



MAPPING OF NATIONAL ACTORS

DATA AND INDICATORS ON SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

DOING RESEARCH IN BOLIVIA

Country Report

Center for the Studies of Social and Economic Realities &
The Global Development Network

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ASSESSMENT OF THE CONTEXT



DOING RESEARCH IN BOLIVIA

Country Report

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THE DOING RESEARCH PROGRAM

Bridging the research gap and improving development policies

Today, governments and donors alike have little systematic information about the state of social science research, except for in a few developed countries. Yet, the implementation of the global agenda for sustainable development requires local research capacities to ensure that the scientific community is equipped to critically analyze development and policy challenges, and to accompany actions and reforms with contextualized knowledge of the local environment.

An in-depth analysis of research systems is key to understanding how to bridge this gap and raise the profile of research generated in developing countries. Research systems analysis can help policymakers, donors and academics answer the question: ***What can be done to further generate and mainstream local research as a key input to public debate and sustainable human development policies?***

Assessing and benchmarking social science research systems

Doing Research (launched in 2014) is an initiative of the Global Development Network (GDN) that aims to systematically assess how the features of a national research system¹ impact the capacity to produce, diffuse and use quality social science research to the benefit of social and economic development. A pilot phase (2014-2017) in 13 countries was supported by the Agence Française de Développement, the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Development, and the Swiss Agency for Development

and Cooperation. In 2017, GDN conducted a synthesis of the pilot studies² and developed a standard methodology for studying social science research systems in developing countries,³ the **'Doing Research Assessment'**. Since 2018, GDN has been implementing Doing Research Assessments in partnership with competitively selected national research institutions, with the aim of generating evidence on research systems. The program also aims to support the emergence of a network of research institutions in the Global South dedicated to informing national research policies, using new research-based, comparative evidence.

Doing Research National Focal Points – A Southern network of local 'research on research' expertise

Through the collaboration between GDN and these local institutions, the program aims to inspire research policies, map research strengths, support research capacity-building efforts and enhance the quality of research that can be used for policy decisions and local democratic debate in developing countries. Social science research provides a critical analysis of societies and human behavior and contributes to a better understanding of development challenges – which is fundamental to realizing national and global development agendas. Country reports, comparative global reports and data will inform actors from research, development and policy communities about their policy-oriented research environment and how it can be improved.

1 In this document, the terms 'research system' and 'social science research system' are used interchangeably.

2 <http://www.gdn.int/sites/default/files/GDN-2017-DR-pilot-synthesis.pdf>

3 <http://www.gdn.int/sites/default/files/GDN%20-%20Theoretical%20Framework.pdf>

Doing Research Assessment: to understand, map and assess research systems¹

A unique feature of the Doing Research Assessment⁴ is the equal importance the methodology gives to production, diffusion and uptake factors and actors in the analysis of systemic barriers and opportunities for social science development.

It involves three steps for analyzing the factors that impact the social science research system in a given country or region, which will lead to several knowledge outputs and awareness-raising efforts.

Steps and activities for implementing a Doing Research Assessment



Doing Research Framework: the core of the assessment

The Doing Research Framework is a mixed-method research module that allows a contextualized comparative enquiry into a national research system, looking at key factors that determine the production, diffusion and uptake of social science. It would typically serve as a magnifying glass to identify aspects that need the attention of the regulator, or to provide a baseline for strategizing investments in capacity-building for research production, its diffusion or its use.

The Framework acts as the basis for comparing and benchmarking research systems in different countries and includes 54 indicators. These indicators are populated according to the national context framed by the National Focal Points (NFP); these follow the project guidelines while adapting them to their national environment. Therefore, each country follows the same framework and general guidelines, allowing for comparisons between different reports of the indicators that define the Doing Research Assessments (DRA). The same is true for the Country Reports, which follow a similar structure.

	1. Production	2. Diffusion	3. Policy uptake
Inputs	1.1 Research inputs	2.1 Actors & networks	3.1 Policy-friendly research
Activities	1.2 Research culture and support services	2.2 Research communication practices	3.2 Research-based policymaking
Outputs	1.3 Research output & training	2.3 Research communication products	3.3 Research-based policy tools
Outcomes	1.4 Opportunities & sustainability	2.4 Popularization of science	3.4 Research for better policies

⁴ <http://www.gdn.int/doing-research-assessment>

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Table of Contents

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	12
Main findings	14
Levers of Change	14
INTRODUCTION	16
Highlights.....	16
CONTEXT ANALYSIS	18
Highlights.....	18
Political Context	18
Economic Context	22
International Context.....	28
Historical and Cultural Context.....	30
Research–Policy Nexus	32
The Polishing Model	32
The Spotlight Model	33
The Toolkit Model	33
Project Limitations	34
Access	34
Sample size	34
Lack of available and/or up-to-date data	34
Lack of prior research studies in this area	35
Application of the methodology in practice	35
STAKEHOLDER MAPPING	36
Highlights.....	36
Characteristics of The Main Categories of Stakeholders.....	36
Higher education institutions	36
Funding agencies	37
Private sector (for-profit and private research institutions)	37
Civil society	38
Stakeholder Listing.....	38
Selection criteria.....	38
Exclusion criteria.....	38
Stakeholder Validation and Analysis.....	39
Methodology.....	39
Relationship among Stakeholders	39
Power, interest and influence in social science research	49

SAMPLING	50
Sampling – first attempts	50
Criteria for the selection of subgroups.....	52
Representativeness of the selected sample.....	53
Representativeness of the surveyed sample	54
DRA FRAMEWORK.....	56
Highlights.....	56
Production	57
Research inputs.....	58
Research culture and services.....	61
Research output and training	64
Learning and sustainability.....	67
Diffusion.....	68
Actors and networks.....	69
Research communication.....	72
Research communication products.....	72
Popularization of science	73
Uptake	75
Policy-friendly research materials	76
Research-based policymaking.....	78
Research-based policy products.....	80
The use of research for better policies.....	81
DRA Framework highlights	83
Ethical Considerations.....	86
CONCLUSIONS.....	88
Highlights.....	88
Recommendations.....	89
REFERENCES.....	93
Stakeholder Mapping	94
Dra Framework.....	98
ANNEXES	101
Annex 1: Context Analysis: List of Actors/Institutions Consulted.....	101
Annex 2: Codification of Interviews Consulted for Context Analysis and DRA Framework	103
Annex 3: Stakeholder Mapping /Selected Sample	106
Annex 4: Distribution of Selected Sample	112
Annex 5: Stakeholder Mapping – List of Universities in Bolivia and Academic Staff Members.....	113

List of Tables

Table 1: Proportion of Researchers per Level of Academic Degree.....	24
Table 2: Researchers per Scientific Discipline in Bolivia.....	24
Table 3: Researchers per Employment Sector in Bolivia.....	25
Table 4: Indicators for Government Expenditure on R&D.....	27
Table 5: Higher Education Institutions.....	40
Table 6: Private Sector.....	41
Table 7: Civil Society.....	43
Table 8: Government and Funding Agencies.....	45
Table 9: Sampling Criteria.....	51
Table 10: Final Sampling Process: Subgroups Constructed Based on Size and Share.....	51
Table 11: Example of Calculation of the Final Number of Respondents.....	52
Table 12: Final Sampling Process: Institutions Selected Based on Size and Share.....	53
Table 13: Final Sampling Process: Subgroups Based on Location and Share.....	53
Table 14: Bolivia: Number of Researchers with Ph.D.....	58
Table 15: Researchers: Number of Publications in the Last Three Years, per Type of Document.....	65
Table 16: Researchers: Accessibility of Research Discussions for Minority Groups, Policymakers, Community Groups and Individual Community Members, per Type of Institution (Percentage).....	71
Table 17: Researchers: Levels of Satisfaction with Media Coverage, per Type of Institution (Percentage).....	74
Table 18: Researchers and Administrators: Grants Received from Policymakers, Per Type of Institution (Percentage).....	77
Table 19: Researchers: Having Held a Policymaker Position, per Type of Institution (Percentage).....	78
Table 20: Researchers: Membership of Bodies Advising Policymakers, per Type of Institution (Percentage).....	79
Table 21: DRA Framework Highlights.....	83

List of Figures

- Figure 1: Human Flight and Brain Drain Index 2019.....25
- Figure 2: Research and Development Expenditure in Bolivia (% of GDP).....26
- Figure 3: Group Discussion on Stakeholder Inter-relationships – Group 147
- Figure 4: Group Discussion on Stakeholder Inter-relationships – Group 248
- Figure 5: Group Discussion on Stakeholder Inter-relationships – Group 348
- Figure 6: Group Discussion on Stakeholder Inter-relationships – Group 449
- Figure 7: Classification of Four Main Stakeholders – Mendelow Matrix50
- Figure 8: Representativeness of the Sample: Share of Stakeholders in the Initial List and Final Sample, per Type of Institution (In Percentage)54
- Figure 9: Representativeness of the Sample: Share of Stakeholders in the Initial List and Final Sample, per Location (Percentage).....55
- Figure 10: Researchers: Time Allocated to Research per Type of Institution60
- Figure 11: Researchers: Existence of a Research Body and a National Policy Related to Social Science Research, per Type of Institution.....61
- Figure 12: Access to Research Mentors, per Type of Institution (Percentage).....63
- Figure 13: Researchers: Levels of Satisfaction with Available Administrative Support, per Type of Institution64
- Figure 14: Administrators: Proportion of Staff with PhD in Social Science per Type of Institution (Percentage)66
- Figure 15: Researchers: Duration of Research Training (in Weeks) per Type of Institution (Percentage)66
- Figure 16: Researchers: Perceptions of Attractive Career Opportunities for Researchers, per Type of Institution (In Percentage).....67
- Figure 17: Researchers: Satisfaction with Overall Incentives Related to a Research Career, per Type of Institution (Percentage).....68
- Figure 18: Researchers: Interactions Between Actors, per Type of Institution (Percentage).....69
- Figure 19: Researchers: Accessibility of Research Discussions for University Affiliates, Non-University Researchers and Women, per Type of Institution (Percentage).....70
- Figure 20: Researchers: Number of Communication Training Sessions, by Type of Institution (Percentage).....72

Figure 21: Researchers: Ability to Conduct Research without the Undue Influence of Policymakers, per Type of Institution (Percentage).....	76
Figure 22: Policymakers: Requests for Research on Policy-related Topics (Percentage).....	77
Figure 23: Researchers: Participation In the Formulation of Policies, per Type of Institution (Percentage).....	80
Figure 24: Administrators: Perceived Influence of their Institutions on Policies, per Type of Institution (Percentage).....	81
Figure 25: Policymakers: Perception of The Usefulness of Social Science Research	82

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

CENDA	The Andean Communication and Development Center
CESU	Center for Higher Education Studies
CEUB	Executive Committee of the Bolivian University
CIS	Center for Social Research
CLACSO	Latin American Council of Social Sciences
COMIBOL	Mining Corporation of Bolivia (Corporación Minera de Bolivia)
DICYT	Directorate of Scientific and Technological Research
DRA	Doing Research Assessment
ENDE	National Electricity Company (Empresa Nacional de Electricidad)
FACSO	School of Social Sciences
GDN	Global Development Network
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IESE	Institute of Social and Economic Studies
IIEC	Institute for Socio-Economic Research
INCISO	Institute of Research in Social Sciences
INE	National Statistics Institute
MEFP	Ministry of Education and Professional Training
MPD-VIPFE	Ministry of Development Planning - Vice Ministry of Public Investment and External Financing
NGO	Non-Governmental Organizations
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
PDES	Economic and Social Development Plan
PDN	National Development Plan
PIEB	Program for Strategic Research in Bolivia (Fundación para la Investigación Estratégica en Bolivia)
R&D	Research and Development
Red ADA	National Network of Information and Communication Workers (Red Nacional de Trabajadoras/es de la Información y Comunicación)
RICYT	Ibero-American Network of Science and Technology Indicators (Red Iberoamericana de Indicadores de Ciencia y Tecnología)
SAREC	Department for Research Cooperation
SIBICYT	System for Scientific and Technological Information
SIDA	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
UDAPE	Unit for Analysis of Social and Economic Policies
UMSS	Universidad Mayor de San Simón
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNITAS	National Union of Institutions for Social Action Work
YPFB	Bolivian Oil and Natural Gas State-owned Enterprise (Yacimientos Petrolíferos Fiscales Bolivianos)

Executive Summary

In a global knowledge economy and in the context of the Sustainable Development Goals, there is a growing recognition among governments and international organizations of the importance of mobilizing local research as part of wider strategies for socioeconomic development. However, the current state of research systems in developing countries is a cause of concern, since it often does not enable local researchers to carry out useful quality research that can feed into public debate and policy discourse. In this context, an in-depth analysis of research systems is key to understanding how to bridge the research-policy gap and raise the profile of research that is being generated.

The social science research system in Bolivia involves only a few institutions that have an interest in creating in-depth empirical evidence. Research dissemination and research-policy linkages are also limited, helping to create an environment that lacks an appreciation of evidence-based knowledge generated within and for society. Despite the significant effort of several institutions, Bolivia continues to lag behind other countries in the region in terms of research practices. As the country moves rapidly toward a more open and transparent political environment, new public policies must be imagined and designed. The challenge is to find ways to make use of available and emerging research. As such, there is an urgent need to assess the social science research system in Bolivia, to identify the opportunities and structural barriers to doing research, and highlight pathways for action.

The Doing Research Assessment (DRA) in Bolivia was implemented by the Center for the Studies of Social and Economic Realities

(CERES). It constitutes the first systematic analysis toward providing comprehensive and comparable information on local research in the country, in an effort to better understand current research practices and policies.

The DRA employs a mixed-methods research design that combines the collection and analyses of qualitative and quantitative data as well as rigorous desk research. The methodology involves three specific stages. Firstly, an overall assessment of the context that shapes the structure, challenges and opportunities for social science research in the country. Secondly, a mapping of the national research landscape to provide an overview of the macro categories of actors that have influence, power, an interest in and/or the capacity to conduct social science research. Finally, the generation of data from key informants (policymakers, researchers, research administrators) through a series of interviews and surveys, alongside an analysis of documents and a desk review. This informs the Doing Research Framework, which interprets the findings based on a set of indicators for the three main functions of the research system: production, diffusion and uptake.

Main findings

There has been a substantial increase in the production of research in social sciences in Bolivia over the last decade.

There are a number of factors that explain this improvement. First, research facilities and workspaces, although subject to further improvement, have been enhanced. Second, the increase in the number of private organizations dedicated to the generation of ideas for development, together with an important flow of resources from international cooperation during the 1990s – for example, the cooperation agreement between Sweden (Sida-SAREC) and the

public universities of La Paz and Cochabamba – and the role played by the Fundación para la Investigación Estratégica en Bolivia.

The production of knowledge in the social sciences remains key for understanding the national reality and improving public policy. Social research still plays an important role in informing the government's agenda, as demonstrated by the creation of the Vice-Presidency's Social Research Center (CIS) and the priority granted to the output generated by its Unit of Analysis of Social and Economic Policies (UDAPE). However, economic concerns and a lack of interest in joint and transparent data collection continue to undermine the relationship between researchers, institutions and those responsible for public policymaking.

There has been an increase in the number of researchers with a PhD as well as social science researchers in the last decade in Bolivia. The total number of active social science researchers has increased from 67 per million of inhabitants in 2012 to 77 per million in 2014; and, of the 96 surveyed researchers as part of the representative sample of this study, 17 percent hold a PhD and a further 10 percent are currently working toward one.

There is considerable independence for researchers to generate data free from political pressure. The research culture in social science organizations provides ample scope for carrying out different types of social research: from diagnoses and/or baseline studies conducted by non-governmental organizations, to more analytical research in higher education centers – each with their own regulations and procedures for the production and handling of data.

Currently, **training is being promoted in public universities to improve skills for research production.** However, findings

confirm that the peer-review culture introduced by international cooperation in the 1990s, disappeared after the exit of international actors, contributing to the deterioration of the social science research system in recent years. A lack of resources, such as specific software for research and data analysis, was also identified as one of the most evident limitations.

There is no national research policy for social sciences nor a national body that articulates research activities in Bolivia.

Therefore, institutionalized practices for academic actors involved in social science research are not properly designated at the national level. However, at a university level, there are institutions, such as the Directorate of Scientific and Technological Research (DICYT), that, to some extent, promote scientific research. Still, this does not ensure the quality of research but rather focuses on the administrative and bureaucratic parameters of resource management within the public university system, leaving questions around quality and ethics unaddressed.

There was a clear public policy toward the recovery of the ancestral knowledge of the indigenous peoples of Bolivia; however, due to excessive ideologization and political confrontation, it became a mechanism for capture and discrediting of scientific processes of knowledge construction.

There is a limited amount of full-time research in Bolivia: just 17 percent of the surveyed researchers claim to dedicate between 80 and 100 percent of their time to research. The regulations of the Executive Committee of the Bolivian University (CEUB), as well as the universities themselves, allocate few hours for research – with the exception of public universities that host a large number of research centers.

In the absence of an entity that regulates and qualifies research, or a unifying policy that promotes the production of scientific knowledge, **research activities tend to be carried out in isolation.**

There is limited participation of researchers in international collaborations and research projects, resulting in a loss of global presence and influence in the social sciences. Moreover, more than half of the surveyed researchers report not being affiliated to any international network of researchers or registered in an international repository. There are very few institutions that have inter-institutional agreements with universities and institutes abroad.

There is little incentive for researchers to participate in the design of public policies, reflected in their reduced participation in government institutions responsible for policymaking. Over 66 percent of the surveyed researchers claimed that they have never participated in the development of policy, while those who have, have only been involved in the formulation of laws, strategies and programs, and not in their implementation, monitoring or, more importantly, their evaluation.

There is a systematic disconnect between those who produce research and those who need to use it. This limits the diffusion of research and means that its influence on the elaboration of public policy is likely to be minimal. More traditional forms of dissemination (such as books and reports) tend to be favored by institutions, whereas other forms of communication such as workshops, conferences and seminars, or online platforms are less common. At least 25 percent of research institutions do not have a webpage to help communicate their research activities.

Levers of Change

Most research activities within academic institutions in Bolivia are conducted in isolation, without the proper channels to share findings and/or sources, which makes it harder to influence policy. There is a need to **introduce career advancement policies and incentive mechanisms in higher education** that encourage competition (performance-based research funding), transparency, collaboration, and respect for the visions of other researchers and methodological plurality.

Create a national network to coordinate between universities, governments, research institutes, the private sector and other relevant stakeholders. This involves building institutional consensus in the social sciences that includes all stakeholders in the Bolivian research system. The current silo-based production, budgeting and management structures in research entities make it difficult to promote an effective transfer of knowledge from researchers to policymakers. Data are being generated in partial isolation, which means that the different actors have little understanding of what other institutions and individuals are doing.

Introduce a national research policy and a national research body to articulate research activities in Bolivia. Having both a policy and body to regulate, promote and certify research will enhance the production, dissemination and uptake of quality research output, including through national research policies and standards.

Set up a national data focal point – a viable mechanism for the regular collection of data and information to support research and policy formulation.

This should include institutions in charge of generating nationwide databases, such as the National Institute of Statistics (INE), in cooperation with all government entities at municipal and departmental levels.

Given that the Internet (especially social networking platforms) is the most popular medium for publicizing research (in comparison with newspapers, television and radio), **higher education researchers and researchers from other institutions need to leverage the use of social media to communicate and instigate discussions on their research findings.**

Establish a peer-review system to raise the standard of social science research in Bolivia. The inclusion of peer-review mechanisms in every research project will also help to promote researchers' participation in international collaborations and research projects.

