

Academic Writing in a Global Context

‘This book takes the exploration of academic writing and publishing in new directions, not least in the array of methodological and theoretical constructs developed. Through their research Lillis and Curry have provided rich perspectives into the ways texts are shaped, who is involved in this process and where this happens.’

Suresh Canagarajah, *Pennsylvania State University, US*

‘*Academic Writing in a Global Context* will transform understandings about English as an international language for academic knowledge production. It challenges established views of the relations between scholarship, language and location, revealing the political issues which pervade the field. The research with scholars in four countries is rigorous and relevant, grounded and ground-breaking.’

Roz Ivanič, *Emeritus Professor of Linguistics in Education, Lancaster University, UK*

Academic Writing in a Global Context examines the impact of the growing dominance of English on academic writing for publication. The authors explore the ways in which the global status of English is affecting the lives and practices of multilingual scholars working in contexts where English is not the official language of communication, throwing into relief the politics surrounding academic publishing.

Drawing on an eight year ‘text-oriented ethnography’ of the experiences of fifty scholars working in Southern and Central Europe, this book explores how the dominance of English as the medium of academic publishing is influencing practices of knowledge production and evaluation. Analysis and discussion focus on the trajectories of texts towards publication, the involvement of ‘literacy brokers’, scholars’ participation in local and transnational networks and institutional systems of evaluation and rewards.

This book will be of interest to postgraduates and professionals in the fields of academic literacies, applied linguistics, world Englishes, language and globalization, and English language teaching.

Theresa Lillis is a senior lecturer in language and communication at the Centre for Language and Communication, The Open University, UK. She is author of *Student Writing: Access, regulation, and desire* (Routledge, 2001), and co-author and editor of several books including *Redesigning English* (Routledge, 2007).

Mary Jane Curry is associate professor of language education in the Margaret Warner Graduate School of Education and Human Development at the University of Rochester, US. She co-wrote *Teaching Academic Writing: A Toolkit for Higher Education* (Routledge, 2002).

Academic Writing in a Global Context

The politics and practices of
publishing in English

Theresa Lillis and Mary Jane Curry

First edition published 2010
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada
by Routledge
270 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2010 Theresa Lillis and Mary Jane Curry

Typeset in Baskerville and Gill Sans by
Book Now Ltd, London
Printed and bound in Great Britain by
CPI Antony Rowe, Chippenham, Wiltshire

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced
or utilized in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means,
now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording,
or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in
writing from the publishers.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Lillis, Theresa M., 1956–

Academic writing in global context / Theresa Lillis and Mary Jane Curry.
p. cm.

1. Education—Research. 2. Academic writing—Study and teaching.

3. English language—Globalization. I. Curry, Mary Jane. II. Title.

LB1028.L44 2010

370.72—dc22

2009043903

ISBN10: 0-415-46881-7 (hbk)

ISBN10: 0-415-46883-3 (pbk)

ISBN10: 0-203-85258-3 (ebk)

ISBN13: 978-0-415-46881-7 (hbk)

ISBN13: 978-0-415-46883-1 (pbk)

ISBN13: 978-0-203-85258-3 (ebk)

Dedicated to Pam Burns *who saw us embark on this journey and
with whom we wish we could have shared this moment. With love.*

Contents

<i>List of illustrations</i>	xi
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xiii
1 English and the politics of academic knowledge production	1
<i>Why academic writing ‘in a global context’?</i>	1
<i>The politics of location in academic text production</i>	5
<i>The global position of English in journal publications</i>	8
<i>A social practice approach to academic text production in a global context</i>	19
<i>How this book is organized</i>	27
<i>Ethics and anonymity</i>	28
<i>Note to the reader</i>	29
<i>Suggestions for further reading</i>	30
2 Writing for publication in a globalized world: interests, regulations and rewards	31
<i>Introduction</i>	31
<i>Writing for different communities</i>	33
<i>The communities that multilingual scholars are writing for</i>	42
<i>Situated systems of regulations and rewards</i>	48
<i>Conclusion</i>	59
<i>Suggestions for further reading</i>	60
3 Mobilizing resources for text production: academic research networks	61
<i>Introduction</i>	61
<i>‘Competence’ as individual expertise or networks of activity?</i>	62
<i>Multilingual scholars’ networks</i>	65

viii *Contents*

*Characterizing local–transnational network activity in academic
text production* 71
Conclusion 85
Suggestions for further reading 86

4 Texts and literacy brokers 87

Introduction 87
‘Polishing the text’: literacy brokering in academic text production 87
Types of literacy brokers in academic text production 93
The impact of language brokers on texts 93
The impact of academic brokers on texts 100
*Academic literacy brokers and the construction of knowledge
in English-medium ‘international’ journals* 102
Conclusion 112
Suggestions for further reading 114

**5 Staying ‘local’, going ‘global’?: working at
Enlightenment Science** 115

Introduction 115
The importance of the ‘local’ in scholars’ writing lives 115
Everything in its place in the global academic utopia 120
Working toward equivalence 131
Conclusion 134
Suggestions for further reading 134

**6 Boundaries and stratification in the global
academic dystopia** 135

Introduction 135
Science as local: ‘global’ is a place called the ‘US’ 135
Crossing boundaries (or attempts at ‘scale-jumping’) 137
What counts as ‘new’? Locality, parochialism and exoticization 141
How locality gets valued in global knowledge making 145
Textual ideologies in gatekeeping the boundaries between local and global 149
Conclusion 153
Suggestions for further reading 154

**7 Decentring academic text production and
evaluation practices** 155

Introduction 155
Academic text production within the current marketplace 156
Making visible ideologies of text production and evaluation systems 161

<i>Sustaining local research languages and publications</i>	164
<i>Internationality rather than 'international'</i>	170
<i>Concluding comments: from knowledge economy to knowledge as a gift economy</i>	170
<i>Suggestions for further reading</i>	176
<i>Notes</i>	177
<i>References</i>	184
<i>Index</i>	199

Illustrations

Tables

1.1	An overview of the PAW research study on which this book is based	2
1.2	Summaries of global journal publication statistics from Ulrich's Periodicals Directory	10
1.3	Comparison of Research and Development (R&D) spending in relation to academic publishing output in selected regions of the world	14
1.4	Research and development spending in relation to academic output in the four study sites	15
1.5	ISI index journal counts as percentage of Ulrich's coverage	17
2.1	Overview of Slovak scholars	33
2.2	Overview of Hungarian scholars	34
2.3	Overview of Spanish scholars	34
2.4	Overview of Portuguese scholars	34
2.5	Publishing record of Slovak scholars	35
2.6	Publishing record of Hungarian scholars	36
2.7	Publishing record of Spanish scholars	37
2.8	Publishing record of Portuguese scholars	38
2.9	Annual academic salaries in four sites, equivalent to euros, adjusted for local cost of living	53
4.1	Brokers, textual orientations and target publications	101
4.2	Scholars' professional academic experience and publication records	103
5.1	Refereed psychology and education journals	128

Figures

1.1	List of Methodological Tools	29
2.1	Talk around texts	43

xii	<i>Illustrations</i>	
2.2	Extract from Spanish evaluation document	49
2.3	Extract from document providing criteria from the Hungarian Academy of Sciences for the academic doctorate [Hungarian original]	51
2.4	Slovak promotion document completed by a psychology scholar seeking promotion to associate professor [Slovak original]	52
2.5	Extract from Slovak evaluation document [Slovak original]	53
2.6	Key resource issues for English-medium text production	54
2.7	Extracts from FCT Evaluation Guidelines (original version in English)	57
2.8	Field notes relating to FCT	58
3.1	1–6 Scholars' sketches of their networks	65
3.2	Resources made available and mobilized via local and transnational academic networks	69
3.3	Joaquim's networks	75
3.4	Fidel's networks	79
3.5	Julie's networks	81
3.6	Martin's networks	82
4.1	Translating and editing costs	96
5.1	The norms of Enlightenment Science	123
5.2	Functionalist distinctions between linguistic medium and knowledge for local and global outlets	129
5.3	One psychology scholar's functionalist distinctions between publications aimed at academics and practitioners in two academic fields	129
5.4	Functionalist-normative mapping of 'local' and 'global' against 'national' and 'international' journals	130
5.5	Working at equivalence in Portuguese and English-medium productions: publication record of one Portuguese research team	132
6.1	Ideological distinctions to local and global publications in the global academic dystopia	138
6.2	Location of most highly cited researchers, ISI 2009	145
7.1	Making textual ideologies visible	162
7.2	Ideological orientations in academic text production and evaluation	163

Maps

1	Map of the world showing OECD and G8 countries	12
2	Map of Europe showing member states of the European Union. The four sites of the study are Magyarország (Hungary), Slovensko (Slovakia), España (Spain) and Portugal	13

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, we wish to thank all the scholars who have given so generously of their time, texts, thoughts, and interest over the more than eight years that we have worked on this study. This book represents just a snippet of all that we have learned personally and academically from you. Thank you.

In sustaining this research over a lengthy period we are indebted to many people. We offer our warm appreciation to Wendy Stainton-Rogers who inspired us to begin this research project and has provided considerable practical and moral support. Thanks to our colleagues in the Centre for Language and Communication (at the Open University) and at the Warner School (at the University of Rochester), university staff, librarians, and research assistants funded by our universities, the ESRC (RES-000-22-0098 and RES-063-27-0263) and the British Academy. We wish to thank administrative assistant Janet Moore; translators Milan Graf, Carmen García-Lillis, Rogerio Puga and Balázs Szabolcs; scholars who have acted as research assistants and transcribers over this stretch of time, Heather Carroll, Jing Che, Liam García-Lillis, Shirley Graham, Gab'sile Lukhele, Anna Magyar, Lisa Lim, Sarah North, Matilda Tang, and Nan Zhang. We have also been helped by librarian Kathy McGowan and designer Christopher Penders at the University of Rochester and Roger Pitfield at the Open University. Our thanks to colleagues from other institutions, Roz Ivanič, Martin Hewings, Mary Scott, Joan Turner and Brian Street, who have offered us critical commentary and different types of support in many ways over the past eight years.

