

## 1. Argentine Political Regime

### Electoral rules

Different laws regulate electoral competition in Argentina: the national electoral code (Law 19.945), the organic law of political parties (Law 23.298), the law on the female quota (Law 24.012), the law on the financing of political parties (Law 26.215), the law on the democratization of political representation and electoral equity (Law 26.571), the law on audiovisual communication services (Law 26.522). During the 2019 electoral process, the gender parity law came into force, which established an alternating and consecutive representation of men and women, the executive decree 259/2019 by which the presentation of "collector lists" was prohibited and the mandatory, public and televised presidential debate took place. This mechanism allow that different political parties present different candidates for a category for example in the provincial level but adhere to the same list for another category in other level of representation.

### Presidential Election

According to Article 97 of the national constitution, is elected the presidential ticket that obtains 45% of the votes or reaches 40% and a 10% lead over the second candidate. If these two conditions are not met, a run-off election is held. Furthermore, according to Article 90: "*The president and vice-president shall hold office for a term of four years and may be re-elected or succeed each other for a single consecutive term. If they have been re-elected or have succeeded each other, they may not be elected to either of the two offices, except with an interval of one term*". Regarding the possibility of re-election of the provincial chief executive, out of 24 provinces: 17 electoral districts allow re-election only once, 2 twice, 3 allow indefinite re-election and 2 do not allow re-election.

### Electoral Calendar

A first element that defines the Argentine electoral system is the possibility of not holding provincial elections at the same time as national elections. This means that the elections for executive and parliamentary renewal take place over a specific period, setting up a process in which the governors of the different provinces decide the dates of the elections based on strategic calculations with the aim of staying in power or preventing the opposition from reaching a legislative majority. Since the return to democracy, only in 1983 and in 1987 has there been a total simultaneity. The 2019 electoral process was no exception and started in the province of La Pampa on 17 February, with the holding of internal elections, and finished on 10 November in the province of Salta with the election of the local deputies and the governor. On 27 October, the day of the presidential elections, only in the Provinces of Buenos Aires, Catamarca, Buenos Aires City and La Rioja were also elected the executive authorities and legislative representatives at the local level. This institutional arrangement explains why contextual elements linked of the country's economic situation - and with it the fluctuations in the popularity of the national executive - come directly into play in determining whether local candidates decide to distance themselves from the president or seek to switch to its figure by exploiting a borrowed political capital. The results of these elections have also an impact on the national scene, timing the campaign, shaping the climate of public opinion and defining the expectations concerning the electoral dispute of presidential candidates (Oliveros y Scherlis, 2007).

### Primaries

Another significant element is the law regulating the Open, Simultaneous and Compulsory Primary Elections (P.A.S.O.) in force since December 2009 (Law 26.571). According to this institutional

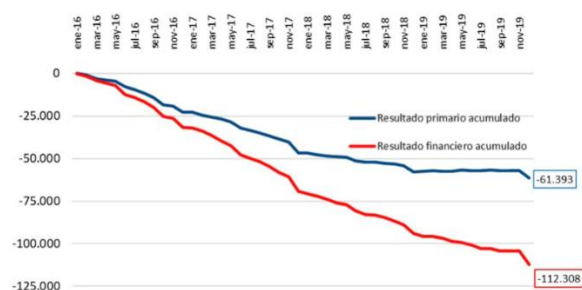
mechanism, established to contain the high degree of political fragmentation that has prevailed since 2001 and to democratize the political parties, any force seeking to compete in the general elections must select its candidates for national office through an internal dispute mechanism, even if only one list is presented. The political forces that obtain a total of votes equal to or greater than 1.5% of the votes may participate in the general election. This sort of "national electoral poll" (Casullo, 2015) defying the electoral offer can have an impact on the redesign of electoral strategies for the general election, on the distribution of electoral preferences and on the electoral participation, as was the case in the 2019 electoral process.

## 2. Economic policies Historical Context (2015-2019)

Measures of financial trade liberalization (elimination of the minimum time of stay) and trade liberalization (elimination of import barriers and reduction of export tariffs) were put in place very quickly searching a "rain of investments". In December 2015, the government decided to eliminate withholding taxes on various agricultural products and a 5 point reduction in soybean exports (during 2018 a good part of them were reestablished to finally be reduced again during the following year). In 2016, other measures were established in the same line: the payment of all debts in arrears, mainly those in litigation with the US ("vulture funds") and the massive laundering of undeclared capital without the obligation to reintegrate them in the country by paying a minimum tax rate.

