



SPECIAL REPORT

**Political and electoral panorama
in Latin America (2013-2016)**
The Latin America of the three “Cs”:
Continuism, Centrism and middle Classes

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1. INTRODUCTION

Between 2013 and 2016 most of the countries in Latin America will renew their executive and legislature. This electoral “rally” will be a good time to assess the political dynamics of the region, analysing in particular two phenomena:

- Discover the **predominant political tendency in the region**, after the “sway to the left” between 2002 and 2008 and the revival of the centre right candidates between 2009 and 2012.
- And study **re-electionism** as a regional phenomenon that reveals a growing **hyper-presidentialism** in most Latin America countries.

The elections in Ecuador in February 2013 and in Paraguay and Venezuela in April marked the beginning of a new Latin American election cycle that will end in 2016, by which time 17 of the 18 countries will have held their presidential elections (Mexico is the only country with elections after that year, in 2018).

It is a decisive four-year period, therefore, during which we will find out how strong the “XXI century socialism” is without Hugo Chávez, observe the progress of the reformist left in South America and check the strength of the centre right options in Mexico, Central America, Colombia and Chile.

We uphold in this report that politics in Latin America is currently marked by three “Cs”: the predominance of **centrist** political outlooks (centre left and centre right) combined with the stagnation of more radical positions; the continuism of governments in power thanks to the excellent economic situation and constant growth since 2003 - except only in 2009-; and the emergence of **new, heterogeneous middle classes** in the region with greater purchasing power (and borrowing capacity), which also explains the continuist tendency and centrist positions.

ELECTION CALENDAR 2013-16

| | |
|------|---|
| 2013 | Presidential elections in Ecuador, Paraguay and Venezuela (already held in these three countries) and in Honduras and Chile |
| 2014 | Presidential elections in Brazil, Colombia, Bolivia, Uruguay, El Salvador, Panama and Costa Rica |
| 2015 | Presidential elections in Argentina, Guatemala and Nicaragua |
| 2016 | Presidential elections in Peru and the Dominican Republic |

“There are three political and electoral tendencies in Latin America. At different times some hold more weight than others, but all three are always present”

2. DEVELOPMENT

To explain that shift towards the centre in the region, we must first analyse (I) the different tendencies and (II) the political dynamics present in Latin America.

Then, in the third part of this analysis, we will study the “re-election fever” in Latin America.

I The three major political tendencies in Latin America

Through the elections due to be held in the coming four years we will be able to see which of the three major tendencies in the region currently holds the greatest weight. The prevailing idea up to now has been that Latin America shifted either to the left (2002-2008) or to the right (2009-2012). At present, however, the political bias is actually more complex and much more heterogeneous.

The victory of Sebastián Piñera in the second round of the 2010 presidential elections in Chile appeared to confirm Álvaro Vargas Llosa’s theory of a shift to the right in Latin America (with the victories of Ricardo Martinelli in Panama, Porfirio Lobo in Honduras and Piñera in Chile).

This was a turnaround from the previous tendency, prevailing since the middle of the last decade, when people talked of the “sway to the left” in the region following the victories of Hugo Chávez in Venezuela (1998), Lula da Silva in Brazil (2002/2006), Néstor

Kirchner in Argentina (2003), Tabaré Vázquez in Uruguay (2005), Evo Morales in Bolivia (2005), Michelle Bachelet in Chile (2006), Rafael Correa in Ecuador (2006), Daniel Ortega in Nicaragua (2006), Álvaro Colom in Guatemala (2007), Cristina Kirchner in Argentina in 2007, Fernando Lugo in Paraguay (2008) and Mauricio Funes in El Salvador (2009).

However, Latin America did not experience a shift to the left before, nor is it experiencing a shift to the right now. The situation is much more complex and varied, just as the region is.

There are three political and election tendencies in Latin America. At different times some hold more weight than others, but all three are always present:

- **The consolidation of populist nationalism**

“XXI-century socialism”, also known as “Chavism” or “Bolivarianism”, is actually authoritarian, statist, populist nationalism. Chávez started that tendency off in 1998 and after upholding it alone until 2005 (supported exclusively by Fidel Castro in Cuba) he was then backed by new allies such as Evo Morales, Rafael Correa and Daniel Ortega.

