

Curriculum Vitae
Luis Garicano

Current Academic Positions

Visiting Professor of Economics and Strategy, **Booth School of Business, University of Chicago.**

Non-Resident Fellow, **Bruegel, Brussels.**

Full Professor of Economics and Strategy, **IE Business School** (On leave of absence)

Previous Positions

Fall 2022. Visiting Prof. of Economics, **Columbia Business School, Columbia University.**

July 2019 – August 2022, **Member of the European Parliament**, Head of the Ciudadanos Delegation, Vice President and Economics Coordinator, *Renew Europe* Group (100 MEPs). Member of Economic and Monetary Affairs and of the Budget Committees.

September 2017- June 2019, Full Professor of Economics and Strategy, and Director, Center for the Digital Economy, **IE Business School** (On unpaid leave of absence)

2009-2022, Visiting Professor of Economics and Strategy, **Booth School of Business, University of Chicago.**

January 2009 – September 2017, Full Professor of Economics and Strategy, Department of Management and Department of Economics, **London School of Economics:** (2011- 2014) Group Head, Managerial Economics and Strategy Group, **London School of Economics;** Founding Co-Director (with John Sutton), MSc. Economics and Management, **London School of Economics.**

September 2007- December 2008, **London School of Economics**, Director of Research, Management Department.

July 1998 – December 2008, Assistant (98-2002), Associate (2002-2006), Full (2006-2008) Professor of Economics and Strategy, University of Chicago, **Booth School of Business.**

September 2005 – December 2005, **London Business School**, Visiting Associate Professor of Economics (on leave from the University of Chicago).

July 2003 – June 2004, Sloan School, **MIT**, Visiting Associate Professor of Organizational Economics and Strategy (on leave from the University of Chicago).

Education

- Ph.D. in Economics, University of Chicago, June 1998.
- M.A. in Economics, University of Chicago, June 1995.
- M.A. in European Economic Studies, College of Europe, Bruges (Belgium), June 1992.
- B.A. (licenciado) in Law, Universidad de Valladolid (Spain), October 1991.
- B.A. (licenciado) in Economics, Universidad de Valladolid (Spain), October 1990.

Journal Publications

(10400 Google Scholar [Citations](#))

1. "Hierarchies and the Organization of Knowledge in Production," *Journal of Political Economy*, 108: 5, pp. 874-904, October 2000.
2. "Contractual Allocation of Decision Rights and Incentives: The Case of Automobile Distribution" (with Benito Arruñada and Luis Vázquez), *Journal of Law, Economics and Organization* 17, pp. 257-284, April 2001.
3. "The Effects of Business-to-Business E-commerce on Transactions Costs," (with Steven Kaplan), *Journal of Industrial Economics*, XLIX: 4, pp. 463-487, 2001.
4. "Business-to-Business E-commerce: Value Creation, Value Capture and Valuation," (with Steven Kaplan), in *Advances in Applied Microeconomics*, Vol. 11, Elsevier, 2002.
5. "Firms' Boundaries and the Division of Labor: Empirical Strategies," (with Thomas N. Hubbard), *Journal of the European Economic Association* (Papers and Proceedings), 1: 2, pp. 495-502, April-May 2003.
6. "Inequality and the Organization of Knowledge," (with Esteban Rossi-Hansberg), *American Economic Review* (Papers and Proceedings), 94:2, pp. 197-202, May 2004.
7. "Referrals," (with Tano Santos), *American Economic Review*, 94: 3, pp. 499 - 525, June 2004.
8. "Completing Contracts Ex Post: How Car Manufacturers Manage Car Dealers" (with Benito Arruñada and Luis Vázquez), *Review of Law and Economics*, 1:1, pp. 149-173, April 2005.
9. "Favoritism under Social Pressure" (with Ignacio Palacios-Huerta and Canice Prendergast), *Review of Economics and Statistics*, 87: 2, pp. 208-216, May 2005.
10. "Hierarchical Sorting and Learning Costs," (with Thomas N. Hubbard), *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization*, 58:2, pp. 349-369, August 2005.
11. "Intelligence Failures: An Organizational Economics Perspective" (with Richard Posner), *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 19:4, pp. 151-179, Fall 2005.

