English and/or Russian medium publications? A case study exploring academic research writing in contemporary Russian academia

References to authors' work have been removed and replaced with X and date of publication

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Abstract

A growing strand of work in ERPP (English for research publication purposes) explores how English is nested within research evaluation regimes in non-Anglophone contexts across the world. This paper focuses on the under-researched context of Russia, where language of research publication is at the heart of tensions in institutional, national and international research evaluation regimes: between Russian, which until the 1970s was the second-most used language in the world's total scientific output, and English, the dominant language of global evaluation indexes.

The paper uses documentary sources to outline recent structural transformations in Russian academia, including the relatively recent insertion of English into evaluation systems. It draws on an interview-based study to explore how 16 scholars in one research-intensive university are navigating such changes in their publication practices, in three disciplines: economics, sociology and philosophy. Key findings highlight: 1) scholars' languages of publication; 2) the challenging material conditions shaping scholars' opportunities for research writing; 3) the pressures to publish in English alongside Russian; 4) the ways in which language choice is refracted through geohistorical 'disciplinary conversations' traditions; 5) the challenges of navigating different discourse communities. The value of such studies for ERPP within EAP as a field is underlined.

1. Introduction

Over the past 20 years, a growing body of research has centred on academic writing for publication, documenting the growing dominance of English as the medium of academic/scientific publications globally (for overviews see X2018; Kuteeva & Mauranen, 2014). A key strand of such research has sought to track the impact of the privileging of English in powerful indexes, notably the Web of Science (WoS), exploring how such indexes are built into 'evaluation regimes' (X2017, after Blommaert 2005); that is systems at national, institutional and departmental levels used to evaluate scholars' written research outputs. Such regimes have been shown to have profound consequences for institutions, in securing funds for research activity, and individual scholars in securing jobs, promotion, grants (X2010; Bennett, 2014; Cargill, Burgess, Arnbjörnsdóttir, 2019). Whilst some studies confirm the insertion (explicitly or implicitly) of English into evaluation regimes (see for example, Beigel, Gallardo, & Bekerman, 2018; X2015), there is much still to learn about the nature of evaluation regimes operating in many national contexts and their impact on scholars' languages of publication.

In this paper, we focus on the Russian Federation (RF), an under-researched geopolity in the growing literature on how non-Anglophone scholars across the world navigate shifting evaluation regimes. In contrast to many previously researched contexts, Russia was until recently a significant player in the global knowledge economy and in the 1970s, Russian was the second-most used language in the world's total scientific output (Hamel, 2007; Zakharov, 2013; Kirchik et. al 2012). After the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, however, the RF's position in global rankings dropped significantly, leading to strategic initiatives seeking to increase its status. In such initiatives, English has become central, not only because of its use as a global lingua franca of science (Ferguson, 2007; Kuteeva & Mauranen, 2014; Henshall, 2018) but also because English is key to an influential global arbiter of research quality: that is, the WoS indexes, originally produced by Thomson Reuters, now owned by Clarivate Analytics. These indexes (Science Citation Index,

Social Science Citation Index and Arts and Humanities Index), which use the notion of journal ranking and 'impact factor' to quantify and rank the quality of research publications, overwhelmingly include journals that are in the medium of English and are used to inform evaluation regimes around the world (Li, 2014; X2015; Tian, Su & Ru, 2016).

Whilst English is central to WoS, the ways in which WoS is codified into university level policies and impacts on scholars' practices vary. Lee and Lee (2013), for example, illustrate a strong alignment across scalar levels (state, university, department, individual) in their study of a Korean university: criteria for hiring, promotion grant funding and salaries are directly related to scholars' securing publications in English-medium journals in WoS indexes, thus leading to strong pressure to publish in English and 'institutional discrimination against non-English scholarship' (p.227). In other national/regional contexts, however, the high value of WoS at the level of the state contrasts with other value systems at other scales. In Sweden, for example, a 'parallel language' policy prevails at the supra-national (Nordic) level (McGrath, 2014) and in other contexts a range of additional indexes and university-based criteria are being brought to bear, for example, the criterion of 'foreign' publication, rather than WoS/'English', in Turkey and Mexico (Englander & Uzuner-Smith, 2013) and Hungary (Nagano & Spiczéné, 2018). In some contexts, in addition to 'core' WoS indexes, nationally-driven 'additional' WoS indexes, are used, notably the Chinese Science and Social Sciences Citation Index (CSCI, CSSCI) which evidences state level support for scholarly publications in Chinese as well as English and impacts on university and individual scholars' practices in complex ways (e.g. Feng, Beckett, & Huang, 2013; Tian et al., 2016).

Whether initiatives and policies align across different scalar levels, and regardless of how rigidly 'core' WoS indexes are used, the situation faced by many scholars outside of the Anglophone centre is increasingly 'not whether or not to publish in English but how to include English medium publishing with their complex publishing agendas' (X2018). This paper focuses on the ways in

which English has become inserted into national and institutional policy and evaluation regimes and is impacting on the writing for publication of Russian scholars in three different disciplines: economics, sociology and philosophy.

The paper begins by documenting the transformations in academia in the RF, followed by an overview of the study on which this paper is based. The main part of the paper discusses key findings: 1) scholars' languages of publication; 2) the challenging material conditions shaping scholars' opportunities for research writing; 3) the pressures to publish in English alongside Russian; 4) the extent and ways in which language choice is refracted through geopolitically located disciplinary traditions; 5) the challenges of engaging with different linguistic and discourse communities. The paper concludes by underlining the value of the study for EAP.

2. Transformations in Russian academia and the linguistic media of science

The Academy of Sciences, established under the strong intellectual influence of continental Europe in the 18th century, was until recently the principal research-generating body. Under the USSR, this state-governed institution, with its wide network of research centers (Altbach, 2013) was highly successful in generating research output, particularly in the natural sciences (Zakharov, 2013). The dominant language of publication was Russian.

