Financing and Resourcing International Collaboration in African Higher Education: Beyond Negotiated Power between the Global North and Global South

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Abstract

This article discusses the financing of international collaboration in African higher education. It notes that mutual aid and the public good are slowly being embraced as the rationale for international collaboration. Drawing on a critical perspective, the article discusses the modalities and effectiveness of resourcing international collaboration which is generally seen as a panacea to revitalise higher education research in sub-Saharan Africa. Collaboration between Africa and Global North countries manifests in international partnerships for research, student and staff mobility, teaching, and funding. While most collaborations have tended to be dominated by Global North partners, South-South collaborations are increasingly taking centre stage. Emerging issues in international collaboration are also identified and the article notes that, in general, the politics of power and control still characterise both North-South and South-South international collaborations.

Résumé

Cet article traite du financement de la collaboration internationale dans l'enseignement supérieur africain. Il souligne que l'aide mutuelle et le bien public sont peu à peu considérés comme la raison d'être de la collaboration internationale. S'appuyant sur une perspective critique, l'article examine les modalités et l'efficacité du financement des collaborations internationales qui sont généralement considérées comme la panacée pour revitaliser la recherche dans l'enseignement supérieur en Afrique subsaharienne. La collaboration entre l'Afrique et les pays du

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Nord se manifeste par des partenariats internationaux pour la recherche, la mobilité des étudiants et du personnel, l'enseignement et le financement. Si la plupart des collaborations ont eu tendance à être dominées par les partenaires du Nord, les collaborations Sud-Sud occupent de plus en plus le devant de la scène. Les questions émergentes en matière de collaboration internationale sont également identifiées et l'article note qu'en général, les politiques de pouvoir et de contrôle caractérisent toujours les collaborations internationales Nord-Sud et Sud-Sud.

Introduction

As the central knowledge-producing institution in any society, research has historically been considered as a university's critical function (Castells, 2017; Cloete, Bunting, and Van Schalkwyk, 2018; McCowan, 2019). In as much as universities should be responsive to local needs, they operate within a global context of knowledge production, and thus cannot work in isolation. Moreover, "meeting the world's development needs is a complex and challenging task that no one institution can effectively address alone. Partnerships are essential to mobilise the world's technical and financial resources in support of development solutions" (Jaumont and Moja, 2019, p. 119). However, collaboration spawns both benefits and risks.

This article examines the financing and resourcing of international collaboration in the context of African higher education with a view to moving beyond negotiated power between the Global North and the Global South in light of the new pattern of South-South collaboration that is slowly emerging. It draws on secondary data through a qualitative desk review of the existing literature. The article begins by examining the context of higher education research in sub-Saharan Africa. This is followed by a discussion on international collaboration in funding as a panacea to revitalise higher education research in the sub-region. The issues emerging from international collaboration in funding and their implications for the growth of higher education on the continent are discussed and the article closes with concluding remarks and suggestions on the way forward.

Theoretical Context

In discussing the shifting landscape of development cooperation financing Teferra (2014) argues that Global North to South financing

has been anchored on the Dependency Theory, Development Theory, the World System Theory, and the African Renaissance Theory. All of these theories perpetuate the dominance of well-resourced organisations and countries in the West, leading to arguments in favour of mutual aid and the public good. Masaiti (2022) notes that, mutual aid involves voluntary reciprocal exchange of resources and services for mutual benefit among cooperating partners. Such projects can take the form of political participation and organisational agreements. Mutual aid has been used to provide funding, food, medical care, and supplies, as well as provide relief from disasters.

The Effectiveness of Funding Collaboration in African Higher Education

While international funding collaboration is desirable, a central question has been its effectiveness in higher education. The key issues include ownership, harmonisation, alignment, results and mutual accountability. Many African governments lack capacity to take ownership of and institutionalise cooperation agreements and to ensure delivery of the targeted results as well as mutual accountability.

The Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (2005) and the Accra Agenda for Action (2008) provide guidelines for effective and sustainable donor funding and ownership of cooperating partner financing. Partners should craft development strategies in line with a medium-term expenditure framework and annual budgets. Aid flows should be aligned with national priorities and support should be provided to strengthen capacity. Thus, effective resourcing of collaboration in higher education calls for harmonisation and mutual accountability. However, more than 10 years after the adoption of the Paris Declaration and Accra Agenda for Action, the Global South is still grappling with the question of how best to manage and leverage the resourcing of collaboration in higher education.

Resourcing International Collaboration for Higher Education Research in Sub-Saharan Africa

In the past two decades, the African higher education landscape has been characterised by increased levels of internationalisation in teaching, funding, scholarships and research collaboration and partnerships (Teferra, 2020). However, rapid internationalisation masks significant discrepancies and system malfunctions in financing and research collaboration in African universities. For example, although the continent's universities have increased their research output, "Africa contributes around one per cent of the global knowledge, the lowest in the world, and yet remains an exclusive consumer which further marginalises it as a producer of knowledge" (African Union, 2015, p. 19). The UNESCO Science Report 2021 estimates that Africa accounts for just 1.01& of global research and development expenditure, 2.5% of global researchers and 3.5% of scholarly publications, compared to the Asian region's contributions of 45.7%, 44.5% and 48%, respectively (UNESCO, 2021). Inadequate public funding for research and development has been identified as one of the primary reasons for Africa's poor research productivity. The question is whether international collaboration can improve the resourcing of African higher education.

International collaboration in the African higher education sector is mainly focused on resourcing research. However, at times there has been a mismatch between the research agendas of partners, lecturers in universities and national development policies (Cloete et al., 2018; Lanford, 2020). The COVID-19 pandemic has also resulted in reduced funding in some fields as well as decreased face-to-face collaboration among researchers.

International Collaboration in Funding as a Panacea to Revitalise Higher Education Research in Sub-Saharan Africa

There is consensus in the literature that collaborations in funding of higher education could strengthen African universities' potential in the areas of teaching, research, scholarship and innovation (Alemu, 2014; Blom et al., 2016; Cloete et al., 2018; Mohamedbhai, 2020). Such collaboration could also make a significant contribution to the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (Asare, Mitchell, and Rose, 2020; Asare et al., 2020; British Council, 2021; Hanada, 2021; McCowan, 2019). While education is central in achieving all 17 SDGs, SDG4 aims to achieve quality education and SDG17 calls for increased partnerships to achieve this goal.

Earlier collaborative initiatives in African higher education include the Africa-US Higher Education Initiative of 2007 which funded partnerships to the tune of US15 million, and the Canada-Africa Higher Education Partnership between the Association of African Universities and the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC) (Teferra, 2014).

Other notable initiatives include the Southern Africa-Nordic Partnerships (SANORD) between Southern African countries and Nordic universities, which involved 25 research-led higher education institutions in Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden, and institutions in Malawi, South Africa and Zambia; the European Commission-African Union Commission Partnership in Higher Education of 2013, Scandinavian partnerships and Germany's DAAD. The World Bank is probably the most prominent player in the African higher education arena; however, its policies have been called into question (Kelly, 2010). Japan has also shown strong interest in strengthening its strategic partnership with African countries driven, some would say, by the progress made by China and India in this regard.

Global North-Global South Collaboration

This section highlights some of the funding collaborations undertaken between universities in Africa and the Global North. Numerous studies have shown that higher education collaboration between the Global South and the Global North can facilitate the development of research and education capacity, particularly for the universities of the Global South (African Union, 2015; Blom et al., 2016; Carbonnier and Kontinen, 2015; Hanada, 2021; Teferra, 2014; UNESCO, 2021). This is not surprising in light of the massive discrepancies in education standards between the two geographical polities.

Higher education collaboration between Africa and Global North countries manifests in international partnerships for research, student and staff mobility, teaching, and funding. The major northern collaborating partners in higher education include the US, UK, France, Canada, Australia, Germany, Netherlands, Nordic countries, and Ireland. Funding collaboration between Africa and Global North countries can be grouped into three categories: principal programme countries, the colonial legacy and self-selection (Hydén, 2016).

