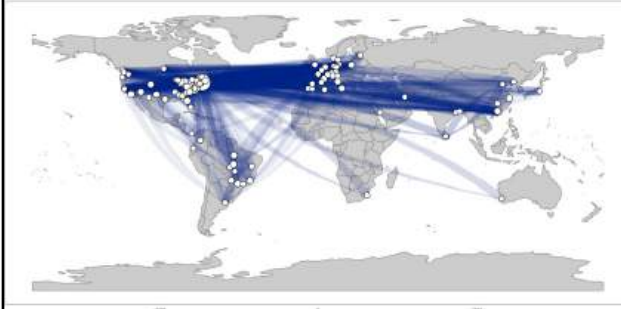


# Global biases in the creation and diffusion of scientific knowledge

(and what we can do about them)



Emilio M. Bruna , University of Florida  
Dept. of Wildlife Ecology & Conservation &  
Center for Latin American Studies

 [www.BrunaLab.org](http://www.BrunaLab.org)

 [github.com/BrunaLab](https://github.com/BrunaLab)

1

This was a team effort.

Harrison Jones  
Candice Prince  
Constanza Rios  
Erica Ross  
Bhagatveer Sangha  
Tia Tyler  
Joseph Andreoli  
Patrick James  
Forrest Smith  
Matt Boone  
Auriel Fournier  
Sean Bruna

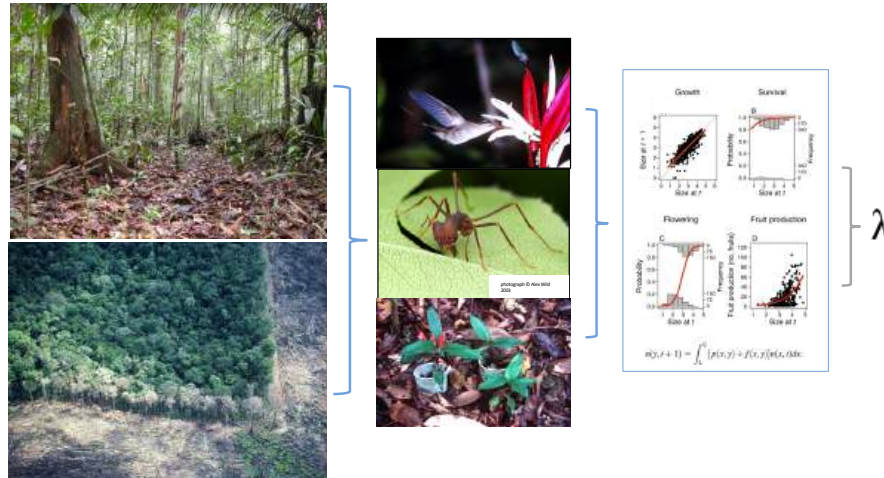
Franklin Paniagua  
Sebastian Palmas  
Farah Carrasco-Rueda  
Kristina Riemer  
Kay Kastner-Wilcox  
Gabriela Stocks  
Audrey C. Smith  
Leandra Merz  
Jesse B. Borden  
Chris K. Gulick  
Akhil R. Kshirsagar  
Ellen Bledsoe  
Zachary Emberts

Mauricio M. Núñez-Regueiro  
Ana Luiza Violato Espada  
Jessica Hightower  
Johanna Espin  
Judit Ungvari-Martin  
Mariana Villegas  
Joan Meiners  
Kirsten A. Hecht  
Catherine Frock  
Pablo E. Allen  
Kwanmok Kim  
Nathan Berkebile  
Tara T. Cataldo



2

Me.



3

Also me.



 **TCD** Tropical Conservation & Development Program

4

Oye Gary...  
en dónde están  
los Ticos?



Dr. Mario Blanco  
Universidad de Costa  
Rica

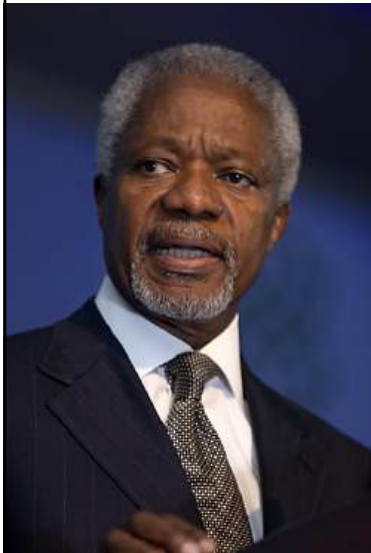


OTS 96-9  
Tropical Plant Systematics



Dr. Gary Hartshorn  
CEO, OTS

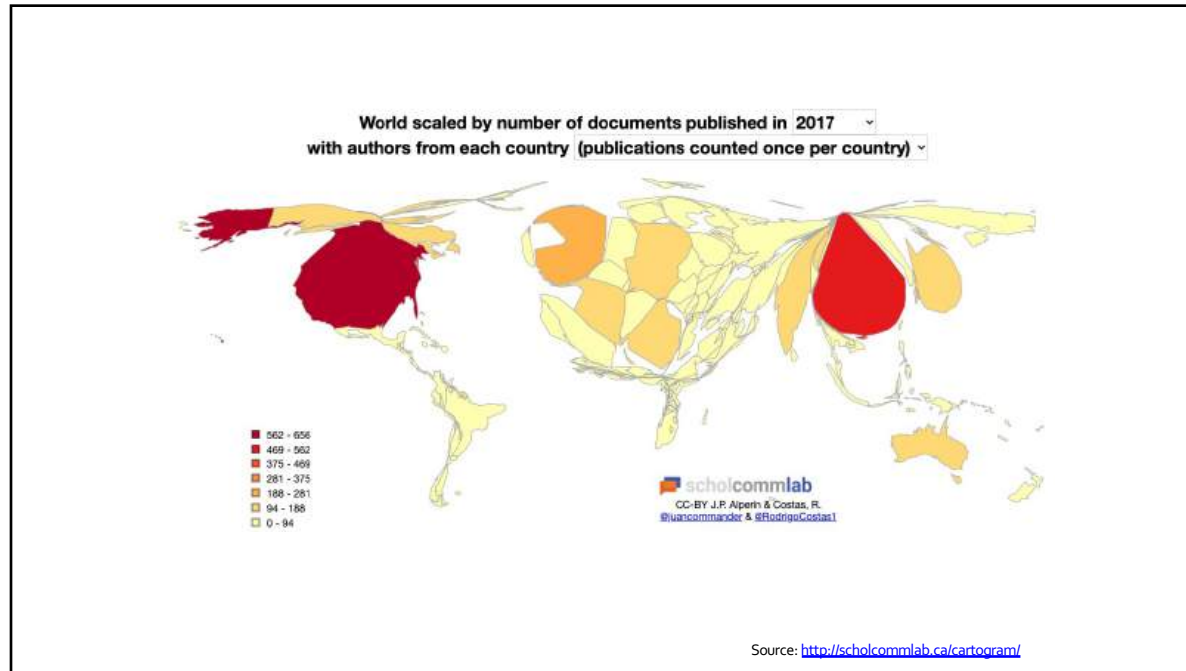
5



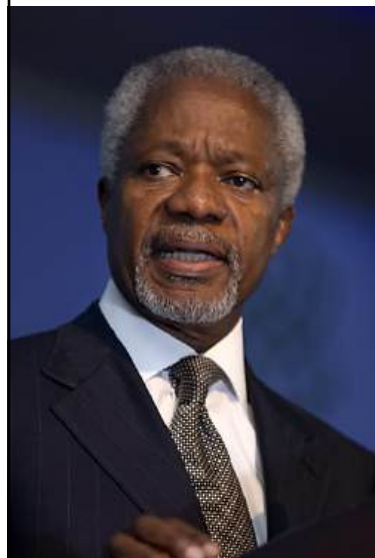
“95% of the new science in the world  
is created in the countries  
comprising only 1/5 of the world’s  
population. And much of that  
science...neglects the problems that  
afflict most of the world’s people.

Kofi Annan (2003) Science 299: 1485

6



7



“This unbalanced distribution of scientific activity generates serious problems not only for the scientific community in the developing countries, but for development itself. It accelerates the disparity between advanced and developing countries, creating social and economic difficulties at both national and international levels.”

Kofi Annan (2003) Science 299: 1485

8

A robust national scientific community is key  
to socio-economic development



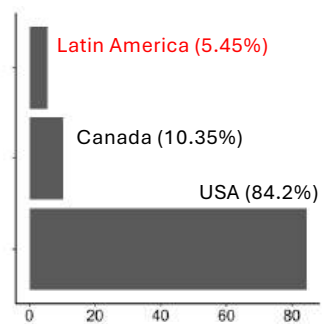
VS.



