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Mutual Aid and Open Access Publishing in Africa: Who Benefits? Specific Reference to Kenya

By Esther K. Obachi¹ and Fred W. Kachero²

Abstract

Purpose – A proper mutual aid partnership in research and publishing is one that bridges the knowledge gap between the developed and developing countries in ways that reduce the inter-regional generational knowledge imbalances. In view of the low purchasing power in developing countries, open access (OA) publishing avails needed reading material for all who have access to the internet. Foreign sponsored researches in developing countries can uplift the living standards of the people in these regions if the results of the findings can influence policy and are availed to the people studied. This study sought to find out if research findings of these are published in OA publications.

Design/methodology/approach – This study conducted a survey on leading local medical research institutions in Kenya using secondary data and interviews with key informants in these institutions.

Findings – The results failed to support the hypothesis that foreign sponsored researches are published in prescribed journals as a prerequisite by the sponsors. The findings instead indicated that local researchers published in international subscription journals because of their desire for prestige and reach. Consequently, the North-South knowledge inequality is perpetuated more by the local elite, whose international recognition overrides social benefits, thereby supporting the hypothesis that foreign funded researches on mutual aid in Kenya result in more private than social benefits.

Practical implications – There is need for the local learned society to embrace a paradigm shift towards building reputable local journals and accept the OA concept.

Originality – To the best knowledge of the authors, this is the first study on this subject in Kenya.

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French Translation of the Abstract

But - Un partenariat approprié d'aide mutuelle dans la recherche et la publication est celui qui comble le fossé des connaissances entre les pays développés et en développement de manière à réduire les déséquilibres inter-régionaux générationnels des connaissances. Compte tenu du faible pouvoir d'achat dans les pays en développement, l'édition en libre accès (Open Access) répond à un besoin de matériel de lecture pour tous ceux qui ont accès à l'internet. Des recherches dans les pays en développement qui ont été financées par l'étranger peuvent améliorer le niveau de vie des populations dans ces régions à condition que les résultats peuvent influencer la politique et qu'ils sont disponibles à la population étudiée. Cette étude a cherché à savoir si les résultats des recherches de ces derniers sont publiés dans des revues en libre accès.

Idée / méthodologie / approche - Cette étude a mené une enquête sur les principales institutions locales de recherche médicale du Kenya en utilisant des données secondaires et des entretiens avec des informateurs clés dans ces institutions.

Résultats - Les résultats ne soutiennent pas l'hypothèse que les recherches parrainées par l'étranger sont publiées dans des revues prescrites par les commanditaires. Les résultats indiquent que les chercheurs locaux, en raison de leur désir de prestige et de portée, ont publié dans des revues internationales de souscription. Par conséquent, l'inégalité des connaissances Nord-Sud se perpétue par l'élite locale, dont la reconnaissance internationale l'emporte sur les avantages sociaux, appuyant ainsi l'hypothèse que des chercheurs particuliers bénéficient plus de la société des recherches financées par l'étranger au Kenya.

Implications pratiques - Il est nécessaire que la société savante locale procède à un changement de paradigme vers la construction des revues locales de renom et l'acceptation du concept de libre accès.

Originalité - À la connaissance des auteurs, cette étude est la première sur ce sujet au Kenya.

1 Introduction

Research and knowledge development are needed for nations to achieve desired socio-economic developments. It is not easy for countries to achieve and sustain high levels of prosperity without investing and exploiting research. Ways and means by which knowledge is generated and disseminated has a bearing on its impact on the development of countries. For majority of countries in the developing world, existing knowledge production and dissemination systems are inadequate to deal with rapidly changing patterns of development. This, if compounded with a skewed publishing system that has important studies in the developing countries in high-impact journals whose accessibility is highly limited to these countries, can only further aggravate the global knowledge-divide.

