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Title: Puzzlement of a Déjà vu: illuminaries of the global south

Nirmal Puwar (Sociology Dept, Goldmiths, University of London).

Introduction

The puzzlement of a déjà vu, a sense of what is presented as new being overwhelmingly familiar, has prompted this article. Legacies are created and erased in the ways in which fields of study are mapped and how academics situate their interventions. The ways in which scholars trace their own footprints reveals what is recognised or traced over. Whose footprints are noticed effects the paths one takes and makes. As the terms global South or epistemologies of the South have increasingly circulated in academic circles and associated non-academic institutions, there has, in response, been an unease developing, leading audiences to wonder where have sociologists been? Which texts and movements have these particular academics kept company with?   Who and what is being centre staged? What is presented and circulated as novel sociological thought can strike scholars as familiar terrain with long routes, which have been overlooked, amounting to a puzzling déjà vu.

Tracks in the Sand of Global Sociology

The world of course has always been globally connected. Though the contours of how these relations have been subject to vast changes and continuities has presented challenges for understanding the moving phenomena of globalisation. Across time there have been different enactments of the global with sociology. Development studies, texts on imperialism, transnational studies, struggles over race and ethnicity, theories of cultural globalisation, postcolonial studies and indigenous studies, outside the mould of area studies have come, gone and even stayed in some quarters. Hence there are whole traditions of books and movements make sociology as a subject of the global in a multitude of ways. So why the emphasis on the *global, South, knowledge, theory* and *sociology* right now, what work is this configuration doing in the present context? What kind of struggle for knowledge is this indicative of? What does it mean to claim a global sociology? What is at stake in a global sociology and the currency of epistemology of the south.

There are vitally important imperatives driving the search to constitute what is termed as 'global sociology' or a sociology of the South. An historiography of the discipline is certainly at stake. This, for instance, is a continuing project, in the work of Gurminder Bhambra (2007; 2014; 2016), as well as others (Magubane, 2005). The global has often been written out of the history of the discipline. Various histories of the emergence of British Sociology have often failed to mention the informative and even critical influence of Empire on the discipline. George Steinmetz (2015; 2017) has researched the much neglected recognition of imperial sociologists to the very development of the discipline (2013a;b;c). He has outwardly stated that British Sociology was a child of the empire. This is not a simple accusatory call out charge of sociologists as imperialists. Steinmetz points out how the existence of empire directly impacted on the shape of sociology in a number of respects. Sociologists could be found: (1)conducting research in imperial contexts (Durkhiem); (2) critiquing empire (Hobson); (3) using the tools of social anthropology to generate critical accounts of life under empire (Burawoy); (4) helping build sociology departments or institutes in the Empire (Elias); (4) informing the social administration of post-empire, often not in critical ways; and (5) adapting anthropological methods used in the Empire to analyse the dynamics of empire and migration in the 'mother country' (Banton and Rex, for instance). The

imperial historical context has been central to the circulation and location of academic sociological ideas and bodies globally. To Steinmetz's appraisal of the imperial situation, we must also stress the contribution of the post-colonial context to sociology as a disciplines. Thus migration and 'discrepant multiculturalisms' (Hesse, 2000), 'convivial' (Gilroy, 2004) and fraught (Virdee, 2014) have impinged on how sociology has been global. Moreover, the movement of first and second generation post-colonial people who migrated to or were born in the UK, into the academy as sociologists, has also shaped the subject and placed critical demands on the formation of the subject. This has especially been the case against conceptions which pathologise, exoticise and simplify modes of life, as well as problematic unethical research relations. There are significant geographical disciplinary differences we need to acknowledge. In the US, for instance, post-colonial studies has been widely received in the humanities but has barely touched sociology or race and ethnic relations (Go, 2012; 2013). Even Stuart Hall, associated with cultural studies globally, is not central to the sociology of race in the US (Carrington, 2014). In contrast, in the UK there have been productive disciplinary contact zones between development studies, race and ethnic relations, cultural studies, as well as post-colonial theories with sociology. Though there have also been tensions in the UK, with the relationship at times bordering on vehement resistance to, for instance, the presence of post-colonial studies in sociology (Mclennan, 2013).

