Taking off camouflage identities: why peripheral scholars strive to look like their Western peers in order to being recognized?

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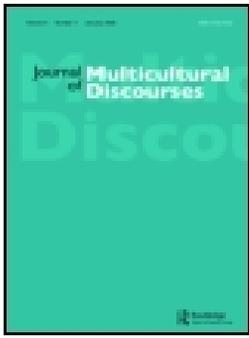**69** PUBLICATIONS **298** CITATIONS

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Taking off camouflage identities: why peripheral scholars strive to look like their Western peers in order to being recognized?

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ABSTRACT

In this paper we argue that the world-system of global knowledge production, that is, the field of transnational academia, could be conceived as a rather hegemonic and exclusivist social subsystem in which not just the members of the hegemon group, viz. the central agents of the field, but also the underprivileged agents operate in a way that maintains and even reinforces this uneven systemic run. According to our argumentation, the peripheral agents of the system tend to camouflage their identities as non-Western scholars to be acknowledged by the global community. Our subsequent analysis of the dynamics of former emancipatory movements will show that this is a detrimental strategy since assimilation results in homogenization and in losing authentic voices. As opposed to assimilation through camouflaging identity, we propose a systemic protagonism beside geopolitical equality in the world-system of knowledge production through the development of authentic and equal, other than Western, identities in transnational academia.

Introduction – the grand Platonic lie

The notion that society could or even should be differentiated into unequal social classes is as old as mankind itself. In the third book of Plato's The Republic we can read a very interesting dialogue on the so called 'grand lie'. Plato argues that, to maintain social hierarchy, people should be deceived by a myth stating that the social elite was made of gold, the middle class was made of silver and the lower class was made of bronze, so, thought they are of the same city, and thus brothers of each other, they are still different by nature regarding their values. He adds that an untrue prophecy should also be disseminated by which god once told that the end of the city will come when lower classes reach top positions. This story communicates at least three very important messages through the millennia. First, Plato knew it himself that the myth by which there are natural roots of social stratification is a lie. An important and, in his opinion, a necessary one, but still a lie. Second, it sheds light on the fact that social inequality might confront people from different social classes, so professional narratives should be disseminated by which inner conflict could be avoided. In Plato's version, people should be told that they literally

came from the same land because god formed them in the earth of the city. The only difference within the so-called brotherhood of a city lies in the status position of the elite:

> You are all brothers – but when god made you, he used a mixture of gold in the creation of those who were fit to be rulers, which is why they are the most valuable. He used silver for those who were to be auxiliaries, and iron and bronze for the farmers and the rest of the skilled workers. (Ferrari and Griffith 2000, 107)

The implementation of the Platonic Grand Lie has its multifarious variations and includes all kinds of social differentiation from tribal group conflicts and Asian caste systems to modern social class stratification (Frank 1974). So, it is not surprising that we can find this stratification in every subsystem of modern society even if we know that this might be a detrimental practice that should be eliminated somehow. The more surprising fact is that these practices and hegemon structures could still change! There were many 'business as usual' inequalities in the history of mankind: slavery, racism, gender biases and homophobia are typical examples. However, what were considered as natural and thus unchangeable facts, became passed and outdated relics of history over time. We will see that beliefs in social patterns once thought to be self-evident and held by even the most distinguished and learned people – for example, that women are inferior to men by nature – became nonsense and blameworthy to maintain. Why should one think that other, structurally very similar hegemon patterns could not be eliminated?

To discuss the nature of hegemon structures in society is neither easy nor simple since we have at least two burdens here. The first is the infamous nature/nurture debate with all its difficulties (Nicoglou 2018). In the case of societal classification, we can see that there are categories that seem to be natural or, at least, naturally founded, but a closer look on the details can convince us that all societal categories are politically constructed. Typical examples here are gender roles that seemed to be natural and thus determined for long, but later it turned out that even the simplest categories like man and woman are subjects to cultural, historical, and political change (Lindsey 2015). On the other hand, and especially in the realm of social world, we also have categories that seem to be socially constructed despite they are much more natural in the sense that they are inborn. From the perspective of our current discussion that deals with inequalities in the world-system of knowledge production (Demeter 2019b) the best example is education itself. Many things in the field of education seem like learned and acquired but they are socially inborn: students from the upper class get elite education and they get straight trajectories to the *grande porte,* to use a Bourdieusian term (Bourdieu 1998). Having top positions in national or international centers of knowledge production, academic hegemons often think of themselves as being successful because of their merits – and they less likely refer to their inborn societal status advantages (Burris 2004). The first confusing fact is that hegemonic relations are tightly interwoven with social class inequalities, so a lower-class woman will be much more disadvantaged than her upper class comrade. Similarly, being a member of an LGBTQ community in the central elite is much more comfortable than the same position in a lower-class group at the periphery. Thus, disadvantaged group relations are tightly interwoven with social class and geopolitical relations (Gerhards, Hans, and Carlson 2017). We should remember this complexity throughout the following paragraphs, where we will flash some of the most important historical, political,

