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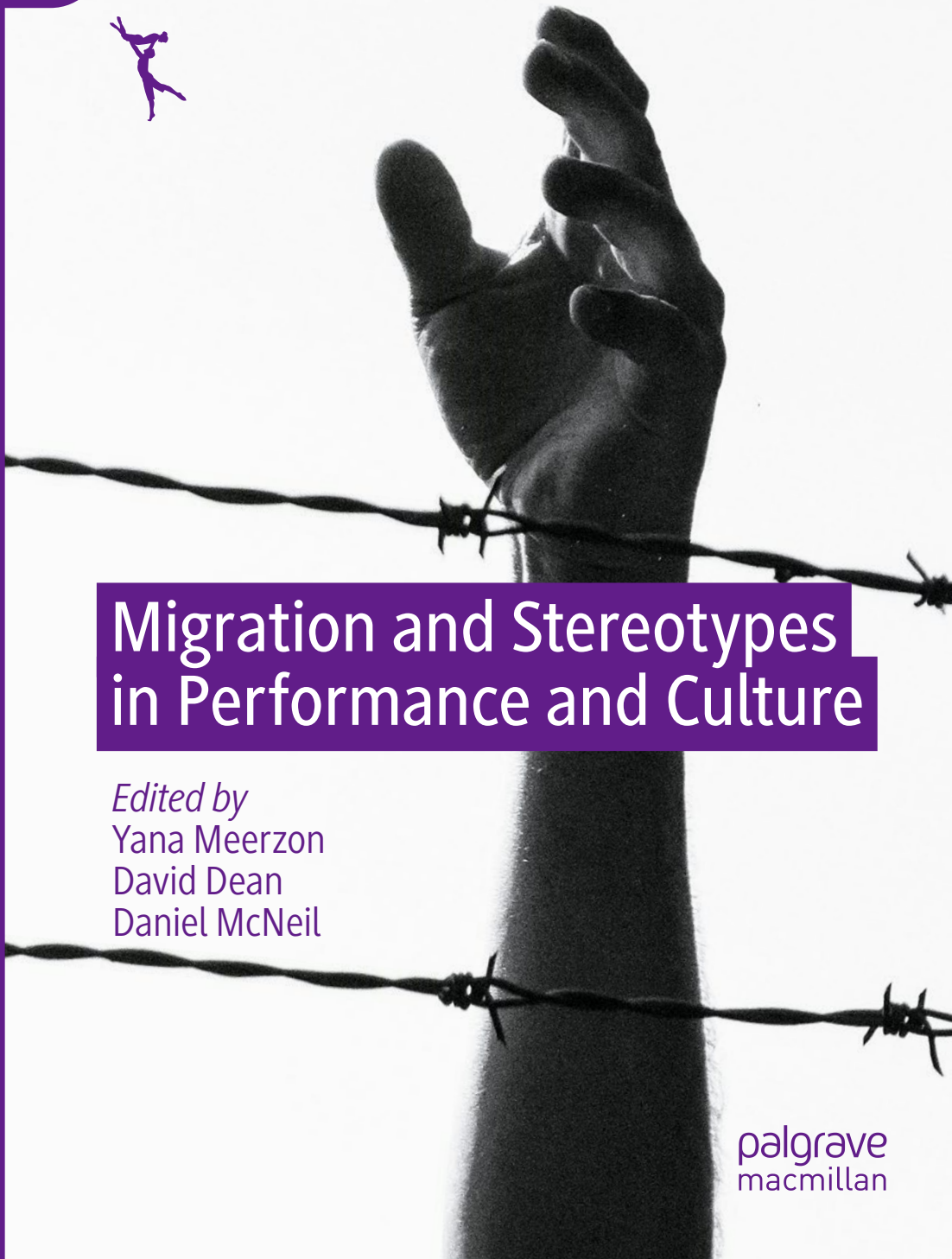

Migration and Stereotypes in Performance and Culture

Edited by
Yana Meerzon
David Dean
Daniel McNeil

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David Dean
Daniel McNeil
Yana Meerzon

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Mobility and Cultural Citizenship: The Making of a Senegalese Diaspora in Multiethnic Brazil

