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Intersectionality of marginalisation: EAL academics in exile writing for international publication

Baraa Khuder [a] and Bojana Petrić [b]

[a]Chalmers University of Technology, Gothenburg, Sweden; [b]Birkbeck, University of London, London, UK

ABSTRACT
Intersectionality, the interconnectedness of social categories to account for individual experience or behaviour, has received increased attention in various areas in applied linguistics. Although in English for Research Publication Purposes (ERPP) different identity vectors have been investigated separately, there has been less focus on how these vectors intersect with each other to shape writers' experiences of publishing and contribute to their (dis)advantageous position as academics. In this paper, we draw on the intersectionality framework to provide a more nuanced understanding of the experiences of 12 Syrian academics in exile as they try to publish in international journals as well as their perceptions and practices regarding their marginalisation. Three areas of exiled academics' experiences are examined in this study: access to academic-related employment, conducting research, and research writing for international publication in English. Using interviews with Syrian academics and their co-authors, we investigated how multiple vectors of identity intersect and impact on the Syrian academics' writing for publication in exile. It has been shown that exiled academics experience marginalisation in all three areas on account of multiple aspects of their identity. We conclude with implications for support agencies and funding bodies on how to better assist exiled academics.

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Exiled academics; intersectionality; marginalisation; English for research publication purposes (ERPP); English as an additional language (EAL)

Introduction

Social justice is growing in importance as a research topic in applied linguistics, with issues such as disadvantage, marginalisation, and privilege being investigated in various contexts (e.g. Rosa and Flores 2021). In English for Research Publication Purposes (ERPP), an area of applied linguistics investigating the nature and use of English for publication and the needs and experiences of those involved in writing for publication (Flowerdew and Habibie 2021), it has been mostly studied in relation to the disadvantaged position of scholars from the periphery of knowledge production, who use English as an additional language (EAL). The centre-periphery model, which originated in political economy (Wallerstein 1991), is a spatial model that distinguishes between the developed centre and the less developed periphery, drawing on structural inequalities in the distribution of power and resources across the world. Colonialism and the historical development of global capitalism have positioned Western countries (particularly Anglophone ones) at the centre, with poorer countries positioned around their periphery. The centre-periphery model has been used in ERPP to draw attention, among others, to differences in the centre-based and periphery-based academics'

CONTACT Baraa Khuder khuder@chalmers.se Chalmers University of Technology, Gothenburg, Sweden

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access to linguistic and social capital in knowledge production (e.g. Canagarajah 2002; Lillis and Curry 2010).

This study focuses on Syrian exiled academics, whose numbers are estimated to be 2,000 (King 2016), which constitutes 35% of the total number of Syrian academics (2018 كريم). Of these 2,000, fewer than 10% are continuing their academic work (Sheikh 2016). Focusing on this population of academics who have managed to continue their academic careers in exile or are working towards re-entering academia, in this paper, we report on their experiences of marginalisation as exiled academics. To this end, we use intersectionality, a theoretical framework for understanding how different dimensions of identity (e.g. race, ethnicity, language) are interconnected to shape specific social experiences (Block and Corona 2016). We examine how different identity vectors intersect with the participants' exile experience, as customary in the study of intersectionality, where a core dimension of identity is selected as the central point for the examination of other identity dimensions (Block and Corona 2016). We start by reviewing previous literature on intersectionality and then we discuss the methods of data collection and analysis. We then present our findings, followed by a discussion of these findings and conclude with recommendations.

Literature review on intersectionality in ERPP

Intersectionality is

> a way of understanding and analysing the complexity in the world, in people, and in human experiences … people's lives and the organization of power in a given society are better understood as being shaped not by a single axis of social division, be it race or gender or class, but by many axes that work together and influence each other. (Hill Collins and Bilge 2016, 2)

Not only are identity dimensions hard to separate from each other (see e.g. Kubota 2020 for the interconnectedness of race/ethnicity and language), they also change over time and across contexts (McKinney and Norton 2008) and individuals may choose to highlight an identity aspect that works in their favour in a particular situation (Nash 2008). According to McCall (2005), researchers often deal with three complexities when using intersectionality: (1) Anticategorical complexity, by rejecting simplistic categorisation of identities (2) Intercategorical complexity, by investigating how the interconnectedness of the different identity dimensions results in experiences of inequality; (3) Intracategorical complexity, by carefully dealing with categories, deconstructing them, and questioning their composition. This research deals with the 'intercategorical complexity' as we are interested in investigating how the different identity vectors of exiled Syrian academics shape their experiences of marginalisation in their pursuit of a way to continue with academic activities in exile.