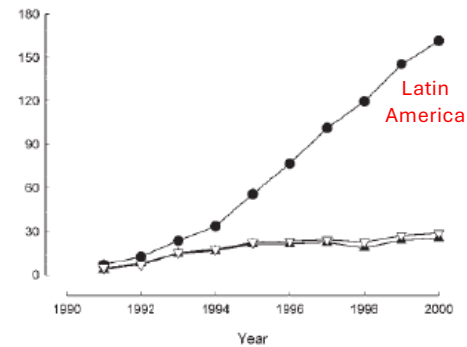
9

Milena Holmgren & Stefan A. Schnitzer:  
“Science on the Rise in Developing Countries” (PLoS Biology 2004)

Regional Contribution to the  
Scientific Literature



% Increase in Scientific Productivity  
(relative to 1990)



% of GDP invested in Research & Development:  
USA: 2.84%, Canada: 1.5%, Latin America: 0.59%

10

“Although there may still be a long road to travel, we feel optimistic that the bridges mentioned by Mr. Annan are slowly being built.”

Holmgren and Schnitzer (PLoS Biology, 2004)

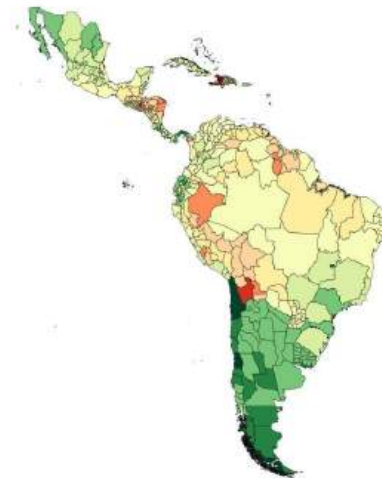
However...

11

“Latin America” is not a monolith



GDP per capita  
(2019)



Human Development Index  
(HDI)

12



1. How has scientific productivity in the Global South (= Latin America) changed over time?

2. What shapes the disparities in the creation of knowledge in Latin America?

3. What can we do to address global disparities in the production and recognition of scholarship?



1. How has scientific productivity in the Global South (= Latin America) changed over time?

2. What shapes the disparities in the creation of knowledge in Latin America?

3. What can we do to address global disparities in the production and recognition of scholarship?



Holmgren & Schnitzer redux:  
Is science really on the rise in Latin America?

1) All articles, Reviews, or Data Papers published 1981-2024

...indexed in SCOPUS and

...with  $\geq 1$  author based in USA, or  
Canada, or  
one of 20 LatAm Countries.

2) All countries credited equally for coauthored articles  
(i.e., no fractional authorship)



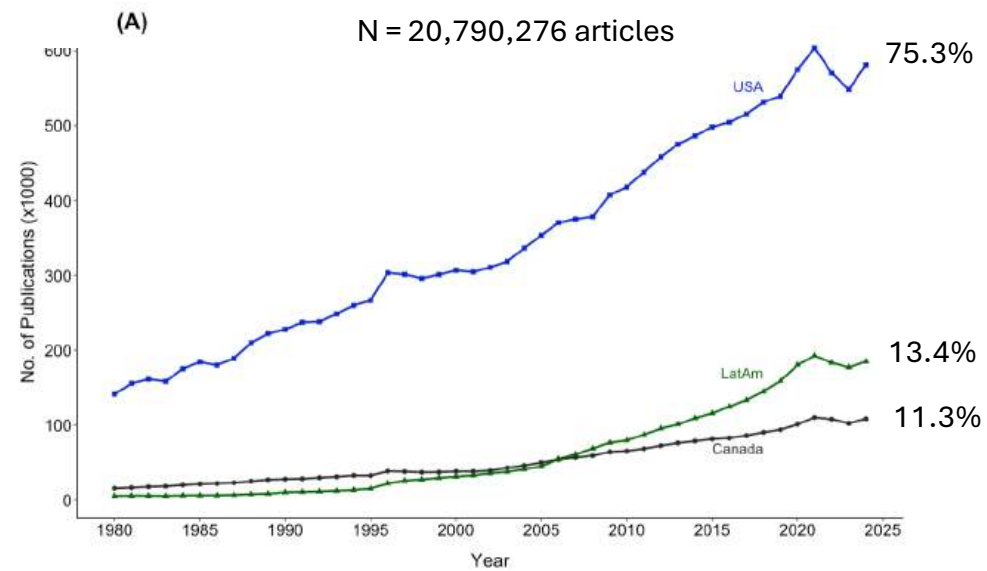
NB: A large quantity of very good & very important scholarship is not indexed in the SCOPUS during the early years surveyed (or to this day, for that matter). That's a feature of this study, not a bug.