Adopt a diffusion model similar to the one established by the Fundación para la Investigación Estratégica en Bolivia (PIEB). PIEB, which ran between 1994-2014, dedicated a large part of its institutional

efforts and capacity toward operating as an interface between research and public policy, testing a number of tools and strategies that could be replicated in the current context. These include sharing research results and proposals in workshops, identifying the research needs of public entities, supporting the planning of research processes, and training researchers on designing projects that impact public policies.

While private and civil society institutions offer little or no capacity-building for researchers, public universities provide continuous research training. This has led to a significant gap in research capacity between university actors and those from other institutions. In this context, **there is a need for policies that promote capacity-building across all institutions.**

Strengthen the role of international cooperation in facilitating the creation of research networks and international exposure. Collaborative research/thematic networks constitute the most effective means of sharing results, and are considered a space for mutual feedback among institutions of similar nature or with shared interests.

INTRODUCTION

Highlights

- The main motivation for this study is to generate first-hand evidence of the production, diffusion and use of social research in Bolivia in order to advance future debate on the development of the research culture.
- This assessment constitutes the first attempt at providing systematic and comparable information on local research in Bolivia in an effort to better understand current research practices and policies.
- The Doing Research Assessment (DRA) in Bolivia was implemented by the Center for the Studies of Social and Economic Realities (CERES) using a mixed-methods research design that combines the collection and analyses of qualitative and quantitative data with rigorous desk research.

After more than a decade of booming growth based on commodity exports and the implementation of grandiose infrastructure and industrialization projects by a populist government, the coming years are likely to see profound changes. Natural gas and mineral reserves, the main drivers of the export boom and economic growth, are in decline (at the time of writing). Bolivia will need sound policies to face the challenges in this new period in order to reorganize its economy and adapt its economic structure to fast moving international markets, while at the same time keeping up with the expectations of the Bolivian people: linked to the expansion of market relationships, the middle class has expanded because of the general increase in social mobility.

In the coming years, Bolivia will need to design, implement, monitor and evaluate

policies to address export decline, fiscal deficits, political stress, social upheaval, market adaptation, technological inclusion and institutional reforms across the whole system. Therefore, it is more important than ever to mobilize research capacities, to map research institutions, and assess the ability of public policymakers to project their needs and to absorb and make use of evidence in public debates.

Social scientists in Bolivia have been unable to make the case for, and leverage, their work as a distinct field – with the exception of a few and somewhat isolated efforts to generate empirical evidence. Research dissemination and the research–policy interactions are also limited. The current system is not effective in generating an appreciation of evidence within and for society in public and policy debates.

By taking a broad approach, this study highlights that all those involved in the practice of social science research play a role in shaping the structure of the national research system, and partake in building a culture that values high-quality, ethically conducted and societally relevant research.

The main motivation for this study is to generate first-hand evidence of the production, diffusion and use of social research in Bolivia in order to advance future debate on the development of the country's research culture and system. This assessment constitutes the first systematic analysis carried out at country level to better understand current research practices and policies.

The Doing Research Assessment (DRA) in Bolivia was implemented by the Center for the Studies of Social and Economic Realities (CERES) using a mixed-methods research design that combines the collection and analyses of qualitative and quantitative data with rigorous desk research – using evidence from the

literature and key informants (policymakers, researchers and research administrators).

Data was generated for this report in three main stages. First, a context analysis that examines the trajectory, structure, challenges and opportunities for social science research in the country across different dimensions. Second, a stakeholder mapping exercise that

provides an overview of the macro categories of actors that influence, have an interest in, or have the capacity to conduct social science research. Finally, the DRA framework, which is used to present the findings based on the established indicators for the three main functions of the research system: production, diffusion and uptake.

CONTEXT ANALYSIS

Highlights

- The political context has a strong influence on Bolivia's capacity to generate autonomous, free and independent social science research and the extent to which it can be projected into the public arena free of government vetting.
- The private sector has been economically dependent on international cooperation, having assumed the role of 'data lifters'; however, it has no say in defining the research topics and, in many cases, does not even have access to the information it generates.
- Nowadays, social science research in Bolivia is conducted by a few isolated institutions that have an interest in creating in-depth empirical evidence. Research dissemination and research-policy linkages remain limited.
- Although there is more research being carried out today than ten years ago, there is, as yet, no fully consolidated national research system.
- The lack of attractive opportunities and incentives for career advancement, research, and academic employment has led to the emigration (brain drain) of professionals to more developed countries.
- The low levels of English language proficiency directly affect the ability to produce research, which limits the opportunities for projects, scholarships, networks and exchanges. At the international level, research excellence is usually associated with English-language publications.

The context analysis has been compiled based on the trends identified from key informant interviews. The key factors impacting the social science research system in Bolivia have been analyzed across

four dimensions: the political, economic, international and historical/cultural context.

This process enabled a systematic analysis of the strengths, weaknesses, challenges and bottlenecks related to doing quality and policy-relevant research in Bolivia – in particular, the relationship between social/economic research and public policies.

Political Context

The political context has a strong influence on a country's capacity to generate autonomous, free and independent social science research and the extent to which it can be projected into the public arena free of government vetting. According to Carden (2009), development research interacts with the policy/political context, and vice versa.

The transition to democracy in Bolivia began in October 1982, after three national elections and several coups; the consolidation process has undergone a number of different stages. Until the beginning of the 1990s, research initiatives were limited and most of these disappeared or were weakened as a consequence of the dictatorships (PIEB, 1994). During the early 1990s – according to reports by the Fundación para la Investigación Estratégica en Bolivia (PIEB, 2004) – research in Bolivia was on the increase but still relatively scarce; it was concentrated among a few groups and marked by the absence of state policies (Sandoval, 2015).

The democratic transition, however, stimulated a dramatic increase in the number of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in the country: from 530 in 1992 to about 1,000 by 2000 (Ardaya, 2008). Since then, new social movements have emerged, with their own ideologies and demands; NGOs have played a key role in mediating between the government and these new actors (Ardaya, 2008).

During this period, research centers interacted directly with social movements and other segments of society, as well as with international cooperation agencies and the State. NGOs and similar entities contributed to supporting the formulation and/or execution of some aspects of public policy and, to some extent, to the construction of the public agenda (Ardaya, 2008).

Along with NGOs, research centers also began operating as part of public universities, located mainly in La Paz and Cochabamba (Ardaya, 2008). However, universities faced serious economic difficulties as a result of budgetary restrictions imposed by the neoliberal policies at the time. As a consequence, many began to prioritize the 'hard sciences'. Most social science initiatives depended on the conditions (funding, infrastructure, access to information, etc.) created by local government authorities or university faculties – which, in any case, were minimal and focused predominantly on postgraduate studies (Sandoval, 2015).

A notable exception was the creation of the Institute of Social and Economic Studies (IESE) as part of the School of Economic and Financial Sciences at Universidad Mayor de San Simón in Cochabamba. IESE demonstrated a willingness to promote research linked to academic training. It published an academic journal that reached about 12 issues and, in the early 1960s, the Institute led a broad research initiative and public debate on regional development, with the intention of linking research to policy. This was replicated by other schools at the university – it became almost the norm for each school to create its own research institution. Unfortunately, these initiatives were unable to survive the wider trends within the university sector – most notably, student overcrowding and the corporatization of university management.

There has been no substantial change in the levels of institutional instability (PIEB, 1996) and other weaknesses in the research system identified 20 years ago (PIEB, 2015). The last decade has certainly been a challenging time for linking research and public policies. During the period of the Evo Morales Government, institutions were captured by militants and subject to the power and needs of the State, eroding their credibility. The State lost the capacity to produce specialized knowledge that enabled the formulation of pertinent public policies. In most cases, it delegated the elaboration and execution of public policies to other actors (Ardaya, 2008). The National Statistics Institute (INE) and the Unit for Analysis of Social and Economic Policies (UDAPE) – State bodies that support the National Council for Economic and Social Policy – were particularly important in this regard. In addition, the Center for Social Research (CIS), a unit created under the vice-presidency, began replicating what research NGOs used to do, including the capture of resources from international cooperation. This process has undermined the independent structure of non-governmental research institutions in the private, civil society and university sectors. As we will see in detail in this report, universities and research NGOs have had to limit their work due to a reduction in resources for field work and conferences. More importantly, they are now further removed from policy design and debate than under previous governments. As several interviews highlighted, the link between social researchers and policymakers remains weak – with a very small number of non-influential exceptions. Overcoming these deficiencies is the main challenge for the coming years. However, the transition to a new, more democratic government provides some hope for the future.

This analysis of the political context also aims to establish the existence (or non-existence)

of policies that support social research as an input for public policymaking as well as assess the balance between the State and private research agendas. Likewise, it aims to identify the extent of political freedoms (within a legal framework) that allow and foster broad and critical debate as well as the transparent use of all types of research.

Nowadays, the social science research system in Bolivia comprises a few isolated institutions that have an interest in creating in-depth empirical evidence; research dissemination and research–policy linkages remain limited. One of the main problems is the excessive centralization of decision-making processes in government entities – the main actors in the formulation and implementation of public policies (Pereira, 2016; Peres, 2012; Zurita, 2012). This leaves little room for interaction between government departments and other relevant actors such as universities or civil society organizations (Camacho et al., 2015; Zurita, 2012). The system is not effective in generating an appreciation of evidence-based knowledge (both within and for society) and, even though there is an apparent demand from policymakers, research is used mainly by international cooperation agencies (Peres, 2012).

Despite the significant efforts of some institutions, Bolivia continues to lag behind other countries in the region (such as Peru) in terms of research activities. (Tórrez, Yuri F., 2013). There are numerous gaps, as well as limited inter-institutional engagement and coordination between the main stakeholders of the research system, which affect the way that research is undertaken and discussed (Peres, 2012; Zurita, 2012).

Dealing with the complexities of the current context requires the collaboration and support of a range of social actors: universities, which study and produce

knowledge for society; the State, which has the capacity to support and facilitate the transfer of new knowledge; and the private sector and civil society, which contribute to and benefit from this relationship. This synergy can contribute to the strategic development and promotion of research throughout the country (Camacho et al., 2015).

The production of local, regional and national data does not appear to be for the purpose of elaborating on ‘grand discourses’ in social science but rather to provide a diversity of data and information that supports these intellectual constructs (Tórrez, Yuri F., 2013). In other words, the interdisciplinary work that is generated through research promoted by non-governmental institutions or think tanks is not characterized by theoretical or ideological interpretations but by the priority that is given to research problems and local inquiries. While the participation of groups of diverse professionals contributes to the development of interdisciplinarity, there is a need for a more in-depth, analytical approach to research and methodologies.

There are opposing views on current government policies to support the production and use of research. On the one hand, according to reports from the Bolivian Ministry of Education (2011, 2018) – and in compliance with the 2011 edition of the National Development Plan (PDN) and the National Plan for Science, Technology and Innovation – the Vice Ministry of Science and Technology has successfully implemented 14 ‘National Networks of Scientific and Technological Research’ since 2007, with the aim of gathering, articulating, promoting, disseminating and socializing technological research and development for the benefit of socio-productive sectors. As a result of these collaborative networks, the links between government sectors, production partners and knowledge generators have improved,

leading to the generation of government policies in all the aforementioned areas.

In contrast, authors such as Camacho et al. (2015), Pereira (2016) and Peres (2012) argue that these policies are rhetorical, short term (with elections in mind) and partial (in terms of addressing the realities of the country). They are aimed only at promoting research in the productive sectors, they have limited strategic impact, and are not based on evidence or reliable statistical information. They are also considered ineffective in solving the structural needs of the country, and promoting the development and consolidation of science, technology and innovation.

The different private actors recognize that the State is responsible for the promotion and development of research, including the appropriate channels for cooperation. However, the State has demonstrated a chronic inability to integrate research in the development of public social policies (Ardaya, 2008).

Much emphasis is placed on the fact that within the framework for the development and implementation of research policies, the State must maintain free access to information and ensure the participation of different actors, including social organizations and the business sector. While the State has developed a research agenda for the social sciences through its own think tanks, there is no common development platform in which development actors are involved (Ardaya, 2008).

The private sector is economically dependent on international cooperation, having assumed the role of 'data lifters'; however, they have no influence in defining the research topics and, in many cases, do not even have access to the information they generate. Public universities, on the other

hand, highlight the importance of the distribution of resources from the natural gas tax, which has enabled them to maintain their independence from foreign cooperation or from the official thematic agenda. They are now one of the only spaces for public academic debate.

The general consensus is that there is still freedom to debate. However, some actors highlight the interventionist role of the State, which has actively refuted and contradicted the results of some studies. Others note the obstructive role of the press, which often exaggerates statements and aggravates tensions. The government perspective, as reported by Rene Orellana (former Minister) and María Félix Delgadillo (Executive Director at UDAPE), asserts that there are spaces for free and critical public debate. Some actors, however, argue that these are restricted, as highlighted by the response below:

"If the spaces for debating research promoted by the Vice Presidency are reviewed, there are issues linked to promoting policies from the State, without giving rise to critical research debates or questioning current policies. Therefore, there is no balance. The research centers are at a disadvantage compared to the State, which has a whole apparatus that mobilizes and analyzes not only resources to facilitate research, but also promotes spaces for socialization. Researchers who are critical of the government's state policy receive some criticism, but in no way are they promoted or put to public debate, much less in spaces where the government has absolute control"
(S. Vasquez, CENDA, 2018).

It is important to note that in recent years, public universities have remained as autonomous research spaces, where teachers and researchers function in an environment of academic and political freedom (Ardaya, 2008).

However, some interviewees argued that political factors cannot be ignored in academic production and that, often, this leads to criminalization and/or stigmatization that limits research production. The private sector argues that the allocation of funding for academic research is based on favoritism and clientelism (CESU, 2020), especially when project funding is channeled through the State. Representatives from government entities, however, maintain that there is no clientelism in the production of knowledge (Orellana, 2020), although they are partly responsible for setting out the research agenda – particular topics of interest to the government at the time.

Some interviewees claim that while the country has a long history of conflict, the most recent hostilities have not affected the ability to produce academic knowledge. In fact, many noted the emergence of new areas of analysis such as indigenous studies, the structural causes of poverty, social cohesion, good governance, public engagement and representation, the role of civil society, the informal economy, the plurinational nature of society, the new territorial configurations, and constitutional reform, among others (Ardaya, 2008).

In some ways, the aforementioned problems constitute the country's national agenda; areas for which different social and institutional actors (national and international) are partially or wholly responsible, and in which there has been some progress. However, there is no common platform for development actors working to address these issues (Ardaya, 2008).

Most actors emphasized the difficulty of accessing public information – the basis of any critical or analytical research. As Sergio Vasquez, Director of CENDA, explains:

"... from the State, there is no real policy to provide information, under the premise that it is confidential and cannot be disseminated. The right to information for any citizen who is interested in deepening their knowledge of certain topics is restricted"

The availability and management of information is generally deficient (Sandoval, PIEB, 2015). The spaces for academic interaction are scarce and lack continuity. These limitations have contributed to a research culture characterized by the production of social science essays without the use of proper research that makes use of primary data (PIEB, 1996).

Social research in Bolivia has its own idiosyncrasies and characteristics inherent to the national context and government policy. Researchers, for example, tend to avoid certain topics in order to avoid being subject to criticism. They also perceive a high level of 'ideologization' of research, where much of the research is carried out around topics that tow the political line. This conditions intellectual production and limits interactions with State institutions. However, most actors agree that there is more research being carried out today than ten years ago. Nevertheless, there is, as yet, no fully consolidated national research system.

Economic Context

For the past decade, the Bolivian economy has experienced trade and fiscal surpluses, and has performed well against most economic indicators. The flow of money expanded the domestic market, reducing poverty and promoting upward mobility to the middle classes⁵ as well as creating new strata of wealthy elites.

5 CERES published a book on the expansion of the middle classes entitled *Chicha y Limonada – Las clases medias en Bolivia*, Ed. Plural, 2018

Since most of the fiscal revenues came from international trade, particularly natural gas and mineral exports, surpluses were regular during the export bonanza. However, the deficit started to increase in 2013 and has continued to grow since.

During the period 1998–2005, the extractive sector sustained economic growth (PDES, 2016-2020). The government invested in infrastructure, particularly roads and transportation, created a wide variety of public industries, and expanded a cash transfer policy that had started in the 1990s. However, the ‘rentier state’ model adopted by the country at the time is not conducive to the development of policies for strengthening public institutions – even less so when its main features are exacerbated by a commodity boom.⁶ From 2006, domestic demand was reactivated and became one of the main drivers of the Bolivian economy, mainly due to greater public investment; social programs in the form of bonds for children, mothers and the elderly; the increase in wages; the strengthening of strategic companies such as YPFB, ENDE and COMIBOL; and the creation of new public companies (PDES, 2016-2020).

These and other national policies were set out in the Economic and Social Development Plan, which articulates the medium- and short-term plans for the country. The Economic and Social Development Plan of the Plurinational State of Bolivia, to give it its full name, constitutes the strategic framework and prioritization of goals, results and actions, and is elaborated on the basis of the 2025 Patriotic Agenda and the 2015-2020 Government Program (PDES, 2016-2020). The 2025 Patriotic Agenda is based on thirteen pillars that aim to enhance progress on social policies for the eradication of extreme poverty; socialization and universalization of basic services; health; education; scientific and technological sovereignty; and financial,

productive and environmental sovereignty; to name a few (PDES, 2016-2020).

Although efforts have been made to promote technological development based on ancestral knowledge, and strengthen both innovation and applied research, little has been achieved (PDES, 2016-2020).

Human development

There is a lack of highly skilled professionals and opportunities in the private sector. These two elements are critical when analyzing how the economic context affects social science research in Bolivia.

Deficiencies in human resources and research capacity were identified as early as 1995 in programs promoted by institutions like PIEB, both at the national and regional levels. As mentioned before, research activities were scarce at the time and were characterized by an undergraduate university training model that focused on teaching rather than research (Mollis, 2003 in Yapu, 2015). There were also a limited number of graduate training programs in the public university sector. As a result, the system failed to produce a critical mass of researchers. By 1997, the number of graduate study programs in public universities had increased, but they were still deficient in terms of research training (Yapu, PIEB, 2015). To date, research degrees are not included as an official major in the national university system.

On the subject of human development – the supply of a highly-specialized workforce – most of the actors that were

⁶ The government established a policy think tank, UDAPE, solely dedicated to advising on policy design, but it is not independent nor open to public debate. Major institutions, like the Central Bank and the National Institute for Statistics, have lost their independence. This has eroded the government’s ability to include informed, independent data in its decision-making processes.

⁷ <http://www.planificacion.gob.bo/pdes/pdes2016-2020.pdf>

interviewed stated that there are not enough professionals with graduate research degrees. However, the proportion of professionals with Masters and PhD degrees has increased (Table 1), especially in the universities of the central axis: La Paz, Cochabamba and Santa Cruz. This means that there is already a significant amount of new social capital with expertise in research that could make up a sizable academic community of researchers (PIEB, 2015).

However, the perception is that not enough professionals are interested in pursuing a more specialized academic degree. While there has been encouraging progress in terms of the number of researchers in general and the more active participation of researchers in the social sciences in Bolivia (Table 2), the lack of attractive opportunities and incentives for research, academic employment and

career progression has led to a 'brain drain', with many professionals migrating to more developed countries in search of better opportunities (Los Tiempos, 2019).