12. “Offshoring in a Knowledge Economy” (with Pol Antras and Esteban Rossi-Hansberg), *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 121: 1, pp. 31-77, February 2006.
13. “The Knowledge Economy at the Turn of the Twentieth Century: the Emergence of Hierarchies” (with Esteban Rossi-Hansberg), *Journal of the European Economic Association* (Papers and Proceedings), April-May 2006.
14. “Organization and Inequality in a Knowledge Economy” (with Esteban Rossi-Hansberg), *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 2006, 121: 4, pp. 1383-1435, November 2006.
15. “Managerial Leverage is Limited by the Extent of the Market: Hierarchies, Specialization and the Utilization of Lawyers’ Human Capital”, (with Thomas N. Hubbard), *Journal of Law and Economics*, 50:1, February 2007, pp. 1-45.
16. “Language and the Theory of the Firm” (with Jacques Crémer and Andrea Prat), *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, February 2007, 122:1, pp. 373-408.
17. “Organizing Offshoring: Middle Managers and Communication Costs.” (with Pol Antras and Esteban Rossi-Hansberg, In Helpman, E., Marin D., Verdier T. (2008) (Eds), *The Organization of Firms in the Global Economy*, Harvard University Press.
18. “Specialization, Firms, and Markets: The Division of Labor Within and Between Law Firms” (with Thomas N. Hubbard), *Journal of Law, Economics and Organization*. 25:2, October 2009, pp. 339-371.
19. “Information Technology, Organization, and Productivity in the Public Sector: Evidence from Police Departments” (with Paul Heaton), *Journal of Labor Economics*, 18:1, January 2010, pp. 167-201.
20. “Matching Problems with Expertise in Firms and Markets” (with William Fuchs), *Journal of the European Economic Association*. April/May 2010, Vol. 8, No. 2-3: 354–364.
21. “Offshoring and Wage Inequality: Using Occupational Licensing as a Shifter of Offshoring Costs” (with Chiara Criscuolo), *American Economic Review Papers and Proceedings*. Volume 100, Number 2, May 2010, pp. 439-443(5)
22. “Did Good Cajas Extend Bad Loans?: Governance, Human Capital and Loan Portfolios”, with Vicente Cuñat, *The Crisis of the Spanish Economy*, Edited by S. Bentolila, M. Boldrin, J. Díaz Jiménez, J.J Dolado (2010).
23. “Towards a new Architecture for Financial Stability: Seven Principles” (with Rosa Lastra), *Journal of International Economic Law*, Volume 13, Number 3, September 2010, 597-623.
24. “Organizing for Synergies” (with Wouter Dessein and Robert Gertner), *American Economic Journal-Micro*, November 2010, 2(4): 77–114
25. “Knowledge, Communication and Organizational Capabilities” (with Yanhui Wu), *Organization Science*, September/October 2012 23:1382-1397.

26. “Organizing Growth” (with Esteban Rossi-Hansberg), *Journal of Economic Theory*, 2012 Vol 147:2, 623-656.
27. “Learning about the Nature of Production from Equilibrium Assignment Patterns” with Thomas N. Hubbard, *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization* (2013).
28. “Organizational Economics with Cognitive Costs”, (with Andrea Prat), *Advances in Economic Theory*, Econometric Society 10th World Congress, Edited by D. Acemoglu, M. Arellano, E. Dekkel, Cambridge University Press, June 2013.
29. "Political Credit Cycles: The Case of the Eurozone," with Jesús Fernández-Villaverde, and Tano Santos. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 27(3): 145-66. Summer 2013.
30. “The Distinct effects of Information Technology and Communication Technology on Firm Organization”, with Nick Bloom, Rafaella Sadun and John Van Reenen, *Management Science* 60(12): 2859-2885, December 2014.
31. “Knowledge-Based Hierarchies: Using Organizations to Understand the Economy”, with Esteban Rossi-Hansberg, *Annual Review of Economics*, Vol 7, 1-30, 2015
32. “Optimal Contracting and the Organization of Knowledge” (with Willie Fuchs and Luis Rayo, *Review of Economic Studies*. 82 (2), 632 - 658, Spring 2015.
33. “Why organizations fail: Models and cases”, with Luis Rayo, *Journal of Economic Literature*, 54(1), 137–192, March 2016.
34. “The Sovereign-Bank Diabolic Loop and ESBies,” with Markus K. Brunnermeier, Stijn Van Nieuwerberg, Philip Lane, Marco Pagano, Tano Santos, Ricardo Reis, David Thesmar and Dimitri Vayanos. *American Economic Review P&P*, 508-512, May 2016.
35. “The Returns to Knowledge Hierarchies”, with Tom Hubbard, *Journal of Law, Economics and Organization*, Vol 32(4): 653-684, November 2016.
36. “Firm Size Distortions and the Productivity Distribution: Evidence from France.” (with Claire Lelarge and John van Reenen), *American Economic Review* 106(11): 3439-79, November 2016.
37. “Survive Another Day: Using the Composition of Investments to Measure the Impact of Credit Constraints”, with Claudia Steinwender, *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, 98(5): 913-924, December 2016.
38. “Relational Knowledge Transfers” (with Luis Rayo). *American Economic Review* 107 (9). 2695-2730, September 2017.
39. “Earnings inequality and coordination costs: Evidence from US Law firms”(with Thomas Hubbard), *Journal of Law, Economics and Organization*, 34(2):196-229, May 2018.
40. “Two Proposals to resurrect the Banking Union: the Safe Portfolio Approach and the SRB+”, *CEPR Policy Insight* N. 108, November 2020.

