Digital Publishing and the Preservation of the Commons: A Latin American Technological Initiative

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Scholarly communication and the various strategies for achieving universal access to scientific knowledge face confusions and ironies. In a context of unprecedented commercialization of research processes and products, and at a time when open access and open science have been globally established as central goals in the scientific community, regions like Latin America have adopted non-commercial publishing models. These are addressing the core issue of scholarly communication: how to protect academic work from commercial practices and how to transform scholarly publication towards new narrative and explanatory possibilities that are more inclusive of diverse situated knowledges. Regional publishing models are robust but not invincible or unchangeable, and they are particularly alert to open science discourses that aim to open not only academic literature but all research outputs, including data, information collection tools, and the processes, infrastructures, practices, and codes related to knowledge creation in all its phases.

Regardless of the specificities and contradictions inherent to each context of scholarly communication, both European and Latin American settings share a common element: the central role of journal articles in generating scholarly contributions. Peer reviewed articles and journals are central both in scientific culture and in the normative mechanisms for evaluating and promoting researchers. Research is conducted with the expectation that it will be presented and assessed in the form of a *paper*, which will be published in a journal. This journal, in turn, often serves as an entity that confers 'prestige' based on its position in journal rankings determined by citation metrics.

In the collective imagination of scientific communities, the paper is regarded as the preferred format for communicating contributions, with the journal serving as the principal vehicle. This paradigm, which standardizes the communication of academic work, has been identified as a form of global alignment often associated with capitalist 'progress'. For example, one might imagine scenarios where disciplines such as philosophy or sociology are codified, transmitted, and learned exclusively through the paper format. However, even if this were possible, is it debatable whether such a standard would be desirable or suitable for the subjects, approaches, and modes of presentation characteristic of these fields. Conversely, it is important to recognize that, despite its limitations, the standardization of scientific communication has positive implications, such as facilitating the discovery, aggregation, and organization of documents on the web.

The fact is that digital scholarly publishing faces significant limitations due to the widespread use of PDF formats in publishing research papers, which constrain the use of hypertext in expository discourse and inhibit the structured semantic organization of information. To provoke dialogue, we would like to pose the following questions: in a context of digital publishing where scientific contributions can be communicated through various objects (viewers, HTML, ePub, PDF), which object would best serve as the foundation for the publishing industry? It is possible that, without this central material object, an alternative business model for scholarly communication could emerge. In a digital publishing context where even the XML files of articles are open,[i] would the publishing industry take a different form and direction?

To approach these questions, this article discusses Marcalyc, a technological initiative developed in Latin America that, through the processing of information in structured language (XML JATS), seeks to influence two areas: the consolidation of digital scholarly publishing and its preservation as a common good. This article describes Marcalyc's impact, which is currently utilized by over 1,000 peer reviewed journals in the Latin American region, on new forms of knowledge representation, and the organization and use of information from scholarly publications, as well as its protection as a common good. Together, these efforts represent a large-scale strategy to sustain the model of free access, publishing, and processing, primarily practiced by scientific communities in the Global South.

Scene 1: The Context

Since the 1970s, numerous libraries, universities, and research centers have struggled to cover the costs of accessing scholarly journals, which triggered the search for open access (Guédon, 2014: 90, 97-98). This issue gained significant prominence following a meeting organized by the Open Society Institute (now Open Society Foundation) in Budapest in 2001. The discussions at this event helped establish the open access movement through the 'Budapest Open Access Initiative' (Guédon, 2017: 1-6). Two strategies emerged to achieve open access to scholarly journals: 1) the gold route, which involves making content freely available while transferring subscription costs to publication or processing fees; and 2) the green route, which involves self-archiving in repositories (Guédon, 2004: 315). Formal discussions about 'openness' continued in other contexts, such as the *Berlin Open Access Conference* organized by the Max Planck Society in Berlin in 2003, which led to the 'Berlin Declaration on Open Access'. More than two decades later, both the Budapest and Berlin documents remain foundational to the open access movement.