Claiming Their Voice: Foreign Memories on the Post-Brexit Stage

Introduction

Daniel McNeil, Yana Meerzon, and David Dean

It is a truth universally acknowledged that anyone writing a novel about "the British intellectual Left in the late twentieth century, who began by looking around for some exemplary figure to link its various trends and phases, would find themselves spontaneously reinventing Stuart Hall" (Eagleton 1996). After departing Jamaica on a Rhodes scholarship, Hall encountered and survived the distilled Englishness of Oxford in the 1950s. As director of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies between 1968 and 1979, he developed telling metaphors for the British public in which the people who migrated from Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean to the United Kingdom became the "sugar you stir" in the great British cup of tea (Hall 1978). As Professor and Head of the Department of Sociology at the Open University from 1979 until his retirement in 1997, he grappled with the authoritarian populism of Thatcherism, a crisis of law and order, and political rhetoric that depicted migrants as unrecognizable

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aliens that threatened to pollute, undermine, or swamp British greatness. Although we still await the great British novel to feature a character modelled on Hall, posthumous collections of his essays and the Stuart Hall Library at Rivington Place in London attest to his abiding influence on British society and culture.

This interdisciplinary collection of essays pays homage to the political and critical tradition of British Cultural Studies exemplified by Hall's work and seeks to avoid the pitfalls of recent North American work that appropriates Hall as "the godfather of multiculturalism" (Yardley 2014; Martin 2014). The co-editors of the book—first and second-generation migrants to Canada from British, Caribbean, and Russian diasporas—have not only shared Hall's bewilderment with American Cultural Studies, they have also sought to consider a different possibility to political and social scientists in the West who primarily read multiculturalism as a "governmental and/or rhetorical aspiration that is primarily about group cultural rights and formal institutional inclusion" (Valluvan 2019). Our goal is not to translate and simplify the informal, messy dimensions of urban multicultures for the benefit of readers and practitioners who find it difficult to grasp the points being made (Hall 1992b; MacCabe 2008; McNeil 2015). Indeed, we have written elsewhere about "shy elitists" who, fearing that metaphor, irony, and allusions to literary fiction may not be intelligible to a broad cross-section of North Americans, end up throwing the baby of imaginative, radical work on convivial multicultures out with the bathwater of exclusionary nationalism, Eurocentrism, and racial and religious discrimination (Tator and Henry 2006, 141; Henry and Tator 2006, 235; McNeil 2020).

To transform the merely professional discussions of multiculturalism, immigration, and "race relations" into something more lively and radical, our project delves beneath the media headlines about the "migration crisis," Brexit, Trump, and similar events and spectacles that have been linked to the intensification and proliferation of stereotypes about migrants since 2015. In our initial gathering at an interdisciplinary, international, and bilingual conference on Migration/Representation/Stereotypes at the University of Ottawa in 2017, we expressed our commitment to bringing together Cultural Studies and Performance Studies, amongst other fields, to address stereotypes that (1) reduce groups to a few, simple, essential characteristics (such as irrationality, rhythm, animism, oneness with nature, and sensuality); (2) symbolically fix these characteristics as essential and

natural features of people and groups; and (3) tend to occur when there are gross inequalities of power (Hall et al. 1978; Hall 1992a; Hall 1997).

Our shared interests in Hall's intellectual project and legacy encouraged us to pursue the type of collaborative writing project that is often deemed essential to conjunctural analysis that examines "the coming together of often distinct though related contradictions" in a particular historical moment (Hall 1979; Grossberg 2019). In this collection of essays on Migration and Stereotypes in Performance and Culture, we consider the multiple problematics that emerge in a historical moment in which there are more displaced persons than at any time since World War II (approximately 244 million people were defined as international migrants in 2015, a 41% increase since 2000). We examine, for example, how neoliberal and neoconservative rhetorics conjoin to express anxieties about migrants "suspected of spreading various diseases and contagions" that threaten the production of "healthy, self-regulating, and self-fashioning citizens" (Iton 2008, 133). We show how discourse about migration intersects with the desires of subaltern subjects to "push for inclusion amongst those protected by the state while at the same time acknowledging the limits of this recognition" (Iton 2008, 202). We pay attention to affective landscapes in which multicultural national citizens are accorded greater universality and legitimacy in opposition to refugees and other groups that are imagined to be "monocultural" Others or multicultural global citizens (Melamed 2006). Essays in this collection apply keywords in Cultural Studies and Performance Studies such as abjection, agnotology, neoliberalism, precarity, securitization, self-fashioning, the society of the spectacle, and surveillance to disrupt attempts to fix refugees as dangerous, violent threats, revolting subjects as well as ineffectual, passive victims (Tyler 2013; Butler 2016; Žižek 2016). Contributors also ask how artists, academics, and practitioners may intervene in a conjuncture that is dominated by the policing of borders (the gated community, the carceral state, the walls to defend the greatness of the homeland, etc. [Goldberg 2008]), and the presumption that migrants are problems to be solved by more efficient management, increased surveillance and reformist gestures of recognition, inclusion, integration, settlement, and civic participation.