Working Papers

“Loyalty in Tournaments” (with Wouter Dessein), January 2023

Books

The Economic Consequences of the War, coedited with Dominic Rohner and Beatrice Weder di Mauro, Center for Economic Policy Research. Forthcoming, Summer 2022. .

Capitalism After Covid: Conversations with 21 Economists. Center for Economic Policy Research, June 2021.

El Contrataque Liberal: entre el vértigo tecnológico y el caos populista. 256pp. Península, Madrid, January 2019.

Recuperar el Futuro: Doce Propuestas que cambiarán España, (with Toni Roldán) Península/Planeta (Barcelona), 200pp. Noviembre 2015.

El Dilema de España: Ser más productivos para vivir mejor, Península/Planeta (Barcelona), 200pp. January 2014 (Five Editions).

Nada Es Gratis: Como Evitar una Década Perdida tras la Década Prodigiosa. Destino, 2011, (with Samuel Bentolila, Antonio Cabrales, Jesús Fernández-Villaverde, Juan Rubio and Tano Santos, under the collective pseudonym Jorge Juan). Four Editions to date.

La Ley de Economía Sostenible y las Reformas Estructurales, e-book, Fedea, Madrid, 2010. Co-edited with Manuel Bagües y Jesús Fernández Villaverde. <http://reformasestructurales.es/>

Book Chapters

“Why do we need a Carbon Border Adjustment Mechanism? Towards the development of a Climate Club” Luis Garicano and María Fayos, October 2021, in *No Brainers and Low-Hanging Fruit in National Climate Policy*, Francesco Caselli, Alexander Ludwig, Rick van der Ploeg, CEPR, 08 October 2021-

“The Covid 19 Bazooka for Jobs in Europe” in *Mitigating the COVID Economic Crisis: Act fast and do whatever it takes*, edited by Richard Baldwin and Beatrice Weder di Mauro, March 2020.

“Sabotage in Tournaments: Making the Beautiful Game a bit less Beautiful” (with Ignacio Palacios-Huerta), in Ignacio Palacios-Huerta, *Beautiful Game Theory*. Princeton University Press, 2014.

“Hierarchies”, with Tim van Zandt, book chapter, *Handbook of Organizational Economics*, editors Robert Gibbons and John Roberts, (2012)

“ESBies: A realistic reform of Europe’s financial architecture,” with Markus K. Brunnermeier, Philip R. Lane, Marco Pagano, Ricardo Reis, Tano Santos, David Thesmar, Stijn Van

Nieuwerburgh, and Dimitri Vayanos in *The Future of Banking*, edited by Thorsten Beck, Vox e-Book, October 2011.

“Hierarchy,” *New Palgrave Dictionary of Economics (2008), 2nd Ed.*

“Game Theory: How to Make it Pay,” *Financial Times*, October 11, 1999. Reprinted in *Mastering Strategy: The Complete MBA Companion to Strategy*, London: Pearson, 2000.

“The Dynamics of Price Competition,” with Robert Gertner, *Financial Times*, October 18, 1999. Reprinted in *Mastering Strategy: The Complete MBA Companion to Strategy*, London: Pearson, 2000.

