

Metaphors that disturb and inspire: the challenge of reading across cultures

I want to begin by thanking Eddie Baugh for providing the occasion for my talk today and the organizers for the invitation and arrangements that have made it both possible and pleasurable. This includes Michael Bucknor, Victor Chang, and Nadi Edwards, the English department here at Mona and the West Indian Association for Commonwealth Literature and Language studies. Thank you all. Eddie has been an inspiration to me since I started my career and first became interested in Jamaican literature and its contexts. I first came to the Caribbean in 1984 on a fellowship to learn more about the people, places and contexts out of which the writing was emerging. Eddie met me at the airport, ensured I met the right people, visited the right places, and set me on my way to Trinidad and Guyana with much excellent advice. His example as a mentor, teacher, poet, critic, and orator sets a high standard for everyone who cares about language: how it shapes feeling, thinking and community and how its various registers can form what Anna Tsing calls “zones of awkward engagement, where words mean something different across a divide even as people agree to speak” (xi). Those zones of awkward engagement form my subject today. How can they be ethically negotiated to enhance democratic practices, locally and globally?

What are the expanded literacies necessary for engaging the global today? To what extent is competency in global English becoming a requisite new literacy for democratic agency? How is reading changing in response to new media? Who reads? How do we read? How should we read? These are questions that Eddie Baugh addressed within Jamaican and Commonwealth contexts, and questions that I continue to ask within Canadian, postcolonial, and global contexts today. With colleagues in Brazil, I am asking how second language learners of English may

expand their agency within local and global spheres. Like Eddie, I remain committed to the literate imagination, while recognizing how voiced and visual imaginaries interact with the literary today. Metaphors operate across these domains, working as bridges and borders, zones of engagement that enable words and images to mean differently across divides even as people agree to speak. Metaphors can seem to ease communication. But they may also give pause. Gayatri Spivak uses the technical term catachresis to indicate the ways in which cross-cultural engagements in colonial contexts often involve mixed metaphors, the kind of wire-crossing that can expose the gaps between different ways of seeing. These gaps, in turn, can lead to new modes of imagining how people wish to live together. Because each new opening closes off other possibilities, these negotiations never stop mattering.

In today's talk, I will discuss this process as it unfolds in a poem by Eddie Baugh, titled "Turning Point." I will then examine two contemporary media photographs to consider the ways in which they simultaneously signal both continuities with the past and breaks with past injustices. These photos, taken this year, mark an encounter with history, reminding viewers of the importance of place and of the language and imagery through which we understand them. From these I will turn to a single powerful metaphor, that of the zombie, which is popping up in popular culture and globalization scholarship in ways that both trouble and inspire. The zombie's global afterlife leads me to conclude by considering some of the ways literary scholarship is beginning to engage with questions of global belonging and governing, leaving you with some of the questions with which I continue to grapple in my own work.

The challenges of interpretation, the slipperiness and precision of language and the importance of place have long inspired Edward Baugh's work. They continue to energize

postcolonial engagements with the emergent difficulties and opportunities posed by globalization. Globalization means different things to different people, and can change its shape according to the lens through which it is viewed, and the location of the observer. For today's discussion, I use globalization to refer to the growth of transplanetary connections. These are driven by new technologies, trade, and trans-state negotiations, including knowledge mobilization, in ways that are changing how people understand their opportunities, their identities, and their place in the world. In my view, global and local are not opposites. They co-construct each other and are co-implicated in each other in ways for which we are still struggling to find adequate images. We know their relations involve scale, but few are happy with the metaphor of nested Russian dolls, with each level fitting neatly into the next.



Instead, local and global cross influence each other. The coined word, glocal, tries to capture this relation but it is not easily visualized. For many, globalization draws attention to the

sub-national and the supra-national, what lies above and what lies below the nation-state, leaving the nation-state itself, less central than it used to be.

Because globalization is often characterized as a turning point in world history, this paper takes its first inspiration from Baugh's poem, "Turning Point." In his ironic way, Baugh plays with the metaphor of a turning point, recognizing that every opening can also involve a closing. Here the narrator describes a journey into the centre of an island he is visiting with a friend: "Then the road stops, just like that.... Only the map tells us / the name of this place. *Mundo Nuevo!* / A joker must have named it: new world, / dead end" (91). Later, after the dispiriting journey back to town, "as shadows overtake / that desolation," the speaker reconsiders his first impression: "But *Mundo Nuevo* nags. / Did the metaphor disturb a sleeping nerve? / Perhaps it wasn't a joke. Perhaps / that moment when he named it / marked a promise, or possibility, / a turning-point, some final testing-ground / at lonely journey's end."