Our particular gratitude goes to Carol Johns-MacKenzie and Rita Chidley who have done much to sustain the project over a long period of time, not only through their meticulous administrative/secretarial work (in the case of Carol) and careful transcription (in the case of Rita) but with their cheerful enthusiasm and encouragement throughout.

We gratefully acknowledge permission to reprint/reuse sections of earlier publications: To *TESOL Quarterly* for: Curry, M.J. & Lillis, T.M. (2004). Multilingual scholars and the imperative to publish in English: Negotiating interests, demands, and rewards. *TESOL Quarterly*, 38(4), 663–688, parts of which have been adapted in Chapter 2 and other sections of the book. To *Revista Canaria de Estudios Ingleses* for: Lillis, T.M. & Curry, M.J. (2006). Reframing notions of competence in scholarly writing: From individual to networked activity. *Revista Canaria de Estudios*

xiv *Acknowledgements*

Ingleses, 53, 63–78, which has been adapted and expanded in Chapter 3. To *Written Communication* for: Lillis, T.M. & Curry, M.J. (2006). Professional academic writing by multilingual scholars: Interactions with literacy brokers in the production of English-medium texts. *Written Communication*, 23(1), 3–35, which has been adapted primarily for Chapter 4 and for Lillis, T. (2008) Ethnography as method, methodology, and ‘deep theorising’: closing the gap between text and context in academic writing research. *Written Communication*, 25(3), 353–388, extracts from which have been adapted in Chapter 6.

And of course our love and thanks to our families who have cheerfully (mostly!) accepted our many trips away from home and looked forward to our stories on return; to Guille, Carmen, Liam and Moritz.

1 English and the politics of academic knowledge production

Why academic writing ‘in a global context’?

Academic writing for publication takes place all around the world, involving an estimated 5.5 million scholars, 2,000 publishers and 17,500 research/higher education institutions.¹ While research and writing are always locally situated practices, no academic text or publishing activity can be considered in isolation from the many complex global(izing) practices and systems which influence academic text production in powerful ways, not least the ways in which texts are evaluated and disseminated. English plays a central role in such globalizing systems and practices, being considered by prestigious institutions to be the global ‘language of Science’² and by many participants in text production – including scholars, reviewers, translators, editors – as the default language of Science and academic research and dissemination. This global status of English alongside the documented growth in English-medium publications means that scholars from around the world are under considerable pressure to publish in English. While such pressure is keenly experienced by scholars writing out of non-Anglophone contexts who have to make difficult decisions about which writing to do in which languages, Anglophone scholars often seem unaware of the privileged position they (we) hold, or the invisible benefits that such a position ensures. Wherever academic writing for publication takes place and whoever it is aimed at, such writing is global to the extent that it occurs within a global market (Gibbs 1995a), where texts are quite literally accorded different value, and within a global ‘economy of signs’ (Blommaert 2005) where English holds pride of place. In this book we explore the impact of the growing dominance of English as the global medium of academic publications – and of evaluation systems governing the academic marketplace – on the lives and practices of multilingual scholars working and living in contexts where English is not the official or dominant means of communication. At the same time, through our emphasis on understanding scholars’ experiences and practices in specific contexts, our aim is to contribute to debates and understandings about academic production, and thus knowledge-making practices, in a globalized world.

2 *The politics of knowledge production*

Key questions the book seeks to explore are:

- In what ways is the global status of English influencing academic text production and exchange in the twenty-first century?
- To what extent can English be viewed as the global ‘academic lingua franca’?
- How is the status of English in academic knowledge production maintained and sustained through key national, transnational and supranational institutions?
- How are individual scholars in non-Anglophone contexts responding to pressures to publish in English?
- Which kinds of knowledge are ‘staying local’ and which are ‘going global’?
- What kinds of texts and knowledge ‘travel’ across national and transnational boundaries?

This book has at its centre a study based on the experiences and practices of 50 scholars from four non-Anglophone ‘centre’ contexts – Hungary, Slovakia, Spain and Portugal – in two disciplinary fields, education and psychology. The study, *Professional Academic Writing in a Global Context* (PAW) is unique in its methodology, scope and coverage in that it has involved using a text-oriented ethnographic approach in order to track scholars’ text production, practices and experiences, in four national contexts and 12 institutions over a period of

Table 1.1 An overview of the PAW research study on which this book is based

Empirical research questions	Overarching questions <ul style="list-style-type: none">• How is the dominance of English affecting scholars who use languages other than English and live/work in non-English dominant contexts?• In what ways is the position of English as an ‘academic lingua franca’ influencing academic knowledge production and exchange in the twenty-first century?• Which texts are successful or unsuccessful in being accepted for publication, and why? About scholars’ experiences and practices <ul style="list-style-type: none">• What are scholars’ experiences in writing and publishing their research in English?• What meanings does publishing in English have for scholars?• What pressures do scholars face in this enterprise?• What barriers to publishing in English do scholars encounter?• What does and doesn’t get published, and why?
Methodology	Text-oriented ethnography. The collection and analysis of a range of ethnographic and text data to explore the production of texts in their contexts. (See <i>Methodological Tools</i> across the book.)

Table 1.1 (Continued)

Number of key participants	50 scholars
Number of key institutions	12 (where scholars are primarily based)
Data sources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Texts written by participants (approximately 1,192) • Cyclical face-to-face talk around text (208 recorded sessions) • Language and literacy history interviews (50 recorded sessions) • Ongoing email discussions between participants and researchers (approximately 2,000) • Copies of correspondence between participants and others about texts (colleagues, reviewers, editors – approximately 500) • Observational field notes/Research diaries (total visits 60) • Telephone discussions (approximately 15) • Network diagrams drawn by participants • Documentary data from four national sites (departmental, institutional and national policy documents)
Key unit of analysis	Text Histories (See <i>Methodological Tool 1: Text Histories</i>)
National context	Slovakia, Hungary, Spain, Portugal
Disciplinary focus	Psychology, Education
Length of research study	Eight years and ongoing

eight years. An overview of key aspects of the study is summarized in Table 1.1. Given that researching, writing and securing publication often take a considerable amount of time, the longitudinal approach adopted for the study was essential to capture traces of the histories of text production. A key aim of the study was to document specific ‘Text Histories’, that is, to explore what happens as texts move from one context to another: this includes both trajectories within local national contexts and trajectories across national boundaries, often – given the high status attributed to Anglophone-centre publications – to Anglophone-centre contexts. Details of the kind of data involved in Text Histories are provided in the box over page, which is the first of six *Methodological Tools* outlined across the book. A core premise in writing the book is that paying attention to specific Text Histories and individual scholars’ accounts of their experiences of academic text production helps throw into relief key debates about the broader practices and politics surrounding academic text production in a global context.

Methodological Tool 1: Text Histories

Text History (TH) is a key unit of data collection and analysis that we developed for exploring the trajectories of texts towards publication. The goal is to collect as much information as possible about the history of a text, including the drafts produced, the different people involved – including authors, reviewers, translators, editors and academic colleagues – the chronology of involvement and the nature of their impact on the text and its trajectory.

Each TH involves these key data elements:

- face-to-face interviews with the main author or authors, including discussions of the history of a particular text, such as who was involved, target publication, specific issues/concerns;
- the collection of as many drafts as available;
- the collection of correspondence between authors and brokers, including post-submission broker comments, such as reviews and email correspondence;
- email correspondence and informal discussions with authors.

Examples of two simple text trajectories and the writers and literacy brokers involved (see Chapter 4 for literacy brokers):

Example Text History 1

People involved: A = authors; B = brokers; D = draft

	A1 A2 A3		A1 A2 A3		A1 A2 A3		B1 B2 B3		A1 A2 A3 B4		
Written texts collected discussed and analysed	D1	→	D2	→	D3	→	Submitted	→	D4	→	published

Example Text History 2

People involved: A = authors; B = brokers; D = draft

	A1 A2 A3		A1 A2 A3		A1 A2 A3		B1 B2 B3		
Written texts collected, discussed and analysed	D1	→	D2	→	D3	→	submitted (revisions requested) ↓		
							not resubmitted		

Collecting text histories is time consuming – the trajectories of some texts towards submission and publication may involve years – and can only ever be partial. The amount and range of data available for each Text History in the PAW study varies because: 1) the texts are at different stages of trajectories toward publication and are therefore incomplete; 2) scholars vary enormously in their practices of keeping drafts and correspondence about specific texts; 3) scholars vary in the extent to which they report the involvement of others in their text production, for a number of reasons, ranging from the relatively straightforward issue of simply not remembering, to more complex issues of confidentiality, status and anonymity. Given the nature of writing activity, we recognize that no Text History is ever complete, most obviously because drafts are discarded and written exchanges destroyed. However, we think the collection and analysis of the kind of data outlined here is an important way of glimpsing important moments within texts' trajectories toward publication.

