APPENDIX A

Tables and Graphs

Competitiveness and Public-Private Collaboration

Table A.1 Public-private investments (1990–2013), developing/emergent countries, in $ billions

	Number	*Divestiture*[a]	*Concessions*[b]	*Greenfield Projects*[c]	*Mgt/ Lease*[d]	*Total*
Latin America	1,841	251.7	236.9	355.4	0.38	845.1
Europe and Central Asia	849	123.8	29.7	190.1	6.1	349.7
East Asia and Pacific	1,779	76	51.5	254.9	0.22	382.7
Middle East and North Africa	151	20.1	10.3	67.2	0.2	97.9
South Asia	1,027	20.8	64.2	288.6	0.2	373.9
Sub-Saharan Africa	499	25.4	10.3	113.8	0.1	149.7

Note: a. A private entity buys an equity stake in a state-owned enterprise through an asset sale, public offering, or mass privatization program.

b. A private entity takes over the management of a state-owned enterprise for a given period during which it also assumes significant investment risk.

c. A private entity or a public-private joint venture builds and operates a new facility for the period specified in the project contract. The facility returns to the public sector at the end of the concession period.

d. A private entity takes over the management of a state-owned enterprise for a fixed period while ownership and investment decisions remain with the state.

Source: World Bank, 2014a.

Table A.2 Competitiveness ranking, 2005–2014. Based on WEF Global Competitiveness Index

	2005 *(122)*	*2006* *(122)*	*2007* *(131)*	*2008* *(134)*	*2009* *(133)*	*2010* *(139)*	*2011* *(142)*	*2012* *(144)*	*2013* *(148)*	*2014* *(144)*
Chile	27	27	26	28	30	30	31	33	34	33
Mexico	59	58	52	60	60	66	58	53	55	61
Brazil	57	66	72	64	56	58	53	48	56	57
Peru	77	74	86	83	78	73	67	61	61	65
Colombia	58	65	69	74	69	68	68	69	69	66
Ecuador	87	90	103	104	105	105	101	86	71	71
Uruguay	70	73	75	75	65	64	63	74	85	80
Bolivia		99	105	118	120	108	103	104	98	105
Argentina	54	69	85	88	85	87	85	94	104	104
Paraguay		107	121	124	124	120	122	116	119	120
Venezuela	84	88	98	105	113	122	124	126	134	131
Panama	65	57	59	58	59	53	49	40	40	48
Costa Rica	56	53	63	59	55	56	61	57	54	51
Guatemala	95	75	87	84	80	78	84	83	86	78
El Salvador	60	61	67	79	77	82	91	101	97	84
Nicaragua	96	95	111	120	115	112	115	108	99	99
Dominican Republic	91	83	96	98	95	101	110	105	105	101
Honduras	97	93	83	82	89	91	86	90	111	100

Note: Weighted average of 12 components: Institutions, infrastructure, macroeconomic stability, health and primary education, higher education and training, goods market efficiency, financial market sophistication, technological readiness, market size, business sophistication, and innovation.

⋆ Number of countries included in that ranking.

Source: World Economic Forum (2005–2013), *The Global Competitiveness Report*.

Table A.3 PPP Readiness Index 2012

	Rank	*Score*	*Main Challenges*
Brazil	2	71.3	Laws/regulation, political consensus, financial facilities
Mexico	4	63.8	Investment climate, regulatory framework
Southern Cone			
Chile	1	76.4	Regulatory checks, subnational adjustment
Uruguay	6	49.5	Operational maturity, financial facilities, subnational adjustments
Paraguay	14	28.9	Operational maturity, institutional framework, subnational adjustments, other
Argentina	18	17.5	Political will, financial facilities, subnational adjustment factor, other
Andes			
Peru	3	69.6	Subnational adjustments, planning capacity.
Colombia	5	59.5	Laws/regulations, operational maturity
Ecuador	17	19.9	Institutional framework, laws/regulations, investment climate, others
Bolivia	NA	NA	NA
Venezuela	19	5.1	Institutions, operational maturity, investment climate, other
Central America			
Costa Rica	8	38.8	Regulatory framework, subnational adjustment, investment climate
El Salvador	9	38.2	Laws/regulations, investment climate, political consensus, other
Honduras	12	33.7	Laws/regulations, financial facilities, other
Panama	11	34.0	Institutional framework, operational maturity, subnational adjustment
Guatemala	7	43.2	Financial facilities, subnational adjustment, operational maturity.
Nicaragua	16	20.4	Financial facilities, investment climate, other.
Caribbean			
Dominican Republic	15	25.7	Laws/regulation, institutional framework, operational maturity, others.
Jamaica	13	30.0	Operational maturity, financial facilities, other
Trinidad and Tobago	10	34.3	Operational maturity, investment climate, other

Note: Report ranks nineteen countries. Weights of ranking criteria: legal and regulatory framework (25 percent); institutional framework (20 percent); operational maturity (15 percent); investment climate (15 percent); financial facilities (15 percent); subnational adjustment factor (10 percent).

Source: Economist Intelligence Unit, Infrascope 2012.

Table A.4 Brazil and Chile, public-private collaboration in infrastructure by subsector, 1990–2013

	Brazil		*Chile*	
Sector	*Num*	*$ million*	*Num*	*$ million*
Energy				
Electricity	373	166,493	53	16,403
Natural gas	17	8,854	8	2,672
Subtotal	**390**	**175,347**	**61**	**19,075**
Telecom	36	162,600	10	4,451
Transport				
Airports	14	15,411	15	617
Railroads	18	28,258	4	128
Roads	64	33,225	35	9,761
Seaports	53	11,100	12	1,869
Subtotal	**149**	**87,994**	**66**	**12,375**
Water				
Sewerage	14	696	3	68
Utility	98	11,654	18	7,202
Subtotal	**112**	**11,350**	**21**	**7,270**
Total	**694**	**438,291**	**158**	**43,171**

Note: Num = number of projects.

Source: World bank, 2014a.

Table A.5 Argentina and Mexico, public-private investment in infrastructure by subsector, 1990–2013

	Argentina		*Mexico*	
Subsector	*Num*	*$ million*	*Num*	*$ million*
Energy				
Electricity	93	21,856	39	12,456
Natural gas	15	11,144	28	3,166
Subtotal	**108**	**33,001**	**67**	**15,622**
Telecom	7	39,226	15	72,042
Transport				
Airports	5	2,381	6	3,324
Railroads	18	5,574	8	6,168
Roads	45	5,507	70	24,658
Seaports	16	894	27	2,139
Subtotal	**84**	**14,356**	**111**	**36,289**
Water and Sewerage		–	29	2,712
Utility	19	8,176	5	250
Subtotal	**19**	**8,176**	**34**	**2,962**
Total	**218**	**94,758**	**227**	**126,915**

Note: Num = number of projects.

Source: World Bank, 2014a.

Table A.6 Andes countries, private collaboration in infrastructure by subsector, 1990–2013

	Colombia		*Peru*		*Ecuador*		*Bolivia*	
Sector	*Num*	*$ million*	*Num*	*$*	*Num*	*$*	*Num*	*$*
Energy								
Electricity	26	10,108	51	12,154	6	461	11	548
Natural Gas	11	1,059	2	990			3	3,211
Subtotal	**37**	**11,167**	**53**	**13,144**	**6**	**461**	**14**	**3,759**
Telecom	9	16,884	9	14,384	5	4,171	5	1,494
Transport								
Airports	8	1,374	4	687	3	665	2	117
Railroads	25	500	4	352			3	69
Roads	2	4,033	19	4,424	6	730		
Seaports	11	2,337	5	1,201	4	765		
Subtotal	**46**	**8,244**	**32**	**6,664**	**13**	**2,160**	**5**	**185**
Water								
Sewerage	3	168	3	334				
Utility	48	772	1	72	4	510	2	682
Transfer			1	120				
Subtotal	**51**	**940**	**5**	**526**	**4**	**510**	**2**	**682**
Total	**143**	**37,235**	**99**	**34,718**	**28**	**7,303**	**26**	**6,121**

Note: Num = number of projects.

Source: World Bank, 2014a.

Table A.7 Uruguay and Paraguay, public-private collaboration in infrastructure by sector, 1990–2013

	Uruguay		*Paraguay*	
Sector	*Num*	*$ million*	*Num*	*$ million*
Energy				
Electricity	8	3,164		
Natural Gas	3	416		
Telecom	2	615	4	1,660
Transport				
Airports	2	195		
Roads	2	85	1	58
Seaports	2	87		
Subtotal	**6**	**367**		
Water				
Utility	2	378		
Total	**21**	**4,940**	**5**	**1,718**

Notes: Num = number of projects.

Source: World Bank, 2014a.

Table A.8 Trade patterns, Brazil, Mexico, Chile, as percent of total trade, 2012

	Brazil		*Mexico*		*Chile*	
Main trading partners	*Import*	*Export*	*Import*	*Export*	*Import*	*Export*
European Union	21.4	20.2	11.0	5.9	13.4	15.3
United States	14.6	11.1	50.1	77.8	22.2	12.3
China	15.3	17.0	15.4	1.5	18.2	23.3
Argentina	7.4	7.4	–	–	6.6	–
Brazil	–	–	–	1.5	6.5	5.5
Japan	–	3.3	4.8	–	–	10.7
Main group (shares)						
Agricultural products	5.9	35.6	7.3	6.2	8.0	24.2
Fuels and mining products	20.9	27.0	11.6	17.8	24.4	60.4
Manufactures	73.1	33.8	78.2	72.7	67.5	13.3
Share in world total	1.25	1.38	2.04	2.01	0.43	0.43

Source: World Trade Organization Statistics Database, current as of March 2014.

Table A.9 Trade patterns, Argentina, Colombia, Peru, as percent of total trade, 2012

	Argentina		*Colombia*		*Peru*	
Main trading partners	*Import*	*Export*	*Import*	*Export*	*Import*	*Export*
European Union	17.9	14.7	12.6	15.1	11.9	17.1
United States	12.4	5.1	24.3	36.9	19.0	14.2
China	14.5	6.2	16.5	5.5	18.5	17.1
Brazil	26.1	20.4	4.8	–	6.1	–
Mexico	3.3	–	11.0	–	–	–
Main group (shares)						
Agricultural products	3.6	53.3	10.5	11.0	11.3	16.8
Fuels and mining products	15.8	10.2	8.8	66.7	15.3	50.2
Manufactures	79.6	31.2	79.6	17.3	73.2	11.5
Share in world total	0.44	0.34	0.32	0.33	0.23	0.25

Source: World Trade Organization Statistics Database, current as of March 2014.

Table A.10 Main commodity exports, 2012

Country	*Exports (% GDP)*	*Top five commodities (% of exports)*	*Main commodities*
Argentina	19.7	45.1	Soybeans and derivatives (22.4%), vehicles and trucks (9.7%), corn (6%), wheat (3.8%), petroleum (3.2%)
Brazil	12.5	35.3	Iron ore (12.8%), crude petroleum (8.4%), soybeans and derivatives (7.1), sugar (4.1%), poultry (2.9%)
Chile	34.2	65.4	Copper and derivatives (53%), fish (4%), minerals (3.3%), wood pulp (2.9%), wines (2.2%)
Colombia	18.2	74.9	Petroleum and derivatives (51.9%), coal (12.1%), gold (5.6%), coffee (3.2%), flowers (2.1%)
Ecuador	31.1	81.9	Petroleum and derivatives (56.9%), sea food (11.5%), bananas (8.7%), flowers (3.2%), gold (1.6%)
Mexico	32.8	35.3	Crude petroleum (12.7%), vehicles (7.8%), vehicle parts (5.1%), computers (5%), broadcasting devices (4.7%)
Peru	25.6	59	Copper and derivatives (22.6%), gold (21.1), derivatives from petroleum (7.1%), lead ore (4.3%), animal meal (3.9%)
Venezuela	26.1	98.5	Petroleum and derivatives (93.6%), coal tar (3.3%) natural gas (1%), iron ores (0.6%)
Bolivia	47.2	82.1	Petroleum and gas (54.8%), platinum (9.4%), soybeans and derivatives (9%), zinc (6.9%), tin ore (2%)
Uruguay	26.2	45.6	Beef (16.1%), soy (16%), rice (5.2%), wheat (4.5%), milk and derivatives (3.8%)
Paraguay	46.6	77.1	Electricity (30.7%), soy (23.6%), beef (10.4), corn (7.5%), wheat (4.9%)

Source: Export (% GDP) data from World Bank. Commodities data from Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, Databases and Statistical Publications, 2014.

Economic Growth, Inflation, and Debt, 1980–2013

Table A.11 GDP growth (G), inflation (I), external debt (D, as % GNI)

	Brazil			*Mexico*			*Chile*			*Argentina*		
	G	*I*	*D*	*G*	*I*	*D*	*G*	*I*	*D*	*G*	*I*	*D*
1980	9.1	–	31.7	9.2	26.4	30.6	8.1	35.1*	46.0	4.2	100.8	35.8
1981	***−4.4***	101.7	32.4	8.8	27.9	32.7	4.7	19.6*	50.8	***−5.7***	104.5	46.6
1982	***0.6***	100.5	35.3	***−0.6***	58.9	53.4	***−10.3***	9.9*	78.1	***−5.0***	164.8	55.3
1983	***−3.4***	135.0	51.7	***−4.2***	101.7	66.7	***−3.8***	27.2*	100.3	3.9	343.8	47.0
1984	5.3	192.1	52.9	***3.6***	65.5	57.4	8.0	19.8*	115.5	***2.2***	626.7	65.4
1985	7.9	226.0	49.4	***2.6***	57.7	55.3	7.1	30.7*	142.1	***−7.6***	672.2	61.1
1986	8.0	147.1	42.8	***−3.8***	86.2	82.9	5.6	19.4*	134.4	7.9	90.1	49.7
1987	***3.6***	228.3	42.6	***1.9***	131.8	82.2	6.6	19.8*	112.5	2.9	131.3	55.4
1988	***−0.1***	629.1	37.2	***1.2***	114.2	56.5	7.3	14.6*	86.7	***−2.6***	343.0	49.0
1989	***3.3***	1430.7	25.6	4.2	20.0	43.8	10.6	17.0*	68.5	***−7.5***	3079	93.3
1990	***−4.3***	2947.7	26.8	5.1	26.7	41.2	3.7	26*	64.7	***−2.4***	2314	46.3
1991	***1.5***	432.8	30.5	4.2	22.7	37.3	8.0	21.7*	52.2	12.7	171.1	35.7
1992	***−0.5***	951.6	33.8	3.6	15.5	31.8	12.3	15.4*	45.1	11.9	24.9	30.6
1993	4.7	1928.0	33.8	***2.0***	9.8	33.3	7.0	12.7*	43.5	5.9	10.6	27.7
1994	5.3	2075.9	28.5	4.5	7.0	33.9	5.7	11.4*	42.2	5.8	4.2	29.6
1995	4.4	66.0	21.2	***−5.7***	35.0	60.5	10.6	8.2*	32.1	***−2.8***	3.4	39.0
1996	***2.1***	15.8	22.0	5.8	34.4	49.0	7.4	7.3*	37.5	5.5	0.2	41.8

1997	***3.4***	6.9	23.3	6.9	20.6	38.0	6.6	6.1★	33.7	8.1	0.5	44.2
1998	***0.0***	3.2	29.3	4.7	15.9	39.0	3.2	5.1★	43.5	3.9	0.9	47.9
1999	***0.3***	4.9	43.1	2.6	16.6	35.7	***−0.8***	3.3★	49.4	***−3.4***	−1.2	54.3
2000	***4.3***	7.0	38.7	5.2	9.5	26.6	4.5	3.8★	51.7	***−0.8***	−0.9	53.1
2001	***1.3***	6.8	43.0	***−0.6***	6.4	27.3	3.3	3.5★	58.6	***−4.4***	−1.1	57.4
2002	***2.7***	8.5	47.7	***0.13***	5.0	25.0	*2.2*	2.4★	64.2	***−10.9***	25.9	154.0
2003	***1.1***	14.7	44.1	***1.4***	4.5	23.9	4.0	2.8★	61.7	8.8	13.4	132.5
2004	5.7	6.6	34.3	4.2	4.7	22.6	6.0	1.0★	50.0	9.0	4.4	114.4
2005	3.2	6.9	22.0	3.0	4.0	21.1	5.6	3.0★	40.4	9.2	9.6	72.0
2006	4.0	4.2	18.3	5.0	3.6	18.6	4.6	3.3★	36.9	8.5	10.9	56.7
2007	6.1	3.6	17.8	***3.2***	4.0	19.6	4.6	4.4★	36.5	**8.0★**	8.8	47.1
2008	5.2	5.7	16.3	***1.4***	5.1	19.2	3.7	8.7★	38.3	**3.1★**	8.6	38.4
2009	***−0.3***	4.9	17.7	***−4.7***	5.3	23.0	***−1.0***	1.4★	43.3	***0.9★***	6.3	42.8
2010	7.5	5.0	16.7	5.1	4.1	23.8	5.8	1.4	40.4	**9.1★**	10.8	32.7
2011	2.7	6.6	16.6	4.0	3.4	25.2	5.8	3.3	41.0	**8.6★**	9.5	28.3
2012	0.9	5.4	19.9	4.0	4.1	30.6	5.4	3.0		0.9	10.0	26.3
2013	2.5	6.2		1.1	3.8		4.1	1.8		3.0		

Source: World Bank, 2014b.

Table A.12 GDP growth (G), inflation (I), external debt (D, as % GNI)

	Peru			*Ecuador*			*Bolivia*			*Colombia*		
	G	*I*	*D*	*G*	*I*	*D*	*G*	*I*	*D*	*G*	*I*	*D*
1980	3.1	59.1	48.4	3.7	13.0	53.2	***−1.4***	47.2	61.3	4.1	26.5	21.5
1981	7.2	75.4	36.5	5.6	16.4	58.1	***0.3***	32.1	52.6	***2.3***	27.5	24.8
1982	***−0.6***	64.4	45.7	***0.6***	16.3	62.9	***−3.9***	123.5	65.6	***0.9***	24.6	27.8
1983	***−11.8***	111.2	64.0	***−0.3***	48.4	73.3	***−4.0***	275.6	79.4	***1.6***	19.7	31.2
1984	5.2	110.2	66.5	***2.6***	31.2	79.8	***−0.2***	1281	76.9	3.4	16.2	33.4
1985	***2.8***	163.4	73.9	3.9	28.0	81.6	***−1.7***	11749	99.0	3.1	24.0	43.6
1986	10.0	77.9	87.8	3.5	23.0	101.2	***−2.6***	276.3	155.4	5.8	18.9	46.4
1987	8.0	85.8	77.2	***−0.3***	29.5	130.8	***2.5***	14.6	146.0	5.4	23.3	49.7
1988	***−8.7***	667.0	167.1	5.9	58.2	135.4	2.9	16.0	115.3	4.1	28.1	45.7
1989	***−11.7***	3398	106.0	***1.0***	75.6	136.5	3.8	15.2	94.7	3.4	25.9	45.5
1990	***−5.1***	7481	79.2	***3.7***	48.5	133.1	4.6	17.1	94.5	6.0	29.1	45.6
1991	***2.2***	409.5	64.4	4.2	48.8	122.4	5.3	21.4	81.5	***2.3***	30.4	44.1
1992	***−0.4***	73.5	58.5	***2.1***	54.3	111.0	***1.6***	12.1	79.4	5.0	27.0	37.0
1993	4.8	48.6	71.3	***2.0***	45.0	99.4	4.3	8.5	79.6	2.4	22.4	35.0
1994	12.8	23.7	61.9	4.3	27.4	85.1	4.7	7.9	85.7	5.8	22.8	27.5
1995	8.6	11.1	60.4	***2.2***	22.9	72.2	4.7	10.2	82.5	5.2	20.9	27.7
1996	***2.5***	11.5	53.8	***1.7***	24.4	59.3	4.4	12.4	72.9	***2.1***	20.8	30.2

1997	6.9	8.6	51.8	4.3	30.6	56.2	5.0	4.7	68.7	3.4	18.5	30.5
1998	***−0.7***	7.2	55.0	3.3	36.1	57.6	5.0	7.7	68.2	***0.6***	18.7	34.1
1999	***0.9***	3.5	58.2	***−4.7***	52.2	87.6	***0.4***	2.2	69.9	***−4.2***	10.9	39.7
2000	3.0	3.8	55.5	***1.1***	96.1	78.8	***2.5***	4.6	72.0	4.4	9.2	33.9
2001	***0.2***	2.0	52.5	4.0	37.7	60.8	***1.7***	1.6	60.4	***1.7***	8.0	36.9
2002	5.0	0.2	51.3	4.1	12.5	59.4	***2.5***	0.9	66.2	***2.5***	6.4	34.1
2003	4.0	2.3	51.0	2.7	7.9	53.8	2.7	3.3	75.3	3.9	7.1	39.6
2004	5.0	3.7	48.1	8.2	2.7	50.4	4.2	4.4	74.9	5.3	5.9	33.0
2005	6.3	1.6	39.3	5.3	2.4	43.8	4.4	5.4	75.9	4.7	5.0	26.4
2006	7.5	2.0	34.5	4.4	3.0	38.6	4.8	4.3	52.9	6.7	4.3	24.0
2007	8.5	1.8	32.6	***2.2***	2.3	36.4	4.6	8.7	42.9	6.9	5.5	21.7
2008	9.1	5.8	29.4	6.4	8.4	26.2	6.1	14.0	36.8	3.5	7.0	19.7
2009	***0.9***	2.9	31.5	***0.6***	5.2	21.6	3.4	3.3	36.1	***1.7***	4.2	23.4
2010	8.5	1.5	29.6	2.9	3.6	22.4	4.1	2.5	32.2	4.0	2.3	23.2
2011	6.5	3.4	27.5	7.8	4.5	21.5	5.2	9.8	28.4	6.6	3.4	24.0
2012	6.0	3.7	29.3	5.1	5.1	20.3	5.2	4.6	27.	4.0	3.2	22.4
2013	5.8	2.8		4.0	2.7		6.8	5.7		4.3	2.0	

Source: World Bank, 2014b.

Table A.13 GDP growth (G), inflation (I), external debt (D, as % GNI)

	Uruguay			*Paraguay*			*Venezuela*		
	G	*I*	*D*	*G*	*I*	*D*	*G*	*I*	*D*
1980	5.8	63.5	17.3	11.7	22.4	22.8	***−4.4***	21.3	43.6
1981	***1.6***	34.0	20.1	9.2	13.0	21.3	***−0.4***	16.2	42.3
1982	***−9.8***	19.0	29.7	***−1.4***	5.1	25.4	***−2.1***	9.6	42.8
1983	***−10.3***	49.2	68.8	***−3.0***	13.4	26.5	***−3.8***	6.2	50.1
1984	***−1.1***	55.3	73.4	***2.8***	20.3	35.6	***1.4***	12.2	68.5
1985	***1.5***	72.2	89.8	4.5	25.2	60.8	***0.2***	11.3	63.5
1986	8.8	76.4	70.2	***5.0***	31.7	61.9	6.5	11.5	59.9
1987	8.0	63.6	61.1	7.6	21.8	71.8	3.6	28.1	79.1
1988	***1.5***	62.2	48.7	5.9	22.6	61.7	5.8	29.4	61.3
1989	***1.1***	80.4	55.4	6.9	26.4	55.2	***−8.6***	84.4	81.4
1990	***0.3***	112.5	49.6	4.1	37.3	40.4	6.5	40.6	71.7
1991	3.5	102.0	38.5	3.5	24.2	34.6	9.7	34.2	66.7
1992	7.9	68.5	36.4	1.7	15.2	26.4	6.1	31.4	66.7
1993	2.7	54.1	33.0	4.9	18.2	23.8	***0.3***	38.1	66.6
1994	7.3	44.7	29.7	5.3	20.6	30.5	***−2.3***	60.8	67.6
1995	***−1.4***	42.2	28.1	6.8	13.4	32.0	4.0	59.9	49.0
1996	5.6	28.3	29.2	***1.6***	9.8	27.9	***−0.2***	99.8	52.2
1997	8.5	19.8	28.2	***4.2***	6.9	27.3	6.4	50.0	47.9
1998	4.5	10.8	30.1	***0.1***	11.6	34.1	***0.3***	35.7	49.7
1999	***−1.9***	5.7	33.3	***−1.4***	6.8	44.6	***−6.0***	23.5	45.1
2000	***−1.9***	4.8	37.3	***−2.3***	9.0	44.2	3.7	16.2	36.6
2001	***−3.8***	4.4	44.7	***−0.8***	7.3	42.2	3.4	12.5	32.7
2002	***−7.7***	14.0	74.7	***0.0***	10.5	53.1	***−8.9***	22.4	41.2
2003	***0.8***	19.4	95.3	4.3	14.2	59.7	***−7.8***	31.0	46.9
2004	5.0	9.2	90.0	4.1	4.3	53.7	18.3	21.7	36.1
2005	7.5	4.7	66.3	2.1	6.8	44.1	10.3	15.9	31.6
2006	4.1	6.4	53.4	4.8	9.6	36.9	9.9	13.6	24.1
2007	6.5	8.1	52.5	5.4	8.1	28.0	8.8	18.7	20.9
2008	7.2	7.9	39.1	6.4	10.2	24.1	5.3	30.3	17.0
2009	***2.4***	7.1	44.9	***−4.0***	2.6	28.0	***−3.2***	27.1	18.8
2010	8.4	6.7	36.8	13.1	4.7	27.3	***−1.5***	28.2	16.8
2011	7.3	8.1	31.6	4.3	8.3	23.8	4.2	26.1	22.7
2012	3.7	8.1		−1.2	3.7	27.1	5.6	21.1	19.4
2013	4.4	8.6		13.6	2.7		1.3	40.6	

Source: World Bank, 2014b.

APPENDIX B

Framework

By public-private collaboration this volume means any of several possible arrangements in which public and private actors agree to pool resources and share risks to deliver some service or facility. In most cases, these forms of private sector participation in infrastructure require a new institutional framework. State agencies, national and foreign investors and entrepreneurs, civil society organizations, and all other actors need a conceptual and legal map that goes well beyond the delimitation of the public and private spheres used in traditional procurement (Levy, 2006; Maman and Rosenhek, 2011; O Riain, 2004; Pang, 2000; Schamis, 2002; Weiss, 1998, 2003; Wong, 2004). In terms of concrete institutional forms, the changed framework includes new and effective mechanisms for planning, designing projects, structuring processes of bidding, supervision, and monitoring of projects and facilities. It also means bridging traditional cultural and ideological lines separating the public and the private.

Though partnerships and concessions vary greatly in terms of size and complexity (Renda and Schrefler, 2006a), they share characteristics and challenges for which a broad framework is needed. The idea is to develop and create conditions ensuring outcomes. Partnerships entail hybrid organizational forms in which key sectoral ministries develop capacities, while the finance and planning ministries develop organized capabilities to manage concessions or partnerships. These separate agencies need to be coordinated. This can be a formidable challenge in developing countries still struggling to create functional bureaucracies and an adequate civil service. Figure B.1 presents a working framework to organize the analysis. Below a certain size and level of complexity, inadequate organizational development may pose insurmountable

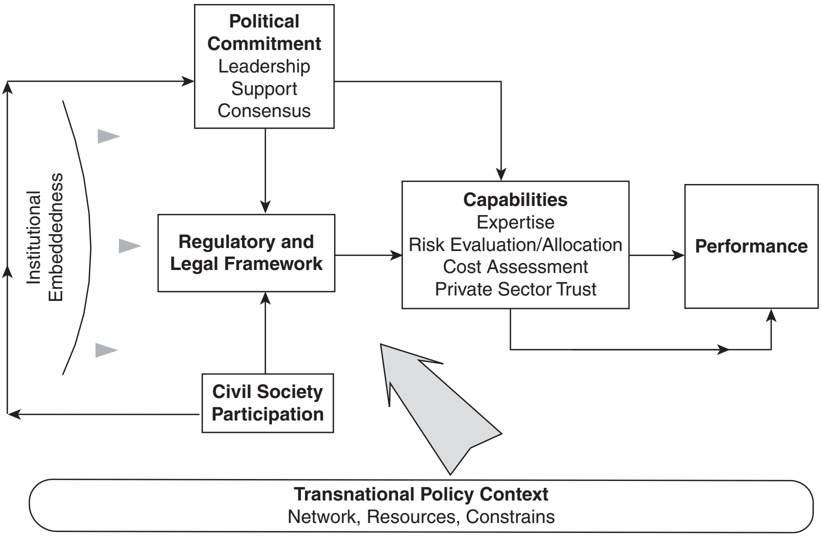

Figure B.1 Basic analytical framework.
Source: Forrer et al., 2010.

handicaps. Still, it may be wise to keep in mind that some types of concession and partnership may call for distinctive approaches.

The European Commission distinguishes two main types of PPP: *institutional* and *contractual* (Commission of the European Communities, 2004). The institutional forms are newly established organizations jointly held by public and private operators while contractual partnerships are agreements in which private operators provide some kind of service in exchange for compensation by users or by the public authority itself.

Partnerships may thus cover a wide range of organizational forms and business models in the spectrum from public to private. For example, in Brazil they take on a narrower meaning that does not include regular concessions, joint ventures, outsourcing and other forms of financing partnerships. From the standpoint of policymakers, their purpose is generally to transfer as much risk and responsibility as possible to the private sector, though risks can be shared between the two sectors. But models differ in the degree to which the public or private sector designs, finances, operates, owns, participates in the revenues, and controls service fees and tolls. When revenues are insufficient to maintain financial returns, the public sector often offers financial complements. Partnerships frequently seek private efficiency with long-term public perspectives.

The most basic form of public-private collaboration is the *simple service contract*: an agreement between two parties in which the private actor procures, operates, and maintains an asset for a short period of time, while the public party is responsible for management and investment. This model is often found in toll collection services. Another form is the *operation and management contracts*, which are agreements where the private party is responsible for both operation and management. The duration is also relatively short, but longer than in simple service contracts. The public party bears the financial and the investment risks. These types of agreements are often seen as privatization. In *leasing contracts*, private sector operators lease an existing asset from the state, and the private actor usually renovates, modernizes, or expands this asset.