Although in ERPP different identity aspects have been investigated separately, especially in relation to EAL writers' first language, there has been less focus on how these vectors intersect with each other to shape writers' experiences of publishing and contribute to their (dis)advantageous position as academics. One of the few studies that investigated how different identity dimensions are related to knowledge dissemination is Kubota (2020), which examined how the intersection of race and language results in inequalities in knowledge production and consumption and marginalisation of non-white women in academia, specifically in relation to citation practices:

> Many women scholars of color from non-Euro-American backgrounds become invisible in this scene. When one of us is cited by a well-known white male scholar, it is sometimes even treated as a nice surprise. (728)

In her paper, Kubota lists sites of inequality where her name (being Asian), her study context (Japan), and her study focus (being local) resulted in her work being rejected by publishers and editors in the field of applied linguistics. She reflects on how, on a larger scale, this process results in serious distortions of the institutional academic scene:

> What we see and hear in books, journals, or conferences are the results of the decisions to accept or reject certain ideas produced by real people. These decisions made by authors, presenters, reviewers, and editors

> affect how many male or female scholars or white, black, indigenous, Asian, and Latinx scholars appear in publication titles and conference programs. This ultimately influences the racial and gender diversity of faculty members in higher education. (728)

The bias in manuscript reviewing that Kubota refers to is indirectly confirmed by Winsett (2021), a journal editor, whose recommendation to authors is to anonymize information within the manuscript, such as the geographical location of the study, which can signal the ethnicity/race of the authors, to avoid institutional, personal, and geographical bias.

Most research within ERPP has focused on the language-related inequalities that academics writing in English as an Additional Language face when writing for publication in English, i.e. having to write in a language that is different from their first language, which is referred to as linguistic injustice (Flowerdew 2019; Hyland 2016b). There is a current debate in literature on whether EAL academics and those for whom English is their first language (EL1) face the same level of difficulty when trying to publish internationally. Hyland (2016a, 2016b) claims that both EAL and EL1 writers face the same challenges of learning to write academically in their disciplines, and that EAL writers receive special training unlike EL1 writers (Hyland 2016b), while Flowerdew (2019), drawing on research on obstacles faced by EAL writers (e.g. Buckingham 2014; Flowerdew 2007; Willey and Tanimoto 2015), points out EL1 writers' advantage in terms of their mastery of the lexis, syntax and phraseology of English. Soler (2021) discusses linguistic injustice from an intersectionality perspective, suggesting that the intersection of identity vectors results in sites of inequality where language is only one of the problems EAL academics face in addition to the lack of resources and racism, for example. English language proficiency or lack of it is perceived as a proxy for expertise, as shown in a report on Syrian academics in Lebanon, where Syrian academics tend to be perceived as having a lower English language proficiency level than their Lebanese counterparts (Watenpaugh, Fricke, and King 2014). Unfairly, this reflects negatively on how their disciplinary expertise is perceived, as one of the participants in Watenpaugh, Fricke, and King's (2014, 25) study remarks: 'Many Lebanese think that if you speak English, you must be better at chemistry'.

Other studies investigated how academics may be marginalised due to who they are, focusing on a single dimension of their identity only. For example, Ploszaj, Celińska-Janowicz, and Olechnicka (2018) reported how research collaboration between scholars from the centre and the periphery of knowledge production (Wallerstein 1991) impacted on the extent to which these collaborative studies were cited by comparing mean citations of collaborative papers where authors were from different countries and the role they played in the paper. For example, when the leading researcher was from the centre, there was a higher chance of the study being cited, as opposed to collaboration where the first author was from a periphery country.

Focusing on gender, Neale and Özkanli (2010) found that female academics in traditional societies (in this case Turkey), were more inclined to take on care and housework responsibilities, which was likely to affect their academic career progression. However, even in less traditional societies many female academics are likely to take on more family responsibilities than their male counterparts, as found by O'Laughlin and Bischoff (2005), who investigated American academics' experiences of balancing parenthood and an academic career, based on questionnaire responses of 85 male and 179 female academics. Using interviews, Lillis and Curry (2018) provide valuable insights into the experiences of four female academics' juggling family responsibilities and an academic career and the type of challenges they face, specifically when they have children.

Existing studies on exiled academics focus mainly on their refugee status, and ignore other identity dimensions, which can play an impactful role in their experiences in academia in exile. Our aim in this paper is to explore how the different identity dimensions of exiled academics shape their experiences in working, researching, and writing in academia.