and philosophical issues regarding three emancipatory waves or movements: the wave of anti-racism, the wave of feminism and the wave of LGBTQ movements. Of course, we cannot provide a full or even a concise encyclopedic description on these very extensive topics; instead we will try to correlate the dynamics of the development of these movements to our specific topic: the emancipatory movement for a de-Westernized knowledge production (Mignolo 2018) that should result in exuviating camouflage identities and constructing the identity of the autonomous and authentic non-Western academic self.

Anti-racism: camouflaging other than white races

Scientific theories of race started to arise in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and, as Anthony Giddens (2006) puts it, they were far to be ideologically natural or purely scientific. On the contrary: they were aimed to justify a biased social order with white European dominance over the population of the subjected and imperialized territories. According to Joseph Arthur de Gobineau, one of the founding fathers of modern Western racism, the white race is distinguished by its higher intelligence, stronger will power and superior morality (Giddens 2006). With this, social scientist who promotes the above-mentioned white supremacy could easily justify the Western conquest against territories populated by other than white people both morally and rationally.

From our point of view, it is equally important to mention that racism could be institutionalized (Atkin 2004). The idea of an institutionalized racism comes from the recognition that racism is, in most cases, more than an individual perception or attitude: it is quite frequently implemented in social structures in a systematic manner. As Giddens (2006) puts it, the institutions of a racist society promote policies that favor the hegemon groups while discriminating the oppressed others. His examples include racist bias in television broadcasting with either negative or limited portrayal of ethnic minorities in programming, and international modeling industry with its industry-wide bias against other than white fashion models. We can add, unfortunately, the industry-wide bias against Global South knowledge producers in the field of global academia (Demeter 2018). As we can see from empirical research, top positions in global academia are filled with central or at least centrally educated scholars; top journals are edited by central gatekeepers and, consequently, the authorships of these periodicals consist of, mainly, central academics (Demeter 2019a). The structure and the policies of global academia favors to central agents in a great extent (Heilbron, Sorá, and Boncourt 2018). For example, the simple fact that English became the sole language of global academia functions as a gatekeeper against peripheral scholars whose mother tongue is not English, and who did not have the chance to learn academic English (Lillis and Curry 2011). The same could be predicated to central methodology, central epistemic values and the central determination of cutting-edge research topics (Walter, Cody, and Ball-Rokeach 2018). It is obvious then how hard is for a non-native English speaker or a non-centrally educated academic to be published in central journals (Curry and Lillis 2018). But, in a global context and in the case of recruitment or research grant applications, the assessment of the accomplishments of academics is based on their publication in central top-tier journals (Clauset, Arbesman, and Larremore 2015; Cret and Musselin 2010; Enders 2001). Thus, being peripheral in terms of language, education or current affiliation means being downgraded and excluded from the community of elite central agents of the field. The ideology

behind this cultural racism implemented in the everyday experience of global academia is the hypothesization of a universal norm or standard by which central agents usually disqualify peripheral knowledge productions on the basis that they do not meet central criteria. Empirical research shows that these practices are spread over the center of global knowledge production (Canagarajah 2002).

The recognition of the detrimental nature of racist tendencies was a very slow and successive process. It was not earlier than in the twentieth century when the term anti-racism had been constructed, and its regular usage dates back to the 1960s when other emancipatory actions like homophile and feminist movements started to flourish (Bonnett 2000). Of course, there were individual agents and even organizations that realized, for example, the struggle of Afro Americans towards freedom, equality and justice – even if it wasn't called anti-racism. Sometimes these civil right movements gained some public support as well. Notwithstanding, even in the 'We the People' United States of America, African Americans were continuously treated as second class citizens until the modern civil rights movements at the 60s. What is very important here is the fact that real and fundamental changes occurred no sooner than serious international criticism started to squeeze the US government (Smith and Wynn 2009).