The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) - the grouping of rich industrialized countries - accounts for roughly 85 per cent of Global Expenditure on Research and Development (GERD). India, China and the East Asian NICs (Newly Industrialized Countries) account for 10 per cent; and the rest of the world for 5 per cent. Latin America & the Caribbean, Africa and Oceania make modest contribution to GERD - approximately 2.9, 1.1 and 0.6 respectively. In the Latin America & Caribbean, about half of the estimated research and development (R&D) can be attributed to Brazil. South Africa accounts for a similar share in Africa. The Arab states contribution to GERD is 0.2 per cent, with nearly 85 per cent of overall Arab GERD being performed in seven countries during the late 1990s: Egypt, Jordan, Kuwait, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Tunisia. The remaining 15 states of the Arab League together account for the 15 per cent (Westholm, Tchatchoua & Tindemans, 2004).

This shows that there is very little budgetary allocation for research and development in developing countries. Consequently, most countries from the South look to the North for research funding. The North also has a stake in carrying out research in the South (e.g. on tropical diseases). This results into partnerships between the Northern countries, their institutions and the South. Many of these research partnerships are on mutual aid and can bridge interregional generational gaps.

In studying research processes based on mutual agreement, this study looked at all partnerships that could be based on:

- Bilateral mechanisms
- Multilateral mechanisms (e.g. UNDP, the World Bank, European Community etc.)
- Nongovernmental organizations such as private foundations and international societies
- International support for specific activity

The study focused on major medical research institutions in Kenya. These institutions are the most internationally recognized ones in the country in the medical research field. Therefore, they could portray the general trend of medical research funding and publishing.

2 Theoretical Background and Hypothesis

2.1 Research and Publishing in Africa

Research may be defined as the human activity directed at the advancement of knowledge, where knowledge is of two roughly separable sorts: facts or data observed in reproducible experiments (usually, but not always, quantitative data) and theories or relationships between facts (usually, but not always, equations) (Nelson, 1959). It has been predicted that knowledge will become the basic economic resource of this century (Drucker, 1993). Most of Africa lags behind other regions in conducting and publishing research (Volmink & Dare, 2005). Inequalities in research contribute to inequalities in the living standards. These inequalities are a function of the technological control that elites have at their disposal (Julien, 1997). Zegeye & Vambe (2006) have noted that the production of

knowledge implicates and is implicated by power relations which has resulted in knowledge production and publishing in Africa to be dominated by Western powers whose interests do not serve the continent. This is because the pool of knowledge and technological sophistication, which the Western experts have, can be used to dominate.

Although research contributes immensely to economic growth (as noted by Martin, *et al.*, 1996) by increasing the stock of knowledge, training skilled graduates, creating new scientific instrumentation and methodologies, stimulating social interaction, and increasing the capacity for scientific and technological problem-solving, Said (1973) has observed that Western powers, using their local agents (usually the local elites) in developing countries, have been able to develop cultural and political institutions where knowledge production exists with supporting vocabulary, scholarship, imagery and doctrines to justify the mental conquest of Africans and to make statements, authorize views, and describe and teach those over whom they (Westerners) exercise their hegemony. It can therefore be argued that, knowledge production ó which is a result of human intellectual efforts - can be used in the service of liberation (Freire, 1976) or for the domination of ordinary people by the elites (Zegeye & Vambe, 2006). In this respect, it can further be argued that knowledge production in Africa has become an institution with sites at universities, in civil organizations and in commissioned research institutes with people being paid to produce certain types of knowledge. Consequently, knowledge is now a commodity which is traded in the academic market place for profit. This in turn has made African publishing to be a populariser of other people's knowledge in the continent with local publishers working with international capital and being at the forefront of knowledge production that tends to undermine the interests of the locals.

As such, despite some expansion in publishing in Africa in recent years, it does not always mean that those knowledge systems being popularized are in the interests of African people. Moreover, it has been noted that Western experts on Africa residing in European institutions determine who reads what and often give advice that undermines Africa's quest to enhance her knowledge production (Zegeye & Vambe, 2006).

This is compounded where in a partnership the supplier-side takes responsibility of publishing research findings. For example, Bhagavan (1992) noted that Northern partners assumed that it was their responsibility to produce the major part of the research carried out in the South in papers in international journals, conferences proceedings and books.

Considering that most publishing in a number of developing countries is in foreign hands, with very small sections of locals having control of what is published (Zegeye & Vambe, 2006), Africa finds itself largely disadvantaged.