The private sector in Bolivia remains underdeveloped compared to other private sectors in the region with different productive dynamics, such as Brazil or Chile. The country has a high concentration of wealth as a result of its adherence to statism,⁶ which does not allow for the development of a dynamic private sector. The proportion of researchers employed in public or private business enterprises (Table 3) is low compared to other sectors. And, although the private sector could promote and support academic research, there is limited demand for knowledge/information, and a lack of incentives to work in Bolivia. In the case of higher education institutions, professors from

Table 1. Proportion of Researchers per Level of Academic Degree

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Ph.D.	11.2%	10.1%	15.0%	13.9%	16.9%
Master	31.0%	29.0%	34.5%	32.8%	34.6%
Bachelor	37.4%	37.5%	43.9%	44.8%	42.0%
Technical/non-university	8.2%	9.3%	1.7%	1.7%	2.4%
Others	12.2%	14.1%	5.0%	6.8%	4.1%

Source: Ricyt, 2019

Table 2. Researchers per Scientific Discipline in Bolivia

	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Natural sciences	44.9%	25.4%	21.9%	19.6%	19.1%	17.3%
Engineering and Technology	20.4%	21.3%	25.5%	20.3%	23.9%	22.8%
Medical and Health sciences	12.8%	15.8%	12.5%	13.8%	13.8%	15.9%
Agricultural sciences	8.0%	15.2%	14.6%	17.3%	17.7%	17.8%
Social Sciences	11.8%	16.5%	20.6%	24.3%	21.2%	22.3%
Humanities	2.1%	5.7%	4.8%	4.7%	4.3%	4.0%

Source: Ricyt, 2019

8 The principle of concentrating extensive political and economic controls in the hands of a highly centralized government.

Table 3. Researchers per Employment Sector in Bolivia

	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Government	6.7%	6.5%	4.0%	3.8%	4.4%	7.3%
Business enterprise (Public and Private)	2.2%	0.3%		1.7%	1.6%	1.4%
Higher education	85.0%	82.5%	84.4%	88.0%	88.5%	87.3%
Private NGOs	6.2%	10.7%	11.6%	6.5%	5.6%	4.1%

Source: Ricyt, 2019

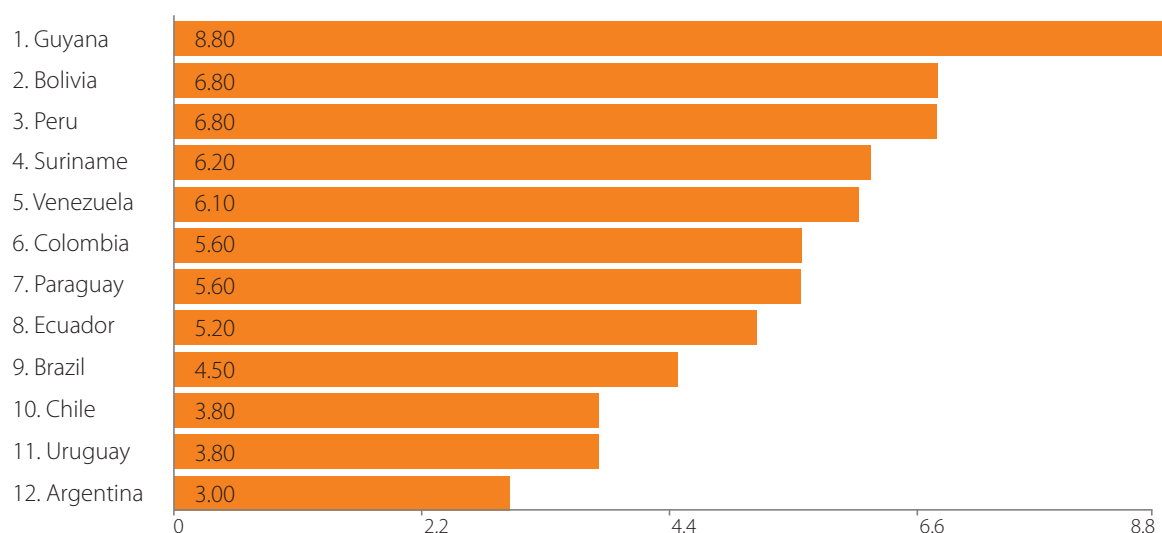
public universities are leaving academia to engage in consultancies or work in private companies, weakening the quality of higher education in the country (CEUB, 2018).

The most beneficial approach would be to increase career advancement incentives and generate research opportunities, to reduce the initial loss from the brain drain as well as encourage highly skilled professionals outside the country to return to Bolivia. According to information from the World Bank, factors such as the lack of professional recognition, unemployment or a lack of research support are major 'push factors'. The countries with the largest percentage of migrating professionals (all categories) in the region are Venezuela, Mexico, Brazil, Costa Rica, the Dominican

Republic, Ecuador, Chile, Paraguay and Bolivia. As much as 90 percent of this group migrates to wealthier OECD countries in search of more favorable opportunities for employment (World Bank, 2012).

The human flight and brain drain indicator considers the economic impact of human displacement (for economic or political reasons) and the consequences this may have on a country's development. The higher the index, the greater the level of human displacement. If we consider the indices for human flight and brain drain available for South America, the average for 2019 was 5.52 (0 being the lowest and 10 the highest value). The highest value was for Guyana (8.8) and the lowest was for Argentina (3).

Figure 1. Human Flight and Brain Drain Index 2019



Source: TheGlobalEconomy.com, Fund for Peace, 2019

While there are a significant number of research institutions in Latin America (Lemarchand, 2010), the facilities are often inadequate, grants are relatively low and salaries are not at an international level. Many young researchers and post-doctoral students find it difficult to get into the system and the only research positions they can access have little job security (Ciocca & Delgado, 2017).

Investment in research and development

The priorities for science and technology set out in the Economic and Social Development Plan 2020 are centered around the effective development of production and public companies in strategic sectors, developing incentives for a creative economy and the construction of a knowledge society (PDES, 2016-2020).

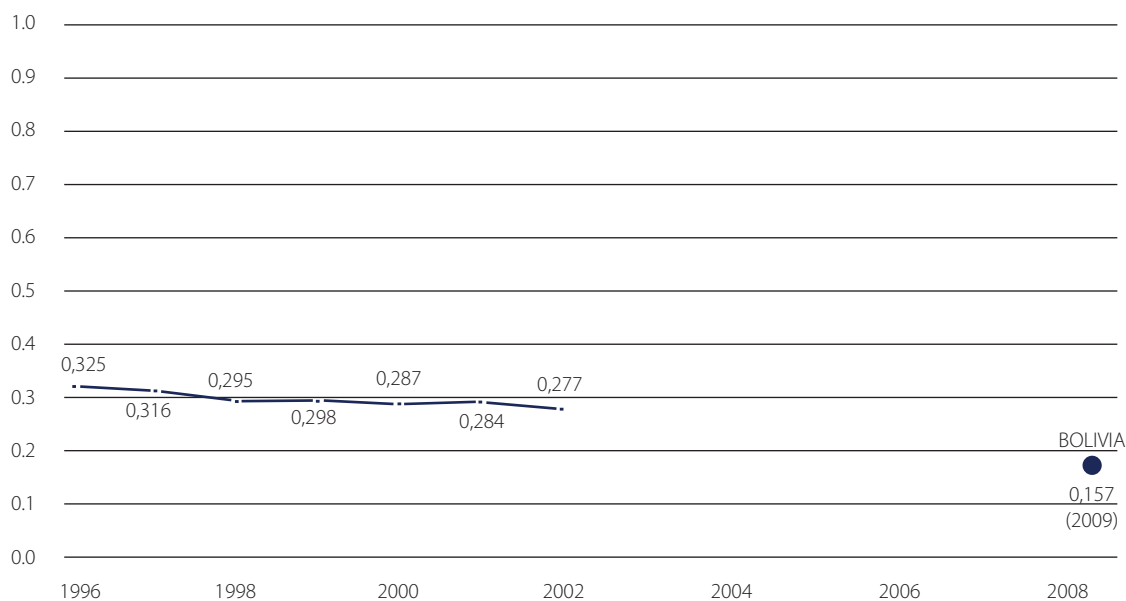
One of the goals set out under the pillar for 'scientific and technological sovereignty of the national agenda' focuses on 'professional scientific training and specialization'. The expected results are that a) all entities and companies related to the productive sector, water, the environment, telecommunications

and health (among others) will allocate a percentage of their resources to scientific research and technology development; and b) public companies, centers of national technological innovation and autonomous (municipal/regional) governments engage professionals with a high degree of scientific and technological training (PDES, 2016-2020).

Although efforts have been made since 2006 to consolidate science and technology as the basis for national development, a more consistent and systematic approach is required to strengthen the national research system. There are still challenges in terms of institutional development, coordination and articulation, and public and private budget allocations for the sector (PDES, 2016-2020).

According to the *UNESCO Science Report: Towards 2030* (2015), there is a growing public policy focus on research and innovation in Latin American countries, with the region leading efforts to promote the role of indigenous knowledge systems for development. However, with the exception of Brazil, no Latin American country has invested significantly in R&D.

Figure 2. Research and Development Expenditure in Bolivia (% of GDP)



Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics (uis.unesco.org), 2020.

Gross domestic expenditure on R&D for Bolivia, expressed as a percent of GDP, includes both capital and current expenditures (public and private) for the following sectors: business enterprise, government, higher education and private non-profit. R&D covers basic research, applied research and experimental development (World Bank, 2020), and includes all work to systematically increase knowledge.

Available data for Bolivia for this indicator (Figure 2) shows values from 1996 to 2009. The average value for Bolivia during this period was 0.28 percent, with a minimum of 0.16 percent in 2009 and a maximum of 0.33 percent in 1996. The economic downturn had a significant impact on investment in R&D, with a notable reduction in resources dedicated to science and technology. The last available value for 2009 (0.16% of GDP) corresponds to a government expenditure of 70.88 million dollars – expressed in terms

of Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) according to the World Bank's conversion rates (RICYT, 2019). Further indicators are included in Table 4 below.

In terms of access to modern technology, most of the key actors that were interviewed for this analysis believed that this is not really an issue when it comes to the social sciences. However, some argued that researchers need more than just access to computers and a reliable Internet connection; many research institutions have limited access to academic databases or licensed software. While some institutions enjoy access to and funding for engineering laboratories, particularly those in public universities, many social science research centers are not able to secure adequate funding to properly execute research programs.

The Bolivian Government, through the Vice Ministry of Public Investment and

Table 4. Indicators for Government Expenditure on R&D

GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE ON R&D / BOLIVIA (Latest year available: 2009)		
PER RESEARCHER <i>Expressed in millions of dollars (PPP)</i>	Physical	47,92
	Full-time equivalent (FTE)	65,63
PER TYPE OF ACTIVITY	Basic research	70.4%
	Applied research	23.4%
	Experimental development	6.1%
PER SECTOR	Government	58.9%
	Business enterprise (public and private)	6.0%
	Higher education	30.6%
	Private NGOs	2.4%
PER SCIENTIFIC DISCIPLINE	Abroad	2.1%
	Natural sciences	24.1%
	Engineering and technology	32.9%
	Medical and health sciences	1.2%
	Agricultural sciences	40.8%
Social sciences	1.0%	
Humanities	0.0%	

Source: Own compilation based on RICYT, 2019

External Funding, has instituted a Financing Management process² to execute programs and/or projects with internal (local funding) or external (credit and/or donations) resources (Ministry of Development Planning, 2020). However, in order to access funding through these channels, projects must be aligned with the National Development Plan and the priorities in Departmental and Municipal Development Plans. Moreover, there are significant bottlenecks in the bureaucratic procedures for accessing government funding.

To date, there is no institution in Bolivia in charge of supervising and managing the registration of research organizations (La Razón, 2016). However, certain regulatory policies, such as Law 351 on the granting of legal personality, limit entities such as NGOs by strictly prohibiting the use of cash donations that entail political and ideological conditions that infringe the country's sovereignty. The use of external resources or donations from multilateral financial organizations or international cooperation agencies vetoed by the Bolivian State is one of the main reasons for the closure of NGOs.

Only entities that are recognized (by the State) as an 'active' organization can submit their project proposals to the ministry in charge of the relevant field of study. The corresponding ministry will then send the submission to the Ministry of Development Planning–Vice Ministry of Public Investment and External Financing (MPD-VIPFE). The MPD-VIPFE analyzes the proposal against the framework of current legal regulations, and then proceeds to formalize and negotiate financing (if applicable) for the project. Should credit be required, the Ministry of Education and Professional Training (MEFP) also participates in the process. Once the Financing Agreement has been defined,

an agreement is signed. Then, once all the technical and legal conditions for the use of external resources established in the Financing Agreement (approval law, subsidiary agreement, budget registration, opening of passbooks, etc.) are met, the requesting entity can use the resources to execute the project (Ministry of Development Planning, 2020).

Reducing and simplifying bureaucratic procedures will be critical for facilitating interactions and consolidating mechanisms for policy influence.

International context

The international dimension has an influence on the development and standing of research systems. The integration of national research systems into wider networks can foster academic exchange and collaboration, increasing work opportunities for researchers. Globalization entails elements of academic collaboration and can be measured by the degree of openness and the extent of international partnerships or international mobility (GDN, 2017).

The importance of the international context is recognized by the actors interviewed for this research. International collaboration is essential for developing activities and programs that facilitate the formation of a research community and complement national capacities, for acquiring innovation capacities, and for developing the investigative competitiveness of the region.

Opinion is divided on Bolivia's participation in the international community. While many believe that, over the last five years, the country has made steps toward developing a variety of networks that can help visualize and disseminate research outcomes, others argue that the conditions for a significant level of participation in international research organizations have not been met.

9 <http://www.vipfe.gob.bo/content/2140>

To date, around 13 institutions at national level are members of the Latin American and Caribbean Research Network. The Network, created in 1991 by the Inter-American Development Bank, supports knowledge creation and dissemination, and provides grant funding to research centers through a competitive bidding process for studies on current economic and social issues in the region (IDB, 2020). The primary aim is to improve the quality of research in the region and contribute to the development policy agenda. Bolivian institutions such as CERES, Fundación ARU, Fundación Milenio, INESAD Foundation, Universidad Católica Boliviana and UDAPE are among nearly 350 research institutes¹⁰ that make up the network.

In addition, 14 organizations¹¹ in Bolivia are full members of the Latin American Council of Social Sciences (CLACSO). This affiliation allows researchers to participate in the various academic activities and programs promoted by the Council. Entities such as CIS, part of the Vice-Presidency and a member of CLACSO since 2017, highlight how being part of these networks provides opportunities for effective academic support, integrates the country with similar centers in the region, and contributes to the institutionalization of management and research processes (CIS, 2020).

Although the country is open to the international community, it is widely recognized that participation in networks for production, dissemination and the use of research needs improvement in order to become visible in terms of standard bibliometrics-based international indicators. Wider participation would allow the research community to benefit from activities that are

currently promoted by networks like CLACSO, such as new agreements with national and international institutions and organizations to develop academic events and research activities; working groups; training scholarships and specializations; courses and virtual seminars; academic meetings; open access and evaluation policies; and diversified strategies for seeking cooperation funds.

Capacities for international integration need to be strengthened. In recent years, the country has limited itself to maintaining relationships with countries with a similar ideological perspective, which, in many cases, has hindered the development of wider networks, work opportunities and potential international partnerships.

Currently, these networks are concentrated in cities such as La Paz and Cochabamba. However, the vast majority of respondents feel that there is a need to define effective policies to promote the dissemination of knowledge across the whole country.

The general perception is that existing networks that support the production, dissemination and use of research are not properly socialized, and that new additional networks are required. Respondents identified the need to establish regional supervision networks to represent the range of different actors and enable policy proposals on a variety of specific issues. Consultative bodies of this nature would be able to channel priorities and promote efforts to improve administrative management. In addition, they could become spaces for debate, a good source of data, and could encourage the participation of other entities in the policy formulation process (OECD, 2009).

There is a relatively positive perception of professional networks, scholarship programs and exchange programs with other countries,

10 http://servicesaws.iadb.org/res/files/RED_Miembros_JUL2018_Sources.pdf

11 https://www.clacso.org/institucional/centros-asociados-2/?pag=pais&id_pais=7&ct=0

which can support the production of research and the training of researchers. However, this is still incipient and, although there is more government support for new scholarships for Masters and Doctorate degrees abroad, public announcements are not widely publicized or are restricted to certain areas related to the government or specific groups within it. Some of the respondents stated that applicants have to finance scholarships using their own resources, and that, although the different ministries have promoted scholarships, many of these have been withdrawn due to the limited number of applications – largely due to the lack of guidance during the application process.

Again, strengthening ties with regional programs within the research community could be highly beneficial for Bolivia. There are a number of current initiatives that can be further developed to support the generation of critical evidence-based knowledge to inform public policies and social organizations (CLACSO, 2019). CLACSO, for example, implements the CLACSO-CONACYT scholarship program, which awards postgraduate scholarships to students from Latin America and the Caribbean. CLACSO provides training for social science researchers, and access to mentoring and publications; it also promotes participation in regional and international events – with the aim of sharing the views and experiences of researchers, public policy actors and social activists in the region (CLACSO, 2019).

It is worth noting that efforts to identify and apply for professional networks, scholarship programs and exchange programs are often carried out by individuals/institutions rather than collectively through the endorsement of a national body.

Finally, one key aspect to analyze is the level of English within the research population.

The low level of English language proficiency directly affects the ability to produce research.

Although there are no national indicators to determine the level of English language proficiency among the Bolivian population, it is widely recognized that working in a foreign language is a barrier for those who intend to carry out research – this is not limited to the social sciences. At the international level, research excellence is usually associated with English-language publications (Hicks et al., 2015). English is considered to be the *lingua franca* of science: a great deal of scientific research is published in English. English language proficiency also allows researchers to access information and share results in international outlets. However, there is little support for English language training as a means of promoting or facilitating locally produced research. Consequently, opportunities for projects, scholarships, networks and exchanges are missed.

Historical and Cultural Context

This section aims to provide a general overview of the ways in which Bolivia's recent history can help explain political, economic and organizational aspects of the research environment: how cultural specificities affect the organization of the research system; the existence (or non-existence) of an evidence-based research culture; or how the transition that the country is going through generates divisions among groups of research actors, affecting the ways in which social studies are discussed and applied.

According to Sandoval (PIEB, 2015), the historical and social reality of Bolivia presents many diverse challenges related to indigenous people, poverty and institutionality. The Law of Popular Participation (1994) helped to improve levels of inclusion and political participation, both

in rural and urban areas, which led to a need to generate knowledge of local realities and develop a range of research priorities. However, recent political changes have, to a certain extent, resulted in a devaluation of evidence-based knowledge, with little government support for the production of scientific knowledge.

Moreover, there has been a growing interest in recovering certain types of ancestral knowledge and a conceptualization of 'living well', used as a guide to improve social welfare. However, ultimately, these proposals were used either as a panacea to address, among other issues, the country's research culture, disregarding universal scientific and technological knowledge (Pereira, 2016), or became a means of furthering the State's ideological objectives (Camacho, et al., 2015).

Most of the interviewees confirm that there is a direct relationship between the country's recent history and the state of the research system. Some of the interviewees from the private and academic sectors noted that social science research in Bolivia has been fixed on issues of economic development and poverty, which are no longer as relevant to the current economic situation in the country. A large number of interviewees argued that research should focus more on topics related to productivity and/or innovation.