Teaching

Masters (MSc and MBA)

Economics of Strategic Behavior, (Columbia Business School, Fall 2022)

Competitive Strategy, MBA and Executive MBA Programs, Booth School, University of Chicago 1998-2023 (since 2009 as visitor).

Core Strategy, (IE Business School), 2017-2019

Firms and Markets, Part II: Organizational Capabilities. (Msc Management and Economics, LSE, 2008-2014)

Entrepreneurial Strategy, (MSc Management and Economics, LSE, Lent 09, 10)

Organizational Strategy (MBA, Chicago, 2006, 2007)

Economics of Competitive Strategy (MBA, London Business School, 2005)

Strategic Management (Core MBA, MIT, Sloan), 2003-2004.

Ph.D

Advanced Topics in Strategy, Harvard Business School, February 2022 (2 weeks)

Labor Economics, Economics Department (LSE, 2010-2017).

Economics of Organizations, (MIT Economics Department, 2004, 2010, 2011), with Bob Gibbons.

Economics of Organizations, (Booth School, University of Chicago, 2001), with Robert Gertner.

Knowledge and Organization (Short course, MIT, 2003).

Executive

Executive Program in Corporate Strategy (non-degree course, Booth School, University of Chicago, Chicago and London, 2000-2008).

Emerging Leaders Program (non degree course), LBS, London, Fall 2005.

Undergraduate

Economics of Personnel and Organizations (Universitat Pompeu Fabra, 1997).

Intermediate Microeconomics (University of Chicago 1996-1998)

Other Part Positions, Boards, Honors

December 2016 – August 2022, Vice-President, Alliance of Liberal Democratic Parties of Europe (umbrella Liberal Party of Europe).

Member, Board of Directors, Liberbank (January 2012 - April 2016), President, Audit Committee (November 2014- April 2016)

McKinsey Chair, FEDEA (2009-2013).

Economist, Commission of the European Union, Luxembourg (1992-1993)

Summer Intern, McKinsey and Co. (Summer 1997)

CEPR (London), Research Fellow, (ex-IO Programme Director) 2007-2023.

Banco Herrero Prize (2007) given to best young (up to 40) Economist in Spain.

Affiliate, Center for Economic Performance, London School of Economics (CEP).

Past member, editorial board *Review of Economic Studies*, *Journal of the European Economic Association*, *Journal of Law, Economics and Organization* (Editor), *Spanish Economic Review*.

Referee (past) *Journal of Political Economy*, *American Economic Review*, *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, *Econometrica*, *Journal of Finance*, *Review of Economic Studies*, *Rand Journal of Economics*, *Journal of Business*, *Journal of Labor Economics*, *Journal of Law, Economics and Organization*, *Journal of Industrial Economics*, *Journal of Law and Economics*.

Program Committee, Econometric Society Winter Meetings, 2010, European Economic Association, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2012

Member, Commission for reform of Spanish Universities, appointed by Spanish Government, 2012-2013 (delivered report to Education Minister January 2013)

La Caixa Scholarship, 1993-1995 (PhD Chicago)

Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs Scholarship (1991-1992)

Policy Proposals

Reforms in Spain

“[Impulsar un cambio posible en el sistema sanitario.](#)” under McKinsey-Fedea Chair, 2009.

“[A Growth Agenda for Spain](#)” under McKinsey-Fedea Chair, November 2010.

“How to implement a Structural Reform Program: The International Experience.” (November 2011)

Reforms to end the Euro crisis

“European Safe Bonds” as member of Euro-nomics group, September 2011 (www.euro-nomics.com/esbies)

“[Five lessons from the Spanish Cajas debacle for a new euro-wide supervisor](#)” VOX EU CEPR, October 16, 2012

“Breaking the Deadlock: A Path Out of the Crisis”, published on July 23, 2012. (www.ineteconomics.org), as member, and lead co-writer of INET economist group proposals

“[Did the euro kill governance in the periphery?](#)” VOX EU CEPR, April 30, 2013.

“[A safe asset for Eurozone QE: A proposal](#)” VOX EU CEPR, November 14, 2014.

“[Tackling inflation if it reappears](#)” VOX EU CEPR, October 6, 2020.

Facing the Pandemic

“[Towards a European Reconstruction Fund](#)” VOX EU CEPR, May 5, 2020.