For me, the poem re-opens one of the most familiar metaphors of the Americas—the new world— to insist on its opacity, its resistance to easy assimilation into any kind of automatic judgment, and its potential still to shift the grounds of engagement toward new ways of thinking.

Globalization is the latest claimant to new world discourse, whether in the form of George Bush Senior's "new world order" or the World Social Forum's claim that "another world is possible." While neoliberal globalization presents itself as an unstoppable juggernaut, social movement counter-globalizations offer hope for alternative ways of imagining human possibility. While neoliberal globalization continues the ravages begun with the conquests that followed 1492,

openings remain for disrupting that logic as people find new possibilities in what at first may have seemed to be only dead ends.

My recent work has been inspired by the statement: “there is no global social justice without global cognitive justice” (Santos et al: ix). Boaventura de Sousa Santos and his colleagues, in prefacing their work with that statement, position “the case of the indigenous peoples of the Americas and of the African slaves,” cases of genocide, in relation to what they call “a form of epistemicide” (Santos, 1998)” (Santos et al: ix)—the deliberate killing of non-European forms of knowing. Epistemicide and genocide go hand in hand. The task of reclaiming subjugated forms of knowledge, alternative ways of seeing the world, and misunderstood modes of framing understanding, has occupied decolonizing movements since colonization began. Ngugi wa Thiong’o called it “decolonizing the mind.” That task takes on different challenges and assumes different forms in different parts of the world and at different times. Since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the terrorist attacks on the USA on September 11, 2001, and the global economic collapse we are still enduring, even dominant voices are beginning to question the logic that seems to have brought the contemporary world to a dead end. We do not yet know whether that dead end will also become a turning point, nor what roles reading and writing might play in decolonizing societies.

Writing out of the experience of the Spanish-speaking Americas, Walter Mignolo advocates “border thinking” as a new way forward. By border thinking, Mignolo means exploiting “the moments in which the imaginary of the modern world system cracks’ (2000: 23). What seemed to be whole begins to break apart as its borders open and shift. In the words of Charles Taylor, a social imaginary is “what enables...the practices of a society” (Taylor 2) to

function. An imaginary makes sense of the world through shared “images, stories, and legends” (Taylor 23). Together, these provide the common practices of a community that are seen to be legitimate (23). When Mignolo sees the colonial imaginary of the modern world system cracking, he conjures a visual image that can signal different pictures in the mind’s eye while still enabling communication. A shattered vase. Humpty Dumpty’s egg. A 500 metre long, 60 metre deep crack in the Earth’s surface in Afar, Ethiopia, which opened rapidly over several days. Here, the eruption of the Dabbahu volcano is believed to have widened a rift in the African and Arabian tectonic plates; as volcanic magma spilled out, it entered the rift, ruptured the surface and caused the enormous crack. In this image, we can see the crack in the earth from above. This image seems a visual counterpart of Wilson Harris’s invocation of “a kind of seismic quality in a changing culture, an epicenter that releases a suddenly fissured crack, a



suddenly penetrated wall or door, through ‘object’ or ‘slave’ functions consolidated in plantation psychologies” (119-20). In a similar vein, Mignolo’s cracking imaginary references the many ways borders between inside and outside can shatter and reconstitute themselves differently. The crack arises from friction, disrupts the everyday, and may lead to terror or hope. For many, globalization is the chief force

cracking imaginaries today.

The German globalization theorist, Ulrich Beck, suggests that “the context of globality is now everybody’s starting point” (107). As globalization reveals cracks in national imaginaries, regional imaginaries gain strength. Jamaica’s Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade, Dr. Kenneth Baugh, has argued that Spanish be made a second language in Jamaica, given the shifting dynamics of the region (See Press Report). His proposal reinforces the view that the old spatial imaginary of the Commonwealth British West Indies is shape-shifting into a regional imaginary that places Jamaica in closer proximity to the Spanish-speaking Americas. The logic of globalization loosens some links while tightening others. Some of that logic may be observed in the first photograph I will discuss today.