Build-operate-transfer (BOT) is a more sophisticated concession model in which the private actor has responsibility for design, construction, and operation, while the public party may bear some or even most of the financial risks. By paying for operating costs, the private party faces incentives for better planning and management. When the operating contract ends, the private party transfers the asset to the public actor. BOT has been widely used in infrastructure projects, including waste and water treatment.[1]

The Design-build-finance-operate (DBFO) is a complex concession that often takes the form of a public-private partnership While this model provides the operational features and effectiveness of previous models, it also ensures opportunity for new sources of capital. The private actor or consortium of actors designs, builds, owns, develops, operates, and manages an asset for a long period (25–30 years). The public sector actually owns the asset and actively regulates the project to ensure quality standards of service and consumer protection from monopolistic prices. This model of public-private partnership is often found in large-scale infrastructure projects such as railroad, roads, water and waste treatment, prison complexes, and the like.

Depending on the project and the focus of the program, standard ways of measuring outcomes and performance include financial success, expansion of the project, public support, impact on development, impact on the poor, and environmental impact. Performance criteria are strongly dependent on the main purposes and goals of the particular project.

The PPP field of action or policy domain is populated by diverse national, regional, and multilateral organizations, including development banks, business networks, and firms that claim major parts. These and other organizations are often part of policy networks, linking transnational and national actors.

Together, these networks and actors generate resources, knowledge, and relationships that enhance the ability of policymakers and elected officials to develop regulatory frameworks and generate projects. This entails contracts, advocate and plan for specific projects and agendas, create commissioning units to attract foreign investment, and the like. Participation in these networks allows stakeholders to learn about triumphs and pitfalls of public-private collaboration around the world. Knowledge thus gained leads to more efficient procurement practices and implementation.

Development banks and other international financial institutions and business fora are critical. The World Bank stands out at the multilateral level, as do the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Economic Forum (WEF). Regional development banks are involved in this international policy field. In the Western Hemisphere, the Inter-American Development Bank has produced numerous documents concerning the specific purpose of helping public officials bent on launching PPP programs and projects.[2] So has the Corporación Andina de Fomento (CAF).

Business organizations take a supportive or proactive stance in the adoption of programs and projects. Consulting agencies with specialized legal and finance teams are hired to review and advise in legal contracting, bidding consortium, and procurement. For example, PricewaterhouseCoopers has become a major consultant in the Brazilian state of Minas Gerais. The company sees itself as the foremost private authority on partnerships. Legal contracts are the foundation for successful PPP projects, and for-profit consulting agencies, including finance and law firms, have a large role in this aspect of PPPs.

Some of the most important exchanges of PPP-related information and ideas involve country-based officials and agencies with experience or interest in them. Groups focus on urban development and the environment.

Governments often send groups to other countries to give presentations on their own partnership experience. In the development of PPPs, possibly the most important exchange of information and ideas involve these agencies with experience designing and implementing PPP programs. The United Kingdom, Ireland, and several other countries maintain PPP-specific websites that provide access to useful reports, information on PPP processes, and listings of investment opportunities.[3] The list of cooperation agencies includes the Canadian Agency for International Development, the German Agency for Technical Cooperation (GTZ), the German Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), the German Investment and Development Company (CDEG), the Reconstruction Loan Corporation (KfW), the International Finance Corporation (IFC), and the Private Finance Initiative (PFI) of Britain. Indeed, partnerships have a larger role in the context of efforts to reconstruct the international order toward cooperation. In the United States, the World Bank and the IDB has preempted much of this space, but forums and organizations have emerged.

Private firms and trade associations also play important support roles in the PPP process. Consulting agencies (legal and finance teams) are hired to review and advise in legal contracting, organizing bidding consortia, and procurement. Further work is needed to probe the role of transnational policy networks in specific projects and programs and to advance the understanding of the dynamics leading to effective identification of problems, solutions, and best practices.

Analytical Framework

This appendix reviews general conditions affecting outcome in a large number of cases.

Institutions and regulatory framework

The regulatory and institutional context directly governing the design and creation of partnerships is a pivotal factor affecting performance and outcome. The British legislation is widely seen as providing a exemplary framework. The main piece of legislation in this case is the Private Finance Initiative of 1992, which eliminated major legal and institutional barriers to private participation in public projects and public service provision. This initiative sketched criteria for regulatory frameworks: clearly defined public sector goals and objectives, effective and transparent bidding processes, competent authorities, formal rights of the concessionaire, and opportunities for renegotiation (Leahy, 2005).

Poor legislation thus increases costs to the public. If the regulatory framework is not appropriate, private contractors will add a risk factor in their bids. Exit strategies should specify what to do in cases of bankruptcy of the project company.

In all advanced adopting countries, governments have created special partnership units within the state administration. These units become "knowledge organizations" in which PPP expertise and competence are developed and centralized. They have an important role in encouraging public and private sector innovation for the improvement of efficiency and quality of public service. The numbers of projects and the ability to attract private investors have significantly increased in countries where partnership units have been established (Renda and Schrefler, 2006b). These experiences have led to the recommendation of an institutionalized national public-private partnership coordinator.

Enabling legislation

Public-private partnerships are special types of concessions. A preexisting law of concessions represents a preestablished legal context in which to elaborate the necessary new laws and decrees.

Political commitment

Both institutional and programmatic development depend on a cluster of political conditions conceptualized here as political commitment. Political support is one aspect of political commitment.

The likelihood of sustained *political consensus* among critical political actors is also a substantial risk in the design of partnership programs and projects. Long-term projects often experience parliamentary election cycles before they are completed. Newly elected governments may renege on the initial contract. The breach of contract by the public party often results in lawsuits and possible compensation for private actors, further increasing public costs. Private contractors and the general public pay these extra costs. Since public-private partnerships often draw debate and opposition, consensus among the main political parties is often decisive. Political conditions, especially *political leadership*, are of particular importance in transitional and developing societies. Several cases point to the significance of political leadership, which may be the single most important factor.

In Britain, for example, bold political leadership by four consecutive prime ministers—Margaret Thatcher, John Major, Tony Blair, and Gordon Brown and David Cameron—was decisive in the adoption as well as continuation and development of public-private partnerships. Leadership is more than nominal support or reflection of consensus; it means the deployment of political will and political capital to launch, organize, and protect a state reform initiative likely to generate considerable opposition. Political leadership determines societal willingness to mobilize and allocate resources to programs and projects, and is thus crucial to the success of public-private partnerships.[4] This is a dynamic process requiring permanent revision and development, for example, in 2011, the British conservative government introduced a full assessment of the 20-year experiences in PFI and implemented significant reforms in the program.

Capabilities

Capability is different from political leadership or commitment. Rather, it has to do with the effectiveness of agencies and personnel. It is intertwined with the preexisting institutional frameworks and preexisting reform dynamics in which concessions and partnerships are embedded. More broadly, it is a reflection of the strength of the state as an institution.

Different levels of *expertise* can result in unbalanced negotiations and conflict between the two parties. The public sector is often at a disadvantage in that project managers in the private sector are often more experienced and better prepared than government representatives. Lack of managerial skills and experience also reduces the ability of public officials to monitor and control the project in the operational stage. The acquisition of managerial competence by public officials remains a significant challenge in Latin America, where there is great need to train cadres.

Acquiring managerial competence in partnership programs is a particularly significant challenge for public sector officials. These different backgrounds can result in unbalanced negotiations, tension, and conflict. British PFI-PPP projects tend to perform better and achieve greater value for money than traditional procurement in the design and construction stages, but a number of projects showed much less efficiency in the operational phase. Cost and poor contract management on the public side has been deemed responsible for this unbalanced outcome (Nao, 2010; Renda and Schrefler, 2006b). The lack of managerial skills and experience can reduce the ability of public officials to monitor and control the project in the operational stage. The

Table B.1 Risk allocation in typical concession and partnerships contracts

Risk	*Allocated to*
Design	Government/concessionaire
Financial	Concessionaire
Traffic/use revenue	Government/concessionaire
Construction and engineering	Concessionaire
Inflation	Government
Exchange rate	Government/concessionaire
Institutional	Government
Force majeure	Concessionaire

UK review of the PFI program concluded that a deficit in the public sector skill was a crucial issue, resulting in the 2012 launching of the Major Projects Leadership Academy at Oxford's Saïd Business School in order to build the skills of senior project leaders across government to deliver complex PFI projects. Other European experiences confirm that special units within the public administration are needed to foster competency and train the specialists necessary for the project's success.

The core challenge of a public-private alliance is *risk evaluation and allocation* between parties. The partnership design aims to redistribute particular risks to the actor most capable of managing them at the lowest costs, constrained in turn by the government's desideratum that financial risks be transferred to the private sector. However, improper risk evaluation and allocation can result in higher costs than in a traditional public project.

Risks can be divided into five basic types:

- Construction risk—related to the design and construction phase
- Financial risk—related to unpredictable interest, prices, and exchange rates
- Performance risk—related to poor service provision or quality standards
- Demand risk—linked to the actual consumption of the service
- Residual risk—related to the future market price of the asset; relevant if the property will be transferred into the public party at the end of the contract.[5]

Developing countries, particularly in Latin America, face difficulties in reducing the financial risks involved in long-term, large-scale infrastructure projects such as railroads. Insufficient guarantees on returns by the public sector has delayed the constructions of strategic railroad projects in Brazil as private investors hesitate. The Brazilian federal concessions law contains clauses in which the public administration has the unilateral power to revise service fees if necessary to maintain the economic and financial viability of the project. Such clauses have deterred private sector long-term investments.

Cost savings (*value for money*) can be better achieved through partnerships than through traditional public procurement (Leahy, 2005). Public-private partnerships may not always be the best solution. Special transaction costs often emerge in establishing and maintaining a partnership between private and public parties. Transaction and other indirect expenses can add substantially to the total cost. These costs result from organizing the bidding process, participating in it, negotiating the contract between the public sector and the winning bidder, monitoring the private sector partner's compliance with the contract, and renegotiating the contract during its life cycle (Dudkin and Válilá, 2005). They include legal and broker fees and enforcing contracts. Due to their long-term character and risk-taking features, tendering, bidding, negotiating, and monitoring processes can make them more expensive than traditional short-term contracting. Care needs to be taken to avoid the erosion of savings achieved through a public-private partnership project.

Establishing and maintaining a partnership between private and public parties will have unexpected transaction costs. Transaction and renegotiation costs can greatly inflate their final costs and undermine their claim to provide greater value for money than traditional public procurement. Partnerships can be more expensive than traditional short-term contracts.

The size of the project is also important in determining cost. For instance, British projects with a capital value below £25 million have significantly higher transaction costs than larger projects. Procurement time can also affect the cost of partnership projects. Costs appear to be significantly higher in projects that take longer than 50 months to procure. Interestingly, the number of bidders does not significantly affect the costs of projects (Dudkin and Válilá, 2005).

Broader Social Impacts and Local Benefits

Large projects, regardless of the specific form taken by public-private collaboration, are increasingly required to meet standards in regard to social environmental and social impact, sustainability, safety, sanitation, and related local concerns. For instance, in projects related to the 2012 London Olympics, a high priority was to involve small and medium enterprises and the local labor force, making efforts to develop better relationships with local residents and a supportive culture within the workforce. The projects also aimed to minimize negative impacts on the environment. For example, more than 98 percent of materials from demolition were reused on the Olympic Park. Poor planning and execution can lead to costly delays and sanctions.

APPENDIX C

Brazil: Planning for New Infrastructure

Brazilian policymakers gradually altered the planning assumptions and practices inherited from the military regime, responding to such shocks as the financial crisis of the 1980s, the post-1985 transition to democracy, and hyperinflation through the 1990s. The reorganization of national planning since the 1990s shaped the idea of using concessions and partnerships in infrastructure, though still a relatively recent development near full institutionalization.

To organize a more transparent process, the Constitution of 1988 (Article 16) mandated four-year plans known as Plano Plurianual (PPA). Each new administration is to elaborate a plan in its first year in office and thus each plan runs through the first year of the subsequent government. But economic and political turbulence prevented serious planning until the mid-1990s.

What should have been the first four-year plan (1992–1995) did not come to life due to the political instability that culminated in the presidential impeachment of December 1992. Hence, PPA 1996–1999 (*Brasil em Ação*) was the first complete plan of the post-1985 democratic era and set the stage for subsequent plans. Prepared by then planning minister José Serra, it called for collaboration between federal and subnational governments and the private sector. This plan's thin discussion of infrastructure owed to a focus on stabilization and structural adjustment as much as to the absence of a well-defined new national approach.[1]

Avança Brasil (PPA 2000–2003) is more complete and ambitious. After identifying nine development corridors or axles, it lists priority infrastructure projects to develop them and integrate Brazil regionally, nationally, and internationally.[2] National planners first identified public-private partnerships as such during the elaboration of this plan under planning minister Martus Tavares, a close associate of Serra. The basic framework articulated in PPA 2000–2003, together with related planning studies, shaped subsequent planning efforts. The approach based on corridors that promote trade as well as national and international integration has been retained in all of them. Of Brazil's five main regions (south, southeast, central-west, north, and northeast), the south and southeast are treated as whole units in *Avança Brasil*. The other three received detailed attention. The central-west region was divided into southwest, west, and north. The latter had three corridors (Araguaia-Tocantins, Madeira-Amazon, and Arco Norte), while the northeast had two (São Francisco and Transnordeste). National planners then focused on specific projects in each of these corridors to promote development and integration within and between the country's five traditional regions, as well as between Brazil and the rest of South America.

The echoes of the acute crisis of public finances of the 1980s and the 1990s drove policymakers to deemphasize traditional dirigisme and retain the macroeconomic and liberalized policies to engage the private sector. They combined traditional public procurement with concessions and public-private partnerships, retaining infrastructure as the main focus.

Planning minister Guido Mantega prepared PPA 2004–2007 (*Brasil de Todos*). While social development stood out as priority, this document built on previous planning efforts and ideas to formulate major infrastructure goals. Throughout the Lula years, planners appeared receptive to concessions and public-private partnerships, but little progress took place. The Growth Acceleration Program of 2007 finally presented a blueprint for Lula's second terms and PPA 2008–2011. The latter, Development with Social Inclusion and Quality Education, sharpened the focus on infrastructure provision and growth.

The plan focused on infrastructure projects in the central-west, northeast, and north regions and adjacent areas. But progress was slow. While some plans were approved, others waited for congressional approval or faced unexpected complications. For example, the BR-319 highway connecting Porto Velho with Manaus was suspended due to environmental concerns. A large number of infrastructure projects experienced delay.[3]

The growth program reformulated and repackaged older plans into a program promising the use of concessions and public-private partnerships to upgrade the railroad system and related infrastructure. In early May 2008, Medida Provisória 427 sketched a railroad expansion

Table C.1 Brazil's national plans since 1992

	Title of plan	*Planning minister*	*Presidency*	*Significant*
1992–1995	–	Several	Collor de Mello	First planning effort mandated by 1988 Constitution; little impact
PPA 1996–1999	Brasil em Ação	José Serra	F. H. Cardoso	First formal PPA, new public administration
PPA 2000–2003	Avança Brasil	Martus Tavares	F. H. Cardoso	New planning model: development axles, project evaluation
PPA 2004–2007	Brasil de Todos	Guido Mantega	Lula da Silva	Continuity on fiscal and monetary policy; social initiatives
PPA 2008–2011	Desenvolvimento com Inclusão	Paulo Bernardo Silva	Lula da Silva	Economic growth with social inclusion and reduction in regional disparities
PAC1 2007–2010	Plano de Aceleração do Crescimento	Paulo Bernardo Silva	Lula da Silva	PAC focuses on infrastructure development (transportation, social inclusion and education)
PAC2 2011–2014	Plano de Aceleração do Crescimento	Miriam Belchior	Dilma Rouseff	Continuity to PAC1 infrastructure investment.

Source: Brazil, Ministério do Planejamento, Orçamento e Gestão. 2011. *Plano Plurianual 2012–2015*. Brasília, DF: Secretaria de Planejamento e Investimentos Estratégicos.

plan defining the emerging approach. However, investments in infrastructure remained considerably below the amount stipulated by PAC, reaching a gap of R$115 billion.[4] The Lula da Silva administration's debates over the design of concessions, public-private partnerships, and the relative roles of government and businesses continued through much of 2008 and 2009. However, in the electoral year of 2010, pre-candidate Dilma Rousseff, a prominent member of the Lula cabinet, played a key role in launching PAC2—a R$1.59 trillion package to build infrastructure and promote growth.[5] It promised nearly a trillion reais of infrastructure by 2014. In terms of railroads, the goal was to increase the existent network of 29,000 kilometers to 40,000 kilometers by 2020. Criticism surfaced regarding the timing of the program during election years and various delays in planning and execution. But Brazilians hoped that the focus would be sustained after the elections.[6]

Short on funds and unable to enact PPP programs without a new national legal foundation, states pressed the Union for such laws. Sensitized to the constraints on new investment, officials in the planning ministry and other high-level agencies in the Lula government have debated this issue at length, even if the federal government had technically endorsed the idea of relying on public-private partnerships for infrastructure projects in 2004 (PPA 2004–2007). It was moved in part by a supportive international context, including China's declared interest in railroad and port projects to enhance Brazil's ability to export soy and other products. As noted, the collapse of negotiations with the Chinese contributed to the abandonment of the idea to construct Ferrovia Norte-Sul as a public-private partnership.

Plans for the implementation of full-fledged public-private programs faced significant delays and alterations in 2006. The federal partnership program had not gone into full effect in the first half of that year, as had been promised. The federal government took a great deal of time to complete an organizational and regulatory framework to implement the public-private partnerships program. Several early projects listed as priorities in 2004 and 2005 were dropped from the list, for example, Ferronorte and FNS. But delays and other changes continued, affecting a number of projects.

The national plan for infrastructure development and export incentives had been fully in place with PPA 2004–2007 and PPA 2008–2011, but relatively little had actually taken place through 2009 in terms of coordinating different national actors as well as better relations between federal and subnational programs. By March 2010, less than half of the projected public works were on schedule. The São Paulo rail beltway remained uncertain, having yet to be fully assessed by the federal bureaucracy. The federal government did not provide clear explanations for the delays and the appearance of improvisation. Though the federal government had very little to show in terms of actual concessions, PAC did refocus policy on infrastructure investment and public-private business models.

The broader policy domain governing design and implementation—mobilized actors, issues, and relationships, including civil society and transnational organizations concerned with social and sustainable development—did not seem fully in place.

Excursus: Shifting Ownership of the Santos Rail Corridor

As an extension of the railroad system of the state of São Paulo, Ferronorte had to wait for the consolidation of this geographically pivotal network, a process that went through several phases. In the 1970s, this system had been converted into FEPASA, a public network controlled by the state of São Paulo. However, the reforms of 1996–1998 first federalized the national railroad system, to then reorganize it in terms of regions before ceding them to private operators as concessions. São Paulo's rail network went through several changes in ownership before eventually merging into Latin American Logistics (ALL).

First, in 1998 Ferroban (Ferrrovias Bandeirantes) won the concession to run the main rail network in São Paulo but continued to run deficits, as did Brasil Ferrovias, the holding company that had acquired the concessions to Ferronorte and Novoeste. As the nation's economy began to improve in 2002, Brasil Ferrovias bought Ferroban and its portfolio, thus now controlling Ferroban, Ferrovia Novoeste, and the fledgling Ferronorte. São Paulo's rail network seemed to have become integrated into one at last, this time under private management, with financing from BNDES.

The vicissitudes of Ferroban and Brasil Ferrovias had been due in large part to uncertain public support, as the federal authorities took considerable time to debate projects and business models for public-private collaboration. In the case of Ferronorte, federal support remained unsettled even as construction approached the state of Mato Grosso in 1998 and early 1999, fanning the dream of railway service into this rising state. But the rapidly expanding soy frontier in Mato Grosso demanded easier access to export corridors.

Ferronorte needed financial infusions to be able to expand. BNDES, pension funds such as Previ and Funcef, as well as other sources bought shares in the company as a way to finance Brasil Ferrovias' march toward Mato Grosso and its capital of Cuiabá and beyond. However, Ferronorte's R$1.5 billion debt with BNDES provided grounds for delays through 2003. Decisive political support would have expedited the request for federal support. Instead, the Ferronorte project advanced at a crawling pace. BNDES specialists and at least two pension funds endorsed Ferronorte's expansion, though they worried about continuing deficits in Brasil Ferrovias.

In mid-2005, BNDES announced a package of R$2.3 billion to refinance Brasil Ferrovias and restructure it as a holding company under the name of Nova Brasil Ferrovias. A more decisive turning point came in mid-2006, when ALL acquired Brasil Ferrovias, Novoeste, and Ferronorte. The original Ferronorte investors, government pension funds Previ (administered by Banco do Brasil), Funcef (Caixa Econômica Federal), and BNDES remained as ALL shareholders.

ALL had come to life in 1997 under a different name to operate in southern Brazil. Later expanding into Argentina, ALL's goal was to become South America's premier railroad company—a network of more than 20,000 kilometers, a 1,000 locomotives, and nearly 30,000 wagons, also involved in logistics, intermodal movement, and storage. It focused mainly on grains, sugar, ethanol, and other agricultural commodities. The consolidated operator came to process half of the soy reaching Santos and a growing share of Mato Grosso's soy. In 2006 alone, ALLMN was responsible for transporting 14.8 million tons of soy. When it announced plans to accelerate work on the stretch to Rondonópolis, and from there to Mato Grosso's capital of Cuiabá, it argued that it could triple the amount of cargo. While stakeholders pleaded for expeditious financial support, the federal government continued to debate its own priorities and questions about business models. The extension of deadlines also came about because of the time to obtain environmental licenses. Still, Ferronorte was gaining momentum after nearly a decade of delays.

APPENDIX D

About Transantiago

Table D.1 Transantiago: institutional and other actors

Created by presidential decree in 2003, the Committee of Ministers for Transport in Santiago headed the design and implementation phase of Transantiago. The members of this Committee were:

- Minister of Public Works, Transportation and Telecommunications
- Minister of Housing and Urbanization
- Director of Government Office for Greater Santiago
- President of Metro, S. A.
- Executive Director of CONAMA (National Commision for the Environment)
- MOPTT's General Coordinator of Concessions (Ministry of Public Works, Transport & Telecommunications)
- Executive Secretary of SECTRA (Inter-Ministerial Secretariat for Transport Planning)
- Transantiago Coordinator, acts as Executive Secretary of Committee

Other Actors:

- Bus drivers
- Private bus owners
- Transportation companies
- Unions ("gremios") and associations
- Nonregulated (and "illegal") buses

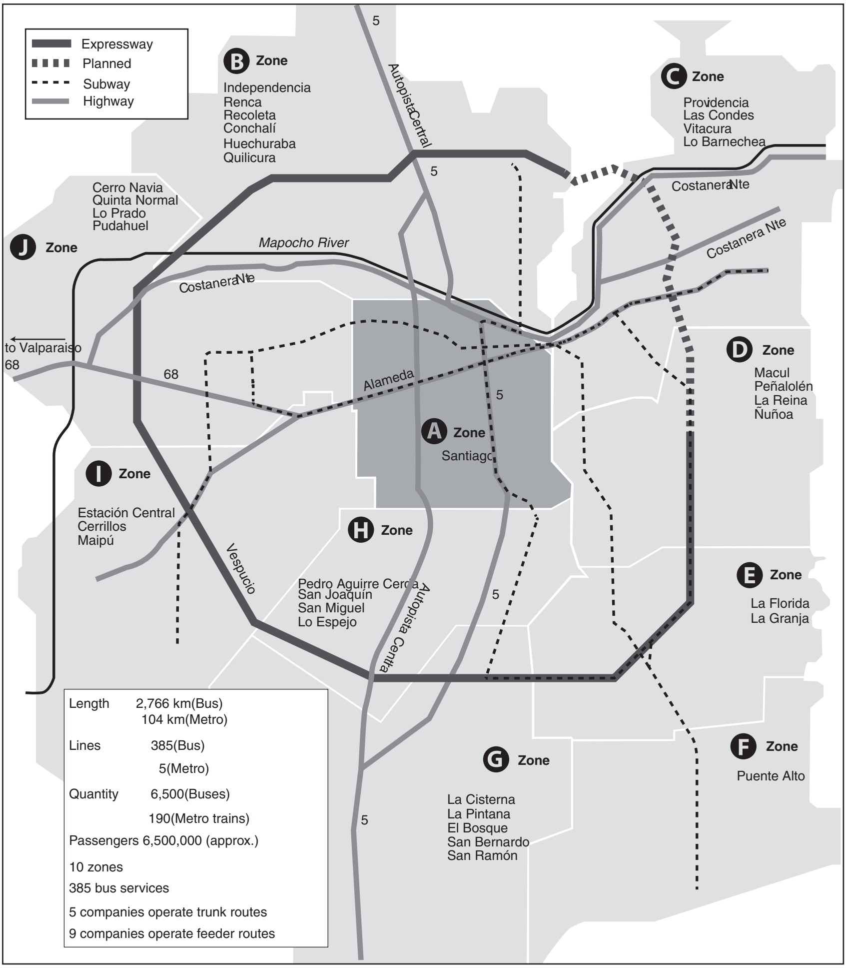

Figure D.1 Transantiago and metro.

Source: The Metro de Santiago website.

Table D.2 Transantiago timeline, 2004–2010

Date	*Event*
March 31, 2004	Extension of subway Line 5 westward to Quinta Normal completed.
September 8, 2004	Extension of subway Line 2 north to Cerro Blanco (including tunnel under Rio Mapocho) completed.
December 22, 2004	Extension of subway Line 2 south to La Cisterna completed.
December 31, 2004	Removal of 800 old buses not meeting PPDA emissions standards.
September 6, 2005	Exclusive bus lane (7.7 km) on Avenue Pajaritos, from Alameda to Plaza Maipú.
October 22, 2005 and after	Transantiago Phase I:
	Ten Concessionaires take control of system. Introduction of 1,181 new buses meeting EURO III standards (replaced 461 old buses) to operate alongside over 7,000 old yellow buses. Old buses upgraded (advanced filters, automatic fare collection devices, and repainting for standardized look).
November 25, 2005	Extension of subway Line 2 north to Ave. Cementerios completed.
November 30, 2005	Extension of subway Line 4 south from Tobalaba to Puente Alto completed.
January 21, 2006	Incorporation of 302 new buses to the system, and 551 old buses taken out of service.
March 11, 2006	Michelle Bachelet assumes office as new Chilean President.
March, 2006	New subway Line 4 (excluding L4A) completed.
July 2006 (Postponed)	Transantiago Phase II:
	Implementation of card payment method, single card for bus-subway integration, addition of advanced filters to Euro I/EPA 91 and Euro II/EPA94 buses.
August 16, 2006	Extension of subway Line 4 (links Vicuña Mackena and Americo Vespucio) completed.
September 14, 2006	Tunnel (1,763 km) connecting Blanco Encalada and Arica streets completed.
September 15, 2006	200 buses to test card payment method integrating bus and subway.
October 16, 2006	Public campaign to educate users.
November 11, 2006	Upgrades of main avenues and streets (trunk lines) begin.
January 1, 2007	Smart card fare system initiated in several locations.

Continued

Table D.2 Continued

Date	*Event*
February 10, 2007	Transantiago Phase II:
	Official inauguration (upgraded buses, removal of 2,900 old buses, inauguration of feeding lines, introduction of electronic information to users).
	Inauguration: debacle and crisis.
(Postponed)	Transantiago Phase III: 800 additional Euro III buses. Additional upgrading of older buses.
March 11, 2007	Presidential announcement of new short term measures, estimated at $27.8 million: 75 additional bus routes to be built; 300 additional buses; integration of taxis; amplification of nocturnal services and schedules.
March 26, 2007	Minister of Transport Sergio Espejo is replaced by René Cortázar.
April 3, 2007	Cortázar orders five new measures: increase fleet of buses by 1000 vehicles (to a total of 6,400); correct the problematic routes; support the operators during their period of fleet service; construction of new bus stops; assignment of exclusive bus lanes.
June 2007	Congress approves $290 million of extra funds.
December 17, 2007	Six new routes and twelve new transport services announced, to affect 600 million users.
April 25, 2008	$400 million loan approved by Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) for funding.
May 2008	$160 million loan approved by BancoEstado for funding.
August 13, 2008	Permanent monthly subsidy bill for Transantiago and Regional Public Transportation passed by the lower Congressional house.
September 2, 2008	Constitutional Tribunal (TC) rejects loans obtained from IDB and BancoEstado.
September 4, 2008	President Bachelet establishes "Consejo Extraordinario" for Transantiago finances.
September 5, 2008	Emergency funds of 2% of national budget to cover Transantiago deficit.
September 9, 2008	Vote for permanent monthly subsidy bill for Transantiago and Regional Public Transportation suspended in the Senate.
September 15, 2008	Members of la Alianza and Parlamentarios Independientes proposed senatorial measure to "terminar de manera definitiva con el Plan Transantiago" (terminate the Transantiago Plan once and for all).
September 17, 2008	Government evaluations determine Transantiago System to be a 4.5 (on a scale of 1 to 7). Measure for additional increase in number of buses to be specified in October, 2008.

