The Landscape of Scholarly Publishing in Morocco

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Abstract

This article explores the current state of scholarly publishing in Morocco, shedding light on the historical and systemic issues affecting the field. Over the past twenty years, Moroccan universities have made strides in advancing scientific research. Nevertheless, the scholarly publishing landscape is marked by significant challenges, including limited journal indexing, poor distribution networks, and insufficient funding. By analyzing bibliometric data, conducting interviews with key stakeholders, and reviewing grey literature from national research organizations, the article offers a detailed assessment of Morocco's research environment. It traces the historical evolution of scholarly publishing from pre-colonial times through colonial periods to the present, with a focus on influential journals like Hespéris-Tamuda. The study highlights persistent issues such as inadequate financial resources, governance problems, and irregular journal publications. It calls for comprehensive reforms to enhance the sustainability, visibility, and impact of Moroccan academic research, advocating for a more collaborative and robust research ecosystem.

Keywords

Scholarly publishing, Hespéris-Tamuda, scientific research, university presses, knowledge production, Morocco

Introduction

The Moroccan university system has undergone two decades of transformation, as it seeks to improve its capacity for scientific research and to ensure that the economic and social impact of that research benefits Moroccan society. Morocco has 12 public universities with 1.3 million students, supported by 15,880 university professors. In 2021, as El Aroui (this issue) notes, authors affiliated to Moroccan universities published more than 11,000 papers. Yet bibliometric research conducted by the Al Saoud Foundation, which catalogues literature and works in humanities and social sciences published in Morocco, reveals the constraints faced by university

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presses and Moroccan publishers working in these fields¹. According to its 2024 report on the publishing and book sector, there were only 127 Moroccan university press publications from 2022 to 2023, and only 191 books published on the humanities and social sciences (Al Saoud Foundation, 2023). Only 3 Moroccan scientific journals are currently indexed in Scopus. In the words of Mohammed Sghir Janjar (2017), former executive vice-president of Al Saoud Foundation, "Moroccan academics have a low publication rate: 47.5% have only published one text over a span of 17 years, while less than 5% have published more than 17 texts (equivalent to one per year)" and that often this single text was either their thesis or a scientific article or an article for the general public². Indeed, university presses face challenges in distribution and have limited commercial exposure outside of events like the International Book and Publishing Fair, where universities can exhibit their publications³. This year, three universities⁴ and three faculties⁵ took part in this fair. Exploring alternative distribution channels becomes crucial in a challenging book market, especially for scientific books that struggle with traditional distribution networks.

The fragility of the scientific publishing sector in Morocco is indicative of major dysfunctions in the country's scientific research system. Morocco allocates only 0.75% of its GDP to scientific research and innovation with the private sector contributing less than 0.22% of GDP. The question of funding is not the only missing piece of the puzzle. After Morocco gained independence, the main role of universities was not focused on generating scientific knowledge, but rather on supplying the state with necessary professionals. It was only in the early 2000s, with the implementation of reforms in Moroccan universities introducing the Bologna-derived "LMD" degree system, that attention was paid to scientific research.

Despite the increasing awareness of the importance of scientific research in Morocco, its universities do not feature in global university rankings. The growing international focus on scientific research has led to a growing emphasis on achieving excellence in research, which is predominantly assessed through global university rankings. This has led to what Hazelkorn (2007) referred to as a "gladiator obsession" regarding the positions held by national universities in these rankings (Sutz, 2020). The "dictatorship of excellence" is amplified by global ranking systems that establish comparisons between universities, as well as indicators such as Webometrics, which measure the visibility of universities and their scientific output. This global scientific system counts the publication of scientific articles and their impact factors are becoming the new determinants of the scientific publishing economy (Kraemer-Mbula et al., 2020).

In this article, I will explore the overall landscape of research in Morocco, and by extension, that of scholarly publishing. To achieve this, I will begin with the history of research in humanities in colonial and postcolonial Morocco, with a particular focus on the changing fortunes of one influential history journal – *Hepéris-Tamuda*. Then, I will focus on the stakeholders and infrastructures within the contemporary publishing ecosystem before returning to the challenges faced by researchers and publishers.