Here is Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez offering United States President Barack Obama the gift of a Spanish-language book, during the Summit of the Americas in Trinidad, on



April 18, 2009. The book, Eduardo Galeano’s *Open Veins of Latin America*, first published in 1971, documents the history of the Americas from a postcolonial perspective.

Watching this moment, the world saw a visual image of a

possible turning point. The history of colonization and imperialism still matter, Chávez says. In response to that history, however, he refuses the supplicant or victim’s position. Whereas once the United States assumed the power of definition, casting Latin America as its colonial

backyard and the recipient of its humanitarian and civilizing aid, now it is the Venezuelan President who is the instructor and the giver of gifts: here a book that redefines the US/Latin American relation as historically one of oppression and inequity but potentially one of equality. This is a self-aggrandizing gesture on the part of Chávez, but as postcolonial readers, or readers trained in close, contextualized reading by Eddie Baugh or his colleagues, we can discover much more.

Galeano's book and Chávez's gesture each here assume the power of definition, the power to narrate, and the power to redefine the categories of First and Third World, North and South. The gift casts Obama, President of the United States, in the role of the one who needs to learn, and to learn not just an unfamiliar take on history, but also a story written first in Spanish. Spanish too carries a history of colonial domination and resistance. There is no pure language of liberation. But Spanish complicates the picture and it suggests that the era of unquestioned U.S. hegemony and of the dominance of global English may be coming to a close.

Reading Chávez's gesture through de Sousa Santos's challenge to seek "cognitive justice," we can see that more is at stake here than political grandstanding. The visual image of transfer from South to North, Latin America to the United States, set in Trinidad, challenges the circuits of exchange that have characterized South-North relations throughout the imperial centuries. Whereas imperialism looted resources and knowledge from conquered peoples, misrepresenting those relations of taking as benevolence, this image reverses that version of transfer, while remaining haunted by its ghosts. Here, through the medium of the book, the global south symbolically translocates a revised view of history seen from the perspective of the colonized. Galeano's book raises questions of location and direction: it asks for whom Obama

and Chávez speak. The “open veins of Latin America” provide a graphic image of an injured continent bleeding outwards into the globe, an embodied landscape of suffering that speaks its injury and its resistance in a single breath, insisting that another knowledge is not only possible but will not be denied.

That alternative knowledge may not speak English. Chávez gives Obama the book in its original Spanish, not in English translation. The generosity of the gift thus involves a complicated form of challenge and embodies a sophisticated and pointed diplomacy. Henceforth, this gift suggests, negotiations will be conducted on equal terms of reciprocity. This symbolic gesture shifts regional relations within the Americas into a new era of engagement. At the same time, it carries global resonance for South-North exchange and South-South relations more generally. South America, including Portuguese-speaking Brazil, is an important player here too, assuming a leadership role in re-grounding South-South relations globally.

My reading sees Obama and Chávez as icons of power, representatives of states but also of North and South, Empire and its assumed backyard. In this exchange, I see the global vocabulary of North and South replacing the postcolonial orientations around West and East and shifting the racialized associations that once underpinned them. The iconography of power is shifting. With a global market now valuing racial diversity, icons of state power are free to follow suit. What access to symbolic whiteness may mean in these new configurations becomes more complex. While Obama’s election marks a symbolic breakthrough not to be discounted, it is a breakthrough that shifts the operations of systemic racism in the United States rather than breaking its hold, and its function in the global arena is ambiguous.

This photo works through the juxtaposed presence of Chávez, Obama, and the connecting book, in a very public scene of postcolonial encounter. My second photo, taken a few days later,



on April 29, 2009, functions as much through absence as presence. Here is Canadian First Nations National Chief of that time, Phil Fontaine, wearing his ancestral headdress, in St. Peter's Square, Vatican City, just before his invited

private audience with Pope Benedict XVI. No cameras or recorders were allowed in the actual meeting. Hence the photograph eerily figures waiting rather than arrival, making it an appropriate image for the condition of North America's First Peoples who have yet to receive recognition of their national rights from either Canada or the United States. Along with New Zealand, these nations have not yet signed the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which was adopted by UN General Assembly Resolution 61/295 on 13 September 2007. The Vatican requested this meeting. What the photo cannot show is the long history of collective activism behind the scenes on the global stage to get the UN Declaration drafted and passed. (This history is recorded in a 2009 publication by James Sakej Youngblood Henderson.)