Table D.2 Continued

Date	*Event*
January 12, 2009	Minister Cortázar announces new round of modifications to the metro and bus lines, including: 216 new cars to be added to the most-used Metro lines; 1,000 new buses to be added while 30 percent of the old buses are eliminated; expansion of the smart card system by 20 percent; additional technology upgrades to be introduced and a second reform of operator contracts to be initiated to tighten scheduling and frequency of bus patterns.
March 9, 2009	Minister Cortázar submits a proposal for financing, following the IDB loan rejection. Proposal fails to reach a consensus.
May 11, 2009	Coalición por el Cambio submits its own counter proposal for funding of the system. Proposal fails to reach a consensus.
July 14, 2009	Financing agreement reached between Coalición and Concertación for permanent subsidy of Transantiago, providing $3.460 billion between 2009 and 2014.
August 12, 2009	The agreement for Transantiago's permanent subsidy for the 2009–2014 period passes into law, with the Senate voting 68 in favor, 12 against, and 1 abstention.
November 10, 2009	Minister Cortázar announces an initiative to reduce wait time by at least 20 percent. Plans will increase bus frequency for over 146 routes, create 4 new nocturnal routes, and improve the nighttime coverage of over 32 other services in the Metropolitan area.
December 1, 2009	Last round of modifications to complete operational and technological goals: remove 1,400 old yellow buses still running (only 300 will remain by January 2010), to be replaced with 1,130 Mercedes Benz buses equipped with protective driver cabins, Euro III technology, and antismog filtering systems.
December 22, 2009	President Bachelet enacts Law 20.410, that modifies the Concessions and Public Works law.
January 7, 2010	Extension of subway Line 1 to Los Dominicos is completed.
January 17, 2010	Sebastián Piñera, representative of the Coalición por el Cambio, wins the presidential election. He takes office on March 11, 2010.
February 22, 2010	Eight new routes and modifications to seven other routes are initiated to increase coverage in the most inhabited areas of the capital.
March 11, 2010	Sebastián Piñera is inaugurated president of Chile.
March 11, 2010	Felipe Morandé takes office as the new minister of Transportation and Telecommunications.
	Ana Luisa Covarrubias is established as the coordinator of Transantiago.

Continued

Table D.2 Continued

Date	*Event*
April 15, 2010	Minister of Transport Felipe Morandé announces the Anti-Evasion Plan, which called for: fines of $73,300–$184,300 pesos for those caught evading fares; punishment of community service for those who refuse to pay the government fines; increased supervisory agents and authorities to enforce the Plan; and a series of fare increases ($10 pesos and $20 pesos, consecutively) for bus and metro ticket prices, reaching $430 pesos and $490 pesos for peak fares respectively.
May 17, 2010	Bus and metro fares increase by $20 pesos, reaching $450 pesos and $510 pesos for peak fares respectively.
February 3, 2011	Extension of subway Line 5 to Maipú is completed.
August 29, 2011	New Master Plan of Public Transportation infrastructure designed in 2010 for the period 2011–2015 is approved by the Committee of Ministers for Transport in Santiago. It seeks to solve bus circulation problems by utilizing a greater investment in maintenance and quality, the use of more advanced technology for enforcing the system's regulations, and other traffic measures.
September 1, 2012	Seven bus concessionares operating under new contracts with the following market share: Alsacia 12%, Express 20%, Metbus 17%, Vule 18%, Redbus 10%, STP 6%, and Subus 19%.
November, 2012	Contract between state and AFT (Financial Administrator of Transantiago) is restructured after months of negotiations.
April 16, 2013	The Metropolitan Public Transportation Board (Directorio de Transporte Público Metropolitano—DTPM) is created to substitute the original Committee of Ministers for Transport in Santiago created in 2003. In addition to the original tasks, the DTPM is charged with the task of analyzing the city's integral public transportation system and the task of coordinating different forms of transportation in Santiago derived from the actions of the various public and private sectors.
Spetember 27, 2013	New law of Public Transpportation subsidy is approved to improve Santiago's public transportation.
January, 2014	New revised contracts are negotiated with the existing seven bus operators.
May 29, 2014	President Bachelet announces a 2014–2018 Improvement Plan for Transantiago at a cost of $548 million pesos. It focuses on quality of service and information; infrastructure; regulatory supervision and integration; and evasion control.

Source: "Las 8 medidas…" and "Revise en detalle…" *La Nación*, May 29, 2014; Quijada et al., 2007. "Informe Final," Segunda Auditoria Internacional, March 2006, DPT, and author.

NOTES

One State and Market in Global Development

1. The global financial crisis of 2008 brought contrasting movements on the state. To some, it was clear evidence of market failure and the need for a larger role for government (Tanzi, 2009). Others saw it as a failure of national financial supervision, pointing to the need for market coordination or creating supranational institutions to supervise fiscal policy (Sapir, 2012). The first suggested the "comeback" of the nation-state model and the decreasing influence of global forces—a notion seemingly supported by the fact that public spending as share of GDP increased between 2007 and 2012 in many OECD and Latin American countries (IMF, 2014). International trade and global capital flows also fell after the crisis, from new protectionist measures and banking regulations, while trade liberalization shifted to regional and bilateral pacts (The Economist, 2013b).
2. As applied to public-private partnerships, the public goods literature is discussed in Ojha (2010), Ramesh et al. (2010), and Savas (2000: 41–107). Though Savas frames the discussion in terms of the theory and practice of privatization, others do not. In contrast to public goods, "private" goods and services can be denied selectively, with consumption by someone diminishing the supply to others—excludable and subject to competitive consumption, it should normally be left to private firms to supply them.
3. "A Special Report on the Future of the State," *The Economist*, March 12, 2011, diagnosed it as "big, inefficient, and broke."
4. Based on 2004 data from the World Bank (Delmon, 2009). The private sector was responsible for 20 percent and multilateral banks for 10 percent of infrastructure investments.
5. Fisher et al., "America's transport infrastructure: Life in the slow lane," *The Economist*, April 30, 2011. For Latin America, see CAF (2010).
6. For example, Whitfield (2010: 22–31). To promote growth, China invested 49 percent of GDP in 2010, up from 42 percent three years earlier, while India's investment rate fluctuated around 36–37 percent of GDP.

7. See, for instance, *Global Competitiveness Yearbook 2010* (Institute for Management Development) and the WEF's Global Competitiveness Index—both found online. Also useful are various indices of globalization—such as those from European Science Foundation, The Economist Intelligence Unit, A. T. Kearney & Foreign Policy magazine, KOF, and yet others. Social infrastructure for human capital—education, health, housing, and the like—is a high priority in emerging and developing countries, often with the explicit aim of increasing productivity and competitiveness. Gramlich (1994) explores the role of infrastructure on economic growth.
8. China is spending between $300 and $750 billion to expand its rail lines—nearly 10,000 miles of new high-speed trains and 11,000 miles of standard rail lines. The fast-speed network is schedule for completion in 2020. Inaugurated on July 1, 2011, the $33 billion, 820-mile Beijing-Shanghai line augmented the business corridor between China's two largest cities. Ninety daily bullet trains taking 5 hours are to run in each direction. The full north-south trunk line features 12 connections with east-west trains, integrating much of the nation's territory. Keith Bradsher, "High-Speed Rail Poised to Alter China," *New York Times*, June 23, 2011, p. B1 and Ian Johnson, "High-Speed Trains in China to Run Slower, Ministry Says," *New York Times*, June 14, 2011, p. A6. Brian Spegele and Bob Davis, "High-Speed Train Links Beijing, Shanghai," *Wall Street Journa*l, June 29, 2011. Supporters point to this network as a way to spread economic development, increase trade and the flow of people and ideas, and integrating the country. Critics, on the other hand, highlight corruption, safety issues, high use price and elite-focus, environmental impact, high cost, and the need for massive subsidies.
9. For example, the total passenger number in Beijing Capital International Airport almost tripled between 2003 and 2010 (from 27 million to 74 million) while air cargo traffic rose from 660,000 total cargo to 1.5 million. Airports Council International. 2012 "World's Top 30 Airports: 2000–2010," online.
10. Of the world's top 10 container ports, eight are in Asia (six of them in China). With 121 million TEU containers in 2011, these six Chinese ports manage nearly one fourth (23 percent) of the world total container traffic. "The JOC TOP 50 World Container Ports," *Journal of Commerce*, 13(29) (August 20–27, 2012): 24–30.
11. The 10 countries are Brazil, Mexico, Chile, Peru, Colombia, Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Ecuador and Bolivia.
12. The seven-point scale Global Competitiveness Index published by the WEF is telling in this regard. In 2012, the aggregated score of the quality of overall infrastructure for eight Latin American countries (Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Argentina, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and Venezuela) was 3.7, while the combined score for four East Asian countries (China, Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan) was significantly higher: 5.4. East Asia and Latin America differ on the quality of road and port infrastructure. The infrastructure gap between these two regions is even more striking in the quality of railroad infrastructure: whereas Asia generally received a 5.6 score, that for Latin America was only 2.1.

13. John Price, "Latin America's Downside: Competitiveness," *Latin American Business Chronicle*, October 11, 2007. Productivity grew less than 4 percent between 2003 and 2005, probably due to annual investments of less than 2 percent of GDP in infrastructure.
14. See The Louis Berger Group's "Linking Argentina and Chile," April 2009, (online) for an IDB-commissioned feasibility study of the Andean Highway Passes Program to expand and modernize the transportation network between Chile and Argentina.
15. Edwards (1995), Glade (1991), Haggard and Kaufman (1992, 1995), Williamson (1990, 1994). My own approximation of the Brazilian case is found in Font (2003).
16. Several international conferences held after 2006 have explored and compared individual Latin American countries and public-private processes, seeking to derive lessons and a comparative paradigm for Latin American partnerships applicable throughout the region. The publication *ProjectFinance* and Euromoney Seminars organized the "Latin American PPP and Infrastructure: Finance Summit" in Miami, March 22–23, 2007, which was repeated in 2008 as the second Finance Summit on Latin American PPP and Infrastructure. Another business group organized a similar conference, "Infrastructure Investment World LatAm 2008" in Miami, September 23–25, 2008.
17. See also Chong and López-de-Salines (2005).
18. "China's Economy and the WTO: All Change," *The Economist*, December 10, 2011. "Ten Years of China in the WTO: Shades of Grey," *The Economist*, December 10, 2011. Bettina Wassener, "For China, a Shift from Exports to Consumption," *New York Times*, January 20, 2014.
19. See also Strange (1988 and 1996).
20. Critics have pointed out that the ISI approach mischaracterized the relationship between exports-led growth and development; said little about the production of capital goods; failed to anticipate that transnational corporations rather than domestic industrialists would benefit from tariff protection; and was too optimistic about larger governments or the prospects for democracy.
21. See also Gereffi and Wyman (1990).
22. World Bank (1993) argued that market-friendly policies played the main role in the success of the Asian tigers.
23. Evans (1995). Gereffi and Wyman (1990) and Gereffi and Korzeniewicz (1994) focused on global commodity chains to account for the dynamism of Asia relative to Latin America. Both strands of analysis agree on the significance of state policies in directing economic behavior. "Late late" development posed challenges for world systemic approaches, the starting point of Gereffi and others. See also Gereffi (2009).
24. Introduced by Pollit and Bouckaert (2004) as a public administration paradigm, the "neo-Weberian state" approach insists that bureaucracy is still the best alternative to organize the operations of state institutions. This model emphasizes the importance of division of labor, as well as rules, procedures, and top-down authority (hierarchy) as crucial coordination instruments (Bouckaert et al., 2010: 34–35; see also Kostakis, 2011). Drechsler (2009), Kostakis (2011), and others

see this approach as superior to the market-oriented New Public Management, using Evans and Rauch (1999) as empirical support for this assertion. The neo-Weberian state concept differs somewhat from the classical bureaucracy model in positing direct external links to citizen need and wishes (Drechsler, 2009; Lynn, 2008; Pollit and Bouckaert, 2004: 99–100). That is, it seeks to supplement the role of representative democracy by new forms of consultation and direct citizen representation. Aspects of European Union administration are seen as successful combinations of modernization, efficiency, and focus on citizens.

25. The need for innovation to enhance competitiveness are also reinforcing the formation of knowledge or innovation system.

Two State and Liberalization in Latin America

1. As stated by a Latin American development bank, "*sin infraestructura no hay desarrollo*" ("there is no development without infrastructure") (CAF, 2010). For more on Latin American infrastructure, see Calderón and Servén (2009).
2. Hirschman (1968) provides an influential early assessment of ISI (Baer, 1972). Edwards (1995) discusses the 1970s, reviews the critical literature, and presents a positive view of post-1982 reforms.
3. The succession of crises had a major impact on South American societies. As oil prices plunged, international financiers stopped investing in many parts of the emerging and developing worlds. Antiglobalization sentiment increased in Argentina and Brazil, contributing to the collapse of multilateral tariff reduction negotiations. Meanwhile, some countries in the region increased their hard currency reserves or dollarized their currency.
4. China's increased demand came from the use of soymeal to feed pork, poultry, and fish—as well as soybeans for direct human consumption.
5. Exports to China as percent of total exports varied a great deal in 2013: Chile 23 percent, Brazil 17 percent, Peru 15 percent, Uruguay 9 percent, Argentina 6 percent, Colombia 5 percent, and Mexico 2 percent. China consumes 42 percent of Peru's copper and 40 percent of Chilean copper.
6. My account of Mexican political and economic change through 2000 draws from Teichman (1988, 1995, 2001), Camp (1999), Cornelius (1996), Babb (2001), Centeno (1994, 1997), Schneider, Ross, and Heredia (2003), Cornelius (1996).
7. According to Chong and López-de-Silanes (2004b), new federal law for state-owned enterprises clarified the relationship and obligations between state-owned enterprises (SOEs) and the state, leading to a large reduction in unprofitable enterprises. See also Aspe (1993).
8. The Library of Congress Country Studies and CIA World Factbook (June 1996) "Mexico Privatization." See also Kapur et al. (1997); Chong and López-de-Silanes (2004b).
9. Calderón and Servén (2004b: 30). Public investment for this period fell to just 5 percent of its level for 1980–1985—from 1.54 to 0.08 percent of GDP.

10. Fideicomiso de Apoyo al Rescate Carretero. Overall, there were three sets of acquisitions: FARAC I, II, and III. The World Bank puts the bailout at $8 billion (Engel et al., 2003; World Bank, 2003). The 2003 World Bank report highlights fours reasons for the failure of the first concessions program: low financial feasibility and poorly made feasibility studies, high toll levels due to short concession periods, underbidding, and ability of contractors to increase costs.
11. Camp (2010) contrasts the two PAN presidencies after 2000, while highlighting differences between this party, the PRI and the PRD. According to Camp, after 2000 technocrats began to lose ground to a new generation of political leaders with more diverse training and background. Pastor and Wise (2005) discuss why the Fox government could not make a major dent in the reform process, pointing to political rivalries, infighting, and other challenges of divided government. Calderón was more adept at negotiation and alliance-building than Fox, but had to face major issues of internal unity and security from drug crime.
12. Within the new PPS scheme, the government authorizes projects through the finance minister (Secretaría de Hacienda y Crédito Público), while sectoral ministries help evaluate them (e.g., SCT or Secretaría de Comunicaciones y Transportes handles new road projects). The "Reglas para la realización de Proyectos para Prestación de Servicios" of April 2004 is the main regulatory law. Partnerships UK advised the Mexican authorities in designing its PPS program, which was inspired by the British PFI model. See Secretaría de Hacienda y Crédito Público "Proyectos para Prestación de Servicios," February 2007.
13. In addition, the program known as Fibras (Fideicomisos de Infraestructura y Bienes Raíces) began to sell bonds linked to the income from some of the above concessions.
14. Mexico also developed a local transit system. In 2007, Mexico City partnered with the World Resources Institute's Center for Sustainable Transport (EMBARQ) to implement a new bus rapid transit called Metrobús. This new transit system with dedicated lanes claimed to transport passengers for less than one-tenth of the cost of an equivalent light rail metro system and in one-half the time of a conventional bus (www.metrobus.df.gob.mx).
15. Mexico's National Infrastructure Program 2007–2012 called for $226 billion investments from public and private sources—with transportation and telecommunications to receive 30 percent, oil and gas 47 percent, electricity 15 percent, and water 8 percent. Government would provide more than half of the budgeted figures for highways, railways, ports, and airports, as well as for water services. In turn, telecom would be mostly private. The plan aimed at increasing competitiveness, building a world-class logistics platform, and promoting the tourist sector (www.infrastructure.gob.mx). In 2008, government created the National Infrastructure Fund (Fonadin) initially financed from the 1990's FARAC highways bailout and later expanded.
16. FARAC I brought in $4.8 billion from a consortium led by Goldman Sachs (Niven et al., 2009: 12).
17. See "Programa para impulsar el crecimiento y el empleo," México, Secretaría de Hacienda y Crédito Público, October 2008.

18. Grey Brosnan, "A Bridge Too Far?" *LatinFinance*, December 2008: 43–45.
19. Derek M. Woodhouse, "Marco Regulatorio para el Desarrollo de Asociaciones Público-Privadas en Estados Mexicanos," Primer Encuentro Técnico sobre la Estructuración de Proyectos de Asociación Público-Privada, Mexico DF, February 19–20, 2009. See also Dirección General de Desarrollo de la Infraestructura Física (DGDIF), PPS.
20. One of the most influential is the Program to Promote Public-Private Partnerships in Mexican States (PIAPPEM), launched with the support of the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank. Woodhouse (2009) reviews progress in public-private collaboration by Mexican states. The Instituto Tecnológico de Monterrey developed a program on public-private partnerships in infrastructure and services.
21. The Pact for Mexico listed over 100 agreements on key reforms deemed essential. The mid-2013 subnational elections threatened the reform momentum, though many members of the two opposition parties (PAN and PRD) continued to support it. Pressure to liberalize the energy sector posed the main obstacle: with factions in the PRD and the PRI opposed to break the oil and gas monopoly of the state-owned PEMEX—the inefficient hydrocarbon giant that provided a third of federal government finances and employed a large number of Mexicans. Private companies could already partner with PEMEX on various service contracts, but the existing legal framework did not allow for agreements on profit-sharing and production-sharing. Pressure built for allowing foreign entities to participate in the exploration and production of oil and gas as partners of PEMEX. Tim Johnson, "Mexican President might Push Oil-Sector Revisions Past Skeptical Public," *The State* (South Carolina), July 23, 2013.
22. "Report: Mexico Cheaper than China for Manufacturing Appliances," The Boston Consulting Group. Online. Trucking is the primary mode of transport for the goods, moving approximately 85 percent of the value of goods traded "Supply Chain Bottlenecks: Border Crossing Inefficiencies Between Mexico and the United States," *International Journal of Trasport Economics* 31(2). Connectivity with US interstate highways was partly responsible. In rail, the merging of Canadian Pacific Railway and DM&E (Dakota, Minnesota and Eastern Railroad) and IC&E (Iowa, Chicago and Eastern Railroad) makes the network "the first truly North American continental railroad, positioned not only for NAFTA trade but for a large market share of the millions of containers" ("Deal Creates Path for NAFTA Railway," WND).
23. The circumstances leading to the Peronist return to power in 1989, the political system in the 1990s, and the 2001 economic collapse are discussed in Manzetti (2009: chapter 4), Silva (2009a).
24. A public sector reform bill (Law 23,696) set the framework for the privatization program, while an economic emergency bill (Law 23,697) authorized broad power to contract private enterprises to perform public services and increase productivity. In 2001, Law 1299 and Decree 678 of 2001 refined this framework.
25. Frank Sader, *Attracting Foreign Direct Investment into Infrastructure: Why Is It So Difficult?*, *World Bank*, November 1999: 86.

26. Silva (2009a) draws from Auyero (2007) and his own research to discuss the anti-Menem ("anti-neoliberal") contentious movement, presenting it as key factor in the victory of populists Peronists Néstor Kirchner (2003–2007) and Cristina Fernández de Kirchner (2008). For a somewhat different account, see Cohen (2012).
27. Santarcángelo and Perrone (2012). Guillermo O'Donnell and other social scientists repeatedly commented on impasse or instability of policymaking in Argentina (e.g., Tommasi, 2010; Corradi, 1985; Lewis, 1992).
28. Belgrano Cargas, a rail network of 10,841 kilometer consolidated as a state enterprise in 1948, was converted to a concession controlled by the rail workers union and an industrial cooperative, after which it was largely privatized (79 percent of shares) in 1999.
29. Pablo González and Matt Craze, "Argentina Banks on Railroads to Prolong Soybean Booms: Freight," *Bloomberg News*, June 18, 2013. See also "The Decadence of Argentina's Rail System," *Buenos Aires Herald*, June 5, 2013
30. Financial losses had provided the main justification for privatizing the rail network between 1992 and 1995. Under increasing competition from trucks and road construction—the 35,000 kilometer national network then run by Ferrocarriles Argentinos was losing more than a billion dollars a year. Privatization of the six components of the network would improve service and force the railways to be financially sound under free market rules, it was hoped. ALL and other operators under this plan won concessions for 30 years, with 10-year extensions. In 1999, ALL acquired a freight railway network of 8,000 kilometer that covered a large part of the country and serviced Bunge, Cargill, and other grains trading companies. The economic contractions and crises of 1994, 1998, and 2001 had a negative impact on concessions. As ALL tended to accumulate debts and service failed to improve, trucks continued to handle much of the freight.
31. "The Tragedy of Argentina: A Century of Decline," *The Economist*, February 25, 2014. Wylde (2011).
32. "Brazil Infrastructure: Paving the Way," *Morgan Stanley Blue Paper*, May 5, 2010.
33. In New York City alone, for instance, the Brazilian-American Chamber of Commerce's Brazil Summit of 2005 had PPP as a main theme—as was also the case in separate visits to that city by the governors of São Paulo and Bahia. In addition, consultants and investors organized various meetings. The IDB, World Bank, and others organized frequent meetings on Brazil. Besides São Paulo and Minas Gerais, the states of Bahia, Ceará, Goiás, Espírito Santo, Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina announced their own programs and legislation (Chapter Five).
34. A federal high-speed authority, Atav, was being formalized in mid-2012 (BNAmericas, June 6, 2012), with ANTT to launch the first tender later in the year.
35. "Copa do Mundo vai custar R$3.5 bi a mais ao governo," *Folha de S. Paulo*, June 16, 2014. This figure would probably grow after accounting for all expenses. According to *Folha*, R$6 billion of World Cup expenses were transferred to the PAC.

36. *Folha de S. Paulo*: 97 percent public sector. Originally, authorities conveyed the impression that the private sector would play a major role.
37. The list of major construction and concession operators includes Odebrecht, Arteris (OHL), Queiroz Galvão, UTC Participações, Eco-Rodovia, CCR, TPI (Triunfo Participacões e Investimentos), Investimentos e Participacões em Infraestrutura. National sources of funding include BNDES, Caixa, Banco do Brasil, and large pension funds as well as the federal government directly. Dozens of firms provide legal, financial, and technical advice. Brazil also had a specialized business press that encompasses large newspapers *Folha de S. Paulo*, *O Estado de S. Paulo*, *O Globo*, *Valor Econõmico*, and several other publications.
38. During much of the nineteenth century and into the 1920s, Chile's relatively small state was guided by economic liberalism, though conflicts and wars within the country and with neighboring Peru and Bolivia had led to a centralized and unitary state, a professional military, and a lasting legacy in state-making (Góngora, 1981; Marcel, 1999; see also Saylor, 2012). After the 1920s, various governments organized a modern welfare state, development agencies, and state companies. Vellinga (1998) discusses the post-1930s changing role of state in Latin American development.
39. Max Weber's (1958) account of the rise of modern capitalist practices in Europe gave prominence to Puritan ethical norms, but only because such ideas and the interest-driven behavior of a market economy proved favorable to each other at a critical juncture and opportunity for social change (Weber, 1968). As the story goes, Pinochet's embrace of the Chicago approach came about when one of his associates, learning of the military government's urgent search for an economic recovery program, brought him into contact with a network of Chilean economists trained at the University of Chicago (see Commanding Heights website). Valdés' (1995) account emphasizes the deliberate transfer of ideas from the United States to Chile. Góngora (1981) provides a distinctive defense of the state against threats posed by the neoliberalism of the Pinochet regime.
40. By 2005, this program was responsible for 44 projects valued at $5.7 billion (about 6¼ percent of the 2004 GDP). These include: 8 projects to upgrade the Route 5 highway extending the length of Chile, financed through tolls ($2 billion); additional highway projects for connecting roads to Route 5 ($1.3 billion); 10 airport projects ($240 million); 6 urban road projects ($1.8 billion); and 9 projects too include prisons, public buildings, and a reservoir ($360 million). See Engel et al. (1997, 2002, 2003, 2006, 2009) for assessment of concessions awarded in Chile between 1993 and 2006.
41. The new concessions law updated previous legislation on the construction, rehabilitation, maintenance, and operation of public works and infrastructure. It aimed at a transparent system of competitive bidding, establishing mutual rights and obligations, and setting up conflict resolution procedures.
42. Interview with Guillermo Díaz (July 2006). As per a July 2006 interview with Germán Correa (former minister of transportation), in the late 1980s he gathered information on Mexico's concessions program to help draft Chile's Concessions Law of 1991.

43. In 1995, after Congress passed unanimous support for legislation and plans, the Ministry of Public Works finally initiated the first wave of concessions (Tune Melón, segments of Highway 5 [Chile's north-south highway], Autopista Santiago-San Antonio, shortly followed by east-west urban highways, and airports).
44. In 1997, Law 19,542 ended state monopoly of ports and authorized concessions and partnerships to improve and operate them. The first wave was in 1999, the second took place during the Lagos presidency, while the third started after the 2010 election of Sebastián Piñera. By then, Chilean firms had gained experience operating ports and were eager to participate in projects linked to the 2010 earthquake (*El Mercurio*).
45. By the early 1990s, fast growth in the second half of the 1980s and 1990s exposed sizeable infrastructure bottlenecks, but adjustment and stabilization programs in the 1980s constrained public investment infrastructure maintenance. Infrastructure deficiencies for the second half of the 1990s were over 20 percent of Chile's 1993 GDP (IMF, April 1, 2005).
46. Hemming, Richard. 2006. "Public-private partnerships, government guarantees, and fiscal risk." Washington, DC: International Monetary Fund.
47. These payments are activated if revenue from tolls falls from a mutually accepted level or if user fees falls below a mutually acceptable level or the exchange rate depreciates by more than 10 percent (as shown by the inflation-adjusted UF unit widely used in Chilean contracts).
48. In a 2006 interview with Gibrán Harcha, he described Transantiago as a system of interconnected concessionaires between companies given exclusive rights over specific routes in exchange for investing in low contamination buses and the obligation to sign contracts with other private operators in charge of finances (the AFT, Financial Administrator of Transantiago) and system administration as well as with private companies in charge of providing information and services to users (SIAUT). In turn, both AFT and SIAUT had to sign contracts with operators. That is, this was not a simple concession between government and a private operators but an advanced form with contractual relations with other companies in the system.
49. Uziel Gómez, "El MOP reactiva los proyectos de concesiones para este año: Aumentan en 136 por ciento," *El Mercurio*, January10, 2009.

Three Liberalization/Anti-Liberalization

1. For example, the August 2004 issue of *Latin American Research Review* includes diverse views on liberalizing reforms (Weyland, Walton, Huber, 2004).
2. Macdonald and Ruckert (2009); Rovira (2011); Boschi and Santana (2012); Costoya (2011); Grugel and Riggirozzi (2012); Kennemore and Weeks (2011); Leiva (2008). Hershberg and Rosen (2006) also present the idea of a postliberal Latin America. For public dissatisfaction with privatization, see, for example, Bonnet et al. (2012).

3. For broad interpretations of left turns in Latin America, see Castañeda (2006); Panizza (2005, 2009); Roberts (1998, 2009); Kaufman (2011); Murillo et al. (2011); Fishlow (2006).
4. See "The Season of El Niño," *The Economist*, June 7, 1998; Suplee (1999); Broad and Orlove (2007). El Niño also had significant impacts in Central America and Mexico, as well as Northeastern Brazil ($4 billion), Guyana, Argentina ($3 billion), and other countries. Weather turbulence resulted in a death toll estimated at 2,100 people and damages of $13–33 billion. According to Suplee, El Niño 1997–1998 had the energy of a million Hiroshima bombs.
5. See Appendix A for inflation, external debt, and macroeconomic indicators. Theoretical formulations on strong state-making includes its impact on democracy (Tilly, 2007).
6. Manzano and Monaldi (2008). Silva (1999) emphasized the role of social movements opposing neoliberalism. Flores-Macías (2010) sees them as more likely in leftist turns with weak party systems, contrasting the above (Bolivia, Ecuador, and Venezuela) with Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay, where a uniform market approach has prevailed. Kennemore and Weeks (2011) see an elusive or frustrated search for alternative socialism due to poor implementation of reforms, economic volatility, and opposition. For a review of the literature on post-neoliberalism, see also Rovira (2011).
7. Huntington (1968) provides an influential account of political instability based on the weaknesses of institutions relative to various sources of social mobilization.
8. The proposal to construct a pipeline to Chile to export gas to the United States fueled the perception that natural resource extraction benefited foreign companies but not the Bolivian people. Opposition to privatization thus had a nationalist as well as antielitist character, in addition to anti-Chile sentiment, a neighbor deeply resented for the loss of land and access to the sea in the War of the Pacific (Sinnott et al., 2010: 34). According to a World Bank report, the Bolivian privatization drive of the 1990s was seen as contributing to inequality as the government share of gas revenue diminished.
9. "Nationalizing Utilities in Bolivia: From Tap to Socket," *The Economist*, January 19, 2013.
10. Emily Achtenberg, "From Water Wars to Water Scarcity: Bolivia's Cautionary Tale," *Rebel Currents*, June 6, 2013.
11. Marcelo Ballvé, "Despite Nationalizations, Bolivia's Resource Sector Attracts Asian Investors," *World Politics Review*, August 9, 2012.
12. Eastern Bolivia consists of fertile lowlands suitable for agriculture and endowed with the country's main gas deposits and other minerals. In differs markedly from the high Andes to the west in terms of ethnic composition, values, lifestyle, and political orientation. It has been influenced by Brazil, with which Bolivia has a great deal of economic exchange, including main destination of its exports).
13. Financed by BNDES, the Brazilian development bank, and built by the Brazilian construction company OAS. Under pressure from various stakeholders, in mid-2012 Morales announced support for a national referendum.