Methodology

This paper builds on a larger study (Khuder 2021) that investigated academic literacies development of exiled Syrian academics using ethnography at all three levels (Lillis 2008): ethnography as a method, via talk-around-text interviews; ethnography as methodology, via multiple methods: a sampling questionnaire, semi-structured and discourse-based interviews, writing logs, academic network plots, and text histories; and ethnography as *deep theorising*. Approaching research ethnographically means a long-term investigation that produces what Wang (2013), building on the concept of *thick description* developed by Geertz (1973), describes as *thick data*. This ensures that the researcher does not rush into conclusions (Dörnyei 2007). Longitudinal studies normally last 'a year or longer' (Duff 2008, p. 40), and this study lasted almost two years.

In this paper we draw on interviews with 12 Syrian academics based in Turkey and the United Kingdom, their publications (where relevant) and in two cases, interviews with the academics' co-authors, who are experienced centre-based academics. The exiled academics in this study are supported by the Council for At-Risk academics (CARA), which supports the academics' participation in international academia through facilitating their connection with UK academics, either via the *Syria Program* in Turkey or by securing them a post-doctorate position at a UK university. Although the participants' legal statuses varied, and some experienced a change in their legal status during the study, they were all in exile in the sense that they were involuntarily displaced from Syria, where they could not return, and none had permanent residence in the countries where they lived at the start of the study (see Table 1 for the participants' demographic information).

Via the use of longitudinal ethnographic approach we were able to focus on individual cases and to allow for various themes to emerge, which is essential in the use of intersectionality framework (McCall 2005). We used intersectionality as a framework for the analysis of the interviews conducted with 12 academics in the sense that our analysis did not start from demographic identity markers but rather investigated how the participants make different aspects of their identities relevant when talking about their experiences of being academics in exile. Categories such as gender, religion, location, migration status, age, familial status, when made relevant by the participants themselves in their accounts, were mapped out to investigate how they intersect to form the experiences of marginalisation in relation to the main categories of interest to our investigation: finding research-related employment, conducting research, and writing research.

Although only the last of these aspects deals directly with language, we also include the two broader aspects of being an academic due to their importance in the participants' experience. However, we pay particular attention to the participants' experiences of marginalisation regarding writing for international publication. The three aspects are closely interrelated and interdependent, i.e. opportunities for conducting research without a research-related job are limited; similarly, developing one's research writing is only worthwhile if one is able, or is likely to be able in the near future, to conduct research.

Additionally, the longitudinal nature of this study allowed for an observation of how the identity dimensions changed over the course of the study and what their impact was on the marginalisation experience. Thus, the multiple interviews conducted with the participants enabled us to track their identity vector trajectories, from the perspective of intersectionality. Table 1 below shows an overview of the participants' demographic data, where all names are pseudonyms.

Since one of the themes we investigate is the participants' experience of marginalisation in accessing academic-related employment, we provide a brief description of the legal basis for employment of Syrian refugees in Turkey and the UK, respectively. Turkey developed a temporary protection framework for refugees from Syria, granting those escaping from the conflict in Syria the right of legal stay. Under the *Regulation on work permit for foreigners under temporary protection*, adopted in 2016, individuals with a temporary protection status have the right to apply for a work permit; however, there are various employment quotas and restrictions, such as a 10% cap on employment of temporary protection beneficiaries in a workplace (Asylum in Europe 2022).

Table 1. Overview of the participants' demographic data.

Name	Age	Migration status	Location	Gender	Religion	Familial status	Discipline	Education location	languages	Years of working in academia prior to exile
Mohannad	55	Citizen 5 years in exile	Turkey	Male	Muslim	Married with two children	Biology	Syria	Arabic Turkish	15 years
Saeed	39	Citizen 4 years in exile	Turkey	Male	Muslim	Living with disabled parents	Social science History	Syria	Arabic Turkish	5 years
Adnan	41	Temporary work visa 2 years in exile	Turkey	Male	Muslim	Single	Social science	Syria Egypt	Arabic English	7 years
Suha	42	Citizen 5 years in exile	Turkey	Female	Christian	Married with two children	Social science	Syria Egypt	Arabic Turkish English	5 years
Nour	41	Temporary work visa	UK	Male	Christian	Married with one child	Engineering	Syria Sweden	Arabic English	10 years
Mubarak	50	Citizen 5 years in exile	Turkey	Male	Muslim	Married with three children	Economy	Syria	Arabic Turkish English	4 years
Ahmad	45	Temporary work visa	UK	Male	Muslim	Married with one child	Animal feed	Syria	Arabic English	7 years
Omar	51	Temporary work visa	UK	Male	Christian	Married with one child	Engineering	Syria	Arabic English	15 years
Amer	40	Temporary work visa	UK	Male	Muslim	Married with one kid	Biology	Syria	Arabic English	7 years
Kamal	55	Citizen 5 years in exile	Turkey	Male	Muslim	Married with four children	Social science	Syria	Arabic Turkish English	20 years
Fatima	45	Temporary work visa	UK	Female	Muslim	Married with two children	Engineering	UK	Arabic English	7 years
Salem	45	Citizen 5 years in exile	Turkey	Male	Muslim	Married with four children	Agriculture	Germany	Arabic English	9 years

