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 23 October 2011 http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=486394 ; "Gioja logró en San Juan su tercer mandato consecutivo." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1417343-gioja-logro-en-san-juan-su-tercer-mandato-consecutivo ; "Amplio voto a candidatos K." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 24 October 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-179613-2011-10-24.html

[74] "Gioja agradeció a los sanjuaninos por el triunfo de Cristina." *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 23 October 2011 http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=486329 ; "Agradecimientos de Gioja por Twitter." *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 24 October 2011 http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=486417

[75] "Homenaje a Néstor de gobernadores del PJ." *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 17 November 2011 http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=490522 ; "El PJ se reunirá en Río Gallegos." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 3 November 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-180403-2011-11-03.html ; "El PJ recordó a Kirchner como 'el mejor militante.'" *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 17 November 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-181454-2011-11-17.html ; "Gioja: 'Argentina va a consolidar este modelo de crecimiento.'" *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 10 December 2011 http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=494626

Before the election, Gioja attended a dinner in Buenos Aires to commemorate the Día de la Industria (Day of Industry). Cristina Kirchner headlined the event and the Ministro de la Producción (Minister of Production) also attended.[76] The Minister of Production later met with Gioja alongside the Ministro de Agricultura, Ganadería, y Pesca (Minister of Agriculture, Cattle, and Fishing) to supply agricultural equipment to the province.[77] Gioja also met with the Ministro de Planificación Federal (Minister of Federal Planning) to discuss sewage and energy projects in the province.[78] The Ministro de Educación (Minister of Education) joined Gioja at a ceremony in San Juan to honor a provincial hero.[79] The Ministro de Turismo (Minister of Tourism) also accompanied Gioja in a provincial celebration.[80] Cristina Kirchner also visited the province to meet with Gioja and join his campaign.[81] The President also communicated with Gioja via teleconference to inaugurate a solar energy plant in the province.[82] Following the election, Gioja participated in a meeting of the National Council of the Peronist Party, which included prominent aligned governors and cabinet officials such as the Ministro del Interior (Minister of the Interior) and the Secretario de Comunicación Pública (Secretary of Public Communication).[83] The governor met with the Ministro de Infraestructura (Minister of Infrastructure) to discuss funding for solar energy.[84] When Cristina Kirchner went to Caracas to meet with Hugo Chávez and Dilma Rousseff, she brought along Gioja, the Ministra de Industria (Minister of Industry), and the leader of the youth militancy organization La Cámpora.[85]

[76] "La delegación sanjuanina cenará con CFK en Tecnopólis." *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 1 September 2011 http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=477765 ; "En Tecnópolis, Gioja y Cristina." *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=477647

[77] "Cooperativa Lechera recibió equipamiento y subsidio para sus tambos." *La Septima Digital,* [San Juan] http://www.laseptimadigital.com.ar/noticias/28525

[78] "Para Gioja fue positiva la visita del ministro de Infraestructura." *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 7 September 2011 http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=478880

[79] "Una multitud entonó los himnos Argentino y a Sarmiento en Casa Natal." *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 10 September 2011 http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=479479

[80] "La Fiesta del Sol." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 23 November 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/sociedad/3-181863-2011-11-23.html

[81] "Gobierno espera a Cristina para el 13 o 14 de octubre." *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 16 September 2011 http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=480274

[82] "CFK y Gioja inauguraron por videoconferencia nueva planta fotovoltaica en Ullum." *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 30 September 2011 http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=482619

[83] "Scioli invitó a Gioja a visitar el mausoleo del ex president." *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 2 November 2011http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=488068 ; "Homenaje a Néstor de gobernadores del PJ." *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 17 November 2011 http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=490522 ; Arias, Mariela. "El PJ respaldó a Cristina 'sin especulaciones.'" *La Nación,* [Rio Gallegos] 17 November 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1424008-cumbre-del-pj-en-un-homenaje-a-nestor-kirchner ; "El PJ se reunirá en Río Gallegos." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 3 November 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-180403-2011-11-03.html ; "El PJ recordó a Kirchner como 'el mejor militante.'" *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 17 November 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-181454-2011-11-17.html

[84] "Gioja visitó el Parque Solar Fotovoltaico de Cañada Honda que comenzará a producir energía en febrero." *La Septima Digital,* [San Juan] http://www.laseptimadigital.com.ar/noticias/29123

[85] "Cristina y Chávez están reunidos en Caracas." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 1 December 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1429173-la-presidenta-se-reune-con-chavez

National and local journalists frequently associated Gioja with the national government and Cristina Kirchner. La Nación referred to Gioja as a Kirchnerista.[86] Another article from the same newspaper called Gioja an aligned with the national government governor.[87] Página 12 referred to Gioja's electoral victory as a landslide for Kirchnerismo.[88] Another article from the same newspaper noted Gioja's alignment with the national government.[89] A local newspaper noted that Gioja talked about Néstor Kirchner in most of his campaign speeches.[90]

Gioja did not hold a position in the national government for 2003-2011.

At the local level, the governor's main electoral opponent was aligned with a member of the national opposition. Several newspaper articles referred to his opponent as an ally of Alberto Rodriguez Saá, who ran against Cristina Kirchner in the presidential election.[91] Página 12 also referred to Basualdo's alliance, Frente Unión, Producción, y Trabajo, as aligned with Rodriguez Saá.[92]

2013

San Juan elected three national deputies in 2013. Several coalitions participated in the legislative election, but only three received a significant amount of the vote – Frente para la Victoria, Compromiso Federal, and Cruzada Renovadora. In the end, Frente para la Victoria won the election with 55.4% of the vote and received two of the national deputies; Compromiso Federal received the last deputy after securing 22.9% of the vote.[93]

The governor of the province, José Luis Gioja, is a Peronist. Before the election, Gioja participated in the meeting of the National Council of the Peronist party.[94] Moreover, a local

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[86] Rosemburg, Jaime. "Seis gobernadores Kirchneristas irán por la reelección." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1411651-seis-gobernadores-Kirchneristas-iran-por-la-reeleccion

[87] "Gioja logró en San Juan su tercer mandato consecutivo." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1417343-gioja-logro-en-san-juan-su-tercer-mandato-consecutivo

[88] Lantos, Nicolas. "Un mapa nacional a tono con el Kirchnerismo." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 2 October 2011

[89] Bruschtein, Julian. "Asuntos de provincia." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 23 October 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-179557-2011-10-23.html

[90] "Ante una multitud, Gioja cerró su campaña en Capital." *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 20 October 2011 http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=485798

[91] "Roberto Basualdo - El empresario que quiere gobernar." *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 14 August 2011 http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=474683 ; "Duras críticas de Rodríguez Saá." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 23 August 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1399904-duras-criticas-de-rodriguez-saa ; "Gioja logró en San Juan su tercer mandato consecutivo." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1417343-gioja-logro-en-san-juan-su-tercer-mandato-consecutivo ; Bruschtein, Julian. "Asuntos de provincia." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 23 October 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-179557-2011-10-23.html

[92] "Amplio voto a candidatos K." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 24 October 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-179613-2011-10-24.html

[93] "Elecciones 2013: mirá los resultados en San Juan." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1633012-elecciones-2013-mira-los-resultados-en-san-juan

[94] "Cumbre del PJ para redefinir la campaña." *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 28 September 2013 http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=592264 ; "Con Gioja presente, el Consejo Nacional del PJ respaldará a los candidatos oficialistas." *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 30 September 2013 http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=592659 ; "Daniel Scioli destacó el rol de Gioja en el Justicialismo." *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 30 September 2013

newspaper referred to the governor as a Peronist.[95] Gioja supported the list that used the Frente para la Victoria party tag.[96]

During the election cycle, Gioja spoke favorably of the national government. At the meeting of the National Council of the Peronist party, Gioja joined other aligned governors in ratifying their support for Cristina Kirchner.[97] In a speech following that meeting, Gioja criticized party members who decided to oppose Cristina Kirchner's government.[98] After Cristina Kirchner became ill, Gioja expressed on Twitter his wishes that the President recovered quickly.[99]

Before the election, Gioja met with the Jefe de Gabinete (Chief of Staff), Ministro de Defensa (Minister of Defense), Secretario General (Secretary General) and several aligned governors at the meeting of the National Council of the Peronist Party.[100] The governor also met with Cristina Kirchner, who inaugurated energy plants in the province accompanied by the Secretary General.[101]

Journalists frequently associated Gioja with Cristina Kirchner and the national government. La Nación referenced a strong victory for Kirchnerismo and Gioja in the

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http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=592692 ; "Reunión del Consejo Nacional del PJ: Entre apoyo a Cristina y elogios de Scioli a Gioja." *Tiempo de San Juan,* [San Juan] 30 September 2013 http://www.tiempodesanjuan.com/politica/2013/9/30/reunion-consejo-nacional-entre-apoyo-cristina-elogios-scioli-gioja-40620.html ; Ybarra, Gustavo. "El PJ se mostró unido detrás del Gobierno, pero atento a 2015." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 1 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1624848-el-pj-se-mostro-unido-detras-del-gobierno-pero-atento-a-2015

[95] "Cumbre del PJ para redefinir la campaña." *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 28 September 2013 http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=592264 ; "Cristina pidió el voto y prometió ayudar al agro." *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 4 October 2013 http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=593141

[96] "Daniel Scioli destacó el rol de Gioja en el Justicialismo." *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 30 September 2013 http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=592692

[97] "Reunión del Consejo Nacional del PJ: Entre apoyo a Cristina y elogios de Scioli a Gioja." *Tiempo de San Juan,* [San Juan] 30 September 2013 http://www.tiempodesanjuan.com/politica/2013/9/30/reunion-consejo-nacional-entre-apoyo-cristina-elogios-scioli-gioja-40620.html ; "Gioja se refirió a las PASO con una de sus frases y los medios nacionales lo reflejaron." *Tiempo de San Juan,* [San Juan] 1 October 2013 http://www.tiempodesanjuan.com/politica/2013/10/1/gioja-refirio-paso-frases-medios-nacionales-reflejaron-40658.html ; Ybarra, Gustavo. "El PJ se mostró unido detrás del Gobierno, pero atento a 2015." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 1 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1624848-el-pj-se-mostro-unido-detras-del-gobierno-pero-atento-a-2015

[98] "Gioja se refirió a las PASO con una de sus frases y los medios nacionales lo reflejaron." *Tiempo de San Juan,* [San Juan] 1 October 2013 http://www.tiempodesanjuan.com/politica/2013/10/1/gioja-refirio-paso-frases-medios-nacionales-reflejaron-40658.html

[99] "Gioja pidió fortaleza para CFK." *Tiempo de San Juan,* [San Juan] 6 October 2013 http://www.tiempodesanjuan.com/politica/2013/10/6/gioja-pidio-fortaleza-para-40935.html

[100] Ybarra, Gustavo. "El PJ se mostró unido detrás del Gobierno, pero atento a 2015." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 1 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1624848-el-pj-se-mostro-unido-detras-del-gobierno-pero-atento-a-2015

[101] Perez, Elizabeth. "En medio de la campaña, Cristina llega a San Juan." *Diario de Cuyo,* [San Juan] 3 October 2013 http://www.diariodecuyo.com.ar/home/new_noticia.php?noticia_id=592972

province.[102] A local newspaper noted a strong political relationship between Gioja and the President.[103]

Gioja did not hold a position in the national government from 2003 to 2013.

At the local level, the opposition candidate had an alignment with the national opposition. La Nación referred to the runner up in the election as a "Macrista," indicating an alignment with national opposition leader Mauricio Macri.[104]

[102] "El Kirchnerismo ganó en San Juan y José Luis Gioja festejó levantando el pulgar." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2013
http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1633256-el-Kirchnerismo-gano-en-san-juan-y-jose-luis-gioja-festejo-levantando-el-pulgar

[103] "Las claves de CFK en San Juan: energía, ayuda y gestos con Gioja." *Tiempo de San Juan,* [San Juan] 3 October 2013
http://www.tiempodesanjuan.com/politica/2013/10/3/claves-juan-energia-ayuda-gestos-gioja-40807.html

[104] "Bajo la sombra del accidente, amplio triunfo del FPV." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2013
http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1633185-bajo-la-sombra-del-accidente-amplio-triunfo-del-fpv

San Luis

2007

In 2007 San Luis elected governor, vice governor, 21 local deputies, and five local senators. Three coalitions competed for the executive: Frente Partido Justicialista, Socialista Popular, and Movimiento por la Dignidad y la Independencia. The incumbent (Alberto Rodríguez Saá from Frente Partido Justicialista) was reelected with 86.2% of the vote and an almost 80% gap with the runner up, Socialista Popular. Alberto Rodríguez Saá and his brother, Adolfo, have been elected governors of San Luis uninterruptedly since the return to democracy in 1983.[1]

Numerous articles in the national newspapers indicated that the governor is a (non-aligned) Peronist.[2] Moreover, a few days after winning the election in San Luis, Rodríguez Saá formalized his presidential candidacy at the headquarters of the Peronist Party in the province.[3]

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[1] Rosemberg, Jaime. "Soy el gobernador más opositor de la Argentina". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 18 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/935674-soy-el-gobernador-mas-opositor-de-la-argentina ; Rosemberg, Jaime. "San Luis: Rodríguez Saá obtuvo la reelección y quiere ser presidente". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 20 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/936202-san-luis-rodriguez-saa-obtuvo-la-reeleccion-y-quiere-ser-presidente ; Jorquera, Miguel. "Una provincia sin oposición". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 18 August 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-89893-2007-08-18.html.

[2] Morales, Juan Pablo. "El peronismo rebelde, en plena definición de su ingeniería electoral". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 21 July 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/927686-el-peronismo-rebelde-en-plena-definicion-de-su-ingenieria-electoral ; Morales Solá, Joaquín. "Macri no descarta competir en octubre". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 25 July 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/928655-macri-no-descarta-competir-en-octubre ; "El PJ disidente anunciará su fórmula en menos de un mes". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 25 July 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/928783-el-pj-disidente-anunciara-su-formula-en-menos-de-un-mes *;* "El PJ le pone condiciones a Macri". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 26 July 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/929023-el-pj-rebelde-le-pone-condiciones-a-macri ; "Peronistas disidentes piden intervenir el PJ bonaerense". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/931706-peronistas-disidentes-piden-intervenir-el-pj-bonaerense ; "Demostración de fuerza del PJ rebelde". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 5 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/931886-demostracion-de-fuerza-del-pj-rebelde ; Obarrio, Mariano. "San Luis aportaría un candidato presidencial". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 13 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/934075-san-luis-aportaria-un-candidato-presidencial ; Rosemberg, Jaime. "Rodríguez Saá, casi sin oposición en San Luis". http://www.lanacion.com.ar/935254-rodriguez-saa-casi-sin-oposicion-en-san-luis ; Rosemberg, Jaime. "Victoria sin sorpresas de Rodríguez Saá en San Luis". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 19 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/935963-victoria-sin-sorpresas-de-rodriguez-saa-en-san-luis ; Rosemberg, Jaime. "San Luis: Rodríguez Saá obtuvo la reelección y quiere ser presidente". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 20 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/936202-san-luis-rodriguez-saa-obtuvo-la-reeleccion-y-quiere-ser-presidente ; Rosemberg, Jaime. "Rodríguez Saá será candidato a presidente". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 23 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/937049-rodriguez-saa-sera-candidato-a-presidente ; "Rodríguez Saá formalizó su candidatura presidencial". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/937605-rodriguez-saa-formalizo-su-candidatura-presidencial ; Serra, Laura. "La oposición teme un fraude en octubre". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 7 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/941744-la-oposicion-teme-un-fraude-en-octubre ; Abrevaya, Sebastián. "Blumberg con el peronismo anti K". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 5 August 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-89232-2007-08-05.html ; Jorquera, Miguel. "Rodríguez Saá quiere apurar su candidatura pero no hay consenso". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 21 August 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-90037-2007-08-21.html.

[3] "Rodríguez Saá formalizó su candidatura presidencial". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/937605-rodriguez-saa-formalizo-su-candidatura-presidencial ; "Lanzó oficialmente su

He also affirmed that he himself (not Cristina Kirchner) was the authentic Peronist presidential candidate.[4] Rodríguez Saá ran with the Frente Partido Justicialista, and not the Frente para la Victoria, party tag.[5]

Discursively, the governor expressed his opposition to the President in almost every newspaper article in which he referred to the national administration. Before the election, Rodríguez Saá declared that he considered himself the only opposition governor in the country.[6] After winning the local election and announcing his presidential candidacy, the governor affirmed that the next president would be one that belonged to the Peronist Party, and not to Frente para la Victoria.[7] In addition, he criticized President Néstor Kirchner for overtaking Peronism.[8] The governor also declared that Kirchner had set up an inquisition and that the President was a fundamentalist in his accumulation of power.[9] Furthermore, Rodríguez Saá asserted that Néstor Kirchner was the worst President in the history of the country and criticized his wife, Cristina Kirchner, for despising Peronism.[10] On another occasion Rodríguez Saá described Néstor Kirchner as a bully and warned that if his wife became President the country would blow up in her face.[11]

Rodríguez Saá did not participate in any public acts with members of the national government. Conversely, he shared several meetings and public acts with influential Peronists opposed to the federal government.[12] A few days after the election in San Luis, these opposition

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candidatura a Presidente de la Nación". *Periodistas en la Red,* [San Luis] 27 August 2007. http://www.periodistasenlared.info/agosto07-27/nota4.htm.

[4] "Quiero que el país sea como San Luis". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 25 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/937781-quiero-que-el-pais-sea-como-san-luis.

[5] "Rodríguez Saá fue reelecto en San Luis". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 19 August 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-89967-2007-08-19.html.

[6] Rosemberg, Jaime. "Soy el gobernador más opositor de la Argentina". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 18 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/935674-soy-el-gobernador-mas-opositor-de-la-argentina.

[7] "Rodríguez Saá formalizó su candidatura presidencial". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/937605-rodriguez-saa-formalizo-su-candidatura-presidencial ; "Lanzó oficialmente su candidatura a Presidente de la Nación". *Periodistas en la Red,* [San Luis] 27 August 2007. http://www.periodistasenlared.info/agosto07-27/nota4.htm.

[8] "Rodríguez Saá formalizó su candidatura presidencial". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/937605-rodriguez-saa-formalizo-su-candidatura-presidencial

[9] Schurman, Diego. "Kirchner instauró una Inquisición". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 2 September 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/reportajes/25-90690-2007-09-02.html.

[10] Schurman, Diego. "Kirchner instauró una Inquisición". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 2 September 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/reportajes/25-90690-2007-09-02.html.

[11] "Impugnan el acuerdo oficialista". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 16 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/944549-impugnan-el-acuerdo-oficialista.

[12] Morales, Juan Pablo. "El peronismo rebelde, en plena definición de su ingeniería electoral". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 21 July 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/927686-el-peronismo-rebelde-en-plena-definicion-de-su-ingenieria-electoral ; Morales Solá, Joaquín. "Macri no descarta competir en octubre". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 25 July 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/928655-macri-no-descarta-competir-en-octubre ; "El PJ disidente anunciará su fórmula en menos de un mes". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 25 July 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/928783-el-pj-disidente-anunciara-su-formula-en-menos-de-un-mes *;* "El PJ le pone condiciones a Macri". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 26 July 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/929023-el-pj-rebelde-le-pone-condiciones-a-macri ; "Peronistas disidentes piden intervenir el PJ bonaerense". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/931706-peronistas-disidentes-piden-intervenir-el-pj-bonaerense ; "Demostración de fuerza del PJ rebelde". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 5 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/931886-demostracion-de-fuerza-del-pj-rebelde ; Pertot, Werner. "Blumberg se corta solo y se lanza hoy como candidato a gobernador". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 27 July 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-88782-2007-07-27.html ; "En campaña". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 4

Peronist leaders collectively appointed Rodríguez Saá as their Presidential candidate against Cristina Kirchner for the forthcoming national election.[13] After that event, Rodríguez Saá continued holding meetings with members of the national opposition, including a non-aligned former President.[14]

Both La Nación and Página 12 newspapers depicted Rodríguez Saá as an anti-Kirchnerista and a dissenting Peronist in numerous articles.[15] Moreover, an article from La Nación described Rodríguez Saá as a leader that opposes Néstor Kirchner's government.[16] Referring to Rodríguez Saá's predictable victory in San Luis, Página 12 stated that it was very clear that a fierce opposition to the national government would govern San Luis for the following

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August 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-89169-2007-08-04.html ; Abrevaya, Sebastián. "Blumberg con el peronismo anti K". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 5 August 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-89232-2007-08-05.html

[13] Rosemberg, Jaime. "Rodríguez Saá será candidato a presidente". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 23 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/937049-rodriguez-saa-sera-candidato-a-presidente ; Schurman, Diego. "Los anti K se dividieron entre el El Alberto y Sosbich". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 23 August 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-90138-2007-08-23.html.

[14] "Porque los hermanos sean unidos". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 25 August 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-90268-2007-08-25.html ; "Lavagna suma al Partido Demócrata". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/938496-lavagna-suma-al-partido-democrata.

[15] Morales, Juan Pablo. "El peronismo rebelde, en plena definición de su ingeniería electoral". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 21 July 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/927686-el-peronismo-rebelde-en-plena-definicion-de-su-ingenieria-electoral ; Morales Solá, Joaquín. "Macri no descarta competir en octubre". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 25 July 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/928655-macri-no-descarta-competir-en-octubre ; "El PJ disidente anunciará su fórmula en menos de un mes". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 25 July 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/928783-el-pj-disidente-anunciara-su-formula-en-menos-de-un-mes *;* "El PJ le pone condiciones a Macri". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 26 July 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/929023-el-pj-rebelde-le-pone-condiciones-a-macri ; "Peronistas disidentes piden intervenir el PJ bonaerense". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/931706-peronistas-disidentes-piden-intervenir-el-pj-bonaerense ; "Demostración de fuerza del PJ rebelde". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 5 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/931886-demostracion-de-fuerza-del-pj-rebelde ; Obarrio, Mariano. "San Luis aportaría un candidato presidencial". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 13 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/934075-san-luis-aportaria-un-candidato-presidencial ; Rosemberg, Jaime. "Rodríguez Saá, casi sin oposición en San Luis". http://www.lanacion.com.ar/935254-rodriguez-saa-casi-sin-oposicion-en-san-luis ; Rosemberg, Jaime. "Victoria sin sorpresas de Rodríguez Saá en San Luis". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 19 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/935963-victoria-sin-sorpresas-de-rodriguez-saa-en-san-luis ; Rosemberg, Jaime. "San Luis: Rodríguez Saá obtuvo la reelección y quiere ser presidente". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 20 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/936202-san-luis-rodriguez-saa-obtuvo-la-reeleccion-y-quiere-ser-presidente ; Rosemberg, Jaime. "Rodríguez Saá será candidato a presidente". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 23 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/937049-rodriguez-saa-sera-candidato-a-presidente ; "Rodríguez Saá formalizó su candidatura presidencial". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/937605-rodriguez-saa-formalizo-su-candidatura-presidencial ; Serra, Laura. "La oposición teme un fraude en octubre". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 7 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/941744-la-oposicion-teme-un-fraude-en-octubre ; "En campaña". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 4 August 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-89169-2007-08-04.html ; Abrevaya, Sebastián. "Blumberg con el peronismo anti K". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 5 August 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-89232-2007-08-05.html ; Schurman, Diego. "Los anti K se dividieron entre el El Alberto y Sosbich". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 23 August 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-90138-2007-08-23.html.

[16] Rosemberg, Jaime. "San Luis: Rodríguez Saá obtuvo la reelección y quiere ser presidente". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 20 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/936202-san-luis-rodriguez-saa-obtuvo-la-reeleccion-y-quiere-ser-presidente.

four years.[17] Finally, a local newspaper also referred to Rodríguez Saá as a non-aligned governor.[18]

Rodríguez Saá never held an appointed position in the national government for the 2003-2007 period.

At the local level, neither the Socialista Popular party nor Movimiento por la Dignidad y la Independencia were aligned with the national government.[19] According to the national newspapers, the Kirchnerista candidate dropped out of the competition before the election.[20] In fact, Página 12 described Kirchnerismo in the province as decimated and without candidates.[21]

2009

In 2009 San Luis elected three national deputies, four local senators, and 22 local deputies. Seven alliances competed for the national seats. The coalition supported by the governor, Frente Justicialista Es Posible, won the election with 52.7% of the vote and therefore obtained the three national deputy seats. Frente Federal, Cívico y Social came in second with a meager 15.7% of the vote.

The governor, Alberto Rodríguez Saá, is a Peronist not aligned with the national government.[22] The coalition supported by the governor in the election ran with the Frente Justicialista es Posible and not the Frente para la Victoria party tag.[23]

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[17] Kollmann, Raúl. "Cinco domingos electorales". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 5 August 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-89244-2007-08-05.html.

[18] "Lanzó oficialmente su candidatura a Presidente de la Nación". *Periodistas en la Red* [San Luis] 27 August 2007. http://www.periodistasenlared.info/agosto07-27/nota4.htm.

[19] "Rodríguez Saá corre solo". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 17 August 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-89841-2007-08-17.html ; Rosemberg, Jaime. "Victoria sin sorpresas de Rodríguez Saá en San Luis". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 19 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/935963-victoria-sin-sorpresas-de-rodriguez-saa-en-san-luis

[20] Verón, Mariana. "Calendario electoral clave para el gobierno". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 12 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/933909-calendario-electoral-clave-para-el-gobierno ; "El Alberto ya corre solo y piensa en otra candidatura". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 19 August 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-89950-2007-08-19.html.

[21] Jorquera, Miguel. "Una provincia sin oposición". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 18 August 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-89893-2007-08-18.html.

[22] Crettaz, José. "Casi 300 ruralistas quieren ser legisladores provinciales o ediles". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 7 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1136593-casi-300-ruralistas-quieren-ser-legisladores-provinciales-o-ediles ; Fidanza, Eduardo. "El ajedrez electoral argentino". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 9 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1137115-el-ajedrez-electoral-argentino ; Crettaz, José. "El agro, sin reuniones secretas". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 16 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1150960-el-agro-sin-reuniones-secretas ; Serra, Laura. "Pro quiere aglutinar al peronismo no Kirchnerista". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1155634-pro-quiere-aglutinar-al-peronismo-no-Kirchnerista ; "Mensajes de texto". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 8 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-126276-2009-06-08.html ; "Pronósticos apocalípticos". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 1 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-127534-2009-07-01.html ; "¿Cómo no lo voy a atender?". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 8 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/127912-41036-2009-07-08.html ; Pertot, Werner. "La derecha armó su selección para el diálogo". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 17 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-128405-2009-07-17.html ; "Llegó la hora de los gobernadores". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 17 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-128403-2009-07-17.html.

[23] Rosemberg, Jaime. "Rodríguez Saá cerró su campaña porteña con críticas e ironías". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1142829-rodriguez-saa-cerro-su-campana-portena-con-criticas-e-ironias ;

The governor's expressions of opposition to the President appeared in almost every newspaper article in which he referred to the national administration. Rodríguez Saá predicted that the national government would commit fraud in the legislative election.[24] The governor also stated that the authentic Peronism would defeat Néstor Kirchner's "dark" Peronism.[25] Additionally, he accused Kirchnerismo of having stolen the Peronist Party.[26] He also affirmed that he would not let Cristina and Néstor Kirchner blame the Peronist Party for their defeat in the legislative election.[27] In fact, by 2009 he had already announced that he would run for President in the 2011 election against Kirchnerismo.[28] The governor complained that Cristina Kirchner never spoke with him during his mandate, especially to discuss national transfers to the province.[29]

Rodríguez Saá did not share any public acts with members of the national government; he shared a number of meetings with groups and parties in opposition to the President. The governor participated in the closing of the campaign of opposition candidates in the City of Buenos Aires; several members of the opposition to the national government attended this event.[30] Moreover, Rodríguez Saá, along with other opposition leaders, participated in a meeting organized by the rural sector, who opposed the government's economic policies. This meeting was aimed at designing a joint legislative agenda.[31]

"Provincia por provincia, cómo se resuelve la pelea por el nuevo poder". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144475-provincia-por-provincia-como-se-resuelve-la-pelea-por-el-nuevo-poder ; "El Kirchnerismo sufrió su primera derrota en Santa Cruz". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144252-el-Kirchnerismo-sufrio-su-primera-derrota-en-santa-cruz ; "Rodríguez Saá ganó las tres bancas". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144860-rodriguez-saa-gano-las-tres-bancas.

[24] "Últimos esfuerzos proselitistas". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 23 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1142441-ultimos-esfuerzos-proselitistas.

[25] Rosemberg, Jaime. "Rodríguez Saá cerró su campaña porteña con críticas e ironías". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1142829-rodriguez-saa-cerro-su-campana-portena-con-criticas-e-ironias.