The open access movement initiated in Europe more than twenty years ago has shown positive progress. Horizon 2020, the European Union's research and innovation grant program from 2014 to 2020, reports that in 2014, 65.4% of peer reviewed publications funded by public sources were openly accessible and, by 2020, this proportion had increased to 78.7%. [ii] However, this progress has also led to the adoption of a publication model based on Article Processing Charges (APCs), which are fees that authors or institutions pay to publishers to cover the editorial and production costs of open access publishing. It is documented that 56.2% of peer reviewed contributions were published under this model, now known as the 'gold' open access model (Athena Research & Innovation Center et al., 2021: 21, 37). This situation is notable in the scientific communication practices of Western Europe and the United States: for decades, these regions have sought to make scientific contributions openly accessible, primarily aiming to eliminate access fees. Yet, they have ended up devising strategies to shift the costs of subscriptions to other stages of the publication process. A recent example is the rise of transformative agreements (negotiated between institutions, such as universities, libraries, and scholarly publishers, with the goal of shifting the financial burden from fees for reading paywalled articles to payments that support open access publishing) and journals, which are strategies proposed by Plan S initiative for open access launched by cOAlition S (cOAlition S, 2018a, 2018b, 2019), which is arguably the

leading open access policy emerging in the Global North in recent years.

The above outlined scenario has unfolded in recent decades, particularly in Western Europe and the United States, where scholarly publishing is predominantly carried out in journals that operate under a commercial model. Since the late 20th century, this model has been prevalent, characterized by access and/or article processing charges (APCs), with a significant portion of the publishing market owned by companies accountable primarily to their shareholders. In brief, the publication practices of scientific communities in Western Europe and the United States are driven by the commercial interests of a few big companies. Paradoxically, this outcome stems from the pursuit of openness, which has not hindered the expansion and concentration of the publishing industry and its various information services. Instead, it has served as a rationale for reconfiguring and strengthening its control.

Scholarly publication, as a social practice, is both heterogeneous and complex. The frameworks and cultures of publishing have developed in parallel with the societal and economic systems they reflect. In a different context and under an alternative framework of scholarly communication, Latin American publishing traditions seek to preserve knowledge as a public good (Aguado-López & Becerril-García, 2023). This approach is based on public infrastructures and collaborative academic initiatives, supported by regional government agreements and national open access policies. These have facilitated the development of interoperable repositories (for example, the Latin American Network for Open Science LA Referencia) and their linkage to repository directories (such as OpenDOAR) (Babini, 2020: 335-338). In Latin America and the Caribbean, academic research is primarily disseminated through journals owned by universities or research institutes, which are largely funded by public sources. These institutions and resources also support repositories and technological platforms that enhance the visibility of content on the web (Becerril-García, 2021: 126-145). [iii] Given that these resources are publicly funded, institutions aim to openly disseminate knowledge contributions, allowing various communities to engage in the discourse facilitated by publication. This is why Latin American journals are noted for not charging APCs. It is estimated that less than 5% of journals charge APCs, with these journals mainly located in Brazil (Córdoba-González, 2020). A notable feature of the region's journals is their inclusivity: for example, it has been documented that among the more than 1,500 Ibero-American journals indexed in Redalyc, a total of 1,570,293 author affiliations from 37,072

institutions across 180 countries have published at least one article between 2005 and 2022 (Aguado-López et al., 2023).[iv]

Nevertheless, Latin American scientific communities routinely pay APCs. In particular Latin American contexts, such as in Colombia, it has been documented that APC-based publication is primarily directed toward journals affiliated with what is considered the current editorial oligopoly, predominantly in English and behind paywalls (Pallares et al., 2022). Additionally, there are practices in Latin America that undermine the publishing ecosystem, such as the commercial reuse of open content funded by public sources. Some communities have responded by promoting licenses that prevent commercial exploitation of content, such as the Creative Commons – Attribution Non Commercial Share Alike (CC BY-NC-SA) license that permits the remixing, reuse, and redistribution of a work, provided that the original creator is credited, the work is not used for commercial gain, and any derivatives are distributed under the same terms as the original (Latindex et al., 2020). Furthermore, universities and science and technology councils often do not encourage non-commercial publishing through institutional and national academic assessment programs or policies. Finally, another issue compromising the Latin American publishing ecosystem is the lack of standardized metadata according to international norms, which is essential for organizing and comprehensively compiling knowledge and its associated metadata (Babini, 2019: 2-3).