“[Two proposals to resurrect the Banking Union: The Safe Portfolio Approach and SRB+](#)” Bruegel, December 17, 2020.

“[The COVID-19 bazooka for jobs in Europe](#)” VOX EU CEPR, March 20, 2020.

Opinion Pieces

In English (and Dutch)

1. “The ECB’s new backstop introduces atrocious incentives”, *Financial Times*, September 21, 2022.
2. ‘The European Union must issue war bonds for Ukraine’, with Guy Verhofstadt, *Le Monde*, 06/05/2022

3. “Why only coal? Europe can afford to ban Russian gas too,” *Politico*, 06/04/2022
4. “Will Corruption Threaten Europe’s Economic Recovery?” *Project Syndicate*, October 8, 2021.
5. “A Recovery Plan for the people and by the people” *Euractiv*, February 16, 2021.
6. “Europe’s World Lagging Universities Need Increased Funding” *Project Syndicate*, October 1, 2020.
7. “Nederland, het voortbestaan van de euro staat op het spel” *Nrc.nl*, May 18, 2020.
8. “Toward a European Reconstruction Fund” with Guy Verhofstadt, *Project Syndicate*, April 15, 2020.
9. “How to protect Europe’s jobs from coronavirus” *Politico*, March 9, 2020.
10. “Revolving door rules must be enforced” *Euractiv*, January 17, 2020.
11. “Why are European countries against fiscal transparency?” *Euractiv*, December 2, 2019.
12. “How Spain should negotiate Brexit: Preserving a tangled web” *VOX EU CEPR*, December 7, 2016.
13. “Squaring the Eurozone’s Vicious Circle” with Lucrezia Reichlin, *Project Syndicate*, January 27, 2014.
14. “ICT benefits some and hurts others” *VOX EU CEPR*, December 4, 2013.
15. “Small isn’t always beautiful: The cost of French regulation” *VOX EU CEPR*, May 30, 2013.
16. “Rajoy must enact a radical plan for Spain.” With Jesús Fernández-Villaverde, *Financial Times*, August 19, 2012.
17. “Spain can survive its crisis – if its Euro partners play their part.” *Guardian/Observer*, April 1, 2012.
18. “Making Europe Safer”, with Markus Brunnermeier, Philip Lane, Marco Pagano, Ricardo Reis, Tano Santos, Stijn van Nieuwerburgh and Dimitri Vayanos, *Wall Street Journal*, September 27, 2011.
19. “Spain has the means to avoid the fate of Greece”, *Financial Times*, March 10, 2010.
20. “Spain’s Economic Blind Spots” *The Guardian*, February 12, 2010.

21. “What our Spies Can learn from Toyota”, with Richard Posner, *Wall Street Journal*, January 12, 2010.
22. “I did not stammer when the Queen asked me about the meltdown” *The Guardian*, November 18, 2008.
23. “Trendy subject taught with aplomb,” *Financial Times*, September 17, 2007. (NB. not opinion piece but rather a profile on my approach to management)

In Spanish

1. “No podemos dejar a Ucrania en la cuneta,” *El Mundo*, 08/06/2022
2. “Contra la degradación de la democracia,” *El Mundo*, 18/05/2022
3. “No tan deprisa, señor Musk,” *El Confidencial*, 29/04/2022
4. “Putin recibe un cheque diario de la UE. Basta ya,” *El País*, 25/03/2022
5. “¿Con el bono cultural me podré comprar un empleo?,” *The Objective*, 24/03/2022
6. “Lo que nos piden los ucranianos para resistir y ganar a Putin,” *El Confidencial*, 15/03/2022
7. “Estas cosas no se olvidan,” *The Objective*, 02/03/2022
8. “Mutualizar la defensa de Ucrania,” *El Mundo*, 28/02/2022
9. “Sin disciplina fiscal no habrá Europa verde,” *El Confidencial*, 03/02/2022
10. “Pragmatismo, no postureo,” *El Confidencial*, 11/01/2022
11. “El menchevique: reflexiones al hilo de las memorias de Errejón,” *Letras Libres*, 01/01/2022
12. “Reforma laboral: virgencita, virgencita, que me quede como estoy,” *El Confidencial*, 24/12/2021
13. “Evitemos más confinamientos,” *The Objective*, 20/12/2021
14. “Todavía podemos vacunar al mundo,” *El Mundo*, 16/12/2021
15. “¿Vamos a perder otra década?,” *El Confidencial*, 08/12/2021
16. “Pensiones: estamos perdiendo la última oportunidad,” *El País*, 03/12/2021
17. “Volver al mercado laboral pre-2012 garantiza el fracaso,” *El Español*, 12/11/2021