[26] Pronósticos apocalípticos". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 1 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-127534-2009-07-01.html.

[27] "Rodríguez Saá: "Hasta ahora, el diálogo es porteño"". ". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 20 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1152621-rodriguez-saa-hasta-ahora-el-dialogo-es-porteno.

[28] Rosemberg, Jaime. "Rodríguez Saá cerró su campaña porteña con críticas e ironías". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1142829-rodriguez-saa-cerro-su-campana-portena-con-criticas-e-ironias.

[29] "Rodríguez Saá: "Hasta ahora, el diálogo es porteño"". ". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 20 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1152621-rodriguez-saa-hasta-ahora-el-dialogo-es-porteno.

[30] Rosemberg, Jaime. "Rodríguez Saá cerró su campaña porteña con críticas e ironías". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1142829-rodriguez-saa-cerro-su-campana-portena-con-criticas-e-ironias.

[31] Crettaz, José. "El agro, sin reuniones secretas". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 16 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1150960-el-agro-sin-reuniones-secretas ; "La Comisión de enlace y líderes opositores buscan avanzar en una agenda parlamentaria". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 16 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1151151-la-comision-de-enlace-y-lideres-opositores-buscan-avanzar-en-una-agenda-parlamentaria ; Crettaz, José. "Agosto, mes clave para las retenciones". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1151437-agosto-mes-clave-para-las-retenciones ; Dandan, Alejandra. "Una Mesa tendida para la oposición". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 15 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/128261-41184-2009-07-15.html ; "La Mesa de Enlace y la oposición acordaron una agenda parlamentaria en común". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 16 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-128342-2009-07-16.html ; Dandan, Alejandra. "Otra vez juntos, para más de una foto". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 17 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-128409-2009-07-17.html.

La Nación and Página 12 newspapers characterized the governor as a non-aligned Peronist – a dissident.[32] Several articles from these national newspapers identified Rodríguez Saá as part of the opposition to the national government and referred to him as an opposition leader.[33] La Nación even referred to the governor as a presidential pre-candidate to represent Peronist opposition to Cristina Kirchner.[34]

Rodríguez Saá never held an appointed position in the national government for the 2003-2009 period.

At the local level, Frente Federal, Cívico y Social was not aligned with the national government. This coalition was headed by the Unión Cívica Radical and included a faction of the Peronist party.[35] An article from La Nación stated that Kirchnerismo was represented by the coalition that came in third in the election, Más Vocación Sanluiseña.[36] Additionally, the coalition that came in fifth in the election used the Frente para la Victoria party tag.

2011

San Luis held gubernatorial elections in 2011. Compromiso Federal and its candidate Claudio Poggi won the election with more than 30 points of difference with the runner up.

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[32] Crettaz, José. "Casi 300 ruralistas quieren ser legisladores provinciales o ediles". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 7 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1136593-casi-300-ruralistas-quieren-ser-legisladores-provinciales-o-ediles ; Fidanza, Eduardo. "El ajedrez electoral argentino". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 9 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1137115-el-ajedrez-electoral-argentino ; Crettaz, José. "El agro, sin reuniones secretas". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 16 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1150960-el-agro-sin-reuniones-secretas ; Serra, Laura. "Pro quiere aglutinar al peronismo no Kirchnerista". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1155634-pro-quiere-aglutinar-al-peronismo-no-Kirchnerista ; "Mensajes de texto". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 8 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-126276-2009-06-08.html ; "¿Cómo no lo voy a atender?". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 8 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/127912-41036-2009-07-08.html ; Pertot, Werner. "La derecha armó su selección para el diálogo". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 17 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-128405-2009-07-17.html ; "Llegó la hora de los gobernadores". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 17 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-128403-2009-07-17.html.

[33] Fidanza, Eduardo. "El ajedrez electoral argentino". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 9 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1137115-el-ajedrez-electoral-argentino ; Dandan, Alejandra. "Una Mesa tendida para la oposición". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 15 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/128261-41184-2009-07-15.html ; "La Mesa de Enlace y la oposición acordaron una agenda parlamentaria en común". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 16 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-128342-2009-07-16.html ; Dandan, Alejandra. "Otra vez juntos, para más de una foto". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 17 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-128409-2009-07-17.html ; "La Comisión de enlace y líderes opositores buscan avanzar en una agenda parlamentaria". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 16 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1151151-la-comision-de-enlace-y-lideres-opositores-buscan-avanzar-en-una-agenda-parlamentaria.

[34] "Provincia por provincia, cómo se resuelve la pelea por el nuevo poder". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144475-provincia-por-provincia-como-se-resuelve-la-pelea-por-el-nuevo-poder ; Mendelevich, Pablo. "Presidenciables...mucho, poquito, nada". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 5 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1146906-presidenciables-mucho-poquito-nada.

[35] "El Kirchnerismo sufrió su primera derrota en Santa Cruz". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144252-el-Kirchnerismo-sufrio-su-primera-derrota-en-santa-cruz ; "Provincia por provincia, cómo se resuelve la pelea por el nuevo poder". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144475-provincia-por-provincia-como-se-resuelve-la-pelea-por-el-nuevo-poder.

[36] "Rodríguez Saá ganó las tres bancas". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144860-rodriguez-saa-gano-las-tres-bancas.

Compromiso Federal obtained 57.9% of the votes and Frente para la Victoria received 25.3% of the votes.[37] This was the first time in almost three decades that the Rodríguez-Saá brothers did not run for the provincial executive. However, they single-handedly appointed Claudio Poggi as their successor, who is part of the inner circle of their family, while the brothers competed for the senate and presidency.[38]

Poggi belongs to Compromiso Federal – a dissident Peronist party. In his victory speech, Poggi thanked the Peronist party for his win.[39] An article from La Nación indicated that Poggi is a Peronist, akin to former governor Rodriguez-Saá.[40] Poggi did not run with the Frente para la Victoria party tag but with the party tag Compromiso Federal.[41]

The elected governor made few explicit references to the President throughout the duration of the election cycle. In a statement before the elections, Poggi expressed his desire to see Alberto Rodríguez-Saá win the presidential elections against Cristina Kirchner; however if the President was reelected their relationship would be one of institutional respect.[42] After his electoral landslide, the elected governor was invited to join the national government with his support. In response, he said that he would follow a position of intransigence towards the President.[43] In addition, Poggi vowed to continue the management model advanced by the Rodríguez-Saá brothers, contrary to the national model advanced by the Kirchners, because he felt very identified with the provincial model and defined the Rodríguez-Saá as great teachers.[44] The Rodríguez-Saá brothers, in turn, had a strong discourse against the President. One of them called Cristina Kirchner a fundamentalist, comparing her to Hugo Chávez and Muammar Gaddafi, and claimed that she divided the society rather than promote national unity. In that same instance, Rodríguez-Saá mentioned that his government had opposed the Kirchners since the very beginning.[45] After winning the gubernatorial election and losing the presidential election

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[37] "El oficialismo se impuso en ocho de las nueve gobernaciones en juego." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1417171-renidas-elecciones-en-varias-provincias-que-eligen-gobernador-mendoza-formosa-y-santa-cruz ; "San Luis sigue vedado al Kirchnerismo." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1417310-san-luis-sigue-vedado-al-Kirchnerismo ; "Fuera el podio." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 24 October 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-179604-2011-10-24.html

[38] Peluffo, Santiago. "Quien es Claudio Poggi, el sucesor de los Rodriguez Saa." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 19 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1415986-quien-es-claudio-poggi-el-sucesor-de-los-rodriguez-saa ; Bruschtein, Julian. "Asuntos de provincia." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 23 October 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-179557-2011-10-23.html

[39] "Poggi pidio que votaran la boleta completa." *Periodistas en la Red,* [Perl] 21 October 2011 http://www.periodistasenlared.info/octubre11-21/nota4.html

[40] Fraga, Rosendo. "Alcances del triunfo de Cristina." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1417307-alcances-del-triunfo-de-cristina

[41] "Las elecciones que se juegan en otras cinco provincias." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 23 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1416993-las-elecciones-que-se-juegan-en-otras-cinco-provincias

[42]Peluffo, Santiago. "Quien es Claudio Poggi, el sucesor de los Rodriguez Saa." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 19 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1415986-quien-es-claudio-poggi-el-sucesor-de-los-rodriguez-saa

[43] "En San Luis ya se vive la era post-Rodriguez Saa." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 25 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1417587-en-san-luis-ya-se-vive-la-era-post-rodriguez-saa

[44]Peluffo, Santiago. "Quien es Claudio Poggi, el sucesor de los Rodriguez Saa." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 19 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1415986-quien-es-claudio-poggi-el-sucesor-de-los-rodriguez-saa ; "Poggi pidio que votaran la boleta completa." *Periodistas en la Red,* [Perl] 21 October 2011 http://www.periodistasenlared.info/octubre11-21/nota4.html

[45] "Rodriguez Saa comparo a la Presidenta con Khadafy." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 21 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1416496-rodriguez-saa-comparo-a-la-presidenta-con-khadafy ; "Un candidato que se quedo sin cierre de campana." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 21 October 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-179407-2011-10-21.html ; "Un candidato que se quedo sin cierre de

against Cristina Kirchner, Alberto Rodríguez Saá mentioned that he was at least proud that the President had not won in San Luis.[46]

There is no indication that Poggi met with national officials throughout the duration of his campaign.

The newspaper La Nación published an article suggesting that Poggi's relationship with the national government would be tense.[47] The same newspaper defined the Rodríguez-Saá government as non-Kirchnerista and frequently associated Poggi with the Rodriguez-Saá brothers.[48] In fact, an article from Página 12 referred to Poggi as an "albertismo" candidate, in reference to the name of one of the Rodriguez-Saá brothers.[49] The newspaper also interpreted Poggi's victory as a defeat of Kirchnerismo.[50]

Claudio Poggi did not hold a position in the national government between 2003 and his election as governor. He was part of the provincial cabinet, as well as a national and provincial deputy.

At the local level, Poggi's main opponent in the election was aligned with the national government. The challenger used the Frente para la Victoria party tag and articles from La Nación frequently referred to him as a Kirchnerista.[51]

2013

In 2013, San Luis held legislative elections to fill three national deputy seats, 22 provincial deputy seats, and four provincial senator's seat. Four parties participated: Compromiso Federal, Frente Progresista Cívico y Social, Frente para la Victoria, and Demócrata Independiente. Compromiso Federal won more than half of the vote and secured two of the

campana." *Periodistas en la Red,* [San Luis] 21 October 2011 http://www.periodistasenlared.info/octubre11-21/nota_nac4.html

[46] Caminos, Mauricio. "Rodriguez Saa busco un consuelo para la derrota." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1417333-rodriguez-saa-busco-un-consuelo-para-la-derrota

[47] Peluffo, Santiago. "Quien es Claudio Poggi, el sucesor de los Rodriguez Saa." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 19 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1415986-quien-es-claudio-poggi-el-sucesor-de-los-rodriguez-saa

[48] Rosemburg, Jaime. "Seis gobernadores Kirchneristas iran por la reeleccion." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 Ocober 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1411651-seis-gobernadores-Kirchneristas-iran-por-la-reeleccion ; "San Luis sigue vedado al Kirchnerismo." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1417310-san-luis-sigue-vedado-al-Kirchnerismo ; "Rodriguez Saa comparo a la Presidenta con Khadafy." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 21 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1416496-rodriguez-saa-comparo-a-la-presidenta-con-khadafy ; Rosemburg, Jaime. "Seis gobernadores Kirchneristas iran por la reeleccion." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 Ocober 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1411651-seis-gobernadores-Kirchneristas-iran-por-la-reeleccion

[49] "Fuera el podio." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 24 October 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-179604-2011-10-24.html

[50] "El FPV gano en ocho provincias." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 23 October 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-179578-2011-10-23.html

[51] "El oficialismo se impuso en ocho de las nueve gobernaciones en juego." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1417171-renidas-elecciones-en-varias-provincias-que-eligen-gobernador-mendoza-formosa-y-santa-cruz ; "San Luis sigue vedado al Kirchnerismo." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1417310-san-luis-sigue-vedado-al-Kirchnerismo ; "En San Luis ya se vive la era post-Rodriguez Saa." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 25 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1417587-en-san-luis-ya-se-vive-la-era-post-rodriguez-saa ; Bruschtein, Julian. "Asuntos de provincia." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 23 October 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-179557-2011-10-23.html

national deputy positions. Frente Progresista Cívico y Social won 24% of the vote, while the other two together received less than 20% of the vote.

The governor, Claudio Poggi, belongs to Compromiso Federal – a Peronist party. Following the strong election showing for his party, Adolfo Rodríguez-Saá and Poggi described themselves as the representatives of the successful Peronism and the undefeated Peronism.[52] Poggi also participated, and delivered the keynote speech, during the famous Día de la Lealtad (Day of Loyalty) on October 17 commemorating Peronism.[53] In spite of being Peronist, Poggi and his party were not aligned with the president. In both local and federal elections, they ran candidates with the Compromiso Federal party tag, and against the candidates who run with the Frente para la Victoria party tag.

Poggi did not specifically make any references towards the president around the election cycle. However, he declared to be disappointed with two national deputies from San Luis for supporting the budget proposed by the federal government and thus going against their own party's wishes.[54] Compromiso Federal expelled these two deputies after their negative vote, accusing them of political misconduct.[55] In addition, the City of La Punta in San Luis competed to hold the 2019 Pan American Games. After losing, Poggi declared that San Luis had felt alone, due to the lack of backing from the federal government in supporting the logistics of the trip.[56]

While his predecessors in the province did not collaborate with the federal government, Poggi presented a higher level of autonomy from the Rodríguez-Saá and a weaker opposition to the federal government.[57] For instance, Poggi had a high profile meeting with the Argentine Secretaria de Energía (Secretary of Energy) not long after the elections. At the meeting, they discussed constructing high voltage lines through San Luis to improve their infrastructure.[58] However, San Luis was not present in the meetings in Buenos Aires that included only-aligned governors. And he still appeared in pictures close with the Rodríguez-Saá family, in open opposition to the federal government, and described the campaign as team-work with the Rodríguez-Saá.[59]

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[52] Senn, Gustavo. "La immensa mayoria del pueblo de San Luis dijo que estamos haciendo las cosas bien." *Periodistas en La Red,* [San Luis] 28 October 2013. http://www.periodistasenlared.info/octubre13-28/nota3.html

[53] "Dia de la Lealtad." *Agencia de Noticias San Luis,* [San Luis] 17 October 2013. http://agenciasanluis.com/notas/2013/10/17/dia-de-la-lealtad/

[54] "Expulsaron a dos diputados." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 7 October 2013. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-230337-2013-10-02.html
"Compromiso con San Luis y un equipo tranajando para su futuro" *Agencia de Noticias San Luis,* [San Luis] 2 October 2013. http://agenciasanluis.com/notas/2013/10/02/compromiso-con-san-luis-y-un-equipo-trabajando-para-su-futuro/

[55] Jorquera, Miguel. "Migraciones para un Lado y para el Otro" *Página 12,[Buenos Aires]* 7 October 2013. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-230723-2013-10-07.html

[56] "Poggi: 'Nos sentimos un poco solos, pero nos pusimos al hombro la Argentina'" *Agencia de Noticias San Luis, [San Luis]* 13 October 2013. http://agenciasanluis.com/notas/2013/10/13/poggi-nos-sentimos-un-poco-solos-pero-nos-pusimos-al-hombro-la-argentina/

[57] "El avance que logró la oposición muestra un mapa político disperso con vistas a 2015." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 November 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1635067-el-avance-que-logro-la-oposicion-muestra-un-mapa-politico-disperso-con-vistas-a-2015

[58] "Poggi asistio al acto en la Secretaria de Energia de La Nación." *Agencia de Noticias San Luis,* [San Luis] 21 November 2013. http://agenciasanluis.com/notas/2013/11/21/poggi-asistio-al-acto-en-la-secretaria-de-energia-de-la-nacion/

[59] "La inmensa mayoría del pueblo de San Luis dijo que estamos haciendo las cosas bien" *Periodistas en la Red, [San Luis]* 28 October 2013. http://www.periodistasenlared.info/octubre13-28/nota3.html

The national newspaper La Nación lumped together Poggi with the openly opposition leaders José Manuel de la Sota (governor of Córdoba) and Sergio Massa (mayor of Tigre).[60] The three of them had two things in common: they were Peronist and neither was aligned with the President.

Claudio Poggi never held a positions in the national government.

Part of the local opposition to Poggi, Frente para la Victoria, was aligned with the president. The challenger was the mayor of the City of San Luis, who remembered the late Néstor Kirchner in his speeches and highlighted the challenges of governing a city in the context of strong opposition to the province.[61]

"Compromiso con San Luis y un equipo tranajando para su futuro" *Agencia de Noticias San Luis,* [San Luis] 2 October 2013. http://agenciasanluis.com/notas/2013/10/02/compromiso-con-san-luis-y-un-equipo-trabajando-para-su-futuro/

[60] Bossi, Jesica. "Jorge Capitanich: "En el peronismo no hay un candidato natural para 2015."" *La Nación, [Buenos Aires]* 3 November 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1634993-jorge-capitanich-en-el-peronismo-no-hay-un-candidato-natural-para-2015

[61] "Ponce y Dopazo le hablaron a la militancia." *Peridostas en la Red,* [San Luis] 28 October 2013. http://www.periodistasenlared.info/octubre13-28/nota6.html

Santa Cruz

2007

In 2007 Santa Cruz elected president, vice-president, two national deputies, governor, vice-governor, and 24 local deputies.[1] Five coalitions competed for the gubernatorial position, and two garnered a significant portion of the vote: Frente para la Victoria Santacruceña and Frente Cambiemos para Crecer. Daniel Peralta, the incumbent governor from Frente para la Victoria Santacruceña, won the election with 58.1% of the vote.[2] Frente Cambiemos para Crecer came in second with 38.8% of the vote.[3]

Daniel Peralta belongs to the Peronist Party. La Nación referred to Peralta as a Peronist leader.[4] Moreover, the governor used the Frente para la Victoria (Santacruceña) party tag in this election.[5]

Peralta expressed his support for the national administration throughout the election cycle. The night of the election, the governor declared that Néstor and Cristina Kirchner were his political mentors, given that they are originally from this province.[6] Peralta also affirmed that he and Cristina Kirchner would turn Santa Cruz into the best province in the country.[7] After the election, the governor stated that the people from Santa Cruz elected an administration in line with the national project.[8]

The governor participated in several public acts and meetings with members of the national administration. Before the election, the President and Peralta headed a public act in Santa Cruz.[9] Some members of the cabinet and another aligned governor also attended the event.[10] The day before the election, Néstor and Cristina Kirchner travelled to Santa Cruz to vote in the elections. They were accompanied by several members of the cabinet, and the governor

[1] Arias, Mariela. "Kirchner apuntala al gobernador Peralta". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 17 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/953870-kirchner-apuntala-al-gobernador-peralta.
[2] Sued, Gabriel. "En Santa Cruz triunfó Peralta, el candidato de Kirchner". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 29 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957451-en-santa-cruz-triunfo-peralta-el-candidato-de-kirchner.
[3] Sued, Gabriel. "En Santa Cruz triunfó Peralta, el candidato de Kirchner". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 29 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957451-en-santa-cruz-triunfo-peralta-el-candidato-de-kirchner.
[4] Sued, Gabriel. "La oposición pelea hasta el último voto en la tierra del Presidente". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 26 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/956623-la-oposicion-pelea-hasta-el-ultimo-voto-en-la-tierra-del-presidente.
[5] "El kirchnerismo retiene la gobernación en Santa Cruz". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957258-el-kirchnerismo-retiene-la-gobernacion-en-santa-cruz.
[6] Sued, Gabriel. "En Santa Cruz triunfó Peralta, el candidato de Kirchner". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 29 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957451-en-santa-cruz-triunfo-peralta-el-candidato-de-kirchner.
[7] Jorquera, Miguel. "Santa Cruz tuvo festejo local y nacional". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 29 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-93712-2007-10-29.html.
[8] Sued, Gabriel. "Santa Cruz: Peralta ya marca sus diferencias". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 30 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957756-santa-cruz-peralta-ya-marca-sus-diferencias.
[9] "El Presidente viajó a su provincia a respaldar a Peralta". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 17 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/954138-el-presidente-viajo-a-su-provincia-a-respaldar-a-peralta.
[10] "El Presidente viajó a su provincia a respaldar a Peralta". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 17 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/954138-el-presidente-viajo-a-su-provincia-a-respaldar-a-peralta.

received them at the airport.[11] Additionally, Néstor and Cristina Kirchner received Peralta in their house in the province.[12] The governor and the President also had a meeting with several Peronist mayoral candidates.[13] The night of the election, Peralta celebrated the results with the national Ministra de Desarrollo Social (Minister of Social Development), who is also originally from Santa Cruz.[14] Moreover, the President called the governor to congratulate him for the outcome of the election.[15] After the election, Peralta had a private meeting with Néstor and Cristina Kirchner.[16]

National newspapers described the governor as kirchnerista.[17] Moreover, La Nación referred to Peralta as Néstor Kirchner's candidate.[18] The same newspaper interpreted the results of the election in Santa Cruz as a victory for the national government.[19]

The governor never held an appointed position in the national government for the 2003-2007 period. Peralta became the interim governor of Santa Cruz in 2007 after the then governor resigned his post.[20]

At the local level, Frente Cambiemos para Crecer was clearly not aligned with the national government. The candidate who headed the Frente Cambiemos para Crecer ticket belongs to UCR.[21] Moreover, Página 12 stated that Frente Cambiemos para Crecer supported the presidential candidacies of two members of the opposition to the national government.[22]

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[11] Sued, Gabriel. "Los Kirchner quieren volver a ser locales". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957013-los-kirchner-quieren-volver-a-ser-locales ; "La última foto de campaña". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 27 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-93615-2007-10-27.html.

[12] "Mucho descanso para aflojar tensiones". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957170-mucho-descanso-para-aflojar-tensiones.

[13] Jorquera, Miguel. "El delicado voto pingüino". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/93684-29725-2007-10-28.html ; Jorquera, Miguel. "Kirchner ensayó volver al llano con amigos y sin tantas cábalas". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-93684-2007-10-28.html.

[14] Sued, Gabriel. "En Santa Cruz triunfó Peralta, el candidato de Kirchner". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957451-en-santa-cruz-triunfo-peralta-el-candidato-de-kirchner.

[15] Sued, Gabriel. "En Santa Cruz triunfó Peralta, el candidato de Kirchner". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957451-en-santa-cruz-triunfo-peralta-el-candidato-de-kirchner.

[16] ""Las decisiones ya están tomadas"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 November 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/959187-las-decisiones-ya-estan-tomadas.

[17] "El kirchnerismo retiene la gobernación en Santa Cruz". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957258-el-kirchnerismo-retiene-la-gobernacion-en-santa-cruz ; Jorquera, Miguel. "Expectativa puesta en Santa Cruz". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 25 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-93503-2007-10-25.html.

[18] Arias, Mariela. "Kirchner apuntala al gobernador Peralta". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/953870-kirchner-apuntala-al-gobernador-peralta.

[19] Sued, Gabriel. "En Santa Cruz triunfó Peralta, el candidato de Kirchner". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957451-en-santa-cruz-triunfo-peralta-el-candidato-de-kirchner.

[20] Arias, Mariela. "Kirchner apuntala al gobernador Peralta". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/953870-kirchner-apuntala-al-gobernador-peralta ; "Kirchner viajó a Santa Cruz para apuntalar a Peralta". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 18 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/954226-kirchner-viajo-a-santa-cruz-para-apuntalar-a-peralta.

[21] "Breves". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/948091-breves.

[22] Jorquera, Miguel. "Expectativa puesta en Santa Cruz". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 25 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-93503-2007-10-25.html.

2009

In 2009 Santa Cruz elected three national deputies.[23] Five coalitions participated in the election, and two garnered a significant portion of the vote: Frente Cambiemos para Crecer and Frente para la Victoria. Frente Cambiemos para Crecer won the election with 42.5% of the vote.[24] Frente para la Victoria, the coalition supported by the governor, came in a close second with 41.1% of the vote.[25]

The governor, Daniel Peralta, belongs to the Peronist Party. La Nación newspaper described Peralta as a Peronist governor.[26] Moreover, the coalition supported by the governor used the Frente para la Victoria party tag in this election.[27]

Peralta made few explicit references to the national administration and showed initial discrepancies between the two levels. However, the tone of his discourse was still conciliatory towards the President. After the election, the governor affirmed that he had always been supported by the national government, but that he had his own vision and his own way of governing the province.[28] Additionally, Cristina Kirchner blamed Peralta's administration for the electoral results in the province.[29] In this context, the governor declared that the President's interpretation of the outcome hurt him, but he also stated that she may have been right.[30] Moreover, Peralta asserted that his (good) relationship with Néstor and Cristina Kirchner had not changed after the legislative election.[31]

The governor participated in a number of meetings and public acts with members of the national government. Before the election, Cristina Kirchner and Peralta headed a public act in the province.[32] The day of the election, the President travelled to Santa Cruz to cast her vote, and the governor received her at the airport as he had done two years earlier.[33] After the election, Peralta

[23] "Provincia por provincia, cómo se resuelve la pelea por el nuevo poder". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144475-provincia-por-provincia-como-se-resuelve-la-pelea-por-el-nuevo-poder.
[24] Arias, Mariela. "Dura derrota oficialista en Santa Cruz". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144816-dura-derrota-oficialista-en-santa-cruz.
[25] Arias, Mariela. "Dura derrota oficialista en Santa Cruz". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144816-dura-derrota-oficialista-en-santa-cruz.
[26] Rosemberg, Jaime e Ybarra, Gustavo. "Gobernadores derrotados, en crisis". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 7 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1147776-gobernadores-derrotados-en-crisis.
[27] "El kirchnerismo sufrió su primera derrota en Santa Cruz". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144252-el-kirchnerismo-sufrio-su-primera-derrota-en-santa-cruz.
[28] "Peralta se hizo cargo de la derrota". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 30 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1145130-peralta-se-hizo-cargo-de-la-derrota.
[29] "El análisis de Peralta". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 20 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/128522-41295-2009-07-20.html ; Arias, Mariela. ""Con los Kirchner tengo una relación institucional"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 19 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1152177-con-los-kirchner-tengo-una-relacion-institucional.
[30] "El análisis de Peralta". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 20 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/128522-41295-2009-07-20.html.
[31] Arias, Mariela. ""Con los Kirchner tengo una relación institucional"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 19 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1152177-con-los-kirchner-tengo-una-relacion-institucional.
[32] ""Chocaron dos veces el país"". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 2 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/125958-40273-2009-06-02.html.
[33] "Cristina en Santa Cruz: "Estamos eligiendo entre dos modelos"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144575-cristina-en-santa-cruz-estamos-eligiendo-entre-dos-modelos.

had a meeting with Cristina Kirchner in the context of a round of talks between the President and several governors (both aligned and non-aligned).[34]

La Nación newspaper depicted Peralta as ultra-kirchnerista.[35] The same newspaper also stated that the results of the election in Santa Cruz were painful for Néstor and Cristina Kirchner.[36] Moreover, Página 12 described the governor as close with the national government.[37]

Peralta never held an appointed position in the national government for the 2003-2007 period.

At the local level, Frente Cambiemos para Crecer was not aligned with the President. La Nación affirmed that the candidate who headed this coalition became "a headache" for kirchnerismo in Santa Cruz.[38] The same newspaper stated that Frente Cambiemos para Crecer was aligned with Acuerdo Cívico y Social, an opposition party that won the 2009 election in several provinces.[39]

2011

In 2011 Santa Cruz elected its governor. Four coalitions participated in the elections but two garnered the majority of the vote: Frente para la Victoria and Unión para Vivir Mejor.[40] The latter was a coalition of non-Peronist parties. Frente para la Victoria won the election with 54.5% of the vote, while the opposition candidate received 42.7% of the vote.[41] Besides executive elections, Santa Cruz held elections to fill national and provincial legislative seats. All of these elections were simultaneous with the Presidential one.