Committed to a collaborative, interdisciplinary, and multinational approach that treats the nation as one frame of meaning amongst others, this collection is able to bring together a range of discourses about citizenship and settler coloniality that, when separated from each other,

disarticulated, and struggled against in isolation, cannot be recognized, contested, and challenged. It arranges contributions into three research areas and fields of inquiry—Theatre and Performance Studies, Cultural and Migration Studies, and Applied Theatre and History. There are, however, revealing overlaps and connections across the three parts that invite readers to imagine new ways of belonging with time, space, and each other (Grossberg 2000, 89).

The Lives of Others: Precarious Bodies and Self-Fashioning

Recent scholarship has demonstrated the ability of theatre and performance to seize the attention of audiences that may be desensitized to statistics about the deaths of anonymous refugees and migrants. In telling stories about migration and confronting the bodies of the performers with the bodies of spectators in the immediacy of a live performance, theatre practitioners can transform nameless migrants into individual agents with personal histories, memories and identities. Moreover, they may resist the tendency to sentimentalize or simplify the condition of exile by treating migrants as always and only victims or comedic stereotypes (see, for example, Bauman 2004, 2011; Boym 2001; Hoffman 1990; Jestrovic 2013; Kristeva 1991; Lamming 1992; Meerzon 2012, 2017, 2018; Rudakoff 2017; Said 1984; Wilmer 2018; Zaroulia 2018). Recent studies of political theatre and cultural performance have considered the refugee challenge in Europe as an invitation to construct "a mythopoetics of migration" through theatre and cultural performance (Cox 2014). Theatre practitioners have used the tactics of adaptation as well as documentary, autobiographical, applied and multilingual theatre, and critical counter-mapping (Balfour 2013; Jeffers 2013; Nolette and Babayants 2017; Meerzon and Pewny 2018). They have also developed movement-based theatre (Mitra 2015), intercultural theatre work (Gilbert and Lo 2007; McIvor 2016), and performance interventions and activism (Fleishman 2015; Marschall 2018).

The chapters in "The Lives of Others: Precarious Bodies and Self-Fashioning" bring together close readings of theatre and film produced by several provocative, suggestive, and explorative artists. The interdisciplinary overlap—from traditional theatre performance to performance intervention, activism, and film—deepens our understanding of the impact

migratory and intercultural performances have on the conversation about the seduction and danger of cultural stereotypes. The cultural other—recognized and felt through the materiality of a migrant or diasporic body, objects displaced people carry, and languages they speak—often serves as a token of theatrical verisimilitude and authenticity that theatrical interventions and films seek when they artistically address migration. Despite their noble goals, such representations might overuse the stereotype, and hence risk further propagating the phenomenon of danger-fetishism (Ahmed 2000) and verging on political pornography (Sontag 2003). Hence chapters in this part consider how artists and scholars may contest the exploitation precarious bodies by political and media institutions and performance activists.

