

Journal of Latin American Studies

volume 56 : part 4 : November 2024



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

EDITORIAL BOARD

Jelke Boesten
King's College London
Courtney J. Campbell
University of Birmingham
Camillia Cowling
University of Warwick
Graham Denyer Willis
University of Cambridge
Paulo Drinot
University College London
Tanya Harmer
London School of Economics
Alejandra Irigoin
London School of Economics
Gareth A. Jones
London School of Economics

Sian Lazar
University of Cambridge
Fiona Macaulay
University of Bradford
Mónica Gabriela Moreno Figueroa
University of Cambridge
Leigh Payne
University of Oxford
Alfredo Saad-Filho
SOAS University of London
Diego Sánchez-Ancochea
University of Oxford
Patience Schell
University of Aberdeen

INTERNATIONAL ADVISORY BOARD

Jaime Amparo Alves
University of California
Sônia Miriam Draibe
Universidade Estadual de Campinas
Alexander Fattal
University of California
María Inés Fernández Álvarez
Universidad de Buenos Aires
Barbara Fritz
Freie Universität Berlin
Susanna Hecht
University of California
Alisha C. Holland
Harvard University

Mala Htun
University of New Mexico
Tony Lucero
University of Washington
Juliana Martínez Franzoni
Universidad de Costa Rica
Martin Monsalve Zanatti
Universidad del Pacífico
João José Reis
Universidade Federal da Bahia
Dennis Rodgers
Graduate Institute of Geneva
Alberto Vergara
Universidad del Pacífico

COPY EDITORS

Virginia Catmur and Jennifer Stanley-Smith

MANAGING EDITOR

Diego Atehortúa, *Institute of the Americas, University College London*

SPANISH TRANSLATOR (ABSTRACTS)

Carlos Y. Flores, *Universidad Autónoma del Estado de Morelos, Mexico*

PORTUGUESE TRANSLATOR (ABSTRACTS)

Guilherme Reis, *London*

© Cambridge University Press & Assessment 2025

SUBSCRIPTIONS

The *Journal of Latin American Studies* (ISSN 0022-216X) is published four times a year with four parts forming a volume in February, May, August and November by Cambridge University Press, University Printing House, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8BS/Cambridge University Press, 1 Liberty Plaza, Floor 20, New York, NY 10006, USA. Single parts are £108.00 net (US\$ 188.00 in the US, Canada and Mexico) plus postage. The subscription price, which includes postage of volume 50 (excluding VAT), is £387.00 (US\$ 678.00 in the US, Canada and Mexico) for institutions (print and electronic) and £69.00 (US\$ 108.00) for individuals (print only) ordering direct from the publishers and certifying that the journal is for their personal use. A special rate is available for students (£34.00, US\$ 52.00). EU subscribers (outside the UK) who are not registered for VAT should add VAT at their country's rate. VAT-registered subscribers should provide their VAT registration number. Orders, which must be accompanied by payment, may be sent to a bookseller or to the publishers: Cambridge University Press, Journals Fulfillment Department, UPH, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8BS, UK and in the USA, Canada and Mexico, Cambridge University Press, Journals Fulfillment Department, 1 Liberty Plaza, Floor 20, New York, NY 10006, USA. Japanese prices for institutions are available from Kinokuniya Company Ltd, P.O. Box 55, Chitose, Tokyo 156, Japan. Prices include delivery by air. Periodical postage paid at New York, NY and additional mailing offices.

POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Cambridge University Press, 100 Brook Hill Drive, West Nyack, New York 10994-2133.

INTERNET ACCESS: This journal is included in the Cambridge Core service, which can be found at www.cambridge.org/LAS. For further information on other Press titles, access www.cambridge.org.