Daniel Peralta was re-elected governor of the province. Peralta belongs to the Peronist Party. In a campaign speech, he stated that he belongs to the national movement inaugurated by Juan and Eva Perón.[42] The governor hosted in the province the Dia de la Militancia (Day of Party Militancy), a celebration commemorating the return of Juan Perón from exile.[43] He also had the

[34] "La Presidenta con Peralta". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 23 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-128710-2009-07-23.html.
[35] "Provincia por provincia, cómo se resuelve la pelea por el nuevo poder". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144475-provincia-por-provincia-como-se-resuelve-la-pelea-por-el-nuevo-poder.
[36] "Por la recuperación del poder". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 19 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1152179-por-la-recuperacion-del-poder.
[37] "Llegó la hora de los gobernadores". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 17 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-128403-2009-07-17.html.
[38] Arias, Mariela. "Costa cambió la historia política de Santa Cruz". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 30 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1145129-costa-cambio-la-historia-politica-de-santa-cruz
[39] Arias, Mariela. "Costa cambió la historia política de Santa Cruz". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 30 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1145129-costa-cambio-la-historia-politica-de-santa-cruz.
[40] Bruschtein, Julian. "Asuntos de provincia." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 23 October 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-179557-2011-10-23.html
[41] "Peralta se considero ganador de las elecciones." *Tiempo Sur,* [Rio Gallegos] 24 October 2011 http://www.tiemposur.com.ar/nota/30883-peralta-se-considero--ganador-de-las-elecciones- ; "Festejo por partido doble en Santa Cruz." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 25 October 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-179680-2011-10-25.html
[42] "Peralta dijo que sin sin tijera van a Gobernar Santa Cruz." *Tiempo Sur,* [Rio Gallegos] 18 October 2011 http://www.tiemposur.com.ar/nota/30676-peralta-dijo-que-sin-tijera-van-a-gobernar-santa-cruz
[43] Lantos, Nicolas. "'El mejor militante.'" *Página 12,* [Rio Gallegos] 18 November 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/181510-56656-2011-11-18.html ; "Dirigentes del Justicialismo

support of many Peronist organizations throughout his campaign.[44] In addition, the governor used the the Frente para la Victoria party tag. Peralta was aligned with the national government during the elections but moved to non-alignment weeks after being inaugurated. To be representative of Peralta's administration, we extend the coding period three months after the elections and code the governor as opposed to the President.[45]

Because of the President's popularity in the province, Peralta frequently referred to Cristina Kirchner in speeches and appeared with her in campaign billboards.[46] In an interview with Página 12 newspaper, he made the claim that they were all Kirchneristas.[47] The week of the elections, the governor proclaimed that a vote for him was a vote for the national project.[48] In his victory speech, Peralta dedicated his triumph to Néstor and Cristina Kirchner.[49] Peralta also congratulated Cristina Kirchner in her reelection.[50] Weeks after his re-election, Peralta faced an economic crisis and therefore proposed pension cuts and raising the retirement age.[51] These economic adjustment policies generated widespread protests, to which the province responded with repression. The violent incidents left at least 20 wounded people.[52] This was a turning point in the relationship between the governor and the President. After the incidents, provincial ministers aligned with the President left the provincial cabinet.[53] Peralta lost the support of

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elogiaron a Kirchner." *Tiempo Sur,* [Rio Gallegos] 17 November 2011 http://www.tiemposur.com.ar/nota/31844--dirigentes-del-justicialismo-elogiaron-a-kirchner

[44] "Las 62 Organizaciones rechazan impugnacion y apuntan a Peralta." *Tiempo Sur,* [Rio Gallegos] 3 October 2011 http://www.tiemposur.com.ar/nota/30082-las-62-organizaciones-rechazan-impugnacion-y-apuntan-a-peralta-

[45] This coding decision more accurately represents Peralta's administration since 2011.

[46] Arias, Mariela. "Peralta confia en el arrastre de Cristina para retener Santa Cruz." *La Nación,* [Rio Gallegos] 23 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1417033-peralta-confia-en-el-arrastre-de-cristina-para-retener-santa-cruz ; "Cristina 'tiene una mirada critica de la gente que actua como Costa.'" *Tiempo Sur,* [Rio Gallegos] 11 October 2011 http://www.tiemposur.com.ar/nota/30377-cristina-tiene-una-mirada-critica-de-la-gente-que-actua-como-costa ; "'Compartimos un modelo con el gobierno de la presidenta.'" *Tiempo Sur,* [Rio Gallegos] 16 October 2011 http://www.tiemposur.com.ar/nota/30578-compartimos-un-modelo--con-el-gobierno-de-la-presidenta

[47] Lantos, Nicolas. "'Era el gran conductor de este espacio.'" *Página 12,* [Rio Gallegos] 29 October 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-180022-2011-10-29.html

[48] "'Compartimos un modelo con el gobierno de la presidenta.'" *Tiempo Sur,* [Rio Gallegos] 16 October 2011 http://www.tiemposur.com.ar/nota/30578-compartimos-un-modelo--con-el-gobierno-de-la-presidenta

[49] Arias, Mariela. ""Con dudas hasta el final, Peralta fue relegido en Santa Cruz." *La Nación,* [Rio Gallegos] 24 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1417346-con-dudas-hasta-el-final-peralta-fue-reelegido-en-santa-cruz

[50] "Peralta visito Canadon Seco." *Tiempo Sur,* [Rio Gallegos] 25 September 2011 http://www.tiemposur.com.ar/nota/29823--peralta-visito-canadon-seco

[51] Arias, Mariela. "Renuncian funcionarios en Santa Cruz por los 21 heridos en el choque entre estatales y policies." *La Nación,* [Rio Gallegos] 29 December 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1436431-santa-cruz-estatales-quieren-impedir-la-reforma-jubilatoria

[52] Lantos, Nicolas. "Santa Cruz quedo envuelta en una crisis." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 30 December 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-184477-2011-12-30.html ;
"La Presidenta volo a El Calafate." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 31 December 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-184528-2011-12-31.html ; Arias, Mariela. "Renuncian funcionarios en Santa Cruz por los 21 heridos en el choque entre estatales y policies." *La Nación,* [Rio Gallegos] 29 December 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1436431-santa-cruz-estatales-quieren-impedir-la-reforma-jubilatoria

[53] Lantos, Nicolas. "Santa Cruz quedo envuelta en una crisis." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 30 December 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-184477-2011-12-30.html ; Jorquera, Miguel. "Peralta en la picota." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 31 December 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-184529-2011-12-31.html ; "Peralta perdio otro ministro." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 6 January 2012 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-184913-2012-01-06.html ; "Con intencion de recomponer la situacion." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 6 January 2012 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/sociedad/3-184857-2012-01-06.html

Kirchneristas in the province, most notably the youth organization La Cámpora, led by Cristina and Néstor Kirchner's son.[54] A representative of Santa Cruz in Buenos Aires, and wife of one of the most powerful national cabinet members, also resigned her position after the protests.[55] There were even rumors that the federal government could intervene in the province.[56]

Initially, Peralta appeared with a number of national officials. Cristina Kirchner met with Peralta during his campaign to inaugurate public works in Santa Cruz.[57] On the anniversary of Néstor Kirchner's death, Peralta joined the President and her family at the mausoleum.[58] On the Día de la Militancia, Peralta hosted a meeting of aligned governors, national cabinet members, and Peronist leaders at the mausoleum of Néstor Kirchner to honor his memory.[59] This was the first packed gathering to honor the former President after his death.[60] Following the ceremony, some Peronist provincial governors (including Peralta) reaffirmed their support for Cristina Kirchner in the context of the Consejo Nacional Justicialista (National Council of the Peronist Party).[61] However, following his handling of the economic crisis and in the midst of a political crisis, Cristina Kirchner did not agree to meet with Peralta not even once.[62] The President travelled to the province to spend the holidays with her family but avoided going to the center of

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[54] Lantos, Nicolas. "Santa Cruz quedo envuelta en una crisis." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 30 December 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-184477-2011-12-30.html ; Bossi, Jesica. "Maximo Kirchner, con mayor poder." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 10 January 2012 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1439241-maximo-kirchner-con-mayor-poder

[55] Arias, Mariela. "Santa Cruz: crece el malestar de estatales y de comerciantes." *La Nación,* [Rio Gallegos] 24 January 2012 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1442899-santa-cruz-crece-el-malestar-de-estatales-y-de-comerciantes

[56] Obarrio, Mariano. "Cristina Kirchner postergo el viaje a Rio Gallegos por los disturbios." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 30 December 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1436710-cristina-kirchner-postergo-el-viaje-a-rio-gallegos-por-los-disturbios

[57] "La Presidenta inaugurara ampliacion del Pto. Caleta Paula." *Tiempo Sur,* [Rio Gallegos] 2 October 2011 http://www.tiemposur.com.ar/nota/30077-la-presidenta-inaugurara-ampliacion-del-pto-caleta-paula

[58] Arias, Mariela. "Cristina encabeza el homenaje." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1418121-recuerdos-en-todo-el-pais-para-el-ex-presidente

[59] Lantos, Nicolas. "La primera vez despues de la eleccion." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 14 November 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-181183-2011-11-14.html ; "El Dia de la Militancia se traslado al Mausoleo." *Tiempo Sur,* [Rio Gallegos] 17 November 2011 http://www.tiemposur.com.ar/nota/31837-el-dia-de-la-militancia-se-traslado-al-mausoleo ; Lantos, Nicolas. "'El mejor militante.'" *Página 12,* [Rio Gallegos] 18 November 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/181510-56656-2011-11-18.html ; "Dirigentes del Justicialismo elogiaron a Kirchner." *Tiempo Sur,* [Rio Gallegos] 17 November 2011 http://www.tiemposur.com.ar/nota/31844--dirigentes-del-justicialismo-elogiaron-a-kirchner

[60] Lantos, Nicolas. "Primer homenaje politico a Nestor Kirchner." *Página 12,* [Rio Gallegos] 17 November 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-181405-2011-11-17.html

[61] Lantos, Nicolas. "'El mejor militante.'" *Página 12,* [Rio Gallegos] 18 November 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/181510-56656-2011-11-18.html ; Lantos, Nicolas. "Con un respaldo 'mas que nunca' a Cristina Kirchner." *Página 12,* [Rio Gallegos] 18 November 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-181510-2011-11-18.html ; Arias, Mariela. "El PJ respaldo a la Presidenta y la reconocio como conductura." *La Nación,* [Rio Gallegos] 18 November 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1424253-el-pj-respaldo-a-la-presidenta-y-la-reconocio-como-conductora ; "Fuerte respaldo del PJ a Cristina y al modelo politico y economico." *Tiempo Sur,* [Rio Gallegos] 17 November 2011 http://www.tiemposur.com.ar/nota/31846--fuerte-respaldo-del-pj-a-cristina-y-al-modelo-politico-y-economico

[62] Lantos, Nicolas. "Santa Cruz quedo envuelta en una crisis." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 30 December 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-184477-2011-12-30.html ; Obarrio, Mariano. "Cristina Kirchner postergo el viaje a Rio Gallegos por los disturbios." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 30 December 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1436710-cristina-kirchner-postergo-el-viaje-a-rio-gallegos-por-los-disturbios ; Arias, Mariela. "Una convivencia compleja." *La Nación,* [Rio Gallegos] 31 December 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1437023-una-convivencia-compleja

the conflict and thus avoided a meeting with the governor. Apparently Peralta tried to reach the President by phone but he could only talk to one of her cabinet members.[63]

Around the election, experts and journalists associated Peralta with the national government, but they changed the analysis of his position after the violent protests. Before the elections, Página 12 referred to Peralta as Kirchnerista and claimed that Peralta's victory would be a continuation of Kirchnerismo in the province.[64] A journalist from La Nación also called Peralta a Kirchnerista governor.[65] However, after Peralta proposed cuts and repressed protesters, newspapers reported that his alignment was dwindling. Página 12 newspaper referred to Peralta as a political orphan. [66] This newspaper reported that Peralta had lost support from Kirchnerismo in the province and that the governor was clearly no longer aligned with the Casa Rosada.[67] La Nación also observed that Peralta and the national government had a strained relationship.[68] Santa Cruz national deputies who responded to the Kirchnerista youth organization La Cámpora commented on the governor's clear de-alignment towards the national government.[69] As a result, Página 12 established a clear distinction between the governor (not aligned with the President) and pro-government legislators from Santa Cruz.[70]

Peralta did not hold a position in the national government between 2003 and 2011.

Peralta's main opposition in the gubernatorial election is not aligned with the national government. The candidate for Unión para Vivir Mejor, Eduardo Costa, did not use the Frente para la Victoria party tag; instead, he ran with a coalition of non-Peronist parties. Their platform

[63] "La Presidenta volo a El Calafate." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 31 December 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-184528-2011-12-31.html

[64] "Lo que resta se juega todo al 23." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 26 September 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/177586-55868-2011-09-26.html ; Bruschtein, Julian. "En el pago chico del Kirchnerismo." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 10 October 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-178584-2011-10-10.html

[65] Rosemburg, Jaime. "Seis gobernadores Kirchneristas iran por la reeleccion." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1411651-seis-gobernadores-Kirchneristas-iran-por-la-reeleccion

[66] Jorquera, Miguel. "Peralta en la picota." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 31 December 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-184529-2011-12-31.html

[67] Lantos, Nicolas. "Santa Cruz quedo envuelta en una crisis." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 30 December 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-184477-2011-12-30.html

[68] Arias, Mariela. "Santa Cruz: crece el malestar de estatales y de comerciantes." *La Nación,* [Rio Gallegos] 24 January 2012 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1442899-santa-cruz-crece-el-malestar-de-estatales-y-de-comerciantes

[69] "Con intencion de recomponer la situacion." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 6 January 2012 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/sociedad/3-184857-2012-01-06.html ; Lantos, Nicolas. "Santa Cruz quedo envuelta en una crisis." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 30 December 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-184477-2011-12-30.html

[70] Jorquera, Miguel. "Peralta en la picota." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 31 December 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-184529-2011-12-31.html

supported almost all opposition presidential candidates with the exception of Cristina Kirchner.[71] However, given the President's popularity, Costa publicly praised her administration.[72]

2013

In 2013, Santa Cruz held national legislative elections. Three major parties participated in these competitive elections: Frente para la Victoria, Partido Justicialista, and Unión para Vivir Mejor. Unión para Vivir Mejor won the election with 42.1% of the vote, therefore securing two of the three national deputy seats at stake.[73] Frente para la Victoria came in second with 24.7%, while Partido Justicialista received 20% of the vote.

The governor of Santa Cruz, Daniel Peralta, supported the Partido Justicialista list. He is a Peronist. He participated in the Día de la Lealdad (Day of Loyalty), a celebration honoring Peronism.[74] Additionally, Peralta praised the newly appointed national Jefe de Gabinete (Chief of Staff) for being a man of Peronism.[75] He also expressed that he followed the directives of the Peronist Congress.[76] While Peralta belongs to the Peronist party, he did not support the list with the Frente para la Victoria party tag. He had officially parted ways with the Frente para la Victoria the previous year to form his own block.[77]

Peralta's comments towards the national government were overall critical throughout the election cycle. Before the elections, Peralta mentioned that Argentina was witnessing the end of the Kirchnerista cycle and that if opposition candidate Sergio Massa won the legislative elections

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[71] Bruschtein, Julian. "En el pago chico del Kirchnerismo." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 10 October 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-178584-2011-10-10.html ; "Lo que resta se juega todo al 23." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 26 September 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/177586-55868-2011-09-26.html ; Abrevaya, Sebastian. "Un candidato Radical que se quedo con las ganas." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 5 October 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-178252-2011-10-05.html ; "Las 62 Organizaciones rechazan impugnacion y apuntan a Peralta." *Tiempo Sur,* [Rio Gallegos] 3 October 2011 http://www.tiemposur.com.ar/nota/30082-las-62-organizaciones-rechazan-impugnacion-y-apuntan-a-peralta-

[72] Bruschtein, Julian. "Asuntos de provincia." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 23 October 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-179557-2011-10-23.html

[73] Arias, Marciela. "En la cuna de Kirchnerismo, el vencedor fue un Radical." *La Nación,* [Rio Gallegos] 28 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1633169-en-la-cuna-del-Kirchnerismo-el-vencedor-fue-un-Radical ; Bruschtein, Luis. "Una eleccion con muchos ganadores y nuevos protagonistas." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2013 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-232293-2013-10-28.html

[74] "Peralta: 'Especulan con que nos vaya mal en estas elecciones y prometen que si es asi el 28 de octubre vienen por nosotros." *El Diario Nueva Dia,* [Rio Gallegos] 18 October 2013 http://www.eldiarionuevodia.com.ar/local/politica/2013/10/18/peralta-especulan-vaya-estas-elecciones-prometen-octubre-vienen-nosotros-5290.html

[75] "Peralta apunta a una 'nueva etapa' en el Gobierno Nacional." *La Opinion Austral,* [Rio Gallegos] 20 November 2013 http://laopinionaustral.com.ar/diario.asp?Modo=Noticia&NId=27223&texto=peralta&A=2015&M=10&D=9

[76] "Peralta confirmo la separacion de Victoria del PJ para formar su propio bloque." *El Diario Nueva Dia,* [Rio Gallegos] 7 November 2013 http://www.eldiarionuevodia.com.ar/local/politica/2013/11/7/peralta-confirmo-separacion-victoria-para-formar-propio-bloque-5504.html

[77] "Peralta confirmo la separacion de Victoria del PJ para formar su propio bloque." *El Diario Nueva Dia,* [Rio Gallegos] 7 November 2013 http://www.eldiarionuevodia.com.ar/local/politica/2013/11/7/peralta-confirmo-separacion-victoria-para-formar-propio-bloque-5504.html ; "Daniel Peralta deseo que Cristina Kirchner 'se restablezca pronto' para que 'se vaya tranquila a su casa en 2015.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 8 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1627067-daniel-peralta-deseo-que-cristina-kirchner-se-restablezca-pronto-para-que-se-vaya-tranquila-

in the province of Buenos Aires by more than 11 percentage points, then he would be a clear Presidential alternative.[78] He associated the arson of civil service buildings with Kirchnerista militants backed by the national government who, he said, wanted to see him dismissed.[79] In addition, he condemned the Secretario de Seguridad (Secretary of Security) for militarizing the area when trying to evict individuals occupying state lands.[80] Commenting on the event, the governor said that the national government had evicted 80 elderly people using war tanks.[81] Peralta also lamented that the national government had taken away all the funding and the housing projects for Santa Cruz.[82] He also wished the President a speedy recovery when she got sick so that she could finish her term and go home in 2015.[83] After the elections, Peralta referred to a potential reunification of the Peronist and Frente para la Victoria parties in the province; however he acknowledged that the broken institutional agreement with the national government had to be recovered first.[84] He criticized the national government for hiding the real inflation rate and for not transferring funds to the province.[85] At the same time, he also congratulated the newly inaugurated Chief of Staff on his new position in the national government and hoped that these cabinet changes would improve the relationship with the national government.[86]

Representatives of the national government did not campaign in support of Peralta's list in the province and Peralta did not travel to Buenos Aires throughout the election cycle. A Frente para la Victoria political youth organization led by Cristina and Néstor Kirchner's son

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[78] "Peralta expreso su preocupacion por los fondos para el pago del aguinaldo." *El Diario Nueva Dia,* [Rio Gallegos] 3 October 2013 http://www.eldiarionuevodia.com.ar/local/politica/2013/10/3/peralta-expreso-preocupacion-fondos-para-pago-aguinaldo-5152.html

[79] "Peralta alerto que el Kirchnerismo esta buscando que haya 'un muerto' en Santa Cruz." *El Diario Nueva Dia,* [Rio Gallegos] 22 October 2013 http://www.eldiarionuevodia.com.ar/local/politica/2013/10/22/peralta-alerto-Kirchnerismo-esta-buscando-haya-muerto-santa-cruz-5333.html ; "Peralta: 'Habria descerebrados, faloperos y borrachos que estaban festejando la quema de un edificio." *El Diario Nueva Dia,* [Rio Gallegos] 20 October 2013 http://www.eldiarionuevodia.com.ar/local/politica/2013/10/20/peraltahabia-descerebrados-faloperos-borrachos-estaban-festejando-quema-edificio-5308.html

[80] Gojan, Pedro. "Berni viajo a Santa Cruz para frenar la ocupacion masiva de terrenos." *La Nación,* [Rio Gallegos] 5 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1626171-berni-viajo-a-santa-cruz-para-frenar-la-ocupacion-masiva-de-terrenos ; "Cruces en Rio Gallegos." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 5 October 2013 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-230600-2013-10-05.html

[81] "Daniel Peralta denuncio que el Kirchnerismo esta buscando 'un muerto' en Santa Cruz." *La Nación,* [DyN] 22 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1631377-daniel-peralta-denuncio-que-el-Kirchnerismo-esta-buscando-un-muerto-en-santa-cruz

[82] "Daniel Peralta denuncio que el Kirchnerismo esta buscando 'un muerto' en Santa Cruz." *La Nación,* [DyN] 22 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1631377-daniel-peralta-denuncio-que-el-Kirchnerismo-esta-buscando-un-muerto-en-santa-cruz

[83] "Peralta le deseo a Cristina 'se restablecza pronto' pero pidio que en el 2.015 'se vaya tranquila en su casa.'" *El Diario Nueva Dia,* [Rio Gallegos] 8 October 2013 http://www.eldiarionuevodia.com.ar/local/politica/2013/10/8/peralta-deseo-cristina-restablezca-pronto-pero-pidio-2015-vaya-tranquila-casa-5201.html ; "Daniel Peralta deseo que Cristina Kirchner 'se restablezca pronto' para que 'se vaya tranquila a su casa en 2015.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 8 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1627067-daniel-peralta-deseo-que-cristina-kirchner-se-restablezca-pronto-para-que-se-vaya-tranquila-

[84] "Peralta dijo estar dispuesto al dialogo, sin condiciones." *La Opinion Austral,* [Rio Gallegos] 9 November 2013 http://laopinionaustral.com.ar/diario.asp?Modo=Noticia&NId=26623&texto=peralta&A=2015&M=10&D=9

[85] "Peralta: 'Hablar de unificacion del PJ provincial con el FPV, es hacer futurologica.'" *El Diario Nueva Dia,* [Rio Gallegos] 8 November 2013 http://www.eldiarionuevodia.com.ar/local/politica/2013/11/8/peralta-hablar-unificacion-provincial-fpv-hacer-futurologia-5524.html

[86] "Peralta apunta a una 'nueva etapa' en el Gobierno Nacional." *La Opinion Austral,* [Rio Gallegos] 20 November 2013 http://laopinionaustral.com.ar/diario.asp?Modo=Noticia&NId=27223&texto=peralta&A=2015&M=10&D=9

campaigned in support of Peralta's opposition list.[87] In addition, to explain his electoral defeat Peralta blamed the national government's political machine in the province.[88] The governor also mentioned the possibility of inviting opposition to Cristina Kirchner Peronist candidate Sergio Massa to visit Santa Cruz.[89]

Newspaper articles indicated that Peralta was not aligned with the national government. An article from La Nación claimed Peralta was distant from the national government and instead aligned with opposition leader Sergio Massa.[90] Another article from the same newspaper acknowledged that "Peralta had strong differences with the Casa Rosada and that he confronted the national government."[91] This estrangement, according to the newspaper, generated a decrease in housing projects in the province.[92]

Peralta has not held a position in the national government since 2003.

The list that came second in the elections was aligned with the national government. This list used the Frente para la Victoria party tag. In addition, an article from La Nación referred to this list as Kirchnerista.[93] The candidate who won a seat frequently referenced Cristina Kirchner and the national project in his campaign speeches.[94] Similarly, in his victory speech, he claimed that their electoral victory was the best way to honor Néstor Kirchner.[95]

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[87] "Susana Toledo: 'Hay que poner un freno a las faltas de respeto constantes.'" *El Diario Nueva Dia,* [Rio Gallegos] 4 October 2013 http://www.eldiarionuevodia.com.ar/local/politica/2013/10/4/susana-toledo-hay-poner-freno-faltas-respeto-constantes-5169.html ; "Costa: 'Maximo es el conductor del FPV y no reconoce la derrota.'" *El Diario Nueva Dia,* [Rio Gallegos] 29 October 2013 http://www.eldiarionuevodia.com.ar/local/politica/2013/10/29/costamaximo-conductor-reconoce-derrota-5407.html

[88] Arias, Marciela. "En la cuna de Kirchnerismo, el vencedor fue un Radical." *La Nación,* [Rio Gallegos] 28 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1633169-en-la-cuna-del-Kirchnerismo-el-vencedor-fue-un-Radical

[89] "Peralta apunta a una 'nueva etapa' en el Gobierno Nacional." *La Opinion Austral,* [Rio Gallegos] 20 November 2013 http://laopinionaustral.com.ar/diario.asp?Modo=Noticia&NId=27223&texto=peralta&A=2015&M=10&D=9

[90] "Un debate prolongado que cerro con sorpresas a la hora de votar." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 September 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1623751-un-debate-prolongado-que-se-cerro-con-sorpresas-a-la-hora-de-votar

[91] "Daniel Peralta deseo que Cristina Kirchner 'se restablezca pronto' para que 'se vaya tranquila a su casa en 2015.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 8 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1627067-daniel-peralta-deseo-que-cristina-kirchner-se-restablezca-pronto-para-que-se-vaya-tranquila-

[92] Gojan, Pedro. "Rio Gallegos: 'unas 600 familias tomaron terrenos provinciales.'" *La Nación,* [Rio Gallegos] 4 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1625814-rio-gallegos-unas-600-familias-tomaron-terrenos-provinciales

[93] Arias, Marciela. "En la cuna de Kirchnerismo, el vencedor fue un Radical." *La Nación,* [Rio Gallegos] 28 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1633169-en-la-cuna-del-Kirchnerismo-el-vencedor-fue-un-Radical

[94] "Diputado Gomez Bull pide paz social." *El Diario Nueva Dia,* [Rio Gallegos] 19 October 2013 http://www.eldiarionuevodia.com.ar/local/politica/2013/10/19/diputado-gomez-bull-pide-social-5304.html

[95] "Gomez Bull: 'Costa, sin abrir la boca, ha logrado un excelente resultado.'" *El Diario Nueva Dia,* [Rio Gallegos] 28 October 2013 http://www.eldiarionuevodia.com.ar/local/politica/2013/10/28/gomez-bull-costa-abrir-boca-logrado-excelente-resultado-5396.html

Santa Fe

2007

In 2007 Santa Fe elected a governor, a vice-governor, 50 local deputies, and nineteen local senators.[1] Eleven coalitions competed for the gubernatorial position, and two garnered a majority of the vote: Frente Progresista, Cívico y Social and Frente para la Victoria. Hermes Binner, from Frente Progresista, Cívico y Social, was elected with 52.6% of the vote.[2] Frente para la Victoria came in second with 41.9% of the vote.[3]

The elected governor, Hermes Binner, does not belong to the Peronist Party. He belongs to the Partido Socialista (Socialist Party).[4] National newspapers underscored that Binner's victory in the election put an end to more than two decades of Peronist administrations in the province.[5] Additionally, the elected governor used the Frente Progresista, Cívico y Social, and not the Frente para la Victoria, party tag.[6] Every indicator points to a clear opposition between the governor and the President.

Before the election, Binner predicted that Néstor Kirchner's support for the Frente para la Victoria candidate would not change the results of the election.[7] After the election, the elected governor expressed his hope that Elisa Carrió (an opposition presidential candidate) would choose the Head of the Partido Socialista as her running-mate, thus showing a coalition between his party and members of the national opposition.[8] In fact, Binner affirmed that he would vote for Carrió in the forthcoming presidential election.[9] Additionally, the elected governor declared that the coalition between Frente para la Victoria and the UCR at the national level was less plural than the national government claimed it was.[10] However, Binner also affirmed that he expected to have a mature relationship with the national government.[11] The elected governor also declared

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[1] In 2007 Santa Fe also elected president, vice-president, and ten national deputies. However, the elections were not concurrent.

[2] "El socialista Binner se impuso en Santa Fe". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 2 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/940238-el-socialista-binner-se-impuso-en-santa-fe.

[3] "El socialista Binner se impuso en Santa Fe". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 2 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/940238-el-socialista-binner-se-impuso-en-santa-fe.

[4] ""Bielsa pierde por agredir"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 23 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/937522-bielsa-pierde-por-agredir.

[5] Pagni, Carlos. "Una interpelación al modelo del Presidente". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/940458-una-interpelacion-al-modelo-del-presidente ; Feldman, Pablo. "Un día en que Santa Fe puede votar por hacer historia en el socialismo". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 2 September 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-90704-2007-09-02.html.

[6] Bordon, José E. "El PJ podría poder el poder en Santa Fe, pero Bielsa se ilusiona". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 26 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/938051-el-pj-podria-perder-el-poder-en-santa-fe-pero-bielsa-se-ilusiona.

[7] "Iban a poner al PJ dos puntos arriba, pero no se animaron a tanto". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 30 August 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/suplementos/rosario/10-10050-2007-08-30.html.

[8] Serra, Laura. "Respalda Binner una coalición con Carrió". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/940706-respalda-binner-una-coalicion-con-carrio.

[9] "El voto de Binner". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 13 September 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/91297-29114-2007-09-13.html.

[10] Serra, Laura. ""La concertación de Kirchner no es tan plural", afirmó Binner". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 8 September 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/942141-la-concertacion-de-kirchner-no-es-tan-plural-afirmo-binner.