The importance and proximity of the government to social science research is reflected in statements by M. Delgadillo (UDAPE), who claimed that *"the context has helped us"*, and R. Orellana (Former Minister), who argued that *"if the process of change has made any contribution, it has fostered a research agenda"*.

Some interviewees also noted the latent friction between the Morales Government and academia, which arose from efforts to

try and match ancestral knowledge with academic study. This has been an ongoing discussion since 2009 with the establishment of the new Political Constitution of the Plurinational State (Camacho, Villegas, Mendizábal, 2015).

All the interviewees for this initial analysis agreed that culture should be viewed as an integral part of the research process. Culture does not operate in isolation from other social influences; it can help guide our understanding of the world, including the research process. In Bolivia, it determines, to a certain extent, research topics. In addition, the promotion of a clearer and broader understanding of the past through a systematic exploration of cultural history provides an opportunity for a more constructive research process.

Some of the most relevant aspects that were mentioned are feelings of belonging, national and indigenous identities, and the preservation of ancestral knowledge and perceptions (worldview). These should be seen as valuable resources and not as limitations within research. In addition, there is no cultural rejection of academic research; indigenous communities have been open to analyzing and assimilating research on issues that concern them.

In terms of an evidence-based research culture, a large proportion of respondents agreed that, although tangible samples are used, few researchers support research with collected data; instead, due to the lack of available information, they base their work on secondary data searches. Both Gutiérrez (UCB) and Vasquez (CENDA) highlight the lack of in-depth research. Research that involves a data collection process, as well as the use of academic research databases that can be accessed to retrieve information, is expensive and time-consuming. Consequently, a large proportion of publications take the form of

essays. Most are based on observations that approximate or interpret reality, and due to the lack of up-to-date data, are ineffective in fostering broader academic debate.

From a political, economic and electoral perspective, it is clear that the country is undergoing a period of transition – although, curiously, this is disputed by actors from government institutions. Academics stated that this transition has created struggles within academia, generating a chronic ‘immediatism’ (a desire to find instant answers) among researchers, preventing a long-term vision through prolonged social research that effectively addresses structural problems (J.P. Benavides, researcher at IISEC).

The general perception is that the high levels of politicization generated by government actions and policies have a significant impact on the way research is conducted. Participants also noted that research processes often depend on the vision of each institution, in an environment that is limited by a lack of strong institutional leadership.

There is a total lack of coordination between actors, impeding the generation of products that could have a meaningful societal impact. The lack of clear direction also hinders the production of ‘serious’ research. The same topics/issues are investigated from many perspectives, but there is no communication between the different actors that produce research. The State does not facilitate channels of coordination, creating inefficiencies in the investigative process. In addition, the promotion of data generated by the State means that public policy processes are based on biased information (Camacho, Villegas, Mendizábal, 2015). As S. Vasquez (CENDA) comments, *“There is no real information that allows us to be certain that data from the State will contribute to critical, public debate. This creates ruptures within the research topic.”*

Research–Policy Nexus

The nexus between policy and research is key. Policy and its implementation – provided that it is guided by the national interest and not by the interests of factions – involves, among others, social actors, scientists, researchers and teachers (Pereira, 2016). Policymakers must have an interest in learning from research and in using it to enhance their work. They may, however, be drawn to social research for different reasons, according to their position in the political system. We should assume that every politician is a potential policymaker. Influencing policies is their primary aim, but they may require different things from research according to their political standing.

Based on the context analysis, this project has identified three (coexisting) models that act as potential channels for connecting research and policymaking:

The Polishing Model

In this scenario, politicians want to ‘polish their public image’. This may be the case particularly for young or new politicians who want to enhance their reputation by being associated with certain centers that are regarded as serious or of high repute. What matters in this model is the public image of the research center or the researchers themselves. The quality of the research may be good, but if it does not come from a well-known center or from an institution with a good reputation, the politician looking to enhance his or her image will not be interested in establishing a connection. This model was dominant during the first decades of the 20th Century in Bolivia, when parties and universities established themselves as new political reference points.

The Spotlight Model

In this model, politicians need to improve their popularity, and new input from social

research may provide the required ‘spotlight’, particularly if the ideas are well presented and supported by data and evidence. As argued by Carden (2009), research can improve the intellectual framework for crafting policy by putting new ideas on the agenda, and ensuring that information is presented to policymakers in a format that they can make use of, thus promoting effective interaction between researchers and decision-makers. To a certain extent, this model was dominant during the period of the National Revolution.¹³

The Toolkit Model

This model relates to politicians already in executive positions who require resources for specific projects to help them attain results for their constituencies. Evidence-based research may provide useful tools when applied to projects that support requests for funds from international donors. This was in fact the dominant model during the transition to democracy (1985 to 2005), when international organizations acted as intermediaries between research and policymaking, providing support to private and academic institutions and strengthening the research community.¹⁴

12 Many politicians during this period emerged from the ‘social sciences’, obtaining public relevance through their research work published in books and articles. Bautista Saavedra and Daniel Salamanca – who both became President after writing *El Ayllu* and *La Teoría del Valor* respectively – and Jose Antonio Arze, the founding father of Bolivian sociology, are some examples of this model in practice.

13 Research in this case was channeled through consultancy reports, some of them funded by international cooperation. Some examples include the Bohan Report (led by Merwin Bohan), which established a territorial integration plan; the Eder Plan for anti-inflationary stabilization (led by George Eder); and the Musgrave Report on taxes and fiscal administration (led by Richard Musgrave). In all these cases, teams of Bolivian researchers played an important part in efforts to provide guidance for government policies in the period between 1950 and 1970.

The three models suggest that the connection between research and policymaking in Bolivia not only depends on the quantity or quality of research, but also on the prestige of the institution and the public image of the researchers, as well as on the relevance of the topics, the originality of the ideas and projects derived from them, and their usefulness in mobilizing resources.

However, when the government does not feel the need for foreign money, none of these models seem to be viable – which appears to have been the case for Bolivia over the past 15 years.

The three models respond to the particular political context, but also to the level of prestige and relevance of social science institutions. In this sense, none of the models can be seen as desirable. However, when comparing them, it would seem that the toolkit model, despite being the most influential and apparently most effective (given that it links research directly to policy design), accentuates the system's dependence on external resources and may lead to biases and ethically-objectionable academic practices.

The other two models, on the other hand, have less impact on the design of policies but rely predominantly on the relevance and quality of investigation in the country. In the long term, this may represent an important stimulus for research activity, which currently

14 Some government research institutions, like UDAPE, were created during the 1980s and 1990s, when this model prevailed. One of the most influential efforts was promoted by the United Nations through UNDP and its Human Development Reports, largely based on local research conducted by private and university organizations. The World Bank and several cooperation agencies, particularly from European countries, responded to this model. This was a period when comparative indexes were established as tools for influencing policymaking. The PIEB experience, supported by the Netherlands Development Cooperation, was also part of this process.

suffers from a chronic shortage of funding.

From this perspective, there is no doubt that a more open political system, with the continual renewal and professionalization of politicians, along with stronger institutions, will offer levers of change that help connect social researchers more closely and productively with decision-makers and policy designers. Financing is also a key lever. Research may be linked to public policy needs, as shown in the toolkit model, but it must maintain quality and relevance, for which the allocation of funding through competitive mechanisms is essential. Research conducted by PIEB demonstrates that these mechanisms are readily applicable in Bolivia.

Project Limitations

A number of challenges were encountered while attempting to understand, map and assess the social science research system in Bolivia:

Access

The assessment involves substantial interaction with civil society, policymakers and academics. Therefore, access to organizations, data, people and documents was vital for determining eligibility and estimating the response rate of institutions considered for the study. However, gaining access to research participants was a considerable challenge. While in most countries, researchers are required to obtain a permit to conduct research, in Bolivia, due to the absence of a supervising body, access is often granted by individual institutions or actors. This gives rise to administrative informality and excessive red-tape, both of which hindered the research process from the outset.

The use of proper documentation – copies of request letters, authorization legitimizing the methodology and research team, briefs

on the purpose of the research, ID cards with institutional affiliations, and interview guides with the topics to be covered – provided an entry point and facilitated further contacts. However, two specific challenges were identified:

- a. High levels of administrative bureaucracy. Most of the contact with institutions was marked by uncertainty and delay, specifically in acknowledging and processing the requests, and scheduling interviews with key contacts. Given the time constraints, the team often relied on verbal permission to gain access as formal confirmation was never received. This highlights the importance of taking into account the different local practices and bureaucratic procedures.
- b. There was degree of sensitivity toward the assessment. It was often perceived as a critical evaluation of research conditions and practices and a fear of exposure often hindered access.

Sample size

In order to find significant relationships from the data, a representative distribution of the population was estimated. However, a smaller sample was considered and adopted, which included merging several categories of actors. While this helped to simplify the logistics of data collection, it raises concerns about the homogeneity of the groups.

Lack of available and/or up-to-date data

As documented by Carden (2009), developing countries often suffer from a shortage of basic statistical data from which to draw solid conclusions. Most data sets from the National Institute of Statistics (INE) and the Central Bank in Bolivia have not been updated for several years; other public institutions were forbidden from sharing official information that was essential for the purposes of this research. Other resources

such as websites are not available or have not been updated. Similarly, there is not only limited access to municipal libraries and national online repositories, but a lack of available, up-to-date, locally-produced research material, which greatly limited the literature review and made it difficult to cross-reference particular material.

Nevertheless, significant efforts were made to ensure triangulation of the available information to increase the validity of the findings and present a more balanced explanation, where possible. Triangulation was used for both qualitative and quantitative data, using the input from researchers and key informants from different backgrounds. Likewise, different data collection methods – such as interviews and surveys – were used to ensure an in-depth and more nuanced set of findings.

Lack of prior research studies in this area

Prior assessments of research systems/practices in Bolivia would have allowed this

project to analyze the relevant DRA indicators in comparison to a baseline diagnosis, but no similar studies have been carried out in this area. The results of this assessment will therefore serve as a starting point for analyzing structural barriers to doing research and highlight pathways for action.

Application of the methodology in practice

The implementation of the DRA methodology differs from one location to another; the challenges faced by the researchers conducting the assessment in Bolivia also differ. As stated in the Leiden Manifesto for research metrics (Hicks et al, 2015), the type of assessment and choice of indicators must take into account the context in which the study is developed. An understanding of the social context or local circumstances allows the research team to remain sensitive to the cultural and social settings in which the program is implemented – and adjust the methodology accordingly.

STAKEHOLDER MAPPING

Highlights

- According to Ministry of Education (Ministerio de Educacion Bolivia) statistics from 2016, there are 11 public universities and 42 private universities in Bolivia.
- Despite the existence of the Directorate of Scientific and Technological Research (DICYT), the institution in charge of the management of scientific activities in universities, efforts to record research activities remain fragmented, undermining the development of a coherent social science research system.
- Public/private donors have shifted their focus to fit with the current discourse on evidence-based policy.
- Currently, NGOs and non-profit think tanks in Bolivia are seen as organizations that strive to provide evidence-based research free from a political agenda.

The stakeholder mapping exercise aims to identify actors involved at all levels of the social science research system in Bolivia. It focuses on institutions that have a major influence on the research system.

Four groups of stakeholders are considered:

- Higher education institutions, including public and private universities
- Government and funding agencies, including national ministries, local and regional governments, and public and private foreign donors
- Private sector, including for-profit think tanks and consultancies
- Civil society, including NGOs, non-profit think tanks and the media

Characteristics of the Main Categories of Stakeholders

Higher education institutions

According to the current regulations (Political Constitution of the State, and Education Law No. 070), universities in Bolivia can be either public or private:

- **Public universities** belong to the Bolivian University System; they are autonomous and equal in status. Autonomy means that universities can independently administer resources (provided by the State); appoint their own leadership, and teaching and administrative staff; prepare and approve statutes, study plans and annual budgets; and accept donations and sign contracts to sustain and improve their institutes and schools. These institutions are represented by the Committee of the Bolivian University (CEUB) and have the authority to issue academic diplomas and professional titles. The role of the Ministry of Education is limited to coordinating between public universities.
- **Private Universities** are academic/scientific institutions for professional training and research, associated with business groups or religious denominations recognized by the State. They generate knowledge for the development of science, technology and innovation, respond to the needs and social and productive demands of the regions and the country. Their academic and institutional operations are regulated by the Ministry of Education. They are authorized to issue academic diplomas, but professional degrees are granted by the Ministry of Education. The Executive authorizes the operation of these universities, their statutes, programs and curricula.

According to information provided by the Ministry of Education (Ministerio de Educacion Bolivia, 2016), there are 11 public universities and 42 private universities in the country (Annex 5). All public universities were considered as part of the study; however, based on existing information and their relevance to the social sciences, only 28 private universities were selected for sampling.

Official documents published by the Ministry of Education and CEUB were used to source data on university staff involved in research activities across different years (Annex 5).

According to the Ministry of Education and the Vice Ministry of Science and Technology, there were 210 research centers in public universities in 2011, of which 36 are associated with the social sciences. In addition, 53 research centers have been identified in private universities, of which 15 are dedicated to the social sciences.

There were approximately 1,181 and 450 researchers (covering all disciplines) in public and private university research centers respectively (Ministerio de Educacion Bolivia, 2011). The National Plan for Science, Technology and Innovation for the Bolivian University System 2017-2020, published in 2017, provided more up-to-date information on each of the 11 public universities (Annex 5): it reported that there over 963 individuals carrying out research across all disciplines (CEUB, 2017).

Nonetheless, it is important to point out that there is no available information that specifically details the number of staff members exclusively related to research in social science at the national level. Therefore, efforts to define the size of a potential sample for the purposes of this study are based on estimates from the available information.

Much of the information was sought directly from each university. However, many of the details provided by the different institutions through their websites or profiles were either out-of-date or an overestimation since they included, in many cases, undergraduate interns or administrative personnel as part of the research workforce.

The lack of accurate, up-to-date information illustrates that, in spite of the existence of the Directorate of Scientific and Technological Research (DICYT) – the body in charge of the management of scientific activities in universities – efforts to keep a record of research activity remain fragmented (even more so for research activity related to the social sciences), undermining the development of a coherent social science research system.

Funding agencies

Public/private donors have shifted their focus to fit with the current discourse on evidence-based policy. Institutions such as the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank used to fund Bolivian think tanks that advocated for neoliberal policies, while some European donors financed those linked to ethnic movements. Currently, they look for more ‘neutral’ local partners to carry out their activities. Civil society organizations now produce research based on impartial and objective analysis of evidence in order to be in step with donor interests – an important shift in a country with limited financial resources for research. (Moncada, 2013)

Private sector (for-profit and private research institutions)

This sector is comprised of institutions whose activities are driven by profit; this includes consultancies and think tanks.

According to Bolivian regulations (Decree Law No. 16850, July 19, 1979) a consultancy

service is any study carried out by a consultancy firm or an individual consultant to provide specialized technical assistance to a specific user so that he/she has sufficient technical and economic information to allow for efficient decision-making.

Over the past decade, the sector has faced many difficulties, both in terms of influence and the economic, political and social context, mainly due to a strong divergence of opinion with the government in power. As a result of these differences, the sector has largely focused on technological and productive innovations that benefit private sector organizations.

Civil society

In Bolivia, non-profit associations and foundations are regulated according to the Civil Code, under the constitutional principle of free association. From a legal perspective, shared by the current Bolivian Government, NGOs are defined as: private institutions or legal entities, non-profit, national or foreign, of a religious or secular nature, who carry out development activities and/or assistance with State funds and/or external cooperation in the national territory (DS 22409, March 11, 1990).

NGOs and foundations must contribute to the economic and social development of the country, register their activities, comply with all legal regulations, and ensure their sources of financing and the management of their resources are transparent. These types of institutions are advised against receiving funding from agencies that are vetoed by the Bolivian state and that violate its sovereignty.

'Think tanks' – also known in the region as applied research centers or public policy research institutes – are organizations that seek to influence political processes, particularly public policies, through the

production of different types of scientific knowledge.

Currently, NGOs and non-profit think tanks in Bolivia are perceived as organizations that strive to provide evidence-based research free from a political agenda. They produce research not only in an effort to make an impact on public policy but also to increase the amount of independent research. However, their relationship with the Morales Government was fraught with difficulties.

Civil society institutions are identified as agents that promote good governance and openness through the analysis of policies – following up on the State's commitments – to influence policy on matters of public interest.

Stakeholder Listing

Selection criteria

Given the scarcity of public research and hard data, the criteria for the selection of the main stakeholders in the Bolivian social science research system were based on the following elements:

- Institutions that have an interest in using social science research
- Institutions that are experienced and are actively involved in the production, diffusion and/or uptake of social science research.

Exclusion criteria

Only one criterion was used to exclude institutions/actors from the list of the main stakeholders:

- Research institutions that are no longer active and have ceased to operate within the last three years for administrative reasons and/or a lack of funding.

In order to generate a comprehensive sample, the list of institutions was compiled

through publicly available directories, institutional websites and a preliminary desk review. This list was further developed and validated through a live discussion/working session held at CERES.

Stakeholder Validation And Analysis

Methodology

A stakeholder mapping specialist was brought in to carry out a working session to identify the main stakeholders in the social science research system through the use of a participatory tool.

The method entailed a group of ten experts selected on the basis of their experience in the field, their association with relevant institutions and/or current work associated with social science research. The group was multidisciplinary in order to contribute different perspectives and was comprised of researchers, former research administrators and professors from the field of political science, sociology and economics, as well as a civic and social organization representative who currently works with policymakers.

A preliminary list was provided to the group and an initial brainstorming session was carried out during a plenary session to consider the additional contributions of each participant. The goal was to build a 'group response' after several rounds of moderated discussion and arrive at something close to an expert consensus.

The sessions generated a comprehensive list of stakeholders from all the established categories. The final list of the main stakeholders in the Bolivian social science research system was made up of 169 institutions:

- **Higher education institutions: 45**
- **Government and funding agencies: 53**

- **Private sector: 5**
- **Civil society: 66**

Relationship among Stakeholders

The relationships and interests of the main actors in the social science research system at the national level were discussed to get an idea of how the system is structured and how the relevant actors interact with each other.

In order to gain a more in-depth understanding of the stakeholders, a two-step analysis was carried out.

STEP 1: As per the information provided in Tables Table 5 to Table 8, the following elements were identified for each category of actors:

- Type of interest in the production of social science research
- Type of information they provide for the project, and the best way of communicating with them
- Actors who influence their opinions in general, and their opinions regarding social science research in particular
- Actors who might be influenced by their opinions
- Main motivations and how these may affect the level of bias¹⁵ in their responses to the DRA

¹⁵ The methodology was open to participant bias as the categories of actors selected for this assessment were expected to assess the research system based on their own preconceived opinions, ideologies and experiences. Bias was minimized by ensuring that the participants were aware that their responses were confidential. Nevertheless, this kind of bias can be difficult to control for when participants are expected to inform on sensitive topics and/or may shape their responses in a manner that will be viewed favorably by other actors/institutions. In order to ensure trustworthiness, the data was triangulated and cross-referenced, where necessary.