Global Ambassadors

A considerable time has passed since bell hooks (1984) asserted the importance of centering the margins. There is a contradictory phenomena , which results in the centering of ambassadors from the north, whose project is to de-centre the centre by centring the margins. These contradictions perhaps, can't be fully avoided. Nonetheless, by staying with the problem of the types of contact zones (aka, Pratt, 1991;1992) which are emerging, we are able to point towards the wider ecology of academic performativity, within which global exchanges of knowledge of the global South are made.

In the selection of keynote speakers on the topic of global South or, epistemologies of the South, there is a vast array of names one could splay in a hand of cards. Whose names and which texts are present in the space of possibilities is incredibly revealing of processes of selection. Issues of performativity, value, authority as well as the ways in which a field is defined, are stacked up in the process of who is visible and selected. Particular thinkers are illuminated and brought into the light. Undoubtedly some names will carry more weight, depending of course on the game one wants to play. There tends to be a gravitational pull towards those who have cachet, depending on how this is defined. Those who carry weight in the field are the most sought after (Bourdieu, 1998). After all, those who are already highly visible as the big fish in the field will, in turn, lend weight by association.

Performativity

Academic ambassadors and spokes persons have always been generated within local networks and across global circuits of knowledge. Concepts and inventions become attached to specific scholars and pioneering research teams. Prestige in academia is produced through a plurality of criss-crossing productions and performances; with publications, conferences, residencies, fellowships and funding structures, heavily reliant on a chain of endorsements. The symbolic weight of institutional sites, journals and connections is refracted across different global circuits and pathways. Credibility is, for instance, weighted globally towards Northern English speaking

publishing outlets (Berg and Kearns 1998; Yeung 2001; 2002b). Material objects, bodies of institutions and persons are involved in the mobilization of international academic circuits (Gibson and Locker, 2004). Gibson and Locker (2004) note how credibility is accorded to publications and scholars through fashion cycles, which "plays out through a particular industrial actor-network of academic knowledge production, circulation and reception" (2004: 425). Academic scenes of endorsement, networks and friendship, and institutional affiliations mobilise credibility through international circuits (Yeung, 2002b). The academic celebrity is becoming a component of global machinations, centre-staging is an in-built element of it.

The neo-liberalisation of higher education has huge implications on how academics are measured and audited, as well as on how they perform (Evans, 2005, The Edu-factory Collective, 2009; Gill, 2009; Ball, 2012; Freedman and Bailey, 2011; Holmwood 2011, 2016;). There is indeed a sub-field on academic performativity and audit trails (Shore and Wright 1999, 2015; Strathern, 2000; Kenny, 2017; Sayer, 2015). The entrepreneurial spirit of neo-liberalism impedes relations between and across universities, journals, funding, networks, modes of measurement and academic scenes in general (Minca, 2000; Yeung 2002b). Performativity measures are increasingly driven by market and quantitative metric measurements (Burrows 2012; Neyland et al 2019). Targets for research funds and publications, as well as student numbers, have accelerated speeds of production and intensified competition (Pereira, 2017). Within this context, university teaching exists on a spectrum of precarious lecturers at one end and celebrity global academics at the opposite side, with both of them entangled in entrepreneurial self- government (Dardot and Laval, 2013: 261) . Leadership figures and rankings are exalted in this competitive environment, over and above collective intellectual initiatives.