[11] Serra, Laura. "Respalda Binner una coalición con Carrió". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/940706-respalda-binner-una-coalicion-con-carrio.

that he had always respected Kirchner, even thought he had not always agreed with the President's decisions.[12] Moreover, Binner praised the judicial reform that Kirchner carried out.[13] National newspapers stated that the elected governor avoided an open confrontation with the national government because he thought that it would be difficult to govern the province if the President was a strong opponent.[14]

Binner did not meet with any officials from the national government during the campaign. He had a meeting with an opposition governor before the election.[15] The night of the election, the President and the vice-President called the elected governor to congratulate him for the outcome; while two opposition presidential candidates publicly celebrated the results of the election in the province.[16] After the election, Binner had a meeting with Néstor Kirchner, the Jefe de Gabinete (Chief of Staff), and the Vicejefe de Gabinete (Vice-Chief of Staff).[17]

La Nación newspaper stated that the elected governor was aligned with Elisa Carrió, a leader of the national opposition.[18] Additionally, an article from the same newspaper affirmed that Binner's victory would boost the electoral chances of the national opposition in the forthcoming presidential election.[19] La Nación also interpreted the results of the election in the province as a defeat for the national government.[20] Moreover, Página 12 stated that the elected governor was part of the anti-Kirchnerista center-left camp.[21] The same newspaper depicted Binner as an opposition leader.[22]

The elected governor did not hold a position in the national administration between 2003 and 2007.

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[12] "Binner volvió a la carga contra Obeid". *El Litoral,* [Santa Fe] 12 September 2007. http://www.ellitoral.com/index.php/diarios/2007/09/12/tapa/TAPA-01.html.

[13] "Binner volvió a la carga contra Obeid". *El Litoral,* [Santa Fe] 12 September 2007. http://www.ellitoral.com/index.php/diarios/2007/09/12/tapa/TAPA-01.html.

[14] Serra, Laura. "Respalda Binner una coalición con Carrió". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/940706-respalda-binner-una-coalicion-con-carrio ; "Carrió en Rosario, Binner en su casa". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 25 September 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-91937-2007-09-25.html.

[15] Feldman, Pablo. ""Nos conocemos hace 10 años"". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 19 August 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/suplementos/rosario/10-9906-2007-08-19.html.

[16] "El socialista Binner se impuso en Santa Fe". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 2 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/940238-el-socialista-binner-se-impuso-en-santa-fe ; Juárez, Paola. "Desde El Calafate, los Kirchner buscan minimizar la derrota". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/940459-desde-el-calafate-los-kirchner-buscan-minimizar-la-derrota ; "La oposición festejó, y ve "debilitado" al Gobierno". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/940460-la-oposicion-festejo-y-ve-debilitado-al-gobierno.

[17] "Kirchner y Binner, en la Rosada". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 11 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/943212-kirchner-y-binner-en-la-rosada.

[18] ""Bielsa pierde por agredir"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 23 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/937522-bielsa-pierde-por-agredir ; "Denunció ARI que se violó la veda electoral". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 31 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/939511-denuncio-ari-que-se-violo-la-veda-electoral.

[19] "El socialista Binner se impuso en Santa Fe". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 2 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/940238-el-socialista-binner-se-impuso-en-santa-fe.

[20] Serra, Laura. "Histórico triunfo de Binner en Santa Fe". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 September 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/940445-historico-triunfo-de-binner-en-santa-fe.

[21] Mocca, Edgardo. "Mensajes de un domingo electoral". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 9 September 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-91113-2007-09-09.html.

[22] Wainfeld, Mario. "La "no campaña"". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 23 September 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-91863-2007-09-23.html.

At the local level, Frente para la Victoria was aligned with the national government. The Frente para la Victoria candidate belongs to the Peronist Party, and used the President's party tag in this election.[23] Moreover, La Nación referred to that candidate as Kirchnerista.[24] Additionally, both Néstor and Cristina Kirchner travelled to the province separately to support the Frente para la Victoria candidate during the campaign.[25]

2009

In 2009 Santa Fe elected nine national deputies and three national senators.[26] Fourteen coalitions competed in the election, and two garnered a majority of the vote: Santa Fe Federal and Frente Progresista Cívico y Social. Santa Fe Federal won the races for the Senate and the Deputy Chamber with 42.3% and 39.87% of the vote, respectively.[27] Frente Progresista Cívico y Social, the coalition supported by the governor, came in a close second with 40.5% of the vote for the Senate and 39.1% for the Chamber of Deputies.[28]

The incumbent governor, Hermes Binner, does not belong to the Peronist Party; he belongs to the Partido Socialista (Socialist Party).[29] La Nación newspaper stated that Binner was not a Peronist.[30] Additionally, the coalition supported by the governor used the Frente Progresista Cívico y Social and not the Frente para la Victoria party tag in this election.[31]

Discursively, Binner expressed his opposition to the national government on several occasions throughout the election cycle. During the campaign, the governor repeatedly associated the Santa Fe Federal candidate with Néstor Kirchner, even though the latter had affirmed that he was not aligned with the national government either.[32] Binner also criticized the national administration for not understanding the crisis that the rural sector was going

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[23] Bordon, José E. "El PJ podría poder el poder en Santa Fe, pero Bielsa se ilusiona". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 26 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/938051-el-pj-podria-perder-el-poder-en-santa-fe-pero-bielsa-se-ilusiona.
[24] "La Lupa de Lavagna". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 15 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/934717-la-lupa-de-lavagna.
[25] "Último espaldarazo de Kirchner a Bielsa en Santa Fe". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/938954-ultimo-espaldarazo-de-kirchner-a-bielsa-en-santa-fe ; Bordón, José E. "Cristina Kirchner habla del largo plazo". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/937420-cristina-kirchner-habla-del-largo-plazo.
[26] Sued, Gabriel. "Binner y Reutemann juegan su futuro político en Santa Fe". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144493-binner-y-reutemann-juegan-su-futuro-politico-en-santa-fe.
[27] Sued, Gabriel. "Reutemann ganó de manera ajustada". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144855-reutemann-gano-de-manera-ajustada.
[28] Sued, Gabriel. "Reutemann ganó de manera ajustada". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144855-reutemann-gano-de-manera-ajustada.
[29] Bordón, José E. "El socialismo empareja a Reutemann sobre el final". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 19 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1140935-el-socialismo-empareja-a-reutemann-sobre-el-final.
[30] Morales Solá, Joaquín. "Todos miran a Kirchner y a Reutemann". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1140124-todos-miran-a-kirchner-y-a-reutemann.
[31] "Reutemann se impuso sobre el candidato de Binner y ya puede pensar en 2011". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144592-reutemann-se-impuso-sobre-el-candidato-de-binner-y-ya-puede-pensar-en-2011.
[32] "Giustiniani: "La ciudadanía entendió nuestro mensaje"". *El Litoral,* [Santa Fe] 25 June 2009. http://www.ellitoral.com/index.php/diarios/2009/06/25/politica/POLI-05.html ; Dinatale, Martín. "Santa Fe, pelea de presidenciables". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 31 May 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1134097-santa-fe-pelea-de-presidenciables.

through.[33]Additionally, the governor criticized the national government for the lack of dialogue with opposition parties.[34] At the same time, Binner praised Cristina Kirchner's decision to engage in a round of talks with all governors after the election.[35]

The governor met with both members of the national government and leaders of the national opposition throughout the election cycle. Before the election, Elisa Carrió and Gerardo Morales –two leaders of the national opposition—visited Binner in Santa Fe.[36] Moreover, Binner participated in a congress organized by a rural producer's association that clearly opposed the national government.[37] At the same time, Cristina Kirchner announced that the national government would give a loan to a subsidiary of General Motors located in Santa Fe.[38] The governor and members of the President's cabinet attended the ceremony in which she signed the loan.[39] Additionally, the national Ministro de Justicia (Minister of Justice) attended a public act headed by the governor on the Día de la Bandera (Flag Day).[40] After the election, Binner called Julio Cobos, the vice-President and leader of the national opposition, to congratulate him for the electoral results in the province of Mendoza.[41] Moreover, the President engaged in a round of talks with several governors (both aligned and non-aligned). [42] In this context, the governor had a meeting with Cristina Kirchner, the Jefe de Gabinete (Chief of Staff) and the Ministro del Interior (Minister of Interior).[43] Binner also attended two swearing-in ceremonies in Buenos

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[33] "Binner cuestionó la postura nacional sobre el campo". *El Litoral,* [Santa Fe] 6 June 2009. http://www.ellitoral.com/index.php/diarios/2009/06/06/politica/POLI-05.html?utm_source=otras_impresa ; "Giustiniani: "La ciudadanía entendió nuestro mensaje"". *El Litoral,* [Santa Fe] 25 June 2009. http://www.ellitoral.com/index.php/diarios/2009/06/25/politica/POLI-05.html.

[34] Bullrich, Lucrecia. "Binner: Reutemann se pone nervioso y no se hace cargo de su pasado". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1139622-binner-reutemann-se-pone-nervioso-y-no-se-hace-cargo-de-su-pasado.

[35] ""Es importante empezar a hablar"". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 14 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/suplementos/rosario/10-19340-2009-07-14.html ; ""Favorable y creíble"". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 17 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/suplementos/rosario/10-19385-2009-07-17.html ; "Cristina lo recibe el jueves próximo". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 18 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/suplementos/rosario/10-19402-2009-07-18.html ; "Binner elogió el "cambio de actitud"". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 24 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/suplementos/rosario/10-19484-2009-07-24.html.

[36] Bordón, José E. "Carrió se mostró con Binner y llamó a derrotar a Reutemann". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 10 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1137545-carrio-se-mostro-con-binner-y-llamo-a-derrotar-a-reutemann.

[37] "Binner cuestionó la postura nacional sobre el campo". *El Litoral,* [Santa Fe] 6 June 2009. http://www.ellitoral.com/index.php/diarios/2009/06/06/politica/POLI-05.html?utm_source=otras_impresa.

[38] ""Algunas cosas cambiaron en dos años"". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 5 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/suplementos/rosario/9-18817-2009-06-05.html ; "Cristina firmó el préstamo para GM". *El Litoral,* [Santa Fe] 6 June 2009. http://www.ellitoral.com/index.php/diarios/2009/06/05/politica/POLI-01.html.

[39]""Algunas cosas cambiaron en dos años"". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 5 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/suplementos/rosario/9-18817-2009-06-05.html ; "Cristina firmó el préstamo para GM". *El Litoral,* [Santa Fe] 6 June 2009. http://www.ellitoral.com/index.php/diarios/2009/06/05/politica/POLI-01.html.

[40] "Rosario celebró a la bandera". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 21 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1141617-rosario-celebro-a-la-bandera.

[41] Capriata, Laura. "Cobos dijo que espera que Cristina Kirchner lo convoque". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 30 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1145162-cobos-dijo-que-espera-que-cristina-kirchner-lo-convoque.

[42] "Binner y Urtubey se reunieron con la Presidenta". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 23 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1154188-binner-y-urtubey-se-reunieron-con-la-presidenta.

[43] "Binner y Urtubey se reunieron con la Presidenta". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 23 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1154188-binner-y-urtubey-se-reunieron-con-la-presidenta ; "Binner elogió el "cambio

Aires; the President, some members of her cabinet, and a number of aligned governors were also present at the events.[44]

National newspapers predicted that the governor was a possible opposition candidate for the 2011 presidential election.[45] In fact, Página 12 and La Nación affirmed that Binner, Julio Cobos, and Elisa Carrió were competing against each other for the leadership of the center-left opposition.[46] Moreover, national newspapers referred to Binner as an opposition governor.[47] A local newspaper also stated that Binner and the Santa Fe Federal candidate, Carlos Reutemann, were both competing against each other to demonstrate who was truly opposed to Kirchnerismo.[48]

The governor did not hold a position in the national government between 2003 and 2009.

At the local level, Santa Fe Federal was not aligned with the President. La Nación stated that the candidate who headed the Santa Fe Federal ticket for the Senate, Carlos Reutemann, was part of the non-Kirchnerista Peronism.[49] The same newspaper stated that Néstor Kirchner was Reutemann's most important competitor.[50]

2011

In 2011, Santa Fe held gubernatorial elections. Three major coalitions participated – Frente Progresista Cívico y Social, Propuesta Republicana, and Frente para la Victoria. Frente Progresista Cívico y Social won the election with 38.5% of the vote; Propuesta Republicana and Frente para la Victoria received 35.4% and 22.3% of the vote respectively.[51]

The elected governor of the province, Antonio Bonfatti, is not a Peronist. He belongs to the Partido Socialista (Socialist Party). Bonfatti criticized Peronist leaders as always acting to

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de actitud"". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 24 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/suplementos/rosario/10-19484-2009-07-24.html.

[44] "Con la toma de juramento quedó conformado el nuevo gabinete nacional". *El Litoral*, [Santa Fe] 8 July 2009. http://www.ellitoral.com/index.php/id_um/42253- ; "Sileoni y Tedesco asumieron sus nuevos cargos". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 24 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1154261-sileoni-y-tedesco-asumieron-sus-nuevos-cargos.

[45] Rosemberg, Jaime. "Binner pone un pie en la Capital". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 7 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1136602-binner-pone-un-pie-en-la-capital ; Pertor, Werner. "Tres son multitud". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 14 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-126632-2009-06-14.html.

[46] Rosemberg, Jaime. "Carrió sueña con liderar un amplio interbloque". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 9 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1137285-carrio-suena-con-liderar-un-amplio-interbloque ; "El armado ideal del ingeniero Cobos". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 28 May 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-125706-2009-05-28.html.

[47] Rosemberg, Jaime e Ybarra, Gustavo. "Gobernadores derrotados, en crisis". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 7 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1147776-gobernadores-derrotados-en-crisis ; "Llegó la hora de los gobernadores". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 17 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-128403-2009-07-17.html.

[48] Alaniz, Rogelio. "La encrucijada del cuarto oscuro". *El Litoral*, [Santa Fe] 20 June 2009. http://www.ellitoral.com/index.php/diarios/2009/06/20/opinion/OPIN-05.html.

[49] Dinatale, Martín. "Santa Fe, pelea de presidenciables". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 31 May 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1134097-santa-fe-pelea-de-presidenciables.

[50] Morales Solá, Joaquín. "Todos miran a Kirchner y a Reutemann". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 17 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1140124-todos-miran-a-kirchner-y-a-reutemann.

[51] "Bonfatti: 'Vamos a seguir transformando Santa Fe.'" *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 24 July 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-172948-2011-07-24.html

benefit their friends.[52] Moreover, Página 12 described him as the leader of a coalition that attempted to ward off Peronism.[53] He represents non-Peronist opposition. Bonfatti did not use the Frente para la Victoria party tag in this election; instead, he used the Frente Progresista Cívico y Social party tag, which included both the Socialist Party and the Unión Cívica Radical (UCR).[54]

The governor's discourse moved from mildly conciliatory to clear opposition. In an interview with La Nación before the election, Bonfatti described any future relationship with Cristina Kirchner as one of respect, where he would support the national government if their policies were positive and otherwise devise an alternative policy.[55] Following the election, the governor dedicated his win to the national opposition leader representing the Socialist Party, Hermes Binner, and vowed to continue his model.[56] In the same speech, Bonfatti referred to Santa Fe's model as an alternative to the national government's.[57] In an interview with a local newspaper, the governor stressed that he promoted a dialogue between the provincial and central government.[58]

Bonfatti did not meet with members of the national government throughout the election cycle. However, national opposition leader Hermes Binner campaigned with the governor side by side.[59] This opposition leader also appeared with Bonfatti to celebrate his victory.[60] Other national opposition leaders also congratulated Bonfatti, calling his victory a defeat of Kirchnerismo.[61]

Newspapers and experts frequently lumped Bonfatti with the national opposition. Both national and local newspapers called the governor the successor of opposition leader Hermes

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[52] Bullrich, Lucrecia. "Bonfatti: 'El PJ es el Estado para los amigos y Del Sel, el pasado.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 21 July 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1391048-bonfatti-el-pj-es-el-estado-para-los-amigos-y-del-sel-es-el-pasado

[53] Lantos, Nicolas. "Todos miran hacia Santa Fe." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 24 July 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-172943-2011-07-24.html

[54] "Bonfatti: 'Vamos a seguir transformando Santa Fe.'" *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 24 July 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-172948-2011-07-24.html ; Bastus, Luis. "'Nadie viene a decirnos qué hacer.'" *Página 12,* [Rosario] 22 July 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-172801-2011-07-22.html

[55] Sued, Gabriel. "'El progresismo hay que llevarlo a la práctica.'" *La Nación,* [Rosario] 23 July 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1391755-el-progresismo-hay-que-llevarlo-a-la-practica

[56] "'Somos la única provincia que no se arrodilla ante el Gobierno', manifestó Binner." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 25 July 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1392132-el-socialismo-confia-en-ganar-y-dar-impulso-a-la-campana-de-binner ; "Bonfatti: 'Vamos a seguir transformando Santa Fe.'" *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 24 July 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-172948-2011-07-24.html ; "Para Bonfatti se trató de un 'voto castigo.'" *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 25 July 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-173002-2011-07-25.html

[57] "Bonfatti: 'Vamos a seguir transformando Santa Fe.'" *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 24 July 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-172948-2011-07-24.html

[58] "Sueño que cada persona que quiera tener su casa, como mínimo tenga su terreno" *El Litoral,* [Santa Fe] 7 August 2011 http://www.ellitoral.com/index.php/diarios/2011/08/07/politica/POLI-08.html

[59] Curiotto, Jose. "Tres candidatos, tres estrategias." *El Litoral,* [Santa Fe] 18 July 2011 http://www.ellitoral.com/index.php/diarios/2011/07/18/opinion/OPIN-03.html

[60] "Bonfatti: 'Vamos a seguir transformando Santa Fe.'" *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 24 July 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-172948-2011-07-24.html ; "'Somos la única provincia que no se arrodilla ante el Gobierno', manifestó Binner." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 25 July 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1392132-el-socialismo-confia-en-ganar-y-dar-impulso-a-la-campana-de-binner

[61] Bordon, Jose. "Del Sel, la revelación en Santa Fe." *La Nación,* [Santa Fe] 25 July 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1392224-del-sel-la-revelacion-en-santa-fe

Binner in the province.[62] National newspapers noted that his victory would boost Binner's presidential aspirations against Cristina Kirchner.[63] Binner himself acknowledged that a win for Bonfatti strengthened his own presidential campaign.[64]

Bonfatti did not hold a position in the national government between 2003 and 2011.

At the local level, one opposition candidate had ties with the national government, while another had ties with the national opposition. La Nación noted a clear alignment between the Frente para la Victoria candidate and the Casa Rosada (Argentina's White House).[65] Newspapers called the candidate a Kirchnerista.[66] Moreover, the candidate met with both Cristina Kirchner and her running-mate on the campaign trail.[67] The other opposition candidate was associated with Propuesta Republicana; he appeared with national opposition leader Mauricio Macri at his concession speech.[68] He also pledged to work for Macri's 2015 presidential campaign.[69]

2013

In 2013, the province of Santa Fe held legislative elections for national deputies. Three major coalitions participated in the election – Frente Progresista Cívico y Social, Propuesta Republicana, and Frente para la Victoria. Frente Progresista Cívico y Social won the election with 42.5% of the vote; Propuesta Republicana came in second with 27.1%, while Frente para la Victoria received 22.5% of the vote.[70]

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[62] Bullrich, Lucrecia. "Bonfatti: 'El PJ es el Estado para los amigos y Del Sel, el pasado.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 21 July 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1391048-bonfatti-el-pj-es-el-estado-para-los-amigos-y-del-sel-es-el-pasado ; Sued, Gabriel. "Reñida victoria de Bonfatti sobre Del Sel; el Kirchnerismo, arrollado." *La Nación,* [Rosario] 25 July 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1392244-cont-renida-victoria-de-bonfatti-sobre-del-sel ; "El significado 'incómodo' de la elección de Santa Fe." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 25 July 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1392302-el-significado-incomodo-de-la-eleccion-de-santa-fe ; Bastus, Luis. "'Hay que profundizar los cambios.'"*Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 26 July 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/suplementos/rosario/10-29700-2011-07-26.html ; "Recta final de la campaña santafesina." *El Litoral,* [Santa Fe] 16 July 2011 http://www.ellitoral.com/index.php/diarios/2011/07/16/politica/POLI-04.html

[63] "Los ganadores y perdedores." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 25 July 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1392235-los-ganadores-y-perdedores

[64] "Binner apuesta todo a Bonfatti." *La Nación,* [Rosario] 19 July 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1390704-rechazo-del-lole

[65] Ybarra, Gustavo. "Calendario electoral difícil hasta octubre." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 12 July 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1388846-calendario-electoral-dificil-hasta-octubre

[66] "Rossi y Urribarri no sienten la elección de Macri como un riesgo." *El Litoral,* [Santa Fe] 11 July 2011 http://www.ellitoral.com/index.php/diarios/2011/07/11/politica/POLI-03.html

[67] Sued, Gabriel. "La Presidenta apuesta fuerte y va a hacer campaña en Santa Fe." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 July 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1390251-cont-cristina-juega-fuerte-en-santa-fe ; Sued, Gabriel. "La Presidenta hizo campaña en Santa Fe y atacó a Binner." *La Nación,* [Puerto San Martin] 20 July 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1390982-la-presidenta-hizo-campana-en-santa-fe-y-ataco-a-binner

[68] Sued, Gabriel. "Reñida victoria de Bonfatti sobre Del Sel; el Kirchnerismo, arrollado." *La Nación,* [Rosario] 25 July 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1392244-cont-renida-victoria-de-bonfatti-sobre-del-sel

[69] Bossi, Jesica. "Del Sel prometió apoyar a Duhalde." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 26 July 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1392423-del-sel-prometio-apoyar-a-duhalde

[70] Bordon, Jose. "Binner cosechó otro triunfo y revalidó sus planes presidenciales para 2015." *La Nación,* [Santa Fe] 28 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1633193-binner-cosecho-otro-triunfo-y-revalido-sus-planes-presidenciales-para-2015

The governor of the province, Antonio Bonfatti, is not a Peronist, he belongs to the Socialist Party.[71] La Nación referred to the Frente Progresista Cívico y Social list as the non-Peronist national opposition.[72] Bonfatti did not support the list that used the Frente para la Victoria party tag during this election; instead, he supported the Frente Progresista Cívico y Social list, which included the Socialist and the Radical Parties.[73]

Discursively, Bonfatti remained critical of the national government. In a speech before the election, he blamed the national government for not being able to prevent drug-related violence in the province.[74] In campaigning for his coalition, the governor emphasized that another way of governing was possible – one that was different from the national administration's way.[75] Bonfatti also criticized the fiscal policies of the national government in a public speech.[76] After the election, Bonfatti stressed that the provincial project was an alternative to the national project.[77] The governor again blamed the national government for not stepping in to help stop drug trafficking in the province.[78]

Bonfatti did not meet with any officials from the national government during the election cycle. He even noted that he had not met with the President since becoming governor.[79] The Ministro de Defensa (Minister of Defense) lashed out at the governor for incubating drug trafficking in the province.[80] However, he did receive an invitation from the Jefe de Gabinete

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[71] "El peronismo se mostró unido a 10 días de las elecciones." *El Litoral*, [Santa Fe] 18 October 2013 http://www.ellitoral.com/index.php/diarios/2013/10/18/politica/POLI-01.html

[72] Sued, Gabriel. "Con la rotunda victoria de Massa, se profundizó la derrota Kirchnerista." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1633188-con-la-rotunda-victoria-de-massa-se-profundizo-la-derrota-Kirchnerista

[73] Bordon, Jose. "Binner: 'No tenemos miedo por lo que le ocurrió a Bonfatti.'" *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 26 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1632607-binner-no-tenemos-miedo-por-lo-que-le-ocurrio-a-bonfatti ; Sued, Gabriel. "Con la rotunda victoria de Massa, se profundizó la derrota Kirchnerista." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1633188-con-la-rotunda-victoria-de-massa-se-profundizo-la-derrota-Kirchnerista

[74] "Binner duro con Rossi: 'Politiza el atentado a Bonfatti.'" *Notife,* [Santa Fe] 15 October 2013 http://notife.com/310314-binner/ ; "Barletta: 'Que el gobierno nacional devuelva los gendarmes que se llevaron de Santa Fe.'" *Notife,* [Santa Fe] 18 October 2013 http://notife.com/325166-barletta-que-el-gobierno-nacional-devuelva-los-gendarmes-que-se-llevaron-de-santa-fe/

[75] "'En 24 años de gobierno justicialista no se ha hecho lo que logramos en 6 años de gobierno del FPCyS.'" *Notife,* [Santa Fe] 24 October 2013 http://notife.com/326187-en-24-anos-de-gobierno-justicialista-no-se-ha-hecho-lo-que-logramos-en-6-anos-de-gobierno-del-fpcys/

[76] "Bonfatti criticó la política fiscal." *La Nación,* [Rosario] 1 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1624695-bonfatti-critico-la-politica-fiscal

[77] "Bonfatti y Henn destacaron el triunfo del Frente en Santa Fe." *El Litoral,* [Santa Fe] 29 October 2013 http://www.ellitoral.com/index.php/diarios/2013/10/29/politica/POLI-02.html

[78] "Bonfatti, duro con el gobierno nacional: 'Dejen de mentir.'" *El Litoral,* [Santa Fe] 14 November 2013 http://www.ellitoral.com/index.php/diarios/2013/11/14/tapa/index.html ; "Antonio Bonfatti: 'Todavía estoy esperando que me restituyan la vigilancia de gendarmería en mi casa.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 13 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1638040-antonio-bonfatti-todavia-estoy-esperando-que-me-restituyan-la-vigilancia-de-gendarmeria-en-m

[79] "Bonfatti: 'El federalismo hace a la mejor calidad de la democracia argentina.'" *El Litoral,* [Santa Fe] 1 September 2013 http://www.ellitoral.com/index.php/diarios/2013/09/01/politica/POLI-01.html

[80] "Agustín Rossi, sobre el caso Bonfatti: 'Uno da un abrazo solidario y te meten un cuchillazo por la espalda.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 16 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1629566-agustin-rossi-sobre-el-caso-bonfatti-uno-da-un-abrazo-solidario-y-te-meten-un-cuchillazo-por ; "Cruce de opiniones." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 16 October 2013 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/suplementos/rosario/subnotas/41009-4167-2013-10-16.html

(Chief of Staff) to begin a dialogue with the Casa Rosada to discuss this issue.[81] National opposition leaders came out in support of the governor, blaming the national government for not helping Bonfatti combat drug trafficking in the province.[82]

National newspapers lumped Bonfatti together with national opposition leader Hermes Binner.[83] La Nación called the electoral victory of Frente Progresista Cívico y Social, which Bonfatti supported, the start of the presidential race for Hermes Binner.[84] Referencing a potential meeting between Bonfatti and the Chief of Staff, La Nación claimed the meeting could thaw a cold relationship between Bonfatti and the national government.[85]

Bonfatti did not hold a position in the national government between 2003 and 2013.

At the local level, one opposition coalition had an alliance with the national government, while another had ties to the national opposition. The aligned list used the Frente Para la Victoria party tag and its candidate met with several aligned governors at a celebration of Peronism in the province.[86] Moreover, La Nación associated that coalition with Kirchnerismo.[87] Página 12 associated the Propuesta Republicana list with national opposition leader Mauricio Macri.[88]

[81] Rosemberg, Jaime. "El Gobierno invitó a Macri y a Bonfatti a iniciar un diálogo." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 26 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1642042-el-gobierno-invito-a-macri-y-a-bonfatti-a-iniciar-un-dialogo

[82] "Barletta: 'Que el gobierno nacional devuelva los gendarmes que se llevaron de Santa Fe.'" *Notife,* [Santa Fe] 11 August 2013 http://notife.com/325166-barletta-que-el-gobierno-nacional-devuelva-los-gendarmes-que-se-llevaron-de-santa-fe/

[83] "Agustín Rossi, sobre el caso Bonfatti: 'Uno da un abrazo solidario y te meten un cuchillazo por la espalda.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 16 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1629566-agustin-rossi-sobre-el-caso-bonfatti-uno-da-un-abrazo-solidario-y-te-meten-un-cuchillazo-por ; "Binner: 'Hay una polarización que hay que tener en cuenta.'" *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2013 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-232314-2013-10-28.html

[84] Sued, Gabriel. "Con la rotunda victoria de Massa, se profundizó la derrota Kirchnerista." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1633188-con-la-rotunda-victoria-de-massa-se-profundizo-la-derrota-Kirchnerista

[85] Rosemberg, Jaime. "El Gobierno invitó a Macri y a Bonfatti a iniciar un diálogo." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 26 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1642042-el-gobierno-invito-a-macri-y-a-bonfatti-a-iniciar-un-dialogo

[86] "El peronismo se mostró unido a 10 días de las elecciones." *El Litoral,* [Santa Fe] 18 October 2013 http://www.ellitoral.com/index.php/diarios/2013/10/18/politica/POLI-01.html

[87] Bordon, Jose. "Binner cosechó otro triunfo y revalidó sus planes presidenciales para 2015." *La Nación,* [Santa Fe] 28 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1633193-binner-cosecho-otro-triunfo-y-revalido-sus-planes-presidenciales-para-2015

[88] Kollmann, Raul. "Un cabeza a cabeza por el segundo lugar." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 15 October 2013 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-231262-2013-10-15.html

Santiago del Estero

2007

In 2007 Santiago del Estero elected president, vice-president, four national deputies, and three national senators. Sixteen coalitions competed in the race for the Senate, and seventeen for the Chamber of Deputies. The coalition supported by the incumbent governor, Frente Cívico por Santiago, garnered the majority of the vote.[1] Frente Cívico por Santiago won both the Senate's and the Chamber of Deputy's races with 53.2% and 52.3% of the vote, respectively. Movimiento Santiago Viable came in second with a meager 10.5% of the vote for the Senate and 10.1% of the vote for the Chamber of Deputies.