The data used for this analysis comes from a continent-wide research project "Strengthening the State of Scholarly Publishing in Africa" conducted between February 2021 and June 2022 by the Institute for Humanities in Africa (HUMA) in collaboration with LASPAD at Gaston Berger University, and with funding from the Open Society Foundation (OSF). Initially, I carried out 12 semi-structured interviews with publishers (3), editors-in-chief of scientific journals (5) and policy-makers (4). My questions, depending on the profile of the interviewee, covered the following points: research and

- 1 Available at http://www.fondation.org.ma/assets/upload//art_694/Rapport_Latin_2022-2023.pdf
- 2 Interview, September 2021, conducted with Mohammed Janjar, via WhatsApp.
- 3 Interview, January 3, 2022 conducted with the founder of the Moroccan publishing house En toutes lettres.
- 4 The University of Abdelmalek Essaadi (Tetouan), the university Hassan II (Casabalanca), the University of Mohammed V (Rabat).
- 5 Faculty of law, economics and social sciences (Marrakech), faculty of languages, arts and humanities (Agadir) Faculty of Arts and Humanities (Agadir).
- 6 Licence Master Doctorat (Bachelor, masters, doctorate).
- 7 The aim was to produce new knowledge on African scholarly publishing, independent publishers and the dissemination of research outputs. The project saw publishers' contribution to the ongoing debate on African knowledge production as a critical component for sustainable development and change. The research sought to generate empirically-based insights on scholarly publishing and dissemination in the African continent, collecting data through interviews, grey literature, podcasts, and seminars to provide evidence for rethinking current policies on publishing.

publishing funding, journal quality control mechanisms (stakeholders and procedures), digital publishing, open access, university presses, scientific research governance, and the challenges faced by each stakeholder in their sector. Secondly, I utilized data from the grey literature focusing on scholarly publishing and the publishing industry in Morocco. This included reports from the King Abdul-Aziz al Saoud Foundation of Casablanca regarding publishing and books in Morocco, which details Moroccan contributions in the humanities, social sciences, and literature sourced from the Foundation's databases. Additionally, I drew upon findings from two evaluative studies conducted by the Conseil Supérieur de l'Éducation, de la Formation et de la Recherche Scientifique (CSEFRS): one published in 2022, which assessed scientific and technological research in Morocco, and another published in 2018, which examined the doctoral cycle in the country. These diverse sources provide a comprehensive view of the research and publishing landscape in Morocco, shedding light on both its achievements and the challenges that lie ahead.

The History of Scholarly Publishing and Research in Morocco

Before the arrival of printing technology, book production in precolonial Morocco revolved around manuscripts created by scribes and scholars. From 1864 onward, the Moroccan government asserted control over printing, understanding its importance as a tool to serve the political and religious objectives of the sultans (Abdulrazak, 1990). Historian Germain Ayach notes that printing in precolonial Morocco upheld tradition, unlike its role in modernization seen in Lebanon, Egypt, or Turkey (Ayach, 1964). The increasing availability of printed books gradually diminished the traditional memorization-based education system, prompting publishers to concentrate on innovating ideas and exploring new forms of expression until Morocco became a French and Spanish protectorate in 1912 (Abdulrazak, 1990).

During the colonial period, the Spanish protectorate created "centros de investigación" or research institutes in the north of Morocco, encouraging the emergence and production of knowledge. In this framework, publishing expanded with the establishment of El Instituto Jalifiano Muley el Hassan in 1937, El Centro de Estudios Marroquíes in 1938, and El Instituto General Franco in 1938 led to the publication of several books (Abrighach, 2023). At the same time, the French administration established "exploration institutes" to facilitate the production of scientific knowledge (Kleiche and Waast 2008). In the field of social sciences and humanities, the Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines was established in 1920 under Lyautey, the French Resident General in Morocco. Its purpose was to promote scientific research on Morocco, disseminate understanding of Moroccan languages and civilization, and additionally, to prepare candidates for specific higher education and professional exams (Kleiche, 2000). In 1921, the institute launched the journal Hespéris in Rabat. The journal's focus was on publishing historical and geographical studies, unpublished documents, reviews, and new publications concerning Morocco and the wider Muslim West. Under colonial rule, there was a particular interest in the Muslim West, especially Andalusia. Consequently, the articles published during this period primarily addressed studies related to Morocco and the Maghreb region, with occasional coverage of West African countries (Hamdaoui, 2021). By 1959, Hepéris had published a total of 47 volumes.