Voice-Body-Setting

Performativity is not only a statistical measurement, it is also embodied (Butler, 1997; McDowell 1997). Epistemology is a bodily somatic entity present in the tone of documents and the positionality of publications. It also lives in the speaking positions orchestrated in writings and face-to-face performances on podiums. There is a dramaturgy to writing and speaking positions. In site-specific conference performances a theatrical dramaturgy is for instance in operation. Academics often flock to hear the writers of the books we have read precisely because we want to hear the words and arguments habituated by the speaker. The coming together of voice-body-setting-audience can be a compelling alchemy. In *Representations of an Intellectual*, based on his Reith lectures, Edward Said (1996) noted how speakers bear their own signature in their style of public speaking. Embodiment is classed, racialised, sexualised and gendered. Truth values are more likely to be attached to white bodies, with leadership being conflated and naturalised with whiteness (Essed, 2000). Whiteness has the privilege of being invisible and normative. Richard Dyer has noted how with whiteness there is a "display of white spirit while maintaining a position of invisibility:..to be everything and nothing...present and yet apparently absent." (1997: 39). This applies to Santos and Connell, though not equally, as Connell's performativity is inflected by her transgendered alignments. Both figures benefit from the affordances of whiteness. There is little attention to how the privilege of whiteness enables them to become global advocates of the South, leading to an ex-nomination of the naturalisation of power and whiteness. Centre-staging of white figures in anti-racist struggles has for instance been widely documented (Sullivan, 2014).

Connell and Santos have become academic ambassadors of the global South to the North, partly due to how academic institutions have expanded the spaces made available to them. As

partakers of processes of inclusion within academic ecologies they are also self-appointed global spokespersons. Platforms are made available for them, within which they choose how to take the stage settings as performative constituents. There is an ontological expansiveness to how they are granted space, as well as to how they occupy it. Whilst racialised bodies in authority positions can easily be 'infantalised' (Fanon, 1952), white bodies are more likely to be parentalised, to be treated as a parent to be trusted (Puwar, 2004). Though it has be said there are distinct differences between the two figures, with one being a white masculine somatic norm and the other a white trans-woman. Viewership of the performances of academic lectures by Santos and Connell, reveals how they occupy the centre stage as well as how they are centre staged by others and the wider architectures of academic speaking positions. Both are participants in these two interconnected dynamics. Santos though participates in more of a self-centre staging process of rhetoric and performativity, akin to a European hyper-masculinity. Whilst Connell is more likely to be centre-staged by others in the academic ecology, especially by feminist and critical masculinity scholars, fields to which she has contributed extensively.

Absences

At the outset it is impossible not to agree with Santo's call to learn from epistemologies of the South. He locates epistemology at the heart of justice; with social justice being tied to cognitive justice. Historically, colonial epistemological domination has systematically suppressed knowledge judged to be inconsistent with the scientific canon, as defined by Western modernity. He argues we require an epistemological imagination for a different ethics and politics of the world to emerge. A prominence is attached to "two procedures", referred to as a "sociology of absences", which concerns the metropolitan and colonial abyssal line between legitimate and irrelevant knowledges. In contrast, a "sociology of emergences", focuses on knowledges which have been suppressed but have been emerging, especially from collective struggle within social movements (Santos & Ziai, 2013: 731). An emphasis is placed upon facilitating an epistemic diversity of the world with intercultural translation. Attention to horizontal relations and mutual enrichment from an ecology of knowledges is formulated as a global project. Through what is referred to as "participatory methodologies", a prominence is attached to "giving full visibility to social groups or struggles that are only embryonic, thereby symbolically amplifying their social meaning." (2013: 733). Borrowing from debates in social movements, Santos states, he does not seek to operate with "vanguard theories" but, with "rearguard theories" (2013: 732). Santos cites several non-Western sources of knowledge he takes inspiration from. This includes Gandhi, favela dwellers in Rio, indigenous movements in the Andes and the Amazon. As well as a co-operative movement in Portugal (Barcouco) and mixed elements from the women's movement in Latin America. Many of these connections build on Santos' previous research (1995; 2002; 2006).

How the South is defined has been critiqued by several scholars. The South for Santos problematically operates as a *carte blanche metaphor*. He states:

> The 'South' in the epistemologies of the South is not a geographical South. It is a metaphor for the life experiences of those that have suffered the systematic injustices caused by capitalism, colonialism and sexism... (2013: 732).

Responding to Santos, Sarat Maharaj (2012) highlights how a rag bag of concepts reside in the notion of the Global South, and asks: who are we gathering today under the figure of the marginal and the South.