The incumbent governor, Gerardo Zamora, does not belong to the Peronist Party. Zamora belongs to the UCR; in fact, national newspapers characterized him as a Radical Kirchnerista (a Kirchnerista member of the UCR).[2] The coalition supported by the governor used the Frente Cívico por Santiago and not the Frente para la Victoria party tag.[3] The absence of an opposition discourse, his meetings with members of the national government, and experts' opinions about his position towards the national administration lead us to code the governor as aligned with the President.

National newspapers did not report any statements from Zamora regarding the national government throughout the election cycle.

The governor held a number of meetings with members of the national government. Before the election, Zamora travelled to New York with President Néstor Kirchner.[4] After the election, the governor signed an agreement with the national Ministro de Justicia (Minister of Justice) to improve the provincial prison system and to promote social inclusion among the inmates.[5] Moreover, Zamora had a meeting with the Secretario de Agricultura (Secretary of Agriculture).[6]

National newspapers depicted the governor as Radical Kirchnerista and thus aligned with the national administration.[7] Moreover, La Nación described Zamora as Néstor Kirchner's

[1] "El Kirchnerismo consigue la hegemonía en el Congreso". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957281-el-Kirchnerismo-consigue-la-hegemonia-en-el-congreso.
[2] "El Kirchnerismo consigue la hegemonía en el Congreso". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957281-el-Kirchnerismo-consigue-la-hegemonia-en-el-congreso ; Vales, Laura. "El Blanco es la hegemonía". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-93677-2007-10-28.html.
[3] "El Kirchnerismo consigue la hegemonía en el Congreso". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957281-el-Kirchnerismo-consigue-la-hegemonia-en-el-congreso.
[4] Obarrio, Mariano. "Alta tensión oficial con el Radicalismo K". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/949591-alta-tension-oficial-con-el-Radicalismo-k.
[5] Rodríguez, Leonel. "Marcha por justicia en Santiago". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 11 November 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/960332-marcha-por-justicia-en-santiago.
[6] "Breves". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 11 November 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/960830-breves.
[7]Obarrio, Mariano. "Alta tensión oficial con el Radicalismo K". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/949591-alta-tension-oficial-con-el-Radicalismo-k ; Vales, Laura. "El Blanco es la hegemonía". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-93677-2007-10-28.html.

favorite student.[8] An article from the same newspaper also identified Zamora as one of the governors that helped Cristina Kirchner be elected president.[9] Additionally, Página 12 stated that the legislators from Santiago del Estero who follow Zamora's orders, would be part of a legislative block with other allies of Kirchnerismo.[10]

The governor never held an appointed position in the national government for the 2003-2007 period. Zamora has been the governor of the province since 2005.

At the local level, Movimiento Santiago Viable was also aligned with the national government. Movimiento Santiago Viable identified with the Peronist Party.[11] Furthermore, Página 12 described the candidate who headed this ticket as Kirchnerista.[12]

2009

In 2009 Santiago del Estero elected three national deputies.[13] Ten coalitions competed in the election, and one garnered a majority of the vote. Frente Cívico por Santiago -the coalition supported by the governor- came in first with 62.3% of the vote and a more than 45% gap with the runner up, Frente Justicialista para la Victoria.[14] This translated into three deputy seats for Frente Cívico por Santiago.[15]

The governor, Gerardo Zamora, does not belong to the Peronist Party. National newspapers described Zamora as a Radical Kirchnerista (a Kirchnerista member of the UCR).[16] The coalition supported by the governor used the Frente Cívico por Santiago and not the Frente para la Victoria party tag.[17] Zamora continues to be coded as aligned with the President due to the opinion of experts, the absence of an opposition discourse towards the national government, and the public act he shared with Cristina Kirchner before the election.

Zamora did not make any declarations covered by newspapers regarding the national government throughout the election cycle.

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[8] Obarrio, Mariano. "Alta tensión oficial con el Radicalismo K". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/949591-alta-tension-oficial-con-el-Radicalismo-k.

[9] "Las sanciones no se limitarían sólo a Cobos". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 12 November 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/961450-las-sanciones-no-se-limitarian-solo-a-cobos.

[10] "En la segunda fila hay lugar". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 23 November 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-95100-2007-11-23.html.

[11] "El Kirchnerismo consigue la hegemonía en el Congreso". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/957281-el-Kirchnerismo-consigue-la-hegemonia-en-el-congreso.

[12] Vales, Laura. "El Blanco es la hegemonía". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-93677-2007-10-28.html.

[13] "El Kirchnerismo sufrió su primera derrota en Santa Cruz". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144252-el-Kirchnerismo-sufrio-su-primera-derrota-en-santa-cruz.

[14] "Amplio triunfo del oficialismo". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144870-amplio-triunfo-del-oficialismo.

[15] "Amplio triunfo del oficialismo". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144870-amplio-triunfo-del-oficialismo.

[16] Rodríguez, Leonel. "La Justicia detendría hoy al intendente de Santiago". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 6 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1147470-la-justicia-detendria-hoy-al-intendente-de-santiago ; Kollmann, Raúl. "Un paisaje muy variado en las provincias". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 21 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/127021-40656-2009-06-21.html.

[17] "El Kirchnerismo sufrió su primera derrota en Santa Cruz". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144252-el-Kirchnerismo-sufrio-su-primera-derrota-en-santa-cruz.

A few days before the election, Cristina Kirchner travelled to Santiago del Estero to inaugurate a factory with the governor.[18]

National newspapers referred to Zamora as Radical Kirchnerista.[19] Additionally, Página 12 and La Nación interpreted the results of the election in the province as a victory for Kirchnerismo.[20] La Nación also stated that the governor had an alliance with the national administration.[21] Moreover, Página 12 depicted Zamora as an ally of the national government.[22]

The governor did not hold a position in the national government between 2003 and 2009.

At the local level, Frente Justicialista para la Victoria was also aligned with the President. This coalition was headed by the Peronist Party and used a version of the Frente para la Victoria party tag. Furthermore, Página 12 stated that Kirchnerismo presented candidates in two lists in Santiago del Estero, Frente Cívico por Santiago and Frente Justicialista para la Victoria.[23]

2011

Santiago del Estero held national legislative elections in 2011. Multiple parties participated, including Frente Cívico por Santiago (a coalition of multiple parties that incorporates both Radicals and Peronists), Frente para la Victoria, and Unión Cívica Radical. Frente Cívico por Santiago won the elections by a wide margin; it garnered 71% of the vote, while its closest opponent won only 14.9%.[24] The governor of the province, Gerardo Zamora, belongs to the Frente Cívico por Santiago coalition.

Although his electoral coalition includes Peronist parties, Zamora does not identify as a Peronist. Newspapers labeled him as a Radical.[25] However, Zamora participated in Peronist celebrations such as the Día de la Militancia (Day of Party Militancy) celebrating the anniversary

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[18] Crettaz, José. "Inaugurar obras, una obsesión de campaña". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 23 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1142456-inaugurar-obras-una-obsesion-de-campana ; "Amplio triunfo del oficialismo". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144870-amplio-triunfo-del-oficialismo.

[19] "El Kirchnerismo se impuso en doce distritos". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144767-el-Kirchnerismo-se-impuso-en-doce-distritos ; "Una hinchada contra las privatizaciones". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 20 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-126964-2009-06-20.html.

[20] "El Kirchnerismo se impuso en doce distritos". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144767-el-Kirchnerismo-se-impuso-en-doce-distritos ; "Diputados obligados a buscar acuerdos". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-127442-2009-06-29.html.

[21] "Provincia por provincia, cómo se resuelve la pelea por el nuevo poder". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144475-provincia-por-provincia-como-se-resuelve-la-pelea-por-el-nuevo-poder.

[22] "Llegó la hora de los gobernadores". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 17 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-128403-2009-07-17.html.

[23] Miguez, Daniel. "Una cuenta muy difícil de resolver". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 21 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-127011-2009-06-21.html.

[24] "Zamora: 'La presidenta, en Santiago del Estero, estaria obteniendo el 83% de los votos.'" *El Liberal,* [Santiago del Estero] 23 October 2011 http://www.elliberal.com.ar/ampliada.php?ID=15384

[25] Capriata, Laura. "La UCR, en su peor momento." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 13 November 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1422853-la-ucr-en-su-peor-momento ; "Radicales K, una fuerza en lento declive." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 26 September 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1409386-Radicales-k-una-fuerza-en-lento-declive ; Granovsky, Martin. "Tercer turno con liderazgo nitido y fuerte." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 24 October 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-179625-2011-10-24.html ;
Rodriguez, Leonel. "Murio un diputado de Santiago del Estero." *La Nación,* [Santiago del Estero] 11 November 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1422332-murio-un-diputado-nacional-de-santiago-del-estero

of Juan Perón's return from exile.[26] Additionally, Zamora does not use the Frente para la Victoria party tag, he supported the list using the Frente Cívico por Santiago tag.

Throughout the duration of his campaign, Zamora expressed alignment with Néstor and Cristina Kirchner. In many instances before the election, Zamora stressed in public speeches his support for Cristina Kirchner's presidential reelection.[27] At the inauguration of a bus terminal, the governor credited the role of the national government and thanked them for their support.[28] He also invoked Néstor Kirchner in many of his speeches, recognizing his leadership in starting the current national project.[29] On the anniversary of Néstor Kirchner's death, Zamora paid tribute and called him a friend of the province.[30] On election day, Zamora thanked the people of Santiago del Estero for also supporting the President.[31] Directly following the election, the governor again praised the national government and emphasized that the province had always worked alongside it.[32] He even referred to Santiago del Estero as the capital of Kirchnerismo because of the overwhelming electoral support in many cities.[33] Zamora also praised Cristina Kirchner for her leadership role at the G20 summit in France.[34]

The governor met with a number of national officials during the election cycle. Before the election, he participated in the inauguration of the Plan Producción Limpia para Todos (Clean Production for All) with the President in Buenos Aires.[35] Zamora also signed an agreement with the Ministro de Planificación Federal (Minister of Federal Planning) by which the province would receive national transfers to channel the Salado River.[36] The Ministra de Industria (Minister of Industry) travelled to the province to participate with Zamora in the

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[26] "El peronismo local resalto las figuras de Cristina y Zamora y record a Kirchner." *El Liberal,* [Santiago del Estero] 18 November 2011 http://www.elliberal.com.ar/ampliada.php?ID=18916

[27] "Zamora: 'Cristina seguira gobernando en el pais y nosotros, en la provincia." *El Liberal,* [Santiago del Estero] 29 September 2011 http://www.elliberal.com.ar/ampliada.php?ID=12258 ; "'Es imposible pensar en el futuro si no vamos mejorando los servicios esenciales." *El Liberal,* [Santiago del Estero] 1 October 2011 http://www.elliberal.com.ar/ampliada.php?ID=12546 ; "Zamora pidio 'renovar el compromiso con Cristina.'" *El Liberal,* [Santiago del Estero] 2 October 2011 http://www.elliberal.com.ar/ampliada.php?ID=12669 ; "'Tenemos que votar a Cristina porque se lo merece y porque la necesitamos.'" *El Liberal,* [Santiago del Estero] 7 October 2011 http://www.elliberal.com.ar/ampliada.php?ID=13308 ;
"Zamora: 'Con Cristina vienen cuatro anos interesantes para Santiago.'" *El Liberal,* [Santiago del Estero] 10 October 2011 http://www.elliberal.com.ar/ampliada.php?ID=13631

[28] "Zamora anuncio obras de agua potable y la nueva terminal para Monte Quemado." *El Liberal,* [Santiago del Estero] 6 October 2011 http://www.elliberal.com.ar/ampliada.php?ID=13198

[29] "Zamora habilito cuatro plazas en el Siglo 20 donde se hara un polideportivo." *El Liberal,* [Santiago del Estero] 7 October 2011 http://www.elliberal.com.ar/ampliada.php?ID=13306

[30] "Un recuerdo que recorrio todo el pais." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-179977-2011-10-28.html ; "El pais recuerda hoy a Nestor Kirchner, a un ano de su fallecimiento." *El Liberal,* [Santiago del Estero] 27 October 2011 http://www.elliberal.com.ar/ampliada.php?ID=15916

[31] "Zamora: 'La presidenta, en Santiago del Estero, estaria obteniendo el 83% de los votos.'" *El Liberal,* [Santiago del Estero] 23 October 2011 http://www.elliberal.com.ar/ampliada.php?ID=15384

[32] "Zamora: 'El objetivo es desarrollar la industria y el turismo provincial.'" *El Liberal,* [Santiago del Estero] 25 October 2011 http://www.elliberal.com.ar/ampliada.php?ID=15606

[33] "Las perlitas." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 25 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1417583-las-perlitas

[34] "Zamora: 'La Presidenta fue una referente mundial en la Cumbre del G20.'" *El Liberal,* [Santiago del Estero] 5 November 2011 http://www.elliberal.com.ar/ampliada.php?ID=17131

[35] "Zamora acompano a Cristina en el lanzamiento del Plan Produccion Limpia para Todos." *El Liberal,* [Santiago del Estero] 28 September 2011 http://www.elliberal.com.ar/ampliada.php?ID=12129

[36] "La obra de Salado tendra una inversion de $1.700 milliones." *El Liberal,* [Santiago del Estero] 6 October 2011 http://www.elliberal.com.ar/ampliada.php?ID=13189

inauguration of an industrial plant.[37] Following the election, Cristina Kirchner invited Zamora to join her at the G20 summit in France and he accepted.[38] Later, the governor met with the Secretario de Medio Ambiente (Secretary of the Environment) regarding nationally funded projects in the province.[39]

Both La Nación and Página 12 indicated that Zamora was closely aligned with the national government. Often times, they referred to him as a Radical Kirchnerista.[40] This was noteworthy given that the Radicals who supported the national government were fewer and fewer in 2011, according to a journalist from La Nación.[41] National newspapers also explicitly called Zamora a Kirchnerista.[42] In addition, they lumped the governor together with other aligned governors and referred to him the most Kirchnerista of all Kirchnerista governors.[43]

Gerardo Zamora did not hold a position in the national government between 2003 and 2015.

At the local level, the party of the President, Frente para la Victoria, did participate in the legislative elections. Therefore, an opposition party at the local level also had an alignment with the national government. However, Cristina Kirchner frequently praised Zamora instead of the coalition with her own party tag, specifically his cooperation and participation in advancing the national project.[44]

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[37] "Giorgi fue invitada a la inauguracion de ampliacion de la Planta Coteminas." *El Liberal,* [Santiago del Estero] 14 October 2011 http://www.elliberal.com.ar/ampliada.php?ID=14122

[38] "Zamora en el G20 de Francia invitado por la Presidenta." *El Liberal,* [Santiago del Estero] 30 October 2011 http://www.elliberal.com.ar/ampliada.php?ID=16330 ; "Una intense agenda desarrollaran la Presidenta y Zamora en Francia." *El Liberal,* [Santiago del Estero] 31 October 2011 http://www.elliberal.com.ar/ampliada.php?ID=16460

[39] "La Nación convoco a Alperovich por la contaminacion." *El Liberal,* [Santiago del Estero] 1 November 2011 http://www.elliberal.com.ar/ampliada.php?ID=16614

[40] Rodriguez, Leonel. "Murio un diputado de Santiago del Estero." *La Nación,* [Santiago del Estero] 11 November 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1422332-murio-un-diputado-nacional-de-santiago-del-estero ; "Radicales K, una fuerza en lento declive." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 26 September 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1409386-Radicales-k-una-fuerza-en-lento-declive ; Capriata, Laura. "La UCR, en su peor momento." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 13 November 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1422853-la-ucr-en-su-peor-momento ; Granovsky, Martin. "Tercer turno con liderazgo nitido y fuerte." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 24 October 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-179625-2011-10-24.html ; "Un recuerdo que recorrio todo el pais." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-179977-2011-10-28.html

[41] "Radicales K, una fuerza en lento declive." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 26 September 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1409386-Radicales-k-una-fuerza-en-lento-declive

[42] Capriata, Laura. "La UCR, en su peor momento." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 13 November 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1422853-la-ucr-en-su-peor-momento ; "Zamora: 'Hay problemas de tierra en varios lugares de Santiago del Estero.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 22 November 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1425510-zamora-hay-problemas-de-tierra-en-varios-lugares-de-santiago-del-estero

[43] Bossi, Jesica. "Una puesta en escena muy cuidada para sorprender." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 20 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1416186-una-puesta-en-escena-muy-cuidada-para-sorprender ; "CFK, con la liga de los ganadores." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 28 September 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-177738-2011-09-28.html ; Mendelevich, Pablo. "Un problema menos para los Radicales." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 2 October 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1411059-un-problema-menos-para-los-Radicales

[44] "Giorgi y Zamora estuvieron juntos en la inauguracion de una ampliacion en la planta textil Coteminas." *El Liberal,* [Santiago del Estero] 18 October 2011 http://www.elliberal.com.ar/ampliada.php?ID=14682 ; "'Cristina: El desarrollo es possible gracias al apoyo de gobernadores como Zamora.'" *El Liberal,* [Santiago del Estero] 19 October 2011 http://www.elliberal.com.ar/ampliada.php?ID=14753

2013

Santiago del Estero held both legislative and gubernatorial elections in 2013. While several parties participated, only two coalitions received a significant amount of votes – the Frente Cívico por Santiago, and the Frente Progresista Cívico y Social. Frente Cívico por Santiago consisted primarily of Peronism, UCR, and Socialist parties; Frente Progresista Cívico y Social included UCR and Propuesta Republicana.[45] The incumbent Frente Cívico por Santiago and its candidate Claudia Zamora, wife of the ncumbent, won the gubernatorial election with 64.6% of the vote, while their closest opponent garnered only 14.5%.[46] Claudia Zamora succeeded her husband, former governor Gerardo Zamora since 2005, when the Supreme Court barred him from seeking a third term.[47] Given the political congruency between husband and wife, local experts agreed that there was continuity between administrations and newspapers referred to them synonymously.[48] Moreover, the governor himself defined these elections as a plebiscite of his administration.[49]

Although Claudia Zamora's electoral coalition includes Peronist parties, she is not a Peronist.[50] She belongs to the UCR, and is a Radical-K, a member of the UCR who supports

[45] "Se anotaron cinco frentes para competir en las elecciones de gobernador y vicegobernador." *El Liberal,* [Santiago del Estero] 6 November 2013 http://www.elliberal.com.ar/ampliada.php?ID=112792 ; "Zamora saludo a los militantes en su dia." *El Liberal,* [Santiago del Estero] 17 November 2013 http://www.elliberal.com.ar/ampliada.php?ID=114212

[46] "Rotundo triunfo de Claudia Zamora." *El Liberal,* [Santiago del Estero] 2 December 2013 http://www.elliberal.com.ar/ampliada.php?ID=116146 ; Rosemburg, Jaime. "Ledesma arraso de la mano de Zamora y se declaro 'incondicional' de Cristina." *La Nación,* [Santiago del Estero] 2 December 2013 "http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1643780-ledesma-arraso-de-la-mano-de-zamora-y-se-declaro-incondicional-de-cristina ; "Claudia Ledesma Abdala se impuso en las elecciones y es la nueva gobernadora de Santiago del Estero." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 2 December 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1643742-claudia-ledesma-abdala-se-impuso-en-las-elecciones-y-es-la-nueva-gobernadora-de-santiago-del ; "Seguire acompanado incondicionalmente a la presidenta Cristina Kirchner." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 1 December 2013 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-234756-2013-12-01.html ; "CFK recibio a la gobernadora electa." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 2 December 2013 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-234823-2013-12-02.html

[47] "El colmo de nepotismo." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 1 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1634372-el-colmo-del-nepotismo ; Rodriguez, Leonel Alberto. "Gerardo Zamora no podra ser candidato a gobernador en Santiago: lo reemplazara su mujer." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 5 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1635681-santiago-del-estero-inhabilitan-a-zamora-a-ser-candidato-a-gobernador-su-mujer-lo-reemplazar ; Rodriguez, Leonel. "La Corte nego otra reeleccion a Zamora." *La Nación,* [Santiago del Estero] 6 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1635830-la-corte-nego-otra-reeleccion-a-zamora ; "Zamora, sin re-reeleccion." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 5 November 2013 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/subnotas/232930-65609-2013-11-05.html

[48] "Claudia Zamora es garantia de continuidad del crecimiento." *El Liberal,* [Santiago del Estero] 22 November 2013 http://www.elliberal.com.ar/ampliada.php?ID=114809 ; "El colmo de nepotismo." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 1 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1634372-el-colmo-del-nepotismo

[49] "El 1 de diciembre se plebiscitara mi gestion de gobierno." *El Liberal,* [Santiago del Estero] 24 November 2013 http://www.elliberal.com.ar/ampliada.php?ID=115076

[50] "Se anotaron cinco frentes para competir en las elecciones de gobernador y vicegobernador." *El Liberal,* [Santiago del Estero] 6 November 2013 http://www.elliberal.com.ar/ampliada.php?ID=112792 ; "Zamora saludo a los militantes en su dia." *El Liberal,* [Santiago del Estero] 17 November 2013 http://www.elliberal.com.ar/ampliada.php?ID=114212 ; "CFK recibio a la gobernadora electa." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 2 December 2013 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-234823-2013-12-02.html

Kirchnerismo.[51] Zamora did not use the Frente para la Victoria party tag, she used the Frente Cívico por Santiago party tag.[52]

Throughout the campaign, both Claudia Zamora and her husband expressed alignment with the national government. In a speech before the election, Gerardo Zamora emphasized that he had an institutional alliance with the Kirchners dating back to 2005.[53] Accompanied by the Ministra de Desarrollo Social (Minister of Social Development), he remembered in a public speech that in 2009 the world was falling apart and President Cristina Kirchner went to inaugurate factories in Santiago del Estero.[54] At the inauguration of a water treatment plant, he also said in his speech that Néstor Kirchner had provided the possibility to reach their dream of decreasing poverty in the province.[55] In addition, Gerardo Zamora criticized the national opposition before the elections.[56] In her victory speech, Claudia Zamora thanked Cristina Kirchner and highlighted her loyalty to the President.[57] Gerardo Zamora later reiterated that his

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[51] Rosemburg, Jaime. "Santiago del Estero: la oposicion busca unirse en contra de Zamora." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 12 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1637491-santiago-del-estero-la-oposicion-busca-unirse-en-contra-de-zamora;"El colmo de nepotismo." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 1 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1634372-el-colmo-del-nepotismo ; Sirven Pablo. "Tras la derrota en las urnas, un fallo salvador." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1635040-tras-la-derrota-en-las-urnas-un-fallo-salvador ; Rosemburg, Jaime. "Santiago del Estero: la oposicion busca unirse en contra de Zamora." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 12 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1637491-santiago-del-estero-la-oposicion-busca-unirse-en-contra-de-zamora ; Rodriguez, Leonel. "Zamora encendio la polemica con una frase sobre Juarez." *La Nación,* [Santiago del Estero] 13 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1637783-zamora-encendio-la-polemica-con-una-frase-sobre-juarez ; Rosemburg, Jaime. "Con su esposa, Zamora se apresta a ratificar su poder." *La Nación,* [Santiago del Estero] 29 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1643023-con-su-esposa-zamora-se-apresta-a-ratificar-su-poder ; "El Gobierno busco capitalizar el triunfo y festejo con euforia." *La Nación,* [Santiago del Estero] 2 December 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1643781-el-gobierno-busco-capitalizar-el-triunfo-y-festejo-con-euforia

[52] "Rotundo triunfo de Claudia Zamora." *El Liberal,* [Santiago del Estero] 2 December 2013 http://www.elliberal.com.ar/ampliada.php?ID=116146

[53] "Deslizo que podria ocupar un cargo despues del 10 de diciembre." *El Liberal,* [Santiago del Estero] 27 November 2013 http://www.elliberal.com.ar/ampliada.php?ID=115472

[54] "Zamora: 'Pido que el 1 de diciembre llenemos las urnas de esparanza.'" *El Liberal,* [Santiago del Estero] 11 November 2013 http://www.elliberal.com.ar/ampliada.php?ID=113435

[55] "Zamora inauguro una Planta Potabilizadora de Agua en La Noria." *Sgo Noticias,* [Santiago del Estero] http://www.sgonoticias.com.ar/piel/2013/11/13/zamora-inauguro-una-planta-potabilizadora-de-agua-en-la-noria.html

[56] "'El tercer mandato del FC hara hincapie en la vivienda y en lo social.'" *El Liberal,* [Santiago del Estero] 27 November 2013 http://www.elliberal.com.ar/ampliada.php?ID=115498

[57] "Zamora expreso su satisfaccion por haber alcanzado 'todos los objectivos.'" *El Liberal,* [Santiago del Estero] 2 December 2013 http://www.elliberal.com.ar/ampliada.php?ID=116151 ; "El Gobernador Zamora junto al electo Vicegobernador, Neder, participaron de un acto de militantes." *Sgo Noticias,* [Santiago del Estero] http://www.sgonoticias.com.ar/piel/2013/12/04/el-gobernador-zamora-junto-al-electo-vicegobernador-neder-participaron-de-un-acto-de-militantes.html ; Rosemburg, Jaime. "Ledesma arraso de la mano de Zamora y se declaro 'incondicional' de Cristina." *La Nación,* [Santiago del Estero] 2 December 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1643780-ledesma-arraso-de-la-mano-de-zamora-y-se-declaro-incondicional-de-cristina ; "El Gobierno busco capitalizar el triunfo y festejo con euforia." *La Nación,* [Santiago del Estero] 2 December 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1643781-el-gobierno-busco-capitalizar-el-triunfo-y-festejo-con-euforia ; "Cristina Kirchner continia su agenda en Olivos: recibio a la gobernadora electa de Santiago del Estero." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 2 December 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1644008-cristina-kirchner-continua-su-agenda-en-olivos-recibio-a-la-gobernadora-electa-de-santiago-d ; "CFK recibio a la gobernadora electa." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 2 December 2013 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-234823-2013-12-02.html ; "Con una diferencia de casi 50 puntos." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 2 December 2013 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-234809-2013-12-02.html

wife would follow the guidelines of the national project.[58] He also said that he was proud of saying that he had had the opportunity to be governor with Néstor Kirchner and Cristina Fernández de Kircher as presidents, and that was everything a politician could aspire to.[59]

During the election cycle, both Gerardo and Claudia Zamora met with several members of the national government in Buenos Aires. The Jefe de Gabinete (Chief of Staff) met with Gerardo Zamora both in Buenos Aires and in Santiago del Estero. In these different instances, the Chief of Staff expressed the national government's support of his administration and commended both Gerardo and Claudia Zamora for their relationship with the Kirchners.[60] Gerardo Zamora also received a number of national ministers in the province, who visited the province to inaugurate public work projects.[61] In the context of these public acts, Gerardo Zamora proudly said that Santiago del Estero beat all records supporting the President in each election.[62] In addition, the Ministro de Planificación (Minister of Federal Planning) explicitly expressed support for Gerardo Zamora's administration.[63] The Ministro de Defensa (Minister of Defense) also commended Zamora for his support to the national government.[64] Once the President returned to her duties after having surgery, Gerardo Zamora traveled to Buenos Aires

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[58] "Gobernador Zamora: 'Entregare el mando, pero seguire trabajando por Santiago del Estero.'" *El Liberal,* [Santiago del Estero] 10 December 2013 http://www.elliberal.com.ar/ampliada.php?ID=117281

[59]"Zamora expreso su satisfaccion por haber alcanzado 'todos los objectivos.'" *El Liberal,* [Santiago del Estero] 2 December 2013 http://www.elliberal.com.ar/ampliada.php?ID=116151