2009 consolidated the populist-nationalism leaders in power: Hugo Chávez won the February referendum allowing him to opt for re-

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election indefinitely; Rafael Correa was re-elected in the April 2009 elections; and Evo Morales won the Presidential elections in Bolivia in December of that year.

The re-election of Correa in 2013 and Chavez’s party in 2012/2013 merely confirmed that consolidation, although no new players have joined this front.

- **The advancing of the centre right**

Had there been a shift to the left between 2002 and 2009, it would have been difficult to explain the government of Mexico by the centre-right party PAN since 2000 or the Uribe government since 2002 in Colombia (led by Uribe himself from 2002 to 2010 and then by his successor-cum-rival, Juan Manuel Santos).

These two figures were joined by Sebastián Piñera in Chile, Porfirio Lobo in Honduras, Ricardo Martinelli in Panama and Otto Pérez Molina in Guatemala. And in 2012 the PRI, led by Enrique Peña Nieto, even got back into power.

- **The strength of the moderate, reformist left**

Apart from the significant exceptions to that hypothetical “sway to the left” (such as Mexico and Colombia), talking generally

of a “sway to the left”, as was the case a decade ago, over-simplified the situation, lumping together very different politics such as those of Bachelet or Lula/Rousseff (who respect political and economic freedom) with those of Chávez/Maduro, Evo Morales and Correa.

Along with the centre right and populist nationalism tendency there was, and still is, a strong reformist left tradition in the region, represented by Lula da Silva, Michelle Bachelet or José Mujica and Tabaré Vázquez.

II Regional political dynamics

Along with the three major tendencies described above, we should stress that in recent years (2010-2013) certain dynamics have been perceived to be very strong in the region, in addition to the heterogeneity of political bias: the continuism of certain parties or leaderships in power and the predominance of centrist forces (both centre right and centre left).

- **Continuism**

2012 was marked by continuism and the predominance of victories by the centrist candidates (centre right and centre left).

This continuism, ratifying and supporting the political and economic management of the current governments, has been

“The governments linked to “XXI century socialism” have consolidated their power but have not managed to spread their influence”

favoured by the economic panorama in the region, also marked by continuum in economic prosperity, although with a few black clouds in the background: the possibility that the crisis in the European Union might eventually spread to the rest of the world, causing a slowdown in China and aborting the feeble upturn in the United States.

This prosperity has in turn enabled the governments to start up welfare programmes (conditioned direct transfers), through which large sectors of the population have pulled out of poverty forming an incipient middle class. All this has increased the population’s support for the current ruling parties.

There has been continuum, for example, in the Dominican Republic with the triumph of the ruling party, of “Leonelism” without Leonel Fernández, through Danilo Medina: his PLD party has been in power since 2004 and will remain in power at least until 2016 with Leonel Fernández’s wife, Margarita Cedeño, now as vice-president, making the lines of continuum even firmer.

That continuum also existed in Venezuela (triumph of Hugo Chávez in October 2012, subsequently ratified in 2013 with the victory of Nicolás Maduro) and in Ecuador (re-

election of Rafael Correa in February 2013).

In a way, the victory of the PRI in Mexico and the Partido Colorado in Paraguay can also be considered continuum. The PRI, a centre right party, took over from the PAN in the centre right power; and the Paraguayan Partido Colorado got back into power after holding it continuously from 1954 to 2008.

- **Centrism**

Centrist forces have been predominant in Latin America in the past five years.

This can be deduced from the fact that the governments linked to “XXI century socialism” have consolidated their power but have not managed to spread their influence. Nobody has joined the Bolivarian block since 2008. This political bias has even lost some followers, such as Manuel Zelaya in Honduras (2009), who had formerly been an ally of “Chavism”, or a close figure such as Fernando Lugo in Paraguay (2012).

If 2010 was the year of the so-called “turn to the centre” (with the victories of Sebastián Piñera in Chile and Juan Manuel Santos in Colombia), 2011 was the year that best expressed the ideological heterogeneity of Latin America, with the

“The incumbents aspire to remain in power for one or several more terms and more often than not they are re-elected”

victories of a centre right candidate in Guatemala (Otto Pérez Molina) and two centre left candidates: in Peru (Ollanta Humala) and in Argentina (Cristina Kirchner).