Besides, authors in the South look for recognition and reach and are more likely to be tempted to publish in a journal with higher international standing than in a local journal, however relevant the study may be to the locals (Esanu & Uhler, 2004). Zegeye & Vambe (2006) note that although it is

cheaper to publish in Africa, quite a good number of African authors prefer to publish with Euro-American publishers, not only for the purpose of validating their knowledge, but also to market their work. When their works are marketed from Europe and America to Africa, they tend to be expensive because of the low value of African currencies against the Western currencies. Against a backdrop of poor purchasing ability of the published material by Africans, the North controls, produces and markets the -African work in the global flow of knowledge in ways that perpetuate the unequal access to knowledge in the global village. This practice ends up being private benefit to the author while disregarding the local publishers and community.

2.2 Mutual Aid

Nelson *et al.* (1998) have argued that mutual aid should share four values in common: empowerment; supportive relationship; social change; and learning as an ongoing process. If mutual aid is to be beneficial from a research standpoint, then there should be participatory action research, which Stringer (1996) has stated should be democratic (i.e. enabling the participation of stakeholders); equitable (i.e. acknowledging people's equality of worth, fair and just); liberating (i.e. freeing from oppressive conditions) and; life-enhancing (i.e. giving opportunity for the expression of people's full potential). Research that is based on proper mutual agreement should help empower those with little or no power to control their lives, or to amplify their voices or expand their choices (Ristock & Pennell, 1996). Control and ownership over the research process and findings, therefore, should be shared among all participants. In this way, the researchers must *ölet goö*, and permit more engagement with participants (Nelson *et al.*, 1998).

Rip (2001) has observed that knowledge production involves two basic processes: 1) translating local problem definition to more generalized knowledge, and 2) translating the results from generalized knowledge back to local contexts so that it can be matched to circumstances. Therefore, for mutual aid in research and publishing to be more equitable, institutions involved in knowledge production, capacity building and knowledge utilization should be well integrated.

Research excellence should not only be judged by its academic excellence, but also by its contribution to overall solution of problems (Gibbons *et al.*, 1994). It should, therefore, increase stakeholder participation and contribute to social change (Stoecker & Bonacich, 1992). It should acknowledge the voices and expertise of ordinary people, and involve them in identifying collective problems and in designing and conducting studies (Stoecker, 1999). If this be the case, the question of relevance is adequately addressed and participants end up implementing recommendations of their own research (Crossley & Broadfoot, 1992).

However, the strategic importance of international partnership in order to access specialist expertise cannot be ignored. There is much to be gained through such collaborative approaches owing to the interconnectedness of local and global agendas, in addition to insiders being afforded an opportunity to tap external expertise (Crossley & Broadfoot, 1992).

2.3 North-South Research Partnerships

In a global society where knowledge ownership provides enormous economic advantage, North-South research and publishing collaboration could provide an avenue for mutual advantage. Nonetheless, the opposite - widening the disparity between North and South - is also likely. Similarly, exploitation of the resources of the lesser advantaged partner without benefitting them may perpetuate the disparities more. From the Wikileaks, it has come to light that the US has been pushing for agreement that gives her researchers and companies easy access to Kenya's genetic resources. In 2005, the civil society in Kenya publicized a number of bio-piracy (theft of genetic material) cases (Daily Nation, 2005). For example, Genencor, a US biotechnology firm was accused of improperly accessing a type of bacteria from Lake Bogoria and Nakuru, which was later used for the manufacture of chemicals used to soften and fade denim jeans. The chemicals manufactured by Genencor were initially derived from bacteria taken from Kenyan lakes without permission and without Kenya benefitting from the discovery (Daily Nation, 2011). There should be protocols that ensure that source and/or origin countries benefit from full disclosure and adequate compensation for the exploitation of their natural resources.