[60] "Vamos a seguir manteniendo este proyecto que ha transformado la vida y la historia de Santiago del Estero." *El Liberal,* [Santiago del Estero] 15 November 2013 http://www.elliberal.com.ar/ampliada.php?ID=114018 ; "Abal Medina expreso el apoyo del Gobierno a la formula del Frente Civico Claudia Zamora – Jose Neder." *El Liberal,* [Santiago del Estero] 5 November 2013 http://www.elliberal.com.ar/ampliada.php?ID=112733 ; "El Gobierno nacional expreso su apoyo a la formula del Frente Civico." *El Liberal,* [Santiago del Estero] 6 November 2013 http://www.elliberal.com.ar/ampliada.php?ID=112802 ; "Abal Medina: 'El Frente Civico garantiza el crecimiento de la Provincia.'" *El Liberal,* [Santiago del Estero] 15 November 2013 http://www.elliberal.com.ar/ampliada.php?ID=113955 ; "Abal Medina se reunio con Zamora y Neder." *Sgo Noticias,* [Santiago del Estero] http://www.sgonoticias.com.ar/piel/2013/11/05/abal-medina-se-reunio-con-zamora-y-neder.html

[61] "Abal Medina y Zamora encabezaran el acto por el Dia de la Militancia en el Forum." *El Liberal,* [Santiago del Estero] 6 November 2013 http://www.elliberal.com.ar/ampliada.php?ID=112889 ; "Zamora y los ministros Abal Medina, Manzur, Sileoni y Puricelli dejaran inauguradas varias obras de importancia." *El Liberal,* [Santiago del Estero] 15 November 2013 http://www.elliberal.com.ar/ampliada.php?ID=113958 ; "El Ministro De Vido se reunio con el Gobernador Zamora y Neder." *Sgo Noticias* [Santiago del Estero] http://www.sgonoticias.com.ar/piel/2013/11/05/el-ministro-de-vido-se-reunio-con-el-gobernador-zamora-y-neder.html ; "Zamora destaco la inversion en educacion." *Sgo Noticias,* [Santiago del Estero] http://www.sgonoticias.com.ar/piel/2013/11/15/zamora-destaco-la-inversion-en-educacion.html

[62] "Abal Medina: 'El Frente Civico garantiza el crecimiento de la Provincia.'" *El Liberal,* [Santiago del Estero] 15 November 2013 http://www.elliberal.com.ar/ampliada.php?ID=113955

[63] "De Vido y Zamora supervisaron obras en Termas y Capital." *Sgo Noticias,* [Santiago del Estero] http://www.sgonoticias.com.ar/piel/2013/11/12/de-vido-y-zamora-supervisaron-e-inauguraron-obras.html ; Rodriguez, Leonel. "Respaldo del Gobierno a la esposa de Zamora." *La Nación,* [Santiago del Estero] 16 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1638769-respaldo-del-gobierno-a-la-esposa-de-zamora ; "Candidatos anotas." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 13 November 2013 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-233490-2013-11-13.html

[64] "Rossi informo a Zamora la Instalacion de una Delegacion del Instituto Geografico Nacional." *Sgo Noticias,* [Santiago del Estero] http://www.sgonoticias.com.ar/piel/2013/11/13/rossi-informo-a-zamora-la-instalacion-de-una-delegacion-del-instituto-geografico-nacional.html ; Rodriguez, Leonel. "Respaldo del Gobierno a la esposa de Zamora." *La Nación,* [Santiago del Estero] 16 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1638769-respaldo-del-gobierno-a-la-esposa-de-zamora

to accompany her in a ceremony for the appointment of new cabinet ministers.[65] The President's new chief of staff attended Claudia Zamora's victory speech and congratulated her in the name of the President.[66] Shortly after, both Gerardo and Claudia Zamora again met with Cristina Kirchner in Buenos Aires.[67] Finally, members of the national cabinet participated in the provincial swearing-in ceremony.[68]

La Nación and Página 12 referred to the Zamoras as Radicals Kirchneristas, members of the UCR who support the government.[69] Both newspapers also referred to the Zamoras as Kirchneristas.[70] They lumped Gerardo Zamora together with other Kirchnerista governors

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[65] "El Gobernador Zamora acompano a la presidenta en la asuncion de nuevos ministros." *El Liberal,* [Santiago del Estero] 20 November 2013 http://www.elliberal.com.ar/ampliada.php?ID=114664 ; "El Gobernador Zamora acompano a la Presidenta en la jura de los nuevos integrantes del gabinete nacional." *Sgo Noticias,* [Santiago del Estero] http://www.sgonoticias.com.ar/piel/2013/11/21/el-gobernador-zamora-acompano-a-la-presidenta-en-la-jura-de-los-nuevos-integrantes-del-gabinete-nacional.html

[66] "Rotundo triunfo de Claudia Zamora." *El Liberal,* [Santiago del Estero] 2 December 2013 http://www.elliberal.com.ar/ampliada.php?ID=116146 ; Rosemburg, Jaime. "Ledesma arraso de la mano de Zamora y se declaro 'incondicional' de Cristina." *La Nación,* [Santiago del Estero] 2 December 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1643780-ledesma-arraso-de-la-mano-de-zamora-y-se-declaro-incondicional-de-cristina ; "Claudia Ledesma Abdala se impuso en las elecciones y es la nueva gobernadora en Santiago del Estero." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 2 December 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1643742-claudia-ledesma-abdala-se-impuso-en-las-elecciones-y-es-la-nueva-gobernadora-de-santiago-del ; "Seguire acompanado incondicionalmente a la presidenta Cristina Kirchner." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 1 December 2013 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-234756-2013-12-01.html

[67] "La Presidenta recibio a la Dra. Claudia Zamora, gobernadora electa de Santiago del Estero." *El Liberal,* [Santiago del Estero] 2 December 2013 http://www.elliberal.com.ar/ampliada.php?ID=116204 ; "Cristina recibio a Claudia Zamora y repasaron las obras en ejecucion en la provincia." *El Liberal* [Santiago del Estero] 3 December 2013 http://www.elliberal.com.ar/ampliada.php?ID=116305

[68] "'Quiero ser herramienta de transformacion y garante de convivencia politica.'" *El Liberal* [Santiago del Estero] 11 December 2013 http://www.elliberal.com.ar/ampliada.php?ID=117425

[69] "El colmo de nepotismo." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 1 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1634372-el-colmo-del-nepotismo ; Sirven Pablo.
"Tras la derrota en las urnas, un fallo salvador." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1635040-tras-la-derrota-en-las-urnas-un-fallo-salvador ; Rosemburg, Jaime. "Santiago del Estero: la oposicion busca unirse en contra de Zamora." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 12 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1637491-santiago-del-estero-la-oposicion-busca-unirse-en-contra-de-zamora ; Rodriguez, Leonel. "Zamora encendio la polemica con una frase sobre Juarez." *La Nación,* [Santiago del Estero] 13 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1637783-zamora-encendio-la-polemica-con-una-frase-sobre-juarez ; Rosemburg, Jaime. "Con su esposa, Zamora se apresta a ratificar su poder." *La Nación,* [Santiago del Estero] 29 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1643023-con-su-esposa-zamora-se-apresta-a-ratificar-su-poder ; "El Gobierno busco capitalizar el triunfo y festejo con euforia." *La Nación,* [Santiago del Estero] 2 December 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1643781-el-gobierno-busco-capitalizar-el-triunfo-y-festejo-con-euforia ; "Con una diferencia de casi 50 puntos." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 2 December 2013 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-234809-2013-12-02.html

[70] Sola, Joaquin Morales. "Volver a un gobierno mas debil." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 10 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1636880-volver-a-un-gobierno-mas-debil ; "Santiago el Estero: cerraron las urnas y Gerardo Zamora espera un amplio triunfo de su esposa." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 1 December 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1643654-mi-marido-estara-a-mi-lado-dijo-la-esposa-de-gerardo-zamora-al-confiar-en-un-triunfo-en-sant ; Rosemburg, Jaime. "Ledesma arraso de la mano de Zamora y se declaro 'incondicional' de Cristina." *La Nación,* [Santiago del Estero] 2 December 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1643780-ledesma-arraso-de-la-mano-de-zamora-y-se-declaro-incondicional-de-cristina ; "Claudia Ledesma Abdala se impuso en las elecciones y es la nueva gobernadora de Santiago del Estero." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 2 December 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1643742-claudia-ledesma-abdala-se-impuso-en-las-elecciones-y-es-la-nueva-gobernadora-de-santiago-del

aligned with the national government.[71] La Nación even called him one of the most Kirchnerista governors in the country.[72] Página 12 also referred to Zamora's political party as Kirchnerista and La Nación noted that their electoral success was also a Frente para la Victoria success.[73] Finally, members of the national cabinet recognized the clear alignment between the province and the national government.[74]

Claudia Zamora never held an appointed position in the national government.

At the local level, the opposition coalition Frente Progresista Cívico y Social included both the UCR and the Propueta Republicana, which were members of the national opposition.[75] Its candidate attempted to unify all non-Kirchnerista parties into one coalition for the election.[76]

[71] Bossi, Jesica. "El Gobierno busca contener a los manditarios del PJ." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1635062-el-gobierno-busca-contener-a-los-mandatarios-del-pj ; Veron. Mariana. "El Gobierno alienta candidatos para frenar a Scioli y a Massa." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1638962-el-gobierno-alienta-candidatos-para-frenar-a-scioli-y-a-massa ; Vales, Laura. "Una fiesta para celebrar la militancia." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 18 November 2013 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-233853-2013-11-18.html

[72] Rosemburg, Jaime. "Con su esposa, Zamora se apresta a ratificar su poder." *La Nación,* [Santiago del Estero] 29 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1643023-con-su-esposa-zamora-se-apresta-a-ratificar-su-poder

[73] "Un dia de sonrisas en Olivos." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 3 December 2013 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-234878-2013-12-03.html ; "El resultado electoral complico el futuro de varios gobernadores del Kirchnerismo." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1635068-el-resultado-electoral-complico-el-futuro-de-varios-gobernadores-del-Kirchnerismo

[74] "Zamora: 'Pido que el 1 de diciembre llenemos las urnas de esparanza.'" *El Liberal,* [Santiago del Estero] 11 November 2013 http://www.elliberal.com.ar/ampliada.php?ID=113435

[75] "Se anotaron cinco frentes para competir en las elecciones de gobernador y vicegobernador." *El Liberal,* [Santiago del Estero] 6 November 2013 http://www.elliberal.com.ar/ampliada.php?ID=112792 ; Rosemburg, Jaime. "Santiago del Estero: la oposicion busca unirse en contra de Zamora." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 12 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1637491-santiago-del-estero-la-oposicion-busca-unirse-en-contra-de-zamora

[76] Rosemburg, Jaime. "Santiago del Estero: la oposicion busca unirse en contra de Zamora." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 12 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1637491-santiago-del-estero-la-oposicion-busca-unirse-en-contra-de-zamora

Tierra del Fuego

2007

In 2007 Tierra del Fuego held elections to fill the positions of governor, vice governor, and fifteen local deputies. In a convoluted campaign characterized by accusations of corruption, three coalitions competed for the executive: Afirmación para una República Igualitaria, Frente para la Victoria, and Movimiento Popular Fueguino - Unión Cívica Radical.[1] Fabiana Ríos from Afirmación para una República Igualitaria won the runoff with 52.4% of the vote becoming the first elected female governor in the country.[2] The incumbent (representing Frente para la Victoria) came in second.[3]

Fabiana Ríos does not belong to the Peronist party. In fact, she initiated her political career as part of the Socialist Party and founded the provincial Afirmación para una República Igualitaria in the early 2000s.[4] In addition, Ríos' candidacy was supported by a prominent non-Peronist presidential candidate, Elisa Carrió, who founded Afirmación para una República Igualitaria at the national level.[5] Ríos used the Afirmación para una República Igualitaria and not the Frente para la Victoria party tag.[6]

Ríos presented a discourse of moderate opposition to the national government. Her opposition discourse was moderate in part because President Néstor Kirchner was highly popular in Tierra del Fuego.[7] After the first round of the election in which Ríos came in second after the Frente para la Victoria candidate, the elected governor declared that Néstor Kirchner's political

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[1] "El mensaje de la ciudadanía fueguina". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 21 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/919110-el-mensaje-de-la-ciudadania-fueguina ; "En un clima de suspenso, rige la veda en Tierra del Fuego". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 22 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/919606-en-un-clima-de-suspenso-rige-la-veda-en-tierra-del-fuego ; Rosemberg, Jaime. "Otro ballotage crucial en Tierra del Fuego". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/920029-otro-ballottage-crucial-en-tierra-del-fuego ; Piqué, Martín. "Un policial negro, made in Tierra del Fuego" *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 17 June 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-86751-2007-06-17.html.

[2] Bocchicchio, Silvio. "La otra mujer". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 15 July 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/924565-la-otra-mujer.

[3] "Una farmaceútica que hizo historia". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/920332-una-farmaceutica-que-hizo-historia.

[4] "El sueño de la amiga de Carrió". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 16 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/917892-el-sueno-de-la-amiga-de-carrio ;
Bocchicchio, Silvio. "La otra mujer". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 15 July 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/924565-la-otra-mujer.

[5] "El gobierno quiere destruir la oposición". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 10 June 2006. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/916167-el-gobierno-quiere-destruir-la-oposicion ; "Ríos: "Por primera vez el ARI tiene chances"". *El Diario del Fin del Mundo,* [Ushuaia] 19 June 2007. http://www.eldiariodelfindelmundo.com/noticias/leer/10942/r-os-por-primera-vez-el-ari-tiene-chances.html.

[6] Bocchicchio, Sergio. "Tenso clima proselitista en Tierra del Fuego". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 10 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/916189-tenso-clima-proselitista-en-tierra-del-fuego ; "El Frente y el ARI definirán el ballotage". *El Diario del Fin del Mundo,* [Ushuaia] 18 June 2007. http://www.eldiariodelfindelmundo.com/noticias/leer/10934/el-frente-y-el-ari-definir-n-el-ballottage.html.

[7] Schurman, Diego. "En la Presidencia empezaron por el ARI". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 27 June 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-87240-2007-06-27.html.

alliances were based on obedience.[8] She also stated that the worst aspect of the federal government was that it was hegemonic and destroyed everyone who perceived as enemy.[9] After winning the runoff, the elected governor sent a conciliatory message to the national government by saying that Tierra del Fuego loved the President very much, but the province also loved Afirmación para una República Igualitaria.[10] The day after the election, Ríos analyzed that Kirchnerismo had lost the gubernatorial elections in Tierra del Fuego and the City of Buenos Aires because the population was tired of submissive relations between the federal and provincial governments.[11] Ríos also assured that for the presidential election she would support Afirmación para una República Igualitaria's founder, Elisa Carrió.[12] After participating in a private meeting with President Kirchner, Ríos affirmed that they had a democratic, mature, and adult dialogue and she was therefore very satisfied with the meeting.[13] At the same time, the elected governor assured that she was not being coopted by the national government.[14]

Ríos did not participate in any public acts with members of the national government. Conversely, Elisa Carrió, a prominent member of the national opposition supported Ríos' candidacy.[15] Carrió decided not to travel to the province to assist in her ally's campaign to not steal Ríos' momentum.[16] However, Carrió and Ríos talked after the first round and Ríos remembered from that conversation that her political ally was proud and happy of the results.[17] After the election, Ríos and the elected vice governor held a private meeting with President Néstor Kirchner and the Jefe de Gabinete (Chief of Staff).[18] In that meeting, Kirchner personally guaranteed that they would receive all the available information regarding the province's

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[8] "Perdió un modelo basado en la obediencia al poder". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 19 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/918587-perdio-un-modelo-basado-en-la-obediencia-al-poder.

[9] Piqué, Martín. "En el voto se ve el deseo de transformación". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 19 June 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/86815-27796-2007-06-19.html.

[10] "Ríos: "Es una jornada histórica"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/920240-rios-es-una-jornada-historica ; Piqué, Martín. "Hubo un mensaje de transformación". Página 12, [Buenos Aires] 25 June 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-87148-2007-06-25.html.

[11] Rosenberg, Jaime. "Ríos: en Capital y aquí perdió la política de la sumisión". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 26 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/920677-rios-en-capital-y-aqui-perdio-la-politica-de-la-sumision.

[12] Piqué, Martín. "Cuando esté con Kirchner voy a pedir certezas". Página 12, [Buenos Aires] 26 June 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-87190-2007-06-26.html.

[13] "El Presidente recibió a Fabiana Ríos". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 26 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/920785-el-presidente-recibio-a-fabiana-rios.

[14] Verón, Mariana. "Kirchner recibió a Ríos y le prometió "respeto"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/920930-kirchner-recibio-a-rios-y-le-prometio-respeto.

[15] "Para Carrió, se repitió el fenómeno de la Capital". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 19 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/918589-para-carrio-se-repitio-el-fenomeno-de-la-capital.

[16] "Para Carrió, se repitió el fenómeno de la Capital". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 19 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/918589-para-carrio-se-repitio-el-fenomeno-de-la-capital.

[17] "En el voto se ve el deseo de transformación". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 19 June 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/86815-27796-2007-06-19.html.

[18] "El Presidente recibió a Fabiana Ríos". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 26 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/920785-el-presidente-recibio-a-fabiana-rios ; Verón, Mariana. "Kirchner recibió a Ríos y le prometió "respeto"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/920930-kirchner-recibio-a-rios-y-le-prometio-respeto ; "Fabiana Ríos visitó a Kirchner". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 26 June 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-87203-2007-06-26.html ; "Diálogo democrático, maduro y adulto". *El Diario del Fin del Mundo,* [Ushuaia] 27 June 2007. http://www.eldiariodelfindelmundo.com/noticias/leer/11094/di-logo-democr-tico-maduro-y-adulto.html.

finances.[19] By the end of the coding period, a local newspaper stated that the incumbent and elected governor would meet with the Chief of Staff to discuss the possibility of refinancing the province's debt. [20]

La Nación newspaper depicted Ríos as clearly in opposition to the national government and as anti-Kirchnerista. [21] The same newspaper described Ríos' electoral victory in the runoff as an opposition victory and constantly associated Ríos with the national opposition leader, Elisa Carrió.[22] Her victory was analyzed as good news for Carrió's presidential aspirations.[23] Página 12 also portrayed Ríos' victory as a defeat for the national government.[24]

Fabiana Ríos never held an appointed position in the national government for the 2003-2007 period.

At the local level, both Frente para la Victoria and Movimiento Popular Fueguino - Unión Cívica Radical were aligned with the national government. Página 12 declared that if either coalition won the election it would be a victory for President Néstor Kirchner.[25] Moreover, La Nación stated that Kirchner equally supported both candidates in the first round.[26] In fact, both the incumbent, who used the Frente para la Victoria party tag, and the candidate who headed the Movimiento Popular Fueguino - Unión Cívica Radical ticket participated in a public act headed by Néstor Kirchner before the first round of the election.[27] Several articles from La Nación

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[19] Verón, Mariana. "Kirchner recibió a Ríos y le prometió "respeto"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/920930-kirchner-recibio-a-rios-y-le-prometio-respeto.

[20] "En búsqueda del auxilio de Nación". *El Diario del Fin del Mundo,* [Ushuaia] 16 July 2007- http://www.eldiariodelfindelmundo.com/noticias/leer/11404/en-la-b-squeda-del-auxilio-de-naci-n.html ; "Bassanetti: "El salvataje debería ser el doble o más de lo que pidió Cóccaro"". *El Diario del Fin del Mundo,* [Ushuaia] 17 July 2007. http://www.eldiariodelfindelmundo.com/noticias/leer/11425/bassanetti-el-salvataje-deber-a-ser-el-doble-o-m-s-de-lo-que-pidi-c-ccaro.html.

[21] Rosemberg, Jaime. "La campaña fueguina cerró con golpes bajos". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 15 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/917573-la-campana-fueguina-cerro-con-golpes-bajos ; "El sueño de la amiga de Carrió". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 16 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/917892-el-sueno-de-la-amiga-de-carrio.

[22] Rodríguez Yebra, Martín. "Doble caída de Kirchner: en la Capital ganó Macri y en Tierra del Fuego, ARI". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 25 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/920381-doble-caida-de-kirchner-en-la-capital-gano-macri-y-en-tierra-del-fuego-ari ; Verón, Mariana. "Kirchner recibió a Ríos y le prometió "respeto"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/920930-kirchner-recibio-a-rios-y-le-prometio-respeto ; "El sueño de la amiga de Carrió". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 16 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/917892-el-sueno-de-la-amiga-de-carrio ; "La mujer que pasó a ser la gran sorpresa". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 18 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/918454-la-mujer-que-paso-a-ser-la-gran-sorpresa ; Rosemberg, Jaime. "La campaña fueguina cerró sin debates y con mucho misterio". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 22 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/919497-la-campana-fueguina-cerro-sin-debates-y-con-mucho-misterio.

[23] Rosemberg, Jaime. "Otro ballotage crucial en Tierra del Fuego". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/920029-otro-ballottage-crucial-en-tierra-del-fuego.

[24] Schurman, Diego. "Kirchner hizo un lugar en su agenda para los dos gobernadores electos". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 26 June 2007.http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-87189-2007-06-26.html.

[25] "Apoyo K para dos candidatos". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 12 June 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-86453-2007-06-12.html.

[26] Rosemberg, Jaime. "Los dos principales candidatos fueguinos harán feliz a Kirchner". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/918177-los-dos-principales-candidatos-fueguinos-haran-feliz-a-kirchner ; Rosemberg, Jaime. "El ballotage fueguino, con final abierto". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 19 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/918586-el-ballottage-fueguino-con-final-abierto.

[27] "Apoyo K para dos candidatos". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 12 June 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-86453-2007-06-12.html ; "Los intendentes y Cóccaro, juntos en acto presidido por Kirchner". *El Diario del Fin del Mundo,* [Ushuaia] 11 June 2007.

referred to the incumbent as Kirchnerista.[28] The incumbent framed the electoral choice in the runoff as a model of growth associated with Néstor Kirchner versus the politics of Elisa Carrió, based exclusively on criticism.[29]

2009

In 2009 Tierra del Fuego held legislative elections to fill two national deputy positions. Twelve coalitions competed in the election, but only two garnered a sizable share of the vote: the Peronist Party and Partido Federal Fueguino. The Peronist Party won the election with 25.2% of the vote, which translated into one deputy seat, and Federal Fueguino came in second. The coalition supported by the governor in the election came in fifth with 9.4% of the vote.

We code the governor, Fabiana Ríos, as weakly aligned with the President.[30] Ríos does not belong to the Peronist Party; in fact, the coalition she supported in this election competed against the Peronist Party.[31] Additionally, the list she supported used the Proyecto Progresista and not the Frente para la Victoria party tag.[32] However, the absence of an opposition discourse, her numerous meetings with members of the national government, and experts' opinions about her position towards the President lead us to code her as weakly aligned with the President in 2009 election.

Unlike 2007, Ríos did not present a discourse of opposition towards the national government. The governor made no reference to the national government during the campaign. After the elections, however, she actively supported a bill that the President introduced in Congress, which favored Tierra del Fuego's electronic industry.[33] The bill enhanced the

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http://www.eldiariodelfindelmundo.com/noticias/leer/10812/los-intendentes-y-c-ccaro-juntos-en-acto-presidido-por-kirchner.html.

[28] Rosemberg, Jaime. "Un Kirchnerista se impone en Tierra del Fuego". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 18 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/918451-un-Kirchnerista-se-impone-en-tierra-del-fuego ; Rosemberg, Jaime. "Cóccaro suma apoyos y Ríos gana en confianza". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 21 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/919122-coccaro-suma-apoyos-y-rios-gana-en-confianza ; Rosemberg, Jaime. "Otro ballotage crucial en Tierra del Fuego". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 24 June 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/920029-otro-ballottage-crucial-en-tierra-del-fuego.

[29] "Último cola de perro". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 21 June 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-86893-2007-06-21.html.

[30] Given the governor's ambivalent position towards the President throughout the election, we extended the coding period two months to increase the reliability of the measure with additional evidence.

[31] "Provincia por provincia, cómo se resuelve la pelea por el nuevo poder". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144475-provincia-por-provincia-como-se-resuelve-la-pelea-por-el-nuevo-poder.

[32] "Provincia por provincia, cómo se resuelve la pelea por el nuevo poder". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144475-provincia-por-provincia-como-se-resuelve-la-pelea-por-el-nuevo-poder.

[33] "El impuesto tecno". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 14 August 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/economia/2-129966-2009-08-14.html ; Jorquera, Miguel. "Electrónicos con más IVA". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 2 September 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-131035-2009-09-02.html ; "Documento conjunto en defensa del proyecto". *El Diario del Fin del Mundo,* [Ushuaia] 16 September 2009. http://www.eldiariodelfindelmundo.com/noticias/leer/24731/documento-conjunto-en-defensa-del-proyecto.html ; "La semana que pasó". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 9 August 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1160220-la-semana-que-paso ; "La gobernadora de Tierra del Fuego dijo que el impuestazo tecnológico no influirá en los precios". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 2 September 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1169796-la-gobernadora-de-tierra-del-fuego-dijo-que-el-impuestazo-tecnologico-no-influira-en-los-precios ; "La ley de protección de la industria fueguina camina hacia el Senado". *El Diario del Fin*

province's industry by increasing the tax of imported electronic products that can be produced in Tierra del Fuego. Ríos was present in Congress throughout the process of the approval of the bill.[34] The leader of the Frente para la Victoria caucus in Congress and the governor partly used the same discourse to justify the importance of the bill: Brazil gave comparable tax benefits to the City of Manaos.[35] In addition, the national legislators who responded to Fabiana Ríos supported two highly conflictive bills proposed by the President: the agrarian export taxes and the media law.[36]

The governor participated in numerous meetings with members of the national government. Fabiana Ríos and several governors representing provinces which produce natural gas attended a public act headed by Cristina Kirchner at the Casa Rosada (Argentina's White House). The participants signed an agreement with the national government aimed at enhancing gas production.[37] Moreover, a member of Ríos' cabinet held a meeting with the Director of a national education program, who approved the construction of two schools in Tierra del Fuego.[38] In addition, Ríos signed a cooperation agreement with the Ministro de Justicia (Minister of Justice) that allowed for the full implementation of a national program to avoid impunity in the justice system.[39] The governor also met with Cristina Kirchner and two members of her cabinet in the context of a round of talks that the President held with both aligned and non-aligned governors. During that meeting, Cristina Kirchner accepted Ríos' request that the province enter a program of financial assistance.[40] While she was in Buenos Aires, Ríos also met with the Chief

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del Mundo, [Ushuaia] 7 August 2009. http://www.eldiariodelfindelmundo.com/noticias/leer/23992/la-ley-de-protecci-n-de-la-industria-fueguina-camina-hacia-el-senado.html.

[34] Rosemberg, Jaime. "Avanzan los beneficios a a fabricantes fueguinos". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 6 August 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1159172-avanzan-los-beneficios-a-fabricantes-fueguinos ; "Luz verde para el impuestazo tecnológico en la Cámara baja". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 6 August 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1158931-luz-verde-para-el-impuestazo-tecnologico-en-la-camara-baja ; "Tierra del Fuego y de la industria". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 6 August 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/economia/2-129512-2009-08-06.html.

[35] "La gobernadora de Tierra del Fuego dijo que el impuestazo tecnológico no influirá en los precios". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 2 September 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1169796-la-gobernadora-de-tierra-del-fuego-dijo-que-el-impuestazo-tecnologico-no-influira-en-los-precios ; "Tierra del Fuego y de la industria". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 6 August 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/economia/2-129512-2009-08-06.html.

[36] Jorquera, Miguel. "Con condiciones para apoyar". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 11 August 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-129791-2009-08-11.html ; Jorquera, Miguel. "Primeros roces en el centroizquierda". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 14 August 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-129962-2009-08-14.html ; Jorquera, Miguel. "Un año más con facultad para fijar retenciones". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 21 August 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-130364-2009-08-21.html ; "Unánime apoyo de los Diputados fueguinos a la nueva Ley de Medios". *El Diario del Fin del Mundo,* [Ushuaia] 18 September 2009. http://www.eldiariodelfindelmundo.com/noticias/leer/24778/un-nime-apoyo-de-los-diputados-fueguinos-a-la-nueva-ley-de-medios.html.

[37] "Pleno empleo contra la pobreza". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 20 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/economia/2-129035-2009-07-29.html

[38] "Nación aprobó la construcción de dos escuelas ya licitadas". *El Diario del Fin del Mundo,* [Ushuaia] 10 August 2009. http://www.eldiariodelfindelmundo.com/noticias/leer/24025/naci-n-aprob-la-construcci-n-de-2-escuelas-ya-licitadas.html.