In the UK, refugees and beneficiaries of humanitarian protection have the same legal access to employment as UK citizens, while asylum seekers are not permitted to work while their application is being considered although permission may be granted in cases where the claim has been under consideration for longer than a year (UK Visas and immigration 2021). CARA fellows who are secured academic placements are granted temporary work visas (UK Visas and immigration 2021). Academics with a job offer from a UK university are eligible for a Skilled Worker visa if the salary meets a set threshold (UK Visas and immigration 2021).

Findings

In the following, we report on instances of marginalisation experienced by the participants, which we discuss in relation to three aspects of being an academic: obtaining a research-related job, conducting research, and writing and publishing research.

Experiencing marginalisation in obtaining research-related employment

The participants' experiences of marginalisation regarding employment ranged from being unable to secure an academic-related job despite having the legal right to apply for work, relevant expertise and work experience, to being offered a job below their level of expertise, in a different academic field, or on a temporary contract. In the following, we report on how the participants perceived the difficulties they faced when trying to secure academic-related employment.

Mohannad is a 55 years-old biologist in Turkey with Turkish citizenship, who previously held a professorship position in Syria with three publications in Arabic and two in English. Mohannad held a non-academic job in Turkey but was eager to return to academia, which was his main reason for joining CARA's *Syria Program*. However, he reported that when he applied for a professorship position, his application was rejected and he 'was advised by the head of department to lower my expectations and be realistic and apply for less prestigious positions'. Subsequently, Mohannad aimed for entry positions in Turkish academia, however, age limits for these positions created an obstacle:

> When looking for a job here in Turkey, I have to look for something less prestigious than I had in Syria and age is a huge thing. They specify age limits for post-doctoral positions and research assistants. It takes ages to get a PhD, especially in Syria, sometimes it takes ten years to finish it in my field and you need almost four years to get a master's degree. It is not fair how some systems specify age … The job market in the UK seems easier as age is not really a problem … and being a Turkish citizen does not really help. They still look down at us for being educated in Syria … and for leaving the country the way we did.

Additionally, Mohannad reported that having a family, who had all obtained Turkish citizenship by then and felt settled in Turkey, made relocation unfavourable, which limited his job-search to Turkey: 'I have two children. I cannot simply leave them and apply elsewhere. If I were single, this would have been much easier.' Despite his commitment to attending the CARA *Syria program*, Mohannad had to keep his non-academic job to generate income to support his family; therefore, he had less time for research. Four years after this interview with Mohannad, he reported having left academia permanently and retaining his non-academic job:

> I think I can do important work in academia and I really tried but there are no jobs and I cannot do research for free so I decided to leave academia to its people and researchers because it is not for all researchers, apparently.

Although some academics did not leave academia, either permanently or temporarily, their academic jobs in exile did not match their level and area of expertise due to the limited opportunities available to them and/or the stereotypes about them. These factors impacted the extent to which the academics invested in research. For example, Adnan, a philosopher, who was able to secure a part-time job in Turkish academia to teach Arabic culture, an area that did not match his expertise,

reported that his contract did not involve research and that the temporary nature of the job provided him with no sense of stability. The main factors contributing to his limited academic job options, Adnan believes, were his ethnicity and his lack of Turkish language proficiency: 'I do not know Turkish and this limits where I can apply for a job … this is more problematic because I am Syrian. If an American were to apply, he would be considered for the job. I am fluent in English. The main problem is my passport and then language.'

Suha, who had a part-time job in academia and whose husband worked full-time, reported that part-time work was the only option for her. Full-time work demands were not compatible with her expected role as the main carer of her two children in a family that followed traditional gender norms: 'As a woman I am expected and required to do all the housework and prepare food for the family. I surely don't have time for a full-time job'. Suha reported that finding a job that provided child-care was almost impossible in Turkey: 'Jobs do not have that service here and I have to prioritise my children'.

Nour, an established academic in Syria with ten years of teaching experience, obtained a post-doctoral position in the UK, which he felt did not match his level of expertise. Nour felt that his ethnicity played a major role: 'No Western academic would accept that downgrading! I am an established academic with a long history of teaching and doing research. I am now a student again. I feel disrespected.' Nour had difficulty finding an academic job when he was on a temporary work visa as he had limited options: 'In the UK your salary needs to be of a certain amount for you to be able to get a visa. We [Syrian academics] have this added pressure and this is not fair.' Two years after this interview, Nour sought asylum in the UK and obtained academic employment after a year. However, the time he spent out of academia did not work in his favour; the job he secured did not match his level of expertise and was ill-paid.