Another journal, *Tamuda*: *Revista de investigaciones marroquíes* was established by the Spanish protectorate in northern Morocco in Tetouan in 1953 under the leadership of Tomás García Figueras, who served as Delegate of Education and Culture (Abrighach, 2023). This scientific publication drew its inspiration for content and format from contemporary scientific journals of the era, such as *Hespéris* in Rabat, *Al-Andalús* published by the Arabic studies schools in Madrid and Granada, and the Hebrew journal *Sefarad* published in Madrid (Abrighach, 2023). According to Gozalbes Cravioto, Tamuda. *Revista de investigaciones marroquíes* was not solely dedicated to historical or philological studies, Arabism, or Hebraism; it also encompassed other fields of Moroccan studies, including archaeology and natural sciences. *Tamuda: Revista de investigaciones marroquíes* evolved from its original format of publishing two volumes annually, one for each semester (Gozalbes Cravioto,

2007). The Spanish journal contained a small section for articles in Arabic, unlike *Hespéris* where all articles are published in French and occasionally in both English and Spanish⁸. *Tamuda: Revista de investigaciones marroquíes* also introduced two noteworthy innovations. The first was a booklet titled *Ketama*, which served as a literary supplement in both Spanish and Arabic and the second, much more extensive, dedicated to Moroccan bibliography (Gozalbes Cravioto, 2007). It ceased publication in its original form in 1959.

Hespéris persisted after Morocco gained independence. In 1956, the Ministry of Higher Education, led by Mohammed El Fassi and historian Germain Ayach, opted to preserve the journal by merging it with *Tamuda*, forming *Hespéris-Tamuda*. This decision coincided with the establishment of the *Faculté de lettres et des sciences humaines* in Rabat, originally known as the Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines founded by Lyautey⁹. After independence, under the leadership of Germain Ayach, the editorial team overseeing the journal chose to maintain its existing editorial line. They actively involved Moroccan authors who aimed to write Moroccan history in both French and Spanish (Hamdaoui, 2021).

Following independence, *Hespéris-Tamuda* magazine experienced three distinct phases. The first phase, from 1960 to 1990, was led by historian Germain Ayach. The inaugural issue in 1960 encountered difficulties in publication due to a shortage of Moroccan researchers. Those who departed during colonization to pursue their doctoral studies in France and Arab countries like Egypt and Syria had not yet returned (Hamdaoui, 2021). It was not until the early 1980s that the journal was able to fill the void left by the departure of the French researchers who had run it during the colonial era. During this period, Germain Ayache and historian Brahim Boutaleb set up the history department at the *Faculté de lettres et des sciences humaines*. This decision enhanced academic research in history, emphasizing the utilization of archives, particularly those written in Arabic that were previously overlooked by the Maghzen. Utilizing these archives generate new insights into the knowledge produced during the colonial period. Following Germain Ayache's death in 1990, the second phase of Hespéris-Tamuda in the post-colonial era commenced.

During this phase, Professor Brahim Boutaleb, who was responsible for the journal's scientific coordination, introduced the Arabic language in 1990, noting the dearth of articles published in French. This decision did not meet with the unanimous approval of the editorial board. Despite the introduction of the Arabic language, scientific production was not prolific. The journal stopped publishing for 3 years. It was only with the fiftieth anniversary of the *Faculté de lettres et des sciences humaines* in Rabat in 2007 that the journal published a special issue, and even this was in the form of an index, due to a lack of articles to publish¹¹. The journal continued to experience quality problems and production shortages.

Starting in 2015, the journal took a new direction. The Ministry of Higher Education decided to put *Hespéris-Tamuda* on the road to indexation. Professor Khalid Ben Shir took responsibility for the scientific coordination of the journal. Being published online from 2015 facilitated its diffusion. From 2019 to 2022, the journal published 4 issues per year (Hamdaoui, 2021). Since 2016, *Hespéris-Tamuda* has been indexed in Clarivate's Emerging Sources Citation Index (ESCI). In 2024, the journal was indexed by Scopus.

⁸ Interview. 2021. conducted with the scientific coordinator of Hespéris-Tamuda.

⁹ Interview, 2021 conducted with the scientific coordinator of *Hespéris-Tamuda*.

¹⁰ Interview, 2021, conducted with the scientific coordinator of Hespéris-Tamuda./ The makhzen is both the Moroccan government and, by extension, the administration. Before the protectorate, the makhzen was the name of the Moroccan monarch's government.