As we have seen, fundamental changes can occur only when there are both inner and outer pressure on the hegemon elite. In the case of the struggle against academic discrimination then, we suggest that the hegemon and exclusivist nature of the world-system of global knowledge production will be changed only if the struggles would emerge at both the center and the periphery so, from the great mass of global academia. Until this we can suggest that the ruling elite of central academy would do everything to maintain its hegemon status (Schott 1998).

Turning now to the most related domain of racism, namely, the institutional racism in the world-system of global knowledge production we should recall our formerly delineated considerations on the possibility of an institutional racism. As Macpherson puts it, institutional racism could be described as 'the collective failure of an organization to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their color, culture or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes, and behavior which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people' (Pilkington 2011, 3). It is very important to note here that an oppressed group needs not to be underrepresented in terms of the number of its members in a given society in order to be considered as being disadvantaged. If socially subordinated groups should be less populous than the hegemon group, than most colonializations could not be called oppression since the colonized exceeds the colonizers in raw numbers in many cases. What matters are power relations and the fact that the colonized and the oppressed are significantly underrepresented in the most prestigious social institutions. This phenomenon is strikingly clear in the case of higher education. Research found that minority candidates are typically concentrated in the less prestigious new universities (Shiner and Modood 2002). Minority students has much less prospect to enroll to the older and more prestigious universities, from which future employers prefer to recruit (Parekh 2000). These empirical facts confirm Bourdieu's classical research (1998) on the similar topic in which he found that the ruling elite systematically entrench itself behind elite institutions while maintains mass education for the 'others'. In concert with Bourdieu we can truly call this practice

as the development of a state nobility, moreover, on a global scale, we can truly talk about a transnational academic nobility that typically contains white, upper class, centrally educated academics. As the flabbergasting conclusion of Shiner and Modood's research states (2002), even when minority candidates succeed in getting a position, they should overcompensate their disadvantageous background in order to feel safe.

Carter's research on the similar topic found even worse circumstances. According to the author's research, minority group members are not just significantly underrepresented in academic posts, but they are much more likely to be on risky fixed terms contracts than their white peers. The more senior a position is, the less likely we will find minority people there, especially on professorial level (Carter 2003). Pilkington tells us on the results of a survey indicating that twenty percent of minority respondents personally experienced racial discrimination in either job application or promotion. The stratified nature of higher education and the bias against lower class and minority group students has been demonstrated by many other researchers (Davies, Williams, and Webb 1997; Reay, David, and Ball 2005). As Pilkington puts it, these studies represent 'a fundamental challenge to those who believe that universities are meritocratic institutions' (Pilkington 2011, 18).

Feminism: camouflaging other than male identities

The argumentation behind masculine domination is, dynamically, the very same that in the case of white supremacy. In both cases, the dominant status group discredited the oppressed group by stating their natural superiority over the subjected agents. In the case of racism, it was originated in the idea of the naturally higher capacities of white people in terms of intelligence, morality or will power. The same argumentation could be found in defense of male supremacy as early as the time of the writings of Aristotle (1998). Maybe it is an overstatement, but until the last decades there were no serious changes in the Aristotelian conception of the subordination of women. As a matter of fact, Bourdieu thought this kind of domination or, with his words, symbolic violence as one of the typical instances of dominances with its many imperceptible, invisible aspects that could be hidden for even the victims. From a Bourdieusian perspective, we have four important aspects of male dominance here that we could easily relate to our central theme: the central domination over the periphery in knowledge production.

The first is the fact that the hegemon group is capable to determine what being neutral means. In the case of male dominance, this is the 'androcentric vision' that 'imposes itself as neutral and has no need to spell itself out in discourses aimed at legitimating it' (Bourdieu 2001, 9). The hegemon poses itself as the natural, the prototypical, the general and the universal, while the others are considered as deviations from the norm. In the world-system of knowledge production, central or hegemon agents frequently talk about the so-called global, actually central standards by which peripheral actors and institutions are somehow corrupted or imperfect (Canagarajah 2002). Again: they do not state that peripheral actors of the field have other standards than their central peers: the statement is, at least implicitly, that there is only one global standard (defined by the West) by which both central and peripheral agents could and should be assessed. It is the very same dynamics that is behind the androcentric vision by which women are imperfect men who should by assessed by masculine standards.