The politics of location in academic text production

At the heart of this book is the argument that geopolitical location – of scholars, texts, language – is central to the politics of academic text production, a position which has been gaining in prominence (see Belcher 2007; Flowerdew 1999a, 1999b; Salager-Meyer 1997; Swales 1990, 2004; and set out particularly clearly by Canagarajah 2002a). The specific geopolitical sites of the research study on which this book draws can be variously described as *Europe(an)*, *Southern Europe*, *Central* and *Eastern Europe* as well as through reference to specific nation states – Slovakia, Hungary, Spain and Portugal. In terms of their relationship with the use of English, the four national sites can be described as forming part of what Kachru has referred to as the 'Expanding Circle' of English language users (Kachru 2001), in which English is used as a foreign language and increasingly as an instrumental language in education, commerce and other areas. The 'Expanding Circle' contrasts with the 'Inner Circle', which includes nations such as the United Kingdom, the United States and Australia, as well as the 'Outer Circle', which represents former colonial sites such as India, Singapore and Nigeria, where English is a second or official language (Kachru 1992, 2001). In terms of their economic positioning, the four sites can be described as part of the 'centre', in contrast to the 'periphery' – after World Systems theory (Wallerstein 1991) – where 'centre'/'periphery' are used to indicate the differing material conditions and dependency relations between regions of the world, framed in terms of First and Third Worlds or West-as-centre in contrast to postcolonial periphery.

However, while these linguistic (Kachru's three circles) and economic (centre/periphery) categories are highly relevant to the study of academic publishing for their descriptive and explanatory power – not least in terms of the privileged position held by the Anglophone centre – they can mask variation within and across regions of the world. Thus the four national sites are examples of 'centre' contexts which are also 'peripheral' in a number of ways (Sousa Santos (1994) uses the term '*semi-periférico*'). Most obviously they are non-Anglophone-centre

6 *The politics of knowledge production*

contexts. They are also contexts where, at the state level, English has historically been granted a relatively low profile with limited opportunities for learning English.³ They thus stand in contrast to many parts of Northern Europe, such as Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium and Scandinavian countries, where English is often the language of instruction in universities and increasingly the language of PhD dissertations (Ammon 2001; Brock-Utne 2001; Phillipson 2003; Truchot 1994).⁴ The economic conditions in some of the sites are less favourable than other centre contexts, for example, in Central-Eastern Europe scholars not only earn lower salaries (as we discuss in Chapter 2) but they often have less funding and time for research and travel, less access to well-equipped libraries and laboratories, and less research assistance and other support, including for writing.⁵

In exploring the politics of location in academic text production, therefore, there are three key dimensions signalled in the above discussion which need to be taken into account: the *geographical* (at the levels of immediate local context such as department, institution, as well as the higher scales of state, region); the *geolinguistic* (the languages used or not used in writing for academic publication and their differential status); and the *geopolitical* (notably the policies influencing research and evaluation systems at local, national and supranational levels). All three are important for understanding what's involved and at stake in academic text production in the specific sites on which this book is based; but they are also important in enabling us to explore the nature of academic text production in a global context in three principal ways. First, the book highlights the differential values attributed to what is viewed as *locally* and *globally* relevant knowledge. Thus, for example, analysis of how articles reporting on Hungarian-based research are evaluated in Anglophone publishing contexts raises issues of relevance not only to Hungarian contexts of research and writing, but to all contexts which are marked in some way as being 'non-Anglophone'. Second, by exploring trajectories of academic text production, the book raises fundamental questions about the values and practices emerging from and being controlled by – predominantly – the Anglophone centre. For example, 'anonymized' peer review still remains a largely 'occluded genre' (Swales 1996), where both the texts and the practices remain hidden from public scrutiny – with written texts often viewed as private documents – while playing a powerful role in text and thus knowledge production and circulation. Third, the book calls attention to the range of geopolitical frameworks and descriptors often used uncritically in discussions about academic text production and which mask understandings, values and practices carried out in their name. A key example is 'international', which is in widespread currency in everyday usage, public discourse and research literature yet, as we discuss in the book, is a particularly powerful 'sliding signifier', coming to index far more than 'concerning two or more nations' (the *Concise Oxford English Dictionary Online* defines 'international' as: 'adjective 1 existing or occurring between nations. 2 agreed on or used by all or many nations'⁶). 'International' in the context of academic publishing is, rather, often used as a proxy for 'English medium', and together 'English' and 'international' constitute an important indexical cluster used to signal 'high quality'. Throughout the book we aim to make clear how we are using

terms and from whose perspective: in the case of ‘international’ we avoid using it where other terms are less ideologically ambivalent – and use terms such as *transnational* and *supranational* – and when we do use it, we do so with ‘scare quotes’ to signal its contested status.

The politics of location in our research: brief reflections

In the spirit of ethnography as a reflexive science (Burawoy 2003) and in an attempt to situate this particular work on literacy (see Menezes de Souza 2008), we offer some notes on the politics of location with regard to us as researchers and our research writings. To write about this in detail would be another book; what follows are some points which stand out to us.

How did this research come about?

We met through being based in the same centre for three years at a UK university. We had each worked before on issues of access, identity and participation relating to student academic writing – Theresa in the United Kingdom and Mary Jane in the United States. What we shared therefore was an interest in the politics of academic writing, practices of inclusion, exclusion, and a familiarity with key positions and literature (notably New Literacy Studies, the work of Pierre Bourdieu and critical reproduction theorists such as Michael Apple) as refracted through our very different geographical, disciplinary and institutional bases. A senior colleague from psychology in our university became aware of our interests and shared her perspective on the specific issues Central European scholars faced in securing English-medium publications. It is fundamentally due to her interest in our work with academic literacies and the initial contacts we made with some Central European scholars, through her, that we began to imagine what kind of a research project this could be. We then called upon our own contacts in Southern Europe to establish Spain and Portugal as research sites.⁷

How do the politics of location affect our research?

Most obviously, we are working from the Anglophone centre – at the beginning in one UK institution and later in a UK and a US institution. This means that (although we, like many centre scholars, complain about too much work, not enough time etc.) we have decent salaries, good resources and opportunities for seeking grant funding. This economic security of salary and resource base has gone a long way towards making this research possible. We are also both ‘native’ speakers of English – although of different varieties and from different social backgrounds – and thus recognize the benefit we gain from this privilege at this moment in history.

Funding and the politics of English

In seeking funding from research bodies, we think we have been the beneficiaries to some extent of people’s ‘misrecognition’ of the problem we are exploring. Thus while we have received some very insightful reviewer comments on applications which have helped to steer our thinking, we have also been aware of underlying

ideological positions which have benefited us while being at odds with our own positions. Two obvious positions go something like this: 1) 'English is the lingua franca of science – therefore everyone should be writing in English and maybe such research can find out ways to make this happen'; 2) 'If people have problems with getting work published, it's a problem with language or writing so let's find out what the linguistic problems are and resolve these.' But it's also the case that the taken-for-granted position of English as the global language of Science can work against our (or others') attempts to secure funding for research in this area; focusing on English as the medium of publication can be seen as not interesting (or worth funding) precisely because it's taken as a given that people should be publishing in English. If there is a problem, then it can be resolved by people working to improve their English. (There is no need for research.)

During the course of the research we have applied for some 13 grants from eight funding bodies and have been successful in six of these. In seeking funds, we have noted a difference between US and UK funding agencies – perhaps not surprisingly, Europe is not on the United States' agenda and it has proved harder (actually, impossible) to secure grants from US funding bodies. However, we have been lucky in that both of our own institutions have actively supported the research – by enabling us to apply for and secure small amounts of funding for travel, graduate research assistants and transcription – an absolute necessity in any attempt to do longitudinal qualitative research.

Publishing on publishing in English

Our location in two of the dominant Anglophone academic centres has not exempted us from the need to be cognizant of the types of target journal to which we should submit papers from this project. Because of the need to continue to seek funding to keep the research going for as long as possible (because of its longitudinal nature) and to meet institutional requirements, in Mary Jane's case, to earn tenure at her US university, we have had to consider the ranking/status of our target journals even as we have deepened our awareness of the geopolitics of academic publishing. In this respect it is salutary to note that a paper we are particularly happy with (Lillis and Curry 2006b), which is published in an English-medium Spanish journal – in contrast to our Anglophone-centre publications – has rarely been cited.

We have a more fundamental concern, however, which relates to the value attributed by Anglophone-centre publishers to the topic we have been researching: is it valued for the reasons of access and equity that spurred us to pursue the research, or to some/a large extent because of a process of exotic 'othering'? We think that both dimensions have been in play at different moments in our work history and reflect some of the tensions we discuss with regard to scholars' publications in Chapter 6.

The global position of English in journal publications

While a wide range of academic texts are produced for publication, a key focus in this book is the production of academic journal articles. The reason for focusing so centrally on journal articles is the high status they are attributed in local,

national and transnational evaluation systems. Quantifying the exact number of journals and articles being produced globally is far from straightforward, as the categories used for such quantification vary across systems of counting. The most comprehensive listing of journals, Ulrich's Periodicals Directory, gives the current annual total of 'academic journals' as 66,166 (Ulrich's 2009a).⁸ Mabe calculates that 'for most of the last three centuries the growth rate of active peer reviewed scholarly and scientific journals has been almost constant at 3.46% per annum. This means that the number of active journals has been doubling every 20 years' (Mabe 2003: 193).⁹

The status of the journal article as an indicator of scholarly performance is growing, despite the disciplinary variation that exists in the publication types preferred by scholars – that is, natural scientists publish more of their work in journals than do social scientists, who also write books, book chapters, reports and other genres (Hicks 2004). While the elevated status of the journal article (compared with other text types) may be contested by some scholars (often depending on discipline), this status looks likely to grow given the move towards the use of bibliometric systems for the evaluation of academic performance across disciplines in many contexts of higher education, in particular through the use of the 'impact factor', an issue we discuss in detail below.