The structure and organization of the Academy of Sciences in the USSR was inherited by the RF. After the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, the research context shifted significantly and resulted in a downturn in research output and ranking. Firstly, in the period immediately after 1991, there was a notable decrease in output by Russian scholars, from 40000 papers, in 1990, to 25000, in 1993 (Kirchik et al., 2012). Secondly, and relatedly, the position of the RF in global rankings, based on output indexed in WoS, moved from third worldwide (after the USA and the UK), to 15th

position in 2009 (after India, Australia, South Korea, Brazil, the Netherlands). As a consequence of its lower research output and position in international research rankings, research activity was fundamentally restructured from 2006 onwards: research (which had previously been the key function of Academy of Science although informal links with universities often existed) became an additional function of universities; the number of academic staff was significantly reduced across all institutions, accompanied by a reduction in average salary (Zakharov, 2013; Prakhov, 2019), as well as job insecurity (Altbach, 2013).

In this significantly transformed national context for research, two major state-led initiatives were launched to try and revitalise research output activity and improve the RF's position in global rankings. The first is the National Project, "Science", launched in 2013, and involving significant investment, aimed at securing the RF's presence among the world's five leading countries in the priority areas of science and technology. Efforts over the years seem to have had some success. In 2017, the RF produced 56% more publications primarily in English-medium journals indexed in the WoS 'core collection' than in 2012 (with a 68% growth of research articles)[i]. At the same time, the number of Russian journals in the WoS 'core collection' increased from 196 in 2015 to 238 journals in 2017, with journals in the top quartiles in the natural sciences being predominantly in English, whilst journals in the social sciences and humanities were in Russian (for quartiles, see https://www.scimagojr.com/journalrank.php)[ii]. This latter point suggests that Russian-medium outlets were available for scholars working in the social sciences and humanities. However, the number of Russian-medium journals in WoS was tiny compared with the number of Russian-medium journals available historically (e.g. in 2017 there were only 3 Russian-medium Russian journals in the social sciences citation index[iii]), the indirect effect of which was the need for scholars to direct their articles to English medium journals in order to be included in WoS. Given that there are few top quartile journals in the

linguistic medium of Russian across all disciplinary areas, improving the global rankings of Russian research necessarily implies publishing in English.

At the same time, however, a second initiative, driven by the Academy of Sciences was launched which oriented more explicitly to the use of Russian: the establishment of a new WoS database in 2014, the Russian Science Citation Index (RSCI). The establishment of this index aimed to raise the level of Russian-medium journals by aligning them with WoS evaluation criteria and replacing an existing key list and database used historically in Russia: the VAK list, comprising 643 Russian medium journals introduced in 2001 by the Ministry of Education[iv] and used to evaluate research output requirements for awarding research degrees[v]; and the Russian Index of Science Citation (RISC)[vi] introduced in 2005 and comprising some 4000 journals which included those journals listed in VAK. The establishment of the WoS RSCI index involved a fundamental review of the existing RISC index, leading to a significant reduction in the number of Russian-medium journals. During the period 2014-2016 the number of Russian-medium journals decreased from 4000 (in the RISC) to 200 (in the RSCI), with the current RSCI figure standing at 792 (Moskaleva et al., 2018).

This brief account of the RF's recent attempts to secure a higher position in global rankings indicates that national initiatives acknowledge the centrality of English whilst at the same time legitimize the continued use of Russian. There is partial alignment between these state-led initiatives and evaluation practices at the institutional level[vii]. Our study evidences the influence of WoS in the university's annual assessment of scholars' research outputs which is directly tied to individual salary schemes: annual assessment includes a range of criteria such as overall number of publications (see **4.1**), with higher points and a significant financial bonus[viii] awarded for publications in the top two quartiles of WoS indexes. Similarly, WoS is used in the employment criteria and assessment of research grant reports: at the time of the study, Elsevier's Scopus data

base was also used. However, Russian-medium lists and databases are not mentioned in university level documents: there is no reference to the VAK list, RISC, and/or RSCI. However, as scholars indicate in **4**, the VAK list continues to have academic legitimacy, because of its use at national level e.g. research funding bodies (see X2010 for uncodified/informal practices).

Russian scholars are therefore currently working in a complex and dynamic context. It is in this contemporary context of significant institutional restructuring and range of intersecting evaluation regimes, that this paper explores Russian academics' research writing practices, in particular their decisions around languages of publication.

3. The study

3.1 The larger study on which this paper is based

The paper draws on a three year study exploring the writing for publication practices of 16 scholars working in three disciplines – economics, sociology, philosophy – in one research-intensive institution in the RF. In line with ethnographic orientations (X2008), the study uses multiple methods of data collection to build context-rich understandings about scholars' publication practices, including observation, interview, texts and documentary data. The lead researcher is an academic from a similar institutional context[ix], well-placed to encourage participation through informal networks whilst making a commitment to confidentiality and anonymity (ethical approval was given by the Open University Human Research Ethics Committee).

The criteria for participants' selection were that they: were publishing/had published in Russian and English; held full time academic positions; were from one of the three selected disciplines-economics, sociology and philosophy. Whilst participation from the specific disciplines was facilitated by the lead researcher's existing networks, theoretical considerations were also

crucial. There is a well-established link between language and disciplinary knowledge making (e.g. Prior, 1998, Hyland, 2004; Larson, 2017) and a key interest was to explore publication practices across the spectrum of 'soft' sciences (e.g. Becher, 1989): economics and sociology are often considered 'soft applied' disciplines, while philosophy is often considered to be 'soft pure' (Becher & Trowler, 2001). Furthermore, the study hypothesized that disciplinary practices may have specific geolinguistic histories (e.g. Bennett, 2007; 2014) which may influence scholars' decisions around language of publication.