In her reflections on the *The Dead are Coming* (2015), a performance intervention by the German performance company The Centre for Political Beauty that seeks to energize and mobilize crowds, Meerzon shows that despite their good intentions, such artistic provocations might fall victims of their political objectives, as unintentionally they might re-enforce the negative tropes of anti-migration discourses that envisage today's displacement as bodily overflow and human waste. In contrast, Purcell-Gates demonstrates that familiarity of objects and bodies that meet in the intimate space of a theatre performance can serve as an antidote to the dangers of over-representation and stereotyping. She reminds us that in the age of technological innovations that intersect with and hijack human bodies, domestic and natural objects as well as nuanced storytelling can significantly challenge media-driven and over-simplified representations of refugees. Thus, as this part argues, a focus on making performances with "live materials" in theatres of migration can provoke more powerful affective responses. Kee-Yoon Nahm proposes another compelling perspective on the (ab)use of ethnic and cultural stereotypes on stage, specifically when it comes to the use of a racialized body. Nahm argues that theatrical performances often employ racial stereotypes for the sole purpose of making audiences—especially those who are not racialized minorities—feel uncomfortable. He reminds us that producing and multiplying racist stereotypes is not confined to the past, and so theatre is in the privileged position to make spectators confront and wrestle with their feelings of uncertainty, guilt, and responsibility when watching stereotypes on stage. This search for truth and authenticity that marks performance works about migration or created by refugee or migrant artists often characterizes their engagement with other material elements of performance. For example, the

suitcase—a necessary prop of travelling—has become a leading visual and conceptual trope in mythologizing migration on many international stages. One of the primary symbols to refer to relocation, displacement, and exile, Sarit Cofman-Simhon argues, the suitcase has emerged as a special object in Jewish cultural memory and Israeli identity more specifically. Often, in the collective psyche of Israeli audiences, belonging and homelessness are symbolically linked. However, the suitcase—both as a material object and a powerful image of exile—can also be a commanding stereotype. It can trigger collective and personal memories and serve as a reminder of the terrible pasts, but it can also act as a symbol of hope and future. In this case, a stereotype can become a welcome artistic trope and symbolic repetition.

Paradoxically, language—words themselves—can become the material signifier of migration, specifically when the traveller realizes that speaking in a new tongue and addressing new audience, he/she is inevitably caught within the impossibility of cultural translation, as suggested by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (2000). Although focusing on the medium of film, J. Douglas Clayton offers a compelling argument on impossibility of translating self for the other, regardless of the medium or language one must use. Focusing on Andrey Tarkovsky's film *Nostalghia* (1983), one of the most compelling and insightful films about the hardships of exile and produced by one of the iconic figures of the twentieth-century art scene, who was himself an outcast, Clayton examines how this cinematic masterpiece deploys a familiar narrative of migration as personal nostalgia and creatively subverts stereotypes produced by the state. On the one hand, Tarkovsky's film offers a recognizable representation of the Russian intellectual standing alone and above the circumstances that led to their exile; on the other, it investigates whether a migrant can take his art with him and translate it for a new cultural environment. In this example, stereotypes work both ways—a host culture recognizes a foreigner as other and a traveller holds cultural and ideological presumptions that he brought from home. Clayton insists that the impossibility of translation or self-translation for the other becomes a device of filmmaking and narrative commentary as offered by Tarkovsky's cinematic style. Using the poetry of his father that serves as an inspiration for the aesthetics of his film, Tarkovsky provocatively asks if film offers a better medium to translate the materiality of a national culture and exilic self that poetry does not. This part, "The Lives of Others: Precarious Bodies

and Self-Fashioning," therefore, aims to mobilize the complexity of stereotype—on the one hand, each article condemns the overuse of stereotype that can only re-enforce the precarity of migrant experiences; on the other hand, it demonstrates that when it comes to performative representation stereotypes are unavoidable. It insists that when theatre or film employ stereotypes, its makers are responsible for understanding, acknowledging, and critically examining the potential emotional, psychological, and even legal impact these stereotypes can produce both on the subject matter of the performance and their audiences. Without such awareness, the political goals and the ethical outcomes of any performance about migration remain questionable.

Multiculturalism, Citizenship, and Belonging: Deep Equality and Diasporic Cultures

In addition to building on new research at the intersection of Migration and Performance Studies, this collection complicates and exemplifies new keywords in Cultural Studies and Migration Studies. In his much-cited *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, Raymond Williams (1976) had no entries for "migration," "immigration," or "borders." *The Revised Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, edited by Tony Bennett, Lawrence Grossberg, and Meaghan Morris (2005) also omitted these contested and critical terms (although it did include the keywords "sovereignty," "diaspora," "human rights," "mobility," "post-colonialism," and "race" that relate to the study of migration and borders). To address this gap in the field of Cultural Studies, Casas-Cortes et al. (2014, 59) have proposed new keywords that specifically address migration and borders for scholars and practitioners who seek to (1) study new problem-space or problematics, following the deepening of globalization, the 2007–2008 financial crisis, and austerity politics, (2) critically support movements, such as "No One is Illegal" and "No Border," which contested the illegalization and demonization of migrants and creatively used new forms of digital and social media, and (3) "deconstruct and transform the established repertoires of both traditional and critical migration studies in productive ways."