In 2012 that predominance of the centre was confirmed with the victory of the PLD in the Dominican Republic (a centre left party that has shifted towards a more pragmatic or orthodox position) and, especially, the PRI led by Enrique Peña Nieto in Mexico.

III The re-electionist wave in Latin America

The re-elections of Cristina Fernández de Kirchner in October 2011, Hugo Chávez in October 2012 and Rafael Correa in February 2013 merely reinforced a general tendency within the region: the incumbents aspire to remain in power for one or several more terms and they mostly come out victorious and are re-elected with overwhelming triumphs, often in the first round, in which they obtain more than 50% of the votes.

In the eighties, when democracy returned to most of the region, excluding Cuba, the president could not be re-elected twice in succession in any Latin American country except Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic and Paraguay. This tendency changed in the nineties, when the re-electionist tendency began to triumph in most Latin American countries. Carlos Menem’s Argentina following the constitutional reform of 1994 and Alberto Fujimori’s Peru in its

1995 Constitution contemplated successive re-election for two terms in succession, which had not been contemplated in the previous constitutions (the 1979 Constitution in Peru and the 1853 Constitution in Argentina, which allowed re-election but after alternate terms).

These two countries began a tendency which spread throughout the region: other countries jumped on the bandwagon: Brazil in 1997 and Venezuela (the 1999 Constitution authorised a single re-election, but its subsequent amendment approved in 2009 allowed indefinite re-election) and in the following decade, the Dominican Republic (2002), Colombia (2005), Ecuador (2008), Bolivia (2009) and Nicaragua (2010).

In other countries, such as Panama or Costa Rica, re-election is more complicated. In the latter country, the possibility of re-election for alternate terms was approved in 2003; before that any kind of re-election was barred. Oscar Arias began this trend, being president between 1986 and 1990 and again between 2006 and 2010. In Chile, Uruguay and El Salvador the incumbent president cannot stand for re-election immediately; they must let a presidential term go by before they run for president again.

In Panama, the explanation of why immediate re-election is complicated takes us back to when Ernesto Pérez Balladares got into power on 1 September 1994, when the Torrijos-led

“Only in one country, Venezuela, is indefinite re-election permitted”

nationalism returned to power democratically. Following in the wake of his Peruvian, Argentinian and Brazilian counterparts, Pérez tried to push a number of constitutional reforms through Parliament to allow presidential re-election for a further five years. This ambition of Pérez’s ruling party was backed by three small liberal centre right parties: Liberal Nacional, Solidaridad and Cambio Democrático. The rules argued that he needed another year to complete the economic reforms and direct the smooth handover of the Panama Canal, due to be made as of 31 December 1999, a priority issue for the national economy. Unsuccessful in his attempt to change the re-election rules, Pérez led his party to defeat in the presidential elections of 2 May 1999, in which its candidate, **Martín Torrijos Espino**, was beaten by **Mireya Moscoso**, who took office on 1 September.

At present, the situation regarding re-election is, therefore, very diverse:

- Only in one country (Venezuela) is indefinite re-election permitted.
- In six countries (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Nicaragua and Ecuador) consecutive re-election is permitted, but not indefinitely.
- In another seven countries it is only possible after at least one or two presidential terms (Chile, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Panamá, Peru, Dominican Republic and Uruguay).
- Four countries prohibit re-election in all cases (Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras and Paraguay).

The possibility of successive re-election is a trend that almost always favours the ruling parties and presidents in power. Since the transitions to democracy began in the Dominican Republic and Ecuador (1978), all presidents who have sought successive re-election have won the elections, except two: in Nicaragua in 1990 and the Dominican Republic in 2004.

3. RE-ELECTIONIST TRENDS IN THE REGION (2013-16)

A new election rally (2013-2016) is now beginning in Latin America, in which a wave of candidates for re-election is expected.

Between 2013 and 2016, all four tendencies described above in respect of Latin American re-electionism will be observed:

- There will be **incumbent presidents who aspire** to re-election (as was the case of Rafael Correa and will be that of Evo Morales in Bolivia, elected in 2005 and re-elected in 2009, constitutional reform included).