The ever-growing status of the journal and journal articles is paralleled by the ever-growing use of English as the medium of such articles. As with the annual statistics on journal publication, establishing a precise figure for the linguistic medium of journals published is not straightforward. However, some indication of the linguistic medium – and the dominance of English – can be gleaned by considering a number of key sources. Ulrich's Periodicals Directory indicates that 67% of the 66,166 academic periodicals included are published using some or all English (Ulrich's 2009a). Table 1.2 summarizes key figures on academic journals and their linguistic medium. The predominance of English-medium journals in some sources of bibliometric statistics signals the near-complete integration of English into particular types of journals, especially in certain disciplines. For instance, according to the Institute for Scientific Information (ISI), more than 95% of indexed natural science journals and 90% of social science journals use all or some English (Thomson Reuters 2008a). Similarly, English is the language of more than half of the 4,654 social science journals comprising UNESCO's DARE database of social science periodicals (UNESCO DARE 2009). The differences in numbers between these sources can to a large extent be accounted for by the different criteria used for inclusion, brief notes on which are included in Table 1.2.

Resource input and academic output

The history of the rise of English as a dominant global language of publication has much in common with the rise of English more widely, notably its link in the last century with the economic power of the United States (for discussions, see Graddol 1997, 2006, 2007; Pennycook 1998, 2007). With regard to academic writing and publishing, two specific aspects are important to consider which are

Table 1.2 Summaries of global journal publication statistics from Ulrich's Periodicals Directory (2009b)

<i>Category</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Notes on categories</i>
Total periodicals published globally with 'active' status	223,527	Ulrich's periodical categories are 'active', 'ceased' or 'forthcoming'. Here Ulrich's total count has recently had a considerable and intentional jump: 'In addition to the tens of thousands of regular updates that are applied throughout the year to Ulrich's records, more than 14,700 individual serial titles were added to the Ulrich's knowledgebase in 2006. Among these are thousands of European, Asian, and non-English publications in a variety of formats – from newspapers and magazines to Open Access journals and other e-serials'. http://www.ulrichsweb.com/ulrichsweb/news.asp , accessed January 2010
Academic/scholarly journals in all languages	66,166	Ulrich's categories are 'Academic/scholarly', 'Newspaper', 'Newsletter/bulletin', 'Consumer' and 'Trade/Business-to-business'. All languages can be included by leaving blank the search criterion 'Language'.
Academic/scholarly journals with some English	44,343	'Some English' is the only category available for searching how many journals are in the medium of English. 'Some English' can include anything from the abstracts/keywords to the entire journal.
Refereed academic/scholarly in all languages	25,864	'Refereed' is a category that exists within the system and can be used as a search term.
Refereed academic/scholarly journals with some English	22,910	See above
Refereed academic/scholarly in Mandarin Chinese, Hindi/Urdu, Spanish, Arabic, Russian, Portuguese, Bengali, French, Japanese, German (often with some English as well)	7,110	We compiled this figure by searching Ulrich's for journals published in the 10 most commonly used languages in the world in addition to English.
Refereed academic/scholarly in Spanish, French, German, Portuguese, Chinese – and no English	2,383	These journals are identified by excluding English from search criteria.

Note: We have included notes on the categories to give an indication of how definitions and selection criteria can influence the figures produced.

perhaps the most obvious ways in which the politics of location are linked to research and academic text production: first, the link between financial input and academic output, both of which were led by the United States until recently; second, the increasing influence globally of the US-based ISI (now part of Thomson Reuters) and the development of the 'impact factor' for evaluating academic output. We devote considerable attention to the latter in the section below because, as we discuss in this book, it is influencing text production practices in highly significant ways which often remain largely invisible (particularly at the current moment, we believe, to those working in the social sciences and humanities).

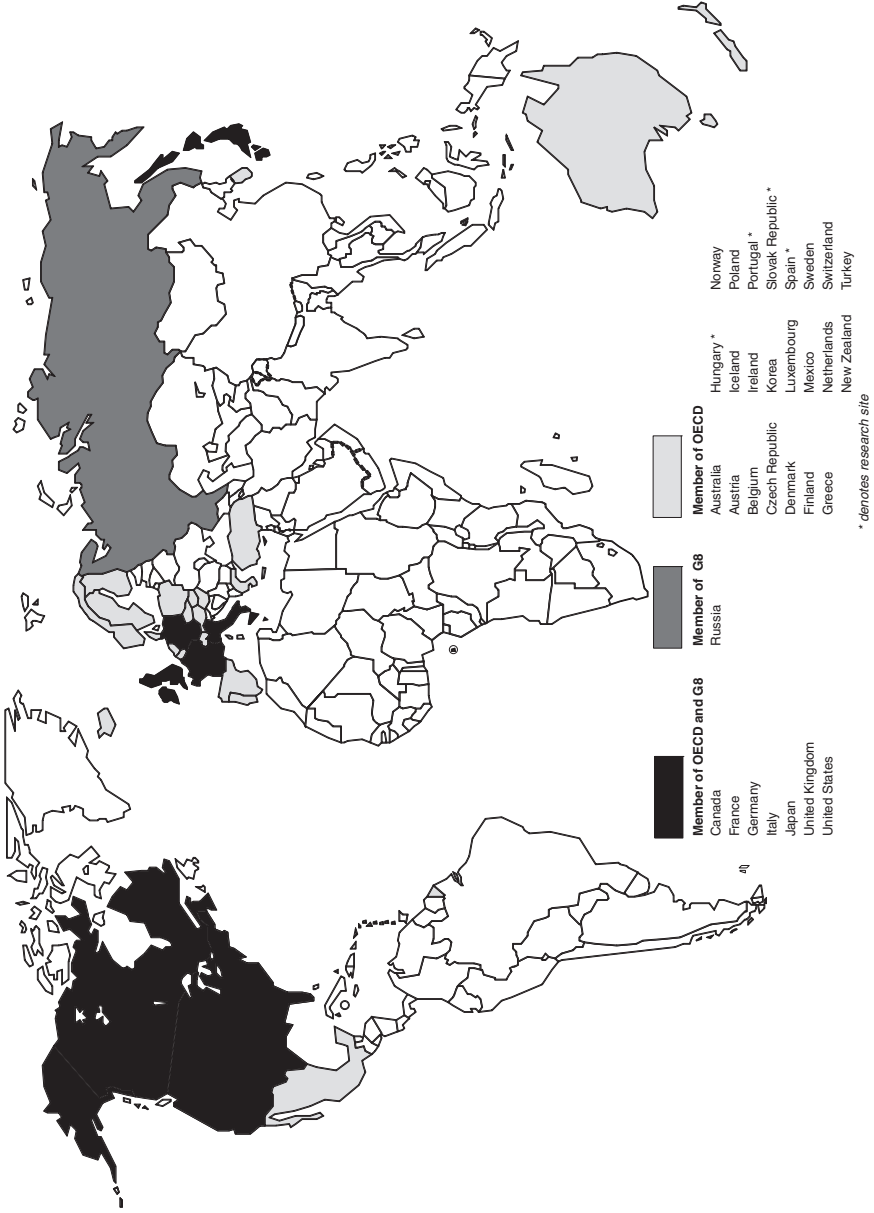
Since World War II, the United States has been the leader in overall research investment (from both government and private sources) in terms of total expenditures as well as percentage of its Gross Domestic Product (National Science Foundation 2007a). In 2005 the US share of global research expenditures was approximately 35%, while the European Union had the second largest share at 24%, followed by Japan at 14% and China at 8% (OECD 2008: 1). However, research investment by other regions is growing, particularly China, which has increased research spending by more than 50% since 1995 (EurActiv.com 2006; Zhou and Leydesdorff 2006: 100; see also Shelton and Holdridge 2004).

Research publications remain highly concentrated in a few countries, with more than 80% of world scientific articles coming from the OECD area, nearly two-thirds of them G8 countries.¹⁰ In parallel to its research investment (Gross Expenditures on Research and Development, or GERD), the United States traditionally produced the largest share of science and technology publications until the mid-1990s, when it fell below that of the European Union even as the EU's share of global publications also decreased. The US share of total world scientific article output fell between 1995 and 2005, from 34% to 30%, as did the European Union share, which declined from 33% to 31%, whereas the Asia-10 share increased from 13% to 20% (National Science Foundation 2007a).¹¹ This 'triad' of the United States, European Union and Asia still dominates scientific journal production, totalling 81% of world share in 2000, up from 72% in 1981. However, other global regions are increasing their share of output:

While scientific publications are concentrated in a few countries – over 80% of the articles in science and engineering published worldwide are from the OECD area – growth has recently been faster in emerging economies. Scientific articles from Latin America have more than tripled since 1993 and those from south-east Asian economies (Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand and Vietnam) expanded almost three times over the period.

(OECD 2009b)

But whilst the United States has lost its front-runner position, few individual countries besides China are gaining much in terms of world share of research output (UNESCO Institute 2005; see also OECD 2008). Of course, figures are constructed around states and economic regions of the world as defined by the



Map 1 Map of the world showing OECD and G8 countries (more than 80% of the world's scientific articles come from the OECD area)



Map 2 Map of Europe showing member states of the European Union. The four sites of the study are Magyarország (Hungary), Slovensko (Slovakia), España (Spain) and Portugal.