N = 20,790,276

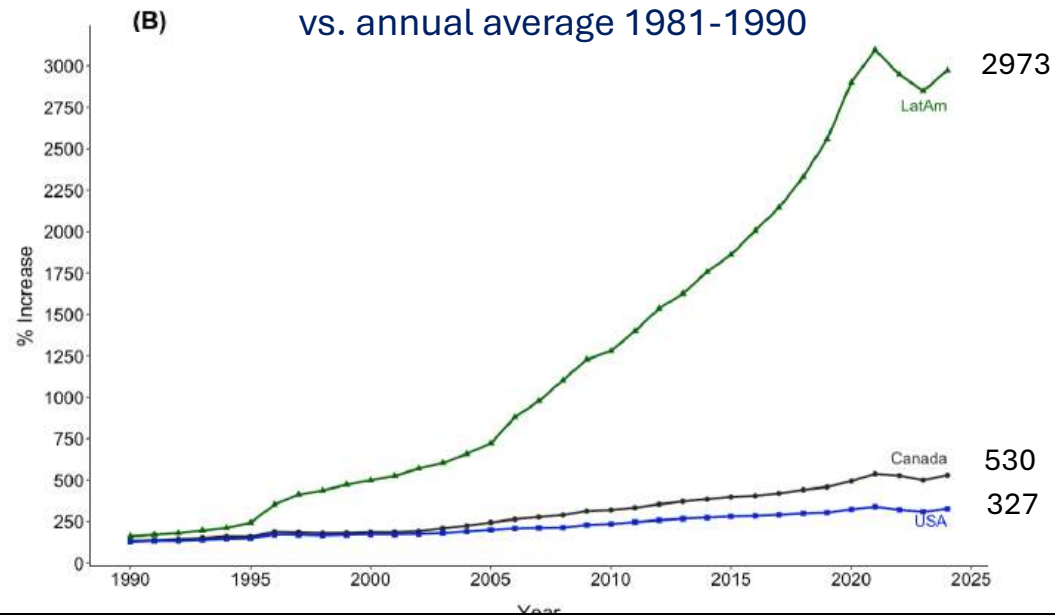


## Disparity in Scientific Publication in the Americas 1981-2024:

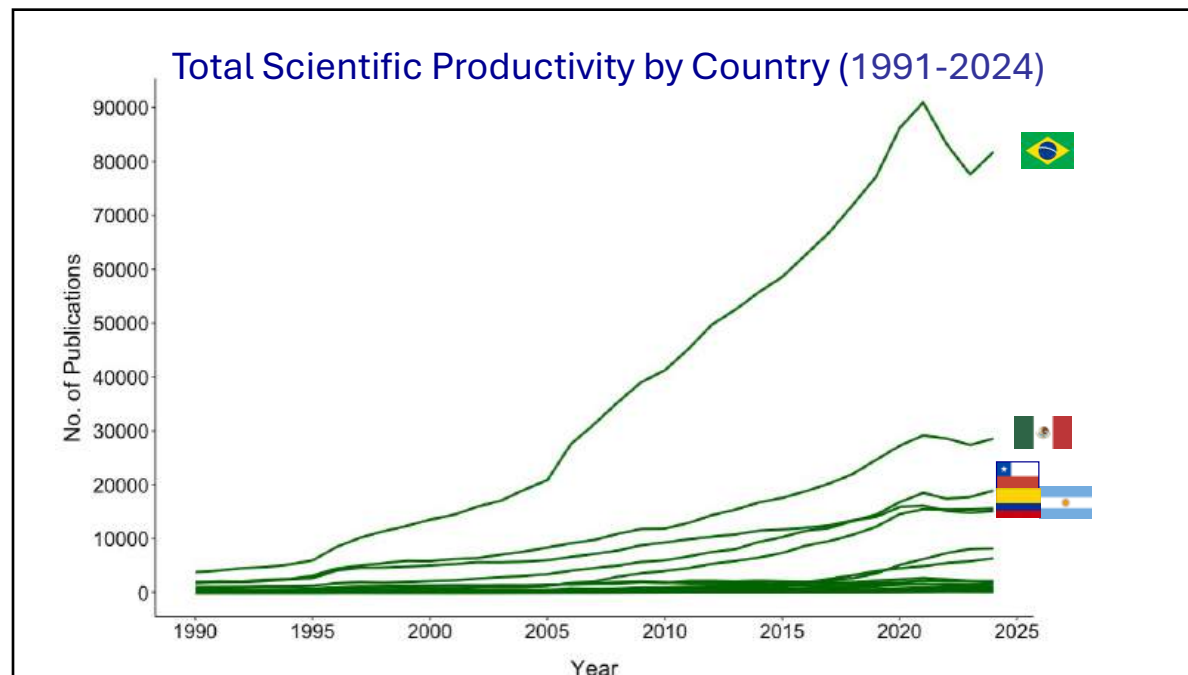


17

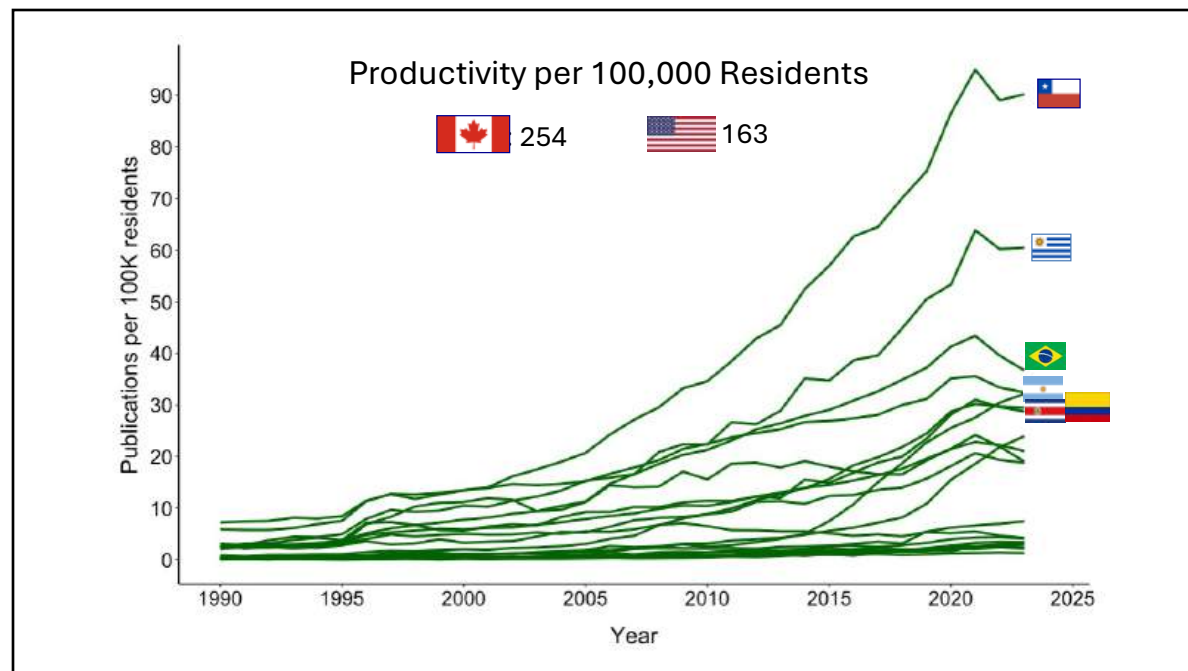
## % increase in scientific productivity vs. annual average 1981-1990



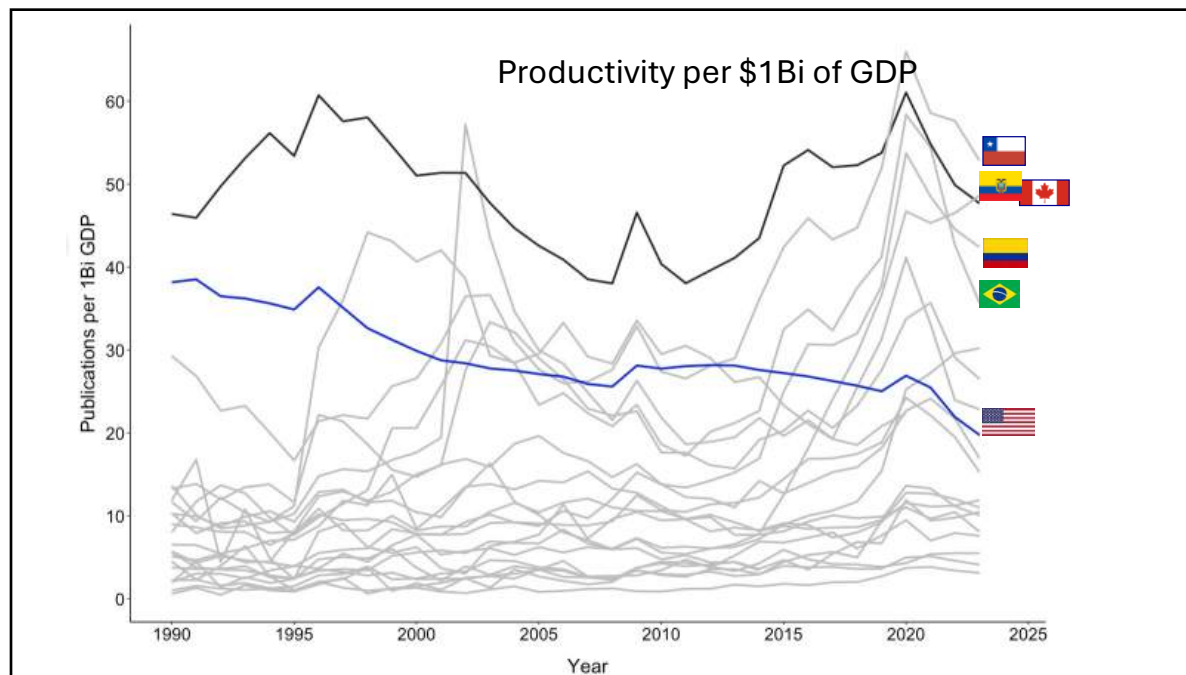
18



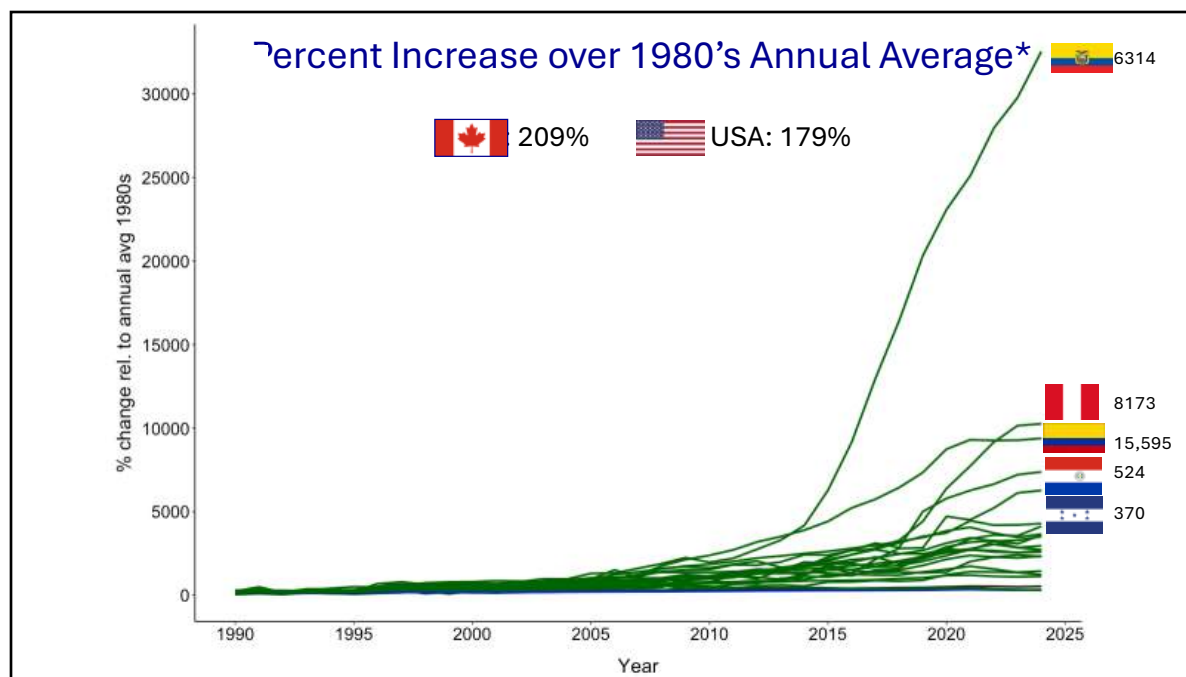
19



20



21



22

1. How has scientific productivity in the Global South (= Latin America) changed over time?



2. What shapes the disparities in the creation of knowledge in Latin America?



3. What can we do to address global disparities in the production and recognition of scholarship?



23

## Resources

Financial Investment  
Human Resources  
Investment in Higher Ed

Productivity

24

## Is Latin American Productivity On the Rise?

Preliminary Results (GAMs): For most countries, yes....

Resources: Population Size & GDP: 96% of variance in data.

This is not big news.

Chile  
pop: 18 million  
GDP: 277 billion

vs.