The second common feature in female subordination and the subordination of the periphery in knowledge production is the so-called dominated habitus of the oppressed. According to Bourdieu, dominated group members tend to exclude themselves from the central public places even after the external barriers have been removed (Bourdieu 2001). This self-exclusion holds for not just already emancipated women but for peripheral knowledge producers, too. As Canagarajah argues, in many cases, peripheral authors tend to use, cite and disseminate Western knowledge from at least two reasons. The first is a practical issue: sometimes peripheral regions do not have the appropriate literature in print or they are not easily accessible, while, thanks to the excessive intellectual imperialism, Western science is, at least partly, accessible even in the periphery. The second has a more direct connection with the dominated habitus: peripheral authors tend to use central knowledge strategically in order to be accepted by their central peers or, in many cases, they think themselves that Western science is superior to local knowledge. This phenomenon is the exact pendant of the dominated habitus of those women who still think or even opinionate that men are superior to women by nature.

The third aspect is related to the concept of nobility and the idea that there are activities which are too degrading to conduct by hegemon group members – in this case: by men (Bourdieu 2001). It is not hard to find the parallelism with center–periphery relations. Research shows that there are typical patterns in the world-system of knowledge production by which some activities are concentrated on the center while the periphery is kept open for other, less prestigious, or even inferior activities. To count a few examples: while theory building, qualitative analysis and the determination of research methodology are typical center-based scientific activities, data collection, quantitative analysis and other supportive work is concentrated in the global South. (Demeter 2019b). Bourdieu himself predicates the same on the world of labor in general: the principle of division 'still applies within each discipline, assigning to men the most noble, the most synthetic and the most theoretical studies, and to women the most analytical, the most practical and the least prestigious' (Bourdieu 2001, 91). And, as we can read in the literature of world-system analysis, the international distribution of labor defines central, semi-peripheral and peripheral positions in the world-system and it makes both powerful cores and dependent noncore countries. Thus, it is the systematic, institutionalized, and generalized nature of dependency that limits the opportunities of countries in the periphery, reproduces inequalities in the system, and is reflected in the structure of the relations among countries (Jacobs and Van Rossem 2016).

Finally, the fourth feature is the assumption that even a dominance with thousand years of history could be challenged by the appropriate social movements, as we have seen in the case of feminism. The first thing to do is to make it transparent that, in a given power relation, the positions are not natural and thus they can be altered. In the next paragraphs we will very briefly delineate the dynamics of the movements of these kinds, and we will also anticipate that anti-central or peripheral academic emancipatory movements should follow the lead of their predecessors. We should not forget that this cannot happen in a day: feminist movements came from different waves (Schrupp and Schrupp 2017). The aim of the first wave was to gain some political power and, as a minimum requirement, the right to vote. After the Second World War, the world perceived the second wave of feminism that focused on sexuality, family roles, reproductive rights and workforce issues. The third wave comes with different subgroups of feminist

thinkers and activist including academic feminism (Potter 2006) which has its direct connections with our special theme. As Fine (2018) puts it, 'feminist science – like academic feminism more generally – turns its beady eye to ways in which knowledge production has, or does, exclude, ignore, distort, or devalue women, and the part this plays in sustaining undeserved inequalities of power' (Fine 2018, 1302–1303). Academic feminism wants to reckon with the myth that women are less capable of intellectual contribution or that they should camouflage their identities by being man-like in order to being taken seriously. Similarly, the decentralization of knowledge production should aim no less that the peripheralization of global knowledge production and to stop all processes in academy that devaluate global South knowledge, episteme or academics themselves.

As a conclusion of this part of our discussion we will recite the most important features of feminist considerations and we will correlate them with our decentralization argument. As Freedman (2002) puts it, the shortest description of feminists' recognition is that society should admit that women are as capable as men. The author unfolds this simple statement as follows:

1. Feminism is a belief that women and men are inherently of equal worth;
2. Most societies privilege men as a group;
3. Social movements are necessary to achieve equality between women and men;
4. With the understanding that gender always intersects with other social hierarchies (Freedman 2002, 7).

Our adaptation of these considerations to the world-systemic inequality of knowledge production is that

1. Decentralization of global knowledge production is a belief that peripheral agents and central agents are inherently of equal worth;
2. Most international institutions privilege central agents and the academic elite as a group;
3. Social movements are necessary to achieve equality between peripheral and central agents;
4. With the understanding that core–periphery position always intersects with other social hierarchies (typically with class stratification).