In requesting the meeting, Vatican imperialism is changing its techniques, and in responding with grace, indigenous politicians employ the stage provided them to get their own message across. While the word "apology" was not used, the Pope apparently expressed "sorrow" for the abuse and deplorable treatment that aboriginal students suffered at residential

schools run by the Roman Catholic Church. A shift is happening. An imaginary is cracking. A dead end is opening. Fontaine, himself a residential school survivor, expressed hope that this meeting would now “close the book” on the issue of apologies. Now it is time for seeking legal redress and healing, he said. Fontaine and the Pope are two leaders without states. Indigenous peoples and religion, once relegated to a receding past within modernity, are assuming an increased importance with globalization. They have new roles to play within what Ulrich Beck terms the “second modernity.”

These two photos suggest to me that identities still matter politically but the ways in which they function may be changing. Chávez’s gift and Fontaine’s audience with the Pope each reminds us that postcolonial work always performs its critique in alliance with hope, its history in dialogue with imagining a better future. Globalization may seem to diminish the agency of individual nation-states, even one as powerful as the United States of America. How much power does a national leader have today? To what extent are they just suits, empty icons of power? Ulrich Beck calls the nation-state in global times a “zombie category” (xi). How would you unpack that metaphor? Does the zombie category mean differently here in Jamaica than it does in Canada or Germany? I want to explore that question now.

Beck uses the idea of the zombie category to describe how “the categories of state-centred power, domination and politics, taken as given in the neo-realism of the social sciences” have survived beyond their usefulness into the global era (63). For him, the zombie seems little more than an arresting metaphor for a body that has lost its soul, a category that has lost its purpose. It continues to function as if on auto-pilot but has lost direction. Yet the zombie category carries further resonances that may also serve his broader intent. The metaphor cannot

be extracted from either its spiritual contexts or its colonial history without changing its meaning. In her brief account of the origin of the term in African and West Indian beliefs that were subsequently disseminated “through the geography of empire” (124), Marina Warner suggests that the zombie, as “a living body without a soul” (122), finds currency today in exemplifying “an anxiety that is not being allayed in this new era” (123). Zombies, in her words, “are annulled; another works their will through them” (124). This is the fear now aroused by globalization. How will individual workers cope? How will nation-states compete? Zombies are images of servitude who nonetheless also exert a strange power (Warner 159). Warner suggests that in their function as unsettling images of metamorphosis, the zombie enfolds “ghosts and spectres of all kinds in its grasp” (128).

The zombie then becomes part of the lexicon employed by hauntology, a philosophical and literary-critical movement, which reads capitalism as a haunted world system and advocates “thinking the ghost” (Hitchcock 146) as a way out of being trapped within the world created by commodity capitalism. Following Marx and Derrida, “thinking the ghost” becomes a strategy for reanimating materialist critique. Materialism needs its immaterial opposite to constitute the borders of its own imaginary. Beck invokes the zombie to describe something that ought to be dead but continues to live a half-life without a mind or soul of its own. But through that very invocation of imagery from supposedly more primitive times and cultures, he seems to be participating in what Victor Li calls the “neo-primitivist turn.” Current invocations of the spectral in postmodern and postcolonial theory all assume that the primitive is vanishing and through its vanishing, is gaining the power to haunt the modernizing cultures that have conquered it (32). In this sense, modern reason needs the zombie to mark its limits.