In other situations, the exiled academics found themselves working in a disciplinary field that did not match their area of expertise. For example, Mubarak, an economist, reported how he was only able to gain academic employment in a department of tourism when he first moved to Turkey: 'When I first came here, I had to work at a tourism department. No Turkish university would let a Syrian man lecture them in economy. Tourism is fine, no one really cares what you say there'. Although this impacted Mubarak's teaching, three years later, he used his background in economy to conduct and publish displacement-related research.

Experiencing marginalisation in conducting research

Even when being able to secure resources and obtain research funding, exiled Syrian academics experienced marginalisation when conducting research, which hindered the research process. In the following we provide examples of how these experiences impacted the academics' opportunities for applying for funding, their ability to gain access to the communities where they aimed to conduct research, data collection, and data analysis.

Although there is a considerable number of funding opportunities available for research related to forced migration issues, the participants reported that few of these opportunities were open to exiled academics. Kamal, a Turkey-based academic in the social sciences with more than 10-years experience in conducting research commented on this issue:

> It is much easier for Westerners to get funding to do research on us [refugees] than us doing that. It is like we do not know what is going on with our lives or how to express ourselves and we need a Westerner to do that for us … 'People of Makkah know its ways better' [an Arabic proverb], I really think we know our situation better.

In addition to the limited amount of funding available to exiled academics, its specific focus on conducting refugees-related research can be problematic for exiled researchers whose areas of expertise are difficult to relate to displacement issues. For example, Omar, a UK-based academic, working in acoustic engineering found it challenging to conduct a study requiring him to do interviews:

> The funding available to us [exiled Syrian academics] is only related to Syrian refugees, as if this is the only thing we know how to talk about. My specialization is far away from this issue but here I go just doing interviews and that's not my regular research method but that's what funders expect us to do.

When applying for funding opportunities that are not limited to Syrian refugees, exiled academics reported how their job title in exile (regardless of their seniority in the discipline) and their ethnicity (visible from the academics' names, as in the case below), impacted how the academics believed to be perceived when applying for funding, as Amer here explains:

> We needed this American researcher who is a famous academic in our field in order for the application to be even considered – as you know who would give a Syrian refugee funding? We need to be in the shadows of Western academics no matter how many publications we have.

Even when having the resources to conduct research, obstacles related to data collection emerged, such as in the case of Ahmad, a post-doctoral researcher in the UK. Ahmad, whose funded project took place in a country he needed a visa for, faced difficulties as his visa application was rejected:

> We had funding to do a project in [a country in Africa]. I could not get the visa so I am not sure about my position in the project now – I was supposed to do the data collection from [a country in Africa].

Data collection can be compromised due to other circumstances specific to exiled academics. Mubarak, an economist, planned to conduct refugee-related research that involved interviews with government officials. He then had to involve a Turkish co-author in the research, whose only task was to collect these data, because, unlike Mubarak, he was able to get access to officials in the Turkish government:

> I needed to collect data from government officials but as a Syrian refugee no one would respond to me, so I had to collaborate with a Turkish academic who collected this data for us. This was his only contribution to the research and now he is a co-author.

Additionally, research conditions might not be optimal for exiled academics to participate in. For example, a religious female academic, Fatima, reported how doing research in the UK involves being with unfamiliar men in the same room with no other women present, especially in her male-dominant field, engineering. She reported how this clashed with her religious beliefs:

> As a woman I cannot gather with unfamiliar men in the same room. My religion does not allow me. They don't think about this here [in the UK] and I cannot say anything because I don't want to sound all weird so I just say no if I have to collaborate with men … and you know how my field [engineering] is mainly men … and this affects me getting a permanent position here.

Moving to marginalisation in relation to being valued and respected as a researcher in the research community, exiled academics reported that their data analysis tended to be questioned and their academic standards doubted. For example, Salem, a Syrian academic in agriculture, pointed out how Syrian academics needed to collaborate with 'Western academics' in order for their work to be perceived as 'valid'. Salem reported how his name indexed his ethnicity and religion, which he felt was perceived as being less trustworthy:

> It is not only their knowledge but also their names. Important to have names that sound western to get validated in the academic community. Whenever people read a name that sounds Muslim and Middle Eastern, they don't trust it.