The push between powerful localizing and globalizing forces mean that local issues cannot be understood without reference to the global context. Conversely, global problems cannot be realistically considered without an understanding of local priorities and agendas (Crossley & Holmes, 2001). While the research and knowledge needs in the South often differ from those of the North, there is much to demonstrate that international development assistance organizations and Northern inspired agendas have a dominant influence on policies and research worldwide (Crossley & Broadfoot, 1992). Questions worth asking with respect to knowledge generation are: who are involved and whose agendas are prioritized? How does the interaction between North-South research partnerships take place and contribute to knowledge production and capacity building? How are the outcomes of the research used by policy-makers and other stakeholders (Baud, 2000)?

Partly because of the dependence of their economies on world markets, and partly due to the limited human and material resources available to analyze interrelations between local, regional and global contexts, developing countries' research and publishing are vulnerable to international agendas and to the transfer of external research paradigms, methodologies and priorities.

Gibbons (1994) has observed that in the North-South cooperation, the choice of topics at the programme levels is determined with the supply-side interests in mind. The alternative way of setting research agendas, he points out, is through the broader community defining problems which need research to solve them. This requires researchers to look across disciplines and work together with local communities i.e. being socially accountable. The latter permits engagement with the diversity of communities in the South as well as interactive consultations with Southern partners that lead to informed political choices on whose voice to give priority.

Research capacity refers to the capacity of a whole research system to set its own priorities, and to design a research programme and policy accordingly (Wils, 1995). This includes development research, human resource development, institutions, research capacity and the capacity to set and execute national research priorities. Therefore, research capacity enhancing programmes should take into account and build on existing research systems in the particular country. International research fellowship programmes have the ability to enhance research capacity though they also have potential for brain drain if the graduates do not return to their countries. Institutions can link together through networking (with institutions working together in the same field being linked in what is referred to as *horizontal linkage* or linking institutions working together on different aspects of the same problem or related field, referred to as *vertical linkage*) as such links to information networks support access to international databases and literature and training works (Wils, 1995).

Volmink & Dare (2005) argue rightly that collaboration in research may be one of strengthening research capacity in less privileged countries, given the unequal power relations between rich and poor nations. Knowledge producing systems need to be developed and extended in countries in the South (capacity building) and become more integrally linked to international research workers and become full partners in knowledge accumulation and international exchanges. Research partnerships should emphasize the process of collective knowledge generation with the extra advantage of bringing comparative and cross-cultural perspectives to bear on local situations.

This collaboration, however, poses certain risks. Research with, rather than in or about Africa, should be the underpinning goal. This, Crossley & Broadfoot (1992) observe, demands joint working agendas for research and mutual respect for countries' priorities, values and choices, and partnerships that are transparent showing what each side brings and benefits. In this case, North-South partnerships should be negotiated without perpetuating further imbalances in power, decision making and consequent outcome, and, as Castillo (1997) points out, by shunning 'unhealthy' partnerships i.e. those conceived, initiated and directed by the relatively affluent partner. Unhealthy partnerships result in the Northern partner often taking advantage of its relatively powerful position by setting research topics, agendas and strategies, and by inappropriately shifting research paradigms from one context to another. This way, the partnership is used to legitimize new forms of dependency, perpetuating existing imbalanced power relations (Crossley & Broadfoot, 1992).

In some cases, the 'partnership' is conditional on potential partners having a 'clear commitment' to meet certain goal *set by* the sponsoring organization. Predetermined conditions for partnership illustrates the danger that potential partners in the South could be excluded from determining the terms of the partnership itself. If partnerships are conceived and initiated primarily by Northern agencies and personnel, then relationships are likely to be structured on the basis of existing power relations (Crossley & Broadfoot, 1992).

It is due to these shortcomings that some, such as Costello & Zumla (2000), have suggested that research led by expatriates should be phased out and replaced by a partnership model in which

nationals lead research projects, with only technical support from outsiders. If research in and with developing countries is to strengthen their research capacity, then it requires mutual respect, honesty and openness. The partners must communicate effectively and must be prepared to commit themselves to a long-term involvement. Besides, research relevant to development should be visible and palpable for the local community as well as the results of the research being put into practice (KFPE, 1998). It should address the knowledge-gap between North and South as this in turn creates mutually reinforcing activities (King, 1991). Research programmes sponsored on mutual basis should ensure that they reflect the societal and research needs of the South, more so those whose needs are not prioritized by the powers that be. Besides, determination of research priorities should be inclusive of wider variety of stakeholders in agenda-setting. Modalities through which mutual agreement are built up between North and South should be more interactive in addition to developing analysis on the outcomes of different types of research partnerships to reflect whether there was sufficient interaction, whether it solidified research capacity in the South, cumulative knowledge acquisition by partners in the South and access to knowledge produced.