The discussion on the previous pages only provides a synthetic overview of publishing practices in each region and does not fully capture the heterogeneity and complexity of how both regions disseminate their contributions. The goal is not to describe 'pure types' but to highlight general trends that coexist with other less common practices. Indeed, in Western Europe and the United States, publishing also takes place in journals that are not owned by corporations but, for example, by the publishing arms of scientific societies. While both types of journals charge APCs, they are driven by different motivations: *keeping investors happy is different from keeping dues-paying members happy* (Guédon, 2017: 8).

Regardless of the specificities and contradictions inherent to each context, both European and Latin American settings share a common element: the central role of journal articles in generating scholarly contributions. Peer reviewed articles and journals are central both in scientific culture and in the normative mechanisms for evaluating and advancing researchers. Research is conducted with the expectation that its presentation and assessment will take the form of a *paper*, which will be published in a *journal*. This journal, in turn, often serves

as an entity that confers 'prestige' based on its position in journal *rankings* determined by citation metrics.

In the collective imagination of scientific communities, the paper is regarded as the preferred format for communicating contributions, with the journal serving as the principal vehicle. This paradigm, which standardizes the communication of academic work, has been identified as a form of global alignment of research outputs that can be associated with capitalist 'progress'. For instance, one can imagine that fields such as philosophy or sociology might exclusively rely on article- (or paper-) based methods for coding, sharing, and education. Yet, even if feasible, it remains contentious whether this approach would be apt or beneficial for the unique subjects, methodologies, and presentation styles typical of these disciplines. On the other hand, it's crucial to acknowledge that the increasing uniformity in scientific communication, despite its shortcomings, offers benefits by simplifying the process of finding, compiling, and structuring documents online.

The background we provided on the previous pages serves as a context for identifying at least two key challenges in contemporary scientific communication and for describing how Marcalyc, a tool for processing scholarly publications in structured language (XML JATS[v]), aims to address these challenges comprehensively.[vi]

Scene 2: The Issues

2.1 Digitality: Substance and Form

The central role of the article and the journal as a format and medium, respectively, for disseminating scientific research is conceptually rooted in the printed world, as evidenced by their predominant use of the PDF format. This storage format can be seen as the digital counterpart of printed journals, which, with the rise and popularization of the web, have entered a new distribution realm but have not fundamentally altered their concept or the concept of scientific communication. When examining an article from the 17th century, one from the 20th century, and another from virtually any journal that published an issue in 2024, it is evident that they retain a relatively similar structure. This suggests that the expository possibilities over the centuries have largely remained unchanged, despite the availability of technical means to transform them.

This situation results from the gradual maturation or consolidation of digital scientific publishing. The shift from print to a digital medium like PDF did indeed represent progress, as it brought publication into

a new realm that could be read and processed by computers. However, this new realm did not take advantage of hypertext, which is text that contains links to other documents. Furthermore, there has not been a widespread transition to publishing with structured documents (for example, XML, JSON, CSV), which organize data in a defined structure through tags or schemas that specify how data should be stored and presented. Such structured documents could, for example, enable comprehensive insights into published content, such as its original language or available translations and their respective languages. It could also allow for automatic reading of this information by machines rather than humans. This is a very superficial example of the potential for implementing structured information standards, similar to practices in other fields like taxation and finance. Similarly, there has been even less use of semantic documents (for example, XML JATS, RDF, OWL), which not only have a defined content structure but also include information about the meaning of the data and the relationships between them. This allows for the semantic representation of data, which in turn supports linked open data and semantic interoperability, for example.

Some scientific and editorial communities in Latin America have initiated significant transformations to advance the consolidation of digital publishing. One method they have adopted is the XML language using the JATS[vii] standard. Marcalyc is software developed with public funds and is available free of charge to journals integrated into Redalyc.[viii] These journals share at least two characteristics: they conduct peer review of their content and do not charge for access, publication, or processing.

Marcalyc operates within a web environment (it is not an application that requires installation) and its primary function is to assign tags to various elements of articles published in journals integrated in Redalyc. This includes attributing meaning to each element of the papers by assigning metadata. For example, one stage of 'tagging' involves identifying and labeling the introductory part of an article, or the *front matter*, with attributes such as 'title', 'author', 'author affiliation', 'abstract', and so on. While a human can easily recognize the title of an academic paper, the tagging process assigns a label to this title that allows computers to identify it as such. Additionally, Marcalyc supports hypertext processing within the content of the articles. A key feature of Marcalyc is that the tagging process enables the automatic generation of various reading formats, including PDF, HTML, ePub, desktop viewers,[ix] and mobile and tablet readers. This provides several advantages.