México  
pop: 129 million  
GDP: \$1.15 trillion

25

## (Stable-ish) Research Funding



2015: R\$ 10.7 bi  
2022: R\$ 3.14bi  
(-70%)

2017: R\$ 1.08 bi  
2022: R\$ 1.85 bi

26

## Investment in higher education

1		Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile (UC)	*	Chile	11		UNESP	*	Brazil
2		Universidade de São Paulo	*	Brazil	12		Pontificia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro	*	Brazil
3		Universidade Estadual de Campinas (Unicamp)	*	Brazil	13		Universidad de Santiago de Chile (USACH)	*	Chile
4		Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM)	More	Mexico	14		Universidad de Concepción	*	Chile
5		Universidad de los Andes	More	Colombia	=15		Universidad de Antioquia	More	Colombia
6		Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey	More	Mexico	=15		Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais	*	Brazil
7		Universidad de Chile	*	Chile	17		Pontificia Universidad Javeriana	More	Colombia
8		Universidad de Buenos Aires (UBA)	*	Argentina	18		Universidade Federal de Rio Grande do Sul	*	Brazil
9		Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro	*	Brazil	=19		Universidad de Costa Rica	More	Costa Rica
10		Universidad Nacional de Colombia	More	Colombia	=19		Universidad de La Habana	More	Cuba

QS Latin America Rankings 2019

27

## Specializing & Leveraging Circumstances

Astronomy / Astrophysics: Chile (16,774) vs. Argentina (6622)