Table 5 - Higher Education Institutions

	Private	Public
Interest in the production of social science research	<p>These institutions have a financial interest in the production of social science research. Private universities aim to create, adapt and use knowledge through research, transmit it through teaching-learning processes and disseminate it through university undergraduate and graduate programs. However, most of their academic activities are geared toward satisfying the needs of the business sector, with an emphasis on training entrepreneurial leaders committed to the development of the country.</p>	<p>The public university community rejects any form of intervention from central authorities, especially any form of government interference in public higher education that does not emerge from the exercise of University autonomy. According to their statutes, public universities are defined as national, scientific, democratic and popular institutions, that operate through a dialectical process of connection and mutual influence between universities and society.</p> <p>Traditionally, public universities have had research centers for the various fields of social sciences. They have been supported with financial resources channeled through an allocation from the Direct Tax on Hydrocarbons. This has allowed them to increase their resources for research. They have the infrastructure and financial resources to conduct studies and academic training. They also have financial resources derived from agreements with public universities in Europe and funds from the United Nations.</p> <p>However, the research centers are not connected with each other and act independently.</p>
Main motivation	<p>Their motivation is to provide quality professional education based on scientific research and ethical and cultural principles, to foster technical innovation, social transformation and address the needs of the country. These institutions are committed to teaching rather than to the production of knowledge.</p>	<p>The identification of specific issues that hinder human, social, economic and political development, in the region and the nation, determines the contents of the curricula, guides their research activities and facilitates scenarios for social interaction. Their main motivation is to contribute to the socioeconomic development of the municipalities, regions and departments in close coordination with the authorities at different levels of the State.</p>

Type of information to be provided	Quantitative and qualitative indicators regarding the: PRODUCTION DIFUSSION UPTAKE of social science research.
Who influences their opinions?	COMMUNICATION: Network of institutional contacts They are independent institutions; they are not influenced by any external parties to produce research. They stand on their own merit in their specialized field.
Who might be influenced by their opinions?	Actors in this category have the greatest influence over the student population. Both public and private universities have different effects on students. Universities offer substantial opportunities for change and perhaps surpass those of any other social institution. Universities have the potential to influence attitudes, knowledge and beliefs of students (e.g., their political identities) through academic and research activities. There is little to no influence over other actors (such as government institutions) given the lack of interaction on research-related matters.

Source: CERES, 2019

Table 6 - Private Sector

	For-profit think tanks	Consultancies
Interest in the production of social science research	Less interest in research in social sciences. Absence or little development of institutions associated with the production of specific social science research.	Financial interest linked to the production of social science research. These firms specialize in the management of the project cycle, and focus their work largely on the following thematic areas: business/institutional, sectoral, regional and national strategies, productive development, rural development, competitiveness, local economic development, the strengthening of SMEs and new ventures.

	For-profit think tanks	Consultancies
Main motivation	These institutions provide specific services to business organizations to analyze, design and execute activities, plans and projects for the benefit of the local business community. Their motivation is to represent, protect and promote the interests of private activities in terms of collective welfare and the economic and social development of the country, as well as to encourage the cooperation of private business activities with the public sector.	Develop economic and social research, as well as analysis of sectors and subsectors of the national economy with a focus on strategic analysis, sectoral risk analysis, market intelligence and competitiveness.
Type of information to be provided	Quantitative and qualitative indicators regarding the: PRODUCTION DIFUSSION UPTAKE of social science research. Products of research specifically aimed at supporting policymaking for the private sector. COMMUNICATION: institutional contact	Quantitative and qualitative indicators regarding the: PRODUCTION DIFUSSION UPTAKE of social science research. Products of research specifically aimed at supporting policymaking related to their experience with: Financial entities Government organizations Non-governmental organizations Cooperation organizations Companies and private organizations. COMMUNICATION: institutional contact
Who influences their opinions?	They follow their own lines of work. They respond to needs in line with their institutional objectives.	
Who might be influenced by their opinions?	They follow their own lines of work. They respond to needs in line with each project objective.	

Source: CERES, 2019

Table 7 - Civil Society

	NGOs	Non-profit think thanks	Media
Interest in the production of social science research	They provide public services; although they do not depend on the State or public entities. They work for the benefit of different members of specific communities or groups. Consequently, their main interest is in contributing to the strengthening of development and democracy, offering a space for diverse political, social and institutional actors to reflect on the most relevant problems for the country, in order to contribute toward sustaining a political culture that consolidates Bolivian democracy.	These institutions are created as a result of civil and popular initiatives and are usually linked to social, cultural, development or other projects. Their interest is centered on proposing effective solutions toward overcoming the critical obstacles to sustainable socioeconomic development.	Their interest is centered on reporting relevant events of a political, social and economic nature.
Main motivation	They focus their attention on the production and dissemination of knowledge regarding the challenges of development, democratic construction and globalization. Their motivation is to conduct research, studies, analyses and intellectual exchanges in economic, political, social and environmental areas as well as promote informed public debate and improve the quality of national public policies.		The media aims to offer informative, explanatory and didactic content, as well as open spaces for citizen interaction and deliberation.
Type of information to be provided	Quantitative and qualitative indicators regarding the: PRODUCTION DIFUSSION UPTAKE of social science research. COMMUNICATION: institutional contact		

	NGOs	Non-profit think thanks	Media
Who influences their opinions?	<p>Organizations under this category are predominantly independent institutions; therefore, they are not influenced by external parties.</p> <p>They stand on their own merit, in their specialized field.</p>		<p>The management, both public and private, of the media must always adhere to the freedom of expression; therefore, no influence of any kind should be exerted over media organizations. The media should transmit information they consider relevant, free from external control – other than their own editorial lines. However, in some cases, it is evident that political actors attempt to influence and control the information the media transmits.</p>
Who might be influenced by their opinions?	<p>Their research activities are linked to social, cultural, development or other types of projects that foster structural changes in certain spaces, communities, regions or the country as a whole.</p> <p>Ideally, these types of institutions should establish close links with the government and official institutions to implement their activities. For example, they could complement public policies in sectors such as health, education and employment, among others.</p>		<p>The media is a powerful instrument for socialization and has a great influence on society. It decides on the agenda of issues for daily discussion, and has even changed ways of governing and doing politics. The news is a form of knowledge; in this sense, the media communicates topics designed to influence the political and cultural debate. Actors under this category play an active role, not only in the formation of public opinion, but also in the development of political processes.</p>

Source: CERES, 2019

Table 8 - Government and Funding Agencies

	GOVERNMENT			
	National Ministries	Regional Government	Local Government	Research Councils
Interest in the production of social science research	Their interest is merely social, since these institutions were established to define and implement policies to promote, facilitate, regulate and articulate development.	Autonomous governments have an interest of a social nature. They have political and economic capacity. They are generators and executors of public policies, promoters and managers of economic development and social welfare, integrating public and private actors to improve the quality of life in the region.	Autonomous municipal governments have a high level of social interest, since they seek to improve the quality of life of local inhabitants, generating and executing policies for integral development. They have joint responsibilities with communities in managing the local territory.	Bolivia does not have a national research council. However, the Social Research Center (CIS), which is a Directorate of the Vice Presidency of the State, produces research in the social and human sciences that contributes to the strengthening of the Bolivian State.
Main motivation	Their motivation is linked to the planning of plurinational public management, applying policies, strategies and instruments for comprehensive State planning, public investment and financing, strengthening the role of the State and the actors of the plural economy.	Their activities are focused on public, autonomous, economically sound management, promoting the integral development of the region through public policies and strategic alliances at the regional level.	They provide public services to improve the quality of life, and promote integral development, respecting and managing the diversity and interculturality of local inhabitants.	The Social Research Center (CIS) is committed to the creation of a space for plural and proactive debate, the formation of a new generation of researchers, and the dissemination of research through languages and formats adapted to different audiences.

	GOVERNMENT			
	National Ministries	Regional Government	Local Government	Research Councils
Type of information to be provided	Quantitative and qualitative indicators regarding the: PRODUCTION DIFUSSION UPTAKE of social science research. COMMUNICATION: Formal request			
Who influences their opinions?	All government institutions carry out their social science research based on the guidelines established by the central government.			
Who might be influenced by their opinions?	The government influences society according to its aspirations and tendencies. Social policies are translated into an articulated set of guidelines, decisions, actions and strategic projections implemented by the State for benefit of its population.			

FUNDING AGENCIES

	Public Donors	Private Donors
Interest in the production of social science research	Interest of a social nature. Their focus is on the promotion, management and execution of public policies for international development cooperation, aimed at achieving sustainable human development.	These types of institutions have a financial interest in the production of research in the social sciences. They play a critical role in promoting international and national efforts to improve lives, working with the country to mobilize the financing and knowledge necessary to advance the development of Bolivia and the region.
Main motivation	They are motivated by their institutional policies, aligned with the public policies of the government/region. Their activities aim to contribute to accelerating processes of economic and social development.	
Type of information to be provided	Quantitative and qualitative indicators regarding the: DIFUSSION UPTAKE of social science research. COMMUNICATION: Institutional contact	

	GOVERNMENT			
	National Ministries	Regional Government	Local Government	Research Councils
Who influences their opinions?	They follow their own lines of work. They respond to needs in accordance with each project /program objective.		They follow their own lines of work. They respond to needs in accordance with each program/ project objective.	
Who might be influenced by their opinions?	Funding agencies directly influence government development strategies. However, in Bolivia, there have been significant changes over time in the policies of funding agencies and in their relation to and degree of influence over the development policies of the Bolivian Government.			

Source: CERES, 2019

STEP TWO: After completing a detailed characterization of the stakeholders, a second analysis was carried out to identify the relationship among the categories of actors.

This analysis was performed through a collective discussion, with contributions from ten local actors from different institutions. These were considered qualified informants given their research background and expertise in the social sciences.

Objective

To identify the different perceptions of the interactions between the four main categories of stakeholders.

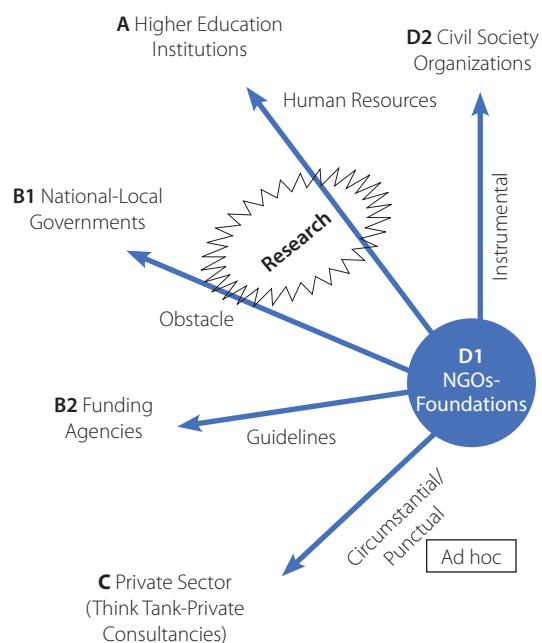
Methodology

The methodology uses a 'sociogram', which consisted of graphically representing the inter-relationships of a group of individuals within the social science research system, through a set of points (actors), connected by one or several lines (inter-relationships).

- The participants were presented with the aims of the session and all the available inputs.
- The participants were grouped into four groups to construct a social map.

- The perceived relationship among the four macro categories of actors was characterized through the use of different outlines and maps during a roundtable discussion. The different group analyses are included in their original version in Figure 3 to Figure 6 - Group Discussion on Stakeholder Inter-relationships – Group 4.

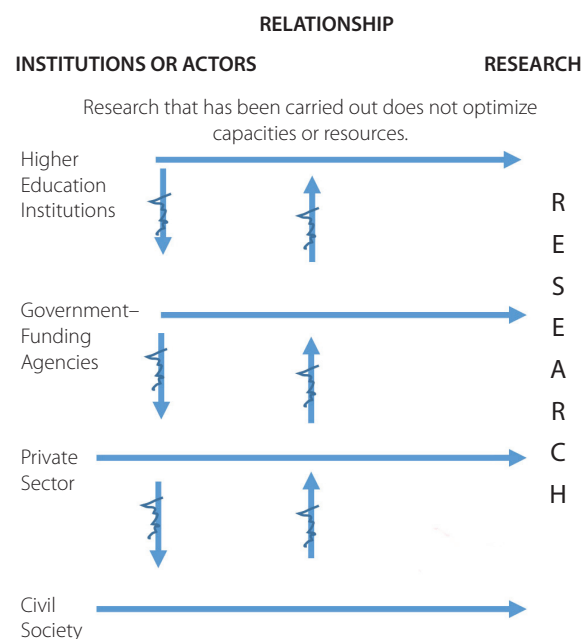
Figure 3 - Group Discussion on Stakeholder Inter-relationships – Group 1



Source: CERES, 2019

This main focus of the first group's analysis was on NGOs and their interaction with other stakeholders. The relationship between NGOs and other civil society institutions is perceived as instrumental, as a means of achieving their objectives. The NGOs' interaction with higher education institutions is limited in the sense that the latter are only perceived as generators of qualified human resources. The relationship with the government is presented as an obstacle that must be overcome, since they do not see themselves as partners. The relationship with funding agencies is seen as one of subordination because they dictate lines of work or provide guidelines to lead their research. Finally, the relationship with the private sector is seen as sporadic – they only interact for specific purposes.

Figure 4 - Group Discussion on Stakeholder Inter-relationships – Group 2



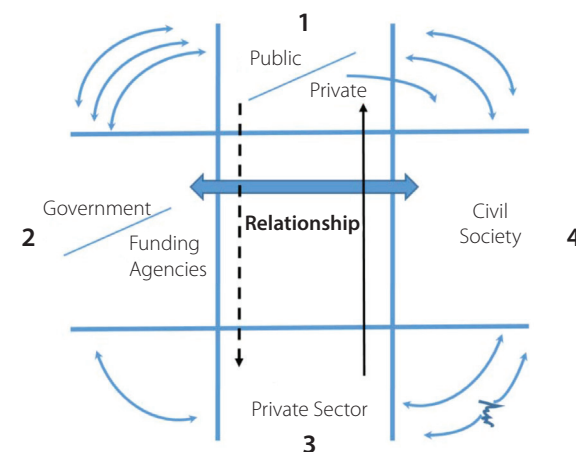
Source: CERES, 2019

The relationship between the four categories of stakeholders in the second group's analysis is presented as ruptured and/or very limited since there was no communication between them. Even though each category of actors produces research (blue arrows), any

relationship between them is only normative. The relationship between the government and higher education institutions is restricted to the allocation of resources. The interaction between the private sector and civil society is perceived as divergent given that each responds to their own interests.

In this analysis, the production of research is hindered by ideological differences. The roles of the different actors are seen as contradictory, there is no interest in interacting because everyone pursues their own interest; they do not seek to support each other and are more focused on spending resources rather than making investments.

Figure 5 - Group Discussion on Stakeholder Inter-relationships – Group 3



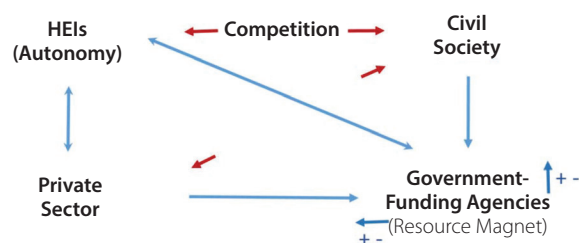
Source: CERES, 2019

In the third group's analysis, the relationship between public universities and the private sector is presented as weak given that public universities fail to respond to the demands of the private sector. The relationship between public universities and civil society organizations is perceived as strong, because of their political association. It is worth mentioning that during this analysis, additional actors such as representatives of grassroots territorial organizations (Organizaciones Territoriales de Base) and traditional communal lands (Tierras

Comunitarias de Origen) were considered important stakeholders in the civil society category.

A strong relationship is perceived between public universities and the government and funding agencies, once again, due to the allocation of resources. However, the group identified a weak relationship between the government and the private sector. The latter has the weakest interactions compared to the other sectors and has a particularly ruptured relationship with civil society.

Figure 6 - Group Discussion on Stakeholder Inter-relationships – Group 4



Source: CERES, 2019

Finally, during the last group's discussion, the relationship between the government and other categories was seen as significant in view of the amount of resources controlled by entities in this category; however, it was noted that this is not always a two-way relationship. Higher education institutions and the government have, in theory, a dynamic relationship because of their role in developing human resources. Higher education institutions and the private sector have two-way interactions, whereas higher education institutions do not have a strong relationship with civil society because they compete for resources.

Conclusions

Although the analyses present different perspectives on the relationships between the different categories of stakeholders, some general conclusions can be drawn.

The different stakeholders seek their own

benefits without any articulation of common interests among them, which hinders the development or efficient production of social science knowledge. Consequently, the results from research activities have been far from ideal.

Power, interest and influence in social science research

Following the first two steps of the stakeholder mapping exercise (categorizing stakeholders and mapping the relationships), we employed a Mendelow Matrix to gain a deeper understanding of the actors in terms of their level of power and interest.

For purposes of this classification, **interest** is understood as the level of effective support toward the production, diffusion or uptake of social research. **Power** refers to the ability of actors to influence (positively or negatively) social research through economic, social and/or political actions.

Objective

The aim of this exercise is to organize the different stakeholders in terms of interest and their ability to influence the adoption of policy actions.

Methodology

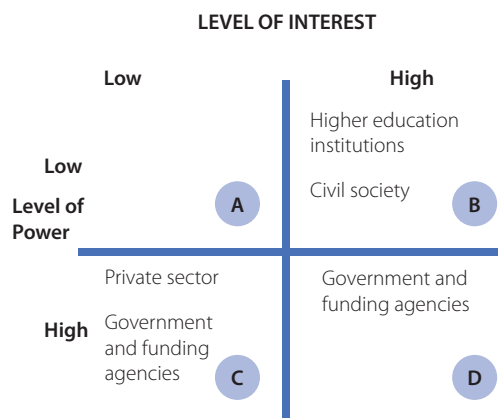
Based on the results of the social mapping analysis, a further grouping of the relevant stakeholders was carried out using a Mendelow Matrix to classify, analyze and rank the identified actors in terms of interest and influence.

The methodology used was as follows:

- The participants in the discussion were divided into working groups.
- The participants in each group assigned a position to each actor, discussing the main reasons that led to their choice of appropriate quadrant.

- Once the classification of all relevant actors was completed, a matrix was prepared to consolidate the results of each group.

Figure 7 - Classification of Four Main Stakeholders – Mendelow Matrix



Source: CERES, 2019

This type of mapping allowed us to determine the type of approach/strategy that could be used with each of the categories when advising a pathway for action.

The group of actors placed in quadrant B are considered institutions that require further support to optimize their involvement and become influential players in the social science research system.

Quadrant C comprises those actors that are considered useful sources of opinions and resources that can help mobilize other actors toward more direct involvement. Government entities have a significant influence on public policies. Like institutions from the private sector and funding agencies, they possess essential resources, such as the control of information, and direct access to funding and professional capacity, which makes them both highly relevant and powerful. However, their lack of interest in collaboration must be addressed to prevent them from becoming an obstacle to the adoption of policy action. This is the main

reason why government entities were also included in quadrant D. The actors placed in this last quadrant will be the main allies in carrying out improvements to the research system that impact the capacity of the country to produce, diffuse and use quality social science research for social and economic development.

These conclusions reaffirm the findings in the context analysis, which highlight how the social science research system in Bolivia is characterized by limited inter-institutional coordination between categories of stakeholders – mainly due to the absence of an institutional body that manages national research activities. The State manages financial resources and executes public policies almost unilaterally, establishing its own research agenda. This creates conflict with the interests and motivations of other relevant actors in the national social science research system. The direction of public policy is associated with the interests of parliamentary groups, political groups or parties, sectoral dependencies, groups of influential intellectuals, and business units, among others. In other words, public policies are developed as a result of pressure from actors and institutions with a level of influence within the political system.