¹¹ Interview, 2021 conducted with the scientific coordinator of Hespéris-Tamuda.

Morocco's Scientific Research Ecosystem

Despite the growth in academic publishing spurred by the increase in university institutions, academic publications still encounter visibility challenges, often depending significantly on individual efforts rather than strong institutional backing.

Scientific research is one of the cornerstones of the knowledge society. While research in Morocco has made significant progress since gaining independence, the system is still being developed, with certain institutions only established in the early 2000s. The evaluative study released in 2022 by the *Conseil Supérieur de l'Éducation, de la Formation et de la Recherche Scientifique* (CSEFRS) identifies a variety of stakeholders involved in the governance of scientific research in Morocco. There are stakeholders involved in formulating the strategy, implementing it, managing funding, and conducting research operations. The latter group encompasses universities with their research laboratories and public research institutes operating autonomously from universities.

Based on the evaluation study carried out by the CSEFRS, the strategic guidelines of scientific research in Morocco are the responsibility of two bodies: the Ministry of Higher Education, Scientific Research and Innovation, and the *Comité Permanent Interministériel de la Recherche Scientifique, de l'Innovation et du Développement Technologique* (CPIRSIDT). The latter is also responsible for overseeing the implementation of strategic programs in the fields of scientific research, innovation and technological development¹². Research monitoring and coordination represent major challenges for the national research system. According to a former president of a Moroccan university "the presence of multiple governance entities impacts both monitoring and coordination processes"¹³. Therefore, the framework law 51-17 adopted in 2019 includes provisions for establishing a National Council for Scientific Research, aimed at restructuring the coordination framework of the research system, while preserving the mission entrusted to the CPIRSIDT (CSEFRS, 2022).

The governance of scientific research has been the subject of recommendations for improvement through strategies, revisions and emergency programs since 2006. A national research strategy was drawn up in 2006, followed by an emergency program in 2009, as well as a revision of the national research strategy in 2014, and most recently the ESRI 2030 pact set up in 2022 to accelerate implementation of the national research strategy. Continuing reforms to the research system are also affected by political fluctuations within the government. These adjustments are frequently propelled by individuals in positions of decision-making rather than by governmental institutions themselves.

Managing funding is an integral part of the research governance system. The Centre National pour la Recherche Scientifique et Technique (CNRST) plays a crucial role as the national funding agency. However, the institution is split between administering funding programs and consolidating scientific resources and information (CSEFRS, 2022). This dual mission complicates CNRST's management and funding procedures. The complexity and slowness of the procedures often discourages researchers from engaging in research or revenue-generating activities for their universities.

Morocco's public universities are divided into two types: open-access establishments, which welcome baccalaureate holders without restrictive admission conditions, and regulated-access establishments, which select their students through competitive examinations. Open-access universities absorb the majority of researchers and produce almost all scientific publications. The enrollment in higher education in Morocco stands at 1.35 million students, relative to a population of 37.46 million. Doctoral researchers represent more than 71% of the university's scientific body, with more than 36,850 doctoral candidates compared with 15,880 permanent teaching staff¹⁴. However, the ratio of the number of doctoral theses defended annually compared to the number of doctoral students is 5.7%¹⁵. This ratio offers insight into the doctoral completion rate, indicating that a relatively low percentage of doctoral students successfully complete and defend their PhD thesis.

¹² Interview, July 2024, with a member of the Instance Nationale d'Évaluation (INE).

¹³ Interview, 1 October 2021, with a former president of Hassan I university (Settat) via WhatsApp.

¹⁴ University statistics for Public University Higher Education 2022-2023 available at: https://www.enssup.gov.ma/storage/statistique/2023/Statistiques%20Universitaires-Enseignement%20Supérieur%20Universitaire%20Public%202022-2023.pdf

^{15 2017} statistics.

Doctoral studies are conducted in research laboratories affiliated with Doctoral Study Centers (CEDoc). Despite lacking legal status, these CEDocs oversee the comprehensive management of all administrative procedures pertaining to the academic careers of doctoral students. (CSEFRS 2018). Research laboratories within CEDocs serve as the sole hubs for interaction and knowledge exchange that have facilitated the breakdown of barriers between research disciplines. Nonetheless, there is a notable lack of collaboration among different laboratories within the same CEDoc¹6. These research laboratories are frequently established with the aim of assisting doctoral students in publishing in journals affiliated with them. According to the director of the Laboratory for Intercultural Studies and Research and the journal *Relais*, most scientific publications are funneled through journals specific to their respective laboratories¹7.