But if, as Gaillard (2001) points out that financing of private sector international research is skewed, and its results withheld from the public domain by publishing the research findings in inaccessible publications, then the studies' findings may not have the intended impact.

2.4 Open Access (OA)³ vs Subscription Publishing

Most authors accept the concept of Open access (OA) even if only a few have submitted their works in these journals (Schroter, Tite and Smith, 2005). OA has been defined by Schroter, Tite and Smith (2005) as the free provision of journal content online with the production of this content being funded by means other than subscription. OA refers to the literature that is digital, online, free of charge for everyone that has internet connectivity, and free of most copyright and licensing restrictions. Included under OA are open access journals and e-prints repositories which make the full text of scholarly articles freely available to everyone on the open internet.

The origin of OA is linked to the researchers' need to write articles for impact, not money. Financing of the publications under this arrangement is through various means including authors' contributions to the cost of publishing (author charges), research funders or authors' institution or through institutional membership which offer exemption from charges to institutional members.

OA has two major advantages of reducing the cost of publication and increasing the scope of distribution. OA increases usage and impact by adding those users who would otherwise been unable

³ Open access (OA) can be looked at in two ways: (a) OA journals which makes published journal articles immediately freely available on the Web site, made possible by charges paid by the author, and (b) Self-archiving where the article is published in the traditional journal where access is subject to subscription but the article is made available on the author's personal or institutional Web sites (which may include repositories or archives).

to access the journal because they could not afford access-tolls (Harnad & Brody, 2004). However, concerns have been raised by authors about OA journal publishing. This includes fears that publishing in OA journals may adversely affect the chances of the authors winning research grants. The other concern is that it may also negatively affect the potential impact of their work. Besides, Schroter, Tite and Smith (2005) found that many authors were not aware of the journals that published with open access. The authors were also concerned about the quality of journals that published in OA.

Traditionally, however, journal publishing is based on subscription charges to readers. Major disadvantages with this method include restrictive access to knowledge and, sometimes, unjustified profits for publishers (Schroter, Tite and Smith, 2005). Nevertheless, Swan & Brown (2004) found that many authors who publish in restrictive journals do so because they perceive OA journals in their field to be of low impact and less prestigious. Besides, they were not familiar enough with OA journals and perceived the readership of OA journals to be small compared to subscription journals.

Whether OA journals have more citations compared to subscription journals is not within the purview of this study. Suffice to state that journals are termed as high impact when they are highly cited. The opposite is the case for low impact journals. For example an outbreak of an epidemic has the consequence of studies on the disease being cited highly because it is a current medical problem. Hence, journal articles in this area will be highly cited during the time of the epidemic (Lewison, 2003) elevating the status of the journal into high-impact one. As to which journals to be cited most during the period of the epidemic ó whether they are OA or closed access ó the ongoing studies in this area will probably lent conclusive evidence.

Of importance, therefore, is the value and cost-effectiveness of research evaluated on the basis of the influence such studies have on policy and practice, which could be a function of the type of media chosen. If research is perceived to be inaccessible or irrelevant, then it is not justifiable. OA publications tend to avail information easily to users and therefore impacting on their lives, making them able to give impact. Knowledge generated from research becomes important for policy makers and end-users only when it is available and accessible.

The emerging international trends where there is interactive research partnerships with relatively free exchanges of knowledge and experience and access of knowledge of researchers in both North and South is quite healthy; but it can be undermined by increased privatization of knowledge, which can also threaten development processes. OA, therefore, increases free exchange of knowledge, underpinning what Stiglitz (1999) pointed out: knowledge from research should remain part of the global public goods system.