28

## Developing a national scientific workforce



29

## (Access to) International collaborations

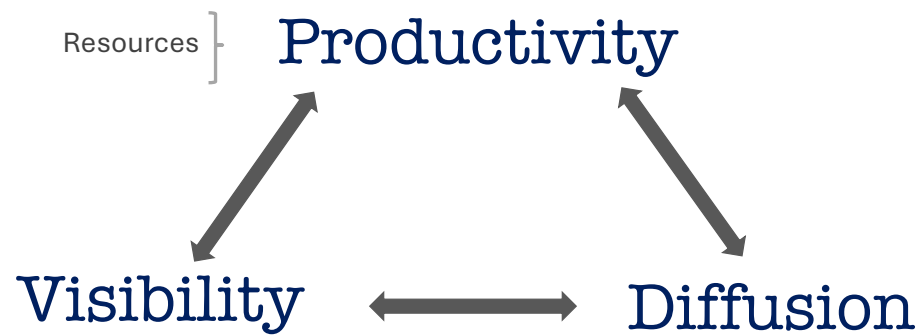


30

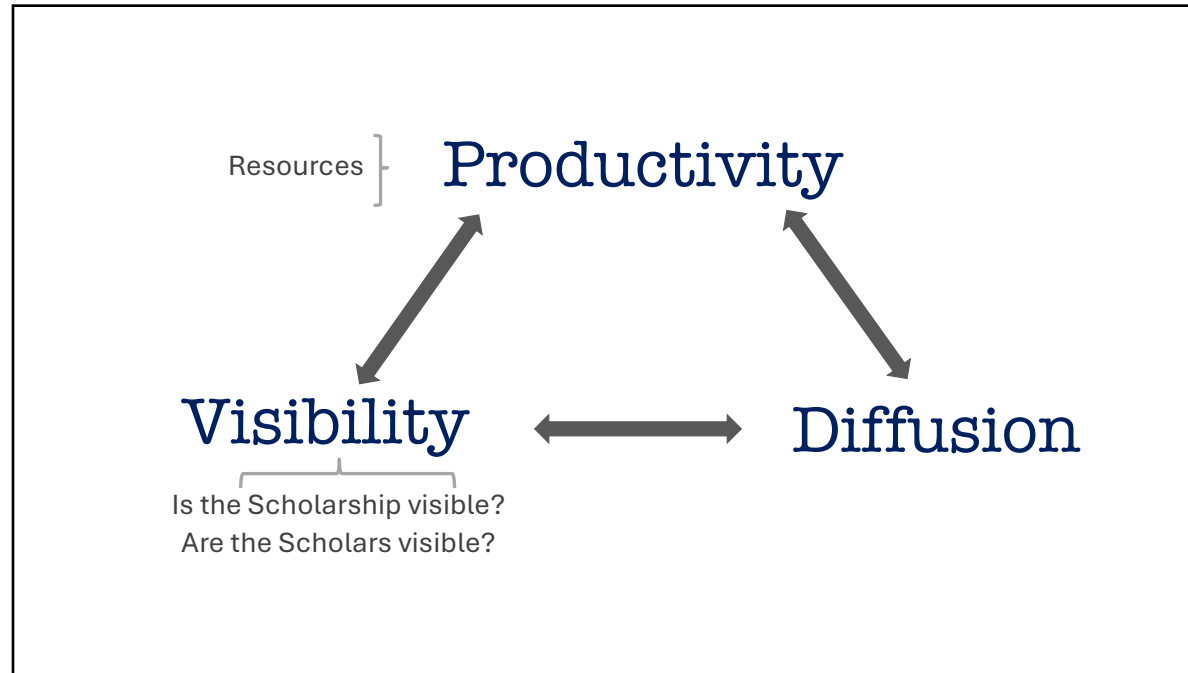




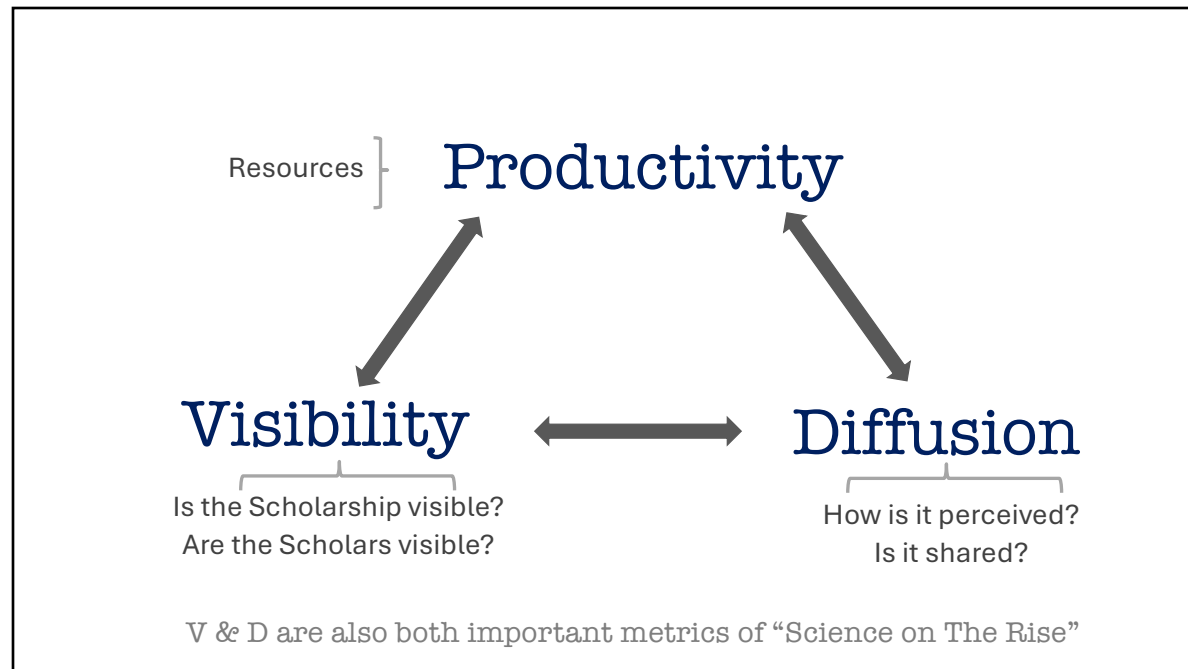
31



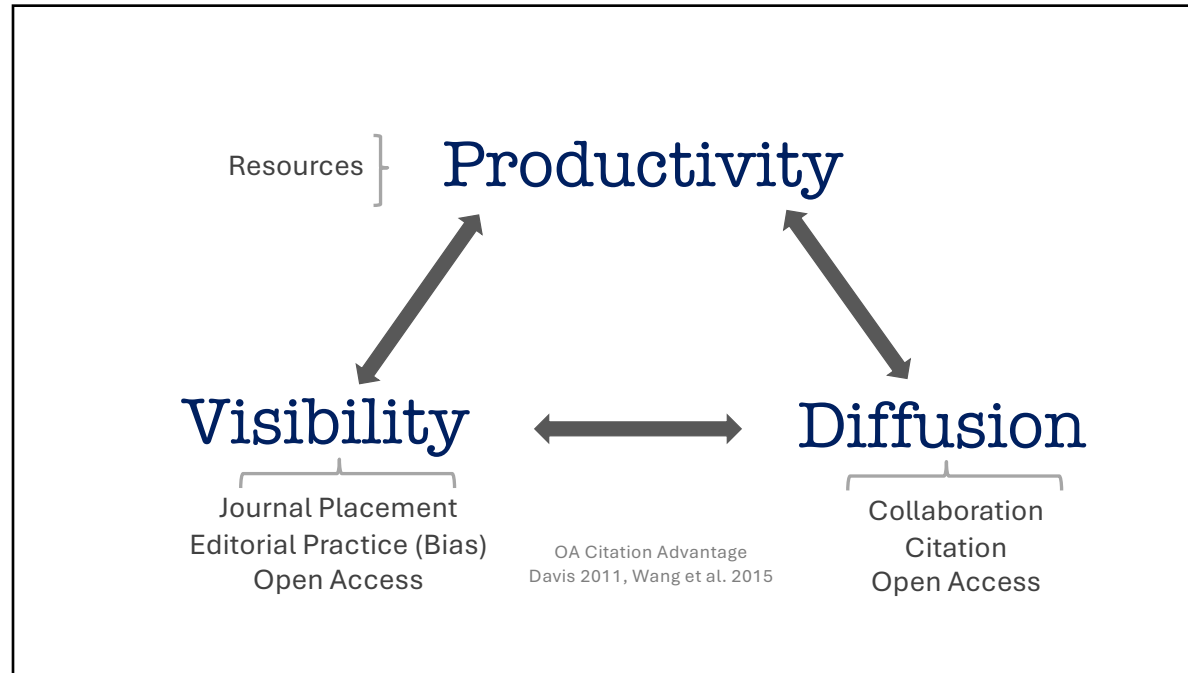
32



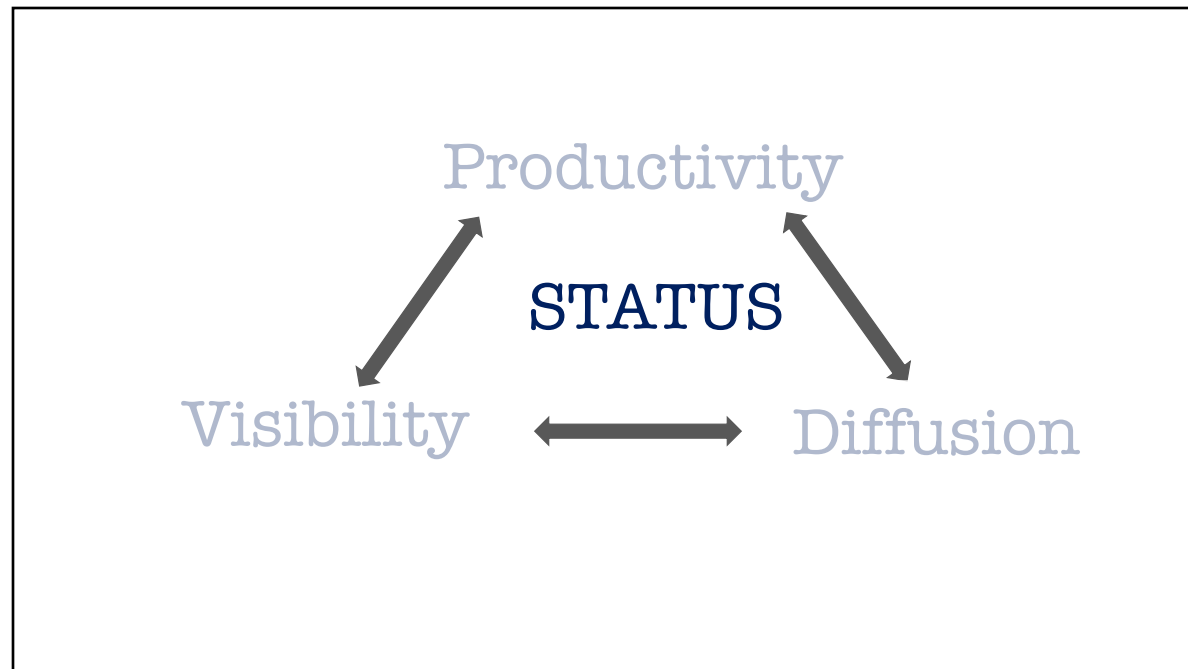
33



34



35



36

US\$908

avg. APC for N = 4418 OA journals  
Morrison & Singh 2019

\$1500



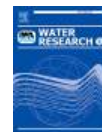
\$1760



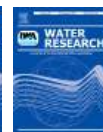
\$4500



\$5380



\$3750



\$3750

\$282 \$413  
MS PhD\$493 \$711  
MS PhD\$574 \$588  
MS PhDSmith et al. 2022 *Quantitative Science Studies*: 38,906 Articles in 42 journal pairs

37

OPEN ACCESS Freely available online



## Articles by Latin American Authors in Prestigious Journals Have Fewer Citations

Rogério Monaghini<sup>1,2,3</sup>, Abel L. Packer<sup>1,2</sup>, Lilian Nassi-Caló<sup>1</sup><sup>1</sup>BIOMEX-PAPIC-RIHO, Latin American and Caribbean Center on Health Sciences Information, São Paulo, Brazil; <sup>2</sup>DIS-Departamento de Informática Médica, Universidade Federal de São Paulo, São Paulo, Brazil; <sup>3</sup>Departamento de Informática Médica, Universidade Federal de São Paulo, São Paulo, Brazil

## National bias: a comparison of citation practices by health professionals

By Frank M. Campbell, M.A.S.

Virginia Commonwealth University  
Medical College of Virginia  
Trombino-McCrea Library  
Box 582 MCV Station  
Richmond, Virginia 23298-0582

British Library Lending Division were employed to find world journal counts. The results suggest that U.S. authors publishing in the *New England Journal of Medicine* and U.K. authors publishing in *Lancet* tend to cite material produced in their own countries more than would be warranted by the amount of material produced by these countries. In addition, these authors cited material produced in non-U.S. and non-U.K. countries far less than the amount of material produced by these countries would indicate.

## Conservation Biology



Research Note Full Access

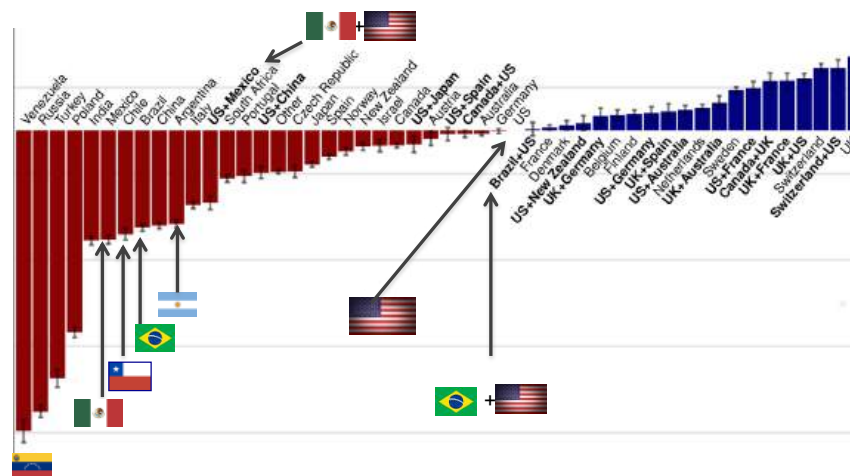
## Geographic bias in citation rates of conservation research

Erik Meijaard, Marcel Cardillo, Emily M. Meijaard, Hugh P. Possingham

First published: 27 March 2015 | <https://doi.org/10.1111/cobi.12489> | Citations: 14

38

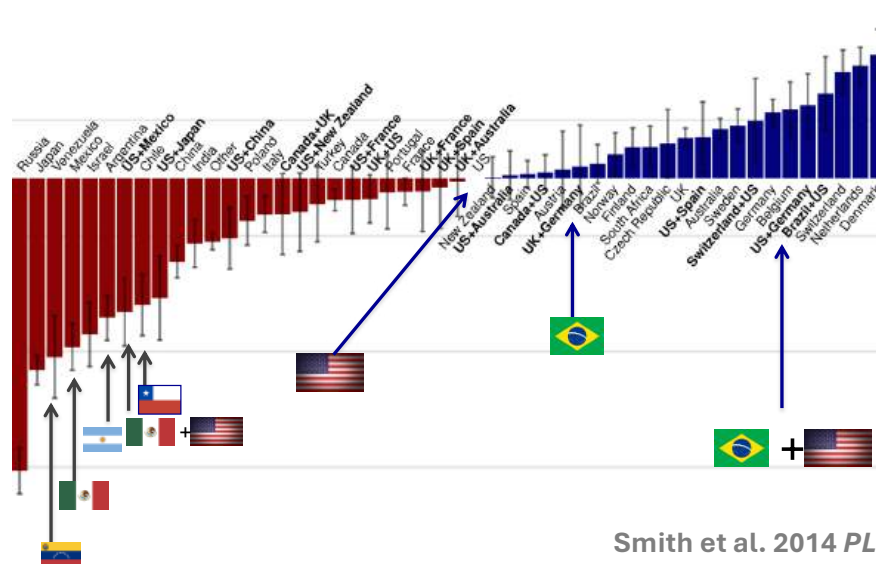
## Author Home Country & Journal Placement: Ecology