The first typology involves collaboration with 'principal programme countries' such as Nordic countries (usually without any colonial legacy) for development co-operation (Hydén, 2016). In sub-Saharan Africa, the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD) has supported higher education in Uganda, Kenya, Mozambique, Malawi, Zambia, Tanzania, Sudan, and South Sudan. The NORAD's Programme

for Master's Studies (NOMA) between 2004 and 2006 involved 28 higher education institutions in 18 countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America and 12 Norwegian universities (Holmberg, Gundersen, and Jacobsen, 2015). Through the NOMA programme, a Masters in International Education and Development was developed with a specific focus on HIV/AIDS and education in Africa. This was a collaborative course that was developed by a consortium of universities, namely, Oslo University College, Ahfad University for Women, Sudan, the University of Zambia and the University of Cape Town, South Africa. Proof of the sustainability of this project lies in the fact that the Master's course continues to be offered by African universities even after the end of the partnership (Breidlid, 2013; Holmberg et al., 2015).

The second type of North-South collaboration relates to the colonial legacy (Hydén, 2016). Notable examples include collaborations between countries such as Britain, France, Belgium and Portugal and their former colonies in Africa and other parts of the world. For example, the Commonwealth Scholarship provides various types of educational support to different countries, mainly former British colonies. France and Belgium provide institutional support to many Francophone universities in West and North African countries (Hydén, 2016). Portugal has also provided extensive funding support to universities in Lusophone African countries. Research and funding collaboration among universities in Lusophone countries is coordinated under the auspices of the Association of Portuguese Speaking Universities, whose primary aim is to promote cooperation between higher education and research institutions through exchange of students, professors and researchers, and participation in research projects (Langa, 2013).

Lastly, some Global North countries' partnerships with African countries are based on self-selection (Hydén, 2016). While they do not rest on a colonial legacy, they promote the cultural values of the donor countries. Prime examples include the US' Fulbright Scholarship, Britain's Chevening Scholarships and the DAAD, among others that fund higher education on the continent.

Private Foundations

The role of private foundations as partners in funding higher education in Africa dates back to the early colonial period when the Phelps-Stokes foundation funded the Phelps-Stokes Commission in 1920 with the aim of developing education for Africans in different parts of the continent. This resulted in the adoption of the *British Educational Policy for Africa* in 1924, which "marked a watershed in African education history" (Berman, 1971, p. 132). Private foundations also played a crucial role in financing the development of higher education institutions in post-independence Africa. For instance, the Lockwood Commission recommended the establishment of the University of Zambia in 1966 that was partly funded by the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the British Ministry of Overseas Development (Lulat, 2005).

Over the past two decades, various foundations especially from the US, have partnered with African universities for collaboration in research, technical support and funding (Hydén, 2016; Ishengoma, 2016; Jaumont and Moja, 2019). Notable private agencies that fund various aspects of higher education on the continent include the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Rockefeller Foundation, Kellogg Foundation, Hewlett Foundation, Mac Arthur Foundation, Andrew Mellon Foundation, and the Ford Foundation, among others. In 2010, seven American foundations partnered with African universities to strengthen the capacity of higher education in nine countries: Ghana, Egypt, Kenya, Nigeria, Madagascar, Mozambique, South Africa, Tanzania and Uganda. This was to be achieved through provision of training and technical assistance, and financial support to individual universities for infrastructure development, upgrading information technology and communication, and enhancing capacity through expansion of postgraduate research (Cloete, Bunting, and Van Schalkwyk, 2018). Through this partnership, American foundations became the largest single donor, and allocated US\$300 million by 2010 (Hydén, 2016), which increased to about \$4 billion granted through 13 565 grants between 2003 and 2013 (Jaumont and Moja, 2019).