14 *The politics of knowledge production*

Table 1.3 Comparison of Research and Development (R&D) spending in relation to academic publishing output in selected regions of the world

<i>Location</i>	<i>R&D as percentage of GDP</i>	<i>Share of world article output (natural, social and behavioral sciences)</i>	<i>Number of ISI indexed journals (SCI and SSCI)</i>
United States	2.68% (2007)	30.2%	3,504
Asia (Japan, China, Singapore, S. Korea, Taiwan)	2.61% (2007)	16.5%	378
European Union	1.78% (2006)	31.5%	3,826
Africa	0.14%, except for Morocco, S. Africa, Tunisia, Uganda, which have between 0.75–1.25% (2008)	0.9% including S. Africa (see below); 0.6% excluding S. Africa	34 (Egypt, Ethiopia, Kenya, Nigeria, S. Africa)
Japan	3.39% (2006)	8.6%	181
United Kingdom	1.78% (2007)	6.9%	1,930
China	1.49% (2007)	4.2%	89
South Africa	0.95% (2006)	0.3%	28
India	0.71% (2004)	1.7%	49

Sources: National Science Foundation (2007b); OECD (2007; 2008; 2009a); Thomson Reuters (2008); UNESCO (2005); World Bank (2008).

compilers (e.g. OECD and UNESCO) and therefore need to be considered with caution and seen alongside other information. A point of obvious relevance to our focus here is that figures which emphasize the growth and output at a pan-regional level mask the differences within regions: indications of intra-regional variation are illustrated in Tables 1.3 and 1.4.

These brief overviews highlight the disparity between developed and developing global regions in terms of GERD and research output, most starkly, representation in ISI indexes. As noted above, few locations outside the United States, European Union, Japan and China are robustly represented. The figures also give an indication of intra-regional differences. Consider, for example, South Africa which accounts for one-third of the article output of all of Africa, as well as the notable differences in GERD and article output within the European Union.¹²

Bibliometrics, impact factor and the ISI

Journals do not simply provide a forum for the dissemination of knowledge but are a key component of systems of evaluation operating globally. This system has

Table 1.4 Research and development spending in relation to academic output in the four study sites

<i>Location</i>	<i>R&D as percentage of GDP</i>	<i>Share of world article output (natural, social and behavioural sciences)</i>	<i>Number of ISI indexed journals (SCI and SSCI)</i>
Spain	1.20% (2006)	2.4%	53
Portugal	1.18% (2007)	0.4%	1
Hungary	0.97% (2007)	0.4%	15
Slovak Republic	0.47% (2007)	0.1%	14

Sources: National Science Foundation (2007b); OECD (2007; 2008; 2009a); Thomson Reuters (2008b); UNESCO Institute; World Bank (2008).

been most powerfully shaped and defined by the work of Eugene Garfield, founder of the Institute for Scientific Information (ISI), who in the 1960s set out to create a systematic way of determining which journals were most important in the natural sciences (and later the social sciences and the arts and humanities) and to construct a ‘map of the journal network as a whole’ (Garfield 1972: 471). To do so, Garfield devised the impact factor (IF) to help him select journals for the indexes he created, the Science Citation Index (SCI, created in 1964) and later the Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI) and Arts and Humanities Citation Index (AHCI). ISI indexes now form part of the Web of Knowledge (www.thomsonreuters.com), which includes other indexes (e.g. Current Contents, Medline) and creates products such as Journal Citation Reports, which calculate impact factors for journals included in the SCI and SSCI (e.g. those publishing three years or more).

As created by Garfield, the IF was originally defined as the ratio of the number of citations to ‘source items’ (e.g. articles or other types of text) in a particular journal in one year to the number of articles published by that journal in the preceding two years. Thus:

$$\frac{\text{citations to X journal in year Y (e.g. 2010)}}{\text{articles/reviews published in X journal in years Y-1 (2009) and Y-2 (2008)}}$$

The resulting ratio, or impact factor, is recalculated annually by ISI for its reports (Rousseau 2002). Important to note therefore is that the IF both determines the inclusion of particular journals in indexes, and in a cyclical manner, helps contribute to the higher status of a journal.

While the IF is seen as the dominant bibliometric for journal quality and enjoys widespread use around the world, there is growing recognition of its limitations. A fundamental critique of the model overall is that citations are a shallow measure of research quality or impact. Specific criticisms have also

16 *The politics of knowledge production*

been made of the operationalization of the model. The IF's two-year window of calculation was determined after Garfield analysed how long citations were made to articles only in the fields of biochemistry and biology; therefore disciplines with longer lag time to publication or slower dissemination of knowledge are disadvantaged (Cameron 2005; Monastersky 2005). In response to this latter criticism, the ISI now additionally calculates five-year impact factors to provide a more accurate indicator of the impact of a journal over time. Other criticisms of IF include, as follows: the IF rises with the number of journals published in a discipline and the number of articles published in a particular journal (Cameron 2005), thus advantaging larger size; higher IF journals tend to receive more submissions than other journals; highly cited articles can raise the IF of a journal in a particular year (Monastersky 2005), skewing the averages; authors can engage in excessive self-citation and deliberate citation of other authors publishing in the same journal; mistakes in reference lists indicate that they are not reliable indicators of sources (Cameron 2005); journals can pressure authors to cite other papers from the same journal and limit authors' citations to competing journals; publication of review articles, editorials and other genres that include many citations, particularly self-citations, can also increase a journal's IF (Begley 2006); journals with 'well-funded public relations offices' can distribute to the media research findings published in their journal, thus increasing their visibility and citations (Monastersky 2005).

Further biases that may result from the IF include: narrowly specialized journals as against multidisciplinary journals (Rousseau 2002); and certain types of article such as methodology as opposed to empirical or theoretical articles (Peritz 1983). The IF may result in bias against applied research that might not be discussed in high-IF journals which privilege basic research (Begley 2006). IF may reinforce 'science nationalism', in which authors cite journals from their own contexts (Ajayi 2004: see Chapter 6). Larger negative effects of the IF include influencing the types of research that are funded, if editors of high IF journals publish articles on certain topics to garner more citations (Monasterksy 2005), and influencing library subscriptions in favour of higher IF journals. The use of IF to evaluate the publications of individual scholars, mentioned above, has also been seen as biased against women, who are cited less frequently than men in some fields (Cameron 2005).

Perhaps the most worrying development in the history of the use of IF is that it has taken on a life of its own, and is increasingly being used for a range of immediately consequential purposes, such as judgements about hiring, tenure and receiving grants, 'despite the fact that such usage can be misleading and prejudicial' (Cameron 2005: 105; see Seglen 1997 for use in Italy, the Nordic countries, Canada and Hungary). In some of these uses, the IF is not based on one journal but is used to create ratings or IFs for individual scholars, by calculating an average of the IF of the journals in which they have published over a given period. IF is also used to evaluate academic departments and to assess the visibility of particular institutions (Rousseau 2002).

Table 1.5 ISI index journal counts as percentage of Ulrich's coverage

<i>Journal counts in ISI indexes</i>		<i>Journal counts in Ulrich's</i>		<i>% of journals in ISI as compared with Ulrich's</i>
Total ISI journals 2009	16,183	Ulrich's 'Academic/scholarly' journals in all languages	66,166	24%
Science Citation Index (expanded version)	6,650	Ulrich's 'Scientific and Technical' journals	43,905	15%
Social Sciences Citation Index	1,950	Ulrich's 'Social Science' journals ¹	9,388 (2009)	20%

Source: Thomson Reuters (2009); Ulrich's Periodicals Directory (2009a); UNESCO DARE

Note:

As aggregate numbers for social science periodicals are not available from Ulrich's (personal communication), here we have combined search results for these social science fields: archaeology, anthropology, communications, education, economics, geography, history, linguistics, political science, psychology, social sciences and sociology, recognizing that some of these fields may be categorized as belonging to other areas. For more on the challenges of calculating journals totals and coverage, see Nederhof and van Wijk 1997.

ISI, journal selection process and English

Selection is central to ISI indexes and ISI staff review approximately 2,000 new journals annually, selecting only about 12% of submissions and monitoring included journals (Testa 2003). By comparing the number of journals listed in Ulrich's Periodicals Directory with those in ISI indexes, it is possible to estimate the percentage of existing journals that are selected for inclusion in ISI indexes (see Table 1.5). Garfield defends the selective nature of these indexes by positing the 'concentration effect' (1997: 639), which he claims allows ISI to cover the top publications despite limiting the number of journals included. According to Garfield, despite the ongoing growth of specialized journals, 'only a small fraction account for most of the articles that are published and cited in a given year' (1997: 186). Journal selection for ISI indexes is purported to be an open process in which anyone can propose journals to be included. Selection criteria include existing 'citation data, journal standards, and expert judgment' of ISI staff (Garfield 1997: 185). Journal standards include: meeting the established schedule and frequency of publication (timeliness is the most important standard); meeting 'editorial requirements for abstracts, titles, and references set by professional associations of publishers and editors' (Garfield 1997: 185), including English-language abstracts (Testa 2003); and other aspects such as: 'peer review of submissions, editorial board membership, and the reputation of the publisher or sponsoring society' (Garfield 1997: 185). Geographic diversity is another consideration: 'To meet the needs of its international subscriber base, Thomson ISI

18 *The politics of knowledge production*

seeks to cover journals with international diversity among authors of both source articles and cited articles' (Testa 2003: 211). In evaluating new journals, ISI editors 'examine the publishing record of the journal's authors and editorial board members, noting where their articles have been published and if their work has been cited' (Testa 2003: 212).

Despite these seemingly open criteria for all journals, there is strong criticism that ISI indexes are heavily biased toward English-medium journals published in Anglophone contexts (Crespi and Geuna 2008; Van Leeuwen *et al.* 2001). As Katz (1999: 2) identifies, ISI databases provide:

international coverage, [but] they have a certain amount of bias. They contain more minor US journals than minor European journals, and non-English language journals are not as comprehensively indexed. From a non-English speaking world perspective bibliometric indicators represent only international level, predominantly English language, higher impact, peer-reviewed, publicly available research output.