Moreover, because policies are designed at a central level they do not respond to regional demands and, as a consequence, do not contribute to the democratic development of the country as a whole, nor do they satisfy demands for the common good. In other words, there is a divorce and/or distance between those who design policy and those who might benefit from it.

Sampling

Sampling – first attempts

The sampling process involves the selection of a sample that is both accurate and

representative of the target population, which would allow us to infer all its characteristics with a measurable and determined error. (Malhotra, 2004; Perez, 2005; Diaz, 2006)

In this case, since the research institution population was independently subdivided into strata or subgroups according to specific categorizations or criteria, stratified random sampling was the selected approach. In using this method, it is essential that the elements within each stratum are as homogeneous as possible, while the elements of the different strata are as heterogeneous as possible (Malhotra, 2004; Perez, 2005).

The first sampling attempts faced a major challenge: the large number of identified subgroups (strata). Identifying very homogeneous subgroups resulted in a precise segmentation of the population, which, while interesting for the purposes of mapping, made it difficult to manage and administer the survey, as well as being detrimental to the representativeness of the sample.

As a result, we decided to reduce the number of representative subgroups. While this meant that they became more heterogeneous, they remained relatively homogeneous compared to the overall population.

The sampling process for this study included two fundamental aspects:

merging categories to reduce the number of subgroups and using a global share that, when applied to all subgroups, determined the number of surveys to be applied. The considered criteria are shown in Table 9.

Table 9 - Sampling Criteria

CATEGORY (C)	Higher education institutions	C1
	Private sector	C2
	Civil society	C3
	Government and funding agencies	C4
LOCATION (L)	La Paz	L1
	Cochabamba	L2
	Santa Cruz	L3
	Rest of Bolivia	L4
SIZE (S)	Large	S1
	Medium	S2
	Small	

Source: CERES, 2019

In addition, mainly due to their size and share, the private sector institutions were merged into a single group in order to avoid any bias.

The merging process, based on the selected criteria, resulted in 37 subgroups, 19 of which presented values. Their characteristics are detailed in Table 10. With this number of subgroups, the population of researchers was successfully organized into a manageable and representative scheme.

Table 10 - Final Sampling Process: Subgroups Constructed Based on Size and Share

Subgroup	Subcategory	Location	Size	No. Institutions	No. Researchers	Share of total No. of Researchers
Subgroup 1	C1	L1	S1	1	20	1.54%
Subgroup 2	C1	L2	S1	4	62	4.77%
Subgroup 9	C3	L1	S1	4	71	5.46%
Subgroup 10	C3	L2	S1	2	36	2.77%
Subgroup 12	C3	L4	S1	2	28	2.15%

Subgroup	Subcategory	Location	Size	No. Institutions	No. Researchers	Share of total No. of Researchers
Subgroup 13	C4	L1	S1	17	319	24.52%
Subgroup 17+33	C1	L1	S2	7	38	2.92%
Subgroup 18+34	C1	L2	S2	9	43	3.31%
Subgroup 20+36	C1	L4	S2	21	67	5.15%
Subgroup 25+41	C3	L1	S2	26	162	12.45%
Subgroup 26+42	C3	L2	S2	7	32	2.46%
Subgroup 27+43	C3	L3	S2	8	54	4.15%
Subgroup 28+44	C3	L4	S2	17	100	7.69%
Subgroup 29+45	C4	L1	S2	20	144	11.07%
Subgroup 30	C4	L2	S2	2	20	1.54%
Subgroup 31	C4	L3	S2	2	14	1.08%
Subgroup 32+48	C4	L4	S2	12	65	5.00%
Subgroup 35	C1	L3	S2	3	14	1.08%
Subgroup 37+38+39	C2	L1+L2+L3	S2	5	12	0.92%
Total				169	1301	100%

Source: CERES, 2019

Criteria for the selection of subgroups

Given the estimated population of 1,300 researchers in Bolivia, a sample size of 300 researchers was determined for this study. From this number of potential respondents, the sampling rate applied to each subgroup was calculated as follows:

$$\frac{n}{N} = \frac{300}{1301} = 23,06\%$$

Through the use of this sampling rate, the number of researchers was calculated as per the example shown in Table 11.

The selection of institutions/researchers to be surveyed in each subgroup was carried out through the following steps:

- Taking into account the particular characteristics of the different categories, a specific response rate was estimated,

Table 11 - Example of Calculation of the Final Number of Respondents

Subgroup	Subcategory	Location	Size	No. Institutions	No. Researchers	Share of total No. of Researchers
Subgroup 17+33	C1	L1	S2	7	38	2.92%
Researchers to be surveyed = 23.06% of 38 = 9						

Source: CERES, 2019

a priori, for each: 75 percent for higher education institutions, the private sector and civil society organizations, and 50 percent for government and funding agencies. As a result, the final number of potential respondents in each subgroup and the final sample was increased to cover the number of required responses.

- Institutions from each subgroup were randomly selected. If the institution met the required number of researchers (or more), only one institution was selected. In

cases where institutions did not meet the requirement, additional institutions were randomly selected until the number of researchers was greater than or equal to the number required per subgroup.

Representativeness of the selected sample

The institutions were randomly selected within each subgroup through the use of random tables. The characteristics of the final sample are presented in Table 12 and Table 13:

Table 12 - Final Sampling Process: Institutions Selected Based on Size and Share

	Subgroup Sampling				
	Distribution	Share in initial list		Share in initial list	
	Size	Total number of Institutions	%	Total number of Researchers	%
Selected	Small + Medium	48	28%	274	21%
	Large	13	8%	251	19%
Not Selected	Small + Medium	91	54%	491	38%
	Large	17	10%	285	22%

Source: CERES, 2019

Table 13 - Final Sampling Process: Subgroups Based on Location and Share

Characteristic	Location	Subgroup Sampling			
		Share in initial list		Share in initial list	
		Total number of Institutions	%	Total number of Researchers	%
Selected	La Paz	28	17%	307	24%
	Cochabamba	10	6%	92	7%
	Santa Cruz	6	4%	36	3%
	Rest of Bolivia	17	10%	90	7%
Not Selected	La Paz	48	28%	448	34%
	Cochabamba	17	10%	108	8%
	Santa Cruz	8	5%	50	4%
	Rest of Bolivia	35	21%	170	13%

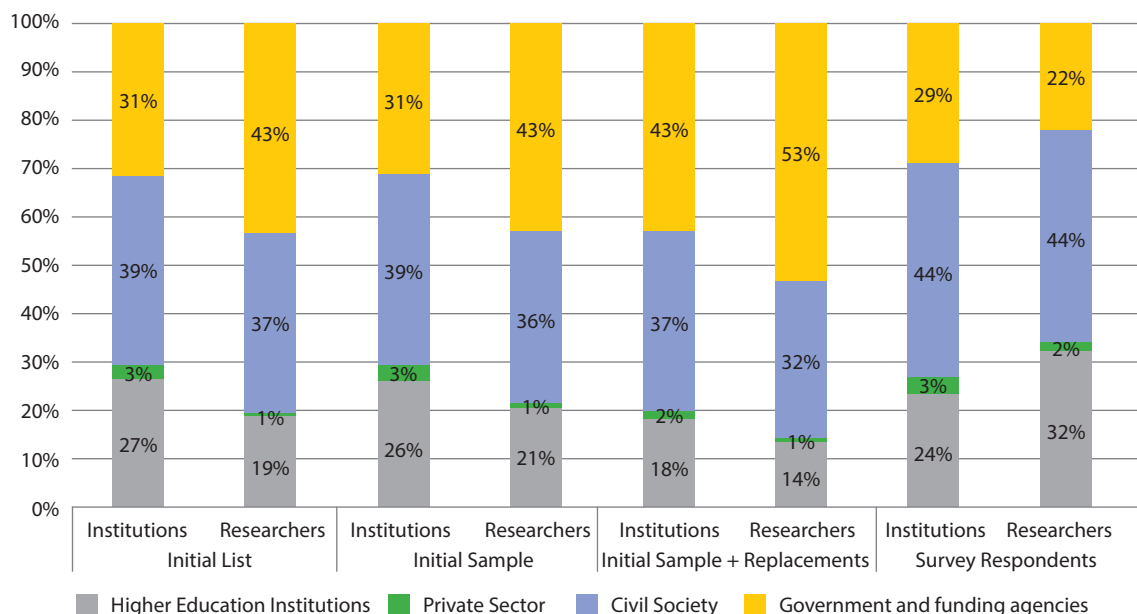
Source: CERES, 2019

The final sample has a proportional representation of small, medium and large institutions as well as all the identified locations, categories and subgroups. At the same time, this allowed us to simplify the logistics of data collection, thus avoiding the potential challenges of administering a large survey identified in the first sampling attempts.

Representativeness of the surveyed sample

In order to assess the representativeness of the resulting sample, two characteristics or categories were evaluated: type of institution and location. The size of the institution was excluded from the analysis due to its variability throughout the study.

Figure 8 - Representativeness of the Sample: Share of Stakeholders in the Initial List and Final Sample, per Type of Institution (In Percentage)



No. for initial list: institutions = 169, researchers = 1,301; No. for initial sample: institutions = 61, researchers = 525; No. for initial sample + replacements (unresponsive actors where replaced with actors from the same subgroup): institutions = 106, researchers = 932; No. of survey respondents: institutions = 59, researchers = 155. Period of data collection: July-September, 2019

Source: CERES, 2019

The participation/representation of both researchers and institutions from the higher education, private and civil society sectors in the survey was proportionally similar to the initial list. Therefore, we can affirm that there were no significant differences between the final sample and the population under study.

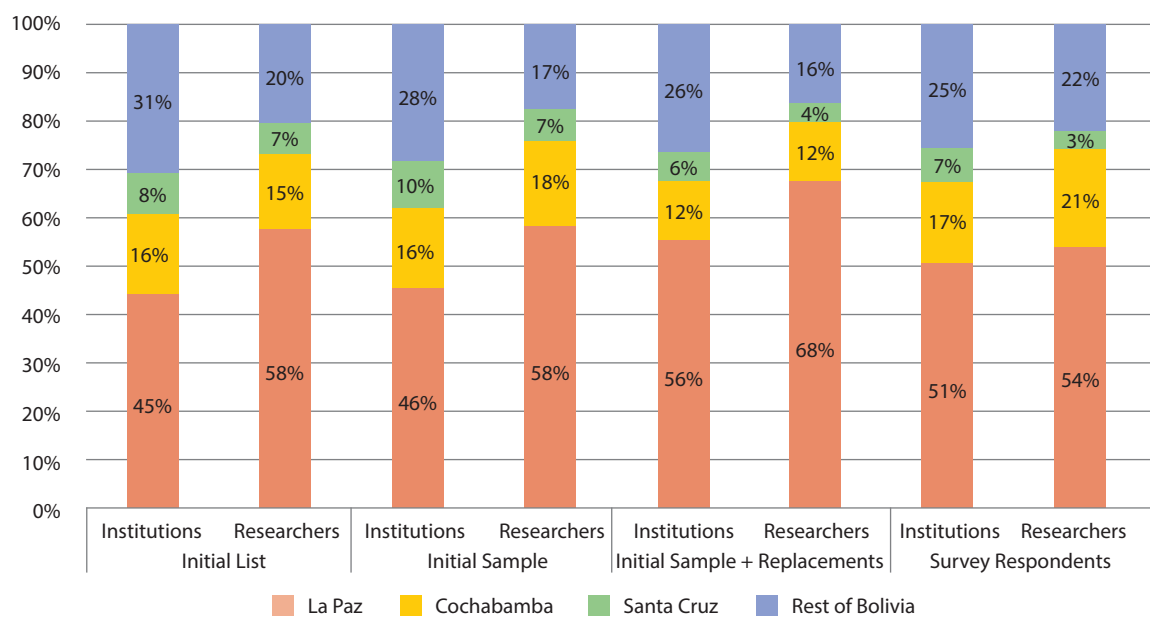
Some of the most significant variations, in particular for the government and financing agencies, can be attributed both to the overestimation of the number of people dedicated to research activities and the low response rate of government entities (37 percent for institutions and 7 percent for researchers).

Despite these difficulties, the final sample ensured the participation of all categories of actors in satisfactory proportions and, therefore, an acceptable level of representativeness.

In terms of location, the proportion of actors from different parts of the country was similar to the initial list. The variations are explained by two factors: incipient research activity reported in the city of Santa Cruz and the low levels of response in La Paz and the rest of the country.

Taking into account the conclusions of both comparative analyses, we can be confident of the representativeness of the final sample.

Figure 9 - Representativeness of the Sample: Share of Stakeholders in the Initial List and Final Sample, per Location (Percentage)



No. for initial list: institutions = 169, researchers = 1301; No. for initial sample: institutions = 61, researchers = 525; No. for initial sample + replacements: institutions = 106, researchers = 932; No. of survey respondents: institutions = 59; researchers = 155. Period of data collection: July - September, 2019

Source: CERES, 2019

DRA FRAMEWORK

Highlights

- Although the production of research has increased, it still suffers serious deficiencies in terms of quality, norms and organization.
- There is no national research policy for social sciences nor a national body that articulates research activities in Bolivia.
- The limited supply of PhD programs offered by Bolivian universities indicates weakness in scientific production.
- There is no peer review culture; as a result, research production in Bolivia lacks parameters to measure quality.
- The dissemination of research is one of the weakest aspects of the Bolivian research system.
- Low levels of participation of Bolivian researchers in international research projects have resulted in a loss of global presence and influence in the social sciences.
- Most institutions continue to prioritize the written publication of research production – rather than debates, workshops and conferences – as the main means of disseminating research.
- Researchers identified the Internet and social networks as the most popular space for research communication, as opposed to newspaper, television and radio coverage, which were rated as unsatisfactory.
- There is considerable independence for researchers, who can generate data free of political pressure.
- There is a general consensus within the government about the importance of the production of research and the need for evidence-based public policymaking.

“We need to start taking stronger initiatives because a country cannot run without ideas, without research, without information.”
(J. De la Fuente, 2019)

It is important to recognize the perceived disconnect between public policymakers and social science actors when developing methods and tools for a practical and objective implementation of social science research. As discussed throughout this analysis, the relationship between stakeholders involved at all levels of the social science research ecosystem was described by the different actors in terms of a ‘divorce’, reflecting the historical lack of state support – through policies and funding – to social research. In addition, despite the fact that the data from science and technology indicators are of vital importance for the definition, construction, prioritization and evaluation of public policies, the government has not elaborated indicators for R&D; some indicators were developed in 2009, but this was done independently (Pereira, 2016). According to the latest available data on government expenditure on R&D for Bolivia, State support for research in the social sciences is still severely lacking. There is very little investment in the elements of the research system that can impact the capacity to produce, diffuse and use quality social science research as a key element of social and economic development.

There are no clear policies on social science research in the private sector and universities (Camacho et al., 2015; Peres, 2012), which is reflected in the perception of the profound dependency of organizations dedicated to academic research on international cooperation agencies (Zurita, 2012). A common observation is that conventional censorship is not exercised in Bolivia, but that there are other means of adapting or determining lines of research, usually associated with financing. In this sense, the level of dependence of research institutions on external financing is problematic.

However, although Bolivia has been categorized as ‘delayed’ in terms of research

topics and technological developments (Peres, 2016), the findings from the DRA highlight the potential of the country to conduct research in relevant areas and be competitive on a global scale, as well as the capacity to participate in discussions or debates with other global institutions (Muriel, 2019).

Production

The production of research in Bolivia takes place on different levels and through different actors. One of the most important levels of research pertains to the work conducted by public and private universities; the second level comprises the production of research by civil society organizations (Torrez, Yuri F., 2013). The importance of each layer has fluctuated over time. In fact, we can classify the production of research into two distinct periods (CIPCA and IDIS – Universidad Mayor de San Andres; La Paz; June 2019). The first period (the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s) was dominated by the influence of research generated by NGOs and the support of international agencies working in Bolivia. The second period, which extends from 2007 to the present day, is characterized by the reduction in overall research activities in Bolivia, a reduction in the influence of research from NGOs and a centering of the production of research in public and private universities and government agencies.

In this section we provide an overview of these two periods and their impact on the production of social science research in Bolivia. First, we highlight some of the key statistics that summarize the increase in research. Second, we focus on the role of an institution that played a key part in the production of research during this period, Fundación para la Investigación Estratégica en Bolivia (PIEB). PIEB was a private, non-profit organization that began working in Bolivia in 1994, promoting strategic research in the

social sciences and technology, with the aim of influencing public policies. Third, we discuss the role of international cooperation and its imprint on the production of research. International cooperation played a key role by providing funding to NGOs during the earlier period and supporting the development of research centers within public universities.

During the last decade there has been a substantial increase in the production of social science research in Bolivia. The total number of active social science researchers increased from 67 per million inhabitants in 2012 to 77 per million in 2014.¹⁶

A report on the production of social science research in three middle- and low-income countries in South America, states that "... in Bolivia, social research is relatively recent compared to other countries in the region. The late appearance of a broad spectrum of social majors in public universities, and, above all, a political context that is not always favorable to critical studies on development, explain why the appearance of such studies was incipient in its early stages (late sixties) and did not become significant until the mid-eighties." (Vera, 2015)

The findings show that even though there has been an increase in the amount of 'scientific' production in social sciences in Bolivia, a deterioration in the quality of this production is evident. The production of social science research in Bolivia is currently experiencing a period of stagnation, a loss of identity and, most importantly, a lack of impact on public policy (Camacho, Villegas, Mendizábal, 2015) – as corroborated by the researchers and directors we interviewed. Nonetheless, actors from all four categories reported participating in social research

16 UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS), 2019

projects with a degree of impact on public policies. Regardless of the material limitations and the lack of incentivizing policies for scientific production, research is being conducted in history, anthropology, sociology and political science; however, this production is not supported or sought out by public policymakers (Peres, 2012).

The rise of the former government party, Movement for Socialism (MAS), radically altered the rules and the context for social research production, making greater use of findings from State-supported research centers (Balarin, 2016). According to Balarin, it is evident that this type of social research still plays an important role in informing the government’s agenda, as can be seen with the creation of the Vice-presidency’s Social Research Center (CIS) and the priority given to the output generated by UDAPE and its Analysis of Social and Economic Policies Unit.

Social science research takes place, above all, within NGOs and universities (Camacho et al., 2015; Zurita, 2012). The latter involves different research centers that are finding it increasingly difficult to generate social science research given the focus of universities on technical/business majors.

Research inputs

People, Funding, Infrastructure and Data, Time for research

Many of the responses noted that, given the limited resources (in terms of salaries and funding) and the demands of the job (data collection and field work), engaging in social science research requires a great deal of dedication and sacrifice.

“I believe that those of us dedicated to research in society are elites. We have the advantage of being able to do it, we are a very small group. Moreover, according to the world survey of cultural values, we are a country that gives less importance to

knowledge and scientific production. That is to say, we are below everyone else. In society, research is just beginning to emerge. So, those of us who conduct research are a very, very small elite.” (A. Ramirez, 2019)

The limited supply of PhD programs offered by Bolivian universities indicates weaknesses in scientific production (PIEB, 2015).