14. The Galápagos Islands would be fourth, but its remoteness and small size of 25,000 make it largely irrelevant to the processes discussed here.
15. "The Ecuadorian currency crisis [of 1998–2000] originated from a series of external shocks. While agriculture products and crude oil were the major exports of Ecuador, El Niño floods in the late 1997 and 1998 destroyed vast agricultural areas in the coastal region and reduced Ecuador's agricultural productions. Oil prices in the world market also sank to its historically low—less than $10 per barrel—significantly reducing the total revenue of the debt-ridden Ecuadorian government. As a result, the fiscal deficit was 6.2 percent of GDP, while the total debt/GDP ratio reached 66.3 percent. Worse still, as the effects of the Asian financial crisis spilled over to Latin America, the foreign loanable funds available to the Ecuadorian government and private banks were further reduced" (Cubas et al., 2010: 3).
16. For the economic and social impact of natural disasters in Ecuador in 1997–1998, see Calero et al. (2009) and Vos (2003). According to Vos, the number of events tripled and agricultural losses equaled an estimated 1.1 percent of GDP for those years. The climate anomalies related to El Niño included droughts, flood, fires, frosts, and infectious diseases. Thirteen of Ecuador's 32 volcanoes are considered active and there were 2 mid-sized eruptions in 1999 (Guagua and Tungurahua regions). Mudslides alone could also wreak havoc (with that of 1993 in the Azuay province causing 50 deaths and losses of over $140 million). El Niño's effects in 1997–1998 included nearly 300 deaths and 30,000 displaced persons who lost their houses. Flooding, brought, economic damages, unemployment, and health consequences to a fourth of the population. To top it all, a large earthquake hit Manati province in 1998. The World Bank's Ecuador Dashboard (online) provides information on climate adversities.
17. Remittances from Ecuadorian migrants to the United States, Spain, and other countries reached $1.3 billion in 2000 (Banco Central del Ecuador).
18. The port city of Guayaquil, by far the largest and most industrialized urban area, has also been the site of powerful political factions often tied to modern business interests. As cultural and political center of the coastal region, Guayaquil often clashes with the more traditional capital city of Quito and the Andean highlands of which it is a part.
19. To that effect, it engaged in political action, including the ousting of the governments of Abdalá Bucaram in 1996 and of Jamil Mahuad in 2000, to then support the election of retired Coronel Lucio Gutiérrez, in whose government they briefly held some cabinet positions, and whose overthrow they also implicitly endorsed. After helping elect Rafael Correa, CONAIE and its political arm have been actively opposing a number of his policies.
20. See also "Ecuador's Economy Grew by 4.5% in 2013," *Wall Street Journal*, April 21, 2014.
21. The policy of economic openness was introduced at the end of the presidency of Virgilio Barco (1986–1990) with the explicit purpose of ending protectionism and import substitution industrialization. For a background to the new approach, known as *apertura*, see "Programa de Modernización de la Economía Colombiana."

22. For Colombia's economic history, see Ocampo (1984), McGreevy (2008), and Palacios (2002).
23. A slowdown of GDP growth did take place between 1981 and 1983, with rates of growth of 2.3 percent, 0.9 percent, and 1.6 percent in these three years, but this downturn was less severe than in most Andean countries.
24. For the development plans of these presidents, visit the Departamento Nacional de Planeación (DNP) website.
25. In addition to the 1997–1999 shocks affecting the entire region, the push for free trade agreement with the United States came to a halt after the latter "decertified" Colombia as a country cooperative with US antinarcotics policies, thus creating a disincentive for US companies to further invest in Colombia.
26. Other exports included gold, chemicals, coffee, machinery, and flowers.
27. Telecommunications' $13.4 billion makes this the top sector in terms of total investment, though it had come about in bursts—1994, 1997–1998, and 2006. Of the $2.9 billion invested in 2011, $2 billion went toward telecommunications. Water-related services have attracted $940 million through 2010.
28. The 2011 transformation of INCO into ANI resulted from restructuring under the newly elected Juan Manuel Santos government.
29. Concessions were governed by a mixture of specific sector laws, such as Law No. 105 and decrees such as No. 4533 of 2008, which modified the concessions laws.
30. For arguments about the pressing need for more investments in infrastructure, see "Los cinco costos del rezago en infraestructura vial," *El Tiempo.com*, June 8, 2012. See also online publications by Cámara Colombiana de la Infraestructura.
31. "Colombia triplicará inversión en infraestructura hasta 2014," *Revista Portafolio*, February 20, 2012. Juan Abarca, "Colombia's ANI Receives 38 Expressions of Interest for Two Highways Worth U.S$1,21Bn," *BNamericas*, May 30, 2013. "Concesiones de Autopistas para la prosperidad despiertan enorme interés de firmas nacionales y extranjeras" May 31, 2013.
32. Sheahan (1999) reviews the frustrated search for development since 1950: political and institutional instability and missed opportunities resulting from mismanagement, inadequate institutions, and rivalries. Various reformist movements unable to form coalitions to bring about agrarian reform, ineffective program of import substituting industrialization, erratic populist interventionism, and the harsh swing toward neoliberalism under Fujimori.
33. Accounts of the Fujimori years can be found in Stokes (2001a), Levitsky (1999), Kay (1996), Roberts (1995), Arce (2010), and Silva (2009b: chapter 8).
34. For Peru's response to the weather, see also Broad and Orlove (2007). Before the late 1990s, weather disturbances associated with El Niño had wreaked havoc in Peru in 1982–1983, causing major flooding as well as droughts in various parts of the country, while also bringing major losses to fishing industry.
35. Victor Bulmer-Thomas (2003). For Peru's current mining boom, see James McKeigue, "This Peru Boom Will Run and Run," *InvestorIdeas.com*, June 11, 2013.

36. In 2000, the nationalist Humala led an unsuccessful military uprising against the Fujimori government and had come second to Alan García in the presidential elections of 2005. In 2011, Ollanta defeated Keiko Fujimori (daughter of the now imprisoned former president Alberto Fujimori) in the runoff elections, with former president Alejandro Toledo, famous writer Mario Vargas Llosa, and other figures representing new or emergent political movements having lost in the first round. Traditional parties failed to run competitive candidates in the highly polarized contest. For an assessment of the Humala government after two years in government, see Robert Kozak, "Peru Leader Surprises Critics with Free-Market Policies," *Wall Street Journal*, June 10, 2013. Economy had doubled since 2002 and was growing at 6.3 percent. Meanwhile, Ollanta Humala' own parents and several siblings continued to advocate a mixture of Peruvian nationalism and Marxism, including active opposition to foreign investment in domestic natural resource extraction.
37. James McKeigue, "Feeling Adventurous? You Should Invest in Peru," *InvestorIdeas.com*, June 10, 2013.
38. The Regional and Local Public Investment with Private Participation Law is taken to have made it easier to attract public investment.
39. The legal framework includes the Law of Concessions in Public Infrastructure and Public Services and the Certificate of the Right to Collect Annual Construction Payments (CRPAO).
40. The Huascacocha sanitation project is a 30-year concession for the construction, operation, and maintenance of a system that dams and diverts river flow. Fourteen firms presented bids for the $75 million project. Another water sanitation and irrigation project in the Olmos region north of Lima was approved as a 20-year BOT (build-operate-transfer) concession. The government approved $77 million to be used as guarantee and absorb some of the private sector risk.
41. The above number was nearly 45 percent of the investments already implemented, according to a 2010 report.
42. Robert Kozak, "Peru Protests Slow Mine Plan, Growth," *Wall Street Journal*, August 25, 2012: A9.
43. Alex Emery, "Newmont's Minas Conga Project could Restart in 2014, Government Says," *Business News Americas*, December 30, 2013. The top partners were Newmont, Buenaventura, and World Bank's International Finance Corporation.
44. "Brecha de infraestructura en Peru es de $88,000 millones," *RPP Notícias*, October 25, 2012. Alex Emery, "Peru to Award $10bn in 2013 Infrastructure Contracts," *Bloomberg News*, July 29, 2012. "Hay proyectos de inversión por más de US$13.5 millones en cartera," *ElComercio.pe*, May 20, 2013. For a brief overview of PPP projects and program in Peru, see Ronceros and Fernandez-Davila (n/d).
45. For example, CEPLAN, "Eje estratégico 5: desarrollo regional e infraestructura," Plan Bicentenario, www.ceplan.gob.pe; Darwin Cruz, "El Ceplan redefinirá objetivos estratégicos del Peru," *ElComercio.pe*, October 31, 2012. Authored by the National Center for Strategic Planning (CEPLAN, Centro Nacional de

Planeación Estratégica), the Bicentennial Plan (Plan Bicentenario: Peru Hacia el 2021) groups objectives related to economic growth and infrastructure, but also modernization of the state, poverty eradication, education improvements, and related measures to improve the quality of life. This report includes productive investments focused in the internal and external market, as well as investments for decentralization, regional development, and the promotion of public-private partnerships.

46. Brazil's four southern states (São Paulo, Paraná, Santa Catarina, and Rio Grande do Sul) share the Southern Cone's mix of prosperity and cultural distinctiveness based on a strong presence of immigrants from Italy and other countries.
47. Pereyra (2009) describes the new concessionaire, CVA, as a private firm owned by the Corporación Nacional para el Desarrollo, an agency under the ministry of transportation and public works, elsewhere defined as an effective megaconcession.
48. "Paraguay mejoró en el ranking de alianzas público-privadas," *La Nación* (Paraguay), March 10, 2013.
49. Journalists argued for public-private alliance to solve problems of the Paraguay River ("Alianza público-privada puede recuperar el río Paraguay," *Ultimahora.com*, July 6, 2013). With 80 percent of goods arriving in local market through the river, but the recently constructed private ports not making the expected contribution, they argued that public-private collaboration as the preferred way to address the problem.
50. "Plan Nacional de Logística, Paraguay: Avances y Plan de Trabajo 2012–2013," September 2012.
51. "Magnate Becomes Paraguay's President, Wooing Foreign Investment and Denying Past Accusations," *Washington Post*, August 15, 2013.
52. Though not discussed in depth in this volume, Venezuela is an important case. Geographically part of the Andean region, its oil wealth and other factors make it a unique case. This country subscribed $15.5 billion public-private investment in infrastructure before 2010, but the presidency of Hugo Chávez brought public-private collaboration to a virtual stop in and after 2004, with the exception of telecommunications.

Four Commodities and Rail in Globalizing Brazil

1. Also in the *Cerrado* ecosystem are the savannas in parts of adjacent states: Bahia, Maranhão, Piauí, and Ceará in the northeast; Tocantins, Pará, and Rondônia in the north or Amazon region; Minas Gerais and the D. F. These states are themselves quite diverse. Rainforest and wetlands occupy major parts of western and northern Mato Grosso as well as Mato Grosso do Sul's floodplain and marshes known as Pantanal—which have warmer and more humid climate than the *Cerrado* of the higher elevations.
2. See Oliveira and Marquis (2002). Larry Rohter, "Scientists Are Making Brazil's Savannah Bloom," *New York Times*, October 2, 2007. EMBRAPA's website

contains considerable information about the *Cerrado* (www.embrapa.br). See also "America's Transport Infrastructure: The Miracle of the Cerrado," *The Economist*, August 26, 2010. Lime and phosphorous are part of the soil treatment.

3. CONAB (Companhia Nacional de Abastecimento) 2014, *Indicadores da Agropecuária* 22 (July 7): 16. See also CONAB's *Séries Históricas*; IBGE; Silva and Marujo, 2012.
4. The greater Amazon Basin covers 7 million square km in several countries. In Brazil, soy in the Amazon or north region has grown from very low levels of 177 thousand tons in 2000 to over 3.25 million tons in 2014. Tocantins, Pará, Rondonia, and other states are poised for expansion, as trading companies install terminals and transhipment centers along the Madeira and Amazons rivers and a system of barges to move grains to shipping ports nearer the mouth of the Amazon river.
5. "China's Interest in Farmland Makes Brazil Uneasy," *New York Times*, May 26, 2011. Agricultural expansion faces opposition over several other issues: encroachment into lands claimed by Amerindian groups, environmental impact, land distribution, and the use of genetically modified soy.
6. Andre Soliani and Humberto Medina, "Safra pára no gargalo da infra-estrutura," *Folha de S. Paulo*, February 1, 2004. This UNESP report is also available online. A report by the US Department of Commerce argues that in 1995 the cost of shipping a ton of soy from Santos or Paranaguá was $14 but it costs only $3 in New Orleans, while average transportation from the point of production to port was more than $80 in Brazil but only $16 in New Orleans (US Department of Commerce, 2005) "Brazilian Infrastructure: Highways, Railways, and Airports," CS Brazil Market Research. In one study, moving one ton of soybeans to shipping port costs $5.50 in the United States, $16 in Argentina, and $23.50 in Brazil. Another estimate for 2013 pointed that while producers in North America paid $25 (R$56) per ton to transport soy to the port of New Orleans, the cost to Brazilian counterparts from Mato Grosso was $144 (R$326) per ton to transport soy by truck to the port of Santos. Brazil's port costs of up to 5 percent of value compared unfavorably to 1–1.5 percent in the United States and Argentina.
7. Rudy Ruitenberg, "Brazil Soybeans Need Heavy Infrastructure Spend to Catch Up U.S.," *Bloomberg Businessweek*, May 13, 2013.
8. World Economic Forum (2012) ranks Brazil in 48th place in competitiveness. Infrastructure has ranked high as impediment to doing business in Brazil, third only to tax rates and regulations according to the WEF's Global Competitiveness Report 2011.
9. Vale owns or controls 10,000 km of railroads and at least 9 ports, together with a fleet of large ships. "Valuable Vale," *The Economist*, September 23, 2010.
10. The other large Brazilian producers of ethanol are Biosev and San Martinho. São Paulo had approximately 380 sugar mills.
11. "Xi Brings Brazil Chinese Deals for Jets, Energy, Cars," *Bloomberg News*, July 17, 2014. Lisandra Paraguassu and Tánia Montenegro, "Brasil e China assinam 32 acordos," *Estadao*, July 18, 2014.

12. "China's Interest in Farmland Makes Brazil Uneasy," *New York Times*, May 26, 2011.
13. After the merger, RFFSA covered 22,000 km. In 1969, this federal network was organized in terms of four broad regions (south, south-central, central, and northeast), increased to ten divisions in 1976. In 1998, São Paulo's FEPASA was briefly incorporated into RFFSA before its conversion to concessions.
14. At the same time, complementary plans sought to create concessions for multimodal networks joining roads and rail to navigable rivers and waterways, such as the Amazon-Madeira, Araguaia, Tapajós, Tocantins, São Francisco, and Tietê-Paraná.
15. Meanwhile, states and subnational units retained authority over state highways and other policy domains. São Paulo, a leader in the use of public-private collaboration, created ARTESP in 2002 to regulate its highway concessions and related projects.
16. See Fitch Ratings, "Evolução do Setor Ferroviário Brasileiro," March 2005; ANTT; and Institute of Logistics & Supply Chain (ILOS).
17. Márcio Rogério Silveira, "A importância geoeconômica das estradas de ferro no Brasil," Universidade Estadual Paulista, September 2003. Though it argues against privatization, this source shows freight increase from 38 million tons in 1995 to 53 million tons in 2002, suggesting more efficiency under private operation. See also "Óbras ferroviárias tem recursos garantidos," *Ministério dos Transportes*, June 5, 2006.
18. Brasil Ferrovias, the 1998 holding company that acquired Ferronorte, Novoeste, and eventually Ferroban, was a major exception, as its debts pushed it toward restructuring. See Daniel Rittner, "Dobram os investimentos nas ferrovias," *Valor Econômico*, September 29, 2004.
19. The Ministry of Transportation developed plans to invest more than R$10 billion in railroad expansion. At the time, Brazilian authorities reported China's willingness to invest up to $10 billion in railways, ports, and highways in Brazil, particularly on the North-South Railway, soy and other agricultural products. Vale/CVRD, owner of Carajás Railroad and Ferrovía Centro-Atlântico, developed plans to improve its Vitória-Minas Railroad. América Latina Logística (ALL) also studied major upgrades. The early Lula administration agreed to $1.4 billion in upgrades to the railroad system, complementing private investments for $2.5 billion already made or planned for the period 2005–2010, including work on the Transnordestina, the 2,000-kilometer railroad linking northeastern states and the connection between grain-producing areas in Maranhão and Piauí to ports in Pernambuco and Ceará (Accioli and Monteiro, 2012).
20. The 2008 law restructured Valec as a state enterprise headquartered in Brasilia. Created in 1972 with Vale as the main shareholder, Valec was later transferred to the Ministry of Transportation. It owned concessions for FNS; E. F. 246 (also known as Transoceanic, Transcontinental, or Central-West, or E. F. 354), from northern Rio to Peru; E. F. 334 (West-East Integration or FICO), E. F. 267 (Novoeste, from FNS to Murtinho). These railways were confirmed in the 2010 national transportation plan.

21. The first progress report for PAC2 in 2011 estimated that at least 26 percent of the projects would not be finished by 2014 with transportation being one of the most worrisome (Fitzpatrick, 2011).
22. "PF aponta superfaturamento na obra da ferrovia Norte-Sul," *Folha de S. Paulo*, July 15, 2012. Agencia Estado reported that Valec and its directors, together with a private company, were part of a scheme to overbill R$48 million in a 105-kilometer segment in central Goiás. Valec's lawyers blamed faulty figures, but investigators found other instances of corruption in the bidding process for other segments.
23. "Acusado de desvios, ex-presidente da Valec deixa prisão," *Estadão*, July 11, 2012.
24. The implicated political party's temporary withdrawal from the alliance helped defuse the crisis. Though this scandal in the most important infrastructure project fed speculation about other large undertakings, it did not lead to a major assessment of state capabilities in this area. The practice of widespread political appointments and still inadequate mechanisms of transparency and accountability were in tension with meritocratic professional civil service and good governance.
25. The original plan called for Ferronorte to be divided into two lines after reaching Mato Grosso's capital of Cuiabá. One branch would head north for 2,000 kilometers to the Amazon port of Santarém (Pará), while the other would run west-northwest for 1,500 kilometers to reach Porto Velho (capital of Rondônia and trading center at the Madeira river, a main tributary of the Amazon).
26. "Novo terminal da Ferronorte será inaugurado neste sábado," *ExpressoMT*, June 20, 2012.
27. "Malha ferroviária reacende expectativa da melhoria logística em MT," *Midia News*, June 9, 2013; "Ferronorte vai escoar a produção do MT," Sindicato dos Engenheros do Estado de São Paulo, 2013.
28. The smaller TKU and TU levels for FNS reflect lower levels of demand as well as shorter distances.
29. For instance, the West-East Integration Railroad (FICO)'s first stage from Campinorte to Lucas do Rio Verde, part of PAC2, was about to start. A second stage would take it to the western state of Rondonia. Meanwhile, Chinese investors hinted that they might help finance the 1,118 miles from Cuiabá to the port of Santarém (Pará), the point where the Tapajós river meets the mighty Amazon.
30. "Silval vai à China viabilizar ferrovia que liga Mato Grosso," *CenárioMT*, June 20, 2012.
31. Already the largest iron ore mine in the world, the S11D project being built next to it would make Carajás much larger after it starts operation in 2016, together with the duplication of the railroad and the upgrade of Vale's Ponta da Madeira port terminal close to the public port of Itaqui also accessed by the northeastern CFN railroad.
32. "Ferrovia Norte-Sul poderá ser implementada sob a forma de concessão comum," *Ministério do Planejamento, Orçamento e Gestão*, June 12, 2005.
33. In early 2004, President Lula visited China with a large number of his ministers and business leaders, while China's President Hu Jintao visited Brazil in

November of that year. In the context of these high-level meetings, the Chinese promised up to $5 billion to complete the North-South Railway, other railroads, and related port facilities. But these negotiations did not advance and the idea for constructing FNS as a public-private partnership was abandoned.

34. Massive investments would also benefit the northeast. Starting in 2006, $6.72 billion would be spent on upgrading 1,728 kilometers of the Transnordestina railroad, including connections to FNS. Financed by the Northeast Development Fund, the Bank of the Northeast, BNDES, and other federal funds, the improvements were to be completed by 2013. However, major parts of the project were reported as abandoned or with no construction activity in 2014 (e.g., Simon Romero, "Grand Visions Fizzle in Brazil," *New York Times*, April 12, 2014). After 2008, the plan also listed a fast or bullet passenger train between Rio, São Paulo, and possibly other cities in the Southeast.
35. In existence since 1973, the Plano Nacional de Viação (PNV) was renamed as Sistema Nacional de Viação (SNV) in 2011.
36. The sixth project called for the construction phase of the 659-kilometer line to connect FNS (São Paulo's Estrela d'Oeste) to Dourados, Mato Grosso do Sul.
37. André Borges, "TCU apura superfaturamento em trechos da ferrovia Norte-Sul," *Estadão*, July 19, 2014. Auditing by the TCU confirms irregularities in FNS: overbilling, flawed supervision, and poor engineering plan. The TCU identified losses of R$27.3 million in contract signed in 2007 for the segment between Palmas and Aguiarnópolis as well as five other instances of overbilling and payments without invoice or exaggerated prices.
38. Ministério dos Transportes, "Contorno Ferroviário de São Paulo: Ferroanel," Seminário Internacional de Co-Financiamento BNDES/CAF Prospecção de Projetos de Integração Sul-Americana, Rio de Janeiro, August 8, 2003.
39. The extended metropolitan area comprising Campinas, Jundiaí, Santos, and São José dos Campos is home to more than 28 million residents.
40. São Paulo's PPA 2004–2007 listed Ferroanel as part of the infrastructure for São Paulo's metropolitan region and anticipated a budget of R$2 billion ("Transposição da Região Metropolitana de São Paulo–Rodoanel/Ferroanel;" see also "Agora é o Ferroanel," *Istoé Dinheiro*, August 24, 2005). As early as 2003, Governor Geraldo Alckmin thought there was agreement between the federal and state governments ("Ferroanel: O primeiro passo," *Brasilnews*, October 9, 2003).
41. Ferroanel can only hope to make progress via negotiations between both levels of government and railroad operators. The federal government has jurisdiction over the railroad network and is thus the key actor in financing, implementation, and development policy and projects, including the adoption of specific forms of public-private collaboration ("Plano de Revitalização das Ferrovias Modelo de PPP," July 2003).
42. São Paulo's vision of a multimodal approach to expedite access to Santos and enhance overall transportation called for building Ferroanel alongside Rodoanel, a highway beltway around São Paulo's metropolitan area. Rodoanel was designed several years earlier with the goal of alleviating traffic congestion from the ten major highways passing through the city—seven from the state system and the

three federal highways running in a north-south direction. It was on track for completion within a few years, as the government of São Paulo made strides in developing a state-level network (e.g., see the 2011 report from the state's Secretaria Estadual de Logística e Transportes).

43. Ministério dos Transportes. 2003. "Contorno Ferroviário de São Paulo: Ferroanel," 1 Seminário Internacional de Co-Financiamento BNDES/CAF Prospecção de Projetos de Integração Sul-Americana, Rio de Janeiro. Once approved, the 66-kilometer project from the Campo Limpo to Eng. Manoel Feio stations will take up to four years to complete.
44. See "Ferroanel deve sair do papel neste ano," *Gazeta Mercantil*, November 9, 2006; *BNAmericas*, November 8, 2006. See also Roberta Paduan, "Só falta tirar o projeto do papel," *Exame*, May 20, 2006.
45. Miriam Leitão and Alvaro Gribel, "Seis anos depois," *O Globo*, September 4, 2014. For background, see Abreu (2014).
46. For example, Brazil responded to the 2008 financial crisis by announcing a new wave of concessions—close to 8,900 kilometers of highways and investments of more than R$22 billion.
47. USDA's (2014) review of ports and rail projects in Brazil's north and northeast notes delays due to red tape, cost overruns, construction problems, coordination with federal authorities, legal challenges, insufficient organizational capacity, shortfalls in capital, environmental licensing, lack of coordination with neighboring states, while noting their potential role in increasing the competitiveness of agricultural commodities.
48. "Caminhoneiros protestam contra más condições nos pátios da ALL," *Jornal Hora do Povo*, February 5, 2010.
49. In the context of relative economic opening, Brazil welcomed the Initiative for the Integration of Regional Infrastructure in South America (IIRSA), a master plan to build roads and railroads linking Brazil to Andes countries and Pacific ports.
50. The mid-2013 urban protests throughout Brazil were fed by citizen grievances over poor services and the seemingly uncontrolled spending in expensive projects.
51. Raquel Landim and David Friedlander, "Com presidentes reféns, Brasil é 'ingerenciável,' diz Abílio Diniz," *Folha de S. Paulo*, August 24, 2014. According to this well-known entrepreneur and former member of the Lula cabinet, Brazil had become unmanageable from the compromises and agreements with 30 political parties and the high number of 39 ministries, making urgent the need for political reform.

Five Subnational Brazil

1. Ministério do Desenvolvimento, Indústria e Comércio Exterior. 2012. *Balança Comercial* (www.desenvolvimento.gov.br).
2. Economist Andrea Calabi's tenure as secretary of Planning from 2003 to 2005 started this idea, which was maintained by Martus Tavares, formerly the minister of Planning in the federal government, upon assuming that post. State legislation

inspired by the *Plano Plurianual* (2004–2007) and its emphasis on infrastructure for export promotion created the necessary regulatory framework for public-private partnerships, with the planning secretariat as manager of the program.

3. The highway *Rodovia dos Imigrantes* was an early example of a successful project entirely financed by the private sector.
4. Catia Seabra, "Alckmin retoma programa de desestatização," *Folha de S. Paulo*, April 3, 2005. The port of São Sebastião was still run by Dersa, a public company linked to São Paulo's Transportation Secretariat. Located about 200 kilometers from the city of São Paulo, this port shipped 400,000 tons in 2005.
5. Governo de Estado de São Paulo, "Programa Estadual de Parcerias Publico-Privadas (PPP)." See www.planejamento.sp.gov.br/.
6. In the bitter 2002 campaign against the PSDB candidate, the Workers' Party relied on harsh rhetoric against what they viewed as privatization and the "pernicious legacy" of the liberalizing reforms.
7. World Bank, PPIAF database. The precipitous decline came after 2000, reaching $3.4 billion in 2001, $1.2 billion in 2002 and 2003, $1.9 billion in 2004, and $2.5 billion in 2005.
8. The state of São Paulo had an important role in the operation of the Sorocabana Railroad and had direct control after 1919.
9. See AES Brasil website. CESP was created in 1966 out of eleven different companies in São Paulo, five of which had mixed capital. PED also converted CPFL, a company that had originally been created in 1912 by the merger of four small energy firms and underwent nationalization in 1964.
10. Tribunal de Contas da União (TCU), 2010, "Simplified Version of the General Accounts of the Republic—Year 2009: Growth Acceleration Program."
11. São Paulo, Secretaria de Planejamento e Desenvolvimento Regional, "Programa de Investimento do Estado de São Paulo: Parcerias Público-Privadas e Concessões," April 2011.
12. São Paulo's PPA 2012–2015 called for total investment of R$118.6 billion over the four years, with R$85.2 from the state government, R$33.4 from PPPs, and additional resources from state enterprises. Of the total, R$60 billion was allocated to metropolitan transport systems.
13. In August 2006, the federal government announced that the government would assume up to 40 percent of the risk of PPP projects. If the public investment is larger, it would be noted as a public asset of the Union, state, or county, in accordance with Portaria 614 published a few days earlier in "Diário Oficial." This regulation aimed at issues of transparency. Risks can be generated by smaller than anticipated demand. Still, the instrument used would be listed as a SPE (Sociedade de Propósito Específico). The federal PPP Trust Fund was listed as having R$3.4 billion, in the form of stocks in Vale do Rio Doce, Banco do Brasil, and Eletrobrás.
14. "Rio Claro Throws out Legal Injunction in PPP Bidding Process," *BNAmericas*, October 19, 2006. www.bnamericas.com.
15. "Rodoanel norte terá verba extra de R$332.8 milhões da União, *Folha de S. Paulo*, August 22, 2013; Augusto Diniz, "Rodoanel norte pode ser objeto de protestos, avalia consultor," *Yahoo Notícias*, August 12, 2013. Three Spanish and three

Brazilian construction companies are in charge of the complex project which also includes seven tunnels.

16. The *Plano Pluriannual 2004–2007* is available at www.saopaulo.sp.gov.br.
17. For a list of specific projects, see the Secretaria de Planejamento e Desenvolvimento Regional and the Portal do Governo do Estado de São Paulo websites.
18. The port of Santos currently handles most goods traded by the state and adjacent regions. Containerized cargo is the most important category, followed by corn and sugar. For statistics, see the port of Santos website www.portodesantos.com.
19. Operational capacity would be increased by installing new piers (a working surface of 17,515 square meters with an investment of R$2.4 million), paving an area of the port for 1,500 vehicles, improving port infrastructure (an investment of R$4.6 million), and enlarging terminals for large cargo ships (an investment of R$155 million).
20. Brazil's transport costs are already amongst the highest in the world. "Frete continua caro na América do Sul," *Valor/Empresas*, June 12, 2006, B6.
21. Relatively new factories in Campinas and Vale do Paraíba produce engines, parts, electronics, and automobiles that might use the enhanced São Sebastião port to lessen congestion in Santos and the capital and making freight circulate more efficiently. MRS Logística, one of the main regional networks created in the 1990s, provides access to the ports of Sepetiba-Itaguaí (shared with FCA) and Campos to railroad networks in Rio, Minas, and São Paulo.
22. OAS Construtora, Cargill, and other companies were interested in these projects (see "Lula quer 'pressão' para liberar Perimetral," *A Tribuna Porto e Mar*, June 9, 2006.)
23. The port of São Sebastião is also a tourism and vacation destination, as is the nearby island of Ilhabela. Residents protested the damage that the proposed project might do to tourism and the landscape. "Governo de SP quer ampliar capacidade do porto de São Sebastião," *Folha*, August 23, 2009.
24. "Lula quer 'pressão' para liberar Perimetral," *A Tribuna Porto e Mar*, June 9, 2006.
25. Environmentalists have been active in countering the claims of PPP advocates in the development of the area and highway SP-055. See "Conselho Consultivo do Parque Estadual quer garantias sobre Corredor de Exportacão," *A.L.Norte*, August 16, 2005.
26. The government of São Paulo considered the northern export corridor in its PPP program, but its first priority was the expansion of Line 4 of the capital's metro. Governor Serra inaugurated some stations just before resigning the São Paulo governorship to run for president in the 2010 elections.
27. Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estadística (IBGE), "Tabela 2—Participação das Grandes Regiões e Unidades da Federação no Produto Interno Bruto—2005–2009."
28. World Bank, PPIAF. Figures include investments in projects within the geographic scope of a single region, excluding projects that extend across regions.
29. In 2003, the PPP program was developed when the newly elected government of Aécio Neves recruited Luiz Antônio Athayde, a member of the original public-private partnership team from the federal Ministry of Planning.