It also looks very much as if Dilma Rousseff will seek re-election in 2014, since her popularity and management make her a natural candidate for the PT. Juan Manuel Santos will most likely be the candidate for the ruling party

“Several former presidents hope to return to power in countries in which successive terms in office are not permitted”

in 2014, first elected in 2010 as successor of Uribe’s policies. Now, after distancing himself from the former president Álvaro Uribe, he would seek re-election, in which he is very likely to run against Uribe followers.

The case of Cristina Kirchner in Argentina is different. The Constitution does not permit further re-election after being elected president in 2007 and repeating in 2011. She has not said she wants to be re-elected, but her closest circles and the Kirchnerite organisations (La Cámpora) working with her are clearly banking on this. The key is in the legislative elections of October 2013: getting enough votes in Congress just with the Peronists will be practically impossible. But with an overwhelming victory in the elections, it would be easier to reform the Constitution, taking advantage of the fact that the opposition is divided, fragmented and has no clear leader.

- **Several former presidents hope to return to power in countries in which successive terms in office are not permitted.**

This will be the case if Michelle Bachelet in Chile, who was in office between 2006 and 2010, Tabaré Vázquez in Uruguay, who led the left-wing Frente Amplio

into power in 2005, or Alan García (president in 1985-90 and 2006-2011) and Alejandro Toledo (2001-2005) in Peru.

Moreover, rumour has it that Tony Saca, president of El Salvador between 2004 and 2009, will be the candidate for Movimiento Unidad, running against the larger forces in the country, ARENA (his former party) and the FMLN.

- **Presidents’ wives aspiring to succeed their husbands (a sort of marital re-electionism: cases of Xiomara Castro in Honduras, Sandra Torres in Guatemala and people are speculating with that of Nadine Heredia in Peru).**

Néstor Kirchner started this trend back in 2007 when his wife, the political leader Cristina Fernández, was elected. Two presidents’ wives are currently aspiring to continue their husbands’ work. In Peru, Ollanta Humala’s wife Nadine Heredia is a strong candidate, although to enable her to run for president the election rules would have to be changed, or a new interpretation made based on the Constitution, which would permit it and would rank above election rules.

In Central America, following Sandra Torres’ defeat in Guatemala when running for president in 2011 (she even divorced her husband,

“If the regional economic situation is maintained and the world situation, so closely linked to the region, does not get any worse, the middle class will presumably continue growing”

President Álvaro Colom, to get round the Constitutional impediments), Xiomara Castro, wife of Manuel Zelaya, president of Honduras between 2006 and 2009, is the left-wing candidate for the 2013 elections.

And Sandra Torres, with no constitutional obstacles this time (her former husband left the presidency in 2011), has been proclaimed presidential candidate by her party, the Unidad Nacional de la Esperanza, whose political council is headed by the former president (and ex-husband) Álvaro Colom.

- Countries in which no re-election of any nature is permitted (the recent cases of Mexico and Paraguay and forthcoming elections in Honduras in 2013 and Guatemala in 2015).

4. CONCLUSIONS

The following conclusions can be reached from this overview of the election panorama in Latin America for the coming four years:

- Since 2009 the vast majority of the Latin American electorate has moved towards moderate, centrist political positions. And if there are no drastic changes in the economy, this tendency is likely to continue over the forthcoming period.

Electors are pragmatic in their behaviour, avoiding radical options and supporting continuism that will guarantee economic stability and progress. This electoral behaviour giving preference to the centrist options has been favoured by prevailing economic prosperity in Latin America and growth of the middle class.

Even where the “XXI century socialism” tendencies are imposed, this is because those regimes have strong charismatic leaders (Rafael Correa or Evo Morales), who promote orthodox economic policies which, thanks to the increased income from exports, enable them to employ policies resorting to clientelism [patronage]. However, it should be noted that raw material exports are maintained because these countries have not managed to progress significantly towards industrialisation of the basic consumables they produce.

If the regional economic situation is maintained and the world situation, so closely linked to the region, does not get any worse, the middle class will presumably continue growing, which will boost the centre right and centre left tendencies and strengthen the centrist, continuist dynamics of preferring the options that have governed so far, since with those governments the

countries have achieved economic stability and social development.