In their study, Swan & Brown (2004) found that the principle of free access to articles afforded by OA was an important consideration for those authors who had chosen to publish their articles in OA journals. The other important factors were the faster publication times and the perceived larger

readership compared to subscription journals. Relatively important was that the authors believed that they would be cited more frequently. Besides, the authors were concerned their institutions were incurring high costs for them in order to publish in traditional journals.

Despite these advantages, OA may also be restrictive; such as in the case where the vast majority of archives in OA are based in the North. This scenario has the potential for perpetuating access and use problems in the South. For example, the Botswana HIV Institution partnership with Harvard University in which the Harvard houses the data and the Botswana Institution not only lacks control over the data but is also not guaranteed access in the future (Esanu & Uhler, 2004). This buttresses our hypothesis that the channels for communication of research findings are determined by the power relations that structure these channels.

2.5 Private vs. Social Benefits of Research and Publishing

Costello & Zumla (2000) lament that current research practices in developing countries supported by foreign funding agencies remain semi-colonial in nature and ignore issues like ownership, sustainability and development of research capacity. Examples of this semi-colonial practices include the ‘parachutes research’ whereby researchers travel to developing countries for short periods of time and take back biological samples. The results of the research are published with minimal representation from the developing countries. There are also cases where ‘annexed sites’ for field research led and managed by expatriates, which, while they have resulted into important innovations, they have also attracted promising academics from their national institutions, and the findings of their researches are less likely to be translated into policy and practice in their countries. Therefore, the implementation of proved interventions in developing countries is not effected.

It is owing to this that we are of the opinion that local researchers linked to foreign research institutions collaborate in carrying out research in developing countries whose findings are published in subscription journals in the North. Although the benefits of the research findings would accrue best to the locals, foreign research institutions publish in chosen journals for capital and disregard the need to have the findings availed to end-users negating the ultimate purpose of the study, which is impacting policy and instituting change among the affected locals. The primary motivation for local researchers is usually recognition and the emoluments occasioned by the studies. This way, the private benefits of the foreign research institutions supersede the definitive purpose of the study ó that of the research findings being utilized to effect remedial actions. Similarly, the benefits ensuing to local researchers who carry out the studies on behalf of the foreign sponsors surpass their desire for the researches to benefit the society. Bearing in mind that the purchasing ability in developing countries is limited, good sense would require publishing of such findings in OA ó especially in developing countries - where the affected locals and policy makers would access. In the circumstances that this probability is low, it can be deduced that the private benefits (to both partnering local researchers and sponsors) of foreign supported researches in developing countries are

more than their social benefits and this is not what would behave a proper mutual aid arrangement and for inter-regional generational transfer of knowledge.

2.6 Research Questions

In this paper, we hypothesized that, foreign sponsored researches (fsr) publish the findings of their studies carried out in developing countries in subscription journals (sj) published in developed countries. We also hypothesized that, mutual aid in research (ma) does not therefore help in benefitting the communities (bc) in which the research is being carried out but has more private benefits to the researchers and the foreign institutions that sponsor the researches. Consequently, we deduced, that the private benefits (pb) of foreign funded researches are greater than the social benefits (sb) of the studies.

H0: $fsr=sj$

H0: $ma \nless bc$

Therefore, $pb>sb$

3 Methodologies

The research was carried out in three leading medical research institutions in Nairobi; namely, the University of Nairobi's (UoN) College of Health Sciences, Kenya Medical Research Institute (KEMRI); and Kenyatta University's (KU) School of Health Sciences through a survey. Foreign funded researches in the last twenty four months in these institutions were identified and the publications in which the studies were eventually published categorized as either OA or Subscription Journal (SJ). Those published in OA but still maintained some restriction, albeit minimal, such as requiring inter-linkages or accesses to certain nationalities only were also identified. Interviews were held with key researchers picked on the basis of available records and willingness to give an interview.

3.1 Sample

Leading medical research institutions were sampled as they have the greatest research input in Kenya and therefore more likely to represent a truer picture of foreign funded studies. Thus, purposive sampling was used to pick the University of Nairobi's College of Health Sciences, Kenyatta University's School of Health Sciences, and the Kenya Medical Research Institute (KEMRI).