Currently, private foundations "are the top grant-making contributors to higher education on the continent" (Jaumont and Moja, 2019, p. 105). The report on *Investments in Higher Education and Research in Africa* which traced the funding activities of the Carnegie Corporation from 2010 to 2019 reveals that the organisation spent \$134.43 million to strengthen higher education and research capacity on the continent (Madhani, 2021). Of the 164 grants disbursed, African universities and research institutions as well as academic and higher education associations and

membership organisations received the majority (59%) of the funds. The report further highlights that "African universities received \$47.6 million, which was 35.4 percent of the total grant dollars spent" (Madhani, 2021, p. 13). Among the top grantees on the continent, the University of Ghana received the highest amount of funding amounting to \$11.77 million (see Table 1 below).

Table 1: Top 10 African grantees of Carnegie Corporation from 2010 to 2019

Ranking	Name of institution	Grant received (\$ million)	No. of grants
1	University of Ghana	11.77	11
2	University of Cape Town	9.50	8
3	Makerere University	8.56	9
4	University of the Witwatersrand	7.70	4
5	African Population and Health Research Centre	7.25	4
6	University of Pretoria	6.84	9
7	Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa	4.9	6
8	Regional Universities Forum for Capacity Building in Agriculture	4.15	6
9	African Institution for Mathematical Sciences	2.75	3
10	Trust Africa	2.06	3

Source: Madhani (2021, p. 10).

Other European foundations such as the Wellcome Trust have continued to collaborate with African universities by funding projects aimed at addressing challenges related to climate change, infectious diseases and mental health through scientific research. The trust has provided f_{25} million (US\$34 million) for a medical research partnership between the University of Malawi College of Medicine in Blantyre and the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine, UK which runs from 2018 to 2023 (Nordling, 2021). This partnership, dubbed the Malawi-Liverpool-Wellcome Trust Clinical Research Programme (MLW) is now in its 27th year and thus symbolises long-term research funding partnerships between North-South institutions. African universities also benefit from financial collaborations with multinational corporations like Coca-Cola, Mastercard and Microsoft, among others. For instance in 2014, Mastercard partnered with the African Institute of Mathematical Sciences (AIMS), providing \$25 million to support postgraduate training in mathematical sciences in Africa through the Next Einstein project (AIMS, 2022). This has enabled economically disadvantaged women and youth to attend postgraduate training at any of the AIMS centres in Senegal, Ghana, Cameroon, Tanzania, and Rwanda.

South-South Collaborations

We have divided South-South research collaboration into two categories: inter-continental and intra-continental research. We consider South-South intercontinental collaboration as collaborative efforts among African, Latin American and Asian universities. While Asian countries like China and Japan are highly industrialised, we categorise them as South countries based on the 1955 Bandung Conference that referred to collaboration between Africa and Asia as South-South cooperation. Although countries like China have made relatively good progress, some sections of their population are still trapped in poverty. The Bandung Conference identified issues of mutual interest between Africa and the Asian giants and agreed to formulate development agendas based on South-South cooperation.

Inter-continental funding and research collaboration

The African Consensus of 2011 calls for strong South-South cooperation as a strategy to enhance sustainable development in Africa through full implementation of the agenda for aid effectiveness in developing countries (African Union, 2015; Besharati, 2013). South-South cooperation has its historical roots in the first Asian-African Conference held in Bandung, Indonesia, in 1955. Since then, there have been several collaborative ventures between African and Asian countries in different spheres, including higher education. The African-Asian (AA) University Dialogue for Educational Development is among these collaborations. Launched in 2004 as an international inter-university research initiative, the network comprises 17 African universities in 12 different countries and 12 Asian ones across six countries. It is spearheaded by the Center for the Study of International Cooperation in Education at Hiroshima University, Japan (Kuroda, 2012). The network primarily aims to foster funding and research collaboration among universities across the two continents as part of the international commitment to 'Education for All'. Its seeks to tackle education challenges and enhance capacity among member universities through joint research and exchange of academic staff and students (Kuroda, 2012). Although the network was established on the principle of cost-sharing, it relies heavily on UNESCO, the UN University, MEXT (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, Japan), and JICA (Japan International Cooperation Agency) as the major funders and technical partners (Kuroda, 2012; UNESCO, 2012).