Laboratories also receive funding from their faculties based on their publication output. In the case of *Relais*, funding is sourced from an annual endowment determined by the laboratory's internal evaluation. This evaluation primarily assesses the laboratory's annual scientific productivity. The laboratory undergoes assessment every two years, and its accreditation is renewed every four years. The journal's publication was halted from 2014 to 2019 due to insufficient funding¹⁸.

The lack of funding poses a significant challenge to the consistent publication of scientific journals in Morocco. Without adequate financial support, journals struggle to adhere to regular publication schedules and maintain the expected editorial standards. This issue directly affects the visibility and impact of the research they publish.

The Major Challenges Facing Scientific Publishing in Morocco

The challenges facing scholarly publishing are one facet of the broader decline of the knowledge sector in Morocco, attributable to a series of incomplete educational reforms and policies over time. For a long time, research evaluation was essentially carried out by peers. Since the 2000s, however, external evaluations have been carried out on Moroccan knowledge production¹⁹. This has been encouraged by the LMD reform of higher education, the impact of international university rankings, and the spread of the evaluation culture through international scientific cooperation (Janjar, 2017, note 20). Researchers and experts initially inquire about the indexing status of journals when evaluating scientific output²⁰. However, journal indexing is uncommon in the North African context, where scientific publishing itself is a more recent practice²¹. The primary issue lies in the irregularity of scientific journals, which often rely on a small circle of researchers for their existence and continuity.

The issue of irregularity is linked to the absence of human resources and technical devices for journal management. According to the director of *Relais* "The irregularity issue stems from insufficient personnel and equipment to support this process. Printing the journal requires traveling to Casablanca or Rabat to locate a suitable printer"²². Moreover, the management of the journal depends on the voluntary involvement of a limited number of members from the scientific committee. The lack of professionalization in scientific publishing poses a significant challenge to the sustainability of university journals. On this basis, discussing an economic model for these journals becomes complex, as it typically involves achieving a balance between costs and benefits necessary for sustainable, if not profitable, publication activities. Publishing is generally a peripheral and underdeveloped activity in Moroccan universities. The limited experience in writing and publishing, particularly in

¹⁶ Interview, 2021, conducted with the coordinator of *Hespéris-Tamuda*.

¹⁷ Interview, 2021, conducted with the director of *Relais* of the Faculté de lettres et des sciences humaines d'El Jadida.

¹⁸ Interview, 2021, conducted with the director of *Relais* of the Faculté de lettres et des sciences humaines d'El Jadida.

¹⁹ In 2002, an evaluative study realized by the Institut de recherche pour le développement (IRD) on human and social sciences in Morocco: insights on composition and production. In 2007, a study by an IRD expert based on data from the foundation of King Abdulaziz on human and social sciences in the Maghreb: bibliometric essay. In 2009, a sociological study by Mohamed Cherkaoui for the Ministry for National Education and Higher Education on the body of academics in social and human sciences and their intellectual production.

²⁰ $\,$ Interview, 2021, with the former vice-president of Al Saoud Foundation.

²¹ With the exception of Egypt that has a tradition of scientific publishing.

²² Interview, 2021, conducted with the director of the Relais of the faculté de lettres et des sciences humaines d'El Jadida.

English or French, contributes to researchers' unfamiliarity with the publishing landscape, posing significant challenges. According to the founder of the publishing house En toutes lettres "At times, researchers have limited familiarity with the complexities of publishing, which include text editing, intellectual property issues, contracts, copyright, and the principles of editorial policy"²³. Research works may not always be distributed by specialized entities. Instead, they are often disseminated by private general publishers, associations, or even through self-publishing, sometimes years after the thesis defence. This results in a variety of distribution strategies for such research²⁴.

The dissemination of scientific publications is a major challenge. In Morocco, there are two important initiatives to catalogue scientific journals and make them more visible and accessible to researchers. The first is led by the National Center for Scientific and Technical Research (CNRST) through the Moroccan Institute of Scientific and Technical Information (IMIST), which in 2012 launched the digital Moroccan Scientific Journals platform as part of the valorization and dissemination of Moroccan scientific production. This project involves the institute taking charge of the online publication process of scientific journals edited by public universities, as well as archiving their contents. The second initiative is undertaken by the King Abdul-Aziz Foundation for Islamic Studies and Human Sciences in Casablanca. The foundation is building a catalogue that includes all Moroccan publications released by public and private universities, academic societies, and institutional publishers.