As a single-site study within which each individual scholar is further conceptualised as an individual 'case' (Yin, 2009), findings are specific to those scholars, specific disciplines and institution. At the same time, the study is in line with ethnographic research traditions which see epistemological value in single 'cases' to capture and illuminate key aspects of a particular phenomenon which might otherwise go unnoticed (Casanave, 2003; Mitchell 1984).

3.2 The present study: research questions and methodology

This paper explores the following questions:

1. Which languages are scholars using in their research publications and why?

2. How is the contemporary institutional context (e.g. the evaluation regime, the working conditions) shaping scholars' decisions about the language/s they publish in?

3. To what extent are scholars' decisions about linguistic medium influenced by their research disciplines and paradigms?

The following specific datasets were used:

- **Detailed curriculum vitae** including scholars' employment histories, education trajectories, and research publication profile.

- **16 interviews of approximately 1.5 hours, transcribed.** Interviews were carried out in English or Russian (or a mixture) according to participants' wishes. In this paper, Russian

extracts have been translated by the lead researcher into English, staying as closely as possible to scholars' expressions in Russian. We indicate whether English used in extracts are as in the original interview (original) or translated from Russian (translated).

- **Pre and post interview email discussions (160 emails).** Pre-interview emails focused on explaining the aims of the study and practical arrangements. Post-interview emails varied according to issues raised in the interviews, clarifying specific comments made in the interview or following up on comments made.

Particular value was placed on understanding participants' accounts of their lived experiences (e.g. Ivanič, 1998), relating to three areas: education and academic career, writing for publication experiences, and publishing in different languages (see Appendix A). The use of interviews was part of 'longer conversations' (after Maybin, 1994), which in this study, were continued via email communication to pursue issues and concerns raised by participants. Discussing the challenges faced in academic publication can be potentially face-threatening (e.g. Flowerdew, 2000), therefore trust between the interviewer and interviewees based on existing relationships was crucial.

The lead researcher carried out extensive 'memoing' (Barton & Hamilton, 1998, p.69) to identify significant themes, paying attention to content and discourse (X2008). Attention to content involved treating at 'face value' what participants reported; attention to 'discourse' involved treating the specific wordings used by participants as signaling specific ways of 'understanding, being and doing in the world' (Gee, 1996). The identification of key themes involved an iterative process of moving back and forth between vertical analysis (focusing on individual scholars) and horizontal analysis (focusing on themes emerging across scholars' accounts) (Barton & Hamilton, 1998). Ongoing discussion of themes took place between the lead researcher and co-

authors, focusing on sample data analysis to agree emerging categories (for exemplification of the analytical process see Appendix B).

The lead researcher's own positioning and language choices impacted the data collection and analysis in many ways, some of which she was sharply aware of and worked hard to mitigate. Being an insider (a scholar in a Russian institution and a Russian speaker) facilitated access and perhaps an initial assumption that participants would feel comfortable in expressing their views. However, at times the lead researcher felt there was some reluctance to be frank. For example, some participants only briefly answered the question 'To what extent do you feel that your writing practices are supported by the institution?', preferring to switch to a new question rather than express a negative judgement about the institution. Moving between Russian and English, the researcher became aware that some phrases were problematic: for example, the meaning of 'types of knowledge' (interview question 7) was too vague for participants, in both English and Russian, leading the researcher to provide examples to facilitate discussion. The researcher felt dissatisfied with the framing of the question although the comments generated suggest that some level of shared meaning between the researcher and participant had been reached (for example, the question followed by exemplification led to Evgenii talking about two currently competing epistemological camps in philosophy, see **4.4**).

4. Findings

4.1. Scholars' languages of publication

All scholars have published to date in Russian and in English with Russian medium publications dominating, and only two other languages of publication identified (Table 1, Figure 1). Whilst there are individual differences in publication profiles, all three principal genres (books, book chapters and articles) are reflected across the three disciplinary areas with the journal article

dominating. In Table 1, 'monographs' (m) are distinguished from 'textbooks' (t) both of which are considered legitimate academic outputs in the university assessment criteria. 'Articles' in this institution include only peer-reviewed academic journal articles and published conference proceedings. English-medium publications are primarily journal articles and smaller in number compared with journal article output in Russian (Figure 2).

Whilst focusing on a small number of academics (11 of them are 'docents' which is the equivalent to associate professor), the publication profiles suggest variation in genres at the level of seniority and discipline. Table 1 indicates that more junior scholars in two disciplines may be more likely to publish in one specific genre, the research article: in economics, Galina, the most senior academic has published a large number of books, as well as articles; in contrast Nadezhda, the more junior scholar, has only published articles. A similar pattern seems evident in sociology, where the most senior academic, Daniil, has published 4 books and junior scholar, Vera, articles and book chapters. Whilst this pattern may be due to differential expertise in their fields (more senior scholars publishing books), the pattern in philosophy is more diverse, with the book genre continuing to hold sway with both junior and senior scholars.