3.2 Data Collection

Data about the foreign sponsored researches were collected from the institutions. Researches for a period 24 months and the publications in which they were finally published or had been submitted to for publishing were identified. Interviews with key informants based on their availability and willingness to be interviewed were carried out to add more understanding and insight on the studies. Data were then tabulated and analysed to arrive at findings.

4. Findings

We had hypothesized that foreign funded research in developing countries end up being published by the sponsors in subscription journals in developed countries. During the period studied, the results posted from the three institutions showed otherwise. From January 2009 to January 2011, twenty four (24) researches had been conducted at KEMRI through foreign funding, 17 at the University of Nairobi's College of Health Sciences and 13 at Kenyatta University's School of Health Sciences resulting in a total of 54 researches. These researches were funded by different foreign sponsors.

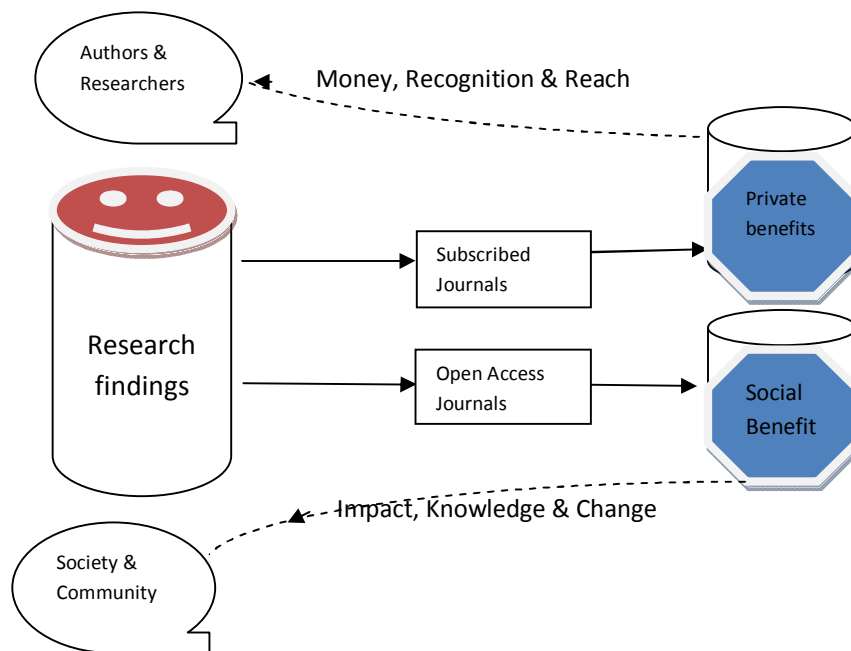
The result showed that only 7 of the studies (6.4%) had their research agenda set up by their sponsoring organization. The rest of the researches (93.6%) had been granted to local institutions or solicited by local researchers who set the agenda with peripheral or no reference to the sponsoring institutions. The individual local researchers or institutions were left to organize all other processes ostensibly with local mechanisms. Regarding how the researches were initiated, the results indicated that 71% of the researches were carried out through grants that were awarded after proposal solicitation. Only 29% of the researches in these institutions in the last two years were based on researcher initiatives. The results also indicated that 21.2% of the sponsoring organizations are in some way networked with the local research institutions with 7.9% of them being fully networked i.e. with full access to the foreign institutions' research work. The rest (78.8%) were not networked. Fifty one percent (51%) of the institutions had international research fellowships with the local institutions while 49% did not.

Of the completed research, 45% had been published while 55% had been submitted awaiting publishing. The results indicated that 77% of the published studies were in subscription journals and book chapters, while 23% were in OA. As to whose decision it was to publish in either of the journals, the results showed that in all cases, the individual researchers or team of researchers decided – not the sponsoring institutions – except where the sponsoring institutions were from the United States which emphasized that study results must be published in OA publications.