Most journals that do not publish in English are excluded, thus English-language journals tend to enjoy higher IFs, which in turn contribute to the ongoing privileging of English. This dominance of English as the global language of science in ISI databases is viewed unproblematically by ISI, as its website states:

English is the universal language of science at this time in history. It is for this reason that Thomson Scientific focuses on journals that publish full text in English or at very least, their bibliographic information in English. There are many journals covered in Web of Science that publish only their bibliographic information in English with full text in another language. However, going forward, it is clear that the journals most important to the international research community will publish full text in English. This is especially true in the natural sciences. In addition, all journals must have cited references in the Roman alphabet.

(Thomson Reuters 2008a)

And Garfield (1997: 641) explicitly offers a view on the location of academic text production in relation to 'vernacular' languages, by describing the state of publishing in the global south:

Many Third World countries suffer by publishing dozens of marginal journals whose reason for being is questionable. I have urged them to combine the best material into larger regional journals to achieve a critical mass. In addition, their local funding sources need to adopt stringent criteria for publication including international peer review. ... Nevertheless, many local journals published in vernacular languages serve a useful purpose for reviewing the clinical and applied literature to the benefit of local physicians and industry.

A number of points are striking about the comments here: the presumed status of English as the medium of academic/scientific communication; the criticism levelled at journals described as ‘marginal’ which do not fit into the kind of network knowledge system valued by ISI; the carving up of which kinds of knowledge might be best disseminated in ‘vernacular’ languages. While we are not suggesting a simple cause and effect relationship between the position of one, admittedly powerful, institution such as the ISI, and what is happening in academic text production globally, it is striking that some of the distinctions made by Garfield and ISI about which kinds of knowledge should be circulated where – and in which medium – do indeed seem to be playing out, as we discuss in particular in Chapters 5 and 6.

A social practice approach to academic text production in a global context

Our overarching theoretical position in this book is that academic writing, including the focus of this book – academic writing for publication – is a social practice. A social practice approach to literacy conceptualizes reading and writing as fundamentally social activities; *practice* can be thought of as a ‘bridge’ notion, linking specific instances of written language use by the individual, as a socially situated actor, with both the ‘context of situation’ and the ‘context of culture’ (Malinowski 1923) in three central ways. First, practice signals that specific instances of language use – spoken and written *texts* – do not exist in isolation but are bound up with what people do – *practices* – in the material, social world. Second, ways of doing things with texts, practices, become part of everyday, implicit life routines both of the individual, *habitus* in Bourdieu’s (1991) terms, and of social institutions. Third, and at a more abstract level, the notion of practice offers a way of linking everyday and routinized activities of reading and writing with ‘the social structures in which they are embedded and which they help to shape’ (Barton and Hamilton 1998: 6; see also discussion in Lillis and Scott 2007). Literacy as social practice stands in contrast to an autonomous notion of literacy whereby literacy is viewed as a single and universal phenomenon with assumed cognitive as well as economic benefits (for the distinction between autonomous and ideological notions of literacy see Street 1984, 2004, 2005) and where analytically the focus tends to be solely or primarily on the text (see Horner 1999). This focus on literacy as a *practice* rather than a *textual* phenomenon is a key epistemological and methodological move in work widely referred to as ‘New Literacy Studies’ (NLS), which explores the wide spectrum of literacy practices of human endeavour, from literacy practices at home and in formal schooling, to practices associated with specific locations such as prisons and workplaces (for overview, see Heath and Street 2008; see also Barton *et al.* 2000).¹³

Scholar Profile 1: Géza, Psychology, Central Europe

Géza is an associate professor working in a medium-sized department. He is 53 years old and has been working as an academic for 28 years. Apart from a brief period in counselling, he has always been involved in academic work. In recent years his research has drawn predominantly on social psychological paradigms.

Like most academics in post-communist countries, where the salary is *insufficient for appropriate living*, Géza has additional jobs. Beyond his one full-time academic post, he works regularly for nongovernmental and governmental organizations (training and service in the areas of communication, decision-making processes, organizational and project development), teaches in another institution (partly for free) and is a commentator on national radio. He loves all his work but wishes there was less or that he had more time to do it all, *it's so exciting and so exhausting at the same time*.

Géza describes himself as *a cosmopolitan person*. His family background includes strong links with Hungary, Germany and Slovakia and he was brought up speaking Czech, German and Slovak. He also speaks Russian and a little French. Over the past 15 years, Géza has increasingly been using English in his academic work, particularly for publishing. He is happy with his level of English. While he is confident that he can produce the kind of writing he wants and he no longer aspires to be a *perfect English scientific writer*, he is aware of significant limitations for his academic writing – mainly for publishing in 'international' journals.

Géza's academic/research work is forged out of a close-knit local team who collaborate on institutionally and nationally funded projects, as well as some 'internationally' funded projects and cooperation with transnational organizations. He has established strong ties with some UK scholars in his field, some enduring for over 10 years. He also has considerable transnational links with both individual scholars and institutions.

Géza has a considerable number of publications in one of his home languages as well as a growing number in English. His publications reflect his theoretical and applied interests: in addition to academic and professional publications he has written textbooks for practitioners. At one level this means that he is committed to sharing his understandings generated from his research with both academics and practitioners, most notably, within health and education. However, at a more fundamental level Géza makes no such distinction in his work, his overall interest being to make a useful contribution to *changing the world*. Thus, for example, he views the research methodology he and his colleagues have developed not only as a means of data collection but as a tool to be shared with practitioners who can effect change in their specific contexts.

While traditions and nomenclature vary, the phrase ‘academic literacy/ies’¹⁴ is increasingly used to refer to a social practice approach to the study of the range of academic literacy practices associated with academic study and scholarship, with the writing of students at university level attracting the largest part of research inquiry to date (for recent overviews see Lillis and Scott 2007; Russell *et al.* 2009).¹⁵ Academic literacy/ies research explicitly draws on New Literacy Studies and construes academic writing as being rooted in specific cultural traditions and ways of constructing knowledge (Bazerman 1988; Lea and Street 1998; Prior 1998); as embedded in power relations (Canagarajah 2001; Jones *et al.* 1999); as involving issues of differential access to material or ‘non-discursive’ resources (Canagarajah 1996; Curry 2001; Curry and Lillis 2004); as well as questions of linguistic and ethnic identity (Bizzell 1992; Curry 2002; Gee 2001; Ivanič 1998; Lillis 2001). Following NLS, an academic literacies approach therefore challenges any simple distinctions between academic texts and the contexts in which they are rooted and points to the need to look in detail at how texts are generated, by whom and with what consequences. In so doing, and of direct relevance to the focus of this book, it stands in contrast to the strongly textualist tradition towards the academic writing of users of English as an additional language, reflected most strongly in the transnational enterprise and pedagogy of English for Academic Purposes (for recent useful overview of EAP approaches see Hyland 2006; for critiques of a predominant focus on text see Benesch 2001; Canagarajah 2002b; Lillis and Scott 2007). However, in resisting a textualist stance, it is important to note that we are of course concerned with the detail of texts – most specifically, to explore how specific textual features are foregrounded and evaluated in trajectories of production and publication. In this respect, we recognize that there is much work to be done in order to develop contextually grounded text analytic tools. For while a social practice perspective usefully takes the analytic focus outwards, as it were, from text to context, there is no parallel move circulating back from context to text, which can potentially leave the text–context divide intact, and keep text analysis within the realm of traditions of textualist–formalist approaches. In this book we argue for the need to develop context-sensitive mediational (in addition to referential) categories which can help us move beyond this dislocation between contextual understandings and formalist categories (see Chapter 6).¹⁶

In adopting a social practice approach to professional academic writing – both in carrying out research and in writing this book – we draw on the central positions and notions in NLS outlined above. However, we also emphasize and modify some key notions which have emerged as particularly significant in seeking to understand what’s involved in academic writing for publication; some of these are familiar dimensions in NLS, such as literacy *mediation*, which we take up in the context of academic writing for publication as ‘literacy brokering’ (Lillis and Curry 2006a) and network brokering (see Chapter 3); other dimensions have been less widely discussed in NLS, such as the privileged position of English globally and the impact of this privileged position on knowledge making. Here we provide an overview of those dimensions to a social practice approach which we see as central to discussions in this book.

The mediation of literacy

Academic writing is rarely an individual process or product but is mediated in a number of ways at both immediate and more distant levels. This is a point long since recognized about literacy practices more generally, where the phenomenon of people being involved in text production, reception and negotiation is captured in the notion of *mediation*. Most mediation is conceptualized at the level of interaction between individuals – for example a child acting as a ‘family interpreter’ (Faulstich Orellana *et al.* 2002: 4), a father writing down the address of a television contest for his son (Baynham and Maybin 1996), public ‘scribes’ who fill out official forms or write letters for others (Kalman 1999). But there has also been some emphasis on the institutional and political nature of mediation. Brandt (2001), for example, examines how institutions such as churches, prisons and schools interact with economic and social changes to ‘sponsor’, that is, foster or constrain the learning and uses of literacy in the United States across the twentieth century. In tracking the impact of individuals other than authors on academic text production, we focus on individual activity but acknowledge that such activity is always refracted through political and institutional conditions governing academic text production in a global context (see Canagarajah 1996, 2002a), which in many ways are played out at the level of textual interventions and which we capture in the term ‘literacy brokering’. What is done and by whom to academic texts has significant consequences: consequences for ‘success’ in the sense of securing publication, but also consequences for knowledge production and dissemination globally – what gets published, by whom, where and why.