Firstly, Marcalyc decouples the scientific article from its traditional material form in the digital realm, which is the PDF. The article is not merely a PDF, although it has been for decades; instead, the article can exist also in other digital formats, each offering distinct possibilities. For example, HTML, being the language used to structure web pages, facilitates automatic translation of scientific articles, thereby enhancing the distribution and understanding of contributions across various linguistic contexts. Alternatively, computer viewers enable dynamic rather than linear or sequential reading. Additionally, they allow for manipulation of formatting features, such as adjusting font size or viewing citations within their specific context. These features may not be superfluous; rather, they could transform the reading culture traditionally centered around the formal limitations of the PDF.

Another advantage is the narrative and expository potential of scientific contributions, which varies depending on the medium used for communication. For example, consider a research project with an ethnographic approach that involves recording videos over five months in an indigenous community. The research team eventually considers various ways to present their findings, ultimately choosing to publish a paper. Typically, journals accept papers with a limited amount of text and static images, constrained by size and weight requirements suitable for conversion into a PDF. However, if the paper were intended for a journal that accommodates video, GIFs, or high-resolution images (*frames*) from the video footage, the approach to presenting the findings would be different.

The above is centrally relevant to how scientific communities structure their discourse to make their contributions public. For example, what if practices, habits, and codes captured by a research team through video-documentary follow-up were communicated via hypertext and graphical representations? Would this significantly alter our perception of indigenous communities and, consequently, our understanding of their sense of belonging, progress, rituals, and codes? Would scientific communication still need to be entirely encoded in plain text, or could the use of videos or other forms of hypertext be sufficiently clear and relevant? However, the expository possibilities of digital publishing are still limited to a few thousand words and a small number of images, typically managed through word processing or spreadsheet files.

Processing XML JATS through Marcalyc represents a strategy for advancing digital publication by utilizing hypertext to enhance the representations and expository forms of scientific discourse. However, it is important to acknowledge the potential biases and

conflicts between the natural dynamics of writing processes and the hierarchical nature of XML in specific fields or discourses (Fiormonte et al., 2010). Additionally, challenges related to codification, interpretation, and the reduction involved in adopting metalanguages and standards such as XML have also been noted (Fiormonte, in press).

Eight years after its release, Marcalyc is now widely used by a significant number of editorial teams (Becerril-García et al., 2023). However, the key point we wish to emphasize here is that the representations and expository forms of scientific discourse are shaped by the formal and technical possibilities of formats and publication circuits. This, in turn, shapes the cultures and frameworks of scientific communication, which continually influence how scientific contributions are conceived, conceptualized, structured, communicated, received, valued, and assessed. Overlooking this has led to the quasi inherent approximation between the concepts of the paper and the PDF. In a digital publication framework, contributions to knowledge can be made through various avenues, utilizing hypertext resources and conceptualizing scientific communication beyond the digital analogue of printed text, toward a digitality made possible through the aforementioned tool.

2.2 Ownership: The Commons and Public Goods

Marcalyc was conceived in response to the need to contextualize and adapt the prevailing experience of scientific publication and communication, aiming to develop a tool that would enhance the effectiveness of scientific journals and editorial teams while avoiding commercial practices, such as charging fees for access, publication, or processing. In this context, it is important to emphasize that publishing technologies and tools have a distinct capacity for agency, and that technological advancements reflect and shape political positions and perspectives. This implies that no strategy or tool exists in isolation but rather with the purpose of shaping a particular reality. Conversely, technology, through its unique developments, shapes and builds. It is notable that no open access strategy proposes XML implementation as a central approach, except for SciELO with Markup. However, this specific strategy is aimed at positioning scientific production within the mainstream, which has led to the outsourcing of XML markup services and the subsequent formation of a service market. The social, political, and economic impact of technological proposals is a domain that cannot be overlooked 'naively'.