The Game of Visibility

The kind of game one plays in the very process of granting visibility and bringing epistemologies or theories of the South into the Northern light allows us to reflect on the conditions of inclusion within the global circuits of academia. In this specific context it is worth asking, what has enabled Santos to take up the platform and limelight when other scholars have, for some years, been conducting research working closely with social movements in different parts of the world. The wider academic environment as well as the ways in which it is possible for individuals to play this game is important to how we develop an understanding of this phenomena. If we stay with the idea of game, in the framing of a field and space of constellations, there is a space of possibilities which he can mobilise (Bourdieu, 1998). From his local location, as a Professor in Portugal, he is located at the margins of European space, whereby North European intellectual sites and circuits carry more weight. At the same time, he also is located in the U.S, where he spends a significant amount of time. His global connections bear privileges which enable not only his inclusion but also expand his places of possibility. This includes alter-organisations too, such as the World Social Forum. Santos becomes the messenger and mediator, a generalist global leader of the project the epistemology of the South.

It is on the podium when the somatic force of Santos takes on the hue of the white masculine European trailblazing for epistemologies of the South, with him at the centre. There is a touch of the evangelical tone in the orchestration of voice, body, auditorium and audience. He orients himself as presenting an entirely new position, pioneered and orchestrated by him. The project of 'cognitive justice' can't be abstracted from the performative affectation of the leader. Charting new territory, almost as if nobody has been there before him, Santos occupies the space of ownership, claiming the notion of *epistemologies of the South* as a big programmatic global project. This is one of the ways in which academic spaces are carved. He rhetorically claims a personally led self-identified big programme, with the swarming effect of disciples and followers. Indeed it has been noted that Santos invents words and concepts as "re-affirmations of the originality and importance of the project rather than solutions to intellectual projects." (Bortolicu, 2015:232). Thus supporting his own self-enterprising entity. In spite of arguing for "rearguard theories", in the very activation of the project, Santos, as an European figure, becomes illuminated as the 'leader' and flag bearer. Whilst distancing himself from vanguard theories, through the 'magic' of his performativity, he becomes the vanguard against the epistemicide imposed by Western epistemology. In the reproduction of the academy, these effects are further endorsed by large grants. Richard Dyer (1997) has noted how whites are the invisible ghosts of modernity. Ironically, in the very exorcising of the ghosts of colonial epistemology, Santos manages to become the critic-in-chief for an epistemology of the South.

Lines in the Sand

Fields of study are constituted through alliances, distinctions and interlocutors. The lines Santos draws when sketching his own thought are telling. What kind of intimacies has he afforded to the scholarship which has, for some time, been grappling with issues not dissimilar to those he is concerned with? He overtly distances himself from the de-colonial school, such as Walter Mignolo (2002) or Anibal Quijano (2000), nevertheless these male figures remain important enough to be cited. This is not the case for feminists from the same school, for example, Maria Lugones (2007). Or for the border theory feminists, such as Gloria E. Anzaldúa (1999), they don't feature in his radar.

Situating himself as being "oppositional postcolonial" (2010: 234), Santos distances himself from what he terms as dominant conceptions of postcolonialism. Santos' critique of post-colonial theory under values the complexity of debates within post-colonial studies. A more generous scholarly reading of post-colonial studies may lend itself to productive conversations for developing what Santos refers to as a "translation procedure" for social emancipation projects (2010:238). One which provides "alternative concepts" for a "subaltern cosmopolitanism", which in the act of translation aim "to turn incommensurability into difference" (ibid). Aiming for a "cordial cosmopolitanism" (2010: 241) in relation to larger movements and struggles, it is with some irony that he does not become a more cordial critical friend with the field of postcolonial studies. After all, there is much to critique, as well as build on, with respect to intercultural translations, praxis and subalterns. Postcolonialism becomes Santos' kicking off point. Pre-empting a critique of himself, as an object of post-colonial studies, which could question his write to speak for the victim when he is "a social scientist from a colonizer country", he asserts there is a "nativist essentialism that often contaminates postcolonialism". In an imaginary defence, he asserts that "biography and bibliography are incommensurate, even though they may influence each other" (2010:240).