At the eighth Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD8) held in Tunisia, Japan announced a pledge of over 30 billion dollars in aid to the continent. This will be used to alleviate food insecurity, support growth post the COVID-19 pandemic and finance the development of more robust regional economies. Japanese Prime Minister Fumio Kishida also committed to seeking fundamental reform of the United Nations Security Council in order to secure a permanent seat for Africa. The conference highlighted the importance of on-going diplomatic, economic and humanitarian engagement in the region. In an effort to implement lasting change, Japan specifically committed to providing training for 300 000 people across the continent over the next three years, in an effort to better equip regional healthcare, higher education and infrastructure development. The funding will also be used to develop the Green Growth Initiative, and the African Development Bank and promote strategies aimed at combating infectious diseases (Brake, 2022).

The Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) is another significant initiative to fund and resource international higher education collaboration with Africa. This triennial assembly of Chinese and African leaders endorses a three-year plan for economic cooperation, including human resource development, and cultural, education and training commitments (King, 2014; Varghese, 2015). In terms of education, the Chinese government primarily focuses on the tertiary level, funding infrastructure projects, Chinese-language instruction, university partnerships, scholarships for Chinese universities, and in-service training programmes (State Council Information Office, PRC, 2021). Africa has received the largest share of Chinese government scholarships. Mohamedbhai (2020) observes that through the FOCAC, the number of scholarships granted to Africa increased from 30 000 in 2015 to 50 000 in 2018, leading to a large increase in the number of African students studying in China, from just under 2 000 in 2003 to almost 50 000 in 2015. Due to this programme, "China is now, after France, the second country hosting the largest number of African students" (Mohamedbhai, 2020, p. 36).

The collaboration between the FOCAC and African universities is also significant in expanding the research capacity of the continent's higher education institutions. For instance, in 2009, China launched a '20+20' scheme to bring together 20 African and 20 Chinese universities for research. African universities have benefitted immensely from Chinese funded projects in education, ICT, agriculture, biological sciences and engineering. There has also been an increase in research collaborations, resulting in joint publications between researchers in sub-Saharan African universities and their counterparts in China. The fast-spreading Confucius Institutes in Africa are the hallmark of collaborations between China and host universities. Their main purpose is to facilitate collaboration and exchange of knowledge and promote the Chinese language and culture.

Given the inadequate funding that characterises Africa's public universities, collaboration with China has been important in revitalising higher education in so far as funding and infrastructure development are concerned. Despite heavy criticism levelled against Chinese development partnerships in Africa, it is evident that such collaboration has helped to transform and expand the African higher education landscape. Mohamedbhai (2020) offers two prominent examples of such development, the Malawi University of Science and Technology in Blantyre, which opened in 2014, and the library at the University of Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, completed in 2018 and the largest ever built by China in Africa. As Mohamedbhai rightly observes, "it would have been impossible for ... African countries to put up such infrastructure without China's support" (Mohamedbhai, 2020, p. 37).

Turkey and South Korea have also increased their partnerships with higher education institutions in Africa by providing scholarships to African students, while North Korea has launched initiatives to support Pan-African Universities

Intra-continental funding and research collaboration

There is widespread recognition that increased Global South collaboration in higher education is a vital strategy to harness the expertise and resources required to support research that promotes development (African Union, 2015; Asare, Mitchell, and Rose, 2020; Cloete et al., 2018). This is particularly critical for sub-Saharan African countries whose education systems generally operate in similar environments and contexts. Therefore, intra-continental collaboration in higher education may foster sustainable ways of enhancing the quality of teaching, learning and research across countries with similar contexts (Asare et al., 2020, p. 7).