Academic writing and the global status of English

While diversity has been at the centre of academic literacies research with regard to student writing – most evidently through discussion around voice and identity (for examples, see Halasek 1999; Ivanič 1998; Lillis 1997, 2001, 2003; Lu 1987, 1994; Spack 1988/1998; Thesen and Van Pletzen 2006) – the status of English in academic communication has received comparatively little attention, leading to what might be referred to as an (invisible) *English* bias in academic literacies research. At the same time, in related applied linguistic fields, there is considerable debate about the nature and status of English as a lingua franca (ELF) (e.g. Jenkins 2007; Seidlhofer 2001) and specifically as an ‘academic lingua franca’ (EALF) at the beginning of the twenty-first century (for examples see Crystal 2003; Graddol 2006; Huttner 2008; Hyland 2006). The ELF/EALF position, as does work in World Englishes (see e.g. Berns 2005; Rajagopalan 2009; Sano 2002), usefully emphasizes the fact that there are far more users of English as second, third and fourth language as compared with those as a first language (about three to one) and questions the privileged status of the English spoken/used by ‘native speakers’ above the varieties of many other users of English around the world. However, the over-emphasis on celebrating English as a lingua franca or academic lingua franca, with any implied neutral or positive perspective on its potential to provide opportunities for sharing communication across national borders, can mask a number of important critical dimensions, some of which we have

discussed in this chapter: 1) the different conditions under which English-medium academic texts are written, circulated and evaluated (see Swales 1997; Tardy 2004); 2) the evaluation systems in play which ensure that different contexts of English-medium text production are differentially evaluated, most notably English-medium national as compared with English-medium 'international' publications (an issue we discuss in Chapters 2 and 6); and 3) what we refer to as *textual ideologies* – clusters of views held about the nature of language, the writer, his/her location, the status s/he is granted as a user of English (native, non-native, L1, L2 speaker etc.), particularly as enacted by gatekeepers such as reviewers and editors who play a significant part in trajectories towards publication (see Chapter 6).

What's in a name? The politics of labelling

In using labels to describe scholars and their practices in discussions in this book we are aware of considerable limitations but we have attempted to take into account ethical, theoretical and representational dimensions. With regard to the ethical, we have consulted scholars about which geolinguistic labels they prefer (e.g. Hungarian, Central European); with regard to the theoretical, we have sought to use terms which reflect our principal concerns with the politics of location in academic text production, such as multilingual, Anglophone/non-Anglophone-centre, local national languages, rather than available frameworks for positioning scholars primarily in terms of any presumed status in terms of English usage – L1, EAL and so on (although we recognize that 'non-Anglophone' immediately may suggest negative positioning); with regard to representational, we have aimed to represent scholars as individuals with specific histories, while also construing them as sharing specific constraints and challenges within the current context of the global status of English for academic publishing (for recent discussion around the labelling of 'EAL' writers, see Flowerdew 2008 and response by Casanave 2008).

Enunciative modalities, English and knowledge making

The politics of knowledge making have for some time been made visible through studies of the sociology of science (e.g. Latour and Woolgar 1986; Knorr-Cetina 1981) and foregrounded in some work on academic text production (see Bazerman 1988; Myers 1990). But while clear links have been established between rhetorical practices in the construction of knowledge and in particular disciplinary knowledge making (Bazerman 1988; Halliday and Martin 1993; Hyland 1999, 2000; Prior, 1998), less attention has been given – as in academic literacies research more generally – to the impact of the dominance of English on the rhetoric of knowledge making in a global context. A notable exception is the work of Canagarajah (2002c), who offers an auto-ethnographic account of his own production experiences as a Sri Lankan scholar, along with critical accounts of other scholarly endeavours, situating and theorizing these in terms of centre/periphery relations.

It is important to bring the politics of English to the centre of debates around knowledge construction and to explore how 'conversations of the discipline'

24 *The politics of knowledge production*

(Bazerman 1988) are refracted through the politics of language and location. Our aim in this book is to explore this refraction, drawing on two disciplinary fields: psychology and education. These are important fields for exploring the politics of location for a number of reasons. Epistemologically, in many ways, both disciplinary fields reflect the complex and contested nature of academic knowledge building in the twenty-first century, facing towards natural sciences, social sciences and the humanities (see discussions for example in Nisbet 2005; Stainton-Rogers 2004), including the rhetorical practices associated with a range of intellectual traditions. In addition, both psychology and education have an applied dimension which firmly situates research within local contexts while at the same time (often) drawing on theoretical discourses that aspire to universality. A focus on these disciplinary areas therefore foregrounds complex questions about which kinds of knowledge can be most usefully circulated where, and how locality connects with knowledge evaluation systems operating globally.

In their trajectories towards publication, not only do texts move translocally – shifting from one location to another – the evaluation systems within which they travel also shift. Exactly how texts are evaluated as they travel is crucial in the high stakes game of academic writing for publication, in particular article publication. Here authoring or ‘voice’ (after Blommaert 2005: 69) is particularly important:

Voice in the era of globalisation becomes a matter of the capacity to accomplish functions of linguistic resources translocally, across different physical and social spaces. Voice, in other words, is the capacity for semi-otic mobility – a capacity very often associated with the most prestigious linguistic resources (‘world languages’ such as English, literacy and more recently multimodal internet communication) and very often denied to resources ranking lower on the scales of value that characterise orders of indexicality (minority languages, ‘unwritten’ languages, dialects and so forth).

Voice then is not simply a matter of production but of ‘uptake’ (Blommaert 2005): a text’s status, meaning and value are dependent on how it is read, by whom and where, and through which textual ideologies (for further discussion see Chapter 6). How, and whether, voice is granted is influenced by the more powerful enunciative modalities at play in any particular discursive site: enunciative modalities are not just (different) ways of speaking and listening (writing and reading) but they signal who has the right to occupy particular kinds of speaking positions within a specific discursive regime (see discussions in Fairclough 1992, after Foucault 1972). In Chapters 5 and 6 in particular we explore the question of speaking rights in relation to knowledge claims.

Social and cultural capital in academic text production

The notion that the language and literacy practices privileged by academia constitute and lead to further cultural capital is a point that permeates much work on

students' academic literacy practices in higher education (see e.g. Brammer 2002; Curry 2003, 2007; Nomdo 2006; Rose 1989). Similarly, the professional academic text production and evaluation practices that we discuss across the book can be usefully illuminated by drawing on Bourdieu's (1985, 1990, 1998) theory of different forms of capital (i.e. economic, cultural, social, symbolic). While cultural capital refers to the symbolic goods transferred and created within the family, the notion of social capital offers an understanding of how access to resources beyond the family is negotiated and sustained:

social capital is the aggregate of the *actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition* – or in other words, to membership in a group. ... These relationships may exist only in the practical state, in material and/or symbolic exchanges which help to maintain them.

(Bourdieu 1985: 248–249, our emphasis)

As we discuss particularly in Chapter 3, networks across local and transnational contexts play an important part in sustaining scholars' text production activity. Networks both constitute a form of social capital and provide a chief means of access to capital, allocating or facilitating access to tangible and intangible resources (Lin 2001; Portes 2000). Of particular importance are the 'durable' networks that Bourdieu describes, which are often critical for supporting multilingual scholars in gaining access to resources and connections for high status publishing.

Globalization 'from below'

As already stated, academic writing for publication cannot fail to be located and positioned globally within a global knowledge economy and a *global economy of signs* (Blommaert 2005). The approach in this book, in line with NLS and academic literacy/ies research more generally, is to adopt an ethnographic approach, focusing on scholars' practices and experiences by drawing on a range of data sources collected and examined over an extended period of time. A range of data from the PAW study is used across the chapters in this book to illustrate what's involved in the politics and practices of academic text production; it includes extracts from discussions with scholars, extracts from texts they have written, detailed accounts of the trajectories of their texts towards publication (including stories of rejection and acceptance), correspondence between authors, reviewers and editors, and official departmental and national documentation.

In adopting this text-oriented ethnographic approach (see also Table 1.1), the aim is to explore globalization 'from below' (Falk 1999), and to be wary of grand claims made about globalization, such as an emphasis on the transformative potential of 'communication highways', or postmodernist discourses which emphasize diversifying/hybrid practices, claims often resulting from globalization viewed through the First World (see discussions in Bahri 1997; Baumann 1998; Burawoy 2000; Canagarajah 2005; Falk 1999).¹⁷ In part, the approach adopted

26 *The politics of knowledge production*

therefore connects with Robertson's (1995) emphasis on processes of 'glocalization' or Appadurai's (1996) notion of 'vernacular globalization' to indicate how the local is always influenced by processes occurring at a macro level and vice versa as a way of challenging totalizing accounts of globalization.

A notion that has been unexplored in academic literacy/ies research and is particularly helpful in exploring translocal text production and evaluation is the metaphor of 'scales' – mentioned in the quotation by Blommaert above – used by critical geographers and taken up by anthropologists and sociolinguists exploring global(izing) processes (see Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck 2005). The metaphor of scales offers a way of understanding how local practices are keyed into global processes in a relationship of hierarchy. Blommaert (2005) argues that sociolinguistics has traditionally focused on horizontal metaphors (such as *distribution*, *spread*, *community*, *networks*) to explore difference and diversity across time and space and that what is additionally required is a metaphor which can take account of the vertical dimension.

Scales offer us a vertical image of spaces, of space as stratified (and therefore power invested); but they also suggest deep connections between spatial and temporal features. In that sense, scale may be a concept that allows us to see sociolinguistic phenomena as non unified in relation to a stratified, non-unified image of social structure.