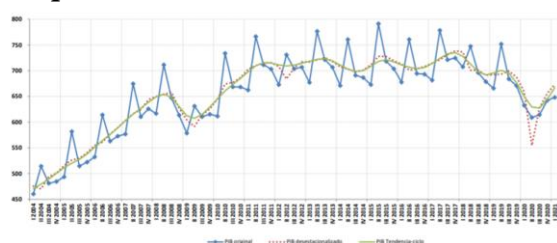
## 3. Appendix

**Graphic 1. Fiscal Deficit Evolution 2016-2019**



Source: Ministry of Finance, BCRA and INDEC

**Graphic 2. Evolution of GDP in millions of pesos**



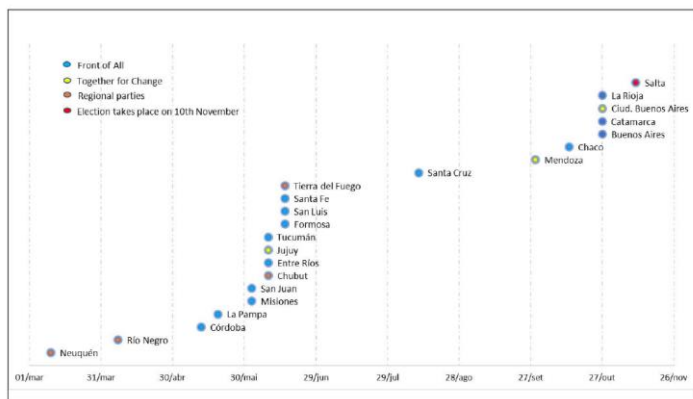
Source: INDEC, Argentinian Government.

**Graphic 3. Poverty and indigence. Urban Agglomerates**

Indicator	1 Semester 2019	2 Semester 2019	1 Semester 2020	2 Semester 2020
Poverty (Persons)	35,4	35,5	40,9	42,0
Indigence (Persons)	7,7	8,0	10,5	10,5

Source: INDEC, Argentinian Government

**Graphic 4. Presidential Election. Victory vote by province**



Source: Mariana LLANOS and Jayane MAIA, 2019, p.7

**Table 1. P.A.S.O Results National level by political force**

Fórmulas - Agrupaciones políticas	Votos	%
FRENTE DE TODOS	11.622.020	47,6%
Alberto Fernández - Cristina Fernández	11.622.020	100%
JUNTOS POR EL CAMBIO	7.824.996	32%
Mauricio Macri - Miguel Pichetto	7.824.996	100%
CONSENSO FEDERAL	2.006.977	8,2%
Roberto Lavagna - Juan Urtubey	2.006.977	100%
FRENTE DE IZQUIERDA - UNIDAD	697.748	2,8%
Nicolás del Caño - Romina del Plá	697.748	100%
FRENTE NOS	642.636	2,6%
Juan Gomez - Cynthia Hotton	642.636	100%
UNITE POR LA LIBERTAD Y LA DIGNIDAD	533.081	2,1%
José Espert - Luis Rosales	533.081	100%
MOVIMIENTO AL SOCIALISMO	173.582	0,7%
Manuela Castañeira - Eduardo Mulhall	173.582	100%
FRENTE PATRIOTA	58.572	0,2%
Alejandro Biondini - Enrique Venturino	58.572	100%
MOV. DE ACCIÓN VECINAL	36.323	0,14%
Raúl Albarracín - Sergio Pastore	36.323	100%
PARTIDO AUTONOMISTA	32.562	0,13%
José Romero - Guillermo Sueldo	32.562	100%
Votos positivos	23.628.497	95%
Votos en blanco	758.955	3%
Votos anulados	300.019	1,2%
Votos impugnados	35.707	0,14%
Total votantes	24.723.178	100%
Total electores habilitados	33.858.733	

Source: Sendra (2019, p.35)

