également, c’est le changement, pour les consommateurs, par rapport à l’habitude (HAB) qu’ils avaient de ce vin, de ce qu’ils en attendaient. Ce changement peut aboutir à un refus de le boire. Dans la chaîne de connaissance, ce qui donne le changement climatique comme acteur du déséquilibre, c’est d’abord la référence (REF) empirique (gustation, changement de goût du vin avec le temps nouveau des saisons) et la référence (REF) scientifique par des analyses chimiques. C’est cette expérience par double référence (REF) et aussi l’attachement (ATT) du viticulteur à son domaine qui l’orientent vers une adaptation, surtout vers une métamorphose (MET), en utilisant la bio-dynamique, le recours à des êtres invisibles faisant entrer en lignes de compte les phases de la lune, les zodiaques, etc., c’est-à-dire le vieux calendrier planétaire bien connu des paysans (il leur annonce aussi l’heure exacte) et par des procédures fort visibles, telles l’enfoncissement, dans la terre du vignoble, de cornes de vaches, riches en sucre, emplies de leurs bouses au pied d’un arbre, pour capter des énergies et rétablir l’équilibre entre acidité et sucre. Il s’agit, dit l’auteure, d’accéder aux lointains, c’est-à-dire à ces êtres de la Technique que seul des scénarios complexes rendent abordables. Le scénario renvoie à la fois à la technique (TECH) et à la fiction (FIC).

Elsa Maury et François Thoreau traitent du sixième exemple : Re-prises d’une lutte en cours sur les modes d’existence de la bataille d’Orgreave et de sa reconstitution. Il s’agit d’un événement daté du 18 juin 1984, des suites d’une grève d’un an de mille mineurs licenciés, alors que le gouvernement anglais (Thatcher) avait décidé de fermer un certain nombre de puits et de délocaliser la production. Les mineurs décident alors de bloquer les puits. Les policiers entraînent les miliers de mineurs dans un champ et déPLOYèrent contre eux des tactiques antiémeutes, notamment une charge de chevaux qui fit de nombreux blessés. Cette défaite fut saluée comme un haut fait par la première ministre qui qualifia les mineurs « d’ennemi de l’intérieur » et défend l’idée d’un « front de modernisation ». En 2001, un artiste conçoit et met en œuvre la reconstitution de la bataille d’Orgreave, ce qui donne lieu à un documentaire filmé. Cette initiative se situe dans l’héritage actif d’une lutte en cours des mineurs. C’est la puissance propre d’une œuvre de fiction (FIC) qui est à évaluer. Penser à cette bataille et à sa reconstitution filmée vise à en prolonger les effets jusque dans la situation actuelle, à en faire un relais possible. En s’appropriant l’histoire, il est possible de prendre position dans le conflit entre néolibéralisme et mouvement ouvrier, par un geste technique et expérimental. Le geste technique (TECH) peut être prolongé dans une opérativité sensible. En utilisant les modes d’existence de Latour, peut se poser, dans l’œuvre de fiction (FIC), de manière décidée, la question de l’héritage de cette situation passée. En rendant compte, mais aussi en imposant le vécu dans l’œuvre de fiction (FIC), il est possible de rendre la bataille présente dix-sept ans après qu’elle ait eu lieu et de susciter une vibration nouvelle qui suppose l’empa-thie et la projection dans les personnages. Passer par l’épreuve des corps remis en scène, c’est être habité par l’œuvre, ressentir sa sollicitude et la prolonger. L’œuvre instaure et entretient un effet de chaud-froid, elle sollicite. Enfin le passage par les corps permet de réinvestir la fabrication d’un « nous » par la ferveur qui en émane. Cette vibration permet de rouvrir un espace politique de conflit partageable, praticable. Ce qui est en jeu, c’est la possibilité d’embrasser un devenir minoritaire propre à exister comme politique situé en dehors de l’intérieur.

Le devenir d’une lutte n’existe qu’à travers des pratiques de vibrations, d’émotions, d’organisation toujours constitutantes d’une force collective.