Here we should mention the very important differentiation between equality and equal worth. According to Freedman,

> equality often assumes that men's historical experience – whether economic, political or sexual – is the standard to which women should aspire. In contrast, the word equal worth values traditional female tasks as highly as other kinds of work historically performed by men. (Freedman 2002, 7)

In academy, this consideration means that historically peripheral perspectives should be as highly valued as their Western counterparts. So, while in the world-system of knowledge production, equality might mean that the periphery should follow Western (or allegedly international) standards, equal worth means that peripheral epistemologies should be internationally recognized, too. Today, unfortunately, we cannot tell that peripheral knowledge is valued in the world-system. On the contrary: Western education, elite

central degrees and Global North working experience privilege those agents that possessing them, and they are more likely to have good positions than their global South educated peers even in cases when their productivity is much lower than those of the peripheral candidates (Long 1978).

LGBTQ movements: camouflaging other than heteronormative identities

In the perspective of the present paper, one of the most important features of LGBTQ movements is that different agents of the relevant discourses used different categories, so the emergence of the whole movement could be described as a rhetorical war against discrimination. The dominant status group here was, and is still, the heterosexual community that, just like all majority groups, wanted to maintain its hegemon position. In this current case it meant the maintenance of heteronormativity.

Similarly, in the field of global academia, the so called standards of the ruling central agents are considered, most usually, as the only one legitimate ways of making science so other practices, typically those at the periphery, are considered as incomplete, deviant or even sick science (Canagarajah 2002). This rhetoric is the very same as in the cases of other implementations of hegemon discourse stating, for example, that women are incomplete men or other than white people are somehow defective white people or homosexuals are ill or imperfect variants of the 'normal' heterosexual people.

The pendants of transvestitism and transsexuality in global academia

As Judith Butler points out, transvestites could be conceived in a twofold way. First, a transvestite could be understood as a man dressing like a woman. It presupposes that the agent is man on the inside, but outwardly a woman. But the direct opposite could also be conceived: in this way, the transvestite is, in reality, a woman on the inside, in her heart, but she is outwardly a man (in her natural characteristic). The transsexual, in this respect, is the person who wants to eliminate these dichotomies completely. In case of the global academia where peripheral scholars should look like their central peers in order to be recognized as professional academics, we can say that peripheral academics with central education and central publications are the transvestites of the global community: they have to use the language, the methods, the rhetoric, the episteme, the culture of the West; they have to dress up in Western degrees and fellowships while, on the inside, they could remain peripheral academics, most usually in terms of their research topics. Or, maybe, the opposite could be imagined: a peripheral scholar could think on the inside that she is actually a Western academic, but she looks like a peripheral scholar outwardly. This latter conception could be developed to a state where the agent wants to eliminate all the differences and she assimilate to the Western community totally. His or her accent could be the last telltale that could show a former variation of reality – just like Adam's apple that would tell the original body construction of a perfectly reconstructed transsexual.

The successive process of appreciation

Applying Forst's detailed analysis (2013) of the process by which toleration could be developed in society, we can distinguish four successive steps by which the epistemic

values of noncore scholars can be appreciated. First, local knowledge should be appreciated as a different type of knowledge. On this level, locality means inferiority and the dominant center maintains that cutting-edge research, theory building, and methodological development pertains to the center. On the next level, alternative centers should evolve. In some extent, we can see this process by the emergence of the Latin hub and of China (Efranmanesh, Tahira, and Abrizah 2017). On the third level peripheral knowledge would be respected and assessed as equal and valuable academic capital. Unfortunately, in the case of the world-system of knowledge production, we are very far from this stage yet. Thus, the fourth stage where peripheral epistemic traditions and global South knowledge production considered not just equal but even desirable is in an infinite distance from the actual situation.

The image of the noncore academic – reckoning with camouflaged identities

We have seen that different waves of emancipatory movements have similar dynamics: first, subordinated groups wanted to be tolerated in the sense that as far as they do not question the status quo of the hegemon group they should be borne. In this case, even the openly taken identity could count as provocation for the dominant group. Thus, in this first period, minority group members tend to develop and maintain camouflaged identities. On this latter expression we mean identities by which subordinated group members became as similar to the members of the hegemon group that, ideally, they could not be differentiated at all. In the case of the world-system of knowledge production we are still in the first stage. It means that, while global South originated people are underrepresented at the most prestigious academic positions and in leading journals, still, they can get positions as far as they look central. Since the agents of the global academia are not racist but elitist, peripheral candidates with a promising academic future need not look central on the surface. Instead, they must have central academic capital including, but not limited to, central education in order to being perceived at the center. Thus, the keyword for the camouflaged identities of peripheral scholars is look central. In the current era, developing camouflage identities within the global academia happens mostly in the context of higher education. An extensive empirical research shows (Demeter 2019a; Clauset, Arbesman, and Larremore 2015) that it is extremely hard, if not impossible, to acquire power positions without Western education or re-education. This phenomenon has been analyzed at least four levels. First, research found that even if scholars with noncore origin can acquire tenured positions in so-called global universities, they should get their Ph.D. (and, most typically, their MA as well) from elite Western universities. Only Western doctoral degrees can serve as transnational academic capital (Gerhards, Hans, and Carlson 2017): while one can get a tenure with a doctoral degree from a top ranked American university at any university in the world, noncore degrees typically cannot be exchanged to academic positions beyond the local academic field. The wideness of this phenomenon cannot be overestimated: through an analysis of the career trajectories of more than 3300 social scientists in one hundred international universities, researchers found that there were no non-Western scholars that were able to exchange their local education to international positions (Demeter and Tóth, 2020). While almost 10 percent of the analyzed international scholars originate beyond the Western world, only 4 percent have non-Western MA degrees, and