What is this "traditional" in "traditional migration studies"? Although historians of migration have chronicled the spread of Homo erectus and Homo sapiens from the Rift Valley in Africa to Europe and other continents between 1.5 million and 5000 BCE and explained how Ancient Greek, Roman, Mesopotamian, Inca, Indus, and Zhou empires depended on migration (Koser 2007), Casas-Cortes et al. (2014) are primarily concerned with what has been framed, imagined, and invented as traditional in the relatively recent past. They associate the development of traditional migration studies with the movement of Europeans to the New World at the end of the nineteenth century and the "guest worker regime" in West Germany and other European countries in the 1950s and 1960s, which are said to inform its residual Eurocentrism, its relationship to industrialization, and its concern with the social and economic integration of the migrant (Casas-Cortes et al. 2014, 61–62).

In contradistinction to traditional migration studies, Casas-Cortes et al. associate critical migration studies with interventions that carefully engage with critical race theory, feminism, labour studies, and transnationalism to disrupt the assumption that respectable, rational, and "common sense" discussions of migration include ones that talk about a "migration crisis" threatening European sovereignty. Public intellectuals working within a tradition of critical migration studies approach, for example, may seek to smuggle discussions of a crisis of European institutions, overdevelopment, or capitalism into a liberal public sphere. Historical approaches to critical migration studies may emphasize the predominant migration event of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—a slave trade that forced an estimated 12 million people from mainly western Africa across the Atlantic to the Americas and across the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean—rather than focus on movement to and from Europe. Critical migration scholars interested in space, place, and difference may demonstrate how the use of the term "climate refugees" has recycled and redeployed racist notions of environmental determinism and a natural hierarchy of development in which "primitive Others" were framed as passive objects in need of aid, expert management, and supervision (Piguet 2013). In short, critical migration studies tend to draw on intellectual traditions that express scepticism about the deployment of the term "clash of civilisations" to describe conflicts between Western civilizations and the non-Western world (Huntington 1993), and invites reflection about the dangers of a "clash of ignorance" inspiring fearful and anxious responses to anything that is deemed foreign (Said 1978, 2001; Rappaport 2018).

Building on recent developments in critical migration studies, the chapters in "Multiculturalism, Citizenship, and Belonging: Deep Equality and Diasporic Cultures" address national citizenship ceremonies, international sporting events, and diasporic communities in which the stereotypes of migrants are sustained, reproduced, negotiated, and conditioned. The authors in this part address the processes whereby migrants bridge and maintain engagements with "host countries" and "societies of origin." They consider the ethics and aesthetics of translocal, diasporic identities in unsettling national conversations on migration that primarily revolve around the surveillance and recognition of immigrants and racialized groups. As Zaheeda P. Alibhai demonstrates in her analysis of the ban against wearing the niqab and burqa at the Canadian Citizenship Ceremony between 2011 and 2015, the racialized female body becomes an object of political and ideological manipulation, a hostage not simply to mediatized and performative discourses but to the legislative practices of Canada that guarantee freedom of one's cultural, religious, and linguistic expression. In such a context, the Canadian state assumes the role of arbiter of religious praxis as well as human rights and freedom of expression. Helin Burkay and David Dean also address an oft-overlooked area of Canadian governmentality. Drawing on public debates about what constitutes Canada's national dish, as well as restaurant menus, food festivals, and a recent stamp issue celebrating Canadian desserts, they reveal the tensions underlying the elusive concept of Canadian cuisine and posit that it is more productive to speak of a culinary tradition that is dynamic, adaptive, and multidimensional.