Intimate Bibliographic Alliances

Whilst biographies are not determinate of what is read, personal and intellectual trajectories impact on the texts scholars are exposed to and develop an intimacy with. Elements of the de ja vu experience audiences undergo upon responding to what Santos is saying are related to the intellectual maps one draws from the debates scholars have kept company with. Different routes through books, movements and politics are a key source of the de ja vu. Bookshelves under the categories of Third World Cinema, Development Studies, Race and Ethnic Studies and Post-Colonial Studies and De-colonial Studies, have all raised the issue of how geo-political socio-economic differences are entwined with how knowledge is unevenly valued. This is not to assume these inter-related fields of study are not contested or that they have settled all problems. There is a relationship of kinship with books and movements, through which scholars build alliances and critiques. The crucial question is: How do scholars contribute towards a field without setting oneself up as the lone leader-in -chief charting new terrain? A lack of intimate, yet critical, recognition leads Santos to seriously overlook large fields of study. Many of which have been constituted away from the North, as well as by scholars shaped by colonial and anti-colonial struggles. Or he simplifies their contributions, as he does with post-colonial studies.

Leela Gandhi in *Affective Communities* (2006), calls our attention to the importance of intricate cross cultural affective alliances. Affinities with fields where similar topics have been debated for some time get lost in the performative embellishment of the self. Santos' affective orchestration of scholarship is more focused on his own contribution. Academic life increasingly operates within an entrepreneurial spirit pressurised to signal an individualistic mark that performatively makes a claim on charting new territory within a sea of over production. In this process, productive lines of connection, with previous threads of social and political thought, can candidly be disregarded, whilst clamouring to claim a stake through the ways in which Santos maps the field he makes tracks in. It is vital to consider what is sidelined, forgotten or even how it is remembered. In a panel conversation with Santos, on epistemologies of the South, Shiv Visvanathan (2012) notably requests a more playful ethics of remembrance for how knowledge has been produced. With consideration for the dance of epistemologies, without simply pitching black against white.

Generous Scholarship

Connell's observation, in the book *Southern Theory* (2007) and in subsequent publications, that there has been a movement of theory and concepts from the metropole or the Global North to the South, with the South being at best, a source of data for the concepts and methods defined in the Global North, can be confirmed in most disciplines. She has both identified and attempted to reverse the international labour process involved in the production of theory within the "metropole-aparatus" of the social machinery which allows rich countries to perform the function of global metropole" (2007:48). Trying to work against the global academic grain, Connell has excavated a number of theorists from the South. In the process she has been widening the academic library, in terms of thinkers, perspectives and empirical starting points. The exercise of excavating and dialoguing with texts and thinkers not widely recognised in the North has become a scholarly commitment. Since the publication of *Southern Theory* (2007), Connell has undertaken transnational academic collaborations, with scholars from the South to empirically plot how North-South and South-South relations pervade the international political economy of knowledge production (2017a; 2017b). Following global academic knowledge industrial circuits through sociological research is enormously revealing. However Connell can't be abstracted out of this industry of knowledge, she too is a part of the extraction of research.

Linking back to the relation between bibliography and bibliography, it is important to note that Connell's turn to Southern Theory has been undertaken by an already established sociologist, internationally well regarded in the field of masculinities and social theory. Whilst Australia sits on the sidelines of the historically imperially defined Euro-North American academic centres, whiteness bears privileges as a settler colonial state. Speaking out of the discomfort with the preponderance of European and North American thinkers in the field of social theory, it's notable that Connell mentions it wasn't until the end of the millennium when:

> I went looking for the alternatives to Northern social theory. [In fact] there is a rich archive of social analysis in colonized and postcolonial societies – not always using academic genres, but intellectually powerful nonetheless.

Connell states that her book *Southern Theory*, which we need to underline was not published until 2007, tells the story of 'my encounters with this work.' Whilst Connell is continuously expanding her archive of outsider theory, despite her generous disposition in this regard, it is not they but Connell, who has become the global spokesperson of theories from the global South. This is particularly the case in the areas of the social sciences and the discipline of sociology. Connell has become something of an ambassador for including scholars from the South as central interlocutors in the field of social theory, which has been so thoroughly inundated by theorists from the Europe and North America.