the share of noncore Ph.D. holders is less than 1 percent. However, even this minority works at those universities, typically in China, that are ranked amongst the leading international universities but located beyond the Western world. Maybe the most striking example is Central European University, that is in Hungary (Eastern Europe), but amongst the faculty members, there is no one without Western, typically American Ph.D. Through Western education or re-education (the latter means when peripheral scholars, in order to get some recognition, have to repeat their education at the West), originally non-Western scholars can successfully develop camouflage identities, and by waving their Western Ph.D. degrees, they can occupy positions in international universities. The similar abundance of professors with camouflage identities can be find at other universities in 'center within the periphery' positions such as the American University of Beirut, the American University in Bulgaria, the American University in Cairo, or the Girne American University.

Second, an extensive research analyzed the so-called de-Westernization process in communication and media studies within the context of fellowships and prestige positions in the leading scholarly association of the field, namely International Communication Association (ICA). Wiedemann and Meyen (2016) found that despite the prevalence of de-Westernization as an agenda, this process has no impact on American epistemic monoculture. Most ICA fellows have an exclusively American background, and even those outside the U.S. have strong ties, typically through educational, re-education or postdoctoral studies, to the Global North.

> Today, ICA's international leadership is located in world regions closely linked to the United States and educated at U.S. universities or heavily influenced by North American research traditions, even if it includes numerous contributions from other associations and alternative approaches […]. National academic environments in U.S.-affiliated countries became Americanized, especially via ICA fellows serving as role models to get scientific capital. Thus, ICA's efforts to expand its leadership are assumed to have an unintended effect of conserving the power structures in the field. (Wiedemann and Meyen 2016, 1489)

Thus, developing camouflage identities might be mandatory not just when scholars want to acquire faculty positions at international universities, also when they want to have significant positions in international associations.

Third, since it is almost impossible to achieve international visibility with peripheral education, camouflaging their identities is mandatory for even those scholars who criticize the global academic hegemony of the West. Those researchers from different scholarly fields who have acquired considerable international visibility have almost always undergone central education or reeducation, and they work at Western university departments. Thus, one can question whether they are authentically representing their original noncore academic culture and, as a consequence, how they serve the de-Westernization agenda of their peripheral fellows after a 10 years long Western education. To name a few scholars with Western reeducation: one of the most famous scholars of decolonization theory, Boaventura de Sousa-Santos, acquired his PhD from Yale. Walter Mignolo's alma mater was not an Argentinean state university, but one of the leading French elite *grandes écoles,* the École des Hautes Études, and he always taught at elite American universities as Duke, Indiana University or the University of Michigan. Suresh Canagarajah, originally a Sri Lankan scholar, could only publish his epoch-making book on the

intellectual racism within the global academia after graduating from the University of Texas at Austin and moving to the U.S. By the time of the publication of his Geopolitics of Academic Writing (2002), he was an appointed professor at the City University of New York. Amartya Sen was reeducated by his 'second BA' in economics from Trinity College at Cambridge, despite he already had a BA in economics from the Presidency College, Kolkata. Similarly, Arjun Appaddurai was reeducated at both Brandeis University and the University of Chicago. After being educated at a local but Western high school in Israel (Victoria College), Princeton and Harvard trained Edward Said. One of the most influential postcolonial scholars, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, was re-educated at Cornell University, after she graduated from the University of Calcutta. Another leading figure of postcolonialism Homi K. Bhabha acquired his BA from the University of Mumbai, but after that he went for his MA and Ph.D. to the University of Oxford, and he taught at the most prestigious American and British universities before he was appointed to full professor at Harvard in 2001. The central elite Western reeducation is usually an essential precondition for anyone to speak on the periphery, on behalf of and for the sake of the periphery, in the international scientific field.