Participant *academic post/ years of being employed in academy*	Publication category	Russian	English	Other languages	Totals	Disciplinary area
Galina (professor, 28)	Books	19 (m 12, t 7)	0	-	19	Economics
	Book chapters	6	0		6	
	Articles	25	13		38	
Natalia (docent, 24)	Books	4 (m 3, t 1)	0	-	4	Economics
	Book chapters	2	0		2	

	Articles	26	1		27	
Maria (docent, 18)	Books	17 (m 11, t 6)	0	-	17	Economics
	Book chapters	12	0		12	
	Articles	35	17		52	
Nikolai (docent, 15)	Books	0	0	-	0	Economics
	Book chapters	0	0		0	
	Articles	4	2		6	
Margarita (senior lecturer, 15)	Books	2 (m 2, t 0)	0	-	2	Economics
	Book chapters	3	0		3	
	Articles	13	1		14	
Nadezhda (docent, 8)	Books	0	0	-	0	Economics
	Book chapters	0	0		0	
	Articles	22	13		35	
Daniil (professor, 33)	Books	4 (m 4, t 0)	2 (m 2, t 0)	-	6	Sociology
	Book chapters	0	0		0	
	Articles	13	19		32	
Dmitri (docent, 19)	Books	1 (m 1, t 0)	0	-	1	Sociology
	Book chapters	2	1		3	
	Articles	21	13		34	
Nina (senior lecturer, 17)	Books	0	0	-	0	Sociology
	Book chapters	0	0		0	
	Articles	12	2		14	
Aleksandra (docent, 10)	Books	6 (m 6, t 0)	1 (m 1, t 0)	-	7	Sociology
	Book chapters	3	1		4	
	Articles	18	5		23	
Olga (docent, 9)	Books	0	0	-	0	Sociology
	Book chapters	0	0		0	
	Articles	20	4		24	
Vera	Books	0	0	0	0	Sociology
	Book chapters	3	0	0	3	

(senior lecturer, 8)	Articles	4	10	1 Finnish	15	
Nikita (docent, 24)	Books	3 (m 2, t 1)	1 (m 1, t 0)	-	4	Philosophy
	Book chapters	2	2		4	
	Articles	11	11		22	
Evgenii (docent, 21)	Books	0	0	-	0	Philosophy
	Book chapters	1	0		1	
	Articles	19	2		21	
Daria (docent, 19)	Books	5 (m 4, t 1)	1 (m 1, t 0)	0	6	Philosophy
	Book chapters	1	0	0	1	
	Articles	36	18	1 Slovenian	55	
Elisaveta (docent, 16)	Books	2 (m 2, t 0)	0	-	2	Philosophy
	Book chapters	0	2		2	
	Articles	30	1		31	

Table 1 Scholars' publishing records (ordered in terms of years in academy within each discipline).

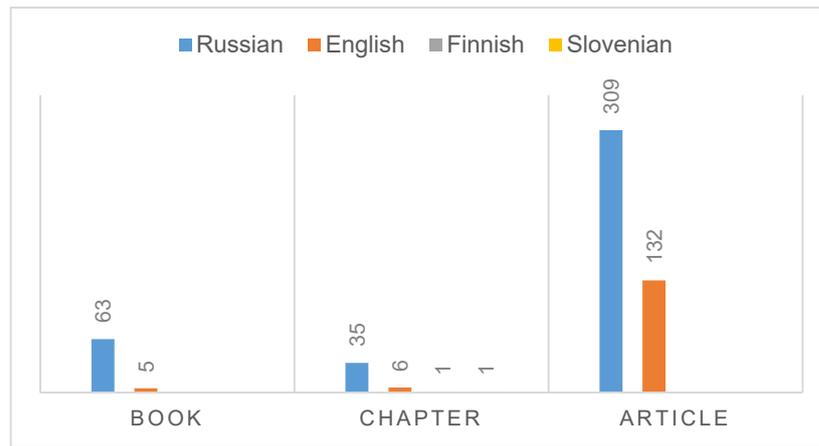**Figure 1 Total publication output by language**

Figure 2 Language choice by genre

With regard to linguistic medium, Russian continues to dominate among these scholars. However, data from interviews and email discussions suggest that this situation is changing as a result of recent policy initiatives as outlined in **2**. The following section aims to throw light on scholars' experiences and practices by focusing on key themes to emerge from interviews and ongoing discussions, beginning by documenting the challenging material conditions shaping scholars' opportunities for research writing.

4.2. 'No time to be a scientist': the challenging material conditions shaping scholars' opportunities for research writing

All scholars explicitly signaled the unfavorable economic conditions impacting on their research. Four material factors were emphasized: 1) the necessity to hold multiple appointments; 2) governmental funding cuts; 3) lack of time; and 4) lack of institutional resources to support English-medium writing. Each of these is discussed below.

First, since salaries are historically low in Russia[x], 13 scholars reported holding additional jobs to secure a stable income. Most of these were academic-related, working as researchers or administrators in other research centers but also in non-academic jobs. For example, Nikita states:

I now perform in three roles: as an academic writer, as an analyst---and as a publicist who can explain some issues to wider audience. I have to work in three regimes. (translated)

Margarita similarly has an additional non-academic job, writing reports for businesses and Maria, runs a small farming business.

Second, scholars emphasize the recent restructuring and funding cuts by the state. Nikolai says state research grants have become scarce.

We used to have more funds and more projects. (original)

Older scholars are affected more negatively than younger scholars: applications for state research grants are currently restricted to scholars aged 35 or younger[xi] .Younger scholars, Nadezhda and Margarita, say they manage to secure some funds for their research, while Galina, who has been working the longest in academia, says 'it would also be important for me' but that she is excluded from applying.

Third, all scholars talk about the limited time they have for their research and publishing in Russian and English (see **4.3**), a key reason being the increase in teaching and administration. Galina, like Vera, says she has time to write only during summer vacations:

The first month is totally writing. Nothing other than writing. (original)

Daniil says regular meetings and administrative work require too much time and as a result he does not currently have any time for writing papers:

I have a wonderful project ---but I cannot find time to write it. No time to be a scientist. (translated)

Finally, scholars talk about limited resources essential for preparing English-medium publications, including proficiency in English. Natalia says producing an English-medium paper is difficult because of the limited access to online databases due to reductions in university funding. Daria talks about her university libraries being 'poor' and not having the English-medium monographs produced by Anglo-American center scholars essential for publishing in English. Elisaveta says the reason she tries to travel abroad is to access these much-needed monographs:

There are several books that I cannot reach. I scanned them in [UK] university library. I cannot do without internships. (translated)

Ten of the scholars talk about not having the level of English proficiency necessary to produce articles for 'high impact' English-medium journals. Natalia, Olga and Margarita talk about the need to find people who can help translate their texts into English. Even Dmitri, who has substantial experience of using English from extended stays in the UK and US, talks of the need for greater support with English:

Now my greatest weakness is academic writing in English. Well, I feel there is some progress but too far from perfection. You cannot learn it [English research writing], you cannot be taught, it only comes with experience. (translated)

The current specific material conditions create significant challenges for scholars in their research writing activities.