30. "Concessão da MG-050 completa 5 anos e Passos, dona de 2º maior trecho, recebe pouco investimento," *Folha*, May 10, 2012. MG-050 provides an alternative to the congested Fernão Dias highway as link between Belo Horizonte and São Paulo. Its upgrade will also alleviate traffic congestion between these two extended metropolitan areas as well as lower transportation costs and increase regional economic competitiveness.
31. Paulo Peixoto, "Minas Gerais vai ampliar concessão em regime de PPP," *Folha*, October 18, 2007.
32. "Minas Gerais é favorável a concessão de aeroporto de Confins," *Reuters Brasil*, April 25, 2012.
33. Municipalities have also moved to harness public-private collaboration to meet infrastructure needs. More than a billion dollars of investment during 1990–2010 have been used in urban transportation, water projects, prisons, and other areas. Examples are found in Porto Alegre (RGS), Londrina (Parana), Rio Claro (São Paulo), and others.
34. "Leis ambientais retardam infraestrutura no Brasil," *Exame*, September 30, 2011.

Six Transantiago: Urban Development in Chile

1. According to the 2011 *CIA World Factbook*, 89 percent of Chile's population lived in cities in 2010.
2. Throughout this study, Santiago refers to the 37 *comunas* or boroughs in the Greater Metropolitan Area. This "conurbation" includes the 32 boroughs of the Province of Santiago (of which Santiago Centro is only one of them, plus the five additional municipalities to the south of Santiago Province).
3. See Solimare's opinion poll.
4. From 40 percent in 1990 to 18 percent in 2006, as reported by President Michelle Bachelet at the Foreign Policy Association in New York, September 21, 2006.
5. Eugenio Tironi, *El sueño chileno*. Santiago: Taurus, 2005. While Tironi emphasizes the broad search for a sense of community and national identity after economic and political modernization, his argument implies a search for a full sense of modernity.
6. The completion of Panamericana Norte as a fast access toll expressway also contributed to Santiago's new transportation infrastructure. In addition, the expansion of the airport, new access roads, public housing projects, and toll roads brought a large number of outlying areas in closer contact with Santiago.
7. See Javier Etcheberry's "Transantiago, Modern Public Transport for A World-Class City."
8. According to Andres Gómez-Lobo, Economics professor at the University of Chile, the country would complete ambitious public health goals within two years (Interview by Mauricio A. Font. June 22, 2006).
9. "Los errores de la era Lagos en el Transantiago aprobleman a La Moneda," *El Mercurio*, June 18, 2006.

10. Germán Correa was minister of Transportation and Telecommunications from 1990–1992 and was part of the task force and planning committees involved with PTUS and Transantiago.
11. "We worked for over 16 months so that when we took office, the government could be prepared to sign decrees and to make new laws." Interview with Germán Correa, March 29, 2007. Santiago, Chile.
12. The opposition of the bus drivers began with the 1991 national public transport strikes organized by their union associations in an effort to reject the new licitation system.
13. Guillermo Díaz, Andrés Gómez-Lobo, and Andrés Velasco. 2002. "Micros en Santiago: hacia la licitación del 2003." February. Alexander Galetovic and Pablo Jordán. 2006. "Santiago: ¿Dónde estamos? ¿Hacia dónde vamos?" *Estudios Públicos*, 101(Summer): 87–146.
14. Interview with Germán Correa, March 29, 2007. Santiago, Chile.
15. The task force was organized by then minister Carlos Cruz and involved Germán Correa, Eduardo Abedrapo, Sergio Solís, Sergio González Tagle, and others.
16. According to Etcheverry, Transantiago entailed large new investments in four main areas: road infrastructure and transfer stations ($250 million); new technology in buses and control centers; new vehicles and equipment ($230 million); and administrative facilities.
17. According to Germán Correa, during the government of former president Patricio Aylwin, it was impossible to oversee the operation of the public transportation system, which included more than 14,000 buses with use of 15 years, free to operate any route. Interview on July 27, 2006, with Letizzia Wastavino.
18. The increasing rates of bus robbery are reported in *La Tercera* and *El Mercurio.* The phenomenon is also discussed in Guillermo Díaz, Andrés Gómez-Lobo, and Andrés Velasco. 2004. "Micros en Santiago: De enemigo público a servicio public," *Estudios Públicos*, 96(Spring): 5–48.
19. Sergio Espejo, minister of Transportation and Telecommunications in a public statement. Santiago, April 2006.
20. The debate hinged on the main causes of the failures of Transantiago and what to do about its flaws. Bus fares would need to be raised and a subsidy put in place for several years for the system to be financially stable over a take-off period lasting several years.
21. James M. Lents, PhD. University of Tennessee, Gerhard Leutert, PhD. Swiss Federal Institute of Technology, and Humberto Fuenzalida, PhD. University of Michigan.
22. Particulate matter (PM) is an air pollution term for a mixture of solid particles and liquid droplets found in the air. The pollutant comes in a variety of sizes and can be composed of many types of materials and chemicals. Coarse particles (PM10) are inhalable particles less than 10 micrometers (μm) in diameter used as a nominal surrogate for particles between 2.5 and 10 micrometers in diameter; found near roadways and dusty industries. Fine particles (PM2.5) are inhalable particles less than 2.5 micrometers in diameter, generally found in smoke and

haze, emitted from natural sources like forest fires and industrial combustion sources, or formed when gases react in the air (United States Environmental Protection agency).

23. See James M. Lents, Gerhard Leutert, and Humberto Fuenzalida, "Segunda Auditoría Internacional. Plan de Prevención y Descontaminación Atmosférica de la Región Metropolitana (PPDA). Resumen Ejecutivo," Ministerio del Medio Ambiente, Chile, 2006.
24. "Segunda Auditoría Internacional del Plan de Prevención y Descontaminación Atmosférica (PPDA) de la Región Metropolitana," CONAMA, April 1, 2006.
25. "Analisis y evaluación del impacto del Transantiago aire de la Region Metropolitana," Centro Mario Molina Chile, 2008.
26. Centro Mario Molina Chile. 2008.
27. Alejandro Smythe as quoted in "Corema: Transantiago ha contribuido a descontaminar la capital," *Cooperativa.cl*, September 6, 2008.
28. Ministro del Medio Ambiente, Gobierno de Chile.
29. Victor Zúñiga, "Para la USACh hay contaminación del aire 'preocupante' en Santiago desde el verano," *El Mercurio*, January 10, 2009.
30. "Autoridades destacan disminución de episodios ambientales en 2009," CONAMA, September 2, 2009.
31. Pablo Beltran, Antonio Gschwender, and Carolina Palma. "The Impact of Compliance Measures on the Operation of a Bus System: The Case of Transantiago," Research in Transportation Economics, 2013.
32. "Transantiago: El balance a un año del caos," *El Mercurio*, February 10, 2008.
33. "Transportes investiga falla en red de Tarjeta bip!," *La Tercera*, March 2, 2011.
34. "Transantiago ahorró $8.000 millones tras cambio de contrato." *Nación.cl*, December 21, 2012.
35. "Tarjeta Bip! se podrá cargar desde febrero vía internet," *Nación.cl*, January 14, 2014
36. "Transantiago: El balance a un año del caos," *El Mercurio*, February 10, 2008.
37. "En 2010 habrá sólo 300 micros enchuladas," *La Nación*, December 1, 2009.
38. Francisca Javiera Navarrete, and Juan de Dios Ortúzar. 2013. "Subjective Valuation of the Transfer Transit Experience: The Case of Santiago de Chile." *Transport Policy* 25(January): 138–147.
39. "Encuesta Noviembre-Diciembre 2007" and "Encuesta Junio 2007," Catálogo de Encuestas, C*entro de Estudios Públicos*.
40. "Encuesta Adimark: Fuerte caída en aprobación del Transantiago," *La Tercera*, August 5, 2008; "Encuesta Evaluación de Gestión del Gobierno: Informe Mensual Noviembre 2008," Adimark GfK.
41. Centro de Estudios de la Realidad Contemporánea (CERC), "Informe de Prensa Encuesta Nacional: Septiembre de 2008."
42. "Encuesta Evaluación de Gestión del Gobierno: Informe mensual Noviembre 2009," Adimark GfK.
43. Ipsos Public Affairs, "Estudio de Opinión Pública, Agosto 2009," *Santiago de Chile*, August 19, 2009.

44. According to government sources, evasion rates reached 20 percent, while other estimates had it at lower. In September 2008, inspectors were sent out to check the smart cards in 21 different parts of the city, showing 9.1 percent evasion in one morning—that is, nearly one out of every ten riders. Since many passengers sought to avoid inspection by getting off the vehicles before their smart cards were collected, inspectors concluded that the evasion rate was higher. The Bernardo O'Higgins University's Engineering Department issued its own study in September 2008, and concluded that the evasion rate of Transantiago was 11 percent, fluctuating in different areas of the city. Zones H and G showed rates as high as 34 percent and 27 percent, respectively, while zones C and D showed negligible user evasion. Apparently, an evasion rate of 10 percent appeared to be normal in public bus system (9 percent), in contrast to subway or metro systems (2 percent).
45. The Alianza por Chile political party dissolved in May 2009. It was replaced by a new electoral coalition called Coalición por el Cambio, which formed under presidential candidate, and winner, Sebastián Piñera.
46. *La Nación*, July 16, 2009.
47. Sebastián Piñera, as quoted in "Piñera anuncia acuerdo entre Alianza y gobierno sobre Transantiago," *La Tercera*, July 14, 2009.
48. September approval ratings for the government remained very low at 26.4 percent, suggesting that Chileans were separating assessments of the government with those of the president. Transantiago and Transportation Minister René Cortázar continued to receive low but improved marks in the September polls.
49. As argued by Eduardo Engel, Ronald Fischer, and Alexander Galetovic, each of the 50 concessions had been renegotiated an average of three times, with 25 percent of the investment was the result of these renegotiations rather than competitive bids. "Reforma a la Ley de Concesiones," *El Mercurio*, August 24, 2008. See also Carlos Huneeus, "¿Quién manda en las concesiones de infraestructura?," *El Mostrador.cl*, September 8, 2008. The conservative think tank Libertad y Desarrollo endorsed the idea of the reform of the concessions and partnerships law, (see "Concesiones: La importancia de avanzar," *Libertad y Desarrollo*, August 22, 2008), claiming that it was needed for investments of $20.5 billion in infrastructure to be made in the period 2008–2012.
50. Uziel Gómez, "El MOP reactiva los proyectos de concesiones para este ano: Aumentan en 136 por ciento," *El Mercurio*, January 10, 2009

Seven Conclusion: Changing States

1. PwC (2014) projects increase in annual expenditures on infrastructure in Latin America, to reach $557 bn in 2025 (focus on Latin America as a whole, Brazil, Colombia, and Mexico). ECLAC (2011) estimates needs and expenditures from 2012 through 2020.
2. Author's calculation based on the World Bank's PPI Database.

3. In Latin America, 41 percent of infrastructure concessions and partnerships had to be renegotiated at some point between 1985 and 2000 (Guasch and Straub, 2006).
4. Latin American and world leaders also formalized a commitment to aid emerging markets suffering from lack of capital, including the search for new funds and expanding the role of multilateral organizations. Late 2008 even witnessed renewed activity in regard to trade agreements and the further opening of national economies between East Asia and Latin America. With a trade agreement already in place with Chile, China has expanded its economic and trade ties to many countries in the region. For an alternative view, see "The Gated Globe," *The Economist*, October 12, 2013.
5. The national agenda included a transportation funding bill as well as the creation of a national infrastructure bank. "Infrastructure Jobs to Explode Under Obama," *A.E. Feldman*, November 5, 2008. A bill to create a National Infrastructure Bank Act was sent to Congress in August 2007. The proposed act called for a PPP agency responsible for expanding the role of federal government and the private sector in creating massive public works (see "Presidential Candidates Endorse Toll Road Bank," *theNewspaper.com*, March 26, 2008). But the Barack Obama government was unable to obtain congressional approval for roads and highways, alternative-energy initiatives, health and education facilities, and other infrastructure endeavors.

Appendix B Framework

1. A BOT variant is Build-Own-Operate-Transfer (BOOT).
2. Bräutigam and Segarra (2007) discuss the World Bank's role in promoting learning processes in regard to broad forms of partnerships to include nongovernmental organizations.
3. The growing list of specialized websites proving information about PPPs includes WBResearch, ABCON, various firms (Orrick, Hogan, and Hartson, and many others), and Institute of the Americas.
4. As stated by the executive director of the The National Council for Public-Private Partnerships, "strong leadership makes all the other factors come together." Rick Norment (May 2008) "Fundamentals of PPPs," National Council for Public-Private Partnerships: Partnerships for Growth in Infrastructure Workshop, Charlotte, North Carolina.
5. For example, Renda and Schrefler (2006a).

Appendix C Brazil: Planning for New Infrastructure

1. See Pedro Antonio Bertone Ataide, "Avaliação do Plano Plurianual: Análise das restrições à sua integração ao ciclo de gestão pública federal," MA. thesis, Programa de Pós-graduação em Administração, Universidade de Brasilia. 2005. Additionally see the Ministry of Planning's website for a list of all PPPs since PPA 1996–1999.

2. The study and report were prepared by an international consortium that included Booz, Allen, and Hamilton, Bechtel International, and ABN Amro Bank.
3. PAC also entails projects to help the poor and address the problems of inequality—a personal priority of President Lula de Silva. An extensive and already successful plan to improve Brazilian favelas outlines infrastructural improvements in housing, sanitation, sewage, and electricity. See "Environment Minister Suspends US$379 Million Amazon Highway Project, Brazil," *Business News America*, September 26, 2008, and Susan Schaller, "Lula's Growth Acceleration Program: The Best that Brazilian Government Funding Can Buy?" Council of Hemispheric Affairs Report, June 5, 2008.
4. "Estudo critica infraestrutura logística do Brasil," *O Estado de SP*, September 14, 2009.
5. Dilma Rousseff, Lula's hand-picked candidate to replace him as president, took the leadership over the PAC program, which heavily relies on concessions and PPPs.
6. PAC2 projects focus on the urban communities in the periphery of large cities such as São Paulo. Many of the areas of action concentrate on social development and income distribution. Infrastructure remains an area of uncertainty in terms of political continuity and leadership.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abreu, Marcelo de Paiva, ed. 2014. *A Ordem do Progresso: Dois Séculos da Política Econômica no Brasil*. Rio: Elsevier/Campus.

Accioli, Claudio, and Solange Monteiro. 2012. "Will the Public-Private Partnership Work?" *The Brazilian Economy* 4(10) (October): 11–16.

"Actas del Transantiago: La historia oficial." Centro de Investigación Periodística, December 6, 2007.

Akintoye, Akintola, and Matthias Beck, eds. 2009. *Policy, Management and Finance for Public-Private Partnerships*. Edison, NJ: John Wiley.

Akintoye, Akintola, Matthias Beck, and Cliff Hardcastle, eds. 2003. *Public-Private Partnerships Managing Risks and Opportunities*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Science.

Amsden, Alice H. 1989. *Asia's Next Giant: South Korea and Late Industrialization*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Amsden, Alice H., and Wan-wen Chu. 2003. *Beyond Late Development: Taiwan's Upgrading Policies*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Andrés, Luis A., Makthar Diop, and José Luis Guasch. 2008. *Achievements and Challenges of Private Participation in Infrastructure in Latin America: Evaluation and Future Prospects*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Andrés, Luis A., José Luis Guasch, Thomas Haven, and Vivien Foster. 2008. *The Impact of Private Sector Participation in Infrastructure: Lights, Shadows, and the Road Ahead*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Annuatti-Neto, Francisco, M. Barossi, A. G de Carvalho, and R. Macedo. 2005. "Os efeitos da privatização sobre o desempenho econômico e financeiro das empresas privatizadas." *Revista Brasileira de Economia* 59(2) (April–June): 151–175.

Anós-Casero, Paloma, and Valentina Rollo. 2010. "Argentina: Trade Patterns and Challenges Ahead." *The World Bank: Latin America and the Caribbean*, 1(1) (February): 1–22.

Antico, Claudia. 2005. "Deslocamentos pendulares na região metropolitana de São Paulo." *São Paulo em Perspectiva* 19(4) (December): 110–120.

Aranha, Valmir. 2005. "Mobilidade pendular na metrópole Paulista." *São Paulo em Perspectiva* 19(4) (December): 106–109.

Arce, Moisés. 2008. "The Repoliticization of Collective Action After Neoliberalism in Peru." *Latin American Politics and Society* 50(3) (Fall): 37–62.

Arce, Moisés, and Roberta Rice. 2009. "Societal Protest in Post-Stabilization Bolivia." *Latin American Research Review* 44(1): 88–101.

Arce, Moisés. 2010. *El Fujimorismo y la Reforma del Mercado en la Sociedad Peruana*. Lima, Perú: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

Arditi, Benjamin. 2008. "Arguments about the Left Turns in Latin America: A Post-Liberal Politics?" *Latin American Research Review* 43(3): 59–81.

Arellano, Alberto. 2014. "Alsacia al límite: Futuro del mayor operador del Transantiago está en manos del gobierno." Santiago, Chile: Centro de Investigación Periodística.

Aschauer, David A. 1989. "Is Public Expenditure Productive?" *Journal of Monetary Economics* 23(2) (March): 177–200.

Aspe, Pedro. 1993. *Economic Transformation the Mexican Way*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

"Aprobado financiamiento para Transantiago...y hasta el 2014." *United Press International*, August 19, 2009.

Auyero, Javier. 2001. *Poor People's Politics: Peronist Survival Networks and the Legacy of Evita*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Auyero, Javier. 2007. *Routine Politics and Violence in Argentina: The Gray Zone of State Power*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Ayres, Ian, and John Braithwaite. 1992. *Responsive Regulation: Transcending the Deregulation Debate*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Babb, Sarah. 2001. *Managing Mexico: Economists from Nationalism to Neoliberalism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Baccaro, Lucio, and Chris Howell. 2011. "A Common Neoliberal Trajectory: The Transformation of Industrial Relations in Advanced Capitalism." *Politics & Society* 39(4) (December): 521–563.

Badie, Bertrand. 2000. *The Imported State: The Westernization of the Political Order*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Baer, Werner. 1972. "Import Substitution and Industrialization in Latin America: Experiences and Interpretations," *Latin American Research Review* 7(1) (Spring): 95–122.

Baer, Werner. 2008. *The Brazilian Economy: Growth and Development*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Reinner.

Baer, Werner, and Melissa Birch. 1994. *Privatization in Latin America: New Roles for the Public and Private Sectors*. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Balbachevsky, Elizabeth, and Denilde Oliveira Holzhacker. 2006. "Determinantes dasatitudes do eleitorado brasileiro com relação à privatização e aos serviços públicos." *Opinão Pública* (Campinas) 12(1) (April/May): 38–56.

Baldwin, Robert, and Martin Cave. 1999. *Understanding Regulation: Theory, Strategy and Practice*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo (BID). 2003. "Chile, Costanera Norte (CH-0179): Reporte de Impacto Ambiental y Social." June.

Barbosa, Eunice. 2001. "Evolução do uso do solo residencial na área central do muncípio de São Paulo." Dissertation. Escola Politécnica da Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo.

Barrera-Osorio, Felipe, et al. 2009. "Does Society Win or Lose as a Result of Privatization? The Case of Water Sector Privatization in Colombia." *Economica* 76(304) (October): 649–674.

Basañes, Federico C., and Robert Willig. 2002. *Second-Generation Reforms in Infrastructure Services*. Washington, DC: Johns Hopkins University Press, Inter-American Development Bank.

Batarce, Marco, and Patricia Galilea. 2013. "Power of Incentive Schemes, Provision of Quality and Monitoring: The Case of the Public Transit System in Santiago de Chile." Department of Transport Engineering Logistics, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile.

Bekerman, Marta, and Federico Dulcich. 2013. "The International Trade Position of Argentina: Towards a Process of Export Diversification." *Cepal Review* 110 (August): 151–174.

Belini, Claudio. 2012. "Industrial Exports and Peronist Economic Policies in Post-War Argentina." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 44(2) (May): 285–317.

Beltrán, Pablo, Antonio Gschwender, and Carolina Palma. 2013. "The Impact of Compliance Measures on the Operation of a Bus System: The Case of Transantiago." *Research in Transportation Economics* 39(1) (March): 79–89.

Bennett, Elizabeth, Peter Grohmann, and Brad Gentry. 1999. "Public Private Partnerships for the Urban Environment: Options and Issues." Working Paper Series. PPPUE.

Benvenuto, Pedro, and Jorge Mariano. 1997. *Lessons from São Paulo's Metropolitan Busway Concessions Program*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Berry, Frances Stokes, and William D. Berry. 1999. "Innovation and Diffusion Models in Policy Research." In Paul Sabatier, ed. *Theories of the Policy Process*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 223–260.

Bertone Ataide, Pedro Antonio. 2005. "Avaliação do Plano Plurianual: Análise das restrições à sua integração ao ciclo de gestão pública federal." Master Thesis, Programa de Pós-graduação em Administração, Universidade de Brasília.

Bexell, Magdalena, and Ulrika Mörth, eds. 2010. *Democracy and Public-Private Partnerships in Global Governance*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bhatia, Bhavna. 2010. "Public-Private Partnerships for Infrastructure Development in Developing Countries." In Vishnuprasad Nagadevara G. Ramesh, Gopal Naik, and Anil B. Suraj, eds. *Public Private Partnerships*. Indian Institute Management of Bangalore. New Delhi, India: Routledge, 123–136.

Bickel, Ulrike. 2003. "Will the Soybean Boom in Brazil Never End? Conflicts and Alternatives." www.wervel.be.

Birch, Melissa H., and Jerry Haar, eds. 2000. *The Impact of Privatization in the Americas*. Miami: University of Miami/North-South Center.

Blake, Charles H. 1998. "Economic Reform and Democratization in Argentina and Uruguay: the Tortoise and the Hare Revisited?" *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 40(3) (Fall): 1–26.

Blanco, Fernando, and Santiago Herrera. 2006. "The Quality of Fiscal Adjustment and the Long-Rung Growth Impact of Fiscal Policy in Brazil." World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 4004.

Blanco, Luisa, and Robin Grier. 2013. "Explaining the Rise of the Left in Latin America." *Latin American Research Review* 48(1) (Spring): 68–90.

Bland, Daniel. 2012. "São Paulo Qualifies 18 Offers for US$3.21bn Rodoanel Norte Highway Tender." *BNAmericas*, August 27.

Blom-Hansen, Jens. 1997. "A 'New Institutional' Perspective on Policy Networks." *Public Administration* 75(4) (December): 669–693.

Bloomfield, Pamela. 2006. "The Challenging Business of Long-Term Public-Private Partnerships: Reflections on Local Experience." *Public Administration Review* 66(3) (May/June): 400–412.

Bloomgarden, David. 2009. "Alianzas público-privadas (APP) para la infraestructura: Los proyectos FOMIN." Mexico: PIAPPEM, February.

Bloomgarden, David R. and Asako Maruyama. 2008. "Infrastructure and Public-Private Partnerships in Latin America and the Caribbean." The Multilateral Investment Fund, MIF Retrospectives, September 19.

Boix, Carles. 2005. "Privatization and Public Discontent in Latin America." Washington, DC: Inter-American Development Bank.

Bonnet, Céline, Pierre Dubois, David Martimort, and Stéphane Straub. 2012. "Empirical Evidence on Satisfaction with Privatization in Latin America." *The World Bank Economic Review* 26(1) (January): 1–33.

Boschi, Renato, and Carlos Henrique Santana, eds. 2012. *Development and Semi-Periphery: Post-neoliberal Trajectories in South America and Central Eastern Europe.* New York, NY: Anthem Press.

Bouckaert, Geert, B. Guy Peters, and Koen Verhoest. 2010. *The Coordination of Public Sector Organizations: Shifting Patterns of Public Management*. Basingstoke, NH: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bowman, Louise. 2000. "P3-Problem, Problem, Problem." *Project Finance* (June): 25–27.

Brandão, Luiz E. T., and Eduardo C. G. Saraiva. 2007. "Risco privado em infraestrutura pública: uma análise quantitativa de risco como ferramenta de modelagem de contratos." *Revista de Administração Pública* 41(6) (November–December): 1035–1067.

Bräutigam, Deborah A., and Monique Segarra. 2007. "Difficult Partnerships: The World Bank, States, and NGOs." *Latin American Politics and Society* 49(4) (Winter): 149–181.

Brazil, Ministério do Planejamento, Orçamento e Gestão. 2003. *Plano Plurianual 2004–2007.* Brasília, DF: Secretaria de Planejamento e Investimentos Estratégicos.

Brazil, Ministério dos Transportes. 2003. "Contorno Ferroviário de São Paulo: Ferroanel." 1er Seminário Internacional de Co-Financiamento BNDES/CAF, Rio de Janeiro, August 8.

Brazil, Ministry of Finance/SEAE. 2013. "The Federal Logistic Investment Program (PIL)." December.

Brenck, Andreas, Torsten Beckers, Maria Heinrich, and Christian von Hirschhausen. 2005. "Public-Private Partnerships in the New EU Member Countries of Central and Eastern Europe: An Economic Analysis with Case Studies from the Highway Sector." *EIB Papers* 10(2): 82–111.

Brenner, Neil, and Nik Theodore. 2002. *Spaces of Neoliberalism, Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europe.* Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Bresser-Pereira, Luiz Carlos, ed. 1996. *Economic Crisis and State Reform in Brazil: Toward a New Interpretation of Latin America.* Boulder, CO: Lynne Reinner.

Bresser-Pereira, Luiz Carlos. 2011. "From the National-Bourgeoisie to the Dependency Interpretation of Latin America." *Latin American Perspectives* 38(3) (May): 40–58.

Broad, Kenneth, and Ben Orlove. 2007. "Channeling Globality: The 1997–98 El Niño Climate Event in Peru." *American Ethnologist* 34(2) (May): 285–302.

Brooks, Sarah M., and Marcus J. Kurtz. 2012. "Paths to Financial Policy Diffusion: Statist Legacies in Latin America's Globalization." *International Organization* 66(1) (January): 95–128.

Broomby, Rob. "China's Controversial Polish Contract." *BBC News*, September 16, 2009.

Brosnan, Greg. 2008. "Mexican Infrastructure Financing: A Bridge Too Far?" *Latin Finance* (203) (December): 43–45.

Budds, Jessica. 2013. "Water, Power, and the Production of Neoliberalism in Chile, 1973–2005." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 31(2): 301–318.

Bulmer-Thomas, Victor. 2003. *The Economic History of Latin America since Independence.* New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Bult-Spiering, Mirjam, and Geert Dewulf. 2007. *Strategic Issues in Public-Private Partnerships: An International Perspective.* Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.

Burdick, John, Philip Oxhorn, and Kenneth M. Roberts, eds. 2009. *Beyond Neoliberalism in Latin America? Societies and Politics and the Crossroads.* New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs. 2012. "2012 Investment Climate Statement—Brazil." US Department of State, June.

CAF (Corporación Andina de Fomento). 2010. "Infraestructura pública y participación privada: conceptos y experiencias en América y España." Caracas.

Calabrese, Daniele, ed. 2008. *Strategic Communication for Privatization, Public-Private Partnerships, and Private Participation in Infrastructure Projects.* Washington, DC: World Bank Publications.

Calderón, Cesar, and Luis Servén. 2002. "The Output Cost of Latin America's Infrastructure Gap." Working Paper 186, Central Bank of Chile.

Calderón, Cesar, and Luis Servén. 2004a. "The Effects of Infrastructure Development on Growth and Income Distribution." Working Paper 270, Central Bank of Chile.

Calderón, César, and Luis Servén. 2004b. "Trends in Infrastructure in Latin America, 1980–2001." Working Paper 269, Central Bank of Chile.

Calderón, César, and Luis Servén. 2009. "Infrastructure in Latin America: An Update, 1980–2006." Unpublished manuscript, Washington, DC: World Bank.

Calderón, César, and Luis Servén. 2010a. "Infrastructure and Economic Development in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Journal of African Economies* 19 (AERC Supplement 1): i13–i87.

Calderón, César, and Luis Servén. 2010b. "Infrastructure in Latin America." In José Antonio Ocampo and Jaime Ros, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Latin American Economics*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 659–690.

Calero, Carla, Rosario Maldonado, and Andrea Molina. 2009. "Risk, Natural Disasters and Poverty in Latin America: Case Study, Ecuador." Research for Public Policy, MDGSs and Poverty, MDG-10–2009, Regional Bureau for Latin America and the Caribbean-United Nations Development Programme, New York, NY.

Camp, Roderic A. 1999. *Politics in Mexico*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Camp, Roderic A. 2010. *The Metamorphosis of Leadership in a Democratic Mexico*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Campos, Javier. 2004. "Private Participation and Regulation in Infrastructures: Lessons from Recent Experiences in Latin America." *International Journal of Applied Economics and Econometrics* 12(3): 337–358.

Campos, Javier, Antonio Estache, Noelia Martin, and Lourdes Trujillo. 2003. *Macroeconomic Effects of Private Sector Participation in Infrastructure*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Cao, Xun. 2009. "Networks of Intergovernmental Organizations and Convergence in Domestic Economic Policies." *International Studies Quarterly* 53(4) (December): 1095–1130.

Cardoso, Fernando Henrique, and Enzo Faletto. 1979. *Dependency and Development in Latin America*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.

Carpintero, Samuel, and Raphael Barcham. 2012. "Private Toll Roads: Lessons from Latin America." *International Conference on Traffic and Transportation Engineering* 26: 98–102.

Carranza, Luis, Christian Daude, and Ángel Melguizo. 2011. "Public Infrastructure Investment and Fiscal Sustainability in Latin America: Incompatible Goals?" Working Paper 301, OECD Development Center.