I am trying to make two points here, which are related through my focus on cross-cultural reading strategies. For the past thirty years, as a postcolonial critic, I have been asking questions about the ethical practices of reading across geopolitical cultures. For the last ten years, I have been involved in collaborative team projects crossing the borders between the humanities and the social sciences to investigate the relations between globalization, autonomy, and democracy. In reading Beck through his metaphor of the zombie, I am asking: What does it mean to invoke the zombie in a social scientific argument about globalization? How does the zombie function in this supposedly neutral, objective and global arena? The strength of a zombie category is its invocation of powerful undercurrents of feeling surviving atavistically within supposedly rational constructs. This new term, the zombie category, combines the language of folk belief and academic analysis into a fused metaphor that makes a truth claim in the emotive language of Gothicized imaginaries. Beck uses it to describe the post-Westphalian nation-state under globalization. Ben Fine, in another current example, uses the zombie to describe the global economy by coining the term “zombieconomics.” These social scientists are using the zombie as a shorthand way of signalling either hope for a global democracy and a planetary consciousness that can replace the Westphalian nation-state, in the case of Beck, or fears about the loss of democratic power and agency in a globalizing world, in the case of Fine. To call the nation-state a zombie category is to express pessimism about the capacity of nation-state democracy to enact the will of the people in a world where many of the decisions governing our lives are being made by non-elected agents. But the dead-end of the Westphalian nation-state may also signal the rise of a planetary consciousness more suited to our times. The zombie category is being used to signal both these possibilities in modes where the context is all. That is my first point.

Secondly, I am asking what work zombies are performing in literary and cultural criticism and in popular culture more generally as they circulate globally. I am suspicious of the current vogue for zombies. They seem to express anxiety about the future; lost notions of the sacred; and an anarchic resistance to contemporary commodity culture even as they participate in it. When I posted a recent academic article about zombification on my Facebook page, a colleague in cultural studies posted the response: “I love zombies!” Increasingly, vampires and zombies are being confused in mass popular culture. Both vampires and zombies challenge the border between life and death in ways that seem to speak to our age. But the differences between the two may be more important. Whereas the vampire is a figure of sexualized agency and power, the zombie is a figure of absolute abjection. Yet the phenomenon of mass zombie walks



in cities across the globe, inspired by Hollywood horror films, further complicates this picture, since zombies en masse seem to acquire a fleeting kind of communal power, momentarily claiming the streets, that they lack in isolation. I wonder if these zombie

walks might visualize what Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri describe as the paradoxical power of the multitude, a form of communal agency they argue has replaced the outmoded category of the people that once inspired the American Revolution.

Who loves zombies, and who does not? I remember Erna Brodber telling the late Anna Rutherford and me, shortly after *Myal* had been published, that she had to be very careful in

writing that book. She had to take precautions. She was warned against it because the effort was dangerous and such territory is not entered lightly. Her vigilance was rewarded. The book is a brilliant study of the complexities of zombification and the spiritual rigours of combating it. *Myal* works hard to avoid the problem addressed by Li in his caution against the stubborn persistence of neo-primitivism in Western theory, “even if, these days, the primitive goes under other names like alterity, culture, or (in Habermas) the pre-rationalized lifeworld” (226). But a book can only go so far in shaping its reception, especially when it travels cross-culturally. How much does it matter that zombies mean differently within different contexts of reception?

Myal exposes zombification as a process engaged in by American, European and Jamaican protagonists seeking particular forms of power. Shalini Puri argues that *Myal*'s “central image of zombification embodies a twilight poetics that inhabits and interrogates the borders that divide the living from the dead, domination from resistance, dispossession from repossession, power from subjugation” (151). Brodber's twilight poetics is a space of principled hesitation before finding exactly the right word to match the experience of a particular locality, taking care not to impose English assumptions about twilight on Jamaican experiences of nightfall. In the current climate of globalized commodity consumption, however, Brodber's twilight poetics can be overwritten by the Twilight vampire fictions of US mass culture. Readers need to be vigilant against such moments if they are to retain the specificity of the local in resistance to homogenizing imaginaries from other localities that falsely lay claim to universality. Arguably, *Myal*'s complexity and local specificity has enabled it to resist being absorbed into the international category of world literature.

The zombie, however, has become a cross-cultural metaphor that is taking on new forms as a global metaphor. One critic suggests that “a cross-cultural metaphor,” might be, from a certain perspective, “an oxymoron since it cannot draw on a system of shared commonplaces” (Melas 153). But this is too simple. In this view, metaphors function within bounded social imaginaries but cannot cross their borders. And yet, metaphors cross borders all the time even if they are changed by these travels. The zombie circulates globally, and at one level, it enables a certain degree of communication since it seems to designate an object everyone knows; yet at another level, the connotations of the zombie work quite differently. This is what Tsing means when she writes about “zones of awkward engagement, where words mean something different across a divide even as people agree to speak” (xi). These are the zones any efforts to negotiate global democracy must enter. We are still learning how to study such zones. They have existed for centuries but pose special problems in current times when instant modes of communication seem to signal unmediated informational flows.