On the choice of journals in which to publish their researches, the study indicated that there was no requirement by the sponsors to publish in any particular journal. All the interviewed 100% individual researchers from all the local institutions who had been sponsored by foreign organizations stated that they always chose journals using relevance as a factor followed by the impact factor. When asked whether they knew if these journals were OA or not, 35% indicated that they did not know. Indeed one researcher indicated that she had published a book chapter by Elsevier but was not able to access the book when she was called for interview. This forced her to buy it.

The other reasons that were given for choosing foreign subscription publications were prestige and recognition, which they explained that publishing in highly rated journals implied that the research was of better quality. This is because whenever they go for interviews for promotion or new jobs, the interviewers rated their published work in these journals higher than other works in other journals. Thirty four (34%) of the researchers indicated that they chose to publish in foreign subscription journals because there are no local journals in their discipline and establishing a quality journal locally was too much a job for them to undertake. They argued that quality journals need a lot of input like identifying reviewers and attracting enough quality articles regularly. The remaining (66%) published in foreign journals out of choice. This, they said was due to lack of quality local journals in their disciplines as well as the lead time to publication in local journals.

An Illustration of Mutual Aid Benefits



5. Conclusions and Discussions

This study indicates that foreign funded research findings in Kenya are published mainly in subscription journals in the developed countries, not as a pre-requisite by the sponsors but by choice from local researchers. The foreign sponsors leave it to the local researchers to decide where the research findings would be published. Local researchers conducting studies in Kenya opt to publish in subscription journals for prestige, to gain recognition and for higher ratings for jobs and future researches. Local researchers believe that publishing in high ranking journals validates and markets their work. It is therefore true that the private benefits of the researchers supersede the social benefits as the researchers' motivations are personal. For this reason, it can safely be concluded that, while it

is conditional to communicate the findings to the government, the researchers' main interest is to have their publications in internationally recognized journals. One of the main contributors to this scenario where the sponsors leave all the agenda setting and conduct of the research and eventual publication to the local researchers could be the much publicized Swiss guidelines for research in partnership with developing countries. In the guidelines, eleven principles were outlined as a reference point in partnering with the developing countries in research (KFPE, 1998) in which the sponsors were advised against the tight control over the studies they funded. Nevertheless, the scenario where the local authors opt for foreign journals to publish their work against a backdrop of low purchasing ability and poor reading habits among locals only perpetuates inequality in access of knowledge and information. This portrays the local authors as being hired by foreigners without being compelled. This perpetuates the imbalanced power relations and exacerbates knowledge dependency.

It is notable that US research sponsoring institutions in Kenya insist that the research findings be published in OA. Kenyan researchers, we have noted, are not keen to publish in OA for the various reasons already stated above, one of which is the lead time to publication of the findings. This is a view opposed to what came out in the literature in which authors who preferred OA did so for reasons that included the speed with which their works were published as compared to subscription journals. The implication of this is that there are fewer studies in Kenya and/or those that need publication are submitted to international subscription journals. A need arises for credible local journals and a paradigm shift to nationalistic fervour similar to the independence struggles towards finding favour for local journals. Establishment of African journals akin to the defunct African Writers Series (AWS) to promote African knowledge building and generation can add tremendously to local authors' abilities.

Most of the institutions that sponsor the research work in Kenya are not networked with the local institutions. As such, there is no access to the sponsoring institutions' research work. This undermines the quest for building lasting partnerships befitting mutual aid arrangement and which can also reduce inter-regional generational knowledge gaps. However, most of the local institutions have research fellowships with foreign research sponsoring institutions which is a great boost to local institutions' research building capacities.

In taking the Kenyan context in perspective, we conclude that the inter-regional generational knowledge gap that pits the South against the North and in which the latter fares favourably is not aggravated by policy and power advantage set by the North; but more so by the individual researchers in the South whose need for private benefit overshadows societal benefits. This has the consequence of perpetuating the knowledge gap between the North and the South. Granted that the North is already technologically superior, some knowledge advantage is inherently assured. However, there are apparent changes in policy regarding research with the South among the Northerners, geared towards a proper mutual agreement beneficial to both, which individual Southern researchers and

their institutions are yet to take advantage of. A positional and attitudinal shift towards reassessing and reasserting the benefits of research and their findings to the communities would reap dividends accruing from research based on mutual aid.

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