**Table 2. Presidential Election Results by percentage. FdT/JC Vote by Province**

Provincia	Resultados
CABA	FdT: 34.9% JxC: 51.8%
Provincia de BA	FdT: 51.4% JxC: 35.3%
Entre Ríos	FdT: 44% JxC: 44.1%
Corrientes	FdT: 50.6% JxC: 41.5%
Misiones	FdT: 56.7% JxC: 33.3%
Santa Fe	FdT: 42.4% JxC: 43.2%

Chaco	FdT:55.2% JxC:35.2%
Formosa	FdT:64.7% JxC:28.2%
La Pampa	FdT:49.7% JxC:37.5%
Córdoba	FdT: 28.7% JxC: 60.1%
San Luis	FdT:41.1% JxC:44.4%
Tucumán	FdT:57.2% JxC:33.6%
Santiago del Estero	FdT:74.1% JxC:18.1%
Salta	FdT:48.2% JxC:34.3%
Jujuy	FdT:45.8% JxC:41.1%
Catamarca	FdT: 51.5% JxC: 30.9%
La Rioja	FdT:36.9% JxC:34.7%
San Juan	FdT:52.5% JxC:34.8%
Mendoza	FdT: 37.5% JxC: 49.7%
Neuquén	FdT:46.2% JxC:36.1%
Rio Negro	FdT:55.5% JxC:27.7%
Chubut	FdT:51.1% JxC:28.6%
Santa Cruz	FdT:58.1% JxC:27.4%
Tierra del Fuego	FdT:56.1% JxC:25.7%

Source: Percentages calculated on valid votes. National Electoral Commission.

**Table 3. Comparative Electoral Results**

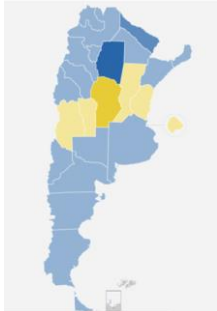
**Communes CABA-Municipalities GBA 2015-2019**

	2015			2019		
	CAMB	FV	UNA	JC	FdT	CF
<b>Total CABA</b>	50.5% 990.826	24.09% 472.155	15.28% 299.415	52.39% 1.039.750	35.63% 707.158	6.49% 128.795
<b>Comuna 13</b>	64.19% 108.146	16.25% 27.379	10.15% 17.104	66.52% 114.485	23.72% 40.819	5.28% 9.088
<b>Comuna 14</b>	63.77% 101.461	17.44% 27.749	9.72% 15.463	66.11% 106.615	24.85% 40.082	4.76% 7.678
<b>Comuna 6</b>	51.54% 66.087	22.21% 28.479	14.56% 18.65	54.49% 70.103	33.25% 42.774	6.78% 8.723

<b>San Isidro</b>	54.46%	20.98%	17.21%	57.8%	31.74%	5.48%
	114.566	44.130	36.195	122.255	67.140	11.598
<b>Vicente López</b>	54.17%	20.12%	16.17%	57.79%	30.37%	6.52%
	98.080	36.425	29.281	103.736	54.519	11.707

Source: Own elaboration based on data from the National Electoral Commission.

**Map 1. Geographical distribution of the vote by province. Presidential elections 2019**



Reference: FdT (Blue) / JC (Yellow)

**AUDIOVISUAL CORPUS OF THE ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN**

- Electoral Spots, JC, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=esvYBzI5wm8>
- Electoral Spots, JC <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vclvak9DxUw>
- Public Act, Macri, Buenos Aires, 7/8/19, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MGXkIyuGsIA>
- Public Act, Macri, Cordoba, 8/8/19, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\\_joTNoQ-74I](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_joTNoQ-74I)
- Presentation Presidential Ticket, JC, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vclvak9DxUw>
- Public Act, Fernández, Santa Cruz, 21/5/19, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xIcJxOy5Wc>
- Electoral Spots, FdT, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=caQ1JJ9bII4>
- Electoral Spots, FdT, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZkU0pI27JQI>
- Electoral Spots, FdT, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3VKLXbF\\_bQQ](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3VKLXbF_bQQ)
- Public Act, Fernández, Rosario, 7/8/19, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-9aQ3U0YgyI>

**ELECTORAL PROGRAMS**

- Frente de Todos, <https://frentedetodos.org/plataforma>
- Juntos por el Cambio, <https://jxc.com.ar/plataforma-juntos-por-el-cambio-paso-2019/>