4.3 'I play this game': factors affecting the pressures to publish in English and/or Russian

While the majority of scholars have published predominantly in Russian to date (Table 1), all scholars point to a significant shift: formal university policies and state level initiatives currently (albeit sometimes indirectly) prioritize the publication of research in English.

Daniil, who is the head of a research center, says increasing the number of English-medium publications is crucial for securing university funding for research activity. For this reason, he and his team publish primarily in English-medium Anglo-American journals listed in WoS.

> We target top [North American] journals because we get paid for this [by the university]. We publish in first quartile---Russian journals are indexed in Scopus yet obviously have zero impact-factor. (translated)

Galina similarly says the pressure to publish in high ranking 'international' journals has increased.

> You may be a good teacher or businesses professional but only one thing which is interesting for university is how many papers you have published and where. (original)

In addition to research funding, most scholars point to personal financial reward as a strong incentive for writing articles in English-medium journals, an important motivator given low salaries (see **4.2**). As outlined in **2**, if scholars publish papers in high impact journals, they are awarded a financial bonus[xii] and, as reported by scholars, a 25% reduction in teaching hours. Diane states

Minus 25% of teaching workload[xiii] frees you in a way. When there is none, everything is bad. (translated)

Nina and Vera say that having fewer teaching hours is the only way to 'survive'. Daria says that the reduced teaching workload saves her valuable time for academic writing.

Elisaveta says that until recently she had not felt the pressure to publish in high impact English-medium journals and felt able to pursue her specific interest in organizing research events. However, she says she now 'needs to publish in English' because the financial reward is the only way to have a decent income to cover the needs of her family:

The problem is I have no money. It has started to worry me, because now, to have a normal salary, you need to publish in very good journals. (translated)

Vera says that she did not receive a financial reward last year therefore losing half her overall salary because she produced fewer publications than the university required.

Publishing in high impact (English-medium) journals is becoming an increasing priority, but scholars are also committed– and from their accounts are informally incentivized– to publish in Russian. Whilst the university documentation includes no reference to Russian medium publications (**2**), scholars refer to the existence of university lists prescribing 'high-quality' Russian-medium outlets. Most scholars question the criteria used to select journals for this list and are concerned about the reduced number. Galina, for example, says she now has fewer opportunities for publishing in Russian-medium journals.

In Russia, I publish in journals of top-level specified by [university lists]. The journals are good but there are very few of them. I have objections but I play this game. (original)

Evgenii too says the university and the VAK list of journals (see **2**) significantly limit his opportunities for Russian-medium academic publishing and that he risks losing financial reward for failing to produce the required number of articles in institutionally approved journals. Yet, he says he chooses not to follow these lists.

There is only one [approved] leading journal in Russia with a specific disciplinary focus---There is also one old journal in the wider scope category but I would think twice before submitting my text because of its quality. VAK used to be a criterion for me and others. Now, I'd submit my text to a journal with good working editorial board rather than follow the VAK list of journals. Even with lower status. (translated)

Whilst Evgenii signals a willingness to sidestep institutional criteria, other scholars, faced with the contested status of different Russian-medium outlets (not least because university lists are not part of codified criteria), see English-medium publications as the preferred option. Elisaveta for example says she prefers to aim her work at WoS English-medium journals as it is a safer way for her to meet institutional assessment requirements.

However, one key factor influencing scholars' decision to publish in Russian, as compared with English-medium journals indexed in WoS, is the length of publication cycle. All scholars commented on the shorter publication cycle of Russian-medium journals which enables them to meet the annual assessment criteria for salary 'bonuses'. Maria for example explains that despite the pressure to publish in English, she had to reject an invitation from an English-medium journal

because the length of the publication cycle meant she risked not meeting annual research output requirements.

> They said 'we have a two-year queue'. I said 'within two years everything will change 10 times in my life'. (translated)

Dmitrii says he has to plan his research output to meet annual research assessment criteria and publishing in Russian-medium journals is faster:

> [A paper] in Russian [is] ready in two months. In foreign journals the publication cycle is longer. It is a long game, and you need at least two years. (translated)

In sum, the formal university evaluation regime is having the effect of prioritizing publishing in high ranking (English-medium) journals. At the same time, scholars indicate the existence of an informal 'occluded' (Swales, 1996) dimension to the university evaluation regime which values specific Russian-medium outlets. The decisions scholars make about medium of publication are based on a cluster of intersecting factors including financial, disciplinary and personal motivations, and the availability of relevant outlets. One practical factor is the shorter publication cycle in Russian-medium journals which ensures a closer chronological alignment between publication trajectories and the university's annual evaluation cycle.

4.4. 'It is not that I do not do this but…': linguistic medium and disciplinary traditions

Perhaps a more fundamentally 'occluded' dimension to current evaluation regimes is the disruption caused to historically-situated disciplinary traditions, an issue foregrounded by all scholars.