[39] "Provincia firmó con Nación un convenio en materia de seguridad y derechos humanos". *El Diario del Fin del Mundo,* [Ushuaia] 14 August 2009. http://www.eldiariodelfindelmundo.com/noticias/leer/24134/provincia-firm-con-naci-n-un-convenio-en-materia-de-seguridad-y-derechos-humanos.html.

[40] "En medio de la polémica por la pobreza, Cristina defendió su política social y las facultades delegadas". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 14 August 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1162447-en-medio-de-la-polemica-por-la-pobreza-cristina-defendio-su-politica-social-y-las-facultades-delegadas ; "Culmina la ronda de diálogo con gobernadores". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 18 August 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1163604-culmina-la-ronda-

of Staff to discuss the state of the province's finances.[41] Also to discuss the province's economic situation, the province's Minister of Economy met with national cabinet members to request the early transfer of national funds to the province.[42] Besides the discussion of the province's financial situation, while in Buenos Aires the governor also participated in discussions of the domestic price of oil and gas that brought together other governors who belong to the OFEPHI (Organización Federal de Estados Productores de Hidrocarburos)–the organization that represents provinces which produce hydrocarbon— and two members of the national cabinet .[43] A few days later, Ríos and other governors who belong to the OFEPHI participated in a meeting with the National Secretario de Energía (Secretary of Energy) and the Ministro de Planificación (Minister of Planning).[44] Finally, the governor never shared any campaign public acts with members of the national opposition. After the elections, Ríos only received a non-aligned governor from an OFEPHI province who visited her province and had plans to also visit Buenos Aires and Entre Ríos.[45]

Both La Nación and Página 12 characterized Ríos as closer to the national government than in the previous election. La Nación analyzed the relationship as purely pragmatic given the fiscal problems faced by the province.[46] The same newspaper stated that the governor had negotiated some important laws with the national government because she needed federal resources to pay public employees' salaries.[47] Another article from the same newspaper affirmed that Cristina Kirchner proposed a bill that benefited Tierra del Fuego's industry to return a favor to Fabiana Ríos.[48] According to Página 12, Cristina Kirchner issued a decree that benefited Tierra del Fuego's industry in order to economically support Ríos' administration in the midst of a provincial crisis.[49] When defining their relationship, La Nación asserted that the governor

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de-dialogo-con-gobernadores ; "Final de la primera ronda". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 18 August 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/130116-41873-2009-08-17.html ; "Electrónicos en alta tensión". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 19 August 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/economia/2-130227-2009-08-19.html ; "Nación comprometió ayuda financiera a la provincia". *El Diario del Fin del Mundo,* [Ushuaia] 19 August 2009. http://www.eldiariodelfindelmundo.com/noticias/leer/24196/naci-n-comprometi-ayuda-financiera-a-la-provincia.html.

[41] "Maratón de reuniones de la gobernadora en Buenos Aires". *El Diario del Fin del Mundo,* [Ushuaia] 2 September 2009. http://www.eldiariodelfindelmundo.com/noticias/leer/24453/marat-n-de-reuniones-de-la-gobernadora-en-buenos-aires.html.

[42] "Nación adelantaría 20 millones de la coparticipación y la Provincia accedería al programa de asistencia financiera". *El Diario del Fin del Mundo,* [Ushuaia] 14 August 2009. http://www.eldiariodelfindelmundo.com/noticias/leer/24123/naci-n-adelantar-a-20-millones-de-la-coparticipaci-n-y-la-provincia-acceder-a-al-programa-de-asistencia-financiera.html.

[43] "Maratón de reuniones de la gobernadora en Buenos Aires". *El Diario del Fin del Mundo,* [Ushuaia] 2 September 2009. http://www.eldiariodelfindelmundo.com/noticias/leer/24453/marat-n-de-reuniones-de-la-gobernadora-en-buenos-aires.html.

[44] "Piden una suba del valor interno del crudo". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 7 September 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1171676-piden-una-suba-del-valor-interno-del-crudo.

[45] "Chubut no sería candidato a nada". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 September 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1179991-das-neves-si-yo-no-ganase-en-trelew-y-en-chubut-no-seria-candidato-a-nada.

[46] "El extraño retorno de Manzano". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 August 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1163389-el-extrano-retorno-de-manzano.

[47] "El extraño retorno de Manzano". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 17 August 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1163389-el-extrano-retorno-de-manzano.

[48] Morales Solá, Joaquín. "Ideologías, castigos y negocios". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 6 September 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1171258-ideologias-castigos-y-negocios.

[49] "El impuesto tecno". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 14 August 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/economia/2-129966-2009-08-14.html.

maintained an ambiguous relationship with the President.[50] However, both newspapers depicted the national legislators that answer to Fabiana Ríos as allies of Kirchnerismo.[51] In particular, La Nación analyzed that the passing of the bill that benefitted Tierra del Fuego could mean a constant legislative support to the national government from members of Fabiana Ríos' party.[52]

Ríos never held an appointed position in the national government for the 2003-2009 period.

At the local level, the Peronist Party was also aligned with the President. La Nación characterized the person who headed the Peronist party ticket as a Kirchnerista.[53] After the election this candidate declared that the victory of the Peronist Party was an endorsement of Cristina Kirchner's administration.[54]

2011

In 2011, Tierra del Fuego held competitive gubernatorial elections, as well as local legislative and executive elections. Two parties garnered a sizable share of votes for the provincial executive: Fabiana Ríos of Partido Social Patagónico, and Rosana Bertone of Frente para la Victoria. In the first round, Bertone won with 43.2% of the vote, while Ríos received 30.8%.[55] However, neither candidate passed the 50% threshold, warranting a runoff election, according to the provincial electoral rules.[56] In the runoff, Ríos won with 50.2% of the votes.[57]

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[50] "Seis gobernadores complican al gobierno". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 September 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1179469-seis-senadores-complican-al-gobierno.

[51] Jorquera, Miguel. "Los K suman los porotos". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 20 August 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-130295-2009-08-20.html. ; Ybarra, Gustavo. "Seis senadores complican al Gobierno". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 September 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1179469-seis-senadores-complican-al-gobierno.

[52] "EL Gobierno tiene problemas para impulsar el impuestazo tecnológico". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 31 August 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1169151-el-gobierno-tiene-problemas-para-impulsar-el-impuestazo-tecnologico ; Ybarra, Gustavo. "El impuesto a electrónicos, trabado". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 September 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1170126-el-impuesto-a-electronicos-trabado.

[53] "Provincia por provincia, cómo se resuelve la pelea por el nuevo poder". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144475-provincia-por-provincia-como-se-resuelve-la-pelea-por-el-nuevo-poder ; "Dura derrota del ARI fueguino". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144838-dura-derrota-del-ari-fueguino.

[54] "Dura derrota del ARI fueguino". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144838-dura-derrota-del-ari-fueguino.

[55] Arias, Mariela. "Fuerte paridad en las elecciones de Tierra del Fuego." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 June 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1384673-tierra-del-fuego-las-Kirchneristas-rios-y-bertone-disputan-la-gobernacion ; "Habra segunda vuelta en Tierra del Fuego." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 June 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1384840-en-tierra-del-fuego

[56] Arias, Mariela. "Habra ballottage en Tierra del Fuego." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 June 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1384829-habra-ballottage-en-tierra-del-fuego ; "Habra segunda vuelta en Tierra del Fuego." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 June 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1384840-en-tierra-del-fuego ; "Dos mujeres rumbo al ballottage." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 26 June 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-170888-2011-06-26.html

[57] "Tierra del Fuego: Rios se impuso en el ballottage y logro la reeleccion." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 July 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1386548-ballottage-en-tierra-del-fuego ; "Mi partido no es el de la Presidenta, dijo Rios tras el triunfo en Tierra del Fuego." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 July 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1386879-mi-partido-no-es-el-de-la-presidenta-dijo-rios-tras-el-triunfo-en-tierra-del-fuego ; "El apoyo crucial del PJ." *La Nación,* [Rio Grande] 5 July 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1386994-el-apoyo-crucial-del-pj ; Lantos, Nicolas.

Ríos's political party, Partido Social Patagónico, is not a Peronist party. Additionally, the party does not participate in any electoral coalitions with Peronist parties, although the Peronist party supported her in the runoff.[58] Ríos did not use the Frente para la Victoria party tag; she ran with the party tag of the provincial party to which she belongs, Partido Social Patagónico. In spite of the opposite direction of these indicators, we code the governor as aligned with the President given the opinion of provincial experts and her appearance in public acts with members of the national government. Her discourse, in turn, has been more ambivalent than in other cases but closer to the President as the campaign progressed. Her degree of adherence to the national government, therefore, is weaker than in other cases.

Before and after the elections, Ríos made few statements regarding her relationship with the President and none on her support for a particular presidential candidate.[59] She attempted to distance herself from the national government, but not appear as too distant, and she progressively moved closer to the President.[60] Speaking to La Nación newspaper, for instance, Ríos claimed she would not follow the President blindly.[61] However, as the runoff election drew closer, the governor made it clear that her relationship with the president was excellent and would only grow if re-elected.[62] Following the elections, Ríos claimed in a speech that she would maintain the same [good] institutional relationship with the national government as her previous term and as long as the national government kept on improving the living conditions of the citizens of Tierra del Fuego.[63] Ríos also expressed her coincidence with the national government's policies and therefore supported the President's decision to run for reelection.[64] However, even after the elections, she iterated that she never was nor would be a Kirchnerista and that her party was neither the party of the President nor the national opposition party but a provincial party.[65]

"La primera mujer elegida y reelegida gobernadora." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 4 July 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-171453-2011-07-04.html

[58] "El apoyo crucial del PJ." *La Nación,* [Rio Grande] 5 July 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1386994-el-apoyo-crucial-del-pj

[59] Rosemburg, Jaime. "Fabiana Rios: 'Nunca me cooptaron.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 5 July 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1386993-fabiana-rios-nunca-me-cooptaron

[60] Lantos, Nicolas. "Las tres paradas electorales que siguen." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 6 June 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-169554-2011-06-06.html ; Lantos, Nicolas. "Una eleccion polarizada." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 20 June 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-170469-2011-06-20.html ; "La eleccion mas austral del mundo." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 25 June 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-170809-2011-06-25.html ; Rosemburg, Jaime. "Una aliada del Gobierno acostumbrada al batacazo." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 July 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1386736-una-aliada-del-gobierno-acostumbrada-al-batacazo

[61] Rosemburg, Jaime. "En Tierra del Fuego, Cristina Kirchner se aseguro un triunfo." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 21 June 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1383159-en-tierra-del-fuego-cristina-kirchner-se-aseguro-un-triunfo

[62] "Eleccion con perfume mujer." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 26 June 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-170844-2011-06-26.html

[63] "Tierra del Fuego: Rios se impuso en el ballottage y logro la reeleccion." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 July 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1386548-ballottage-en-tierra-del-fuego ; Arias, Mariela. "Sorpresa en Tierra del Fuego: Rios fue reelegida." *La Nación,* [Rio Grande] 4 July 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1386722-sorpresa-en-tierra-del-fuego-rios-fue-reelegidaresultados-provisionaleslas-proximas-eleccion

[64] Rosemburg, Jaime. "Fabiana Rios: 'Nunca me cooptaron.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 5 July 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1386993-fabiana-rios-nunca-me-cooptaron ; "Las candidatas, contentas con CFK." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 23 June 2011http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-170663-2011-06-23.html

[65] Rosemburg, Jaime. "Una aliada del Gobierno acostumbrada al batacazo." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 July 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1386736-una-aliada-del-gobierno-acostumbrada-al-batacazo ; "Mi partido no es el de la Presidenta, dijo Rios tras el triunfo en Tierra del Fuego." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 July 2011

Ríos tried to keep the electoral campaign at the provincial level and therefore had limited contact with national officials.[66] Before the election, however, Ríos welcomed governor of Santa Fe Hermes Binner, who belongs to the national opposition, as a guest of honor and made several public appearances with him.[67] At the same time, following the election, the President called the governor to congratulate her for the electoral success.[68] The governor responded that everyone in the province adored the President and invited the President to visit the province.[69] In addition, the Ministro del Interior (Minister of the Interior), who had originally gone to Tierra del Fuego to join Ríos' opponent, upon receiving the election results congratulated Ríos instead, as well as her successful administration, which he expressed had received the support from the national government.[70] Ríos also met with the Ministro de Turismo (Minister of Tourism), who promised special funds and a line of preferential credit to bolster tourism in the province.[71]

Journalists frequently associated Ríos with the national government. Several articles from La Nación stated that regardless of the electoral results, the winner would be Kirchnerismo given that both contenders were aligned with the President.[72] The same newspaper explained that both

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http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1386879-mi-partido-no-es-el-de-la-presidenta-dijo-rios-tras-el-triunfo-en-tierra-del-fuego ; "Una reivindicacion del camino propio." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 5 July 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-171514-2011-07-05.html

[66] Rosemburg, Jaime. "Fabiana Rios: 'Nunca me cooptaron.'" *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 5 July 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1386993-fabiana-rios-nunca-me-cooptaron

[67] "Gobernador Binner: 'Aqui se hace Argentina.'" *El Diario del Fin del Mundo,* [Ushuaia] 2 June 2011 http://www.eldiariodelfindelmundo.com/noticias/leer/36614/gobernador-binner-aqu-se-hace-argentina.html

[68] "Tierra del Fuego: Rios se impuso en el ballottage y logro la reeleccion." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 July 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1386548-ballottage-en-tierra-del-fuego

[69] "Randazzo se acomodo al triunfo de la gobernadora." *La Nación,* [Rio Grande] 4 July 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1386738-randazzo-se-acomodo-al-triunfo-de-la-gobernadora ; Lantos, Nicolas. "La primera mujer elegida y reelegida gobernadora." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 July 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-171453-2011-07-04.html

[70] "Randazzo se acomodo al triunfo de la gobernadora." *La Nación,* [Rio Grande] 4 July 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1386738-randazzo-se-acomodo-al-triunfo-de-la-gobernadora ; Arias, Mariela. "Sorpresa en Tierra del Fuego: Rios fue reelegida." *La Nación,* [Rio Grande] 4 July 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1386722-sorpresa-en-tierra-del-fuego-rios-fue-reelegidaresultados-provisionaleslas-proximas-eleccion ; Lantos, Nicolas. "La primera mujer elegida y reelegida gobernadora." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 4 July 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-171453-2011-07-04.html

[71] "Nacion otorgara una linea de credito blando para el sector turistico de Tierra del Fuego." *El Diario del Fin del Mundo,* [Ushuaia] 22 July 2011 http://www.eldiariodelfindelmundo.com/noticias/leer/37692/l-nea-de-cr-dito-blando-para-el-sector-tur-stico-fueguino.html

[72] Rosemburg, Jaime. "En Tierra del Fuego, Cristina Kirchner se aseguro un triunfo." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 21 June 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1383159-en-tierra-del-fuego-cristina-kirchner-se-aseguro-un-triunfo ; Arias, Mariela. "Polarizan los votos fueguinos dos mujeres cercanas al kircherismo." *La Nación,* [Ushuaia] 25 June 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1384362-polarizan-los-votos-fueguinos-dos-mujeres-cercanas-al-Kirchnerismo; "Cristina celebro una victoria por partida dobla." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 June 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1384828-cristina-celebro-una-victoria-por-partida-doble ; Arias, Mariela. "Fuerte paridad en las elecciones de Tierra del Fuego." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 June 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1384673-tierra-del-fuego-las-Kirchneristas-rios-y-bertone-disputan-la-gobernacion; http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1384840-en-tierra-del-fuego ; "Habra segunda vuelta en Tierra del Fuego." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 June 2011 ; Arias, Mariela. "Bertone y Rios definen hoy la eleccion fueguina." *La Nación,* [Ushuaia] 3 July 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1386413-bertone-y-rios-definen-hoy-la-eleccion-fueguina ; Arias, Mariela. "Polarizan los votos fueguinos dos mujeres cercanas al kircherismo." *La Nación,* [Ushuaia] 25 June 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1384362-polarizan-los-votos-fueguinos-dos-mujeres-cercanas-al-Kirchnerismo ; Arias, Mariela. "La eleccion mas austral conducira hoy al ballottage." *La Nación,* [Ushuaia] 26 June 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1384537-la-eleccion-mas-austral-conducira-hoy-al-ballottage ; Arias, Mariela. "Fuerte paridad en las elecciones de Tierra del Fuego." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 June 2011

candidates supported and were supported by the President.[73] Página 12 newspaper referred to Ríos as an ad hoc ally of the Casa Rosada.[74] Another journalist from the same newspaper also noted Ríos' alignment with the national government.[75] In addition, at the campaign celebrations, the Minister of Interior highlighted the excellent relationship between Ríos and the President in spite of their different party tags.[76] The Minister added that Ríos had always supported the policies advanced by the national government.[77] In addition, the governor's contender even claimed that Ríos was close to the national government but that was only for pragmatic reasons.[78]

Rios has never held a position in the national government.

At the local level, Ríos's challenger had a strong alignment with the national government. The incentive of both candidates to be close to the President responds to the high levels of popularity of the national administration.[79] National newspapers frequently referred to the challenger as Kirchnerista.[80] Ríos also spoke of her challenger's close relationship with Cristina

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http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1384673-tierra-del-fuego-las-Kirchneristas-rios-y-bertone-disputan-la-gobernacion ; "Habra segunda vuelta en Tierra del Fuego." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 June 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1384840-en-tierra-del-fuego ; Arias, Mariela. "Bertone y Rios definen hoy la eleccion fueguina." *La Nación,* [Ushuaia] 3 July 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1386413-bertone-y-rios-definen-hoy-la-eleccion-fueguina ; Arias, Mariela. "Sorpresa en Tierra del Fuego: Rios fue reelegida." *La Nación,* [Rio Grande] 4 July 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1386722-sorpresa-en-tierra-del-fuego-rios-fue-reelegidaresultados-provisionaleslas-proximas-eleccion

[73] "Tierra del Fuego: Rios se impuso en el ballottage y logro la reeleccion." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 July 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1386548-ballottage-en-tierra-del-fuego

[74] Lantos, Nicolas. "Las tres paradas electorales que siguen." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 6 June 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-169554-2011-06-06.html ; Bruschtein, Julian. "Amigos y aliados." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 13 June 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/170010-54151-2011-06-13.html

[75] Bruschtein, Julian. "Amigos y aliados." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 13 June 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/170010-54151-2011-06-13.html

[76] "Randazzo se acomodo al triunfo de la gobernadora." *La Nación,* [Rio Grande] 4 July 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1386738-randazzo-se-acomodo-al-triunfo-de-la-gobernadora

[77] Arias, Mariela. "Sorpresa en Tierra del Fuego: Rios fue reelegida." *La Nación,* [Rio Grande] 4 July 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1386722-sorpresa-en-tierra-del-fuego-rios-fue-reelegidaresultados-provisionaleslas-proximas-eleccion

[78] Rosemburg, Jaime. "En Tierra del Fuego, Cristina Kirchner se aseguro un triunfo." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 21 June 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1383159-en-tierra-del-fuego-cristina-kirchner-se-aseguro-un-triunfo

[79] Rosemburg, Jaime. "En Tierra del Fuego, Cristina Kirchner se aseguro un triunfo." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 21 June 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1383159-en-tierra-del-fuego-cristina-kirchner-se-aseguro-un-triunfo ; Arias, Mariela. "Polarizan los votos fueguinos dos mujeres cercanas al kircherismo." *La Nación,* [Ushuaia] 25 June 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1384362-polarizan-los-votos-fueguinos-dos-mujeres-cercanas-al-Kirchnerismo ; "Ventaja para el Kirchnerismo en Tierra del Fuego." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 11 June 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-169904-2011-06-11.html

[80] Rosemburg, Jaime. "En Tierra del Fuego, Cristina Kirchner se aseguro un triunfo." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 21 June 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1383159-en-tierra-del-fuego-cristina-kirchner-se-aseguro-un-triunfo ; "Cristina celebro una victoria por partida dobla." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 June 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1384828-cristina-celebro-una-victoria-por-partida-doble ; Arias, Mariela. "Fuerte paridad en las elecciones de Tierra del Fuego." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 27 June 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1384673-tierra-del-fuego-las-Kirchneristas-rios-y-bertone-disputan-la-gobernacion ; "Tierra del Fuego: Rios se impuso en el ballottage y logro la reeleccion." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 July 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1386548-ballottage-en-tierra-del-fuego ; "La eleccion mas austral del mundo." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 25 June 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-170809-2011-06-25.html ; "Dos mujeres rumbo al ballottage." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 26 June 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-170888-2011-06-26.html

Kirchner before the election, but assured that it did not damage the good relationship between her and the President.[81] Additionally, in an attempt to win votes, the challenger claimed that she supported Néstor and Cristina Kirchner through the good and bad, and appeared together with the President in a television spot.[82]

2013

In 2013, Tierra del Fuego held competitive legislative elections for three national senators and two national deputies. In the race for national senators, seven parties participated, but only two received sizable votes: Frente para la Victoria (34.43%) and Movimiento Popular Fueguino (22.37%). For national deputies, nine parties participated, but three received most of the votes: Frente para la Victoria (27.31%), Movimiento Solidario Popular (21.45%), and Movimiento Popular Fueguino (17.08%). The party of Governor Fabiana Ríos, Partido Social Patagónico, did not participate in the elections potentially due to the impeachment processes against the governor.[83] We code the governor as aligned with the president.

Ríos's political party, Partido Social Patagónico, does not identify as Peronist, and is not a part of any coalition with Peronist parties. In addition, Rios does not use the Frente para la Victoria party tag, but the Partido Social Patagónico, which is a regional party.

For the most part, Rios did not make explicit statements with regard to the national government or the President. The only statement around the election time was a claim to the national government for the lack of advancement in the federal transfers (*coparticipación*) in the context of a provincial economic crisis.[84] Different to other provinces, however, the national Ministro de Economía (Minister of Economy) showed interest and receptiveness to the province's request and met with his provincial counterpart.[85] In addition, Ríos expressed her respect to current and previous members of the national cabinet.[86]

Ríos met and collaborated with representatives of the federal government on a number of occasions. Just before the elections, Rios met with the Ministro de Seguridad de la Nación

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[81] Lantos, Nicolas. "Una eleccion polarizada." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 20 June 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-170469-2011-06-20.html

[82] http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-170844-2011-06-26.html ; "Eleccion con perfume mujer." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 26 June 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1383159-en-tierra-del-fuego-cristina-kirchner-se-aseguro-un-triunfo ; Lantos, Nicolas. "Una eleccion polarizada." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 20 June 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-170469-2011-06-20.html

[83] "Los votos de Martínez Allende, Marinello y Martínez evitaron el juzgamiento de la gobernadora." *El Diario del Fin del Mundo,* [Ushuaia] 10 October 2013. http://www.eldiariodelfindelmundo.com/noticias/leer/51061/no-habr-juicio-pol-tico-a-r-os.html .

"Rios: se está haciendo un esfuerzo mancomunado." *El Diario del Fin del Mundo,* [Ushuaia] 16 October 2013. http://www.eldiariodelfindelmundo.com/noticias/leer/51135/r-os-se-est-haciendo-un-esfuerzo-mancomunado.html

[84] "Ríos: "Hace 26 meses que pedimos adelanto de coparticipación y no nos lo dieron"." *Sur 54,* [Ushuaia] 24 October 2013. http://sur54.com.ar/ros-hace-26-meses-que-pedimos-adelanto-de-coparticipacin-y-no-nos-lo-dieron

[85] "Quedamos supeditados a la decisión que pueda tomar el gobierno nacional."*El Diario del Fin del Mundo,* [Ushuaia] 1 November 2013. http://www.eldiariodelfindelmundo.com/noticias/leer/51392/a-la-espera-de-ayuda-nacional.html

[86] "Fabiana Ríos: 'La inflación en Tierra del Fuego es del 2% mensual.'" *Sur 54,* [Ushuaia] 24 October 2013. http://sur54.com.ar/fabiana-ros-la-inflacin-en-tierra-del-fuego-es-del-2-mensual

(Minister of Security), who participated in a number of official acts in the province.[87] At this meeting, the two discussed collaboration between the province and the federal government regarding national security, specifically enforced by the coast guard.[88] Later, Ríos presented a cultural hub of art, science, and technology in the province and several national authorities attended the event.[89] Ríos also met with the Secretary of Energy to discuss interconnected electricity generation following the extraction of a natural gas deposit in the province. [90] Finally, Ríos met with the national Ministro de Trabajo (Minister of Labor) regarding the signing of an agreement to strengthen federal commissions for labor protections.[91] The magnitude of meetings with members of the president's cabinet suggests that Ríos has a good working relationship with the President's cabinet.

Because the Partido Social Patagónico did not participate in the most recent national elections, news outlets did not cover Ríos extensively. However, a piece by La Nación covered 12 provinces with Kirchnerista governors after the election; Ríos was included among these 12.[92] These last two indicators, namely: national actors in the province and assessment of experts, make us code this province as aligned to the national government, although its alignment is less straightforward than in other cases.

Ríos has never held a position in the national government. However, she appointed as general accountant (Subcontador General de la Provincia) a former accountant at the national ministries of social development and health.[93]

Most local parties who competed in this election were aligned with the president.[94]

[87] "El Ministro del Seguridad de La Nación estara hoy y manana en la ciudad." *El Diario del Fin del Mundo,* [Ushuaia] 11 October 2013. http://www.eldiariodelfindelmundo.com/noticias/leer/51085/la-provincia-se-suma-al-programa-federal-de-colaboraci-n-y-asistencia-para-la-seguridad.html

[88] "Rios: se esta haciendo un esfuerzo mancomunado." *El Diario del Fin del Mundo,* [Ushuaia] 16 October 2013. http://www.eldiariodelfindelmundo.com/noticias/leer/51135/r-os-se-est-haciendo-un-esfuerzo-mancomunado.html

[89] "Rios presenta el Polo Cultural de Tierra del Fuego." *El Diario del Fin del Mundo,* [Ushuaia] 22 November 2013. http://www.eldiariodelfindelmundo.com/noticias/leer/51692/hoy-se-presenta-el-proyecto-arquitect-nico.html

[90] "El estudio tecnico se licitara en a la brevedad." *El Diario del Fin del Mundo,* [Ushuaia] 26 November 2013. http://www.eldiariodelfindelmundo.com/noticias/leer/51707/el-estudio-t-cnico-se-licitar-en-a-la-brevedad.html

[91] "Se firmo la adhesion de Tierra del Fuego al Programa de Seguridad." *Sur 54,* [Ushuaia] 11 October 2013. http://sur54.com.ar/se-firm-la-adhesin-de-tierra-del-fuego-al-programa-de-seguridad

[92] "El resultado electoral complico el futuro de varios gobernadores del Kirchnerismo." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 November 2013. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1635068-el-resultado-electoral-complico-el-futuro-de-varios-gobernadores-del-Kirchnerismo

[93] "Ríos designó a Javier Cardozo como subcontador general de la provincia."*El Diario del Fin del Mundo,* [Ushuaia] 3 October 2013. http://www.eldiariodelfindelmundo.com/noticias/leer/50955/r-os-design-a-javier-cardozo-como-subcontador-general-de-la-provincia.html

[94] "Las Otras Provincias." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2013. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-232299-2013-10-28.html

Tucumán

2007

In 2007 Tucumán elected governor, vice-governor, and 49 local deputies. While thirteen coalitions participated in the election for governor, only one garnered a majority of the vote. The incumbent, José Alperovich from Frente para la Victoria, was reelected with 78.1% of the vote and a more than 70% gap with the runner up, Fuerza Republicana.[1]

José Alperovich belongs to the Peronist Party. La Nación newspaper depicted Alperovich as a Peronist governor.[2] Moreover, Página 12 stated that the governor was affiliated with the Peronist Party, although he had previously belonged to Unión Cívica Radical.[3] Alperovich used the Frente para la Victoria party tag in this election.[4]

The governor expressed his support for the national administration on numerous occasions. In a public act headed by Néstor Kirchner, Alperovich thanked him for a roadwork in the province, and urged the people to vote for Cristina Kirchner in the forthcoming presidential election.[5] Furthermore, the day of the election the governor declared that the national government had helped his provincial administration in every possible way.[6] The day after his electoral victory, Alperovich affirmed that Néstor Kirchner had really helped the province during his administration, and that he had no doubt that the people of Tucumán would support the President.[7] Additionally, the governor predicted that Cristina Kirchner would do very well in Tucumán in the forthcoming presidential election.[8]

Alperovich made several appearances with members of the national government. Before the election, Néstor and Cristina Kirchner, as well as several members of the cabinet, travelled to Tucumán to campaign alongside the governor.[9] Moreover, Alperovich was scheduled to meet the Secretario de Obras Públicas (Secretary of Public Works) in Buenos Aires.[10] The governor also attended Cristina Kirchner's campaign launch as a presidential candidate.[11] Furthermore,

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[1] "Alperovich hizo un llamado "a todos los sectores políticos"". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 27 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/938353-alperovich-hizo-un-llamado-a-todos-los-sectores-politicos.