Four, as in the case of other emancipatory movements, sometimes even the oppressed group members do not recognize self-enslavement or self-stigmatization. To illustrate this, we will show a bibliographic analysis of one of the earliest and most profound books regarding knowledge colonialization: Claude Ake's Social Science as Imperialism. The Theory of Political Development (1982). In this book the author systematically analyses the detrimental processes by which central agents exclude their peripheral peers from global knowledge production. But, unwittingly, the late professor Ake did the same (Figure 1).

Even a glance at Figure 1 above results in realizing that the book which was dedicated to anti-colonialism in social sciences contained more than 90 percent colonizer content
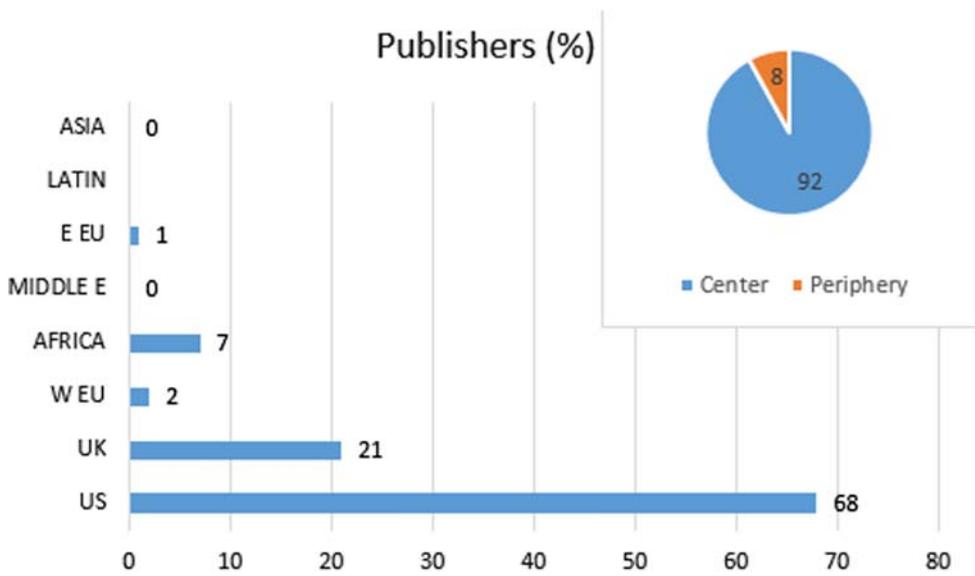

Figure 1. Global distribution of knowledge production on Ake's book.

against the background of a very limited peripheral titles. Of course, this phenomenon could not be explained by self-colonialization itself in every case. When an author from the periphery tries to publish her work at center publishers, she might think that the editor would prefer familiar references that mean central titles. Thus, peripheral authors tend to eliminate the 'unfamiliar', that is, non-central references from their papers when it comes to central publication. But Ake's choice to referring central authors' work could not be explained by the above-mentioned line of though since it had been published in a peripheral publisher. While global South publication houses are disadvantageous as contrasted with their central rivals in many respects, they have one serious advantage, namely, they are, or they should not be biased against peripheral authors and other than English texts. Consequently, excessively citing central authors in a book published in a peripheral publisher is not a good combination in terms of emancipating global knowledge production.

Concluding remarks – how to get rid of camouflage identities

In accordance with their ideological self-determination, higher education institutions like to see themselves as 'liberal institutions where individuals are judged on their merit and engage in rational debate' (Deem, Morley, and Tlili 2005). However, as opposed with producing statistical reports on university students, we have very few data on staff diversity in terms of applications, short listing, interviews, and appointments. But the limited number of papers that has been published on this issue could tell us serious bias against minority groups. In case of the Midshire University, for example, the report indicated that:

> there were ethnic differentials in both short listing and appointments. Ratios were calculated for Black and White applicants, and Asian and White candidates. Both Black and Asian candidates were less likely to be short listed and appointed than White candidates. (Pilkington 2011, 123)

This evidence contradicts to the equal opportunities commitment of higher education policies, by which

> all institutions should, as part of their human resources policy, maintain equal opportunities policies, and, over the medium term, should identify and remove barriers which inhibit recruitment and progression for particular groups and monitor and publish their progress towards greater equality of opportunity for all groups. (Dearing 1997)

Yet, as it was illustrated by the case study reported above, there is 'evidence throughout the sector of persistent ethnic differentials that adversely impact on Black and Asian staff and students' (Pilkington 2011, 145) as well as evidence of 'unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping' (Pilkington 2011, 145). As Pilkington puts it, 'these phenomena clearly do not entail 'treating individuals fairly with dignity and respect'; or 'valuing diversity, equality, inclusion and opportunity'. Universities therefore do not live up to their stated ideals' (Pilkington 2011, 145).