Références


Hayes, Matthew, Gringolandia: Lifestyle Migration under Late Capitalism, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2018, 288 pages.

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In Gringolandia, sociologist Matthew Hayes describes and theorises an underexplored category of transnational migrant, the so-called lifestyle migrant. Conventionally grouped within the larger category of expats, these migrants move across global latitudes of difference from wealthier North American countries to, in the case of his book, the far less wealthy highlands of Ecuador. It is a form of movement that, on the face of it, seems to defy the expectations of contemporary global migration. Through long-term ethnographic study, Hayes argues that this apparent paradox in fact aligns in rather logical, if problematic, ways with the economic geography of late capitalism. Hayes argues that “lifestyle migration” works as a form of geoarbitrage, “the calculative work of earning money at one latitude and stretching it at another” (41). The ability for North American migrants to stretch money as they move it across space is predicated upon what Aihwa Ong calls “latitudes” within a global division of labour that emerge as a “by-product of an exploitative and often very violent appropriation of wealth” under colonialism (11). Hayes compares the processes of geoarbitrage to global offshoring, yet in this scenario – somewhat disturbingly – the North American expatriates have offshored the cost of their own aging and senescence. And they do so with the tacit approval of their home countries, whose economic systems are simultaneously producing tremendous wealth and enormous precarity.

The strength of Hayes’s ethnographic work is in how it reveals a troublesome gap between the individual narratives of lifestyle migrants and this broader structural reality in which they come to circulate. While lifestyle migrants are clearly in the position of relative economic and political power in this migration narrative (they are literally sought after by the receiving country rather than blocked or restricted), Hayes reveals an underlying sense of melancholy and insecurity that shapes their choices despite the often romantic ways in which they narrate them.

Chapters 1 through 3, the ethnographic core of the book, offer rich descriptive accounts of the social life of lifestyle migrants in Cuenca, a gentrifying city of Ecuador, well contextualised within larger discussions of ongoing coloniality, whiteness and racialisation. Throughout these descriptions is an equally skillfully presented reflection on contemporary social life in the United States and Canada. The very countries that took on the spoils of a violent colonialism now experience such
profund inequality that the members of a newly insecure mid-

class find themselves moving to countries that are largely

unknown to them. They do so to eliminate their vulnerability in

meeting basic human needs: housing, health care and even

human intimacy. That is to say, they are pursuing basic relation-

ships of care that have been absent in their North American

lives.

In Chapter 1, during a discussion of geoarbitrage, Hayes
describes one Floridian couple that celebrates their ability to

host dinner parties with a black-tie service staff, while at the

same time referring to themselves as “economic refugees” from

a place that no longer permits them to stop working if

they wish maintain their existing housing, health care and

modes of leisure in late life. The couple explicitly compares the

costs of living in the United States with living in Cuenca but

seems unable to consider the global structures within which

such comparisons and translations of value are possible, and

why it is that they are in the position to arbitrage while their

service staff clearly are not. Part of this, Hayes argues, rests on

racialised Euro-American assumptions of difference in which

the radical inequality of experience between these two places is

imagined to be the outcome of two unrelated natural processes.

Moving forward from his discussions of “gringo” subjec-
tivity and their imaginations of Cuenca and Ecuadorian social

life in the opening chapters, in Chapter 4, Hayes examines

the relationship between what he calls “global gentrification” and

the more specific local processes of gentrification in the

historic Spanish colonial centre in Cuenca. This chapter pro-

vides insight into how global narratives of heritage circulate

along similarly unequal latitudes shaped by histories of colo-
nialism and disregard. Heritage preservation is based around the

peculiar commoditisation of spaces generated by the concen-

trated material remains of prior colonisations. It relies on a

romanticisation of colonial space, which seeks to appeal to the

nostalgic impulses of both global tourism and migration mar-

kets. As such, heritage becomes a social and political project

of powerful people that advances at the expense of Ecuadorian

working people and traditional users of urban spaces (121).