[2] Gallo, Daniel. "Alperovich arrasó y pidió que apoyen a Cristina Kirchner". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 28 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/938497-alperovich-arraso-y-pidio-que-apoyen-a-cristina-kirchner.

[3] "Contundente Victoria de Alperovich en Tucumán". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 26 August 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-90345-2007-08-26.html.

[4] "Tucumán aguarda con diferentes expectativas el veredicto de las urnas". *Tucumán Hoy*, [Tucumán] 24 August 2007. http://www.tucumanhoy.com/VerNotaCompleta.py?IDNOTA=2266.

[5] "Alperovich: "Kirchner cumplió lo que muchos sólo prometieron"". *Tucumán Hoy*, [Tucumán] 7 August 2007.http://www.tucumanhoy.com/VerNotaCompleta.py?IDNOTA=1961.

[6] Gallo, Daniel. "Categórico triunfo de Alperovich en Tucumán". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 27 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/938328-categorico-triunfo-de-alperovich-en-tucuman.

[7] Tagliaferro, Eduardo. ""Las lealtades se ven en los votos"". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 28 August 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-90403-2007-08-28.html.

[8] Tagliaferro, Eduardo. ""Las lealtades se ven en los votos"". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 28 August 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-90403-2007-08-28.html.

[9] "Kirchner desde Tucumán convocó a "profundizar las transformaciones"". *Tucumán Hoy*, [Tucumán] 7 August 2007. http://www.tucumanhoy.com/VerNotaCompleta.py?IDNOTA=1958.

[10] Nahra, María Cecilia. "Alperovich gestiona en Buenos Aires más casas y pensiones". *Tucumán Hoy*, [Tucumán] 9 August 2007. http://www.tucumanhoy.com/VerNotaCompleta.py?IDNOTA=2012.

[11] "Cristina en su lanzamiento: "la responsabilidad es no tentarse con la hegemonía"". *Tucumán Hoy*, [Tucumán] 14 August 2007. http://www.tucumanhoy.com/VerNotaCompleta.py?IDNOTA=2091.

Alperovich signed an agreement with the Ministro de Educación (Minister of Education) in Tucumán.[12] The day of the election, Néstor Kirchner called the governor on several occasions to discuss the result of exit polls.[13] Alperovich also spoke on the phone with Cristina Kirchner that same day.[14] Moreover, the Ministro de Salud (Minister of Health) joined the celebration of the governor's reelection.[15] The day after the election, the Minister of Health accompanied Alperovich in the inauguration of a hospital room in the province.[16] After the election, the governor participated in a public event with the Ministro the Planificación (Minister of Planning) in Buenos Aires.[17]

National and local newspapers described Alperovich as Kirchnerista.[18] Additionally, La Nación depicted the governor as aligned with Néstor Kirchner.[19] Página 12 also interpreted Alperovich's reelection as a victory for Kirchnerismo.[20]

Alperovich never held an appointed position in the national government for the 2003-2007 period. In fact, he became governor in 2003.[21]

At the local level, Fuerza Republicana was not aligned with the national government. Fuerza Republicana is a local party that does not self-identify as Peronist.[22] The candidate who headed the Fuerza Republicana ticket did not share any public acts with members of the national government, and he never expressed support for the national administration.

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[12] Nahra, María Cecilia. "Filmus anunció incremento de fondos para Educación". *Tucumán Hoy*, [Tucumán] 16 August 2007. http://www.tucumanhoy.com/VerNotaCompleta.py?IDNOTA=2137.

[13] "Contundente Victoria de Alperovich en Tucumán". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 26 August 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-90345-2007-08-26.html ; Tagliaferro, Eduardo. "Otra reelección muy holgada". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 27 August 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-90370-2007-08-27.html.

[14] "Contundente Victoria de Alperovich en Tucumán". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 26 August 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-90345-2007-08-26.html ; Tagliaferro, Eduardo. "Otra reelección muy holgada". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 27 August 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-90370-2007-08-27.html.

[15] Gallo, Daniel. "Categórico triunfo de Alperovich en Tucumán". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 27 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/938328-categorico-triunfo-de-alperovich-en-tucuman.

[16] Gallo, Daniel. "Alperovich arrasó y pidió que apoyen a Cristina Kirchner". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 28 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/938497-alperovich-arraso-y-pidio-que-apoyen-a-cristina-kirchner.

[17] "El apoyo de los Alperovich". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 31 August 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-90583-2007-08-31.html.

[18] "Contundente victoria de Alperovich en Tucumán". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 26 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/938132-contundente-victoria-de-alperovich-en-tucuman ; "Alperovich 78,08%". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 27 August 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-90373-2007-08-27.html ; "Tucumán aguarda con diferentes expectativas el veredicto de las urnas". *Tucumán Hoy*, [Tucumán] 24 August 2007. http://www.tucumanhoy.com/VerNotaCompleta.py?IDNOTA=2266.

[19] Gallo, Daniel. "Categórico triunfo de Alperovich en Tucumán". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 27 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/938328-categorico-triunfo-de-alperovich-en-tucuman.

[20] "Contundente Victoria de Alperovich en Tucumán". *Página 12*, [Buenos Aires] 26 August 2007. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-90345-2007-08-26.html.

[21] Gallo, Daniel. "Alperovich arrasó y pidió que apoyen a Cristina Kirchner". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 28 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/938497-alperovich-arraso-y-pidio-que-apoyen-a-cristina-kirchner.

[22] Gallo, Daniel. "Con escasa oposición, Alperovich se concentra en su fiesta electoral". *La Nación*, [Buenos Aires] 25 August 2007. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/937671-con-escasa-oposicion-alperovich-se-concentra-en-su-fiesta-electoral.

2009

In 2009 Tucumán held legislative elections to fill four national deputy and three national senator positions.[23] Fourteen coalitions competed in the race for the Senate, and thirteen coalitions competed in the race for the Chamber of Deputies. Two coalitions garnered the majority of the vote: Frente para la Victoria and Frente Acuerdo Cívico y Social. The coalition supported by the governor, Frente para la Victoria, won both the race for the Senate and the race for the Deputy Chamber with 52.2% and 52.8% of the vote, respectively. Frente Acuerdo Cívico y Social came in second with 15.9% of the vote for the Senate and 15.5% of the vote for the Chamber of Deputies.[24]

The governor, José Alperovich, belongs to the Peronist Party. National newspapers described Alperovich as a Peronist governor.[25] Moreover, the list supported by the governor used the Frente para la Victoria party tag.[26]

Alperovich backed Cristina Kirchner and the national government throughout the election cycle. Before the election, the governor thanked the national government for agreeing to finance a clinic in the province.[27] He also supported the cabinet changes that Cristina Kirchner had made after the legislative election.[28] Moreover, the governor praised the national government for expanding citizens' rights and benefits.[29]

The governor and the Secretario de Empleo (Secretary of Employment) announced the expansion of a youth employment program in a public act in Tucumán.[30] Furthermore, the night of the election, Cristina Kirchner called Alperovich to congratulate him for the electoral results.[31] Moreover, the President travelled to Tucumán to commemorate Argentina's Independence Day, and Alperovich also participated in the celebration.[32]

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[23] "Provincia por provincia, cómo se resuelve la pelea por el nuevo poder". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144475-provincia-por-provincia-como-se-resuelve-la-pelea-por-el-nuevo-poder.

[24] García Soto, Fernando. "En Tucumán, amplio triunfo oficialista". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144808-en-tucuman-amplio-triunfo-oficialista.

[25] Gallo, Daniel. "La despenalización del consumo divide a los candidatos". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 2 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1134763-la-despenalizacion-del-consumo-divide-a-los-candidatos ; Wainfeld, Mario. "El día de los 24 plebiscitos". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 28 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-127396-2009-06-28.html.

[26] "Provincia por provincia, cómo se resuelve la pelea por el nuevo poder". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144475-provincia-por-provincia-como-se-resuelve-la-pelea-por-el-nuevo-poder.

[27] "Fondos del PAMI servirán para recuperar al ex-Ados". *Tucumán Hoy,* [Tucumán] 16 June 2009. http://www.tucumanhoy.com/VerNotaCompleta.py?IDNOTA=18054.

[28] Rearte, Ramiro. "Estreno de gabinete en Tucumán". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 9 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/127976-41074-2009-07-09.html.

[29] Rearte, Ramiro. ""Ya no hay lugar para discusiones parciales"". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 10 July 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-128041-2009-07-10.html.

[30] Ganzburg, Sebastián. "Más municipios capacitarán a jóvenes para el trabajo". *Tucumán Hoy,* [Tucumán] 1 June 2009. http://www.tucumanhoy.com/VerNotaCompleta.py?IDNOTA=17628.

[31] García Soto, Fernando. "En Tucumán, amplio triunfo oficialista". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144808-en-tucuman-amplio-triunfo-oficialista.

[32] "Asumieron Fernández y Boudou, los recientes ascendidos en el Gabinete". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 8 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1148437-asumieron-fernandez-y-boudou-los-recientes-ascendidos-en-el-gabinete ; "La Iglesia reclamó gestos valientes de diálogo para edificar la patria". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 9 July 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1148721-la-iglesia-reclamo-gestos-valientes-de-dialogo-para-edificar-la-patria.

National newspapers interpreted the victory of the coalition supported by Alperovich as a victory for the national government.[33] Moreover, La Nación depicted the governor as hyper-Kirchnerista.[34] Página 12 also characterized Alperovich as Kirchnerista.[35]

Alperovich did not hold a position in the national government between 2003 and 2009. However, his vice-governor was appointed as Ministro de Salud (Minister of Health) after the legislative election.[36]

At the local level, Frente Acuerdo Cívico y Social clearly opposed the national administration. This coalition was led by the UCR, a party in the national opposition.[37] Additionally, Frente Acuerdo Cívico y Social had ties with several members of the national opposition. Its candidates shared meetings and public acts with Ricardo Alfonsín (a prominent member of the UCR), Elisa Carrió (the leader of the Coalición Cívica, an opposition party), and Eduardo Buzzi (the president of a rural producer's organization that opposed the national government).[38]

2011

In 2011, Tucuman held gubernatorial elections. While many coalitions participated, only two secured a large portion of the vote – Frente para la Victoria and Acuerdo Cívico y Social. Frente para la Victoria won the election by a wide margin, with 72% of the vote; Acuerdo Cívico y Social only received 12.3% of the vote.[39]

The governor of the province, José Alperovich, was reelected. He is a Peronist. Página 12 newspaper referred to him as a Peronist governor, although acknowledging that he had previously belonged to the Radical party.[40] Alperovich used the Frente para la Victoria party tag in this election.[41]

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[33] Ybarra, Gustavo. "El Kirchnerismo perderá las mayorías". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144810-el-Kirchnerismo-perdera-las-mayorias ; "Diputados obligados a buscar acuerdos". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 29 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-127442-2009-06-29.html.

[34] "Provincia por provincia, cómo se resuelve la pelea por el nuevo poder". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1144475-provincia-por-provincia-como-se-resuelve-la-pelea-por-el-nuevo-poder.

[35] Miguez, Daniel. "Los movimientos del día después en Olivos". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 30 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-127493-2009-06-30.html.

[36] García Soto, Fernando. "Un luchador contra la desnutrición". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 30 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1145122-un-luchador-contra-la-desnutricion.

[37] García Soto, Fernando. "Hegemonía oficialista en Tucumán". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 23 June 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1142458-hegemonia-oficialista-en-tucuman.

[38] Crettaz, José. "Carrió: "Nunca más habrá retenciones"". *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 May 2009. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1133439-carrio-nunca-mas-habra-retenciones ; Ganzburg, Sebastián. "Alfonsín: "seremos la primer minoría en el país". *Tucumán Hoy,* [Tucumán] 16 June 2009. http://www.tucumanhoy.com/VerNotaCompleta.py?IDNOTA=18065 ; "Los ruralistas que van en las listas". *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 18 June 2009. http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/126840-40596-2009-06-18.html.

[39] Rosemberg, Jaime. "Tucumán: arrasó Alperovich, un aliado de la Casa Rosada." *La Nación,* [Tucuman] 29 August 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1401557-tucuman-arraso-alperovich-un-aliado-de-la-casa-rosada

[40] Wainfeld, Mario. "Oficialismos en racha." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 29 August 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-175600-2011-08-29.html

[41] Sbrocco, Jose Ignacio. "Alperovich busca un tercer mandato con las listas acople." *La Nación,* [Tucuman] 22 August 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1399699-alperovich-busca-un-tercer-mandato-con-las-listas-acople

Alperovich supported Cristina Kirchner and the national government throughout the electoral cycle. Before the election, he gave a speech where he asked voters to support Cristina Kirchner in the presidential election.[42] He reiterated his support three days before the presidential primary election.[43] Following this election, Alperovich stressed that both Néstor and Cristina Kirchner had always helped the province, and for that reason voters should support them.[44] Following his electoral victory, the governor thanked Néstor and Cristina Kirchner for their support, and called again for her reelection in the presidential election.[45] In an interview with La Nación, Alperovich stressed the importance of supporting Cristina Kirchner in the presidential election to move the national project forward.[46] The governor also came out in support of the Secretario de Obras Públicas (Secretary of Public Works), despite allegations that he had misused public funds.[47]

Before the election, the Ministra de Desarrollo Social (Minister of Social Development) travelled to Tucumán to campaign alongside Alperovich.[48] In a visit to Buenos Aires, Alperovich held meetings with the Ministro de Planificación (Minister of Planning) and the Secretary of Public Works.[49] In addition, several national officials joined the celebration of the governor's reelection, including the Ministro de Salud (Minister of Health), the Ministro del Interior (Minister of the Interior), the Secretary of Public Works, and the Ministro de la Economía

[42] "Para Alperovich, 'va a haber sorpresas en estas elecciones.'" *El Siglo Web*, [Tucuman] 1 August 2011 http://www.elsigloweb.com/nota/74741/para-alperovich-va-a-haber-sorpresas-en-estas-elecciones.html
[43] "Alperovich pidió votar por Cristina el domingo." *El Siglo Web*, [Tucuman] 11 August 2011 http://www.elsigloweb.com/nota/75424/alperovich-pidio-votar-por-cristina-el-domingo.html
[44] "Alperovich: 'En Tucumán, la Presidenta obtuvo el 66 o 67 por ciento de los votos.'" *El Siglo Web*, [Tucuman] 14 August 2011 http://www.elsigloweb.com/nota/75618/alperovich-en-tucuman-la-presidenta-obtuvo-el-66-o-67-por-ciento-de-los-votos.html ; "El Frente para la Victoria logró un triunfo aplastante en Tucumán." *El Siglo Web*, [Tucuman] 15 August 2011 http://www.elsigloweb.com/nota/75676/el-frente-para-la-victoria-logro-un-triunfo-aplastante-en-tucuman.html
[45] Rosemberg, Jaime. "Tucumán: arrasó Alperovich, un aliado de la Casa Rosada." *La Nación*, [Tucuman] 29 August 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1401557-tucuman-arraso-alperovich-un-aliado-de-la-casa-rosada ; "Por paliza, Alperovich logró la re-reelección." *El Siglo Web*, [Tucuman] 29 August 2011 http://www.elsigloweb.com/nota/76587/por-paliza-alperovich-logro-la-re-reeleccion.html ; Bruschtein, Julian. "Un jardín para la reelección de Alperovich." *Página 12*, [Tucuman] 29 August 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-175599-2011-08-29.html
[46] Rosemberg, Jaime. "Alperovich: 'Ayudó el ánimo nacional y todo el Gobierno.'" *La Nación*, [Tucuman] 30 August 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1401797-alperovich-ayudo-el-animo-nacional-y-todo-el-gobierno ; Bruschtein, Julian. "'Hay que apoyar a Cristina y a este modelo.'" *Página 12*, [Tucuman] 30 August 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-175640-2011-08-30.html
[47] "Alperovich reconoció que le gustaría "otra oportunidad" después de 2015." *El Siglo Web*, [Tucuman] 16 September 2011 http://www.elsigloweb.com/nota/77791/alperovich-reconocio-que-le-gustaria-otra-oportunidad-despues-de-2015.html
[48] "Alperovich cerró su campaña con varios actos exprés en Tucumán." *La Nación*, [Tucuman] 25 August 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1400473-alperovich-cerro-su-campana-con-varios-actos-expres-en-tucuman
[49] "Alperovich pidió votar por Cristina el domingo." *El Siglo Web*, [Tucuman] 11 August 2011 http://www.elsigloweb.com/nota/75424/alperovich-pidio-votar-por-cristina-el-domingo.html

(Minister of the Economy), who was also candidate for Vice President.[50] After the election, Alperovich spoke on the phone with President Cristina Kirchner.[51]

Journalists and experts have associated Alperovich with Cristina Kirchner and the national government. Several journalists from La Nación referred to the governor as a Kirchnerista and an ally of the Casa Rosada (Argentina's White House).[52] The same newspaper also noted that Alperovich had come to power backed by Néstor Kirchner.[53] A journalist from Página 12 also referred to Alperovich as an ally of Cristina Kirchner.[54] Finally, a local newspaper called Alperovich's victory a victory for the Casa Rosada.[55]

Alperovich did not hold a position in the national government between 2003 and 2011. However, his lieutenant governor served as the Minister of Health under both Néstor and Cristina Kirchner.[56]

At the local level, opposition candidates had ties with several national officials. La Nación referred to Alperovich's main opponent as belonging to the UCR, the national opposition party.[57] The same newspaper also called this candidate a Radical, and associated him with alfonsinismo, referring to Ricardo Alfonsín – a national opposition leader who ran against

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[50] Rosemberg, Jaime. "Alperovich busca retener hoy el poder en Tucumán." *La Nación,* [Tucuman] 28 August 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1401268-alperovich-busca-retener-hoy-el-poder-en-tucuman ; Dinatale, Martin. "Cristina, por encima de todo." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 August 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1401422-columna-dinatale ; "Por paliza, Alperovich logró la re-reelección." *El Siglo Web,* [Tucuman] 29 August 2011 http://www.elsigloweb.com/nota/76587/por-paliza-alperovich-logro-la-re-reeleccion.html ; Bruschtein, Julian. "Un jardín para la reelección de Alperovich." *Página 12,* [Tucuman] 29 August 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-175599-2011-08-29.html

[51] Bruschtein, Julian. "Un jardín para la reelección de Alperovich." *Página 12,* [Tucuman] 29 August 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-175599-2011-08-29.html

[52] Sbrocco, Jose Ignacio. "Alperovich busca un tercer mandato con las listas acople." *La Nación,* [Tucuman] 22 August 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1399699-alperovich-busca-un-tercer-mandato-con-las-listas-acople ; Dinatale, Martin. "Acumular victorias o reiterar reproches." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 22 August 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1399685-acumular-victorias-o-reiterar-reproches ; "Alperovich cerró su campaña con varios actos exprés en Tucumán." *La Nación,* [Tucuman] 25 August 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1400473-alperovich-cerro-su-campana-con-varios-actos-expres-en-tucuman ; Rosemberg, Jaime. "Tucumán: arrasó Alperovich, un aliado de la Casa Rosada." *La Nación,* [Tucuman] 29 August 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1401557-tucuman-arraso-alperovich-un-aliado-de-la-casa-rosada

[53] Rosemberg, Jaime. "Tucumán: arrasó Alperovich, un aliado de la Casa Rosada." *La Nación,* [Tucuman] 29 August 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1401557-tucuman-arraso-alperovich-un-aliado-de-la-casa-rosada

[54] Wainfeld, Mario. "Oficialismos en racha." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 29 August 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-175600-2011-08-29.html

[55] "Por paliza, Alperovich logró la re-reelección." *El Siglo Web,* [Tucuman] 29 August 2011 http://www.elsigloweb.com/nota/76587/por-paliza-alperovich-logro-la-re-reeleccion.html

[56] Rosemberg, Jaime. "Alperovich busca superar los votos de la Presidenta." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 23 August 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1399902-alperovich-busca-superar-los-votos-de-la-presidenta ; Rosemberg, Jaime. "Alperovich busca retener hoy el poder en Tucumán." *La Nación,* [Tucuman] 28 August 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1401268-alperovich-busca-retener-hoy-el-poder-en-tucuman ; "Alperovich va por la re-re en Tucumán." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 22 August 2011 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-175059-2011-08-22.html

[57] Sbrocco, Jose Ignacio. "Alperovich busca un tercer mandato con las listas acople." *La Nación,* [Tucuman] 22 August 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1399699-alperovich-busca-un-tercer-mandato-con-las-listas-acople ; Rosemberg, Jaime. "La guerra de cifras económicas se coló en la campaña tucumana." *La Nación,* [Tucuman] 27 August 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1401085-la-guerra-de-cifras-economicas-se-colo-en-la-campana-tucumana

Cristina Kirchner in the presidential election.[58] Moreover, Alfonsín joined the candidate on the campaign trail.[59]

2013

In 2013, Tucumán held legislative elections for national deputies. While several coalitions participated, only three garnered a significant share of the vote – Frente para la Victoria, Acuerdo Cívico y Social, and Fuerza Republicana. Frente para la Victoria won the election with 46.9% of the vote; Acuerdo Cívico y Social and Fuerza Republicana received 34.8% and 8.2% of the vote, respectively.[60]

The governor of the province, José Alperovich, is a Peronist. On the Día de la Lealtad (Day of Loyalty), he celebrated at the Peronist party's headquarters, where he gave homage to Juan and Eva Perón. At that event, he also acknowledged the support of Peronism for his achievements as governor.[61] Moreover, the governor participated in a meeting of the National Council of the Peronist party.[62] Alperovich supported the list that used the Frente para la Victoria party tag.[63]

Before the election, Alperovich commended the national government for providing funds that supported the province.[64] The governor also attended a meeting of the National Council of the Peronist party, where the participants ratified their support for Cristina Kirchner.[65] Following the election, after the inauguration of roadworks, Alperovich spoke in favor of the national government, and thanked Cristina Kirchner for her leadership.[66]

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[58] Rosemberg, Jaime. "Alperovich busca superar los votos de la Presidenta." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 23 August 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1399902-alperovich-busca-superar-los-votos-de-la-presidenta

[59] "Alperovich cerró su campaña con varios actos exprés en Tucumán." *La Nación,* [Tucuman] 25 August 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1400473-alperovich-cerro-su-campana-con-varios-actos-expres-en-tucuman ; "La oposición se consuela con controlar al gobernador." *La Nación,* [Tucuman] 29 August 2011 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1401559-la-oposicion-se-consuela-con-controlar-al-gobernador

[60] "Las otras provincias." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2013 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-232299-2013-10-28.html

[61] "'Tenemos que ganar las elecciones para seguir cumpliendo con la gente humilde.'" *El Siglo Web,* [Tucuman] 17 October 2013 http://www.elsigloweb.com/nota/126915/tenemos-que-ganar-las-elecciones-para-seguir-cumpliendo-con-la-gente-humilde.html

[62] Bruschtein, Julian. "'Un voto a favor de estas políticas.'" *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 1 October 2013 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-230262-2013-10-01.html

[63] "El resultado electoral complicó el futuro de varios gobernadores del Kirchnerismo." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1635068-el-resultado-electoral-complico-el-futuro-de-varios-gobernadores-del-Kirchnerismo

[64] "'Necesitamos que le vaya bien a Nación para seguir trabajando.'" *El Siglo Web,* [Tucuman] 11 October 2013 http://www.elsigloweb.com/nota/126507/necesitamos-que-le-vaya-bien-a-nacion-para-seguir-trabajando.html

[65] Bruschtein, Julian. "'Un voto a favor de estas políticas.'" *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 1 October 2013 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-230262-2013-10-01.html

[66] "Boudou y Alperovich en Tucumán." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 31 October 2013 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-232559-2013-10-31.html

Alperovich met with the Secretary of Public Works to inaugurate projects in the province.[67] At the inauguration of a cargo terminal, the governor appeared alongside the Ministro de Agricultura (Minister of Agriculture), Secretario de Desarrollo Rural y Agricultura Familiar (Secretary of Rural Development and Family Farming), and Cristina Kirchner via videoconference.[68] The Minister of the Interior also travelled to the province to inaugurate public works with Alperovich.[69] The governor campaigned with the Minister of Health as the latter ran for national deputy.[70] Alperovich also met with the Ministro de Turismo (Minister of Tourism).[71] At the meeting of the National Council of the Peronist party, Alperovich joined several aligned governors, the Jefe de Gabinete (Chief of Staff), and the Ministro de Defensa (Minister of Defense).[72] Following the election, he met with other aligned governors and the Minister of Health via teleconference to discuss election results and remember Néstor Kirchner.[73] The vice President also visited the province to inaugurate a road with the governor.[74]

La Nación referred to Alperovich as an ally of the Casa Rosada.[75] The same newspaper called him a Kirchnerista.[76]

Alperovich did not hold a position in the national government from 2003 to 2013.

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[67] "Importantes anuncios de obras públicas para Tucumán." *El Siglo Web,* [Tucuman] 27 September 2013 http://www.elsigloweb.com/nota/125769/importantes-anuncios-de-obras-publicas-para-tucuman.html

[68] "La Presidenta inaugurará una cámara frigorífica en Tucumán." *El Siglo Web,* [Tucuman] 30 September 2013 http://www.elsigloweb.com/nota/125930/la-presidenta-inaugurara-una-camara-frigorifica-en-tucuman.html ; "Cristina inauguró una cámara de frío para la exportación de arándanos." *El Siglo Web,* [Tucuman] 2 October 2013 http://www.elsigloweb.com/nota/125979/cristina-inauguro-una-camara-de-frio-para-la-exportacion-de-arandanos.html

[69] "'El oficialismo viaja en el tren de los fracasos y las mentiras.'" *El Siglo Web,* [Tucuman] 19 October 2013 http://www.elsigloweb.com/nota/127019/el-oficialismo-viaja-en-el-tren-de-los-fracasos-y-las-mentiras.html

[70] "Alperovich destacó los avances en salud pública." *El Siglo Web,* [Tucuman] 22 October 2013 http://www.elsigloweb.com/nota/127145/alperovich-destaco-los-avances-en-salud-publica.html

[71] "'Estamos trabajando para hacer una doble vía a Las Termas.'" *El Siglo Web,* [Tucuman] 23 October 2013 http://www.elsigloweb.com/nota/127277/estamos-trabajando-para-hacer-una-doble-via-a-las-termas.html

[72] Bruschtein, Julian. "'Un voto a favor de estas políticas.'" *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 1 October 2013 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-230262-2013-10-01.html

[73] Veron, Mariana. "El Gobierno minimizó la derrota de Insaurralde y nacionalizó los resultados." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1633157-el-gobierno-minimizo-la-derrota-de-insaurralde-y-nacionalizo-los-resultados

[74] "Boudou inauguró un tramo de la Ruta 38 y destacó el liderazgo de Cristina." *El Siglo Web,* [Tucuman] 31 October 2013 http://www.elsigloweb.com/nota/127755/boudou-inauguro-un-tramo-de-la-ruta-38-y-destaco-el-liderazgo-de-cristina.html ; "Boudou y Alperovich en Tucumán." *Página 12,* [Buenos Aires] 31 October 2013 http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-232559-2013-10-31.html

[75] "Cumbre de gobernadores K en San Juan, tras la derrota en las elecciones." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 29 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1633577-cumbre-de-gobernadores-k-en-san-juan-tras-la-derrota-en-las-elecciones

[76] "El resultado electoral complicó el futuro de varios gobernadores del Kirchnerismo." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 3 November 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1635068-el-resultado-electoral-complico-el-futuro-de-varios-gobernadores-del-Kirchnerismo

At the local level, the runner-up coalition was led by UCR – a party in the national opposition.[77] Moreover, a candidate from Acuerdo Cívico y Social made several comments against the national government and various cabinet members throughout the campaign.[78]

[77] "El FPV venció en Tucumán, pero cedió un diputado." *La Nación,* [Buenos Aires] 28 October 2013 http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1633199-el-fpv-vencio-en-tucuman-pero-cedio-un-diputado

[78] "'López les debe una explicación a los tucumanos por el robo del tren a Concepción.'" *El Siglo Web,* [Tucuman] 28 September 2013 http://www.elsigloweb.com/nota/125805/lopez-les-debe-una-explicacion-a-los-tucumanos-por-el-robo-del-tren-a-concepcion.html ; "'El Acuerdo Cívico es la única opción eficaz para frenar al alperovichismo.'" *El Siglo Web,* [Tucuman] 17 October 2013 http://www.elsigloweb.com/nota/126860/el-acuerdo-civico-es-la-unica-opcion-eficaz-para-frenar-al-alperovichismo.html .