- **Together with centrist, moderate inclinations, continuism has become one of the principal characteristics in the region.**

The re-electionist fever merely confirms that **the political systems in most Latin American countries have similar problems** which favour the re-election tendency as a solution against the little credibility of the parties among the public opinion and electorates, a constant weakening of the institutions, a natural leaning towards clientelism [patronage] and excessive personalism. In fact, one of the “victories” that must be recognised in these leaders who have emerged in Latin America is that they have managed to delegitimise the traditional politicians and parties, such that there is now little or no opposition in those countries to the ruling powers.

The collapse of the party systems in many countries and the weakness of the judicial and legislative powers has led to a concentration of constitutional and meta-constitutional powers in the figure of the president, which is known as “hyper-presidentialism”. Hyper-presidentialism, which goes hand in hand with successive re-electionism as a way of legitimising the

charismatic leader by popular vote, weakens institutionalism, boosts personalist politics, wipes out the division of powers and hampers control over the executive’s actions.

Sometimes (as in the cases of Venezuela, Ecuador or Bolivia) that hyper-presidentialism leads to what is known as “competitive authoritarianism”, explained as follows by the political scientist Steven Levitsky:

“If Venezuela is neither a dictatorship nor a democracy, what is it? It is competitive authoritarianism, like Fujimori’s Peru. Unlike the military or single-party dictatorships, competitive authoritarianism is a hybrid regime. There are democratic institutions that are not mere fronts. There are independent media and opposition parties, and the opposition competes seriously for power (sometimes it wins, as occurred in Nicaragua in 1990), although the playing field is uneven. The opposition has fewer resources, less access to the media, its leaders and activists suffer various types of harassment and find that instead of being neutral arbitrators, the State institutions (the judiciary, electoral bodies, Sunat) are used as weapons against them. Jorge Castañeda described the 1994 elections in Mexico -another case of

competitive authoritarianism- as a “football match in which the goalposts were different sizes and one team has 11 players plus the referee and the other team has six or seven players”. The second team could win, but it is very difficult”.

Phenomena such as “competitive authoritarianism”, re-electionism and hyper-presidentialism wear down the democratic institutions. Most countries in the region are full or incomplete democracies, having free elections with civil freedoms, both conditions being necessary for democracy, but that is not enough to consolidate a full democracy unless they are accompanied by a transparent government, political participation and strong, credible institutions.

Elections are an essential part of democracy. But minority rights and freedoms and human rights will

not be protected unless there are strong, transparent democratic institutions (a constitutional framework and organisations arising as a consequence of that framework) operating between election periods.

Finally, democracies with weak institutions are more vulnerable to corruption and more inclined to back a political party that is in power for a long period. Moreover, democracies with weak institutionalisation may gradually lose ground and end up as authoritarian regimes. The presence of solid institutions, which account for their actions, forestall or hamper authoritarian tendencies.

Therefore, the short-term challenge facing Latin America countries is to strengthen their political institutions in order to preserve democracy in the region and avoid the risks of re-electionism and hyper-presidentialism.

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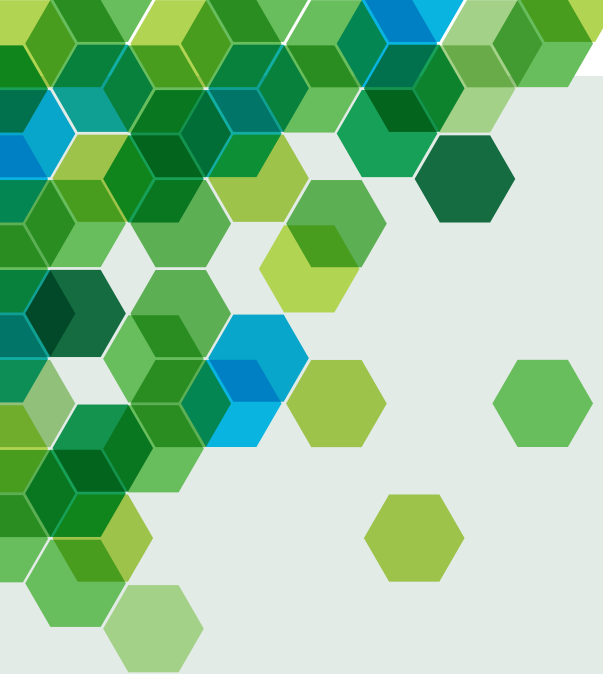
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