Shifting focus from Canadian state practices to lived multicultures in Brazil, Gana Ndiaye uses migration records and ethnographic field research conducted in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo to illustrate the long history of Senegalese settlement in Brazil, the diversity of Senegalese migrants and the networks that channel them in the country, and the strategies by which they showcase their cultural difference and claim "cultural citizenship." Peter Kuling also addresses the intersection of body, state, and performance in Brazil by studying stereotypes about refugees deployed by athletes, reporters, and the organizing Olympic Committee during the 2016 Olympics. Using promotional materials and broadcasts created by the official Brazilian and international corporate media for the 2016 Games—particularly those related to the performance of the Refugee Olympic Team—Kuling demonstrates how media outlets have sought to elicit sympathy for refugees while simultaneously commodifying and fetishizing athletic bodies for global consumption.

Dreams, Memories, and Storytelling: Applied Theatre and Communities of Praxis

We are sitting in Salar's Afghan restaurant sipping tea and chewing on pita bread. We listen as Safi, a thirty-five-year-old former literature student and refugee from Syria reminds us that those joining us have travelled across the seas and across Europe to get "to safety, to our dreams … People meet, sing, share stories of great journeys and stories of home" (Murphy and Robertson 2017, 36). We are in Zhangal, the Jungle, and we, the audience, are fully immersed in this performance of lives lived in this migrant community on the outskirts of Calais. We want to comfort Salar when he hears the news of a young man's death trying to hitch a ride on a lorry to reach Britain, shout at the French police when they attack the café, and we occasionally glare at those observing at a distance, watching what is happening before their eyes replicated on television screens in front of them. They, like us, are theatre-goers, but they sit in the balcony, beyond the cliffs of Dover; we are sitting on cushions, on benches. We are in the café. We are the café. We are migrants and refugees and volunteers. We were not assigned those roles as we entered the theatre through corridors lined with bedding and supplies for the café's kitchen. We chose them because the play has compelled us to do so, through our feelings, experiences, and imaginings. We have repositioned and reinvented ourselves in the bodies and experiences of others. We have embraced difference.

The Jungle, which ran at London's Young Vic, National, and Playhouse Theatres throughout 2017 and 2018, spoke to real issues, drew on verbatim and documented stories, and performance strategies associated with the theatre of the real and the theatre of the oppressed. Positioning the play in the traditions of applied, verbatim, documentary, and realist theatre places significance on the eight months writers Joe Murphy and Joe Robertson spent working with refugees in Calais. It appreciates the theatrical energies generated by the actors, some of whom were themselves migrants and refugees—Safi was played by Ammar Haj Ahmad, an actor trained in Damascus who ended up in Britain seeking asylum (Gill 2018). It also acknowledged that the audience, who had come for a night out, was implicit in hearing these stories rarely told and sharing experiences rarely shared. And, of course, we too had our own stories.

As the change of focus and voice in this part of our introduction suggests, we shift attention in "Dreams, Memories, and Storytelling: Applied

Theatre and Communities of Praxis" from academic explorations of stereotypes to the experiences of theatre and performance practitioners and their audiences. This final part of our book is about histories, memories, and dreams performed. It focuses on artists who use storytelling to confront xenophobia by capturing and sharing untold stories and the experiences of others. While it showcases the voices of theatre and performance activists, many who are themselves the victims of displacement or are actively engaged in working with refugee and migrant communities, the methodologies, technologies, and strategies they use are shared by public historians—academics and practitioners who create histories in the public sphere. Drawing, for example, on oral histories, the remembered stories people tell about the past, public historians, like artists engaged in documentary or verbatim theatre, re-present past stories in the contemporary present with the conviction that such work will contribute to an improved future. Recognizing their role in such history-making has led not only to more transparent and openly reflexive practices by researchers, but more importantly a sharing of authority that insists on participant engagement, influence, and control in shaping outcomes (Frisch 1990, 2003; High 2014, 2018). Each of the authors in this part speaks openly about their roles in shaping the stories of the others they re-present and represent through theatre and performance.

