# Journal of Latin American Studies

volume 53: part 1: February 2021



#### EDITORIAL BOARD

King's College London Courtney J. Campbell University of Birmingham Graham Denyer Willis University of Cambridge David Thomas Doyle University of Oxford Paulo Drinot

Institute of the Americas, University College London

Gareth A. Jones LSE Tanya Harmer LSÉ Alejandra Irigoin LSE Nina Laurie University of St Andrews

University of Bradford

Sian Lazar

University of Cambridge Marcela López Levy Birkbeck, University of London Fiona Macaulay

Kate Maclean Northumbria University Graziella Moraes Silva Graduate Institute of Geneva

Mónica Gabriela Moreno Figueroa

University of Cambridge Leigh Payne University of Oxford Thomas Rath

Institute of the Americas, University College London

Megan Kyburn LSĔ Alfredo Saad Filho SOAS, University of London Diego Sánchez-Ancochea University of Oxford Patience A. Schell University of Aberdeen Benjamin T. Smith University of Warwick

Peter Wade University of Manchester

#### INTERNATIONAL ADVISORY BOARD

Jaime Amparo Alves University of California Sônia Miriam Draibe Universidade Estadual de Campinas Alexander Fattal

University of California Brodwyn Fischer University of Chicago Zephyr Frank Stanford University Barbara Fritz Freie Universität Berlin Aurora Gómez Galvarriato Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico Susanna Hecht

University of California

Mala Htun

University of New Mexico Peter Kingstone Montclair State University Steve Levitsky Harvard University Tony Lucero University of Washington Cecilia Menjivar University of California João José Reis Universidade Federal da Bahia Dennis Rodgers Graduate Institute of Geneva Rodrigo Uprinny

Universidad Nacional de Colombia

COPY EDITORS

Virginia Catmur and Karen Morton

EDITORIAL ADMINISTRATOR

Celia Barlow, Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London

SPANISH TRANSLATOR (ABSTRACTS)

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

PORTUGUESE TRANSLATOR (ABSTRACTS)

Marianne Arake, London

© Cambridge University Press 2021

#### 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, I 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 Fulfilment Department, UPH, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8BS, UK and in the USA, Canada and Mexico, Cambridge University Press, Journals Fulfillment Department, I 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/ https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X29000195 Published online by Cambridge University Press

## Journal of Latin American Studies

VOLUME 53 PART 1 FEBRUARY 2021

#### **EDITORS**

#### GRAHAM DENYER WILLIS

Senior Lecturer in Development Studies and Latin American Studies, University of Cambridge

#### DAVID THOMAS DOYLE

Associate Professor of Politics, University of Oxford

#### GRAZIELLA MORAES SILVA

Assistant Professor of Anthropology and Sociology, Graduate Institute of Geneva, and PPGSA/UFRJ Brazil

#### PATIENCE A. SCHELL

Chair in Hispanic Studies, University of Aberdeen

**BOOK REVIEWS EDITOR** 

#### MARCELA LÓPEZ LEVY

Centre for Researching and Embedding Human Rights, Birkbeck, University of London



### Contents

ARTICLES	
From Comrades to Subversives: Mexican Secret Police and 'Undesirable' Spanish Exiles, 1939–60	1
KEVAN ANTONIO AGUILAR	
Underground Multiculturalism: Contentious Cultural Politics in Gold-Mining Regions in Chocó, Colombia	25
JESSE JONKMAN	
The Desperation of the Military's Economists: Advertising as a Way to Fight Inflation in 1970s Brazil	53
MATTHEW NESTLER	
Why Is It So Difficult to Reform Collective Labour Law? Associational Power and Policy Continuity in Chile in Comparative Perspective	81
PABLO PÉREZ AHUMADA	
'It's Not Gossip, It's True': Denunciation and Social Control during the Guatemalan Armed Conflict (1970–85)	107
JOREN F. JANSSENS	
Healthcare in Cuba: Sustainability Challenges in an Ageing System	133
CARMELO MESA-LAGO AND SERGIO DÍAZ-BRIQUETS	
The Systemic Turn and Participatory Budgeting: The Case of Rio Grande do Sul	161
SVEINUNG LEGARD AND BENJAMIN GOLDFRANK	
BOOK REVIEWS	
Alejandra Ramm and Jasmine Gideon (eds.), Motherhood, Social Policies and	400
Women's Activism in Latin America, reviewed by Julieta Palma Kristin M. S. Bezio and George R. Goethals (eds.), Leadership, Populism and	189
Resistance, reviewed by Aracelly Denise Granja	191
Raúl Diego Rivera Hernández, Narratives of Vulnerability in Mexico's War on Drugs, reviewed by Silvia Nagy-Zekmi	193

#### iv Contents

Mateja Celestina, Living Displacement: The Loss and Making of Place in Colombia,	
reviewed by Claudia María López	195
Helen Gyger, Improvised Cities: Architecture, Urbanization, and Innovation in Peru,	
reviewed by Adriana Laura Massidda	197
Bonnie A. Lucero, A Cuban City, Segregated: Race and Urbanization in the Nineteenth	
Century, reviewed by Alison Fraunhar	200
Mark Goodale, A Revolution in Fragments: Traversing Scales of Justice, Ideology, and	
Practice in Bolivia, reviewed by Jonathan Alderman	202
Lillian Guerra, Heroes, Martyrs, and Political Messiahs in Revolutionary Cuba,	
1946-1958, reviewed by Antoni Kapcia	204
Flavia Fiorucci and José Bustamante Vismara (eds.), Palabras claves en la historia de	
la educación argentina, reviewed by G. Antonio Espinoza	206
Marixa Lasso, Erased: The Untold Story of the Panama Canal, reviewed by	
Ashley Carse	208
Luiz Felipe de Alencastro, The Trade in the Living: The Formation of Brazil in the	
South Atlantic, Sixteenth to Seventeenth Centuries, reviewed by W. E. Skidmore	210
Perry Anderson, Brazil Apart, 1964–2019, reviewed by Archie Davies	212
Kris Lane, Potosí: The Silver City that Changed the World, reviewed by Rossana	
Barragán	214
John Tutino, Mexico City, 1808: Power, Sovereignty and Silver in an Age of War and	
Revolution, reviewed by Antonio Ibarra	217
•	