Daniil emphasizes that the state ideology of Marxism-Leninism was core to knowledge making in Russia, significantly shaping Russian-medium research writing in the social sciences and humanities:

> It is a truly fundamental thing: it lays at the surface, yet, it is very deep--We have Marxism-Leninism heritage because there was no normal science then.---Using Russian was central to such knowledge making. (translated)

Daniil, talking about sociology, explains:

> In Stalin's era, sociology was forbidden ---and it disappeared as a discipline. In late 1950s, in Khrushchev era[xiv] sociology was allowed. Sociological labs and institutions were opened. Sociology and other social sciences were isolated from global science and it was surrounded by ideology. (translated)

Evgenii explains that a key rhetorical-ideological dimension to writing philosophy in the past was the obligation to criticize scholars from the west. 'Disciplinary conversations' (Bazerman, 1988) were expected to take place in Russian and only between Russia-based scholars:

> In all scientific texts, the Soviet scholar had to cite classic works of Marxism-Leninism with a necessary remark that they [capitalist countries] do not understand Russian science ---At the end of the text it was necessary to mention 'they lost', meaning that our science is better. (translated)

Daria, also from philosophy, emphasizes the negative impact of ideology throughout the history of the USSR on philosophy because

> it destroyed its [philosophy's] fundamental knowledge making grounds

not least through the political repression of prominent scholars. In sharp contrast, currently, she says she and her peers are expected to read and cite English-medium journals and books which she finds equally problematic and upsetting:

> Every 20 years there is a total academic clean up. Now if we want to side with some source of ideas, it will not be a colleague from a neighboring department: it will be an overseas colleague. It is a big frustration. (translated)

In the move away from Russian-medium disciplinary conversations, scholars point to several epistemological shifts. Margarita, an economist, talks about a shift from qualitative to quantitative research, saying she now currently has to make difficult decisions about whether to continue doing qualitative research, which she enjoys, or to follow the dominant quantitative research paradigm:

> Scopus, as well as our leading journals, want statistical models, big data. It is not that I do not do this [quantitative research], I can do this at some level, but my research is mostly qualitative. (translated)

A further epistemological shift signaled by scholars when publishing in English-medium journals is the imperative to build a geo-comparative dimension to any research reported. Galina states that

> Some topics are interesting mostly in Russia, because it is about Russia and very deeply involved in Russian specific situation, it is too local. (original)

When publishing in English-medium international journals, she argues that it is necessary not only to provide rich contextual detail about the Russian economy but to contrast it with other economic systems which have been previously studied and reported in leading Anglo-American English-medium journals. Similarly, Daniil says that the majority of high impact English medium papers published by his research centre are in a comparative framework:

If you make a case about a Russian village, you need to come up with the idea why it can be interesting to global community. ---Even if you write about local issues you need to think why it will be interesting to people, how you fit [Anglophone center] journal interests. (translated)

Perhaps the most fundamental epistemological shift in the move towards publishing in English was signaled by the philosophy scholars. They talk about the increasing international dominance of analytic philosophy (see Glock, 2008), an Anglo-American philosophic tradition which emerged in 19th century, and which significantly differs from the continental tradition of philosophy in Russia[xv]. Evgenii, Daria, and Elisaveta say that in their English-medium publications they are currently switching from continental to analytic philosophy. This paradigm shift demands new rhetorical practices, where the key focus is on building a particular kind of argumentation. Evgenii states:

In the past, the aim of an article [in the continental philosophic tradition] was to explain something complicated or interpret something. Now there is a demand for arguments. Interpretations play a secondary role. (translated)

This fundamental paradigm shift however also brings with it a rupture in publishing opportunities in Russian. Scholars say they cannot publish their articles in the analytic philosophy tradition in

Russian-medium journals since the majority of local journal editors and reviewers (and Russian philosophers) work in the continental tradition. Evgenii says this is not only an issue for Russian scholars:

> In Italy, France and Germany and Scandinavia, even professors have to adapt and are even fired sometimes. ---Recently one French academic made a joke that analytic philosophy is like NATO. It is pressure, aggressive acquisition, but is attractive at the same time. (translated)

Scholars' accounts indicate that knowledge-making in different languages is deeply rooted in the sociopolitical histories of disciplines. Shifts in language of publication may also carry fundamental epistemological shifts (Bennett, 2007) as well as significantly shaping, and sometimes limiting, choices around linguistic medium.

4.5. 'Learning everything anew': navigating different linguistic and discourse communities
All the scholars talk about the rhetorical and epistemological similarities and differences in research writing in Russian and in English and highlight the importance of developing new ways of writing knowledge in order to publish in English. Nikita, who spent a year in Germany, explains that he can easily write in German but writing English-medium papers is difficult because of the intricate relationship between lanaguge and knowledge making:

> A philosopher works in a particular local tradition, for instance French or German, and your publications will be in the same language because only this language can allow the scholar to produce meaning. (translated)

Daniil, who completed his Ph.D. in sociology in a leading anglophone-centre university[xvi], believes there is a strong need for Russian sociologists to change their rhetorical practices and write papers in what he refers to as 'positivistic tradition' to become competitive internationally.

> People who live here [RF], whether they like it or not, write as it is common here. But you need to do things differently now---To make an empirical study you need skills that were not taught to students in Soviet times and now scholars cannot teach their students these skills since they do not do it. (translated)

Evgenii and Nikita from philosophy state that the long-standing Soviet tradition of 'creative retelling' and 'pondering' is changing. Evgenii says learning new rhetorical practices is not easy.

> We have not learned how to argue in such a way as to offer new solutions yet. What we learned at university is not the same as what we do now. We need to learn everything anew. (translated)

Similarly, Margarita, who has not yet published articles included in WoS or Scopus, says that while 'we all still want to somehow try Scopus', the processes are not clear and therefore the experience is stressful.