Regional collaborations have become a widespread phenomenon in Africa, and their importance is highlighted in various regional developmental agendas that consider collaboration as an instrument to enhance the quality of higher education on the continent (African Union, 2015; Alemu, 2014; Cloete et al., 2018). Regional collaboration is central to the African Union's 2015 *Continental Education Strategy for Education*, which aims to foster development in all areas of education (African Union, 2015). This strategic document is anchored on 12 main objectives and calls for the harmonisation of education and training systems as key to the realisation of intra-Africa mobility and academic integration. In terms of research collaboration, research and innovation to address continental challenges and promote global competitiveness. As discussed below, regional funding and research collaborations are one way of achieving such goals.

The African Research Universities Alliance (ARUA) aims to stimulate regional collaborations on the continent to enhance research and expand funding (ARUA, 2020). It is a replica of the UK Russell Group of universities that aims to promote excellence in research among Africa's leading universities. Launched in Dakar in March 2015, it consists of network of 16 leading universities to enhance the quality of research conducted in Africa by African researchers. A central element of this alliance has been fostering student mobility, especially for postgraduate studies, as well as lecturer mobility across 15 partner centres.

The ARUA adopts a Pan-African approach to address the challenges of funding and research development on the continent. In terms of financial resource mobilisation, the group depends on the participating universities to contribute from their limited resources to generate a critical mass that could more effectively support research. However, it also collaborates with several funding partners, including the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Open Society Foundations (OSF), and the Association of Commonwealth Universities. It also works in partnership with the University of Glasgow in the UK and the PLuS Alliance between the Universities of Arizona State University, King's College London and the University of New South Wales, Australia. To date, the group has established more than ten centres of excellence across member countries in different research areas, including non-communicable diseases, water and food security, energy, migration, good governance, post-conflict societies and notions of identities, among others (ARUA, 2020).

The African Centers of Excellence (ACE) Project is facilitated by the Association of African Universities under the aegis of the World Bank. Each beneficiary centre receives an investment of up to US\$8 million (AAU, 2016). The project aims to facilitate the development of African skills in Science, Technology, Engineering, Mathematics (STEM), Agriculture and Health Science by strengthening the delivery capacity of the centres of excellence which are selected on merit to implement the agenda.

The project was first launched in 2014 when 22 centres of excellence were established in West and Central African universities based on their potential for education and research excellence as well as solid governance and management (World Bank, 2020b). The second phase (ACE II) was launched in East and Southern Africa with 24 centres across Ethiopia, Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique, Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia. The ACE currently comprises 46 centres across 20 countries (AAU, 2021; Bentil, 2020). Overall, it has been a successful research and funding collaboration project in African higher education that has facilitated the sharing of resources to address critical skills and applied research needs across the countries. As at April 2021, the ACE project had 2 014 PhD students and 6 352 MSc students across the 46 centers in 20 countries (AAU, 2021). Furthermore, since the start of the project, about 13 616 students have enrolled in STEM, health, agriculture and related fields.

Private university-driven collaborations are another significant trend that aim to source funding and increase research output on the continent. The literature notes that the unprecedented growth of private universities in Africa has not translated to increased research output (Banya, 2001; HEA, 2020; Levy, 2009; Varghese, 2006). In general, private universities focus on teaching and lack a research culture. However, this trend is slowly changing in some countries. The impact of private higher education in sourcing and financing research collaboration remains underexplored.

Many have argued that the massification of private higher education has been driven by the profit motive but, at the same time, these institutions have been increasingly regulated by quality assurance bodies. In seeking to improve their operations, they have been collaborating with other key stakeholders, including the public higher education sector. We argue that the sector has not only emerged as a means of broadening access but is also contributing to research and development on the continent through its ties with its funding partners. A notable example is Covenant University in Nigeria which hosts the Covenant Africa Centre of Excellence in Applied Informatics and Communication (CApIC-ACE) under the World Bankfunded African Centre of Excellence IMPACT project (ACE-IMPACT) (Covenant University, 2019). Through this collaborative funding, the university offers scholarships to students from West and Central Africa to undertake Masters and PhD degree programmes in Bioinformatics, Computer Science, Biochemistry and Information and Communication Engineering.