Nevertheless, there has been an increase in the number of researchers with PhD degrees (Table 14) and researchers in the social sciences over the last decade. The pioneering research and data collection carried out by CERES for the DRA confirms this steady increase (in the absence of up-to-date official data on this). For example, of the 96 surveyed researchers, 17 percent hold a PhD and 10 percent are currently working toward one.

Table 14 - Bolivia: Number of Researchers with Ph.D.

	2012	2013	2014
Total No. of researchers (Headcount)	1,303	1,454	1,618
Researchers with a PhD	195	202	274
Total No. of social science researchers	317	308	360

Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS), 2019

Several reasons could explain this situation. First, research facilities and workspaces, although in need of further improvement, have been enhanced. The increase in the number of private organizations dedicated to the generation of ideas for development, together with an important flow of resources from international cooperation during the 1990s, have also contributed to this improvement (Vera, 2015).

Second, much of the increase in original scientific research in recent years has been generated by the increasing professionalization of public and private universities (Camacho et al, 2015). As observed, the number of PhD holders has

increased – although the growth in scientific production has generally not resulted in an increase in publications from the region (Oxhorn, 2015).

Third, the majority of research has adopted a critical approach and, at times, has been effective in influencing the process of change that the country has gone through. In these interesting years of crisis and transformation, a new generation of young researchers (both men and women) has emerged, who are using interdisciplinary methods and innovate conceptual and methodological approaches to examine different social and cultural realities (Sandoval, 2019).

PIEB has been one of the main protagonists in this area. Although it has ceased operations, it was widely renowned for its experience in coordinating and training researchers across the country – and had the potential to take on the role of a national research coordinating body. Shortly after the institution was created in 1994, the highly intellectual nature of the institution became evident. Today, PIEB remains a successful ‘brand’ of solid research and training. Over an unprecedented history of 20 years, PIEB contributed to reversing the limited development of research in the country and overcoming the shortage of professional resources. It had a strong interest in research linked to public policy and advocated for the need for research as an engine for progress and development (Sandoval, 2014).

Although there are some significant flaws in the social science research system, the changing conditions and new challenges that the country faces mean that the production of evidence-based knowledge remains critical. The production of social science knowledge in particular is key to understanding the national reality. Despite the observed disconnect between social science research and its use at a public

policy level, the contributions of these investigations remain relevant and continue to generate new knowledge in different areas such as:

- Indigenous/territorial issues
- Productive rural development
- Gender equality
- Poverty and inequality
- Public policy design regarding regional issues, indigenous communities and gender
- Impact evaluations of public policy and academic research

Another aspect that influences how research is conducted is the availability of resources. Most of the respondents were satisfied or moderately satisfied with regard to access to infrastructure and equipment for research. Some pointed out that improvements in the conditions for conducting research are partly due to collaborations with European countries, such as the Sida-SAREC cooperation agreement with public universities in La Paz and Cochabamba (Camacho et al., 2015). However, the lack of specific resources such as software for research and data analysis was clearly identified as one of the most evident limitations. Limited funding and logistical support are also perceived as a major obstacle to social science research:

“The latest professional courses provide inputs, guidelines and classes; but students cannot count on office supplies and a space to work” (A. Pinaya, 2019)

“From what I know, and we are not the exception... the university pays salaries to researchers who belong to certain institutes, as well as to the faculty. Resources are granted, but only for stationery – perhaps

toner, paper and other resources for more administrative purposes. But for research, neither the faculties nor the institutes have resources for ... field work, surveys or workshops, etc.... I once asked, what resources do we have to carry out research? And someone told me: but where does your salary come from? And, of course, my salary is paid by the university, so that 'implies' doing research. But doing research entails additional operational expenses and the university does not have any specific budget to finance research projects." (J. Ledezma, 2019)

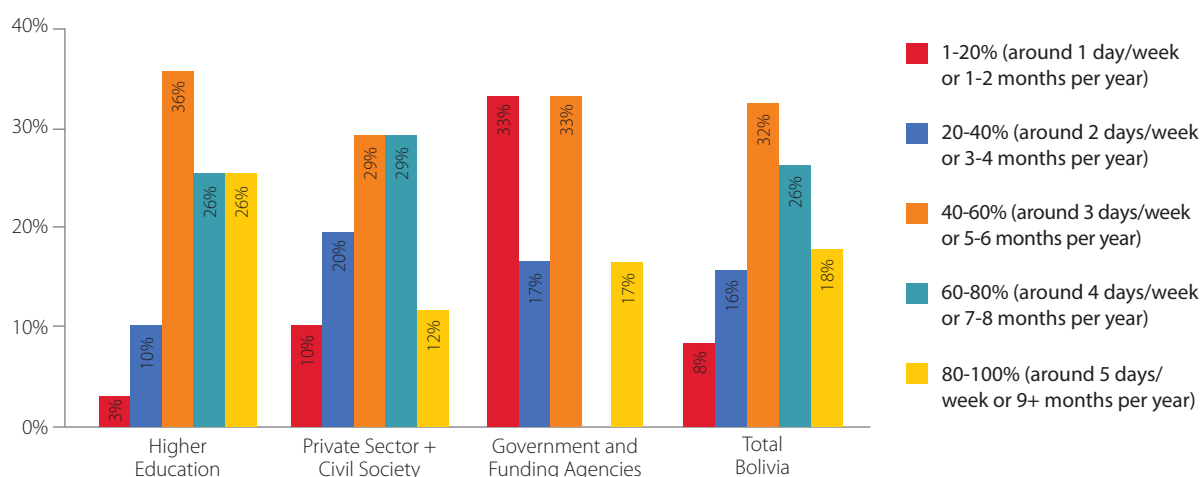
"... In fact, the School of Social Sciences is in a deplorable condition. We do not have our own infrastructure and we have had to give classes at a high school; so we fight for classrooms, we do not have proper restrooms, ... it is very serious but that is where we stand in the social sciences." (S.Paz, 2019)

In addition, time allocated for 'in-depth' research is insufficient. Until the 1980s,

scientific training followed a technical/ instrumental approach and the university system did not allow teachers to engage in research (PIEB, 2015). A large majority of researchers recognize that the time they spend on their research is not adequate, and the term professor-researcher is often merely nominal. The regulations of the CEUB as well as some of the universities themselves, allocate few hours for research – with the exception of public universities, who can access research funds and resources from the direct tax on hydrocarbons, unlike private higher education establishments.¹⁷

Figure 10 - Researchers: Time Allocated to Research per Type of Institution highlights the low levels of full-time research in the country: just 17 percent of researchers claim to dedicate between 80 percent and 100 percent of their time to research. Moreover, in the absence of an entity that regulates and qualifies research, or a policy that promotes the production of scientific knowledge, research activities tend to be carried out in isolation.

Figure 10 - Researchers: Time Allocated to Research per Type of Institution



N for High Education = 39; N for Private Sector and Civil Society = 51; N for Government and Funding Agencies: 6; N for Bolivia = 96.
Period of data collection: July-September 2019

Source: CERES, 2019

17 (Spanish acronym, IDH) The revenue that the Bolivian national government earns from the extraction of hydrocarbons and then redistributes to subnational authorities – in this case, universities.

Research culture and services

Institutions and policy, peer-review culture, capacity-building, research support and administration

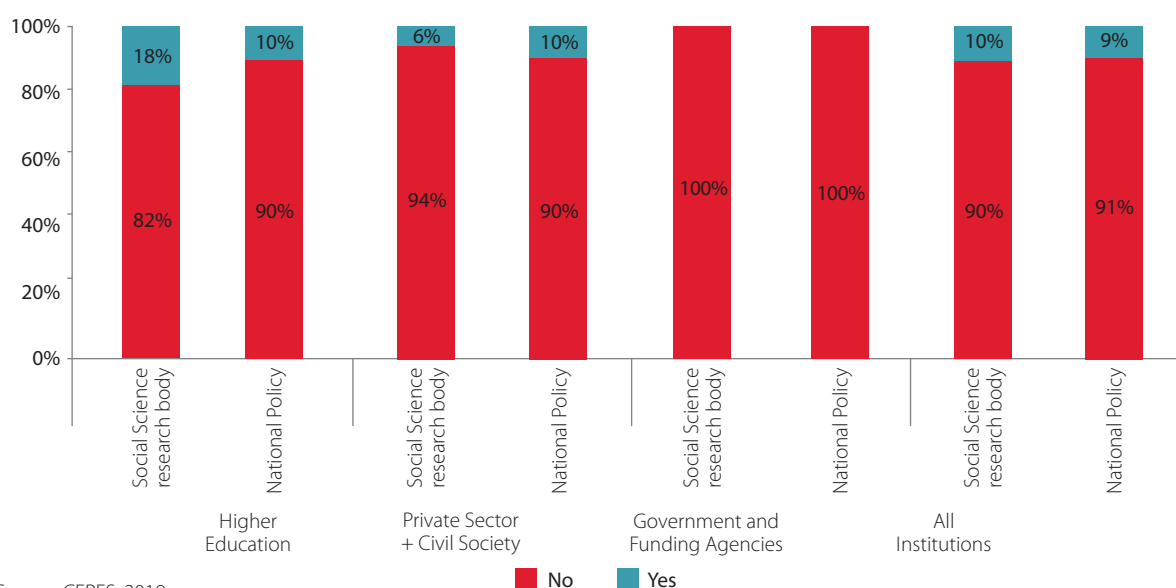
The concept of a ‘research culture’ can be seen as the supportive context in which research is uniformly expected, discussed, produced and valued.

The previous government generated ‘relevant’ social research by promoting knowledge produced by State-backed institutions (Vera, 2015). However, the institutional disconnect between the entities producing information for the State and civil society is evident. The lack of systematic coordination among the different sectors – private, university and government institutions – dedicated to research and the generation of knowledge, results in objectives that are unrelated to the country's problems (Pereira, 2016). Interestingly, the public sector actors (executives and former ministers) who took part in the in-depth interviews reported the existence of a national policy on social science research – in contrast to the majority of actors (across all categories) that responded to the

survey (Figure 11). Private and civil society actors stated that there has been an evident deterioration in social science research in the country and, in turn, in its impact on public policies – as corroborated by Pereira (2016) and Camacho et al. (2015): research centers and universities do not meet current international requirements, dissemination material merely accumulates in libraries, there is an absence of quality assessment or statistical information on scientific activity in the country, and policy formulation is based on ideological and political leanings.

As mentioned previously, unlike in other countries, there is no state institution that promotes scientific research per se (Ardaya, 2017). Therefore, there is no real form of institutionalized practice for academic actors involved in social science research at country level. However, at the university level, there are institutions, such as the Directorate of Scientific and Technological Research (DICYT), that, to a certain extent, promote scientific research. However, these do not ensure the quality of research but instead focus more on the administrative and bureaucratic elements of resource

Figure 11 - Researchers: Existence of a Research Body and a National Policy Related to Social Science Research, per Type of Institution



Source: CERES, 2019

management within the public university system.

In fact, as Zurita (2012) and Camacho et al. (2015) have argued, the excess of current regulations (DICYT, National Plan for Science and Technology, National Development Plan for Bolivian Universities and the plans of research centers and institutes) has meant that university researchers are not clear on the direction they should follow.

In the absence of a regulatory body or clear policy, the system lacks parameters to assess the quality of knowledge production. The most urgent need is to define a single general reference against which more specific regulations can be developed according to the needs of different actors, not only for the university system, but for all research undertakings (Camacho, et al., 2015).

Around 90 percent of civil society organizations consulted for this assessment agree that there is no institution in Bolivia in charge of supervising research activities. However, there are certain regulatory policies, such as Law 351 on the granting of legal status, that limit the activity of NGOs, strictly prohibiting operations that are funded with donations that come with political and ideological conditions that affect the country's sovereignty. This has meant that entities that receive external resources or donations from multilateral financial organizations or international cooperation agencies vetoed by the Bolivian State have been forced to close.

Although centralized coordination and control are essential for successful governance (OECD, 2011), and although Law 351 was initially designed for regulatory and supervisory purposes, they now appear to be used for obstructing the work of NGOs/CSOs. These mechanisms do not support the government's social and economic development platform (Kiai, 2015); rather than providing the tools

to integrate civil society institutions into the government's 2025 Patriotic Agenda, they tend to condition their work.

For reference purposes, in the period after Law 351 was introduced (from 2013), there were 1,287 NGOs operating nationwide, but only 237 fulfilled the requirements of the law and were legally entitled to exercise their powers and functions.

An analysis by Kiai (2015), in his role as Special Rapporteur to the United Nations, affirms that "the restrictions established in the Bolivian norm can be interpreted as an attack on the very foundation of the right to freedom of association." More specifically, Kiai highlights the difficulties of civil society organizations in carrying out their activities in such a hostile environment.

On the contrary, the State should promote an environment that facilitates the engagement of different actors in contributing to the development of the country. This excessive regulation of sectors in the research ecosystem reflects the lack of a conciliatory approach (Zurita, 2012).

That said, the research culture in the social sciences provides ample scope for carrying out different types of research, from diagnoses and/or baseline studies carried out by NGOs, to more analytical studies conducted in higher education centers – each with their own regulations and procedures on to how to produce and handle data. Currently, training is being promoted in state universities to improve research production skills.

"My term has been characterized by efforts to provide support for research because that is the field I work in; so, the first thing I achieved was to develop regulations for researchers, which started with the concern that we do not generate articles for indexed publications. This is very difficult because,

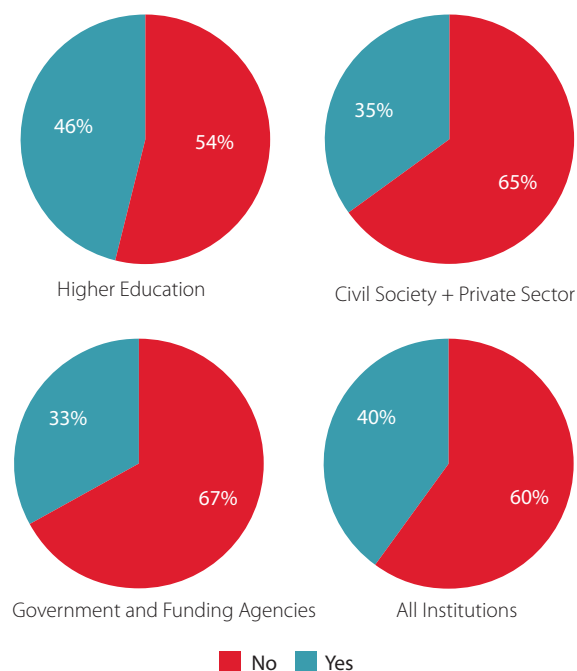
while indexed publications are starting to gain more relevance, the university cannot ask its researchers to produce these without providing the proper conditions for publishing. We have been asking for pricing – it is very expensive to index a magazine for example. However, we are currently working on that; we have already provided training on research management, bibliographies, how to write a scientific article and we are trying to approve a degree in research that doesn't currently exist at the university.”
(María E. Pozo, 2019)

However, findings confirm that there is no real peer-review culture, in part as a result of the institutional crisis following the exit of international cooperation agencies. Some of the best-practices applied within research institutions are based on the experience with previous projects funded by international cooperation agencies that proposed research protocols and guidelines for research design and assessment. However, not all practices, including peer-review, have remained a part of the dominant research culture. This has led to the continuing deterioration of the social science research system in recent years (Torrez, Y., 2013).

“PROEIB started out with financing from the German Technical Cooperation of the GTZ, 20 years ago. When the GTZ granted resources, there was nothing to do but research, so there were many opportunities...”
(F. Prada, 2019)

In terms of mentoring, 54 percent of the respondents from the higher education survey reported not having access to mentors. In the higher education context, mentoring is usually associated with thesis guidance at both undergraduate and graduate levels. Respondents from the private sector, civil society, and government and financing agencies were less likely to seek out mentors. (Figure 12)

Figure 12 – Access to Research Mentors, per Type of Institution (Percentage)



N for High Education = 39; N for Private Sector and Civil Society = 51; N for Government and Funding Agencies: 6; N for Bolivia = 96. Period of data collection: Jul-September 2019

Source: CERES, 2019

Some of the responses by actors from research institutions suggest that the lack of mentoring is due to the fact that research work tends to be carried out on a project-by-project basis; and that as trained professionals, researchers have the required competencies and skills to carry out their research activities without the need of a mentor.

However, some researchers pointed out the lack of skills in preparing scientific articles and the need for greater mentoring/tutoring in academia:

“Universities here do not really teach you how to write a scientific article – to make a good abstract, for example, or respect intellectual property. If you copy a quote but do not provide the source, your professor will not say anything; the same goes for those reviewing thesis work. The university does not promote scientific quality: what makes a good thesis that could be considered for publishing” (F. Arteaga, 2019)

The results of the survey show a very mixed response: the degree of satisfaction with mentoring varies a great deal. It is interesting to note that overall levels of satisfaction with research capabilities in Bolivia are relatively high compared to those of researchers.

I believe that, in terms of influence, we need to change our academic culture... Given the complexities and the scarcity of resources with which we operate, we fail to qualify in terms of the indicators that allow us to meet the standards of international research. That is why the few investigations that are carried out with some validity are linked to universities or international academia; it is through them that we have managed to enter international academia. (R. León, 2019)

In terms of administrative support for research activities – which includes support for the planning and implementation of research, proposal development and the hiring of research staff – the levels of satisfaction across all institutions appears to be very mixed. With the exception of government and funding agencies, very few respondents reported high levels of satisfaction (Figure 13).

Interviews with representatives from government agencies revealed that there is a demand for social science research for informing public policy. However, concerns over limited funding and resources, as well as a lack of interest in joint and transparent data collection, continue to undermine the relationship between researchers, institutions and those responsible for public policy (Pereira, 2016).

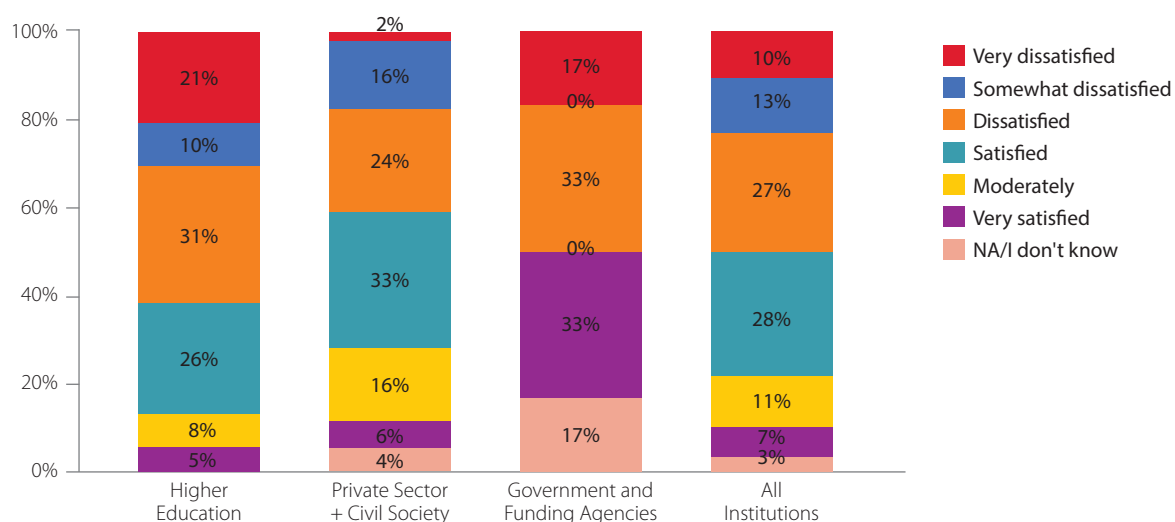
Consequently, non-state social science research services often turn to international development cooperation agencies given their use of scientific evidence; these agencies also provide research centers with access to resources. However, this means adopting the research agendas of external agencies. This highlights the fact that in order to develop a locally driven research culture, the coordination channels between different actors need to be improved (Camacho et al., 2015; Peres, 2012; Zurita, 2012).