Several scholars believe that the epistemological-rhetorical differences are so great that it is necessary to undertake additional doctoral studies in English. Evgenii, for example, is currently doing an additional doctor of sciences degree because he believes he needs to learn the more globally dominant analytical philosophy tradition and associated rhetorical practices. Maria and Nikolai, who hold candidate of sciences degrees[xvii], are currently undertaking English-medium doctoral programmes in economics in Western and Eastern Europe. Maria comments that studying

'is for real there', explaining that by doing an English-medium PhD program in Western Europe, she will learn the research writing practices necessary for publishing in high impact English medium journals. Nina is considering joining an additional Ph.D. with an Anglo-American university because she feels the need to learn necessary rhetorical practices to publish in Anglo-American journals. Daria, similarly is undertaking an additional doctoral programme at an Anglo-American university.

Learning to write knowledge differently is not reported as a necessarily negative experience. Evgenii talks about the challenge to write differently but also his desire to do so. He considers that writing Russian-medium articles is negatively shaped by 'Soviet times rhetoric', when every Russian scholar had to "condescendingly disprove" of others' work. He is currently following two rhetorical traditions and believes that rhetoric is a 'matter of taste':

> Foreign scholars say 'now I will offer you original things and you should see my brilliant move'. Offering something original was not new for us but it was done in a specific way. ---Very many people, including editorial boards, maintain this style [Soviet time rhetoric]. ---And this is very different from western journals. (translated)

Scholars' accounts suggest that traditions in knowledge making are currently changing involving a strong imperative to develop new rhetorical practices in order to sustain their research practices under current evaluation regimes.

Discussion

This article has focused on a single-site study in a geopolitical context which to date has remained under-researched in the field of ERPP, RF. Findings from the study both confirm and extend previous findings on the ways in which evaluation regimes are being enacted at

institutional, national and international levels in non-Anglophone contexts and how scholars are navigating such regimes. In this section, we revisit the three research questions and discuss them in relation to previous research.

With regard to the first question centering on language of publication, Russian continues to be by far the most dominant language for publication for this group of scholars, a finding contributing to the complex picture to have emerged about the use of local/national languages in academic publishing: some studies have indicated that national languages continue to be widely used in the social and human sciences (e.g. Giannoni, 2008; X2019) albeit varying across professional trajectories (e.g. X2018); other studies indicate a dominant use of English, albeit often alongside some publication activity in the local languages (Kulczycki et al. 2020; Liu 2016; X2014). Specific reasons for the current widespread use of Russian may in part be explained by the legacy of Russian as a high status language of publication, evident in both current codified (at national level through the RSCI and VAK) and informal (e.g. in university lists) evaluation practices. At the same time, there are indications both in research evaluation documents and interviews with scholars that English is on the rise in this Russian institution. Even if the use of English is not explicitly mandated, the fact that evaluation regimes are underpinned by WoS criteria means that English becomes the *de facto* language for 'high status' research publications. This finding echoes previous research carried out in non-Anglophone European countries (X2010; Pérez-Llantada & Ferguson, 2011; X2014).

With regard to the second question on the impact of institutional context, it is clear from this study that the recent changes in the research evaluation regime are influencing Russian scholars' decisions about the language/s they publish, with the multiple-level (formal and informal) evaluation regimes adding to an already complex and pressurized environment. The study shows that the enactment of evaluation regimes is not a purely 'intellectual' practice but closely bound

up with the specific material conditions in which scholars are working. Scholars attempt to produce both Russian and English medium outputs as a way of meeting evaluation criteria that are functioning at different levels: in order to secure university and state-level grant funding, scholars indicate the importance of publishing in English medium outlets indexed in WoS, a finding that echoes previous studies (Hanauer & Englander, 2011; Perez-Llantada, 2014); in order to meet annual research assessment requirements, scholars are aiming to publish in Russian, as well as English, not least because of the direct link between salary and publication, a link underlined in findings from other European resource-poor contexts (X2010). Of particular significance with regard to the latter is scholars' decision to use Russian because of the shorter publication cycle of Russian-medium journals and its closer chronological alignment with the annual institutional assessment regime, success in which is crucial to secure the 'bonuses' essential for securing a living wage.

With regard to the third question, our study confirms existing EAP research and theory which conceptualizes language as inseparable from disciplinary knowledge making. Whilst researchers differ in their conceptualizations and labelling– see Airey's (2011) 'disciplinary literacy', Lea and Street's (1998) 'academic literacies', Hyland's (2004) 'disciplinary discourses'– and there are ongoing debates about the epistemological consequences of language shifts – through notions such as 'domain loss' (e.g. X2011) and epistemicide' (e.g. Bennett, 2007) – there is strong agreement of the need to theorise this entanglement between language and discipline. Scholars' comments in this study echo those in previous studies that language choice is deeply rooted in sub-disciplinary-epistemological histories of knowledge making (eg. X2010; McGrath, 2014) with intricate rhetorical consequences (e.g. in philosophy, Hobbs, 2014). However, this study highlights the significance of the locally-situated political history of disciplinary paradigms and the ways in which language choice, is refracted through institutional and national level evaluation regimes, both current and historical. The importance of acknowledging this geopolitical dimension to the

relationship between (specific) languages and epistemology is underlined in the surprising finding from the study, that experienced Russian academics, who already hold doctoral and higher doctoral research degrees are pursuing further English-medium doctoral degrees in order to 'learn things anew'. At some level, scholars seem to be inhabiting a paradoxical intellectual space: the privileged position of English through WoS is pushing scholars towards not only the use of a different language but towards paradigms valued in Anglophone-centre traditions; at the same time, the establishment of Russian as a legitimized WoS index, signals a state-level commitment to the Russian language, as well as to the rhetorical and disciplinary traditions historically valued in Russian academia. A similar paradox is evident in China: Feng et al. (2013) exploring scholars' practices in the context of an explicit state policy shift towards valuing Chinese-medium publications, indicate that both natural and social sciences tend to 'orbit Anglo-American practice' (p. 267), not only in terms of linguistic medium but in orienting their research writing to Anglo-American expectations and traditions (Feng et al., 2013). The tensions that individual scholars are experiencing therefore may in part reflect what might be described as the 'push and pull' effect of state level policies of global powers.