Smith et al. 2014 *PLoS ONE*: 1.25 million articles, 1996-2012, 8 subjects

39

## Author Home Country & Citation Performance: Ecology



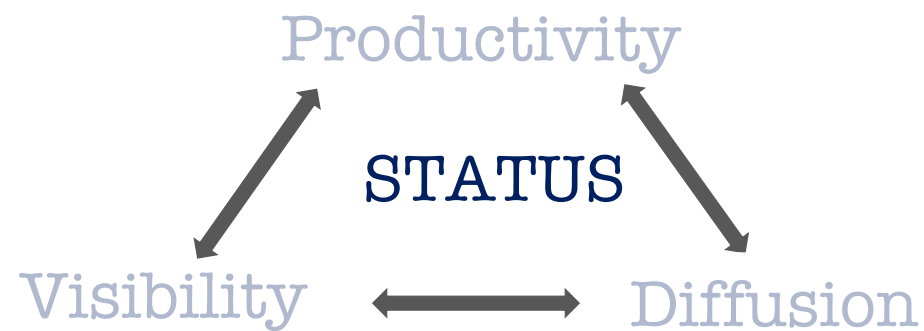
Smith et al. 2014 *PLoS ONE*

40



Stocks et al. 2008 *Biotropica*: N = 1985 'tropical' articles in 6 journals

41



42

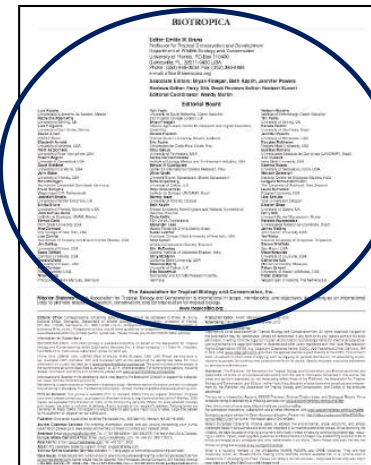


Crane, Diana. 1967. The gatekeepers of science: Some factors affecting the selection of articles for scientific journals. *The American Sociologist*. 2(4):195-201.

43

Crane, Diana (1967) The gatekeepers of science: Some factors affecting the selection of articles for scientific journals. *The American Sociologist* 2(4):195-201.

Editors are a very small but very influential group of scientists



44



Gatekeepers



Also  
Gatekeepers



45

## Why are Editors such powerful gatekeepers?

Confer legitimacy on  
both the research &  
the researchers



Shape the direction  
of the field  
(topics, approaches)



Help choose new editors.  
This confers status on a select group of  
individuals that can now benefit professionally

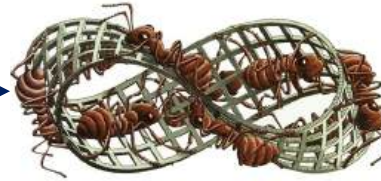
46

## Could Editorial Board composition bias peer-review?



Board of Directors, [corporate name redacted]

Demographically homogenous  
Boards might converge on narrow  
suite of topics & approaches  
'worthy of publication'



M.C. Escher: Moebius Strip II (1964)

This narrow vision could be  
perpetuated by editors nominating  
collaborators with similar  
perspectives or backgrounds

### **Implicit Expectation (Hypothesis):**

Editorial boards that reflect increasing  
geographic diversity of scientific community  
will benefit journals *and* disciplines



Editors based in the region more familiar with environmental, socio-economic context & constraints



Scientists trained in different parts of world can have very different epistemological orientations.



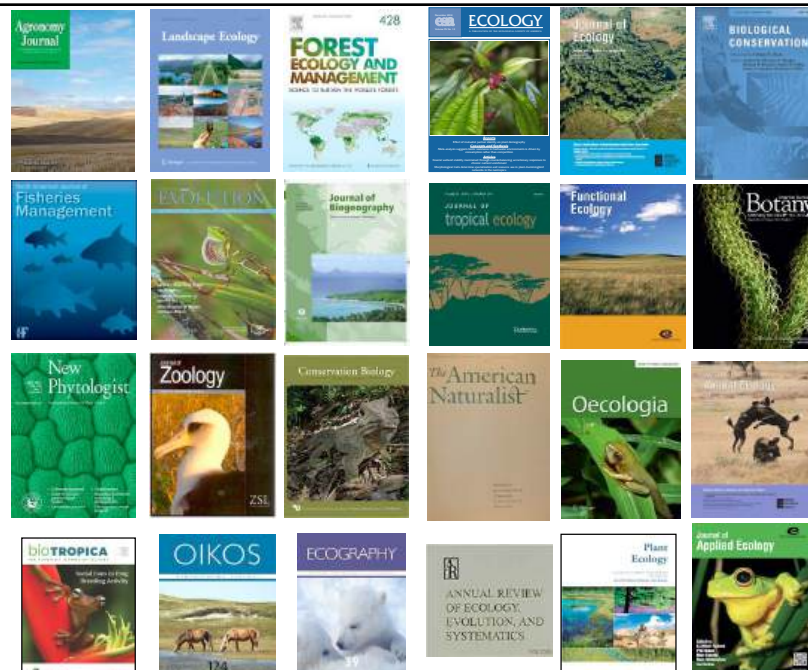
Internationalization could reduce biases in review, publication, & citation of articles based on author 'nationality'

49

# WHO ARE OUR GATEKEEPERS?

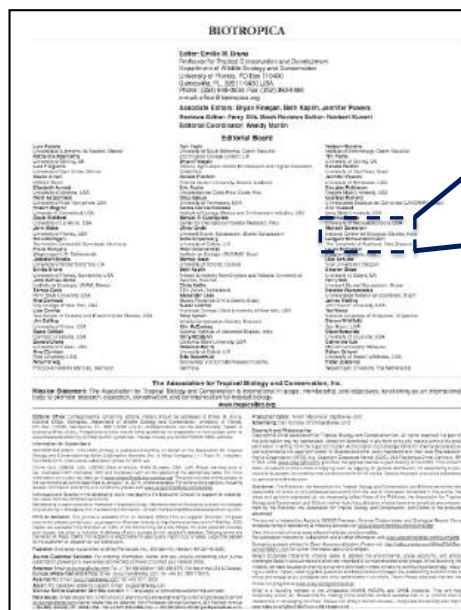
'our' = *Ecology, Evolution, & Conservation*

50



**1985-2013**  
*2014-2024*  
*in progress*

1. Issue 1 of every volume  
(1985-2015)



**Laura Schneider**  
Rutgers University, USA  
**Lisa Schulte**  
Vrije Universiteit, Belgium  
**Luitgard Schwendenmann**  
The University of Auckland, New Zealand  
**Eleanor Slade**  
University of Oxford, UK  
**Ferry Slik**  
Universiti Brunei Darussalam, Brunei