Having experienced the effect of war trauma first-hand, Nimo Bokore writes about her project that gives voice to Somali women's experiences of forced migration, war, displacement and marginalization. Drawing on methodological frameworks informed by autoethnography and Black Feminism, Bokore gathered the stories of twelve Somali women residing in Canada and found storytelling to be a powerful tool in the journey from trauma to healing. Enabling silenced voices to be heard is also a motive behind Kasia Lech's exploration of the work of artist-immigrants who find themselves often stereotyped, both in the media and in the theatre work they are offered to perform (as strangers or, worse, as dangerous, evil, or unwitting foreigners). Lech demonstrates how new work by migrant theatre practitioners employ many strategies, such as multilingualism, to offer new perspectives that enable a reimagining of the social, one that highlights commonalities rather than differences, and challenges stereotypes rather than reinforcing them.

Sharing Lech's interest in community-based theatre work in post-Brexit Britain, Ida Casilli offers an account of her project with the Italian community of Peterborough, UK. Drawing on oral histories and testimonies

that reveal a community which embodied, and even perpetuated stereotypes attached to them from the 1920s to the 1950s, Casilli's theatrical work offered opportunities for new imagining and new storytelling. Using devised and testimonial theatre approaches, the project ended with a dramatic text and a theatre performance that reflected the personal and communal experiences of Italian migrants in the United Kingdom, but also resonated with how refugees and migrants from Africa and the Middle East are represented in contemporary Britain. Michaelis Georgiou demonstrates how the techniques of truth-telling and myth-busting privileged by documentary theatre's aesthetics can combat stereotypes when representing refugees on stage. Examining the bilingual (German-French) BAAL Novo Theater Eurodistrict theatre company's productions involving community outreach, Georgiou shows how these projects played a vital role in constructing a public space in which to discuss some of the most pressing issues in the local community while fighting stereotypes related to the political and cultural realities of today's Europe.

The book concludes with Alda Terracciano's account of her multisensory project, *Streets of… 7 Cities in 7 Minutes*. Telling the story of three routes (the Indo-European migrations, the Silk Road, the transatlantic Slave trade) as they resurface in everyday lives globally, the project included interactive memory sessions with various diasporic communities living in London. Terraciano invited participants to share memories, thoughts, and feelings about a place that signified ways of understanding identity, belonging, and home. The project aspired to rouse its audiences into some fresh thinking about the use and abuse of stereotypes and expose them to the complexity of the questions and practices of mobility in today's Europe while also engaging the voices of migrants in remapping and re-thinking the relationships between the state, the media, and the Other in post-Brexit Britain.

At the start of act five of *The Jungle*, Safi asks "When does a place become home?" (Murphy and Robertson 2017, 67). Each of the chapters in part three interrogates notions of place and home, exploring how at various times and in diverse contexts individuals and communities negotiate stereotypes that exclude and navigate difference in the desire to belong. Each of the projects discussed not only dramatizes fearful and melancholic approaches to racialized minorities and migrants, but also provides us with tools to cultivate convivial multicultural spaces in which markers of racialized ethnic difference "cease to be objects of normative supervision *in the first place*" (Valluvan 2016, 219. Emphasis original). The productions and

projects discussed by Bokore, Lech, Casilli, Georgiou, and Terraciano confirm Hall's insistence that the best cultural work must destabilize categories and engage difference. Like *The Jungle*, these projects satisfy his theory of articulation, not only affirming the political nature of cultural work but being of practical value because they remain "open, partial, and incomplete" (Giroux 2000, 142; Clarke 2015).

* * *

Finding ourselves situated in a world that is framed as polarized and divisive—one in which journalists and social scientists repeatedly remind us of the perils of biases and stereotypes generating clashes and conflicts—our collection has sought to carve out the necessary theoretical and political space for informed, inspired, and interdisciplinary conversations about the myths and realities of culture, migration, performance, and stereotypes. Such spaces may cultivate reflection and praxis about what Zygmunt Bauman (2011) calls the unifying concept of dialogue—a skill which is not only the life-force of democracy and cohabitation but also something that can make the difference between us surviving together or perishing together. They may offer us opportunities to juxtapose geographies, histories, experiences, artistic practices, forms of cultural mediations, research methodologies, and academic practices as a means to resist agnotology or the cultural production of ignorance. They may even, perhaps, help us address what intellectuals such as Stuart Hall (2017a,b) and Edward Said considered a basic humanistic mission—the preservation of difference without, at the same time, sinking into the desire to dominate.

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