Carvajal, Fernando. 2011. "Ecuador: la evolución de su economía 1950–2008." In Alfredo Astorga, Betty Espinosa, Fernando Carvajal, et al., eds. *Estado del País: Informe Cero. Ecuador 1950–2010*. Quito, Ecuador: Estado del País, 95–104.

Castañeda, Jorge G. 2006. "Latin America's Left Turn." *Foreign Affairs* 85(3) (May–June): 28–43.

Castelar, Armando. 2013. "Novo Modelo para as Ferrovias." *Valor Económico*, October 4.

Castelar Pinheiro, Armando, and Kiichiro Fukusaku, eds. 2000. *A privatização no Brasil: O Caso dos Serviços de Utilidade Pública*. Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: BNDES.

Centeno, Miguel A. 1994. *Democracy within Reason: Technocratic Revolution in Mexico*. Philadelphia, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Centeno, Miguel A. 1997. *Democracy within Reason: Technocratic Revolution in Mexico*. Pennsylvania, PA: The Pennsylvania State University. 2nd ed.

Centeno, Miguel A., and Joseph N. Cohen. 2012. "The Arc of Neoliberalism." *Annual Review of Sociology* 38 (August): 317–340.

Centro de Estudios Públicos. 2007a. "Encuesta Noviembre-Diciembre 2007." Chile.

Centro de Estudios Públicos. 2007b. "Encuesta Junio 2007." Chile.

Centro Mario Molina. 2008. "Análisis y evaluación del impacto del Transantiago aire de la Región Metropolitana." Chile.

CEPAL. (Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe). 2008. "La Transformación productiva de 20 años después: viejos problemas, nuevas oportunidades." Estudio presentado en el trigésimo segundo período de sesiones de la CEPAL. Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic, June 9–13.

CEPAL. 2010. "Diagnóstico sobre las restricciones al desarrollo y a una integración económica más profunda." *Boletín FAL* 287(7) (July): 1–7.

Cheibub, José Antonio. 2002. "Minority Governments, Deadlock Situations, and the Survival of Presidential Democracies." *Comparative Political Studie*s 35(3) (April): 284–312.

Chibber, Vivek. 2003. *Locked in Place: State-Building and Late Industrialization in India*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Chibber, Vivek, 2007. "Response to Clemens, Paige and Panitch." *Comparative and Historical Sociology* 18(2) (Spring): 9–13.

"Chile." The World Factbook. 2014.

"Chinese Road Building Firm Boycotted." *Warsaw Business Journal*, February 21, 2011.

Chong, Alberto, and Florencio López-de-Silanes. 2004a. "Privatization in Latin America: What Does the Evidence Say?" *Economia* 4(2) (Spring): 37–111.

Chong, Alberto, and Florencio López-de-Silanes. 2004b. "Privatization in Mexico." Working Paper 513, Washington, DC: Inter-American Development Bank, Research Department.

Chong, Alberto, and Florencio Lopez-de-Salines. 2005. *Privatization in Latin America: Myths and Reality*. Latin American Development Forum Series. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Chong, Alberto, and Juan Benavides. 2007. *Privatization and Regulation in Latin America*. Washington, DC: Stanford University Press, World Bank Press.

Cipoletta Tomassian, Georgina, Patricio Rozas Balbontín, Ricardo Sánchez, and Varinia Tromben. 2010. "Políticas de Infraestructura y Transporte en América Latina: Restricciones al Desarrollo y a la Integración." *Mundo Nuevo* 2(4) (July–December): 165–213.

Coates, David. 2000. *Models of Capitalism: Growth and Stagnation in the Modern Era*. Oxford, UK: Polity Press.

Cohen, Michael A. 2012. *Argentina's Economic Growth and Recovery: The Economy in a Time of Default*. London, UK and New York, NY: Routledge.

Coleman, James. 1990. *The Foundations of Social Theory*. Cambridge, MA and London, UK: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

CONAMA (Comisión Nacional del Medio Ambiente). 2003. "Evolución de la calidad del aire en Santiago." Ministerio del Medio Ambiente, Chile.

CONAMA. 2009. "Resultados Plan Operacional para la Gestión de Epsiodios Críticos de Contaminación Atmosférica por Material Particulado Respirable (PM10) en la Región Metropolitana: Período 2009." Ministerio del Medio Ambiente, Chile.

Cornelius, Wayne A. 1996. *Mexican Politics in Transition: The Breakdown of a One-Party-Dominant Regime*. San Diego, CA: University of California Press.

Corradi, Juan E. 1985. *The Fitful Republic: Economy, Society and Politics in Argentina.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Corrales, Javier. 2002. *Presidents without Parties: The Politics of Economic Reform in Argentina and Venezuela in the 1990s.* University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Correa, Eugenia. 2012. "Fiscal Policies and the World Financial Crisis: Understanding the Experience of Three Major Latin American Countries." *International Journal of Political Economy* 41(2) (Summer): 82–97.

Correa, Germán and Patricio Rozas. 2006. *Desarrollo urbano e inversiones en infraestructura: elementos para la toma de decisiones.* Santiago, Chile: Publicación de las Naciones Unidas.

Correa, Germán. 2008. "Off to a Chilly Start: The Case of TranSantiago, Chile or What Went Wrong?" Paper presented at 85th Annual Meeting: Transforming Transport by the Transportation Research Board, World Bank and World Resources Institute, Washington, DC, January 17.

Correa, Germán. 2010. "Transporte y Ciudad." *EURE* 36(107) (April): 133–137.

Correa, Germán and Patricio Rozas. 2006. "Desarrollo Urbano e Inversiones en Infraestructura: Elementos para la Toma de Decisiones." ECLAC Serie Recursos Naturales e Infraestructura 108, May.

Coutinho, Luciano. 2013. "The Brazilian Economy and Financing Its Infrastructure Projects." Presentation by president of BNDES, BNP Paribas, Paris, May.

Cruz, Carlos. 2002. "Transporte urbano para un nuevo Santiago." Ministerio de Obras Públicas, Transportes y Telecomunicaciones, Santiago, Chile.

Cruz, Carlos, and Maria Elena Barrientos. 2001. "Toll Road Concessions: The Chilean Experience." PFG Discussion Paper Series 124, the World Bank's Project Finance and Guarantees Group.

Cruz, Luis Edgar. 2010. "La Constitución Política de 1991 y la Apertura Económica." *Revista Facultad de Ciencias Económicas: Investigación y Reflexión* 18(1) (January–June): 269–280.

Cruz, Sebastião. 1995. *Empresário e Estado na Transição Brasileira: Um Estudo sobre a Economia Política do Autoritarismo, 1974–1977.* Campinas, Brazil: Editora da Unicamp, Sao Paulo, Brazil: FAPESP.

Cubas, German, Anson Ho, Kim P. Huynh, and David T. Jacho-Chávez. 2010. "Reallocation, Productivity, and the Ecuadorian Economic Crisis: Evidence from Firm-Level Data." Discussion paper, MIT Sloan School of Management. www.mitsloab.mit.edu.

D´Alembert, Jaccoud, Priscilla Stephan, Rosa Lemos de Sá, and Sarah Richardson. 2003 "Sustainability Assessment of Export-Led Growth in Soy Production in Brazil." Brasília (Brazil), Gland (Switzerland): WWF-Brazil and WWF-International.

Dar, Vandita. 2010. "Governance Issues in Public-Private Partnership in Infrastructure: India vis-à-vis Brazil." In G Ramesh, Vishnuprasad Nagadevara, Gopal Naik, and Anil B. Suraj, eds. *Public Private Partnerships.* Indian Institute Management of Bangalore. New Delhi, India: Routledge, 51–82.

Davis, Diane E. 2004. *Discipline and Development: Middle Classes and Prosperity in East Asia and Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

De Bettignies, Jean-Etienne, and Thomas W. Ross. 2004. "The Economics of Public-Private Partnerships." *Canadian Public Policy* 30(2) (June): 135–154.

de la Torre, Carlos. 2000. *Populist Seduction in Latin America: The Ecuadorian Experience*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press.

de la Torre, Carlos. 2013. "El Tecnopopulismo de Rafael Correa: ¿Es compatible el carisma con la tecnocracia?" *Latin American Research Review* 48(1) (Spring): 24–43.

Delmon, Jeffrey. 2009. *Private Sector Investment in Infrastructure: Project Finance, PPP Projects and Risks*. New York, NY and The Netherlands: Wolters Kluwer.

Delmon, Jeffrey. 2011. *Public-Private Partnership Projects in Infrastructure: An Essential Guide for Policy Makers*. Cambridge, UK, and New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Departamento Nacional de Planeación. "Plan Nacional de Desarrollo: 2002–2006." www.dnp.gov.co.

Departamento Nacional de Planeación. 2007. "Plan Nacional de Desarrollo 2006–2010, Estado Comunitario: Desarrollo Para Todos." Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional de Colombia.

Departamento Nacional de Planeación. 2010. "Programa de modernización de la economía colombiana." Documento Conpes No. 35 and 36, *Publicaciones Icesi*, 87–156.

Desantis, Daniela. 2010. "Paraguay Banks on Mega Infrastructure Projects." *Reuters*. www.reuters.com.

Díaz, Guillermo, Andrés Gómez-Lobo, and Andrés Velasco. 2004. "Micros en Santiago: De enemigo público a servicio público." *Estudios Públicos* (96) (Spring): 5–48.

Díaz, Guillermo, Andrés Gómez-Lobo, and Andrés Velasco. 2002. *Micros en Santiago: hacia la licitación del 2003*. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Mimeo.

DiMaggio, Paul J., and Walter W. Powell. 1983. "The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields." *American Sociological Review* 48(2) (April): 147–160.

Diniz, Eli. 2011. "Democracy, State, and Industry: Continuity and Change between the Cardoso and Lula Administrations." *Latin American Perspectives* 38(3) (May): 59–77.

Directorio de Transporte Público (DTP). "Evaluación de los Usuarios al Sistema de Transporte Público Metropolitano." July 2014.

DTP. "Transantiago: Estado actual, líneas de acción y equipo de gestió." March 26, 2014.

DTP. "Infraestructura Metro." No date available.

Dobbin, Frank, Beth Simmons, and Geoffrey Garrett. 2007. "The Global Diffusion of Public Policies: Social Construction, Coercion, Competition, or Learning?" *Annual Review of Sociology* (33) (August): 449–472.

Dolowitz, David, and David Marsh. 2000. "Learning from Abroad: The Role of Policy Transfer in Contemporary Policy Making." *Governance: An International Journal of Policy and Administration* 13(1) (January): 5–24.

Domínguez, Jorge I., ed. 1997. *Technopols: Freeing Politics and Markets in Latin America in the 1990s*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Domínguez, Jorge I. 1998. "Free Politics and Free Markets in Latin America." *Journal of Democracy* 9(4) (October): 70–84.

Domper, María Luz, and Pablo Allard. 2009. *Concesiones: agenda para el 2020*. Santiago, Chile: Libertad y Desarrollo.

Draibe, Sonia. 1985. *Rumos e Metamorfoses: um Estudo sobre a Constituição do Estado e as Alternativas da Industrialização no Brasil, 1930–1960*. Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Paz e Terra.

Drechsler, Wolfgang. 2009. "The Rise and Demise of the New Public Management: Lessons and Opportunities for South East Europe." *Uprava/Administration* 7(3): 7–27.

Dresser, Denise. 1991. *Neopopulist Solutions to Neoliberal Problems: Mexico's National Solidarity Program*. San Diego, CA: University of California Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies.

Dudkin, Gerti, and Timo Válilá. 2005. "Transaction Costs in Public-Private Partnership: A First Look at the Evidence." *Economic and Financial Reports* 3, European Investment Bank, March.

Easterly, William, and Luis Servén, eds. 2003. *The Limits of Stabilization: Infrastructure, Public Deficits and Growth in Latin America*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, and Washington, DC: World Bank.

Easterly, William, César Calderón, and Luis Servén. 2003a. "Infrastructure Compression and Public Sector Solvency in Latin America." In William Easterly and Luis Servén, eds. *The Limits of Stabilization: Infrastructure, Public Deficits, and Growth in Latin America*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press and Washington, DC: World Bank, 119–138.

Easterly, William, César Calderón, and Luis Servén. 2003b. "Latin America's Infrastructure in the Era of Macroeconomic Crises." In William Easterly and Luis Servén, eds. *The Limits of Stabilization: Infrastructure, Public Deficits, and Growth in Latin America*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, and Washington, DC: World Bank, 21–94.

Easterly, William, Norman Loayza, and Peter Montiel. 1997. "Has Latin America's Post-Reform Growth Been Disappointing?" Policy Research Working Paper 1708. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Easterly, William, Timothy Irwin, and Luis Servén. 2008. "Walking up the Down Escalator: Public Investment and Fiscal Stability." *World Bank Research Observer* 23(1) (Spring): 37–56.

ECLAC (Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean). 2010a. "Thirty Years of Contributing to Transport Infrastructure Institution-Building in Latin America and the Caribbean." *Bulletin FAL* 292(12) (December): 1–6.

ECLAC. 2010b. "Estudio Económico de América Latina y el Caribe, 2009–2010: Impacto Distributivo de las Políticas Públicas." División de Desarrollo Económico.

ECLAC. 2011. "The Economic Infrastructure Gap in Latin America and the Caribbean." *Bulletin FAL* 293(1): 1–7.

Economist Intelligence Unit. 2010. "Evaluating the Environment for Public-Private Partnerships in Latin America and the Caribbean: The 2010 Infrascope. A Guide to the Index and Methodology." www.fomin.org.

Economist Intelligence Unit. 2013. "Evaluating the Environment for Public-Private Partnerships in Latin America and the Caribbean: The 2012 Infrascope." www.fomin.org.

Edwards, Sebastian. 1995. *Crisis and Reform in Latin America: From Despair to Hope.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Eggers, William. D., and Stephen Goldsmith. 2004. *Governing by Network: The New Shape of the Public Sector.* Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

Eggers, William D., and Tom Startup. 2006. *Closing the Infrastructure Gap: The Role of Public-Private Partnerships.* New York, NY: The Deloitte Group.

Elkins, Zachary, and Beth Simmons. 2005. "On Waves, Clusters, and Diffusion: a Conceptual Framework." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 598(1) (March): 33–51.

Engel, Eduardo, Ronald Fischer, and Alexander Galetovic. 1997. "Highway Franchising: Pitfalls and Opportunities." *American Economic Review* 87(2) (May): 68–72.

Engel, Eduardo, Ronald Fischer, and Alexander Galetovic. 2002. *A New Approach to Private Roads*. Washington, DC: Cato Institute.

Engel, Eduardo, Ronald Fischer, and Alexander Galetovic. 2003. "Privatizing Highways in Latin America: Fixing What Went Wrong." *Economía* 4(1) (Fall): 129–164.

Engel, Eduardo, Ronald Fischer, and Alexander Galetovic. 2006. "Renegotiation without Holdup: Anticipating Spending and Infrastructure Concessions." Working Paper Series 12399, National Bureau of Economic Research, Cambridge, MA.

Engel, Eduardo, Ronald Fischer, and Alexander Galetovic. 2007. "The Basic Public Finance of Public-Private Partnerships: The Case of Toll Roads." NBER Working Paper 13284.

Engel, Eduardo, Ronald Fischer, and Alexander Galetovic. 2009. "Soft Budgets, Renegotiations and Public-Private Partnerships." Unpublished manuscript, May.

Engler, Mário. 2001. "O programa estadual de desestatização (PED) do Estado de São Paulo." *Cadernos Fundap* (22): 68–73.

Estache, Antonio. 2003. "On Latin America's Infrastructure Privatization and its Distributional Effects." Unpublished manuscript. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Estache, Antonio. 2006. "Infrastructure: A Survey of Recent and Upcoming Issues." Unpublished manuscript. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Etcheberry, Javier. 2007. "Transantiago, Modern Public Transport for a World-Class City." Unpublished manuscript, February 10.

Etchemendy, Sebastián. 2011. *Models of Economic Liberalization: Business, workers, and compensation in Latin America, Spain, and Portugal*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

European Commission. 2004. "Public-Private Partnerships and Community Law on Public Contracts and Concessions." Green Paper, Communication COM, 327.

European Parliament. 2000. "Presidency Conclusions." Lisbon European Council, March 23–24.

European Parliament and Council of European Union. 2004. "Directive 2004/18/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 31 March 2004 on the Coordination of Procedures for the Award of Public Works Contracts, Public Supply Contracts and Public Service Contracts." *Official Journal of the European Union* 47 (April 30): 114–240.

Evans, Peter. 1995. *Embedded Autonomy: States and Industrial Transformation*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Evans, Peter, and James E. Rauch. 1999. "Bureaucracy and Growth: A Cross-National Analysis of the Effects of 'Weberian' State." *American Sociological Review* 64(5) (October): 748–765.

Evans, Peter, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol, eds. 1985. *Bringing the State Back In*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Farkas, Andrew. 1998. *State Learning and International Change*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Farquharson, Edward, Clemencia Torres de Mästle, and E. R. Yescombe, eds. 2011. *How to Engage with the Private Sector in Public-private Partnerships in Emerging Markets*. Washington, DC: World Bank, and IBRD.

Fay, Marianne, and May Morrison. 2005. "Infrastructure in Latin America and the Caribbean: Recent Developments and Key Challenges." Report 32640, the World Bank Finance, Private Sector and Management Unit, August 31.

Féliz, Mariano. 2012. "Neo-Developmentalism: Beyond Neoliberalism? Capitalist Crisis and Argentina's Development since the 1990s." *Historical Materialism* 20(2) (January): 105–123.

Ferreira, Pedro, and Carlos Hamilton. 2005. "On the Economic and Fiscal Effects of Infrastructure Investment in Brazil." Getúlio Vargas Foundation Economic Essay No. 613, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

Ferreira, Pedro, and Carlos Hamilton. 2008. "Growth and Fiscal Effects of Infrastructure Investment in Brazil." In Guillermo Perry, Luis Servén, and Rodrigo Suescún, eds. *Fiscal Policy, Stabilization, and Growth: Prudence or Abstinence?*. Washington, DC: World Bank, 297–318.

Ffrench-Davis, Ricardo. 2005. *Reformas para América Latina: Después del fundamentalismo neoliberal*. Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI.

Ffrench-Davis, Ricardo. 2006. *Seeking Growth under Financial Volatility*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ffrench-Davis, Ricardo. 2010. *Economic Reforms in Chile: From Dictatorship to Democracy*. 2nd ed. Great Britain: Palgrave Macmillan.

Figueroa, Oscar, and Arturo Orellana. 2007. "Transantiago: gobernabilidad e institucionalidad." *EURE (Santiago)* 33(100) (December): 165–171.

Finlayson, Jock, and Ken Peacock. 2002. "The What and Why of Public-Private Partnerships." Policy Perspectives. *Business Council of British Columbia* 9(1) (February): 1–6.

Finnemore, Martha. 1996. *National Interests in International Society*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Fischer Montt, Daniel Andrés. 2010. "Obtención de información para la gestión del Transantiago a través datos operacionales." Santiago, Chile: Departamento de Ingeniería, Universidad de Chile.

Fisher, Daniel, Naazneen Karmali, and Gady Epsein. 2011. "Urban Outfitter." *Forbes* 187(8)(May): 80–98.

Fishlow, Albert. 1980. "Brazilian Development in Long-Term Perspective." *American Economic Review* 70(2) (May): 102–108.

Fishlow, Albert. 1986. "A Economia Política do Ajustamento Brasileiro aos Choques do Petróleo: uma Nota sobre o Período 1974/84." *Pesquisa e Planejamento Econômico* 16(3) (December): 507–550.

Fishlow, Albert. 1990. "The Latin American State." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 4(3) (Summer): 61–74.

Fishlow, Albert. 2006. "Latin America Jogs Left." *Milken Institute Review* 8(3) (September.): 8–15.

Fitch Ratings. 2005. "Evolução do Setor Ferroviário Brasileiro." Sector Report, March.

Fitzpatrick, Anna. 2011. "PAC Progress in São Paulo." *The Rio Times*. www.riotimesonline.com.

Flinders, Mathew. 2005. "The Politics of Public-Private Partnerships." *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 7(2) (May): 215–239.

Flores-Macías, Gustavo A. 2010. "Statist vs. Pro-Market: Explaining Leftist Governments' Economic Policies in Latin America." *Comparative Politics* 42(4) (July): 413–433.

Font, Mauricio A. 2003. *Transforming Brazil: A Reform Era in Perspective*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Font, Mauricio A. 2010. *Coffee and Transformation in São Paulo, Brazil*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Font, Mauricio A., and Laura Randall, eds. 2011. *The Brazilian State: Debate and Agenda*. Landam, MD: Lexington Books.

Forrer, John, James Edwin Kee, Kathryn E. Newcomer, and Eric Boyer. 2010. "Public-Private Partnerships and the Public Accountability Question." *Public Administration Review* (May–June): 475–484.

Foster, Vivien, and Caridad Araujo. 2004. *Does Infrastructure Reform Work for the Poor?* Washington, DC: World Bank.

Foxley, Alejandro. 2010. "Market versus State: Postcrisis Economics in Latin America." Working Paper, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Frank Hartwich, et al. 2008. *Building Public-Private Partnerships for Agricultural Innovation*. Washington, DC: International Food Policy Research Institute.

Frechette, Darren L. 1997. "The Dynamics of Convenience and the Brazilian Soybean Boom." *American Journal of Agricultural Economics* 79(4) (November): 1108–1118.

Frederico, Samuel. 2010. *O novo tempo do cerrado*. São Paulo: Annablume Editora.

Frederico, Samuel. 2013. "Agricultura científica globalizada e fronteira agrícola moderna no Brasil." *Confins* 17. www.confins.revues.org.

Friend, John. 2006. "Partnership Meets Politics: Managing within the Maze." *International Journal of Public Sector Management* 19(3): 261–277.

Fritz, Verena, and A. Rocha Menocal. 2006. "(Re)building Development States: From Theory to Practice." Working Paper 274, Overseas Development Institute, London.

Galiani, Sebastian, and Paulo Somaini. 2010. "Path-Dependent Import-Substitution Policies: The Case of Argentina in the 20th Century." Paper, Social Science Research Network. September.

Galetovic, Alexander, and Pablo Jordán. 2006. "Santiago: ¿Dónde estamos? ¿Hacia dónde vamos?" *Estudios Públicos* 101 (Summer): 87–146.

Gallo, Andres. 2012. "Trade Policy and Protectionism in Argentina." *Economic Affairs* 32(1) (February): 55–59.

Gamarra, Eduardo A. 2003. "Political Parties since 1964: The Construction of Bolivia's Multiparty System." In Merilee S. Grindle and Pilar Domingo, eds. *Proclaiming Revolution: Bolivia in Comparative Perspective*. London/Cambridge, MA: ILAS and David Rockefeller Center, 289–317.

Gary, Jorge Luis. 2004. "Colombia: Estructura Industrial e Internacionalización 1967–1996." Biblioteca Virtual de Banco de la República. www.banrepcultural.org.

Geddes, Barbara. 1995. "The Politics of Economic Liberalization." *Latin American Research Review* 30(2) (June): 195–214.

Gereffi, G. 2009. "Development Models and Industrial Upgrading in China and Mexico." *European Sociological Review* 25(1) (February): 37–51.

Gereffi, Gary, and Donald L. Wyman, eds. 1990. *Manufacturing Miracles: Paths of Industrialization in Latin America and East Asia*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Gereffi, Gary, and Miguel Korzeniewicz, eds. 1994. *Commodity Chains and Global Capitalism*. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Gerschenkron, Alexander. 1943. *Bread and Democracy in Germany*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Gerschenkron, Alexander. 1962. *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective: A Book of Essays*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap/Harvard University Press.

Ghobadian, Abby, David Gallear, Nicholas O'Regan, and Howard Viney. 2004. *Public-Private Partnerships: Policy and Experience*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Giambiagi, Fabio, José G. Reis, and André Urani, eds. 2004. *Reformas no Brasil: Balanço e Agenda*. Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Editora Nova Fronteira.

Giddens, Anthony. 1998. *The Third Way, the Renewal of Social Democracy*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Giugale, Marcelo M., Vicente Fretes-Cibils, and John L. Newman. 2007. *Infrastructure Concessions: Moving Forward*. Washington, DC: World Bank Press.

Glade, William, ed. 1991. *Privatization of Public Enterprises in Latin America*. La Jolla: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies.

Glantz, Michael H. 1996. *Currents of Change: El Niño's Impact on Climate and Society*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Gobierno de Chile. 2013. "Plan de Prevención y Descontaminación Atmosférica R.M." Santiago, Chile: Ministro del Medio Ambiente.

Góngora, Mario. 1981. *Ensayo Histórico sobre la Noción del Estado en Chile en los Siglos XIX y XX*. Santiago: La Ciudad.

Governo de Estado de São Paulo. 2004. "Programa Estadual de Parcerias Publico-Privadas." Secretaria de Planejamento e Desenvolvimento Regional.

Governo do Estado de São Paulo. 2011a. "Plano Plurianual 2012–2015: Diagnósticos, Fundamentos e Visão Estratégica." Secretaria de Planejamento e Desenvolvimento Regional.

Governo do Estado de São Paulo. 2011b. "Programa Estadual de Parcerias Público-Privadas." Legislação de Referência, Secretaria Executiva.

Governo do Estado de São Paulo. 2014. "Mapa do Transporte Metropolitano." metro.sp.gov.br.

Graham, Carol, and Cheikh Kane. 1998. *Private Markets for Public Goods: Raising the Stakes in Economic Reform.* Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.

Graham, Carol, and Moisés Naím. 1998. "The Political Economy of Institutional Reform in Latin America." In Nancy Birdsall and Carol Graham, eds. *Beyond Tradeoffs: Market Reforms and Equitable Growth in Latin America.* Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press: 321–359.

Graham, Michael, and Jean Woo, eds. 2009. *Fuelling Economic Growth: The Role of Public-Private Sector Research in Development.* Warwickshire, UK and Ottawa, Ontario, Canada: Practical Action Publishing and International Development Research Centre.

Gramlich, Edward M. 1994. "Infrastructure Investment: A Review Essay." *Journal of Economic Literature* 32(3) (September): 1176–1196.

Gramsch, Ernesto, G. Le Nir, M. Araya, Maria Angélica Rubio, Francisco Moreno, and Pedro Oyola. 2013. "Influence of Large Changes in Public Transportation (Transantiago) on the Black Carbon Pollution near Streets." *Atmospheric Environment* 65 (February): 153–163.

Gray Molina, George. "El reto posneoliberal de Bolivia." *Nueva Sociedad* 209 (May–June): 119–129.

Grimsey, Darrin, and Mervyn Lewis. 2005. *The Economics of Public Private Partnerships.* Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar.

Grindle, Merilee. 1996. *Challenging the State: Crisis and Innovation in Latin America and Africa.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Grindle, Merilee S. 2000. *Audacious Reforms: Institutional Invention and Democracy in Latin America.* Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Gruening, Gernod. 2001. "Origin and Theoretical Basis of New Public Management." *International Public Management Journal* 4 (Spring):1–25.

Grugel, Jean. 2009. "'Basta de Realidades, Queremos Promesas': Democracy after the Washington Consensus." In Jean Grugel and Pía Riggirozzi, eds. *Governance after Neoliberalism in Latin America.* New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan: 22–48.

Grugel, Jean, and Ben Thirkell White. 2008. "Beyond the Washington Consensus? Asia and Latin America in Search of more Autonomous Development." *International Affairs* 84(3) (May): 499–517.

Grugel, Jean, and Maria Pia Riggirozzi. 2007. "The Return of the State in Argentina." *International Affairs* 83(1) (January): 87–107.

Grugel, Jean, and Pía Riggirozzi. 2009. "The End of the Embrace? Neoliberalism and Alternatives to Neoliberalism in Latin America." In Jean Grugel and Pía

Riggirozzi, eds. *Governance after Neoliberalism in Latin America.* New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.: 1–24.

Grugel, Jean, and Pía Riggirozzi, eds. 2009. *Governance after Neoliberalism in Latin America.* New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Grugel, Jean, and Pía Riggirozzi, eds. 2012. "Post-Neoliberalism in Latin America: Rebuilding and Reclaiming the State after Crisis." *Development and Change* 43 (1) (January): 1–21.

Guaipatín, Carlos. 2007. "La Cooperación público-privada como instrumento de desarrollo: Lecciones de seis aglomeraciones agroindustriales en América Latina." *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies* 82 (April): 51–68.

Guasch, José Luis. 2008. "Granting and Renegotiating Infrastructure Concessions: Doing it Right." Washington, DC: World Bank, Development Studies.

Guasch, José Luis, and Stéphane Straub. 2006. "Renegotiation of Infrastructure Concession: An Overview." *Annals of Public and Cooperative Economics* 77(4) (December): 479–493.

Guasch, José Luis, Jean-Jacques Laffont, and Stéphane Straub. 2008. "Renegotiation of Concession Contracts in Latin America: Evidence from the Water and Transport Sectors." *International Journal of Industrial Organization* 26(2) (March): 421–442.

Gutiérrez, Francisco and Gerd Schönwälder, eds. *Economic Liberalization and Political Violence: Utopia or Dystopia?* Ottawa: Pluto Press and International Development Research Center.

Haas, Peter M. 1992. "Introduction: Epistemic Communities and International Policy Coordination." *International Organization* 46(1) (Winter): 1–36.

Haber, Stephen. 2006. "The Political Economy of Industrialization." In Victor Bulmer-Thomas, John H. Coatsworth, and Roberto Cortés Conde, eds. *The Cambridge Economic History of Latin America*, vol. 2. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Haggard, Stephan, and Robert R. Kaufman, eds. 1992. *The Politics of Economic Adjustment: International Constraints, Distributive Conflicts, and the State.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Haggard, Stephan, and Steven B. Webb, eds. 1994. *Voting for Reform: Democracy, Political Liberalization, and Economic Adjustment.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press and Washington, DC: World Bank.

Haggard, Stephan, Sylvia Maxfield, and Ben Ross Schneider. 1997. "Theories of Business and Business-State Relations." In Sylvia Maxfield and Ben Ross Schneider, eds. *Business and the State in Developing Countries.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press: 36–60.