In the hierarchy of sociological knowledge, social theory is a close cousin of philosophy. Social theory, as C W Mill's (1959) put it, is full of princely philosophers who look down and over the rest of the knowledge makers. Who can sit in the seat and pass as an authentic social theorist is heavily loaded towards what I have elsewhere referred to as the white somatic norm (although not exclusively male). Connell has observed how the velocity of the global circulation of intellectual thought is loaded towards specific white figures from Europe and North America. For instance, Habermas, Zizek, Haraway, Harvey, Bourdieu, Butler, Derrida, Arendt and Foucault, operate as the linch-pin of social theory. To the global platform of sociological knowledge she inserts the names and ideas of scholars and intellectuals from elsewhere. Connell turns her attention to, for instance, Shariati (1986), Hountondji (1983) and Hau'ofa (2008), who are incidentally all masculine figures. It has been noted that whilst this mode of inclusion involves trawling important texts and thinkers, it risks losing the ecology and network of traditions they are forged within. Raka Ray states that it is not clear what we academically gain by "dipping into

the thoughts of such a wide range of thinkers" brought to the table by Connell (2013: 152). The finely textured threads of how social thought is produced from criss-crossing conversations and critiques gets lost in an encyclopaedic trawling of Southern Theory. Depth becomes compromised, leading to superficial readings with an emphasis placed on plotting new and unknown traditions of thought on the global map of Southern Theory. This risks becoming an act of inclusion which can over determine people in their regions, inserting theorists in as ethnographic trophies of display. Critiques, dialogue and the contact zones between South-South and North-South are also, perhaps inadvertently, over looked. Significantly theory as data becomes abstracted from collective debates.

Illuminations

Connell's longstanding work on masculinities and gender (1987; 1995), has been refigured and expanded since her turn to global sociology (2016). None the less, with respect to Southern Theory, Connell has embarked on a relatively new project at the turn of the millennium. Yet her contribution is blown up and granted a huge presence, over and above scholars in postcolonial studies or development studies, who have been highlighting inequalities in the recognition of power. For instance, today Linda T Smith is certainly being invited to deliver key note lectures internationally. However this is almost twenty years after the first edition of her book *Decolonising Methodologies*, was published in 1999. As a carrier to the sociological congregation in the North of Southern Theory Connell becomes the key *messenger* for Sociology, becoming a global project, of whom Connell becomes the key spokesperson and transmitter. His presence in the field is amplified. No doubt Connell is aware of this irony, whilst she becomes the key overseer as the generalist theorist collecting theorists from specific locations. At international conferences, in journal articles, edited collections and books Connell takes the seat of being the ambassador who prioritises the thought, concepts and problems from elsewhere. In this process of transmission and translation, she takes centre stage. As one hears Connell and watches audiences in auditoriums taking in what she is saying, a déjà vu can ensue. One wonders, Where are all the other scholars and activists who have walked this difficult terrain long before Connell? Indeed some listeners of Connell, question how whole fields of study have been eclipsed in the ways in which the project for Southern Theory is presented.

Leap Frogging

At a lecture by Connell on *De-Colonizing Gender*, organised by the journal *Feminist Theory*, at the LSE in London (2015), after a resouding applause from the audience, Sylvia Chant, who has published widely in the area of gender and development (2001; 2009; 2016), politely granted an important body of work missing from the talk a presence, via a short sketch of her own academic biography and bibliography. In her question Chant stated that she as a feminist had started out in the 1980s by working on gender and development. Her work has covered three different regions of the global South and has been in dialogue with sisters, and brothers, in different areas for some time. Connell admitted that due to time she had underplayed the work of feminist theory and development. It is notable that despite these intellectual trajectories and contact zones between the South and North Connell is able to leap frog across vast tracks of scholarship. And even as Connell seeks to pay respect to schools of thought, Connell becomes the overall mediator/messenger in this relay by trail blazing the generalist catch phrase term of Southern Theory as a global project. In academic circles and circuits it is Connell who is illuminated, whilst the long and of course troubled, routes of earlier feminist, as well activists and researchers from colonised locations, who have been conversing with contemporary and longstanding debates in the area for some time, don't enter the global limelight in the same way.