Various Latin American scientific and editorial communities have taken a stance against the commercial use of academic work, advocating for the CC BY-NC-SA license as a strategy to prevent the commercial exploitation of academic contributions. This applies not only to *papers* but to all products derived from the scientific research process (Latindex et al., 2020). An example of this is the 'UNESCO Recommendation on Open Science', which calls on the 193 United Nations member states to create or harmonize the necessary mechanisms for its implementation (UNESCO, 2021). This approach has been well received, as seen in the reflections and recommendations of the Budapest Open Access Initiative on its twentieth anniversary (Budapest Open Access Initiative, 'Recomendaciones en su 20o aniversario', 2022). In a context where openness is not in question (though it is clear that openness alone is insufficient), and will continue to drive mechanisms, products, infrastructures, practices, and cultures of research and scientific communication, the central issue remains how we are protecting everything we open to ensure it remains a collective good and is not exploited by the publishing and information service industries.

The issue of knowledge as a public good has gained central importance in the current context where commercial publishing is strengthening and consolidating its presence in scientific communication. Specifically, a small number of companies now control a significant percentage of journals, content, services supporting scientific communication, and revenues from Article Processing Charges (APCs) (Aspesi et al., 2019; Butler et al., 2023; Larivière et al., 2015). This strengthening of the commercial model is being exacerbated by policies from the Global North, such as Plan S, which has promoted so-called transformative strategies. These strategies advocate for agreements between scientific communities and editorial groups to negotiate terms and payments for access, publication, and processing. Plan S has acknowledged that editorial groups have not adhered to the expected levels of openness (Kiley, 2023b) and has also pursued other strategies, such as exploring preprints and supporting models without publication or processing charges (Rooryck & Mounier, 2023), as well as promoting an academic-based model while allowing for outsourcing (cOAlition S, 2023). However, this set of strategies highlights one of the current debates in open scientific communication: who owns and/or should own the PDF or any other publication format, and which version of the PDF or format should be made open, the most recent one or the version generated by the author.

One of the implications of the fact that science communication in recent decades has been grounded in PDF-based publishing schemes

is that this format has not only shaped the explanatory possibilities and narrative forms of science in the digital age but has also become a fundamental element of the publishing industry. For example, a significant part of the debate surrounding open access through peer reviewed journals concerns which version of an article should be made publicly available: the final revised version or the version submitted by the author incorporating the feedback received? Some journals allow the distribution of the final version in repositories, while others permit the posting of the author's version. Ultimately, these discussions revolve around the ownership and distribution rights of the article (primarily in PDF format) that has been edited or processed by the journal.

As a point for debate, we pose the following questions: in a digital publishing environment where scientific contributions are disseminated through various formats (viewers, HTML, ePub, PDF), what specific digital format would the publishing industry rely upon? It is possible that, with the move away from the traditional physical form of knowledge, a new business model for scientific publishing could develop. In a context where even the XML files of articles are openly accessible, might the publishing industry take a different direction?

As stated at the beginning of this article, Latin American communities have a longstanding tradition of collaborative, non-commercial publishing sustained by public funding. In this context, openness has been central. Given the extensive history of this 'ecosystem', it is crucial to also consider the sustainability of maintaining openness without implementing precautionary measures for the preservation of knowledge assets as a common and public good. Although open access has constitutional status in countries like Mexico, there is no guarantee that, in the medium or long term, journals in the region will not begin charging APCs on a large scale, that technological platforms will cease to collaborate when commercial business models are introduced, or that new actors will emerge (or existing ones become further entrenched) in a context driven by open science towards new 'lines of business' in knowledge communication.

It is conceivable that publishing academic works on a digital platform and using licenses that prohibit commercial exploitation of intellectual property could serve as a means to undermine the dominant academic publishing market, especially within Latin American and other Southern contexts. This is particularly relevant given the widespread use of the CC BY license, which permits unrestricted distribution of academic works (Kiley, 2023a). Furthermore, digital publishing, as proposed by Marcalyc, represents

a potentially powerful and strategic method for treating scholarly contributions as common goods through licenses that prevent commercial use. This approach is especially pertinent for the global South and its various regions and margins. In conclusion, this proposal may be a feasible (and potentially desirable, depending on the specific context) approach to rethinking the representations and forms of scientific discourse in the 21st century. However, the current maturity and vulnerabilities of scientific communication[x] methods indicate a lack of interest in implementing technological developments to address existing inequities and concentrations of power.

