

from the seventeenth century; the engagement of leading nineteenth-century liberal intellectuals, such as Manuel Payno and Vicente Riva Palacio, with Mexico's rich mythic and archaeological past; the growing penchant of the liberal state from the 1870s for promoting the indigenous past and present, both as the bedrock of national identity and as the target for its reform agenda; the instrumentalist response of local communities to this browning of the national reform agenda in their pursuit of state and federal patronage; the way local elites harnessed their knowledge of the indigenous past in their defence of municipal territory facing encroachment by rival municipalities; how these local actors harnessed leading national archaeologists and indigenistas to their cause, or repelled them; and how the events at Ixcateopan intensified rivalry among three generations of Mexico's leading ethnologists and archaeologists. Such are the themes addressed at length in the book, each seen through the prism of Ixcateopan and a single clan's century-long strategy to carry out and protect an ambitious tomb fraud.

*Cuahtémoc's Bones* is the first substantial study to trace in depth the relationship between local and national manifestations of indigenismo while exploring broader economic and political processes. The book is also an important contribution to the literature on everyday nation-state formation. By demonstrating that '[f]raud lies at the very heart of nationalism: one man's fraud is another man's invention of tradition and a third man's *historia patria*' (p. 220), Gillingham confirms Eric Hobsbawm's view of nationalism as 'invention of tradition'. Yet by showing how Mexicans, from the national palace to the remotest municipality, could be drawn into passionate debates over the memory of the defiant and tragic last Aztec emperor, he also vividly documents Mexico's peculiarly primordialist brand of modern nationalism.

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Jean Muteba Rahier, *Kings for Three Days: The Play of Race and Gender in an Afro-Ecuadorian Festival* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2013), pp. xii + 197, \$85.00, \$25.00 pb.

Recreation of historical events is a common community experience. In Panama, for example, every 25 February the Kuna re-enact their 1925 revolution in which they gained autonomy for their *comarca*. E. Gabrielle Kuenzli examines another similar theatrical expression in Bolivia in her recent book *Acting Inca* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2013). Typically these plays are more a reflection of contemporary community concerns and dynamics than an accurate depiction of historical events.

It is through this lens that anthropologist Jean Muteba Rahier expertly uses a local expression of the Catholic celebration of Epiphany to examine the evolution of socio-economic dynamics in rural Afro-descendant communities in Ecuador's coastal province of Esmeraldas. In Europe, Epiphany is celebrated on 6 January to commemorate the visit of the three magi to the baby Jesus. In Esmeraldas, the celebration is expanded to three days in which community members assume the personas of a white, Indian and black king, sometimes with one day dedicated to a commemoration of each of these kings. Rather than a recreation of a European religious tradition, in Esmeraldas the play becomes a reflection of how race, class and gender are currently constructed in a local community.

Rahier roots his study in dissertation research that he conducted in Santo Domingo de Òzole in 1990. He contrasts this play with one that he had research assistants

observe in the neighbouring community of La Tola that same year. He then compares those expressions with historical memories of the play in La Tola in the 1970s and a return visit to Santo Domingo de Ózole in 2003. As a result, rather than a study of an adaptation of a European tradition to local Afro-descendant communities, this book uses the play as a lens through which to study changes in internal community dynamics.

A theme that runs through the book is how modernity changes tradition. In 1990, Santo Domingo de Ózole was a fairly homogenous and relatively isolated community while La Tola was more diverse in racial and class terms, as well as more connected to the outside world. As a result, the play in Santo Domingo de Ózole was larger and more dynamic than the one in La Tola. Some 15 years earlier when La Tola was more isolated and more homogenous, more community members took an interest in the play. Likewise, 15 years later, with the disruptions of outmigration and the passing of an older generation of women who organised the festival, the traditions in Santo Domingo de Ózole had begun to fade. The incursion of evangelical Christianity also shifted the religious meaning of the festival.

Women played a dominant role in the planning and execution of the Festival of the Kings, and this aspect of the play opens up the potential for a fascinating discussion of the gendered dynamics found in Afro-Ecuadorian communities. Rahier casts the festival as a Carnavalesque inversion of the social order. Borrowing the terminology of anthropologist Norman Whitten's pioneering research in the area in the 1960s, he describes community members as engaged in a serial polygyny that privileges male sexual virility and mobility over female material interests. Men want their sexual freedom, while women are better served by commitment. According to Rahier, men see women as inferior. Their drinking and fighting provides them with opportunities to express their macho characteristics.