It is of course impossible to not agree with Connell's punch line, which has underlined the move towards solidarity in knowledge production by: 1. Learning from intellectual workers from the global periphery; 2. Expanding our own knowledge projects and; 3. Being inventive by offering solidarity in practical ways. The *De-colonising Gender* lecture at LSE was linked to a Special Issue of the journal *Feminist Theory*, edited by Connell and Celia Roberts (2016), which was itself prompted by an invaluable empirically observed absence of feminist theorists from the South in the North by Connell (2015), that argued for a more democratic global structure for feminist theory. Connell's collaborative research has been important for empirically illustrating citation and authority practices within what is defined as feminist theory, as well as theory in general. However we need to reflect on why journals appoint Connell to redress the global imbalances. We can't escape the fact that Connell brings global weight and cachet to the initiatives and institutions which is performatively repeated through invitations. However, what about all the feminist theorists from the South? Are they not well placed to be the messengers? Or, are they seen to be too specific and too regional to be delegated the position of being the over arching global generalist of Southern Theory. Generalists are imbued with the properties of whiteness and thus are the ghosts of modernity (aka, Dyer, 1997). In the Introduction of the Special Issue of *Feminist Theory* (2016), Roberts and Connell, explicitly pointed out:

> Our call for papers began:
>
> Recently there has been renewed debate about global issues in feminism, which goes beyond the discussions of gender in development, women's role in transnational institutions, and postcolonial theory, to the contemporary global diversity and politics of feminist theory (2016: 135).

It is worth reflecting on what it means to *go beyond*. Aspects of post-colonial and developments studies have been absorbed into European and North American curriculums and circuits. There are fields of study located beyond these specialisms which can, as pointed out by Connell and Roberts, lead us to books and debates from traditions which are outside the regular academic limelight. The edited collection of the journal *Feminist Theory* importantly contributes towards correcting these absences. However there is still the issue of which names and books one puts the light on. As well as how the selection happens. The selector, by way of being an editor, a curator, with a managerial overview inhabits leadership in a field. This is performative centre staging with the power to orient, map, highlight and reflect overall across what is granted as new growing field of knowledge.

Multi-Coloured Sociology?

Connell (2007) has rallied for a "multi-coloured sociology" (as opposed to a mosaic of indigenous sociologies) on a world scale. Some scholars may gawk at the choice of her words, sounding like a blast from seventies 'race' debates in North America. There are histories of social thought forged in the contact zones of the metropolitan and the colonial, of being here and there, as well as in-between, which she might gain from. There is a large body of literature on racism, new ethnicities (Hall, 1988: Back, 1996) and discrepant multiculturalisms (Hesse, 2000). Even if Connell has not actively sidelined these debates and specialisms, she has overlooked them as this field is not in her bibliographies. She has not kept company with the books of, for example, Stuart Hall (1996), Avtar Brah (1996), Paul Gilroy (1993) and Nira Yuval-Davis (1997), to name just a few names and texts from a vast and wise field.

Depending on biographies and trajectories, sociologists have been in the middle of political and intellectual contact zones. Postcolonial sociologists in particular have been taking paths towards

a global connectedness (Said, 1978; Mani, 1992; Appadurai, 1996; Hall, 1997; Bhambra, 2014; Subrahmanyam, 2005), well before the terms Southern Theory, global sociology or epistemologies of the South emerged. Numerous schools have, for instance, been in the contact zones between the Dalit movement in India and black power in the UK and North America (Narayan, 2019). This is not straight forward Northern theory, even it has been forged and at least partly recognised in the metropole. These are the tracks of entangled colonial, post-colonial and multicultural lives. Going beyond does not mean we have to abandon, bury and erase these influences. Being open to knowledge from the South occurs alongside these knowledge traditions too. Leap frogging over them, as if they don't exist can set you back. Connell's call for a multicultural sociology can only be impoverished without these stocks of knowledge. The lack of engagement with multicultural and race scholarship applies to both Connell and Santos. As Santos attempts to enact rap performances with youth during the course of his ALICE project https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xciJlb4aVmI, in bemused déjà vu puzzlement, one wonders: Where have you been? Which books have you kept company? There is a large body of work on the multicultural, as well as on youth music cultures. Needless to the scholarship on race and multiculturalism does not entail a huge amount of excavation. For example, Stuart Hall and, now his legacy, are not so hidden in the archives of knowledge. He was the President of the British Sociological Association (1995-97). It was during Hall's presidency when the large BSA annual conference, under the theme of 'Worlds of the Future: ethnicity, nationalism and globalisation', was attended by one the most diverse set of conference presenters. Especially by second generation diasporic students and scholars. This presence and history of scholarship is a mixed palette of knowledge and mobilisations in the movement and play between here and there.