Emerging Issues in International Higher Education Collaborations in Sub-Saharan Africa

The politics of power and control characterise international collaborations, usually privileging the status of Global North partners who are the sources of funding (Alemu, 2014; Carbonnier and Kontinen, 2015). For instance, a study conducted in Zambia, Malawi and Zimbabwe suggests that there is "limited space given to Zambian researchers to define their interests and scope of research within a collaborative framework where they are often the invited parties rather than initiators. Unequal power relations tend to be at play in such situations" (HEA, 2020, p. 54). Consequently, some programmes are not relevant to the African context as partners from developed countries usually impose them for their own learning purposes. For instance, through the Confucius Institute, a Bachelor of Arts in Linguistics and Chinese was introduced at the University of Zambia in 2014. Despite government support, the programme has recorded low enrolment, with only six new students in the 2021 academic year (USAID, 2021). This is likely due to a lack of interest among students. A key underlying factor is that "in higher education, the partners from the Global North often come into a partnership better equipped (than partners in the Global South), with a larger capacity to engage, and with a direct

relationship to the external funder" (British Council, 2021, p. 26). As long as African universities continue to rely heavily on their Global North counterparts to finance their research projects, it will remain practically impossible to achieve equitable relationships and mutual benefits.

Furthermore, there have been allegations of partners from Global North countries neglecting ethical issues, yet being protected by their home countries. For instance, an article in Springer Nature, a science newspaper, noted that a programme director of a Malawi-UK research partnership funded by Welcome Trust remained in employment despite allegations of misconduct to which he pleaded guilty (Nordling, 2021). While the incident occurred in Malawi, the disciplinary hearing was held in the UK and the decision to assign him another role in the project was at the behest of the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine without any input from the host institution, the University of Malawi. This incident supports assertions in the literature that southern-based institutions and researchers lose control of the research agenda and ownership because leadership of collaborative projects is skewed in favour of Global North partners (Hydén, 2016; Ishengoma, 2016; Kasozi, 2016).

North-South funding collaborations, especially in research, are also not immune to unfair practices relating to authorship of study results. For instance, even though international collaboration in Zambia has increased research output in the health sciences (HEA, 2020; Masaiti and Simuyaba, 2018), concerns have been raised about the fair distribution of authorship with African researchers omitted from authorship although they made a significant contribution to the research (Matenga et al., 2019). Several studies have confirmed that publications arising from collaboration between researchers in the Global North and Global South are highly skewed in favour of the North, demonstrating the unequal power dynamics prevailing in knowledge production (Alemu, 2014; Asare et al., 2020) (See Table 3 below).

Country Collaborating with SSA	No. of publications	First author based in SSA	First author not based in SSA
USA	146	39	107
UK	142	44	98
Netherlands	56	40	16
Canada	39	14	25
Australia	31	18	13
Other countries	115	53	62

Table 3: Top 5 Countries with Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA)-Based Researchers as FirstAuthor of Publication in English

Source: Asare et al., 2020, p. 11

Table 3 above shows the top five countries which collaborate with African scholars when it comes to publications. The results clearly indicate that the Global North dominates when it comes to collaborations and joint publications. Even when the content and context of the paper is based on African discourse, the publication will most likely be published with the first author coming from the West, signifying skewed power relations.

A further risk identified is that universities in African countries will lose their qualified researchers as a result of collaborations. In particular, there are concerns that collaboration with bilateral and multilateral agencies pulls researchers away from their home universities because of their higher salaries, with negative effects on the long-term research sustainability of these universities. While multilateral agencies can help to improve universities' research capacity, it is also true that "leading researchers [in African universities] easily turn into consultants for multilateral and bilateral aid agencies out of necessity and opportunism" (Carbonnier and Kontinen, 2015, p. 158).