The heterogeneity and complexity of scholarly publishing today exceed the capacity of any single writing, such as the present one, to provide a comprehensive synthesis. The brief discussion we have conducted leaves 'some loose threads'. For example, the designation diamond open access—a scholarly publication model where neither authors nor readers are charged fees by journals and platforms—does not, in and of itself, constitute a guarantee of sustainability. Indeed, the evolution of scholarly publishing demonstrates that there are multiple variants of diamond open access, as the absence of APCs is not a sufficient criterion for its identification. In order to gain a more comprehensive understanding, it is necessary to consider additional variables. This proposal will address two such variables: the transversality of technological developments in the invention of new representations and expository forms derived from digitality (a digitality) and the preservation of research work as a common and public good, which should not be susceptible to commercialization. In conclusion, our objective has been to put forward a solution to the publication mechanisms of the informational capitalist stage in which we find ourselves. We seek to facilitate dialogue and exchange from a perspective of the diversity of communities.

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Endnotes

[i] Redalyc makes available the XML JATS files derived from the markup performed with Marcalyc, with the aim of providing editorial teams with all the products generated from their editorial work.

[ii] Paradoxically, Mexico exhibits an opposite trend: 68.3% of scientific articles resulting from research funded by the National Council for Humanities, Sciences, and Technology (CONAHCYT, formerly

CONACYT until 2023) and published between 2009 and 2019 are behind paywalls (Ugarte Pineda & Parra Huerta, 2021).

[iii] Notable examples of proprietary information systems developed in this region include BIREME (1967), CLASE (1975), Periódica (1978), IRESIE (1979), LILACS (1982), and Latindex (1997). All of these systems were created at the National Autonomous University of Mexico. Similarly, SciELO, established in 1998 by the Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado de São Paulo and BIREME, has been supported by the Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Científico e Tecnológico del Ministerio da Ciência e Tecnologia of Brazil since 2002. Another pertinent example is the Scientific Information System Redalyc, which was established in 2003 at the Autonomous University of the State of Mexico (Cetto et al., 2015; Córdoba González & Melero Melero, 2023, pp. 19-22).

[iv] This perspective is further reinforced when considering the estimated 28,000-plus scientific journals worldwide that do not charge for access, publication, or processing (Bosman et al., 2021), a phenomenon known as the diamond open access model. It is important to note that approximately half of this number is indexed in the Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ). Geographically, these journals are distributed as follows: Europe (45%), Latin America (25%), Asia (16%), and North America (5%). The underrepresentation of Asia and Latin America alone suggests that this projection may still omit a significant number of diamond open access journals. It is therefore reasonable to estimate that the actual number of journals could be at least double the projected figure, amounting to approximately 60,000 journals.

[v] The acronyms for Extensible Markup Language (XML) and Journal Article Tag Suite (JATS) refer to two distinct but related concepts. XML is a language used to store and organize information on the web, whereas JATS is a technical standard specifically used to structure the contents of scientific articles.

[vi] To gain a more detailed understanding of Marcalyc, it is recommended to refer to the following link, which provides access to a comprehensive online resource comprising video tutorials, the latest user manual, and detailed technical information on the features of each released version of this technological development: https://marcalyc.redalyc.org/ayuda/

[vii] In particular, two Latin American initiatives have developed technological solutions that facilitate the processing of scholarly content in this language, with the aim of promoting open access

publication among the journals included in their respective indexes. Notable examples include SciELO, which employs the SciELO Markup tool (Packer et al., 2014), and Redalyc, which utilizes the Marcalyc tool (Becerril-García et al., 2023). Despite sharing the goal of advancing open access, they differ, and even conflict, in their teleological, technical, and functional approaches (Domínguez-Gómez, 2024). This article does not aim to delve into these contrasts but is limited to an examination of the Marcalyc tool.

[viii] Redalyc is supported by the Autonomous University of the State of Mexico, although in recent years it has also begun to receive external funding from Arcadia Funding and SCOSS.

[ix] To illustrate, consider the following example: https://www.redalyc.org/journal/270/27075657010/

[x] Latin American technological initiatives have emerged in a context where, despite operating under a non-commercial publishing model, contributions to knowledge are reoriented as commodities by companies that subsequently charge access fees, a trend primarily observed in publications from other regions. Unfortunately, a persistent issue among Latin American journals is their inability to adopt XML tagging due to financial constraints and the capacity of their editorial teams. Conversely, this is not yet a consideration for journals in the Global North. This is a central factor in envisioning digital publishing in other contexts.