18. “La transición ecológica será sensata o no será,” *El Mundo*, November 8, 2021.
19. “Brexit: Europa no puede ceder ante al chantaje británico,” *El Confidencial*, October 8, 2021.
20. “La UE puede vacunar al mundo. Debe hacerlo,” *El País*, September 16, 2021.
21. “Plus Ultra: más allá está la justicia,” *El Confidencial*, July 22, 2021.
22. “Nuestros vecinos sí aprovecharán el dinero europeo,” *El Mundo*, June 4, 2021.
23. “María Teresa Miras y la reforma universitaria,” *El Mundo*, June 1, 2021.
24. “Hitos y objetivos: las reformas falsas no cuentan en Europa,” *El Confidencial*, May 30, 2021.
25. “Plus Ultra: explicaciones necesarias,” *La Voz de Galicia*, May 27, 2021.
26. “Paro juvenil: No es país para jóvenes,” *El País*, May 21, 2021.
27. “El nuevo consenso de Bruselas,” *Cinco Días*, May 17, 2021.
28. “El Constitucional alemán ha hecho su parte, ahora le toca a España,” *Huffington Post*, April 22, 2021.
29. “Reformas: sólo valen los hechos, no las palabras,” *El Mundo*, April 22, 2021.
30. “Más allá del escándalo Plus Ultra,” *Voz Pópuli*, April 29, 2021.
31. “Pedro Sánchez, ¿con quién estás gobernando?,” *Voz Pópuli*, April 10, 2021.
32. “Gastar bien la ayuda a empresas y autónomos,” *El Confidencial*, February 26, 2021.
33. “Contra el indulto a los golpistas,” *El Español*, February 23, 2021.
34. “Un plan de recuperación por el pueblo y para el pueblo,” *Euroactiv*, February 16, 2021.
35. “El mérito es progresista,” *El Mundo*, February 11, 2021.
36. “Una ruina económica llamada «procés»,” *El Economista*, February 10, 2021.
37. “Un dañino truco contable,” *El País*, February 8, 2021.
38. “¿Seguimos o bajamos la persiana? (II),” *El Confidencial*, January 31, 2021.
39. “¿Seguimos o bajamos la persiana? (I),” *El Confidencial*, January 30, 2021.
40. “Las elecciones más importantes para España no ocurrirán en España,” *El Confidencial*, January 12, 2021.
41. “¿Condenará el gobierno a la ruina a millones?,” *El Mundo*, December 18, 2020.

42. “Hacer sostenible el green deal requiere un mecanismo de ajuste de carbono,” *Ethic*, December 9, 2020.
43. “Turbocapitalismo de amiguetes,” *Voz Pópuli*, December 7, 2020.
44. “Presupuestos: prioridades erróneas,” *El País*, November 30, 2020.
45. “¿Armonización fiscal? Sí, pero Madrid no es el problema,” *El Español*, November 29, 2020.
46. “Fondos Europeos: sí, hay condiciones,” *El Confidencial*, November 20, 2020.
47. “Buenas noticias para Europa: America is back!,” *El Independiente*, November 8, 2020.
48. “¿Se ha enterado el Gobierno den que estamos en Europa?,” *El Mundo*, November 7, 2020.
49. “El Plan Electoral de Pedro Sánchez,” *VozPópuli*, October 10, 2020.
50. “Las rezagadas universidades europeas necesitan mayor financiación,” *Project Syndicate*, October 2, 2020.
51. “Aprender de los errores de la pandemia para gestionar el dinero de Bruselas,” *El Confidencial*, September 27, 2020.
52. “Las tres brechas,” *El País*, November 16, 2020.
53. “El fracaso del modelo territorial,” *El Español*, September 5, 2020.
54. “Una oportunidad para hacer las reformas,” *El Confidencial*, July 21, 2020.
55. “El Estado debe facilitar la reestructuración de las deudas,” *Cinco días*, July 16, 2020.
56. “Las consecuencias económicas de Podemos,” *El Mundo*, July 11, 2020.
57. “Una mala noticia para España y para Europa,” *Voz Pópuli*, July 10, 2020.
58. “Unidos hacia la reconstrucción europea,” *El País*, June 26, 2020.
59. “¡Alto el fuego!,” *ABC*, June 12, 2020.
60. “Europa no es un cajero, es una oportunidad,” *El Mundo*, June 5, 2020.
61. “No es un rescate,” *El País*, May 26, 2020.
62. “La UE saldrá de su peor crisis con ambición y medidas concretas para la reconstrucción económica,” *El Mundo*, May 15, 2020.
63. “Una brújula para la crisis,” *La Vanguardia*, May 9, 2020.