Conclusion

This paper contributes to a growing area within EAP, ERPP (English for Research Publication Purposes), which seeks to understand the imperatives driving institutional and individual English-medium research writing in different parts of the world (see JEAP SI, 2014 Vol 13). Such work is important for making visible the specific ways in which English is inserted into evaluation regimes in different national and institutional contexts and the subsequent challenges (contextual, linguistic, epistemological) scholars face in anchoring English to their research interests. For EAP/ERPP practitioners, this paper provides further evidence that many scholars globally are working with multiple languages in their research writing which are bound up with questions of disciplinary epistemologies and geopolitical histories. The pedagogical implications for those

working with *English* for academic purposes, alongside other languages will necessarily vary depending on the specific nature of programme (e.g. aimed at supporting individuals or cohorts of scholars) and the specific expertise of the practitioner (an EAP practitioner monolingual in English with expert knowledge of a particular discipline, will contribute different kinds of linguistic/rhetorical support from a bi/multilingual EAP practitioner familiar with linguistic/rhetorical practices in the relevant languages). Making the linguistic-rhetorical aspects of disciplinary traditions an explicit focus of pedagogical attention is an important way of considering specifically what 'English' alongside other languages has to offer (Bardi, 2021), and echoes calls for pedagogic engagement with multiple linguistic resources (e.g. Gentil & Séror, 2014).

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Appendix A: The semi-structured interview schedule

Education and academic career

1. Where did you do your degree(s)?

2. What is your working experience and are your key challenges in working in academia? How do you find balance of teaching/researching/administrating workload and how do you fit in writing for publication? What is your research area and research experience?

   Writing for publication

3. In your experience to what extent do you feel that your writing practices are supported by the institution? Do you have access to research writing resources? Do you experience any pressure in writing for publication?

4. How important do you think the production of written scholarly output is in helping you attain your career ambitions? How do you select a publication venue?

   Experience of writing for publication in different languages

5. What is your English learning background? What is your experience of writing for publication in Russian? in English? (in other languages?)

6. Could you describe the process of getting published in a Russian journal? What factors help you to get published in a Russian journal?

7. In your experience, are there differences between the types of knowledge that is published in English and in Russian? Why do you think these differences exist?

8. Why/When would you write for publication in Russian and when would you write for publication in English?

9. What factors contribute to/hinder writing for publication in English medium /Russian medium journals?

10. What style and rhetoric (tradition) do you follow when writing in Russian?

11. How do you interact with other stakeholders (editors, reviewers, coauthors, language consultants, University administration) in writing for publication in Russian? And in English?

Appendix B: Examplification of discussion process and generation of themes

Figure 3. The iterative discussion process (see an attached file for Figure 3)

Content and discourse analysis

Example   Responding to the question 'Do you write differently in Russian and in English? Daniil says "yes" and continues by saying "We have Marxism-Leninism heritage because there was no normal science then." This comment is analyzed in terms of content: a) Daniil does write differently in the two languages b) Daniil views the writing of sociology in Russian as being influenced historically by the ideology of Marxisim-Leninism. in the Soviet period. This comment is analyzed in terms of discourse: the phrase 'normal science' signals a binary evaluative discourse positioning some science as 'normal' and some as 'not normal'. In a follow up discussion via email, Daniil's comments were pursued in attention to both content and discourse by asking him to describe the differences in how he writes in the two languages (content), asking him what to talk about what he means by 'normal science' (discourse).

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i Web of Science Group report on Russian science output http://www.ras.ru/FStorage/Download.aspx?id=5ee53d21-5863-437f-adf5-4c9dd125c5aa Accessed 10 June 2020.

ii Web of Science Group report on Russian science research output
http://www.ras.ru/FStorage/Download.aspx?id=5ee53d21-5863-437f-adf5-4c9dd125c5aa Accessed 10 June 2020.

iii https://sibac.info/sites/default/files/blog/perechni_zhurnalov_v_bd_web_of_science_04_17.xlsx Accessed 9 January 2021.

iv http://vak.ed.gov.ru/ Accessed 5 March 2020.

[v] In 2001-2007 only doctors of sciences were required to publish in VAK journals as a degree requirement. From 2007 onwards, all candidates and doctors of sciences have to publish in VAK journals to be awarded a research degree.

[vi] www.eLIBRARY.RU, which hosts articles (including VAK journals), monographs, dissertations, textbooks, etc.

[vii] 14 documents current at the time of the study were analyzed (employment criteria and requirements, research output annual assessment, institutional grant reports requirements).

[viii] The salary in this institution is made of a base and a bonus based on research outputs. The exact number of outputs required changes every year and according to academic position.

[ix] 'Similar institutional context' used here for anonymity.

[x] For example, an average yearly income of a docent in 2018 was 450.000 rubles which equals 6250 euros per year https://academicpositions.com/career-advice/professor-salaries-from-around-the-world Accessed 20 December 2020.

[xi] https://www.rfbr.ru/rffi/eng/info_eng Accessed 10 April 2020.

[xii] Apart from the monthly salary, scholars receive the monthly paid bonus which equals a three-month basic salary. The bonus can be granted from one to two years.

[xiii] Academic work is measured in academic hours (1 a.h. = 40 min.) and includes teaching, research activities, additional services related to the department or university.

[xiv] Widely known as Khrushchev Thaw period that came after the harshest period of the Stalin era when political repressions reached their peak.

[xv] Continental philosophy is a set of philosophical traditions in 19-20th centuries within mainland Europe (c.f. Babich, 2003).

[xvi] Not named to ensure anonymity.

[xvii] Candidate of sciences degree is equivalent to Ph.D.