Haggard, Stephen, and Robert R. Kaufman. 1995. *The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Hall, Peter A. 1989. *The Political Power of Economic Ideas: Keynesianism across Nations.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Hall, Peter A., and David Soskice, eds. 2001. *Varieties of Capitalism: The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Hardcastle, Cliff, Matthias Beck, and Akintola Akintoye. 2003. *Public-Private Partnerships: Managing Risks and Opportunities.* Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

Heclo, Hugh. 1978. "Issue Networks and the Executive Establishment." In Anthony King, ed. *The New American Political System*. Washington, DC: The AEI Press.

Held, David, and Anthony McGrew. 2007. *Globalization/Anti-Globalization: Beyond the Great Divide*. Malden, MA: Polity Press.

Hellman, Joel S. 1998. "Winners Take All: The Politics of Partial Reforms in Postcommunist Transitions." *World Politics* 50(2) (February): 203–234.

Hellman, Judith Adler. 1988. *Mexico in Crisis*. New York, NY: Holmes and Meier.

Hemming, Richard. 2006. "Public-Private Partnerships, Government Guarantees, and Fiscal Risk." Washington, DC: International Monetary Fund.

Herrera, Germán, and Andrés Tavosnanska. 2011. "Argentine Industry in the Early Twenty-first Century (2003–2008)." *CEPAL Review* 104 (August): 99–116.

Hershberg, Eric, and Fred Rosen, eds. 2006. *Latin America after Neoliberalism*. New York: New Press/NACLA.

Hinojosa, Sergio, and Andrés Gómez-Lobo. 2000. "Broad Roads in a Thin Country: Infrastructure Concessions in Chile." Working Paper 2279. Washington, DC: World Bank's Institute Policy Research.

Hirschman, Albert O. 1968. "The Political Economy of Import-Substituting Industrialization in Latin America." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 82(1) (February): 1–32.

Hirschman, Albert O. 1971. *A Bias for Hope: Essays on Development and Latin America*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Hirschman, Albert O. 1981. *Essays in Trespassing: Economics to Politics and Beyond*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Hirschman, Albert O. 1985. *Rival Views of Market Society and Other Recent Essays*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Ho, S. Ping. 2006. "Model for Financial Renegotiation in Public-Private Partnership Projects and Its Policy Implications: Game Theoretic View." *Journal of Construction Engineering & Management* 132(7) (July): 678–688.

Hodge, Graeme A., and Carsten Greve. 2007. "Public-Private Partnerships: An International Performance Review." *Public Administration Review* 67(3) (May–June): 545–558.

Hodge, Graeme A., and Carsten Greve. 2008. "The PPP Debate: Taking Stock of the Issues and Renewing the Research Agenda." Paper presented at the Public Management Annual Conference for the International Research Society, Brisbane, Australia, March 26–28.

Hodge, Graeme A., Carsten Greve, and Anthony E. Boardman, eds. 2010. *International Handbook on Public Private Partnerships*. Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar.

Hollingsworth, J. Rogers, and Robert Boyer, eds. 1997. *Contemporary Capitalism: The Embeddedness of Institutions*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Hood, Christopher. 1991. "A Public Management for all Seasons?" *Public Administration* 69(1) (Spring): 3–19.

Hood, Christopher, Henry Rothstein, and Robert Baldwin. 2001. *The Government of Risk: Understanding Risk Regulation Regimes*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Huber, Evelyn, and Fred Solt. 2004. "Successes and Failures of Neoliberalism." *Latin American Research Review* 39(3) (October): 150–164.

Hufbauer, Gary Clyde, and Jeffrey J. Schott. 2005. *NAFTA Revisited: Achievements and Challenges*. Washington, DC: Institute for International Economics.

Huntington, Samuel P. 1968. *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

IBGE (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística). 2003. "Municipal Agricultural Production (PAM 1990–2007)." Levantamento Sistemático da Produção Agrícola (LSPA). December.

IBGE. 2011. "Tabela 2—Participação das Grandes Regiões e Unidades da Federação no Produto Interno Bruto—2005–2009." In Contas Nacionais No. 35. *Contas Regionais Do Brasil 2005–2009*. Rio de Janairo, Brazil, 55.

IDB (Inter-American Development Bank). 1997. *América Latina tras una década de reformas: Progreso económico y social en América Latina*. Washington, DC: IDB.

IDB. 2003. *Modernizing the State*. Washington, DC: IDB.

IDB. 2007. "Privatization and Social Exclusion in Latin America." In IDB 2008 Report. *Outsiders? The Changing Patterns of Exclusion in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Washington, DC, 149–157.

IDB. 2010. "The Political Economy of Fiscal Reform: The Case of Colombia, 1986–2006." Working Paper Series No. IDB-WP-181, May.

IDB. 2012. *The World of Forking Paths: Latin America and the Caribbean Facing Global Economic Risks*. 2012 Latin America and Caribbean Macroeconomic Report. Washington, DC.

Ikenberry, John G. 1990. "The International Spread of Privatization Polices: Inducements, Learning, and Policy Bandwagoning." In Ezra Suleiman and John Waterbury, eds. *The Political Economy of Public Sector Reform and Privatization*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 88–110.

IMF (International Monetary Fund). 2005. "Public Investment and Fiscal Policy: Summaries of the Pilot Country Studies." Fiscal Affairs Department, April 1.

IMF. 2014. World Economic Outlook Database. www.img.org.

"Informe alternativo a la Comisión Investigadora de Transantiago." Centro de Investigación Periodística, December 6, 2007.

Ipsos Public Affairs. 2009. "Estudio de Opinión Pública, Agosto 2009." Santiago, Chile.

Javiera Navarrete, Francisca, and Juan de Dios Ortúzar. 2013. "Subjective Valuation of the Transit Transfer Experience: The Case of Santiago de Chile." *Transport Policy* 25 (January): 138–147.

Jenkins, Rhys 2012. "China and Brazil: Economic Impacts of a Growing Relationship." *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs* 41(1) (March): 21–47.

Jimeno, Pamela. "Subsidio al Transantiago entre 2012 y 2022 costará al país US$16.000 millones." *La Tercera Edición Impresa* July 8, 2012.

Johnson, Chalmers. 1982. *MITI and the Japanese Miracle*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Johnson, Chalmers. 1995. *Japan: Who Governs? The Rise of the Developmental State*. New York, NY: Norton.

Jong, Martin de. 2008. "The Effectiveness of Public-Private Partnerships in China's Transport Infrastructure." *Network Industries Quarterly* 10(2): 12–14.

Jong, Martin de, Mu Rui, Dominic Stead, Ma Yongchi, and Xi Bao. 2010. "Introducing Public-Private Partnerships for Metropolitan Subways in China: What is the Evidence?" *Journal of Transport Geography* 18(2) (March): 301–313.

Kalmanovitz, Salomón, ed. 2010. *Nueva historia económica de Colombia*. Bogota: Taurus.

Kantor, Paul, and H. V. Savitch. 2005. "How to Study Comparative Urban Development Politics: A Research Note." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 29(1) (March): 135–151.

Kapur, Devesh, John P. Lewis, and Richard Charles Webb. 1997. *The World Bank: Its First Half Century*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

Kaufman, Robert R. 2011. "The Political Left, the Export Boom, and the Populist Temptation." In Steven Levitsky and Kenneth Roberts, eds. *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 93–116.

Kay, Bruce H. 1996. "'Fujipopulism' and the Liberal State in Peru, 1990–1995." *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 38(4) (Winter): 55–98.

Kehoe, Timothy J., and Felipe Meza. 2012. "Catch-Up Growth Followed by Stagnation: Mexico, 1950–2010." Working Paper 693, Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis, Research Department, revised November.

Kennemore, Amy, and Gregory Weeks. 2011. "Twenty-First Century Socialism? The Elusive Search for a Post-Neoliberal Development Model in Bolivia and Ecuador." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 30(3) (July): 267–281

Keynes, John Maynard. 1936. *The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money*. New York, NY: Harcourt Brace.

Kingstone, Peter R. 1999. *Crafting Coalitions for Reform Business Preferences, Political Institutions, and Neoliberal Reform in Brazil*. University Park, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Klein, Herbert S. 2003. *A Concise History of Bolivia*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Klijn, Erick-Hans, and Joop F. M. Koppenjan. 2000. "Public Management and Policy Networks: Foundations of a Network Approach to Governance." *Public Management* 2(2):135–158.

Knopf, Jeffrey W. 2003. "The Importance of International Learning." *Review of International Studies* 29(2) (April): 185–207.

Kohli, Atul. 2004. *State-Directed Development: Political Power and Industrialization in the Global Periphery*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Kornai, Janos. 1992. *The Socialist System: The Political Economy of Socialism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Korol, Juan Carlos, and Hilda Sabato. 1990. "Incomplete Industrialization: An Argentine Obsession." *Latin American Research Review* 25(1) (February): 7–30.

Kostakis, Vasilis. 2011. "Commons-Based Peer Production and the Neo-Weberian State: Synergies and Interdependencies." *Halduskultuur-Administrative Culture* 12(2) (October): 146–161.

Krueger, Anne O. 1974. "The Political Economy of the Rent-Seeking Society." *American Economic Review* 64(3) (January): 291–303.

Kuczynski, Pedro-Pablo, and John Williamson, eds. 2003. *After the Washington Consensus: Restarting Growth and Reform in Latin America*. Washington, DC: Institute for International Economics.

Kurtz, Marcus J. 2004. "The Dilemmas of Democracy in the Open Economy: Lessons from Latin America." *World Politics* 56(2) (January): 262–302.

Lange, Matthew, and Dietrich Rueschemeyer. 2005. *States and Development: Historical Antecedents of Stagnation and Advance*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

"Las 8 medidas que en 7 años han intentado mejorar el Transantiago." *La Nación*, May 29, 2014.

Lascano Kezic, M., and Pablo Durango-Cohen. 2012. "The Transportation Systems of Buenos Aires, Chicago and São Paulo: City Centers, Infrastructure and Policy Analysis." *Transportation Research Part A* 46(1) (January): 102–122.

Lationobarómetro. 2010. *Informe 2010*. Santiago, Chile, December.

Latour, Bruno. 1987. *Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists and Engineers thorough Society*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Le Clech, Nestor Adrian. 2007. "Reformas Estructurales y Desempeño Económico en Argentina: 1976–2000." *Problemas Del Desarrollo* 38(151) (October–December): 151–175.

Leahy, Patricia. 2005. "Lessons from the Private Finance Initiative in the United Kingdom." *EIB Papers* 10(2) (June): 58–71.

Lee, Chang Kil, and David Strang. 2006. "The International Diffusion of Public Sector Downsizing: Network Emulation and Theory-Driven Learning." *International Organization* 60(4) (October): 883–909.

Lehman, Glen, and Ian Tregoning. 2004. "Public-Private Partnerships, Taxation and a Civil Society." *Journal of Corporate Citizenship* 15 (Autumn): 77–89.

Leiva, Fernando Ignacio. 2008. *Latin American Neostructuralism: The Contradictions of Post-Neoliberal Development*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Lents, James M., Gerhard Leutert, and Humberto Fuenzalida. 2006. "Segunda auditoria internacional: Plan de prevención y descontaminación atmosférica de la región metropolitana (PPDA)." Comisión Nacional del medio ambiente región metropolitana.

Levi-Faur, David. 1998. "The Competition State as a Neo-Mercantilist State." *The Journal of Socio-Economics* 27(6) (November–December): 665–685.

Levinson, Marc. 2006. *The Box: How the Shipping Container Made the World Small and the World Economy Bigger*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Levitsky, Steven, and María Victoria Murillo. 2008. "Argentina: From Kirchner to Kirchner." *Journal of Democracy* 19 (2) (April): 16–30.

Levitsky, Steven. 1999. "Fujimori and Post-Party Politics in Peru." *Journal of Democracy* 10(3) (July): 78–92.

Levitt, Barbara, and James G. March. 1988. "Organizational Learning." *Annual Review of Sociology* 14 (August): 319–340.

Levy, Jonah. 2006. "The State after Statism: From Market Direction to Market Support." In Jonah Levy, ed. *The State after Statism: New State Activities in the Age of Liberalization*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 367–394.

Lewis, Paul. 1992. *The Crisis of Argentine Capitalism*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Link, Albert N. 2006. *Public/Private Partnerships: Innovation Strategies and Policy Alternatives*. New York, NY: Springer.

López-Carlos, Augusto, Michael E. Porter, Klaus Schwab, and Xavier Sala-i-Martin. 2006. "The Global Competitiveness Report 2006–2007." World Economic Forum.

Lora, Eduardo, ed. 2007. *The State of State Reform in Latin America*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press and Washington, DC: World Bank.

Loureiro, Maria Rita, Fábio Pereira dos Santos, and Alexandre de Ávila Gomide. 2011. "Entre O Mercado E O Povo: Desafios Para A Política Econômica Do Governo Lula." In Lourdes E. Loureiro Sola and Maria Rita, eds. *Democracia, Mercado E Estado—O B De Brics*. Rio De Janeiro, Brazil: Fgv, 284–314.

Love, Joseph. 1980. "Raúl Prebisch and the Origins of the Doctrine of Unequal Exchange." *Latin American Research Review* 15(3) (October): 45–72.

Lucero, José Antonio. 2009. "Decades Lost and Won: Indigenous Movements and Multicultural Neoliberalism in the Andes." In John Burdick, Philip Oxhorn, and Kenneth M. Roberts, eds. *Beyond Neoliberalism in Latin America? Societies and Politics and the Crossroads*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 63–82.

Lucioni, Luis. 2009. "La Provisión de Infraestructura en América Latina: Tendencias, Inversiones y Financiamiento." ECLAC, Macroeconomía del Desarrollo Series 72, January.

Lynn, Laurence. 2008. "What is a Neo-Weberian State? Reflections on a Concept and its Implications." *NISPAcee Journal of Public Administration and Policy* 1(2) (Winter): 17–30.

Macdonald, Laura, and Arne Ruckert, eds. 2009. *Post-Neoliberalism in the Americas*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

MacLeod, Dag. 2004. *Downsizing the State: Privatization and the Limits of Neoliberal Reform in Mexico*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Madrid, Raúl L. 2002. "The Politics and Economics of Pension Privatization in Latin America." *Latin American Research Review* 37(2) (June): 159–182.

Madrid, Raúl L. 2008. "The Rise of Ethnopopulism in Latin America." *World Politics* 60 (3) (April): 475–508.

Mahoney, James. 2000. "Path Dependence in Historical Sociology." *Theory and Society* 29 (4) (August): 507–548.

Mahoney, James. 2001. *The Legacies of Liberalism: Path Dependence and Political Regimes in Central America*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Mahoney, James. 2010. *Colonialism and Postcolonial Development: Spanish America in Comparative Perspective*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Maman, Daniel, and Zeev Rosenhek. 2011. "The Institutional Dynamics of a Developmental State: Change and Continuity in State-Economy Relations in Israel." Research Institute for Policy, Political Economy and Society/The Open University of Israel Working Paper 5–2011.

Manzanelli, Pablo, and Schorr Martin. 2011. "Extranjerización y Poder Económico Industrial en Argentina." *Revista Problemas del Desarrollo* 170(43) (July–September): 39–67.

Manzano, Osmel, and Francisco Monaldi. 2008. "The Political Economy of Oil Production in Latin America." *Economía* 9(1) (Fall), 59–103.

Manzetti, Luigi. 1999. *Privatization South American Style*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Manzetti, Luigi, ed. 2000. *Regulatory Policy in Latin America: Post-Privatization Realities*. Miami, FL: North-South Center Press, University of Miami.

Manzetti, Luigi. 2003. "Political Manipulations and Market Reforms Failures." *World Politics* 55(3) (April): 315–360.

Manzetti, Luigi. 2009. *Neoliberalism, Accountability, and Reform Failures in Emergent Markets*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Marcel, Mario C. 1999. "Effectiveness of the State and Development: Lessons from the Chilean Experience." In Guillermo Perry, and Danny M. Leipziger, eds. *Chile: Recent Policy Lessons and Emerging Challenges*. Washington, DC: World Bank Institute, 265–325.

Marcel, Mario C. 2006. "Reflexiones acerca del proceso de modernización del Estado en Chile y desafíos futuros." *Revista del Clad, Reforma y Democracia* 34 (February): 217–232.

Mardones, Rodrigo. 2008. "Chile: Transantiago Recargado." *Revista de Ciencia Política* 28(1): 103–119.

Margheritis, Ana, and Anthony W. Pereira (2007) "The Neoliberal Turn in Latin America: The Cycle of Ideas and the Search for an Alternative." *Latin American Perspectives* 34(3) (May), 25–48.

Marin, Philippe. 2009. "Public-Private Partnerships for Urban Water Utilities: A Review of Experiences in Developing Countries." Trends and Policy Options No. 8. Washington, DC: World Bank, PPIAF (Public-Private Infrastructure Advisory Facility).

Martimort, David, and Jerome Pouyet. 2008. "To Build or not to Build: Normative and Positive Theories of Public-Private Partnerships." *International Journal of Industrial Organization* 26(2) (March): 393–411.

Maskin, Eric, and Jean Tirole. 2008. "Public-Private Partnerships and Government Spending Limits." *International Journal of Industrial Organization* 26(2) (March): 412–420.

Mayda, Anna Maria, and Dani Rodrik. 2005. "Why are Some People (and Countries) More Protectionist than Others?" *European Economic Review* 49(6) (August): 1393–1430.

McAdam, Doug, Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly. 2001. *Dynamics of Contention*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

McGreevy, William P. 2008. *An Economic History of Colombia, 1845–1930*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

McKeigue, James. 2013. "This Peru Boom Will Run and Run." *Money Week*, October 6. www.moneyweek.com.

Mejía, Abel. 2011. "Responding to Global Changes: Water in an Urbanizing World, Challenges for Urban Water Provision in Latin America and the Caribbean." Presentation at World Water Week, Stockholm, Sweden, August 24.

Mejido Costoya, Manuel. 2011. "Politics of Trade in Post-neoliberal Latin America: The Case of Bolivia." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 30(1) (January): 80–95.

Melo, Marcus A. 2003. "When Institutions Matter: A Comparison of the Politics of Administrative, Social Security, and Tax Reforms in Brazil." In Ben Ross Schneider and Blanca Heredia, eds. *The Politics of Administrative Reform in Developing Countries*. Miami, FL: North-South Center Press, 211–249.

Mendes, Sérgio Magno, Erly Cardoso Teixeira, and Márcio Antônio Salvato. 2009. "Investimentos em infra-estrutura e produtividade total dos fatores na agricultura brasileira: 1985–2004." *Revista Brasileira de Economia* 63(2) (April): 91–102.

Mery, Valentina, and Benjamían Blanco. "Transantiago: Las preocupaciones de los operadores del sistema de transporte." *La Tercera*, August 28, 2014.

Messeguer, Covadonga. 2005. "Policy Learning, Policy Diffusion, and the Making of a New Order." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 598(1) (March): 67–82.

México, Secretaría de Hacienda y Crédito Público. 2008. "Programa para impulsar el crecimiento y el empleo." Press Release, October 8.

Meyer W. John, John Boli, George M. Thomas, and Francisco O. Ramírez. 1997. "World Society and the Nation-State." *American Journal of Sociology* 103(1) (July): 144–181.

Meyer, Peter J. 2010. "Uruguay: Political and Economic Conditions and U.S. Relations." Congressional Research Service.

Mia, Irene, Julio Estrada, and Thierry Geiger. 2007. "Benchmarking National Attractiveness for Private Investment in Latin American Infrastructure." Paper, World Economic Forum, Global Competitiveness Network.

Miguez, Eduardo. 2006. "The Argentinean Failure: An Interpretation of Economic Evolution in the 'Short 20th Century.'" *Desarrollo Económico* 44(176) (January–March): 483–514.

Milner, Helen V., and Bumba Mukherjee. 2009. "Democratization and Economic Globalization." *Annual Review of Political Science* 12: 163–181.

Milner, Helen V., and Keiko Kubota. 2005. "Why the Move to Free Trade? Democracy and Trade Policy in the Developing Countries." *International Organization* 59(1) (January): 107–143.

Minogue, Martin. 2004. "Public Management and Regulatory Governance: Problems of Policy Transfer to Developing Countries." In Paul Crook, Colin Kirkpatrick, Martin Minogue, and Ledivina Carino, eds. *Leading Issues in Regulation, Competition and Development*. Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar, 165–181.

Molano, Walter. 1997. *The Logic of Privatization: The Case of Telecommunications in the Southern Cone of Latin America*. Westport, CT and London, UK: Greenwood Press.

Molero Simarro, Ricardo, and María José Antolín. 2012. "Development Strategy of the MAS in Bolivia: Characterization and Early Assessment." *Development and Change* 43(2) (March): 531–556.

Montecinos, Veronica, and John Markoff, eds. 2010. *Economists in the Americas*. Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar.

Mora, Monica. 2002. "Federalismo e Dívida Estadual no Brasil." Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: *IPEA*, Research Paper No. 866.

Morgenstern, Richard. 2004. "Policy Studies on Greenhouse Gas Mitigation and Economic Development: Synergies and Challenges." Working Paper, Inter-American Development Bank.

Morrison, Wayne M. 2014. "China's Economic Rise: History, Trends, Challenges, and Implications for the United States." Congressional Research Service. No. 7–5700.

Müller, Jan Marco. 2004. "El impacto de la apertura económica sobre el sistema de transporte y el desarrollo regional en Colombia." *Territorios* 10–11 (January): 145–172.

Muñoz Gomá, Oscar. 2001. *Estrategias de desarrollo en economías emergentes: Lecciones de la experiencia latinoamericana*. Santiago: Libros FLACSO.

Muñoz, Juan Carlos, and Louis de Grange. 2010. "On the Development of Public Transit in Large Cities." *Research in Transportation Economics* 29(1): 379–386.

Murillo, María Victoria. 2001. *Labor Unions, Partisan Coalitions, and Market Reforms in Latin America*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Murillo, María Victoria. 2002. "Political Bias in Policy Convergence: Privatization Choices in Latin America." *World Politics* 54(4) (July): 462–493.

Murillo, María Victoria, Virginia Oliveros, and Milan Vaishnav. 2011. "Economic Constraints and Presidential Agency." In Steven Levitsky and Kenneth Roberts, eds. *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 52–70.

Murphy, Peter. 2012. "The Long, Brutal Haul from Farm to Port in Brazil." *Reuters*. www.reuters.com.

Murray, Warwick E., and John D. Overton. 2011. "Neoliberalism is Dead, Long Live Neoliberalism? Neostructuralism and the International Aid Regime of the 2000s." *Progress in Development Studies* 11(4) (July): 307–319.

NAO (National Audit Office). 2003. "PFI Construction Performance." Report HC371 2002–2003. London, February 5.

NAO. 2010. "The Performance and Management of Hospital PFI Contracts." June.

Naranjo S., Montserrat. "Transantiago: Una historia de retrasos y críticas." *Cooperativa.cl*, February 10, 2007.

Navarrete, Francisca Javiera, and Juan de Dios Ortúzar. 2013. "Subjective Valuation of the Transit Transfer Experience: The Case of Santiago de Chile." *Transport Policy* 25 (January): 138–157.

Neto, Carlos Alvares, Bolívar Pêgo Filho, Alfredo Eric Romminger, Iansã Melo Ferreira, and Leonardo Fernandes Soares Vasconcelos. 2010. "Gargalos e demandas da infraestrutura ferroviária e os investimentos do PAC: mapeamento IPEA de obras ferroviárias." Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: IPEA, Research Paper No. 1465.

Norment, Richard. 2008. "Fundamentals of PPPs." Partnerships for Growth in Infrastructure Workshop, National Council for Public-Private Partnerships, Charlotte, NC, May 21.

North, Liisa L. 2004. "State Building, State Dismantling, and Financial Crises in Ecuador." In Jo-Marie Burt and Philip Mauceri, eds. *Politics in the Andes: Identity, Conflict, Reform*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 187–206.

Noulton, John. 1999. "Lessons from the Channel Tunnel Experience." Seminar on PPPs in Transport Infrastructure Financing, European Conference of Ministers of Transport, Paris, France, January 12.

Noumba-Um, Paul. 2010. "Empirical Evidence of Infrastructure Public-Private Partnerships: Lessons from the World Bank Experience." In Graeme A. Hodge, Carsten Greve, and Anthony E. Boardman, eds. *International Handbook on Public-Private Partnerships.* Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar, 456–478.

O Riain, Sean. 2004. *The Politics of High-Tech Growth: Developmental Network States in the Global Economy.* New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

O'Donnell, Guillermo A. 1973. *Modernization and Bureaucratic-Authoritarianism: Studies in South American Politics.* Politics of Modernization Series No. 9. Berkeley, CA: Institute of International Studies.

O'Donnell, Guillermo A. 1977. "Estado y Alianzas en la Argentina, 1956–1976." *Desarrollo Económico* 16(64) (January–March): 523–554.

O'Donnell, Guillermo A. 1986. *Bureaucratic Authoritarianism: Argentina 1966–1973 in Comparative Perspective*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1993. "On the State, Democratization and Some Conceptual Problems: A Latin American View with Glances at Some Post-communist Countries." *World Development* 21(8): 1355–1369.

O'Donnell, Guillermo A. 1994. "Delegative Democracy." *Journal of Democracy* 5(1) (January): 55–69.

Ocampo, José Antonio. 1984. *Colombia y la economía mundial, 1830–1910.* Bogotá: Siglo Veintiuno.

Ocampo, José Antonio. 2007. "The Macroeconomics of the Latin American Economic Boom." *Cepal Review* 93 (December): 7–28.

Ocampo, José Antonio, and Joseph Stiglitz, eds. 2008. *Capital Market Liberalization and Development.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development). 2008. *Public-Private Partnerships: In Pursuit of Risk Sharing and Value for Money.* Paris: OECD.

OECD. 2009. *Contracting Out Government Functions and Services: Emerging Lessons from Post-conflict and Fragile Situations*. Paris: OECD.

OECD. 2010. *Handbook on contracting out government functions and services in post-conflict and fragile situations*. Paris: PDG (Partnership for Democratic Governance).

Ojha, Abhoy K. 2010. "Public-Private Partnerships: Analyzing the Network Form of Organization." In G. Ramesh, V. Nagadevara, G. Naik, and A. B. Suraj, eds. *Public Private Partnerships.* Indian Institute Management of Bangalore. New Delhi, India: Routledge, 1–19.

Nunes, Edson. 1997. *A Gramática Política do Brasil: Clientelismo e Insulamento Burocrático.* Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Jorge Zahar.

Nunes, Edson. 2010. *A Pragmática Política Do Brasil*: Clientelismo, Corporativismo E Insulamento Burocrático. Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Garamond.

Nunes, Edson, André Magalhães Nogueira, Cátia Couto da Costa, Helenice Vieira de Andrade, and Leandro Molhano Ribeiro. 2007. *Agências Reguladoras E Reforma*

Do Estado No Brasil–Inovação E Continuidade No Sistema Político-Institucional. Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Garamond Universitária.

Oliveira, Paulo, and Robert J. Marquis, eds. 2002. *The Cerrados of Brazil: Ecology and Natural History of a Neotropical Savanna*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Olivera, Mauricio, Mónica Pachón, and Guillermo Perry. 2010. "The Political Economy of Fiscal Reform: The Case of Colombia, 1986–2006." Working Paper, Inter-American Development Bank, Research Department, Washington, DC.

Olivos Marín, Oriana. "Costanera Norte: El túnel gigante del río Mapocho." *Ediciones especiales* April 21, 2005.

Oncala, Andréa Arean. 2004. "Brazil Turns to PPP for Infrastructure Investment." *International Financial Law Review* 23(11) (November): 26–28.

Osborne, Stephen P. 2000. *Public-Private Partnerships: Theory and Practice in International Perspective*. Routledge Advances in Management and Business Studies. New York, NY: Routledge, Taylor and Francis.

Oviedo, Eduardo Daniel. 2013. "Argentina Facing China: Modernization, Interests and Economic Relations Model." *East Asia: An International Quarterly* 30 (1) (November): 7–34.

Owen, John Malloy. 2002. "The Foreign Imposition of Domestic Institutions." *International Organization* 56(2) (Spring): 375–409.

Oxhorn, Philip. 2009. "Beyond Neoliberalism? Latin America's New Crossroads." In John Burdick, Philip Oxhorn, and Kenneth M. Roberts, eds. *Beyond Neoliberalism in Latin America? Societies and Politics and the Crossroads*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 217–234.

Oxhorn, Philip, and Pamela K. Starr, eds. 1999. *Market and Democracy in Latin America: Conflict or Convergence?* Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.

Paige, Jeffery. 2007. "India and the Myth of the Anti-Developmental State." *Comparative and Historical Sociology* 18(2) (Spring): 2–4.

Palacios, Marco. 2002. *Coffee in Colombia, 1850–1970: An Economic, Social and Political History*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Pang, Eul-Soo. 2000. "The Financial Crisis of 1998–98 and the End of the Asian Developmental State." *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 22(3) (December): 570–593

Panizza, Francisco. 2005. "Unarmed Utopia Revisited: The Resurgence of Left-of-Centre Politics in Latin America." *Political Studies* 53(4) (December): 716–734.

Panizza, Francisco. 2009. *Contemporary Latin America: Development and Democracy beyond the Washington Consensus*. London: Zed Books.

"Paraguay to Improve Urban Infrastructure, Public Transportation with IDB Assistance." *IDB (Inter-American Development Bank)*, September 30, 2010.

Paredes, Ricardo M. 2001. "Redistributive Impact of Privatization and the Regulation of Utilities in Chile." Discussion Paper 2001/19, The United Nations University, World Institute for Development, June.

Paredes, Ricardo D., and José Miguel Sanchez. 2004. "Government Concession Contracts in Chile: The Role of Competition in the Bidding Process." *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 53(1) (October): 215–234.

Parker, David, and Catarina Figueira. 2010. "PPPs in Developed and Developing Economies: What Lessons Can Be Learned?" In Graeme A. Hodge, Carsten Greve, and Anthony. E. Boardman, eds. *International Handbook on Public-Private Partnerships*. Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar, 526–547.