One strength of Brodber’s novel is its reminder that zones of awkward engagement are always zones of unequal power. Brodber does not love zombies. Her interest lies in combating zombification and the ideological apparatuses through which it operates, especially literature, churches and schools. No teacher can read this book without contemplating education’s regulatory functions-- and its emancipatory potential. In colonial systems, teaching and reading were often designed to zombify subjugated populations. That function has not disappeared. But they also carry potential for imagining otherwise. As Ella asks Reverend Simpson in *Myal*: “can we not imagine that people who are not us can be sensible?” (106). This is the first requirement for an effective democracy. Trust in one’s fellow citizens, a trust that in global times needs to

stretch to include all inhabitants of the globe. In the first instance, the problem is one of imagination.

What can rule by and for the people mean in the context of a more global world? What principles should apply when handling global problems? How can we get beyond entrenched differences between “them and us”? Next week, I am travelling to a [workshop in Cairo](#) where participants from across the globe, including Jessica Byron, Patricia Mohammed, and Gab



Hosein from the Caribbean, will meet to consider these questions.

The building global democracy project has been conceived as an interregional, intercultural, interdisciplinary, ideologically plural and practice-oriented dialogue on global democracy. The project suggests that if democracy has intrinsic value as a core principle of a good society, and people today lead more global lives, then it is important to build global democracy for today’s more global world. To start that process, we want to put issues of democratising global affairs on the political agenda and increase conceptual clarity about what global democracy might involve. The project is not seeking to forge a consensus. Instead, we believe that exchanges among persons and approaches that do not otherwise meet can enrich the knowledge of all concerned and generate innovative ideas for practices of global democracy.

Our first workshop will be asking a range of questions: what form does rule of global problems take? Who are the people when it comes to global affairs? Are traditional models of democracy applicable to the regulation of global issues? If democracy needs to be reconceived, how should it be reformulated? These questions matter if social justice is to be advanced and if people are to have a say in the decisions that affect their lives. Literary study can make these

questions seem more concrete, rooting them in the everyday, and enacting the consequences of choices made.

As a literary critic, I approach these questions through thinking of literature as in dialogue with local social imaginaries while also participating in an emerging global public sphere. As a humanist reading the social sciences and a Canadian reading literature in English from across the globe, I know I am entering zones of awkward engagement when I read a text from a culture not my own. Postcolonial work across the disciplines has created a context for my thinking. These teach that global connections need to be negotiated and renewed; that even misreading can lead to new understanding; that we need to be vigilant but not afraid. It's a huge stretch for me to join the building global democracy team. It pushes me beyond my disciplinary training and challenges the terms through which I am accustomed to think. But for the project to succeed, we need perspectives from different mental spaces. If we think of global democracy as the territory of politicians, political scientists and international relations experts alone, then we will be doomed to more of the same.

Spivak seeks a mode of reading that can counter globalization, defined as “a time and place that has privatized the imagination and pitted it against the political” (Death 37-38). In asking how the zombie category makes its meanings, I have tried to show how metaphors link these separated zones of the imagination and the political, criss-crossing them to show their interdependencies. The zombie category, I have argued, signals a crack in the colonial imaginary that gave us modernity. How zombies mean has expanded within that new space. As Nalo Hopkinson shows in *Brown Girl in the Ring*, a dead end can become a crossroads, Toronto's CN Tower can channel the African gods, new communities can reform themselves out of the old. I

have focussed on the ways metaphors travel across cultural divides, developing surprising new trajectories for their movement. Reading in a different direction, Jenny Burman treats migrant remittances as diasporic communications linking Toronto to Jamaica. Brain rotation is a term social scientists use to describe the ways in which certain people now circulate between home and host countries. Such developments lead Beck to conclude that “the borders, responsibilities and exclusive experiential spaces on which this nation-state world was based no longer exist” (xi). “But if all this is gone,” he asks, “if all we are doing is thinking, acting and researching in zombie categories, what comes along—or has come along—to take its place?” (xi). My talk today has begun to explore Beck’s question by meditating more deeply on the implications of his key metaphor, and what it suggests about the challenges facing those of us seeking to build new social imaginaries for conceptualizing global democracy. Let’s start that conversation now.

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