Mubarak made the same point when explaining how Syrian academics were considered less reliable than other Arab researchers. Mubarak related that to the Arabization of the Syrian educational system, whereby scientific terms were translated into Arabic, resulting in Syrian researchers' lack of familiarity with basic English terminology in any field. Mubarak believed that not knowing English was the reason why Syrian researchers were perceived as lacking disciplinary knowledge:

> The stereotype is that we Syrians do not know English because Syria is the only country that arabized all its curriculum. And you know if you do not know English, then you do not know anything.

Experiencing marginalisation in writing research

In this section we focus on the participants' writing practices and textual features in their writing that they felt indexed specific aspects of their identities and therefore contributed to their marginalisation. The choice of textual features was not determined by the researchers but emerged from the interviews with the academics as the features they felt marked them as not belonging to the English-medium academic community. These features include citation practices, the use of 'non-standard' disciplinary terminology, and the use of academic jargon and abbreviations.

Citation practices

Citing as an identity marker

Since citation has the potential to reveal aspects of the writer's identity, such as ethnicity and language(s) used, the participants reported being cautious when deciding what authors to cite in their work. 15 out of the 16 interviewed participants reported having published in Arabic while in Syria; however, they did not believe those publications were valuable outside Syria and were reluctant to cite them when writing for English-medium publication. As Mubarak explained, 'publications in Arabic do not really count'. The participants believed the language they used to disseminate knowledge impacted on how the produced knowledge was received, as Adnan, a social scientist, explains: 'It is less trustworthy when published in Arabic, so I avoid referring to my work that I published in Syria [in Arabic].'

However, Nour, an engineer, thought this problem of 'trust' in research published in Arabic applies even to research conducted outside of Syria as well:

> I published significant work that was conducted at a reputable institute in [a country in the European Union] but the thing is my article was written in Arabic, so it is not to be trusted especially in a field with loads of technological developments.

Fatima, a psychologist, echoing Adnan's point, reported how she published in Arabic but her work was not appreciated, not even locally:

> Even in Syria, people would trust you more if you write in English. They do not understand the language but still they prefer that to Arabic. It is more prestigious and [with a mocking tone] apparently informative when it is in English.

However, some academics changed their perceptions about Arabic-medium publications after a period in exile. For example, when Ahmad, a life scientist, was asked about his publications in Syria in the first interview, he reported that the work he had done in Syria was 'worthless':

> Yes, I published two articles, but they are worthless, and I really do not like to talk about them. I even do not mention them in my C.V. because they are worthless.

However, his perception about the reception of his articles changed over the course of two years, due to his growing experience of co-authoring papers in English-medium international journals (Khuder and Petrić 2022a). Ahmad even started citing the research he conducted in Syria, which was published in 2008 in Arabic. This change was motivated by a desire to promote his work which was 'not read outside of Syria' and to 'establish myself as an old timer in the discipline since I have research that goes back to 2008' and therefore, he cited his Arabic-medium publications. Thus, Ahmad felt confident enough to engage in this citing practice that signalled his ethnicity.

Exiled Syrian academics reported that they had to adjust their citation practices when writing for publication in English. They felt that their original citation practices were not accepted because they indexed vectors of their identity that were not seen as advantageous in the new community. In response, they reported aligning their citation practices with those of their co-authors and potential journal reviewers thus adopting certain aspects of identity they did not possess at the time.

One's ethnicity can be revealed not only by self-citation, which is often hidden from reviewers via manuscript anonymization (but is visible in grant applications), but also via citing other authors in one's work. For example, Nour, when writing for international journals, was asked by his co-author to delete references to non-Western academics. Nour's co-author later added these references after the reviewing stage was over. Nour inferred that 'my co-author [from an Arab country] knows the game very well. Maybe he did not want to show them that we are Arabs, so he added the citations later.'

Amer also used the 'game' metaphor: 'It is only us [academics on the periphery] who need to play this publishing game.' Amer felt that Western academics did not need to hide their identity in a manuscript, which he felt he was only able to do when publishing in a local journal: 'when I published with my Gulf colleagues, we did not have anything to hide. Not our language, the studies we want to cite … It is not international academia, it is White academia'.

Reflecting on the 'white academia', Saeed reported that Western academics do not cite a name that does not sound Western 'in White academia, people won't cite us. Even if they are talking about refugees, they prefer to cite a Western name. They won't cite our names unless they are accompanied by a Western name.'.

Reactions to the participants' textual borrowing

In this section we discuss instances where the participants' co-authors and journal editors pointed to unacceptable textual borrowing in the participants' writing, which was the case with two academics in this study: Ahmad and Amer. Relevant to the discussion here are the implied messages in the co-authors' and/or editors' responses to their unacceptable textual borrowing.