Pastor, Manuel Jr., and Carol Wise. 2005. "The Lost Sexenio: Vicente Fox and the New Politics of Economic Reform in Mexico." *Latin American Politics and Society* 47(4) (Winter): 135–160.

Payne, Michael. 2007. "A Gold-Medal Partnership." *Strategy+Business Management Magazine*. February 28.

Pempel, T. J. 1999. "The Developmental Regime in a Changing World Economy." In Meredith Woo-Cumings, ed. *The Developmental State*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University, 137–181.

Pereira, Ricardo A. de Castro, and Pedro Cavalcanti Ferreira. 2008. "Efeitos de Crescimento e Bem-estar da Lei de Parceria Público-Privada no Brasil." *Revista Brasileira de Economia* 62(2) (April–June): 207–219.

Pereyra, Andrés. 2009. "Articulacion público-privada en el financiamiento de la infraestructura de carreteras en Uruguay." *Cuadernos de Economía* 28(50) (January–June): 95–115.

Pérez Guerra, Arnaldo. "Chile: Las mentiras del Transantiago." *La insignia*, July 3, 2007.

Pérez Salas, Gabriel, Georgina Cipoletta Tomassian, and Ricardo Sánchez. 2009. "Infraestructura y Servicios de Transporte y su Relación con los Objetivos de Desarrollo del Milenio." Santiago, Chile: CEPAL.

Perrotti, Daniel. 2011. "The Economic Infrastructure Gap in Latin America and the Caribbean." *FAL Bulletin* [ECLAC] 293(1) (January): 1–7.

Pinaud, Nicolas. 2007. *Public-Private Dialogue in Developing Countries: Opportunities and Risks*. Paris: OECD.

Plant, Raymond, ed. 2009. *The Neoliberal State*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Polanyi, Karl. 1944. *The Great Transformation*. New York, NY: Rinehart

Pollitt, Christopher, and Geert Bouckaert. 2004. *Public Management Reform: A Comparative Analysis*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press. 2nd ed.

Portes, Alejandro. 2005. "Sociology in the Hemisphere: Past Convergencies and a New Middle-Range Agenda." In Charles H. Wood and Bryan R. Roberts, eds. *Rethinking Development in Latin America*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 27–52.

Portes, Alejandro. 2010. *Economic Sociology: A Systematic Inquiry*. Princeton, NJ and Oxford, UK: Princeton University Press.

Powell, Walter W. 1990. "Neither Market nor Hierarchy: Network Forms of Organization." *Research in Organizational Behavior* 12: 295–336.

Prebisch, Raúl. 1950. T*he Economic Development of Latin America and Its Principal Problems*. New York, NY: United Nations.

Przeworski, Adam. 1993. "The Neoliberal Fallacy." In Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner, eds. *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy Revisited*. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 39–53.

Puryear, Jeffrey M. 1994. *Thinking Politics: Intellectuals and Democracy in Chile*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

PwC (PriceWaterhouseCoopers). 2005. "Delivering the PPP promise: A Review of PPP Issues and Activity." www.pwc.com.

PwC. 2014. "Capital Project and Infrastructure Spending: Outlook to 2025. www.pwc.com.

Quijada, Rodrigo. "Los misteriosos cambios a los contratos de Transantiago." *el quinto poder*, February 9, 2014.

Quijada, Rodrigo, Alejandro Tirachini, Rodrigo Henríquez, and Ricardo Hurtubia. "Investigación al Transantiago: Sistematización de Declaraciones hechas ante la Comisión Investigadora, Resumen de Contenidos de los Principales Informes Técnicos, Información de Documentos Públicos Adicionales y Comentarios Críticos." Cipercile.cl, November 30, 2007.

Ramanayya, Tammana V., and Vishnuprasad Nagadevara. 2010. "Bus Rapid Transit Systems through Public-Private Participation for Improving Urban Mobility." In G. Ramesh, Vishnuprasad Nagadevara, Gopal Naik, and Anil B. Suraj, eds. *Public Private Partnerships*. Indian Institute Management of Bangalore. New Delhi, India: Routledge, 204–225.

Ramesh, G., Vishnuprasad Nagadevara, Gopal Naik, and Anil B. Suraj, eds. 2010. *Public Private Partnerships*. Indian Institute Management of Bangalore. New Delhi, India: Routledge.

Reeves, Eoin, and James Ryan. 2007. "Piloting Public-Private Partnerships: Expensive Lessons from Ireland's Schools' Sector." *Public Money & Management* 27(5) (November): 331–338.

Remmer, Karen L. 1991. "The Political Impact of Economic Crisis in Latin America in the 1980s." *American Political Science Review* 85(3) (September):777–800.

Remmer, Karen L. 1998. "The Politics of Neoliberal Economic Reform in South America., 1980–1994." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 33(2) (Summer): 3–29.

Remmer, Karen L., and Erik Wibbels. 2000. "The Subnational Politics of Economic Development: Provincial Politics and Fiscal Performance in Argentina." *Comparative Political Studies* 33(4) (May): 419–451.

Renda, Andrea, and Lorna Schrefler. 2006. "Public-Private Partnerships: Models and Trends in the European Union." Economic and Scientific Policy, Directorate A, European Parliament.

República de Chile. "Revisa, Reformula y Actualiza Plan de Prevención y Descontaminación Atmosférica para la Región." Ds. No. 66, Santiago, Ministerio Secretaría General de la Presidencia de la República.

Resende, Paulo. 2009. "Infrastructure: Will PAC Really Accelerate Growth?" *The Brazil Competitiveness Report 2009*. Geneva: World Economic Forum.

"Revise en detalle el plan de mejoramiento del Transantiago." *La Nación*, May 29, 2014.

Rhodes, R. A. W. 1991. "Interorganisational Networks and the Policy Process." In F. X. Kaufman, ed. *The Public Sector: Challenge for Co-ordination and Learning*. Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 525–534.

Richardson Jeremy J., and Grant Jordan. 1979. *Governing Under Pressure: The Policy Process in a Post-Parliamentary Democracy*. Oxford Road, UK: Manchester University Press.

Riggirozzi, Pía and Jean Grugel. 2009. "Conclusion Governance after Neoliberalism." In Jean Grugel and Pía Riggirozzi, eds. *Governance after Neoliberalism in Latin America*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 217–230.

Roberts, Kenneth M. 1995. "Neoliberalism and the Transformation of Populism in Latin America: The Peruvian Case." *World Politics* 48(1) (October): 82–116.

Roberts, Kenneth M. 1998. *Deepening Democracy? The Modern Left and Social Movements in Chile and Peru*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Roberts, Kenneth M. 2009. "Beyond Neoliberalism: Popular Responses to Social Change in Latin America." In John Burdick, Philip Oxhorn, and Kenneth M. Robert, eds. *Beyond Neoliberalism in Latin America? Societies and Politics and the Crossroads*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 1–16.

Rocha Menocal, Alina. 2004. "And If There Was No State? Critical Reflections on Bates, Polanyi and Evans on the Role of the States in Promoting Development." *Third World Quarterly* 25(4): 765–77.

Rodal, Alti. 1993. "Managing Partnerships." *Optimum* 24(3) (Winter):49–63.

Rodrigue, Jean-Paul. 2013. *The Geography of Transport Systems*. London, UK: Taylor & Francis. 3rd ed.

Rodríguez, Octavio. 2010. "The Emergence and Entrenchment of a New Political Regime in Mexico." *Latin American Perspectives* 37(1) (January): 35–61.

Rodrik, Dani. 2006. "Goodbye Washington Consensus, Hello Washington Confusion? A Review of the World Bank's Economic Growth in the 1990s: Learning from a Decade of Reform." *Journal of Economic Literature* 44(4) (December): 973–987.

Rodrik, Dani. 2007. *One Economics, Many Recipes: Globalization, Institutions, and Economic Growth*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Ronceros, Miguel, and Ronald Fernandez-Davila. n/d. "An Overview of Public-Private Partnerships in Peru: The Past, Present, and Future." Rosello Abogados. www.rossellolaw.com/files.

Rosa, Taina. 2008. "Growing in Slow Motion." *Latin Finance* 203 (December): 33–34.

Rostow, Walt W. 1960. *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Rovira Kaltwasser, Cristóbal. 2011. "Toward Post-Neoliberalism in Latin America?" *Latin American Research Review* 46(2) (June): 225–234.

Rozas, Patricio. 2010. "América Latina: Problemas y desafíos del financiamiento de la infraestructura." *Revista CEPAL* (101) (August): 59–82.

Rozas, Patricio and Ricardo Sánchez. 2004. "Desarrollo de Infraestructura y Crecimiento Económico: Revisión Conceptual." *ECLAC* Serie Recursos Naturales e Infrastructura Series 75 (October).

Ruiz, Jorge Ernesto Sánchez. 1993. "Privatização de estradas no Brasil: comentário sobre a viabilidade financeira." *Revista de Economia Política* 13(3) (July–September): 41–53.

Ruster, Jeff. 1997. "A Retrospective on the Mexican Tool Road Program (1989–94)." Public Policy for the Private Sector; Note no. 125. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Saad, Mohammed, and Girma Zawdie, eds. 2011. *Theory and Practice of the Triple Helix System in Developing Countries: Issues and Challenges.* New York, NY: Routledge.

Sant Ana, Paulo Henrique de Mello, Gilberto De Martino Jannuzzi, and Sergio Valdir Bajay. 2011. "Natural Gas Regulation in Brazil: a Framework to Stimulate Competition in the State of São Paulo from 2011." www.fem.unicamp.br.

Santarcángelo, Juan E., and Guido Perrone. 2012. "La Cúpula Empresaria Argentina y su Rol en el Desarrollo Económico." *Problemas del Desarrollo* 43(168) (January–March): 37–62.

Santiso, Javier. 2006. *Latin America's Political Economy of the Possible. Beyond Good Revolutionaries and Free Marketeers*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Santiso, Javier, and Jeff Dayton-Johnson. 2012. *The Oxford Handbook of Latin American Political Economy.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

"Sao Paulo-Santos: Logistics Corridor Program." *DuisPort*, June 3, 2012.

Sapir, André. 2012. "Europe after the Crisis: Less or More Role for Nation States in Money and Finance? *Oxford Review of Economic Policy* 27(4) (December): 608–619.

Sassen, Saskia. 2006. *Territory, Authority, Rights: From Medieval to Global Assemblages.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Savas, Emanuel S. 2000. *Privatization and Public-Private Partnerships.* New York, NY: Chatham House.

Saxton, Jim. 2003. "Argentina's Economic Crisis: Causes and Cures." Presented at Joint Economic Committee, US Senate, June.

Saylor, Ryan. 2012. "Sources of State Capacity in Latin America: Commodity Booms and State Building Motives in Chile." *Theory and Society* 41(3) (May): 301–324.

Scartascini, Carlos, and Mariano Tommasi. 2012. "The Making of Policy: Institutionalized or Not?" *American Journal of Political Science* 56(4) (October): 787–801.

Schamis, Hector E. 1999. "Distributional Coalitions and the Politics of Economic Reform in Latin America." *World Politics* 51(2) (January): 236–268.

Schamis, Hector E. 2002. *Re-Forming the State: The Politics of Privatization in Latin America and Europe.* Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Scharpf, Fritz. 1997. *Games Real Actors Play: Actor-Centered Institutionalism in Policy Research*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Schneider, Ben Ross. 1991. *Politics within the State: Elite Bureaucrats and Industrial Policy in Authoritarian Brazil*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Schneider, Ben Ross. 1998. "Elusive Synergy: Business-Government Relations and Development." *Comparative Politics* 31(1) (October): 101–122.

Schneider, Ben Ross. 2010. "Business Politics and Policy Making in Contemporary Latin America." In Carlos Scartascini, Ernesto Stein, and Mariano Tommasi, eds. *How Democracy Works: Political Institutions, Actors and Arenas in Latin American Policymaking.* Washington, DC: Inter-American Development Bank and David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University, 217–246.

Schneider, Ben Ross, and Blanca Heredia, eds. 2003. *Reinventing Leviathan: The Politics of Administrative Reform in Developing Countries*. Miami, FL: North-South Center Press of the University of Miami.

Schneider, Ronald. 2008. *Caribbean Crusader: Leonel Fernandez and the Transformation of the Dominican Republic*. Pittsburgh, PA: Dorrance.

Scott, Colin. 2008. "Privatization and Regulatory Regimes." In *The Oxford Handbook of Public Policy*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 659–669.

Sheahan, John. 1999. *Searching for a Better Society: The Peruvian Economy from 1950*. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University.

Shirley, Mary M. 2008. *Institutions and Development*. Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar.

Siemens Financial Services. 2007. "Public Infrastructure and Private Funding." Brochure.

Sikkink, Kathryn. 1991. *Ideas and Institutions: Developmentalism in Brazil and Argentina*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Silva, Eduardo 1996a. *The State and Capital in Chile: Business Elites, Technocrats and Market Economics*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Silva, Eduardo. 1996b. "From Dictatorship to Democracy: The Business-State Nexus in Chile's Economic Transformation, 1975–1994. *Comparative Politics* 28(3) (April): 299–320.

Silvia, Eduardo. 1999, "Organized Business, Neo-Liberal Restructuring and Redemocratization in Chile." In Francisco Durand and Eduardo Silva, eds. *Organized Business, Economic Change, and Democracy in Latin America*. Miami, FL: North-South Center Press, 217–252.

Silva, Eduardo. 2009a. *Challenging Neoliberalism in Latin America*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Silva, Eduardo. 2009b. *In the Name of Reason: Technocrats and Politics in Chile*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University.

Silva, Michael Pinheiro, and Lino Guimarães Marujo. 2012. "Análise de modelo intermodal para escoamento da produção da soja no centro oeste brasileiro." *Journal of Transport Literature* 6(3): 90–106.

Silveira, Márcio Rogério. 2003. "A importância geoeconômica das estradas de ferro no Brasil." Doctoral Thesis, Universidade Estadual Paulista, São Paulo.

Simmons, Beth A., and Zachary Elkins. 2004. "The Globalization of Liberalization: Policy Diffusion in the International Political Economy." *American Political Science Review* 98(1) (February): 171–189.

Simmons, Beth, Frank Dobbin, and Geoffrey Garrett, eds. 2007. *The Global Diffusion of Markets and Democracy*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Sims, Brian G., and Josef Kienzle. 2009. "Farm Equipment Supply Chains: Guidelines for Policy-Makers and Service Providers: Experiences from Kenya, Pakistan, and Brazil." Report 7, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Rome.

Sinnott, Emily, John Nash, and Augusto de la Torre. 2010. *Natural Resources in Latin America and the Caribbean: Beyond Booms and Busts*. World Bank, Commodities Report.

Sirtaine, Sophie, Maria Elena Pinglo, José Luis Guasch, and Vivien Foster. 2005. "How Profitable are Private Infrastructure Concessions in Latin America? Empirical Evidence and Regulatory Implications." *Quarterly Review of Economics and Finance* 45(2–3) (May): 380–402.

Smith, Peter H., ed. 1995. *Latin America in Comparative Perspective: New Approaches to Methods and Analysis.* Latin American Global Perspective Series. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Smith, William C. 1989. *Authoritarianism and the Crisis of the Argentine Political Economy.* Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.

Smith, William C., Carlos H. Acuña, and Eduardo A. Gamarra, eds. 1994. *Latin American Political Economy in the Age of Neoliberal Reform: Theoretical and Comparative Perspective for the 1990s.* Miami, FL: North-South Center Press.

Solimano, Andrés. 2012. *Chile and the Neoliberal Trap: The Post-Pinochet Era.* New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Sorensen, Eva, and Jacob Torfing. 2005. "The Democratic Anchorage of Governance Networks." *Scandinavian Political Studies* 28(3) (September):195–218.

Spiller, Pablo T., and Mariano Tommasi. 2007. *The Institutional Foundations of Public Policy in Argentina: A Transactions Cost Approach.* New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Stallings, Barbara. 1978. *Class Conflict and Economic Development in Chile, 1958–1973.* Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.

Stallings, Barbara, and William Peres. 2000. *Growth, Employment, and Equity: The Impact of the Economic Reforms in Latin America and the Caribbean.* Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

Stallings, Barbara. 2003. "Globalization and Liberalization: The Impact on Developing Countries." In Atul Kohli et al., eds. *States, Markets, and Just Growth: Development in the Twenty-first Century.* Tokyo: United Nations University Press.

Stallings, Barbara, and William Peres. 2011. "Is Economic Reform Dead in Latin America? Rhetoric and Reality since 2000." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 43(4) (November): 755–786.

Standard and Poor's. 2005. "Public-Private Partnerships." Global Credit Survey, Infrastructure & Public Finance Ratings, May.

Steiner, Roberto, and Hernán Vallejo. 2010. "Mining and Energy." In Rex A. Hudson, ed. *Colombia: A Country Study.* 5th ed. Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 160–186.

Stephan, Alfred. 1978. *The State and Society: Peru in Comparative Perspective.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Stiglitz, Joseph. 2002. *Globalization and its Discontents.* New York, NY: W. W. Norton.

Stokes, Susan C. 2001a. "Economic Reform and Public Opinion in Fujimori's Peru." In Susan C. Stokes, ed. *Public Support for Market Reforms in New Democracies.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Stokes, Susan C., ed. 2001b. *Public Support for Market Reforms in New Democracies.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Stone, Diane. 2002. "Introduction: Global Knowledge and Advocacy Networks." *Global Networks* 2(1) (January): 1–12.

Strange, Susan. 1988. *States and Markets*. London, UK: Continuum.
Strange, Susan. 1996. *The Retreat of the State: The Diffusion of Power in the World Economy*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
Straub, Stephane. 2008. "Infrastructure and Development: A Critical Appraisal of the Macro Level Literature." Policy Research Working Paper 4460. Washington, DC: World Bank.
Suplee, Curt. 1999. "El Niño/La Niña: Nature's Vicious Cycle." *National Geographic Magazine*, March.
"Taming Leviathan" A Special Report on the Future of the State. *The Economist*, March 17, 2011.
Tankha, Sunil. 2009. "Lost in Translation: Interpreting the Failure of Privatisation in the Brazilian Electric Power Industry." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 41(1) (February): 59–90.
Tanzi, Vito. 2009. "The Economic Role of the State before and after the Current Crisis." Paper presented at the 65th Congress of the International Institute of Public Finance, August 13.
Tanzi, Vito, and Ludger Schuknecht. 2000. *Public Spending in the 20th Century: A Global Perspective*. Cambridge, UK and New York: Cambridge University Press.
"Tarjetas bip! se podrá cargar desde febrero vía internet." *La Nación*, January 14, 2014.
Tavares, Maria da Conceição. 1972. "Auge e Declínio do Processo de Substituição de Importações no Brasil." In *Da Substituição de Importações ao Capitalismo Financeiro*. Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Zahar, 27–124.
Tavener, Ben. "R$400B Investment Awaiting Approval." *The Rio Times*, June 12, 2012. www.riotimesonline.com.
Teichman, Judith A. 1988. *Policymaking in Mexico: From Boom to Crisis*. Boston, MA: Unwin Hyman.
Teichman, Judith A. 1995. *Privatization and Political Change in Mexico*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.
Teichman, Judith A. 2001. *The Politics of Freeing Markets in Latin America: Chile, Argentina, and Mexico*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.
Teichman, Judith A. 2004. "The World Bank and Policy Reform in Mexico and Argentina." *Latin American Politics and Society* 46(1) (Spring): 39–74.
Tenbensel, Tim. 2005. "Multiple Modes of Governance." *Public Management Review* 7(2) (June): 267–288.
Tendler, Judith. 2001. "Public-Private Collaborations: Influence, Politics, and Upgrading." Working Paper, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge.
Thatcher, Mark. 1998. "The Development of Policy Network Analyses: From Modest Origins to Overarching Frameworks." *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 10(4) (October): 389–416.
The Economist. 2009a. "Partnerships for Progress? Evaluating the Environment for Public-Private Partnerships in Latin America and the Caribbean." Study by the Economist Intelligence Unit, Commissioned by the World Bank's Multilateral Investment Fund, June.
The Economist. 2009b. "Uruguay's elections: The mystery behind Mujica's mask." October 22. www.economist.com.

The Economist. 2010. "Brazilian Agriculture: The Miracle of the Cerrado." August 26.

The Economist. 2011. "America's Transport Infrastructure: Life in the Slow Lane." April 28.

The Economist. 2013a. "Evaluating the Environment for Public-Private Partnership in Latin America and the Caribbean: The 2012 Infrascope." Report of the Economist Intelligence Unit, Commissioned by the IDB, February.

The Economist. 2013b. "The Gated Globe." October 12.

The World Bank Group. 2010. "Private Participation in Infrastructure Database." www.ppi.worldbank.org.

Thelen, Kathlen. 2012. "Varieties of Capitalism: Trajectories of Liberalization and the New Politics of Social Solidarity." *Annual Review of Political Science* 15 (June): 137–159.

Thorps, Rosemary, and Francisco Durand. 1997. "A Historical View of Business-State Relations: Colombia, Peru and Venezuela Compared." In Sylvia Maxfield and Ben Ross Schneider, eds. *Business and the State in Developing Countries*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 216–236.

Tilly, Charles. 2006. "Why And How History Matters." In Robert E. Goodin and Charles Tilly, eds. *The Oxford Handbook Of Contextual Political Analysis*. Nova Iorque: Oxford University Press, 417, 437, 102.

Tilly, Charles. 2007. *Democracy*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Tironi, Eugenio. 2005. *El sueño chileno*. Santiago, Chile: Taurus Editorial.

Tommasi, Mariano. 2010. "Un País Sin Rumbo: Política, Políticas Públicas y el Desarrollo en la Argentina (con una breve comparación al caso chileno." *Desarrollo Económico* 50(199) (October–December): 391–421.

Tommasi, Mariano. 2011. "Latin America: How State Capacity Determines Policy Success." *Governance* 24(2) (April): 199–203.

UN Comtrade (United Nations Commodity Trade Statistics Database). Department of Economic and Social Affairs/Statistics Division. http://comtrade.un.org/db/.

UNDP (United Nations Development Programme). 2009. *Human Development Report 2009: Overcoming Barriers, Human Mobility and Development*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

UNECE (United Nations Economic Commission for Europe). 2008. *Guidebook on Promoting Good Governance in Public-Private Partnerships*. Geneva: United Nations.

United Nations. 1998. *Public-Private Partnerships: A New Concept for Infrastructure Development*. New York, NY: BOT Expert Group.

US Department of Commerce. 2005. "Brazilian Infrastructure: Highways, Railways, and Airports." CS Brazil Market Research.

USDA (US Department of Agriculture). 2012. "Bolivia: Oilseeds and Products." Annual report, prepared by Gaspar E. Nolte.

USDA. 2014. "North and Northeast Brazil Port Infrastructure Report." GAIN Report January 10.

Vagliasindi, Maria. 2012. *Implementing Energy Subsidy Reforms: Evidence from Developing Countries (Directions in Development)*. Washington, DC: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/ World Bank.

Valdés, Juan Gabriel. 1995. *Pinochet's Economists: The Chicago School in Chile*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Vásquez, Carla. "¿Cómo se distribuyen los fondos del Transantiago?" *La Tercera*, August 2, 2014.

Vellinga, Menno. 1998. "The Changing Role of the State in Latin America." In Menno Vellinga, ed. *The Changing Role of the State in Latin America*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1–25.

Vilaça, Rodrigo. 2008. "Desafios do crescimento ferroviario." Associação Nacional dos Transportadores Ferroviarios (ANTF), October 21.

Vivallos, Leonel. 2003. "La experiencia de Chile en el otorgamiento de concesiones de obras viales: Lecciones y desafíos." ECLAC, Coordinación General de Concesiones, Ministerio de Obras Públicas, República de Chile.

Vos, Rob, Margarita Velasco, and Edgar Labastida. 1999. "Economic and Social Effects of El Niño in Ecuador, 1997–1998." Sustainable Development Department Technical Paper Series, Inter-American Development Bank, Washington, DC.

Vos, Rob, ed. 2003. *¿Quién se beneficia del gasto social en el Ecuador?: desafíos para mejorar la calidad y eficiencia del gasto social*. Quito, Ecuador: Unidad de Información y Análisis (SIISE) de la Secretaría Técnica del Frente Social.

Wade, Jeffry S. 2012. "The Future of Urban Water Services in Latin America." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 31(2) (April): 207–221.

Wade, Robert. 2003. "What Strategies are Viable for Developing Countries Today? The World Trade Organization and the Shrinking of 'Development Space.'" *Review of International Political Economy* 10(4) (November): 621–644.

Wade, Robert. 2004. *Governing the Market: Economic Theory and the role of the government in East Asian Industrialization*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Waissbluth, Mario. 2006. "La Reforma del Estado en Chile, 1990–2005: De la Confrontación al Consenso." *Boletín Electrónico de Esade*, Barcelona.

Waldner, David. 1999. *State Building and Late Development*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Walter, Powell W., and Paul J. DiMaggio. 1991. *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*. Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press.

Way, Christopher R. 2005. "Political Insecurity and the Diffusion of Financial Market Regulation." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 598(1) (March): 125–144.

Weber, Max. 1958. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Trans. Talcott Parsons. New York, NY: Scribners.

Weber, Max. 1968. *Economy and Society*. New York: Bedminster

Weihe, Guri. 2005. "Public-Private Partnerships: Addressing a Nebulous Concept." Working Paper 16, Copenhagen Business School, International Center for Business and Politics, Denmark.

Weiss, Linda. 1998. *The Myth of the Powerless State*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Weiss, Linda. 2003. "Guiding globalisation in East Asia: new roles for old developmental states." In Linda Weiss, ed. *States in the Global Economy: Bringing Domestic Institutions Back In*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 245–270.

Wettenhall, Roger. 2008. "Public-Private Mixes and Partnerships: A Search for Understanding." *The Asia Pacific Journal of Public Administration* 30(2) (December): 119–138.

Weyland, Kurt. 1996. "Neopopulism and Neoliberalism in Latin America: Unexpected Affinities." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 31(3) (Fall): 3–31

Weyland, Kurt. 2002. *The Politics of Market Reform in Fragile Democracies: Argentina, Brazil, Peru, and Venezuela*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Weyland, Kurt. 2004. "Assessing Latin American Neoliberalism: Introduction to a Debate." *Latin American Research Review* 39(3) (October): 143–149.

Weyland, Kurt. 2008. "Toward a New Theory of Institutional Change." *World Politics* 60(2) (January): 281–314.

Wheatley, Jonathan. 2010. "Brazil to Spend R$958.9bn on Infrastructure." *Financial Times,* March 29, 2010. São Paulo, Brazil

Whitfield, Dexter. 2010. *Global Auction of Public Assets: Public Sector Alternatives to the Infrastructure Market and Public Private Partnerships*. Nottingham, UK: Spokesman.

Williamson, John, ed. 1990. *Latin American Adjustment: How Much Has Happened*. Washington, DC: Institute for International Economics.

Williamson, John, ed. 1994. *The Political Economy of Policy Reform*. Washington, DC: Institute for International Economics.

Wise, Carol. 2003. *Reinventing the State: Economic Strategy and Institutional Change in Peru*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Wise, Carol. 2006. "Learning from Foreign Models: Latin America Policy Reform (review)." *Latin American Politics & Society* 48(3) (Fall): 203–208.

Wise, Carol, and Manuel Pastor Jr. 2005. "The Lost Sexenio: Vicente Fox and the New Politics of Economic Reform in Mexico." *Latin American Politics and Society* 47(4) (Winter): 135–160.

Wong, Joseph. 2004. "The Adaptive Developmental State in East Asia." *Journal of East Asian Studies* 4(3) (September–December):345–362.

Wood, Charles H., and Bryan R. Roberts, eds. 2005. *Rethinking Development In Latin America*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Woodhouse, Derek M. 2009. "Regulatory Framework for the Development of Public-Private Partnerships in Mexican States." First Technical Gathering for Training Regarding the Structuring of Public-Private Partnership Projects organized by the IADB under the PIAPPEM in Mexico City, February 19–20.

World Bank. 1993. *The East Asian Miracle: Economic Growth and Public Policy*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

World Bank. 1994. *World Development Report: Infrastructure for Development*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

World Bank. 2003. *Private Solutions for Infrastructure in Mexico*. A Country Framework Report. Washington, DC: Public-Private Infrastructure Advisory Facility (PPIAF) and World Bank.

World Bank. 2004. *World Development Report 2005: A Better Investment Climate for Everyone*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

World Bank. 2005. *Infrastructure in Latin America: Recent Developments and Key Challenges*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

World Bank. 2006. "Peru: Rethinking Private Sector Participation in Infrastructure." Report No. 32674-PE, World Bank, June 30.

World Bank. 2014a. Private Participation in Infrastructure Project Database (PPI). www.ppi.worldbank.org, accessed November 2014.

World Bank. 2014b. World Development Indicators. Data.worldbank.org, accessed November 14, 2014.

World Economic Forum. 2012. *The Global Competitiveness Report 2012–2013*. Geneva, Switzerland: World Economic Forum.

World Trade Organization. 2013. Statistics Database.

Wylde, Christopher. 2011. "State, Society and Markets in Argentina: The Political Economy of 'Neodesarrollismo' under Néstor Kirchner, 2003–2007." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 30(4) (October): 436–452.

Yáñez, María Francisca, Patricio Manzilla, and Juan de Dios Ortúzar. 2010. "The Santiago Panel: Measuring the Effects of Implementing Transantiago." *Transportation* 39(1) (January): 125–149.

Yashar, Deborah J. 2005. *Contesting Citizenship in Latin America: The Rise of Indigenous Movements and the Postliberal Challenge*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Yepes, Tito. 2008. "New Estimates of Infrastructure Expenditure Requirements." Washington, DC: World Bank.

Yescombe, E. R. 2007. *Public-Private Partnerships: Principles of Policy and Finance*. New York, NY: Elsevier.

Zamosc, Leon. 2007. "The Indian Movement and Political Democracy in Ecuador." *Latin American Politics and Society* 49 (3) (Fall): 1–34.

INDEX

Page numbers in italics denote Figures and Tables