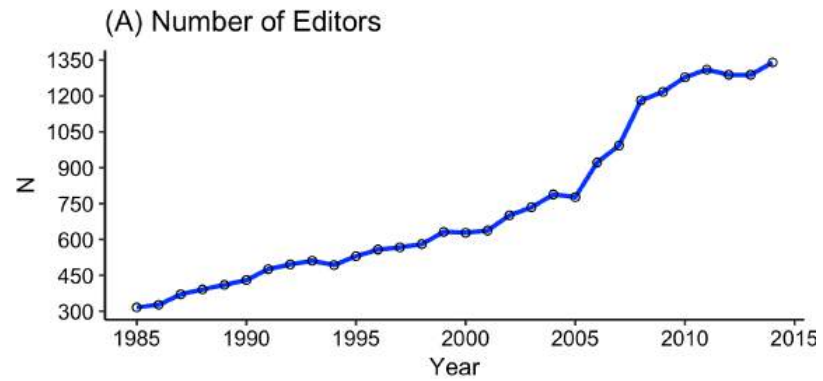
## 2. Richness & Diversity Estimators

Gender: Cho et al. 2014 *PeerJ*  
Geography: Espin et al. 2017 *PLOS Biology*



## Geographic Distribution of Editors (1985-2013)

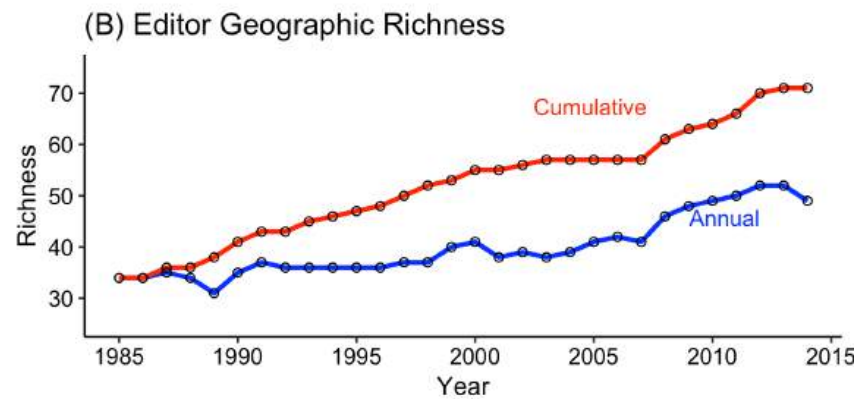
N = 3827 Editors



53

## Geographic Distribution of Editors (1985-2013)

N = 3827 Editors

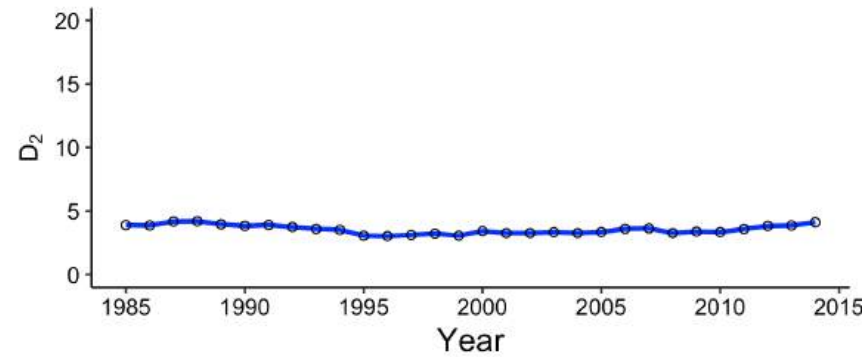


54

## Geographic Distribution of Editors (1985-2013)

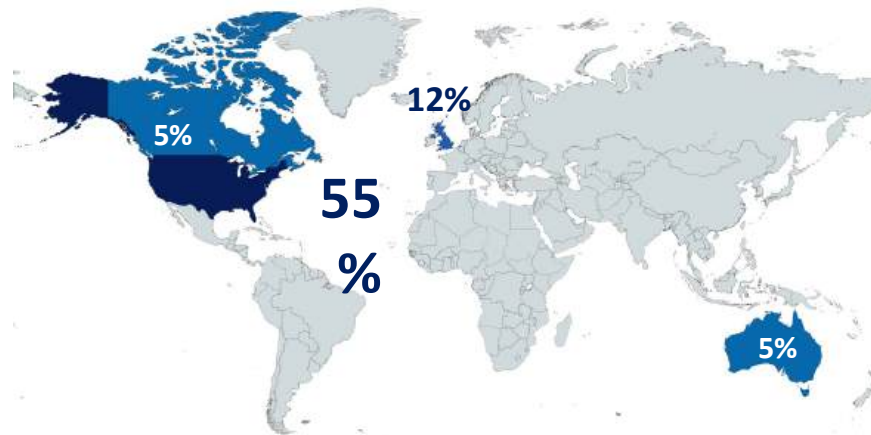
N = 3827 Editors

(C) Editor Geographic Diversity



55

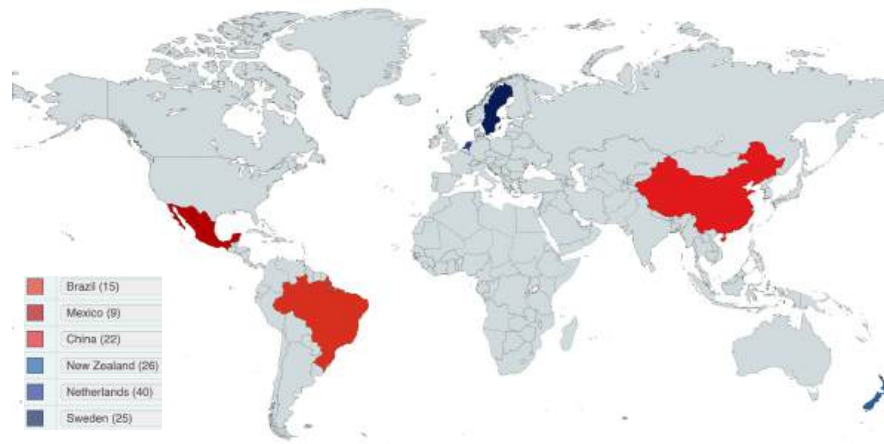
## Geographic Distribution of Editors (1985-2013)



56



Brazil, Mexico, & China < Sweden, New Zealand, The Netherlands



57

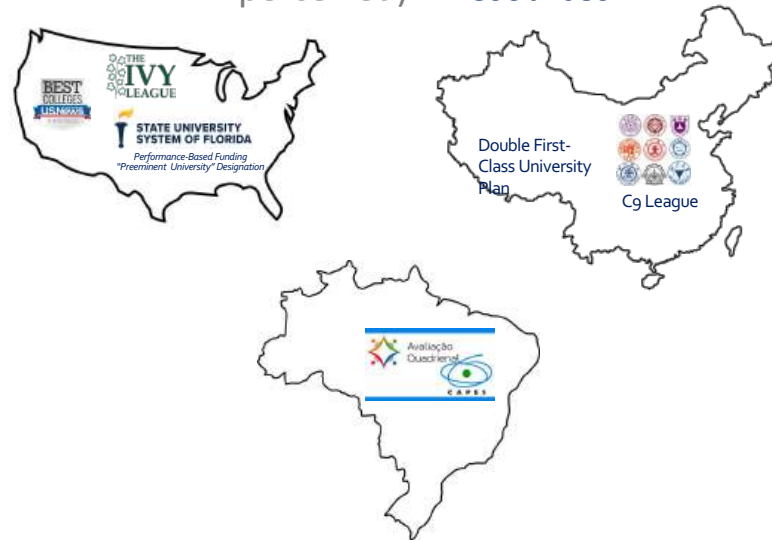


Individuals aren't  
the only ones  
concerned with or  
(that benefit from)  
**STATUS**

58



...within-country differences in status (real or perceived) = resources



59

## Institutional Status in the Outside World

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

**Yale University Team Develops An Experimental AIDS Vaccine**

The New York Times

**Yale Professors Race Google and IBM to the First Quantum Computer**

**Harvard researchers discovered the one thing everyone needs for happier, healthier lives**

Showing 131 results for:

**"Yale Study"**

**N = 131**

Showing 530 results for:

**"Harvard Study"**

**N = 530**

Showing 19 results for:

**"University of Florida Study"**

**N = 19**

60



## Institutional Representation on Editorial Boards

61



Journal of Financial Economics  
Volume 111, Issue 1, January 2014, Pages 251-270



### Networks and productivity: Causal evidence from editor rotations ☆

[Jonathan Brogaard](#)<sup>a,1</sup>  [Joseph Engelberg](#)<sup>b,2</sup>  [Christopher A. Parsons](#)<sup>b</sup>  

“During an editor's tenure, his current university colleagues publish about 100% more papers in the editor's journal, compared to years when he is not editor. In contrast to editorial nepotism, such “inside” articles have significantly higher ex post citation counts, even when same-journal and self-cites are excluded.”

62

As of 2 hours ago: 23 Journals  
 3013 Editors from 949 Institutions  
 20,839 editor-years

editor_id	last_name	journal	editor_id	last_name	journal
1459	bence	ecology	993	litchman	oecol
16	bennett	evol	1718	liu	leco
637	brown	leco	1762	messina	plantecol
3885	chen	leco	1233	mittellbach	ecology
1518	conner	evol	2887	ostrom	oecol
1518	conner	oecol	3432	peacor	oecol
73	finley	ecology	1253	robertson	ecology
3915	gross	oecol	2738	sarnelle	ecology
715	hall	ecology	858	schemske	arees
730	lan	evol	858	schemske	bitr
3374	kalisz	jecol	2085	scribner	canbio
496	klausmeier	amnat	197	shingleton	evol
755	landis	jape	2696	swenson	jecol
1699	lau	jecol	215	tessler	oecol
1699	lau	oecol	2952	werner	arees
3134	lenski	amnat			
3134	lenski	evol			



N = 19

63

Table 2: Top Institutions (No. of Editors)

inst	country	n	rank	perc
university of california davis	usa	57	1.0	1.63
university of oxford	united kingdom	43	2.0	1.23
university of florida	usa	37	3.0	1.06
cornell university	usa	29	5.0	0.83
university of georgia	usa	29	5.0	0.83
university of washington seattle	usa	29	5.0	0.83
michigan state university	usa	28	8.0	0.80
university of sheffield	united kingdom	28	8.0	0.80
university of wisconsin madison	usa	28	8.0	0.80
oregon state university	usa	27	10.5	0.77
university of british columbia vancouver	canada	27	10.5	0.77
university of michigan	usa	19	29.0	0.54

64

[illegible]

	first_name	n
	<fct>	<int>
1	john	92
2	david	89
3	michael	66
4	peter	64
5	j	57
6	james	49
7	richard	49
8	robert	41
9	mark	38
10	william	38

Editors named Jennifer = 16

Editors named Brian = 19

william >



67

1. How has scientific productivity in Latin America changed over time, and what shapes disparities in knowledge production?



