

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'enfouissement, 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 seuls 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 décidèrent alors de bloquer les puits. Les policiers entraînèrent les milliers 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 oeuvre 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 oeuvre 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 néo-libéralisme 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'oeuvre de fiction (FIC), de manière décidée, la question de l'héritage de cette situation passée. En rendant compte, mais aussi en immisçant le vécu dans l'oeuvre 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'empathie et la projection dans les personnages. Passer par l'épreuve des corps remis en scène, c'est être habité par l'oeuvre, ressentir sa sollicitude et la prolonger. L'oeuvre 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 constituantes d'une force collective.

## Références

Latour, Bruno, 2012. *Enquête sur les modes d'existence. Une anthropologie des Modernes*. Paris, La Découverte.

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 process 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 skilfully 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

profound inequality that the members of a newly insecure middle 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 relationships 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” subjectivity 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 provides insight into how global narratives of heritage circulate along similarly unequal latitudes shaped by histories of colonialism and disregard. Heritage preservation is based around the peculiar commoditisation of spaces generated by the concentrated 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 markets. 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-oriented 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 economic 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 moving 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 living 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 ethnographic 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 valuable critical reflection upon the strained social life of aging North Americans under late capitalism.

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Heo, Angie. *The Political Lives of Saints: Christian-Muslim Mediation in Egypt*, Oakland: University of California Press, 2018, 294 pages.

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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 Christian saints 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 central 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 carried 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 ethnography is rich. Her vignettes and interviews take place in various neighbourhoods as well as over denominational, religious 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 dispossession 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 political 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