In Chapter 5, Hayes shifts the reader’s attention from urban

Cuenca to lifestyle migrants who have settled in rural areas of

highland Ecuador. He describes how these migrants inherit a

landscape that is appealing for its seemingly natural beauty but

is in fact the result of a specific history of private property-ori-

ented land reforms that led to a loss of collective lands and the

persistence of wealth and power inequality in the region. This

privatised landscape thus becomes a space in which lifestyle

migrants, often unwittingly, buy into “reproducing the econom-
ic interests of landholders” in the post-hacienda economy (152).

In the conclusion, Hayes takes on a critically nuanced and

empathic tone. The lifestyle migrants he has described make

their moves out of reasonable desires, he says, “to escape the

cultural and economic excess of late capitalist life” (207).

For these migrants, life in the United States and Canada was

shaped by pressing insecurity and stress. But, he says, in mov-

ing along these latitudes of historically produced inequality to

seek relief, “they can be the carriers of the very forces they

seek to escape” (207). This is a powerful and apt phrasing, one

that captures a much broader frustration with the perceived

limits of agency in late capitalism. Hayes calls attention here

to the extant impulses toward altruism and solidarity in the

people he has met and worked with. It seems, as with so many

of the “global” problems encountered in a world of ongoing

coloniality, that the real political work begins at home. Modes

of solidarity and decolonisation that continue the fight for liv-
ing wages, for access to health care and for secure retirements

seem the most immediate course toward less precarity in both

Florida and Cuenca. The most troubling aspect of Hayes’s eth-
nographic account, though, is his North American subjects’
tendency to read the failures and vulnerabilities of political and

economic life in the United States into the places where they

have just arrived. Ineffective social support systems, economic

precarity and persistent inequality are imagined as unique to

Ecuador rather than being the very factors that pushed these

migrants to flee the United States.

Gringolandia is a compelling ethnography of the mixed

social life of a migrant enclave in Cuenca, but it is also a valu-
able critical reflection upon the strained social life of aging

North Americans under late capitalism.

Heo, Angie. The Political Lives of Saints: Christian-

Muslim Mediation in Egypt, Oakland: University of


Carolyn M. Ramzy

Carleton University

Angie Heo’s book The Political Lives of Saints deftly threads

scholarship across the anthropology of Christianity, Middle

East Studies and media theory to highlight how Coptic Chris-
tians mediate the “interfaith industry of Christian-Muslim

relations” in contemporary Egypt (23). In their otherworldly

status as mediums between earthly and heavenly realms, Heo

examines how Egypt’s cult of the saints revolves around a cen-

tral paradox: in their Orthodox material aesthetics, they can

both foster and institute national interfaith unity among their

pious believers and Muslim counterparts while simultaneously

installing infrastructures of segregation, security and confines

of minoritarian belonging for Orthodox Christians. This book is

ethnographically grounded in 34 months of field research car-

ried out over multiple trips in a dynamically changing Egypt.

Beginning in 2004, through to the 2011 Arab Uprising, and

leading into the revolution’s aftermath up to 2015, Heo’s eth-
nography is rich. Her vignettes and interviews take place in

various neighbourhoods as well as over denominational, reli-
gious and class strata across Cairo and the Delta, reaching also

into parts of Sinai and Upper Egypt. Her experiences bring

readers into the co-imbrications of Egyptian nationhood and

the Coptic Church as they both grapple with territorial dispos-
session following the 1967 war; anticolonial sentiment beginning

in the 1960s, and rising sectarianism beginning in the 1980s and

continuing into the present. Her book argues that through the

growing tactility of saints’ relics, apparitions and icons, Copts

have experienced a religious revival that coincides with politi-
cal repressions and minoritarian regulations by the Orthodox

Church and the military-backed Egyptian state. Astutely, Heo

also highlights how believers navigate the limits of the church’s

tenuous entente with the state, paying attention to miracles,

apparitions and other holy mediations shared across the porous

peripheries of Christianity and Islam in popular religion. In the

Anthropologica 62 (2020)