One of Ahmad's co-authored papers submitted to a journal was found to contain sections taken from other sources without proper acknowledgement. The editor's comment on the plagiarised parts of the text was: 'yellow color highlighted portion is showing plagiarism; revise the language of this yellow color highlighted portion'. This comment was placed three times in the text. Ahmad reported that when discussing the editor's comments with his co-author Julia 'she said I know this is OK in your culture but here you need to be careful … what does culture have anything to do with this! It was a mistake I have made and that's it'. Ahmad edited the plagiarised parts of the text by re-voicing them in the passive voice explaining that 'this was and still is my way of avoiding plagiarism'.

Amer experienced the same issue when the editor of a journal where he submitted his paper pointed out that, in Amer's words, 'in our journal we don't allow plagiarism, unlike [the way] this is done in local journals'. The editor's implied message that 'local' i.e. Arabic-medium journals allow dubious textual borrowing is similar to the assumption behind Julia's comment that plagiarism is 'cultural' for Syrian academics rather than an error or a result of a limited linguistic repertoire in English. Instead of this condescending remark and implied value judgement, the editor, in Amer's view, 'should have just pointed the problem out and left it there and I can rephrase'.

Disciplinary terminology

The Syrian academics in the study used discipline-specific terminology that indexed them as outsiders to the international academic community. The main issue was their unfamiliarity with up-to-date terminology in English. Mubarak related this problem to the Arabization of the Syrian educational materials:

> All the terms were translated [into Arabic] and these terms were not updated but rather translated once and then used like the Bible. We did not have access to up-to-date information on the terminology available and now when people talk about a term, we feel we are not following and we are pushed out of the conversation.

Ahmad faced the same challenge. Since his former degrees were in Arabic, 'he knew all the terminology in Arabic and it was difficult for him to learn the English terms in the sense that he did not

know where to find them and how to learn them' (Julia, Ahmad's co-author). Ahmad tried to attend to that by reading articles but 'the articles he had been reading were old, so he started using terms that are no longer used' (Julia). For example, he used 'nutritive value' (Ahmad's draft of his second published text) while the discipline had developed terminology to specify the exact nutritive values, such as 'vitamin, protein, energy value' (Ahmad's second published text). Ahmad had the opportunity to adopt the up-to-date terms relevant to his discipline through collaboration with several academics; however, many of the participants did not have that opportunity. Thus, this discourse feature may function as a subtle mechanism to signal outsiderness and lead to marginalisation because:

> The knowledge of modern English disciplinary terminology is what distinguishes not only an insider from an outsider but also a good insider from other types of insiders, especially in this discipline because the umbrella discipline is agriculture but then it is crucial for us as a sub- discipline to stick to our changing terminology to show how old the discipline is (Julia).

Academic jargon and abbreviations

Another area where exiled academics felt they were being 'pushed out of the conversation' (Mubarak) is the use of abbreviations unfamiliar to the Syrian academics:

> Here [in the UK], academics use abbreviations that are specific to their education culture and I cannot follow. A lot of the time I feel I am not part of the conversation because of this. I feel lost and at times I feel they do this intentionally. (Fatima)

Moreover, some of the commonly used abbreviations are discipline-specific and they project a disciplinary identity and belonging to a disciplinary community, as Julia put it: 'Abbreviations make the discipline. If you use an abbreviation in a discipline, then everyone from your discipline will understand you and that is how we mark our area' (Julia). However, the use of such abbreviations may be opaque to newcomers to an academic community: 'I really did not know what they were talking about at first because of all the abbreviations' (Ahmad). Ahmad started using abbreviations even though he did not think positively of them:

> I was not sure why we do not use the whole word when drafting the first and second articles but when we were going beyond the word limit I thought 'oh, these abbreviations are helpful with that'. (Ahmad, Int.3)

Therefore, even when Ahmad started using abbreviations, they were used mainly for the sake of respecting the word limit but not yet as a marker of his emerging English-medium disciplinary identity. Later in his communications with academics in the UK, Ahmad noticed the abbreviations commonly used by scholars in his discipline, noting that in order to keep up with and participate in the conversations in his discipline on equal footing, he needed to adopt them as they were part of his discipline in the international English-medium academia.

Discussion

This study has examined exiled academics' experiences of marginalisation in three areas: access to academic-related employment, conducting research, and research writing for international publication in English. It has been shown that exiled academics experience marginalisation in all three areas on account of multiple aspects of their identity. Although marginalisation was not the main focus of the larger study of academic literacies development on which the present study draws, it emerged as a key theme in the interviews with the participants, showing that experiencing marginalisation is part and parcel of the lived experiences of exiled academics.