Legitimation Effects

Lest we forget, there are of course different routes to sociology from the South, spawned beyond the current luminaries. Intellectuals have been fusing thought from different contexts well before the terms became popular in the North American and European circuits. They have been hybridising and translating materials from here and there to make sense of the connected social worlds and histories around them for some time. In these exchanges there undoubtedly has been an emphasis placed on theories from the North and data from the South, as noted in Connell's (2007; 2015; 2017) key contribution. At the same time though, the process has involved much more jostling of thought and materials in the mix of here and there (Prakash, 1999). Or, as Vasudevan (1985; 1997) puts it, there has been a play of epistemologies. Aligning a re-working of modernities towards a more ethical play of epistemologies in cognitive justice (a term coined by him). One which does not assume that pure lines of North and South can be drawn to expunge scholarship of the former. Thus, for instance, Veena Das (1976; 2006) reconceptualised both Wittgenstein and Srinivas in the contemporary context of rumour and violence. Neither is it possible to clear out all citations from the North, as if they really can be, from the muddied waters of global knowledge making. Whilst we must acknowledge different knowledge basis and widen our archives beyond Euro-American perspectives, for those of us, steeped in empires of learning, it is disingenuous or, even bad faith, to assert that we can or indeed want to strip out everything under the label of 'pale, male and stale'. We can widen platforms whilst interrogating the alliances, affinities and intimacies in the contact zones of knowledge exchange.

Depending on the discipline baseline, some of the exchanges and contact zones of knowledge can take an institutionalised hue. Located in the discipline of sociology, Sujata Patel (2006) emerges out of her own experience of trying to make sociology less abstract so that the discipline can be connected to students in India. She has been active in the ISA for a considerable duration, urging scholars to see the different traditions in sociology. Patel clearly has been mobilising within sociology institutionally, through international bodies, whilst trying to orient

the discipline in different directions (2010; 2011). Importantly she points to other histories of scholarship informing the global routes of Sociology outside North America and Europe. Undoubtedly, research from the global South has been offered openings and legitimacy with the recent currency of the term. And not surprisingly scholars have conversed with notions of Southern Theory or epistemologies of the South to accrue legitimacy. The traction of the terms becomes one way of hitching significant projects which have had a life course well before the terms became vogue. Thus enabling scholars to globally bring into the light approaches and thinkers which may otherwise have remained in the shadows (Nilsen and Roy, 2016). The depth of the long routes of concepts and perspectives from different locations has thus entered a slightly more open space of possibilities.

Conclusions for Stepping Out of the Light

Within the contact zones of knowledge making and exchange, the question becomes, how can scholars and thought from the so called outer zones be brought into the light without generating a celebrity phenomena which enables the mediators to become the centre point of the transmission limelight. How can we widen the archives of knowledge by not making the global translators of the process central. How can we widen the platform without giving them the key seat on the platform. bell hooks (1984) asserted the margin becomes the centre, what we have here is the further extraction of the margins through the centre staging of de-centred thought. Santos (2007) calls for horizontal alliances. Connell (2017a: 2017b) has collaborated with a number of colleagues in the global South to raise the issue of the global division of labour in academic knowledge. Perhaps horizontal comradeship (Mohanty, 2003) can also involve an element of reflexivity by stepping back, out of the light, to exercise reflexivity on academic performativity, in terms of how space is taken up and granted. Who gets recognised? Whose tracks are in the sand? What do we risk tracing over? Who is illuminated? What is leap-frogged over?

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