Furthermore, despite the existence of several African funding collaboration initiatives, studies have shown that there is minimal research output through regional collaborative research among sub-Saharan African countries as most researchers prefer global networks (Alemu, 2014; Blom, Lan, and Adil, 2016; Cloete et al., 2018; Onyancha and Maluleka, 2011). For example, it is estimated that that as at 2013, about 80% of the US\$85 million research funding at Makerere University (Uganda) came from international donors, mainly Global North countries (Kabozi, 2016). A

World Bank report on research productivity in STEM fields undertaken in Africa from 2002 to 2012 shows that "inter-African collaboration (without any South African or international collaborator) comprises 2 per cent of all East African research, 0.9 per cent of West and Central Africa, and 2.9 per cent of Southern Africa" (Blom et al., 2016, p. 9). Key to this is that "publications involving collaboration between African-based researchers and those based outside the region are far more likely to attract funding (31 per cent) compared with publications involving collaboration among researchers across African countries (3 per cent)" (Asare et al., 2020, p. 9). Given limited funding of research in the sub-region, African researchers will continue to depend on Global North partners.

Notwithstanding the above concerns, academic collaboration has undoubtedly enhanced research and the citation impact of publications in Africa (Asare et al., 2020; Breidlid, 2013; Matenga et al., 2019; Onyancha and Maluleka, 2011). For instance, increased international funding partnerships at Uganda's Makerere University between 2006 and 2012 led to increased research output, which accounted for more than 70% cent of the countries' total publication output (Cloete et al., 2018). Key to this is the move towards research collaboration between North and South anchored on mutual partnerships among universities. Hanada (2021) observes that Norwegian higher education collaboration has shifted from aid programmes (NUFU and NOMA) for Global South universities to more mutual collaborations under the auspices of NORHED. Hanada (2021) argues that this shift is exemplified by the South Ethiopia Network of Universities in Public Health (SENUPH), a collaborative research venture consisting of the University of Bergen in Norway and four Ethiopian universities, Hawassa, Dilla, Wolaita Sodo, and Arba Minch. The mutual partnership is reflected in the design of the joint PhD programme between the University of Bergen and Hawassa University. The latter undertook full authorship of the programme to ensure that it is responsive to the Ethiopian context (Hanada, 2021). This offers insight into how to orient international higher education collaboration towards a more ethical and mutual approach, which is crucial to the sustainability of research and development in African universities.

Conclusion

This article analysed the financing and resourcing of international collaboration in African higher education. Such collaboration between Africa and Global North countries manifests in partnerships for research, student and staff mobility, teaching, and funding. The major Global North collaborating partners include the US, UK, France, Canada, Australia, Germany, Netherlands, the Nordic countries, and Ireland. Funding collaboration between Africa and the Global North countries can be grouped into three categories: principal programme countries, the colonial legacy and self-selection. We divided South-South research collaboration into two categories: inter-continental and intra-continental research collaborations, with Asian countries like China and Japan categorised as South countries.

These collaborations have significant implications and consequences. The politics of power and control characterise international collaborations, usually privileging the status of Global North partners who are the sources of funding. North-South funding collaborations, especially in research are also not immune to unfair practices relating to authorship of study results. Another risk identified is that universities in African countries tend to lose their qualified researchers to brain drain.

Furthermore, despite the existence of several African funding collaboration initiatives, studies have indicated that there is minimal research output through regional collaborative research among sub-Saharan African countries as most researchers prefer global networks involving the West. Notwithstanding these limitations, academic collaboration has undoubtedly enhanced research and the citation impact of publications in Africa. However, this conversation should go beyond negotiated power and countries and institutions should formulate policies to prevent the unfair practices which characterise these financial partnerships.

It is also worth noting that, although African countries have looked to the West for well-resourced academic collaborations, there has been an increase in inter-country regional collaboration and South-South collaborations. Nonetheless, it appears that the Global North's hegemony will continue for the foreseeable future.

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174 GIFT MASAITI AND EDWARD MBOYONGA

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