A sexual inversion allows women to satirise the sexual aggression and discrimination they face on a daily basis. Although Rahier does not explore the topic in much detail, the play can be understood through a Foucaultian lens as a safety valve for letting off steam before pressure builds to a social explosion. Underscoring this interpretation, women in La Tola, where the play had lost its importance by 1990, enjoyed greater economic independence due to commercial contacts with the outside world than their counterparts in Santo Domingo de Ózole and hence did not need to let off steam to the same degree.

The immediate ethnic landscape also influences the way in which the community portrays the play. Santo Domingo de Ózole is closer to a Chachi community, and as a result its play includes a significant indigenous component. In contrast, La Tola has less contact with Chachi communities and as a result they play less of a role there. La Tola, however, has more contact with the dominant mestizo culture, and those racial tensions are reflected in its play. Revealingly, the Chachi are portrayed as 'coloured' because in the community 'black' is normative and hence not seen as a colour. Nor do community members identify as Afro-descendants. Rahier contends that they have no sense of themselves as being members of an African diaspora, and that terminology such as 'Afro-Esmeraldian' or 'Afro-Ecuadorian' is a product of an academic construct that does not reflect local realities.

When Rahier returns to Santo Domingo de Ózole, he immediately becomes the expert on how the play was traditionally celebrated and community members turn to him for advice and material support. Being forced into an active role as a participant in an event of his academic interest has led to no small amount of consternation on

Rahier's part; his experiences underscore the reality that despite our best efforts, we are part of the world around us and we cannot separate ourselves from it.

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Angelina Snodgrass Godoy, *Of Medicines and Markets: Intellectual Property and Human Rights in the Free Trade Era* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2013), pp. xiv + 183, \$80.00, \$24.95 pb and e-book.

Using the Central American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA), this book questions whether the human rights approach used by transnational groups to limit the effects of intellectual property rights in pharmaceutical access is an appropriate tool to face the challenges posed by global capitalism. Rather than using a theoretical approach, Godoy grounds her inquiry on the interface between transnational human rights advocates and the socio-political context, the health system, and local activists. Over the course of four years, she conducted in-depth interviews with a diverse array of stakeholders (including representatives of government and industry, patients and patient groups, trade negotiators and human rights activists) residing in Costa Rica, El Salvador and Guatemala. She complements her analysis using her in-depth knowledge of the region and the literature on human rights, globalisation and intellectual property (IP).

In the first chapter, Godoy explains the origins, relevance and methodology of her project. Chapter 2 deals with the history, actors and values that inspired the creation of the World Trade Organization and the regulations for protecting IP rights. Godoy also examines the history of the human rights movement, its growing interest in moving past political and civil rights to include economic and social rights, and the importance of adjusting its tactics to confront the challenges posed by the new global order. While human rights activists used to focus on limiting government's grip on political and civil liberties, now they want to empower governments to resist global pressures to adopt policies that will be detrimental to their communities.

Engaging people around IP rights requires new tools and images portraying the dimensions and human cost of IP policies that can capture the hearts and minds of broad audiences. Unfortunately, human rights language can be used to sustain the arguments of those in favour of IP protection ('the right of inventors to enjoy the fruit of their innovation'), as well as those who consider that health and justice trump economic profits. Similarly, in the case of pharmaceuticals, IP stalls competition in order to protect the interests of global corporations and activists use economic arguments (market competition) to defend a human right.

Chapters 3 and 4 analyse the role of transnational human rights groups and their interactions and alignment with local activists, and the socio-political and health context. The pharmaceutical markets of El Salvador and Guatemala were underdeveloped and fraught with problems of access, quality and appropriate use. IP was an ill-understood threat of little immediate relevance that did not rally the interest of human rights and public health advocates. Most local activists prioritised fighting for basic rights (access to primary health care, water and sanitation) that, except in Costa Rica, remained unavailable for a large proportion of the population. The relative success of transnational human rights activists in mobilising local support faded as they left the region, probably due to their weak alignment with the local context. Weak advocacy and a socio-political context marred by loyalty conflicts (pressure from