The scientific research sector is hampered by inadequate funding. Research funding primarily depends on publicly funded research grants to universities and project calls. Additional funding sources include international collaborations and private financing. The budgets allocated to universities for research are insufficient to cover all necessary expenses for researchers. According to a former president of a Moroccan university: "The research budget allocated to the university does not include provisions for airfare. If a professor is invited abroad, they are required to purchase their own ticket, and we reimburse them through a simulated travel expenses"25. The complexity of managing financial resources adds to the burden on researcher themselves. Calls for projects, a critical instrument for securing research funding, are sporadic. Between 2008 and 2017, there were 14 distinct project call programs amounting to 969 million dirhams in total²⁶. They covered all themes and disciplines. The general budget is the main source for these calls. The CNRST is the primary national funding agency. Other instruments and mechanisms also finance targeted research themes. Funds received from the private sector only cover 22% of research activity. This situation is the result of the multiple dysfunctions affecting the Moroccan university. The language of instruction poses also a major challenge for students in Moroccan universities pursuing higher education. The abrupt transition from the postcolonial French-language tradition to the Arabization of the educational system has impacted higher education significantly. The principle of Arabization was affected by internal pedagogical mechanisms, resulting in increased Francization among senior staff. This shift towards Francization within the administration and political system has had broad implications for the entire educational system (Moatassime, 1978).

Hassan II favored appointing individuals with modern and French educational backgrounds to positions of responsibility. In 1963, during an education colloquium presided over by the king, concerns were raised about the conflict between Arabized primary education and French-language secondary education. Teaching unions criticized the maintenance of bilingualism (Vermeren 2022). The language policy has demonstrated its limitations, if not its failure, today after more than 60 years of independence. The recent initiative to introduce English language teaching in middle schools since May 2023 appears to reflect Morocco's fluctuating commitment to Francophonie.

Despite the obstacles in research and scientific publishing, this represents a crucial area that needs to be organized and developed. There is significant potential for growth, supported by the large number of individuals engaged in teaching and research, as well as the growing cohort of students

²³ Interview, January 2022, with the founder of the publishing house *En toutes lettres*.

²⁴ Interview, January 2022, with the founder of the publishing house *En toutes lettres*.

²⁵ Interview, 2021, with a former president of the university Hassan 1st (Settat).

²⁶ The equivalent of around 93 million euros. Data taken from the sectoral report on scientific research and technology in Marocco. Evaulative analysis. Published by the Council on Higher Education and Scientific Research, April 2022.

who may transition into future contributors. The Internet has provided access to international practices and trends, prompting the new generation to aspire to recognition based on genuine academic standards. This was reported during the Openchabab sessions according to Kenza Sefrioui, the founder of the publishing house En toutes lettres²⁷.

Openchabab is a thematic training program centred on the foundational values of a humanist social project, bringing together young student-researchers, journalists, and civil society participants. These experiences contribute to enhancing their professional skills and fostering robust multilingualism, a foundation already present within Moroccan society. This may involve partnerships for intensive language courses offered by language teaching institutions, or participation in writing workshops. The best productions from the program are published in En toutes lettres' Enquêtes (Enquiries) collection.

Conclusion

Scholarly publishing in Morocco has faced significant challenges. These encompass the undervaluation of academic publications within the community, the prevalence of self-publishing, the lack of a streamlined book distribution system, concerns over peer review practices, high levels of illiteracy among the Moroccan middle class and parts of the intelligentsia, and unresolved issues surrounding the language of instruction. Advancing authentic scientific publishing necessitates prioritizing publication requirements in researchers' career trajectories. This involves implementing incentive mechanisms, such as scholarships and awards, to encourage publication. Additionally, advocating for universities to publish completed theses online would benefit fellow students. Institutional reform is also necessary to eradicate corrupt practices and prevent the cooptation that obstructs the appointment of qualified individuals to research positions. In a broader sense, the goal is to establish a new research ecosystem that mitigates excessive competition and promotes collaborative practices by establishing spaces and platforms aiming to expand exchanges between scholars beyond the confines of seminars and conferences.

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²⁷ Interview, January 2022, with the founder of the publishing house *En toutes lettres*.

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