As we have seen throughout this analysis, emancipatory movements could be successful in a long run only if they could acquire patrons and supporters from the hegemon group. But first of all, propagators of the emancipatory movement should have a common starting position by which they could define themselves as an integrated, evolving and increasingly powerful agent on a given field. They must take off their

camouflaged identities and they must develop autonomous and authentic identities on order to accomplish their emancipatory goals. Thus, non-Western scholars in the world-system of knowledge production should not mask themselves through central reeducation: instead, they must make their voices heard as non-Western academics with their authentic epistemic values, topical foci, and academic traditions.

As concluding remarks, I offer strategic suggestions that, when applied together, can create a fairer, more inclusive global academia for the benefit of the entire community. First, scholars with a real decolonization agenda should criticize the merely theoretical nature of centrally initiated de-Westernization narrative that is advertised by those scholars that enjoy the benefits of the systemic hegemonies, so they usually make little effort in practice to change the existing inequalities in knowledge production, and for them, decentralization remains at a rhetorical level. As it is clearly stated in the Basic Manifesto of *Decolonial Subversions* (Hirmer 2020), 'While the multi-disciplinary integration of a decolonial theoretical perspective gives the impression that the reach of decolonization has been extensive, in our experience it is often limited to philosophical discussion or lip service without its embodied praxis' (Hirmer 2020, para. 2). Another problematic area is that most decolonization theorists and activists with considerable international visibility have undergone Western reeducation and are likely to occupy scholarly positions at central universities. This creates a 'periphery at the center' situation which makes the authenticity of their decolonization agenda somehow questionable. The usual mobility paths of most decolonization theorists reinforce existing inequalities in the field of the academia that bind the visibility of the periphery to central reeducation and central positions. With this, they might reinforce the dependency of the periphery to the Western center. Being aware this problem, dependency theorists suggested a partial or complete detachment from the center (Love 1980). For Prebisch (1959), the only chance for dependent regions to become alternative centers is to break off from the current centers. When peripheral scholars subject themselves to Western reeducation and aim to occupy position at Western universities, they unwittingly develop camouflage identities and reinforce existing knowledge hegemonies.

Eliminating the practice of developing camouflage identities is not just a negative process but it also means that the authentic, non-altered identities should be actively strengthened. Peripheral scholars need to organize more and better regional conferences, and they should abandon the practice of inviting mostly central, internationally recognized keynote speakers while enrolling regional and local scholars in parallel sessions, and they should abandon the myth that these so-called internationalization practices guarantee the quality of an international conference. This practice and the overlaying assumption are based on marketing concerns, and not on clearly academic considerations. International conferences should be international in terms of the diversity of keynote speakers as well, and they should not be biased towards central scholars. Without this consideration, even conferences can develop camouflage identities by selling themselves as Western events that are organized at the periphery. This phenomenon is obviously parallel to the development of camouflage identities for individual scholars, where Western education disguises the origin of a scholar, and to the development of camouflage identities for some peripheral universities that recruit only academics with Western origin or at least Western education to advertise their internationality and high quality.

To peel off camouflage identities, peripheral regions would also need to establish and manage regional but well-functioning international journals, and they should strive to get these journals indexed in international databases such as Scopus or the Web of Science. Peripheral scholars need to read and cite the works of their peripheral peers, of course only if their papers are relevant and of high quality. However, assuming equal quality, it is strategically rewarding to cite noncore, peripheral scholars. This practice might cause disadvantage in the short term, but in the long run, it might develop a unique citation universe, which gives each noncore region international visibility and thus a better position in the world-system of knowledge production. Finally, in order to get rid of camouflage identities, researchers at the periphery should proudly express their cultural identity in every possible level of the academic field. They should keep their authentic voice, refuse, or at least challenge the idea of re-education, and, beyond theorization, they should provoke and initiate tangible actions for a more inclusive, diverse and well-functioning academia where there is no need for camouflaging anyone's identity since epistemic and cultural differences are not just tolerated but even desired.

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