Journal of Latin American Studies

VOLUME 56 PART 4 NOVEMBER 2024

EDITORS

DAVID THOMAS DOYLE

Professor of Politics, University of Oxford

KATE MACLEAN

Associate Professor at the Institute for Global Prosperity, University College London

GRAZIELLA MORAES SILVA

Associate Professor of Anthropology and Sociology, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva

THOMAS RATH

Associate Professor of History, University College London

BOOK REVIEWS EDITOR

NÉSTOR CASTAÑEDA

Associate Professor of Latin American Political Economy, Institute of the Americas, University College London

SOCIAL MEDIA EDITOR

MACARENA BONHOMME

Assistant Professor, Universidad Autónoma de Chile



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Contents

ARTICLES

- Undesirable Independence: People of Colour, Race War and Authoritarian Leadership in Ceará, Brazil, 1821–3 579

LICÍNIO NUNES DE MIRANDA

- The Role of Electoral Coordination in Party Formation: Explaining the Origin of the Uruguayan Frente Amplio in 1971 608

JUAN A. MORAES AND DIEGO LUJÁN

- Land Property Rights and Redistribution – the Evidence from Colombia 632

FRANCISCO GUTIÉRREZ-SANÍN, ROCÍO DEL PILAR PEÑA-HUERTAS,
CAROLINA CROSBY-JIMÉNEZ, BRYAN TRIANA-ANCINEZ AND
MILTON ALBERTO VALENCIA-HERRERA

- Sustaining Criminal Governance with Fear: The Use of Extra-lethal Violence to Regulate Community Life 656

REYNELL BADILLO-SARMIENTO AND LUIS TREJOS-ROSE

- The Distributive Impact of the Labour Market and of Cash Transfer Policies during the COVID-19 Pandemic in Latin America 683

LUIS BECCARIA, ROXANA MAURIZIO, SOL CATANIA AND
SILVANA MARTÍNEZ

- Hedging Comes to Latin America: Gauging Brazil's Coping Strategies *vis-à-vis* the Sino-US Peer Competition 715

RICHARD J. COOK, MATEUS BILHAR, MAXIMILIAN OHLE AND
ZHAOYING HAN

BOOK REVIEWS

- Chris Alden and Álvaro Méndez, *China and Latin America: Development, Agency and Geopolitics*, reviewed by Barbara Stallings 743

- Laura Gamboa, *Resisting Backsliding: Opposition Strategies against the Erosion of Democracy*, reviewed by Raúl A. Sanchez-Urribarri 745

iv *Contents*

Merike Blofield, Jennifer Pribble and Cecilia Giambruno, <i>The Politics of Social Protection during Times of Crisis</i> , reviewed by Mart Trasberg	747
Jérôme Sgard, <i>The Debt Crisis of the 1980s: Law and Political Economy</i> , reviewed by Sebastián Álvarez	750
Caitlin Andrews-Lee, <i>The Emergence and Revival of Charismatic Movements: Argentine Peronism and Venezuelan Chavismo</i> , reviewed by Diego Luján	752
James Gerber, <i>Border Economies: Cities Bridging the U.S.–Mexico Divide</i> , reviewed by Lawrence A. Herzog	754
Eline van Ommen, <i>Nicaragua Must Survive: Sandinista Revolutionary Diplomacy in the Global Cold War</i> , reviewed by Vanni Pettinà	757
Véronique Boyer, <i>The Amazonian Puzzle: Ethnic Positionings and Social Mobilizations</i> , reviewed by Natalia Buitron	759
Maximo G. Martinez, <i>Sojourners in the Capital of the World: Garifuna Immigrants</i> , reviewed by Christina Welch	762
Lynnette Arnold, <i>Living Together across Borders: Communicative Care in Transnational Salvadoran Families</i> , reviewed by Leisy J. Abrego	764
Javier García Liendo y Mijail Mitrovic (eds.), <i>Intelectuales, política y producción cultural en el Perú de los 70</i> , reviewed by Javier Puente	766
Roosbelinda Cárdenas, <i>Raising Two Fists: Struggles for Black Citizenship in Multicultural Colombia</i> , reviewed by Laura Correa Ochoa	769
Julia A. Flagg, <i>Aiming for Net Zero: Costa Rica's Green Elite and the Struggle to Mitigate Climate Change</i> , reviewed by Jorge A. Valenciano-Salazar	771