2. What influences the global diffusion of knowledge generated in Latin America?



3. What can we do to rectify global disparities in the production and recognition of scholarship?



68

## Is Science on the rise in Latin America?

**Yes:** National increases in publication (absolute & relative); greater share of hemispheric productivity (5% -> 14%)

- No:**
1. Much of Latin America's research remains invisible
  2. LatAm scientists publish in lower-profile journals than expected  
(Hyp: Biased evaluation)
  3. Research undervalued by the international community  
(Hyp: Biased citation)
  4. Huge financial barrier to publishing in high profile OA outlets;  
Barely represented in powerful community of Scientific Gatekeepers

69

## Addressing Disparities in Latin American Science

### Top Down:

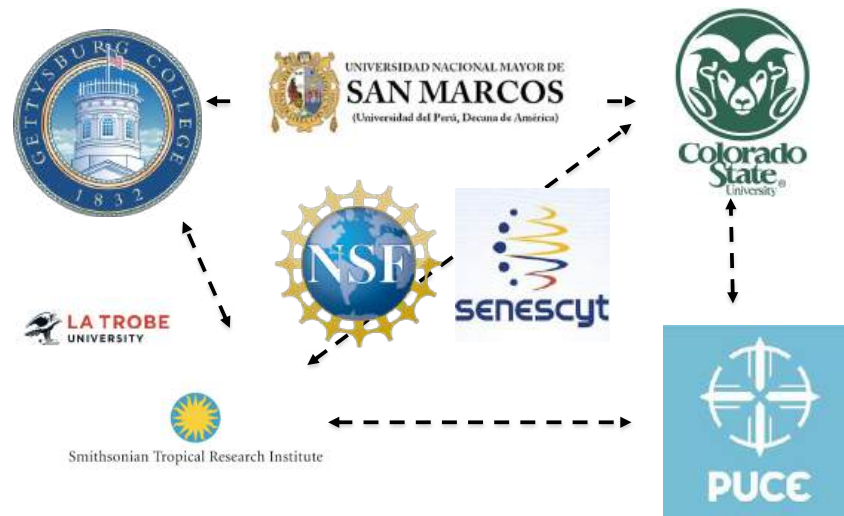
National Science & Tech Policy  
Private Sector R & D  
Stem the tide of populism  
Stabilize National Economies and Global Financial Markets  
Reduce Inequality  
Unravel the legacies of colonialism

### Bottom Up:

?

70

**Bottom-up #1: Engage in International Collaboration – it has high ROI**



Trillo et al. 2017, Plos ONE

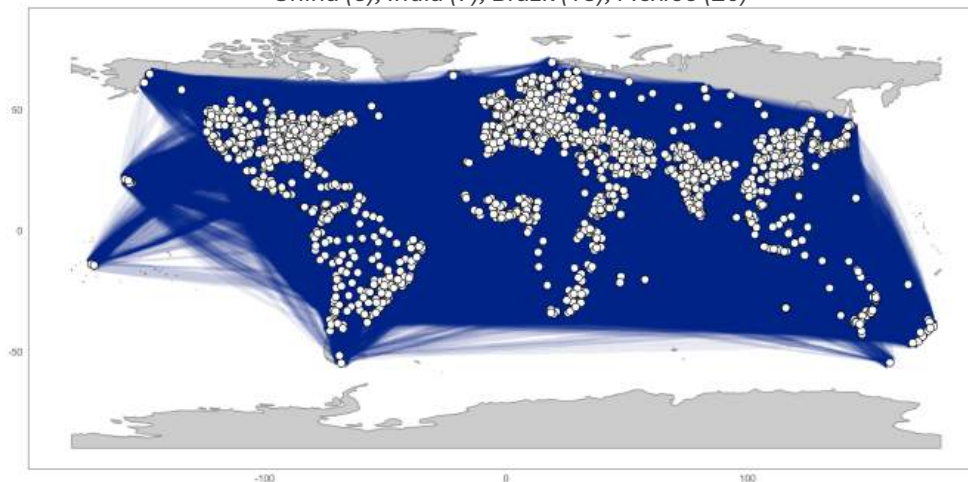
71

## Yale (2024)

9713 articles *with* 471,818 authors *in* 169 countries

147 articles: >1000 authors    106 > 100 authors

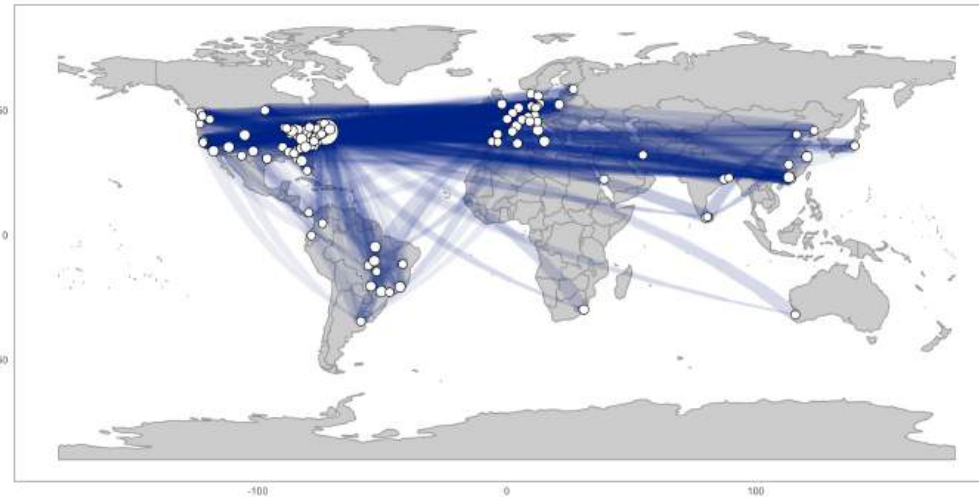
China (5), India (7), Brazil (13), Mexico (20)



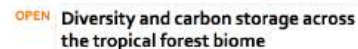
72



*Brazil (2), China (3), India (4), Sri Lanka (8)*



BUT...do so in a way that benefits local partners.  
Coauthorship is not necessarily collaboration.

[illegible]

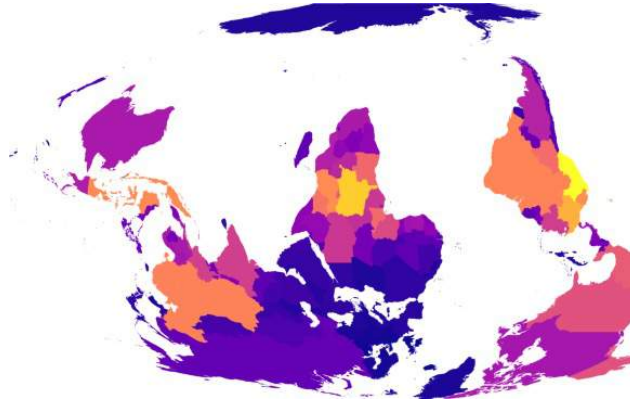
5 scientists  
designed study (4),  
analyzed data (2)  
wrote MS (4)

[illegible]

Provided Data: 98 others

## #1: Recalibrate our perspective.

Be aware of how biases could influence (i) how research is evaluated & (ii) what research is elevated

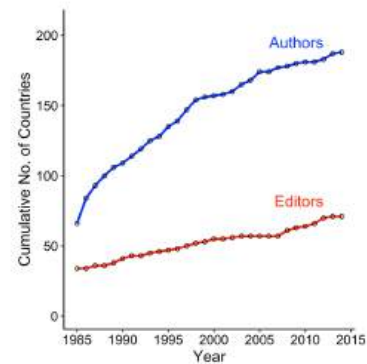


Trisos et al. 2021 *Nature Ecology & Evolution*

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## #2: Recalibrate our values.

Biases in the production, evaluation, & diffusion of scholarship can be overcome...



...but it requires planning, effort, & accountability.

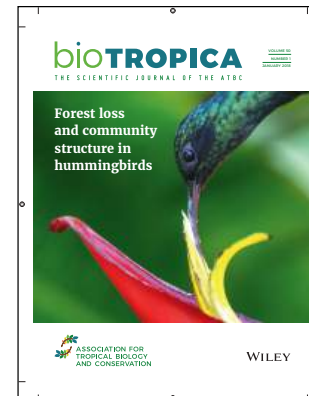
76

Editorial Boards should be Aspirational



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## #2: Recalibrate our Values



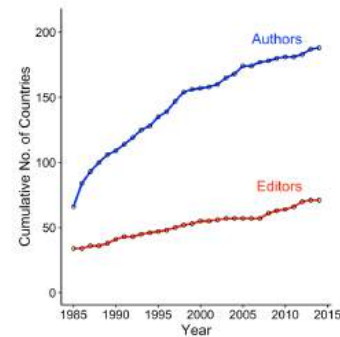
78

**#3:** Address potential biases influencing the evaluation, visibility, and diffusion of science from the Global South.



"Multi-Ethnic Team Indoors"  
freedigitalphotos.net

Authors & Teachers:  
Citations, Readings,  
Speakers, Classes



Editors & Referees:  
planning, effort, &  
accountability

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**Bottom-up #4:**



Map of scientific collaborations from 2005 to 2009  
Computed by Olivier H. Beauchamp © Science-Metrix, Inc.  
Source: Science, with geographic data provided by GeoNames.com

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