(Blommaert 2006: 4)

Across the book we include both horizontal and vertical dimensions in exploring academic text production because: 1) they are evident in scholars' accounts and practices; 2) analytically, these dimensions are necessary to understand academic text production. While both dimensions are threaded across the book, the discussions in Chapters 2 to 4 adopt a predominantly horizontal framing, drawing on notions of *community*, *diversity* and *networks*, whereas Chapters 5 to 7 foreground a predominantly vertical framing, focusing on ideologies of Science and knowledge and power. The most obvious scales in play in academic text production are those making a shift from national to 'international' – which while problematic as descriptors, clearly signal a hierarchical relationship in terms of value within systems of production and evaluation. Where the existence of such scales becomes particularly visible is when attempts are made to 'jump scales' (after Uitermark 2002: 750, discussed in Blommaert 2005). The most obvious example of scale jumping is when scholars aim to move from one socially defined academic publication space (national) to another ('international' Anglophone centre). We consider some of the tensions around scale jumping in academic text production in Chapter 6.

A final key point we would add is the value of ethnography not only for exploring 'from below' what is currently happening, but also for imagining future possibilities. Sustained engagement with scholars and institutions over an extended period of time enables both 'thick description' (Geertz 1973) – that is, to observe and collect everything that may prove (potentially) to be significant, building up a

detailed picture of places, people and resources – and ‘thick participation’ (Sarangi 2006, 2007) – which involves ‘a form of socialisation in order to achieve a threshold for interpretive understanding’ (Sarangi 2006: 73). Thick description and participation enable the researcher to explore what’s significant and at stake for writers at specific sociohistorical moments and at the same time enables us to get glimpses of what Burawoy (2000: 32) calls globalization as imagination (as one of the three dimensions of global ethnography): ‘Global imaginations reconfigure what is possible, turning globalization from an inexorable force into a resource that opens up new vistas.’ What people do and aspire to do, how they imagine both the local and the global, can offer some ways of imagining future possibilities for academic writing production, dissemination and evaluation. This is the focus of the concluding chapter in the book.

How this book is organized

The book has four main themes which cut across all chapters: the global status of English; the geopolitics of academic text production; the relationship between local and global knowledge production; and the politics of participation in academic knowledge production, including issues of access to, and use of, a range of resources (human, linguistic, material).

Chapters 2 to 4 examine key aspects of academic text production in a global context by focusing in detail on scholars’ interests, practices and experiences of engaging in academic text production for publication. Chapter 2 provides an overview of the publishing activity of the 50 scholars who are at the centre of this book, documenting the different communities they are writing to and for, and exploring how the status accorded to English is sustained through institutional and national systems of evaluation and rewards and is impacting on the publishing decisions scholars make. While Chapter 2 focuses on academic text production primarily through the lens of the individual scholar, Chapters 3 and 4 shift the emphasis towards text production as a networked activity. The focus in these chapters is on the ways in which scholars are managing and negotiating the complex and time-consuming tasks of sustaining publication activity in English, alongside writing in a number of languages and for a range of communities, by working within and across networks and by involving a range of ‘literacy brokers’ directly in text production. Chapter 3 focuses on text production as a *networked* activity, foregrounding the importance of participating in networks at local and transnational levels for securing the resources necessary for publication, particularly in Anglophone-centre journals. In Chapter 4 we direct our attention to the role played by specific participants in this networked activity, that of *literacy brokers* – friends, academic colleagues, editors, translators, proofreaders – and look in some detail at the impact these make on texts and their trajectories towards publication in significant ways. Specific Text Histories are tracked from initial drafts in local contexts through to submission, publication or rejection in Anglophone-centre contexts.

Chapters 5 and 6 pick up on some of the themes raised in earlier chapters to focus on academic texts as knowledge making, exploring in particular the question

28 *The politics of knowledge production*

of what gets valued, where and by whom, in trajectories towards publication. These chapters mark a shift away from the predominantly horizontal analytic lens evident in Chapters 2 to 4 to consider the vertical axis, with an emphasis on the boundaries and stratification at work between Anglophone-centre and non-Anglophone-centre scholars, including a discussion of how these boundaries key into traditions of Enlightenment Science. Chapter 7 concludes the book by exploring some of the challenges in developing a more equitable model of academic text production and evaluation, illustrating some of the ways in which both centre and periphery scholars are currently seeking to open up multidirectional knowledge exchange. These include drives to invent/sustain local knowledges through local national/transnational journals, innovative practices in Anglophone-centre journals seeking to actively include non-Anglophone and/or peripheral scholars, and publishing practices which seek to transform knowledge exchange, such as open access journals.

Throughout the book, we label the data extracts included in terms of mode and/or medium in order to provide basic information to the reader about the data source; thus Discussion is used to indicate spoken interaction between researchers and scholars. Other labels include Email, Draft, Written Reviews, Field Notes and so on. Where we focus on particular Text Histories involving a range of data, we have labelled these TH1, TH2 and so on in the chapters in which they appear, using a gloss for each TH to indicate our principal emphasis in each case.

There are two additional features in each chapter: *Methodological Tools* and *Scholar Profiles*. In each chapter we include an outline of a specific *Methodological Tool* we have used in the research project on which the book is based and which is illustrated in the chapter in which it occurs. The reason for including these *Methodological Tools* in the book is that a key concern in our research has been to develop methodologies for researching academic writing for publication. The six tools we have included, which relate to aspects of both data collection and analysis, reflect some of our attempts and we hope will contribute to discussions about how to develop research methodologies in this area (see Figure 1.1 for a list of the tools included in the book). In addition, 14 *Scholar Profiles* are included across the book to give a (brief) sense of some of the scholars who took part in our study and their priorities, interests and experiences in writing for academic publication. We present these as stories in their own right but it is important to note that their stories and our understanding of them are crucial to the arguments and explorations in this book as a whole.

Ethics and anonymity

Ensuring anonymity has been a central concern of our involvement with scholar-participants over the past eight years. This is not as straightforward as might at first be assumed, because although we can provide pseudonyms for scholars, the extracts we include of their published texts and descriptions of their research might make them identifiable. This is particularly the case if a scholar is working within a

Chapter 1	Methodological Tool 1: Text Histories
Chapter 2	Methodological Tool 2: Talk around texts
Chapter 3	Methodological Tool 3: Analysing academic research networks
Chapter 4	Methodological Tool 4: Text-oriented heuristic for tracking changes made across drafts
Chapter 5	Methodological Tool 5: Ways of viewing talk/communication around academic texts
Chapter 6	Methodological Tool 6: Drawing on the concepts of indexicality, orientation and scales

Figure 1.1 List of Methodological Tools.

relatively small academic subfield specialism. In order to preserve anonymity, in consultation with scholars, we have therefore adopted a range of approaches to naming scholars and texts: in overview lists of scholars, we use numbers; in discussing Text Histories relating to a scholar sometimes we use a pseudonym and sometimes a brief gloss (e.g. a psychology scholar from Portugal); in referring to geopolitical region, we sometimes use the national descriptor such as Spain or Portugal and sometimes a larger regional descriptor, such as Southern Europe; in extracts of texts we have sought to remove lexical items that might easily identify the scholar involved. In making these decisions our aim has been both to secure anonymity and at the same time to provide a rich picture of scholars' activities, perspectives and practices. We have not included discussions of THs which scholars felt might jeopardize relations or opportunities for future publication.

Note to the reader

In crafting this book we have constructed a narrative that aims to move from the predominantly descriptive – with Chapters 2 to 4 seeking to represent how individual scholars are getting on with the 'business as usual' of text production – to the more discursive and polemical – Chapters 5, 6 and 7 – exploring issues surrounding current academic text production in terms of knowledge production and scientific traditions. We have also included a number of discrete data extracts and additional related information marked off from the main body of the text, including extracts from data sources, *Methodological Tools* and *Scholar Profiles* as well as chunks of information that we consider useful to the overall discussions and analysis (for example, on evaluation criteria, numbers of journals, national research investment figures, details on open access journals). These are inserted in the chapters according to where they seem most relevant. The book is therefore constructed to a large extent with a linear text model in mind. However, if you are someone who prefers to start with debate and the larger picture, rather than description and detail, you may want to begin reading at Chapters 5 to 7, and return later to read from Chapter 2. We know that readers do not tend to read

academic books from page one through to the end so we have tried to make each chapter and each discrete chunk of additional information meaningful in their own terms. We hope you will choose a way through the text that most suits you.

Suggestions for further reading

For recent overviews on academic literacy/ies as a research frame, see the paper by Theresa Lillis and Mary Scott (2007). For work in applied linguistics whose focus on the research article in particular sowed the seeds of future areas for exploration, see John Swales (e.g. 1985, 1988, 1990). The work of two writers on the politics of English in scholarly publishing have been – and continue to be – powerful: the work of Françoise Salager-Meyer (see e.g. 1997, 2008) whose work particularly on medical publishing has been in the vanguard in foregrounding the consequences of unequal access to English-medium publishing by multilingual medical researchers; and Suresh Canagarajah (see e.g. 2002a, 2002b) who has brought together debates around the politics of academic writing and global flows of knowledge to the centre of US disciplinary writing frames – notably, composition and TESOL – as well as transnationally. In developing our core methodological tool of *Text Histories* we were influenced by the paper by John Flowerdew (2000) in which he tracks the publishing experiences of a Hong Kong scholar. Later we came across the work of Jan Blommaert (2006) on transnational text trajectories, which (drawing on Michael Silverstein and Greg Urban's *Natural Histories of Discourse*, 1996) opened up ways of theorizing academic text (and knowledge) trajectories.