Taking 'being an academic in exile' as the central aspect of the participants' identity, our use of the intersectionality framework has identified multiple other identity dimensions intersecting with the exile experience and contributing to the participants' marginalisation, thus hindering their participation in academia. The interview accounts have revealed ethnicity, gender, age, religion,

familial status and language proficiency (of the language of the host country and/or of English as the global language of international academic publication), and their various intersections, as the most prominent sites of marginalisation in the experiences of being an academic in exile.

For example, female academics' gender has been shown to intersect with their religious beliefs to stand in the way of joining a male dominated academic group (e.g. engineering), as in Fatima's case. Further, complex intersections of female academics' gender, ethnicity, and familial circumstances all contribute to hindering their access to full-time employment due to the lack of family support in the host country and the traditional child-care and housework role of females, as in the case of Suha. Thus, our findings show that the gender identity dimension mattered more as a barrier to academia when the academic is a female, in line with previous research on female academics in non-exile situations (e.g. Neale and Özkanli 2010). None of the male academics mentioned gender as a problematic identity dimension. Nevertheless, familial status did feature prominently in the accounts of male academics with families in our study, intersecting with their migration status in creating obstacles to relocating to other countries in search of academic positions.

Marginalisation due to ethnicity has been reported by most participants, suggesting the existence of racist attitudes in academia. Ethnicity and migration status (being a refugee) resulted in excluding exiled academics from working in specific academic fields, particularly those considered to be more prestigious, as in the case of Mubarak, an economics scholar. When applying for research funding, exiled academics reported how their ethnicity, job title, and restrictions on research-related travel due to their migration status reflected badly on their applications. As regards their research writing, the participants reported it was perceived as less reliable due to the proficiency level of their L2 English and less valuable in terms of academic merit when published in Arabic, making academics avoid citing their own and/or other academics' work published in Arabic when writing for publication in English. This erasure of their Arabic-medium publications not only rendered their previous work invisible but also positioned them as newcomers to their fields despite their previous academic experience. When inappropriate textual borrowing was related to their ethnicity by co-authors and journal editors, who assumed it was the norm in their academic cultures rather than a result of omission or their limited linguistic repertoires in English, exiled academics felt marginalised. These attitudes about exiled academics' citation practices and/or their mastery of English may reflect unconscious stereotypes about their ethnicity, which disadvantage the academics in the publication process despite journal measures aimed at safeguarding researchers from bias, such as anonymisation of manuscripts.

The longitudinal nature of this study revealed a range of trajectories of the academics in exile; while some had completely given up trying to enter academia due to the multiple obstacles they had encountered, others managed to obtain more advantageous academic positions in the course of this study. Although the experiences of marginalisation on the grounds of different aspects of their identity persisted for most participants, some academics' perceptions of their own identities changed considerably, impacting, among others, their research and writing practices. For instance, Ahmad changed his citation practices as he gained confidence and experience in international publishing in English and started to promote his Arabic-medium research by citing it in his English-medium publications (for a more detailed discussion of Ahmad's academic trajectory, see Khuder and Petrić 2022a).

Implications for research and practice

Although this study is based on a small and specific sample of academics participating in the CARA Syria Programme, we believe it has revealed important issues for further research. As previous research looked into refugees' experiences in exile (e.g. Greussing and Boomgaarden 2017; Schweitzer and Steel 2008), it is important to look in more detail into how the various vectors of their identity intersected to result in marginalisation. Our findings also have important implications for refugee support agencies working with academics. For example, the experiences of Syrian exiled

academics, as discussed earlier, suggest that they require a specific type of support. CARA is well aware of that and provides regional support (currently in Turkey, previously in Iraq), which takes into account the specifics of local factors, such as the legal framework for refugees from Syria in the host country. However, to help exiled academics surmount the obstacles they face while trying to continue their academic careers, it is important for support agencies to take into consideration the various vectors of identities of exiled academics and tailor their support to their needs (e.g. childcare support for female academics). As regards research writing, we believe that issues of marginalisation and power dynamics in collaborations between exiled academics and centre-based academics are important to address in dedicated workshops to raise the awareness of both parties of issues that can hinder collaboration (see Khuder and Petrić 2022, for suggested research-based materials and activities for such workshops). We also hope that the voices of exiled academics presented in this study will help raise awareness of journal editors, reviewers, co-authors and the wider academic community of the subtle mechanisms that lead to discrimination of exiled academics and their research, and contribute to more equitable academic publication practices for all.

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ORCID

Baraa Khuder http://orcid.org/0000-0003-2272-2189
Bojana Petrić http://orcid.org/0000-0001-6855-3785

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