64. “Menos deuda (nacional), más inversión,” *El País*, April 12, 2020.
65. “El confinamiento, el virus y Europa,” *EFE Euractiv*, April 10, 2020.
66. “La culpa no es de Bruselas,” *El Mundo*, April 3, 2020.
67. “Un bazuca europeo contra la epidemia económica,” *Expansión*, March 18, 2020.
68. “Primero, salvar vidas; después, salvar empleos,” *El Mundo*, April 17, 2020.
69. “Frente a la crisis, mano tendida,” *El Confidencial*, March 13, 2020.
70. “Actuar juntos en esta crisis,” *El Independiente*, March 10, 2020.
71. “Aprender de los errores para actuar contra el impacto del Coronavirus,” *Cinco Días*, March 5, 2020.
72. “La Seguridad Social vasca: una decisión peligrosa,” *El Español*, February 27, 2020.
73. “La UE necesita una reforma integral para completar la Unión Bancaria,” *Expansión*, January 23, 2020.
74. “Revolving doors rules must be enforced,” *Euractiv*, January 17, 2020.
75. “Brexit: las consecuencias para España,” *El Confidencial*, December 13, 2019.
76. “Why are European countries against fiscal transparency?,” *Euractiv*, December 2, 2019.
77. “¿En España como en Europa?,” *El Mundo*, November 28, 2019.
78. “¿Quién hará las reformas en España?,” *El Español*, October 29, 2019.
79. “Europa debe respaldar la sentencia del «procés»,” *El Confidencial*, October 10, 2019.
80. “¿Miedo al lobo de Andalucía?,” *El Confidencial*, April 23, 2019.
81. “La venganza del capitalismo clientelar,” *El País*, February 3, 2019.
82. “El presupuesto y el miedo del autericidio,” *El Confidencial*, January 11, 2019.
83. “Nuevas soluciones económicas contra el calentamiento global,” *El País*, December 23, 2018.
84. “Mejor Europa,” *El País*, December 18, 2018.
85. “Un presupuesto no creíble,” *El Confidencial*, October 24, 2018.
86. “El alquiler y la vivienda: ¿hay que regularlo?,” *El País*, October 19, 2018.

87. “Jugando a gobernar con el dinero de todos,” *El Confidencial*, September 6, 2018.
88. “¿Cómo afectará la inteligencia artificial al nivel de empleo?,” *El País*, August 29, 2018.
89. “Defender lo público,” *El País*, August 25, 2018.
90. “Ineptocracia y corrupción,” *El Mundo*, August 8, 2018.
91. “La crisis del taxi: Colau, Sánchez y la ley de la selva,” *El Confidencial*, August 1, 2018.
92. “Gestos y desgobierno: ¿es Colau el futuro de Sánchez?,” *La Vanguardia*, July 31, 2018.
93. “El milagro exportador español,” *El País*, May 25, 2018.
94. “Universidad y excelencia,” *El Mundo*, May 14, 2018.
95. “Razones para el optimismo,” *El País*, March 25, 2018.
96. “Bulos en las redes sociales: ¿debemos regular los algoritmos?,” *El País*, January 21, 2018.
97. “Evitemos la ruina de Cataluña” *El País*, December 18, 2017.
98. “El nuevo optimismo europeo” *El País*, December 10, 2017.
99. “¿La independència, per fer què? Respuesta a Jordi Galí.” *El País*, September 10, 2017.
100. “Políticas económicas de oferta progresistas” *El País*, July 23, 2017.
101. “Europa se acerca a una solución para el euro” *El País*, June 9, 2017.
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