Research output and training

Academic output, Research training

In Bolivia, despite the deterioration in research practices, production has increased: more

Figure 13 – Researchers: Levels of Satisfaction with Available Administrative Support, per Type of Institution



N for High Education = 39; N for Private Sector and Civil Society = 51; N for Government and Funding Agencies: 6; N for Bolivia = 96. Period of data collection: July-September 2019

Source: CERES, 2019

documents, reports, studies or evaluations are being produced, although the quality varies a great deal.

It is worth noting that the most relevant research from civil society institutions relates to that of the PIEB. Established in 1994, PIEB promoted relevant and strategic research aimed at informing political, economic and social reforms in Bolivia, contributing to policy proposals on a range of national issues: reducing social inequalities, improving social integration, and strengthening democracy in Bolivia (Duran, 2015). Greater competition, transparency and respect for the views of researchers, as well as respect for the theoretical and methodological plurality adopted by institutions such as PIEB, set the standard for academic research in the country (PIEB, 2015).

However, the current setting within academic institutions is very different. Most research activities are conducted in isolation, without the proper channels to share findings and/or sources, making it harder to influence policy (Torrez, Y., 2013).

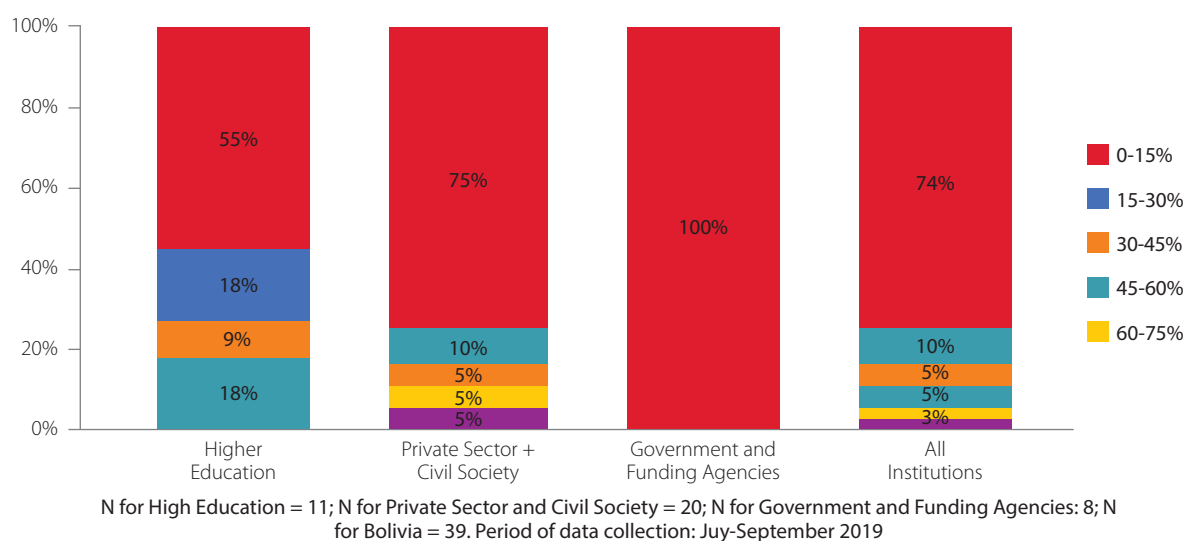
The data from the survey illustrates the disparity between the large amount of published research and the limited number of papers published in indexed journals (Table 15). This is despite the fact that Latin American researchers consider indexed publications to be one of the highest-ranking forms of research dissemination (Buquet 2013). Bolivia registered one of the lowest numbers of peer-reviewed publications in the region, with an average of 300 publications per year in Scopus for the period between 2008 and 2017 (RICYT, 2019) – compared to Argentina (12,098) Brazil (61,042) and Peru (1,630), to name a few.

Table 15 - Researchers: Number of Publications in the Last Three Years, per Type of Document

Item	Number of responses	Minimum number of publications	Maximum number of publications	Mean	Median	Standard error
Peer-reviewed scientific article published in journals and conference proceedings	95	0	11	1.6000	1	2.3036
Non-peer-reviewed scientific article published	95	0	22	1.7789	0	3.5165
Publicly available working paper	94	0	25	3.6489	2	4.4255
Book as the sole author	94	0	8	0.5319	0	1.0339
Book as (one of) the editor(s)	95	0	6	0.7158	0	1.0883
Chapter in book	95	0	15	1.1684	0	2.5250
Report (technical, from a project/consultancy)	94	0	30	4.5532	3	5.8798
Policy brief (a short paper on policy implications of research)	94	0	85	2.0638	0	9.0063

Source: CERES, 2019

Figure 14 – Administrators: Proportion of Staff with PhD in Social Science per Type of Institution (Percentage)



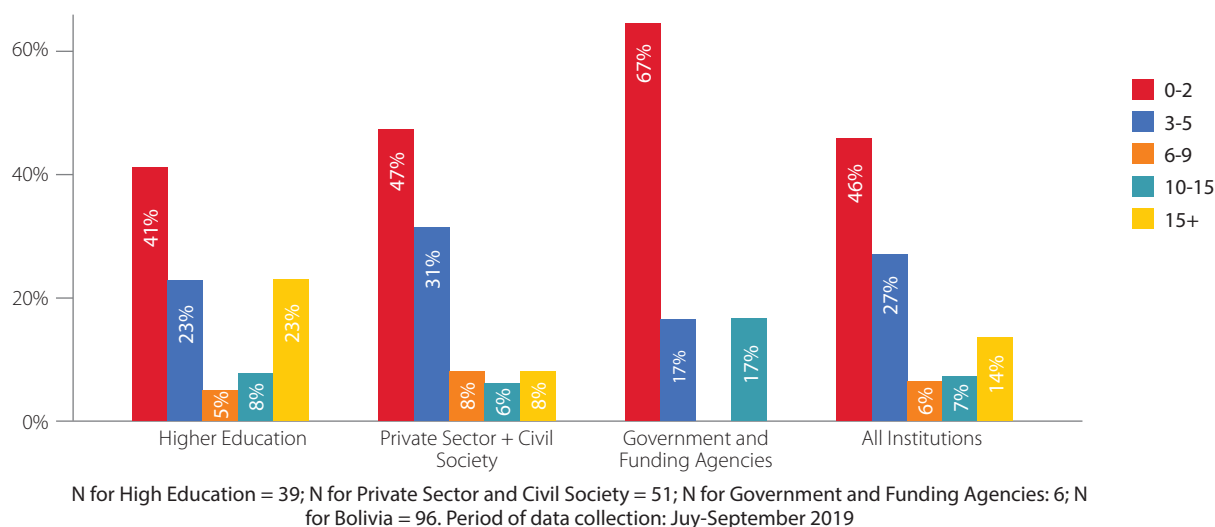
Source: CERES, 2019

"... National research has a great diffusion problem; there are very few who can publish. It is not just a case of putting information on paper or uploading it to the cloud, but of doing so under certain conditions that are accepted worldwide. If this is not reinforced in Bolivia, we will remain inward looking and not take part in the great theoretical, methodological, epistemological and political discussions taking place in science today. We cannot expect support only from international cooperation because that support has always been conditioned on topics, purpose, etc." (R. Leon, 2019)

Findings in Figure 14 from research administrator surveys show that the proportion of staff with a PhD in social science is still very low across all main actors of the social science research system in Bolivia, which supports the findings from the previous sections on the lack of a specialized workforce in research institutions, even within the higher education sector.

A closer look at the institutional and legal framework that enables organizations, institutions and agencies at all levels of the national research system to enhance their

Figure 15 - Researchers: Duration of Research Training (in Weeks) per Type of Institution (Percentage)



Source: CERES, 2019

capacities, shows a clear difference between civil society entities and those linked to public universities. While private and civil society institutions have little or no capacity-building for researchers, public universities conduct continuous research training (Figure 15 - Researchers: Duration of Research Training (in Weeks) per Type of Institution (Percentage)). This has led to a significant gap in terms of research capacity between university actors and the other categories of stakeholders. In this context, there is an urgent need for scientific and technological development policies that guide the training and use of human resources across all sectors, including NGOs (Pereira, 2016).

Learning and sustainability

Researcher job market, Research evaluation

The overall findings show that there are few opportunities for social science researchers in Bolivia. Conducting research and pursuing a 'career' as a researcher (which does not

formally exist in Bolivia) is very difficult, particularly due to the lack of economic support and local sources of financing (Torrez, Y., 2013).

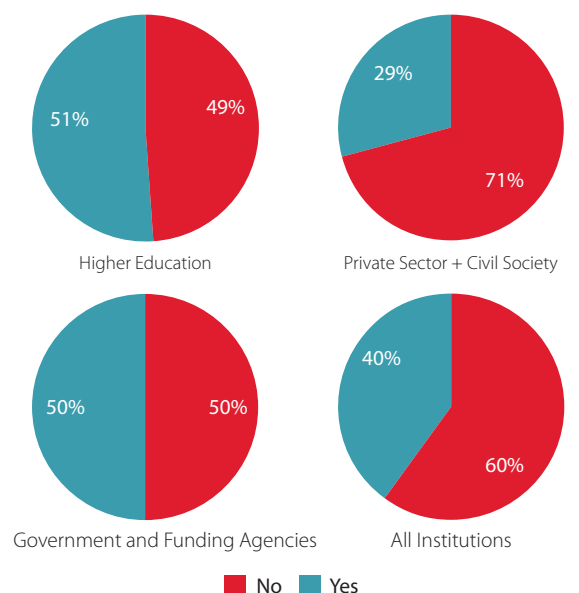
Findings from the surveys reveal that 60 percent of respondents were pessimistic about their future career as a social science researcher due to the scarcity of professional opportunities (Figure 16). The lack of an incentive system for research in the social sciences has an impact on the time that researchers devote to their research work and, consequently, on the quantity and quality of research production.

As observed by Ardaya (2008), many academic institutions, as well as the State itself, do not promote or pay adequately for research. In most cases, research activities are the result of the vocational and personal interests of individual researchers.

Human resources are the most important aspect of research production; developing research capacity and creating opportunities for researchers is therefore critical (Camacho et al., 2015). In terms of incentives, as shown in Figure 17, there is clear dissatisfaction with the financial rewards associated with a research career in Bolivia – with the exception of government institutions and financing agencies, which have sufficient resources to cover their research activities. Similar perceptions were reported in an article by Jiménez (2018) in which Bolivian researchers from universities and civil society claimed that research is still considered *ad honorem* and, in many cases, without assigned hours. Notoriety and social recognition appear to be a clear motivation for actors from universities, civil society and the private sector, whereas this is not the case for those from government and funding agencies.

Therefore, it is essential to formulate government policies that set out the

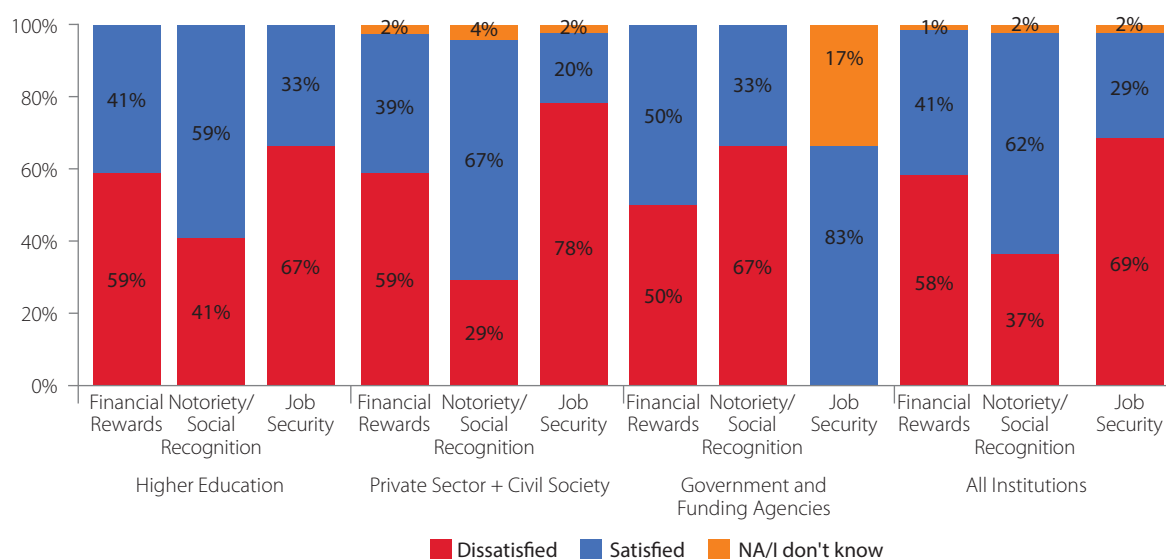
Figure 16 – Researchers: Perceptions of Attractive Career Opportunities for Researchers, per Type of Institution (In Percentage)



N for High Education = 39; N for Private Sector and Civil Society = 51; N for Government and Funding Agencies = 6; N for Bolivia = 96. Period of data collection: July-September 2019

Source: CERES, 2019

Figure 17 – Researchers: Satisfaction with Overall Incentives Related to a Research Career, per Type of Institution (Percentage)



Source: CERES, 2019

priorities for mobilizing resources and improving the incentives (financial and otherwise) for a career in science, technology and innovation, in order to attract and retain the brightest talent in Bolivia (Pereira, 2012).

Diffusion

Although the production of social science research in Latin America has increased exponentially over the last two decades, much of it suffers from low visibility and is not highly regarded within the academic world, largely due to the publication of research in journals of lesser repute (according to international rankings) or in local journals in the countries of origin (Buquet, 2013). According to data published by SCImago Journal & Country Rank (2011), Latin America produces only 4 percent of global scientific production, of which Bolivia contributes only 0.3 percent. However, as this calculation does not take into account local journals, but only the research work of Bolivian institutions published in indexed journals, it does not provide a full picture of scientific dissemination in Bolivia (Erostegui et al., 2011).

The diffusion of research is one of the weakest aspects of the research system

in Bolivia. Although many research projects allocate a specific amount for the dissemination of project results, typically in the form of a printed publication, there is very little diffusion outside of the close circle of associates related to the project. The lack of (or limited) reading habit in the country means that publications are often only distributed among specialists or colleagues (PIEB, 2015). Moreover, research published in books or other forms of printed material fails to reach key actors such as policymakers – an issue that has hindered the use of evidence for policy formulation (Peres, 2012). Often, these publications do not even make it into public university libraries, which tend to accumulate obsolete material rather than acquire and disseminate publications on the latest scientific and technological advances (Peres, 2012). The general experience of respondents is that there is a systematic disconnect between those that produce research and those that need to use it.

In this section, we discuss the actors and networks that produce and consume research. First, we show that both activities are concentrated in a few big cities – and that even within each city the production and

diffusion of research varies greatly. Second, we document the role of international cooperation in facilitating the development of research networks and international exposure. Our interviews suggest that as the financial support from international cooperation wound down, the exposure of local researchers to international events and networks of peers decreased significantly. Third, we provide evidence that shows that the majority of research products are disseminated in the form of printed materials, mainly books and reports, whereas other forms of communication such as workshops, conferences and seminars are less common. Finally, we highlight the challenges for the popularization of scientific knowledge, in particular the ways in which the current political context has impeded the participation of NGOs in the production and dissemination of knowledge.

Actors and networks

National geography of research, diversity of actors and collaboration, research communication skills

In correlation with the relative progress in social science, Bolivia has also experienced a gradual regional decentralization of scientific

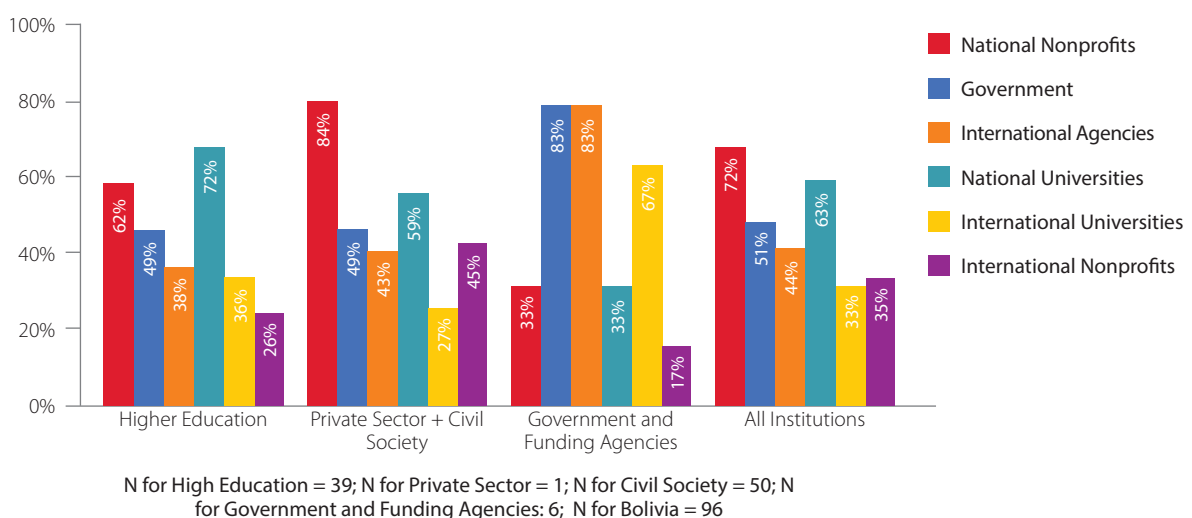
knowledge production (Sandoval, 2019). This has led to an increase in researchers and institutions interested in producing scientific knowledge and promoting debate on issues specific to regional contexts. However, despite these initiatives, researchers remain concentrated in the three main cities, La Paz, Cochabamba and Santa Cruz.

And just as Bolivia is a deeply heterogeneous country, the types of actors involved in processes of knowledge generation and research in social sciences is equally diverse (Torrez, Yuri F., 2013).

Although there is no coordinating body to facilitate cooperation between entities that generate State policies and civil society, there is some evidence of interactions between the different types of actors (public entities, international cooperation agencies, civil society organizations dedicated to research and knowledge generation, and public and private universities) – albeit fairly limited (Camacho et al., 2015; Pereira, 2016; Peres, 2012; Zurita, 2012).

When looking at the interactions of researchers with the different institutional actors, we can see a closer relationship

Figure 18 - Researchers: Interactions Between Actors, per Type of Institution (Percentage)



Source: CERES, 2019

with non-profit organizations and national universities than with the government. In addition, there has been a gradual reduction in interactions with international organizations (Figure 18).

Figure 19 illustrates the surveyed researchers' perceptions of the extent to which research discussions are accessible to different groups of stakeholders: academics, non-university researchers and women. The degree of accessibility for the first group (universities affiliates of all academic levels) is higher when the discussions involve actors such as universities, government agencies and international cooperation organizations but are less accessible when they relate to civil society. Whereas for the second group (non-university researchers), research discussions are perceived to be less accessible across all categories of actors. Finally, the participation of women in research discussions has increased because research debates are now more relevant to gender issues.

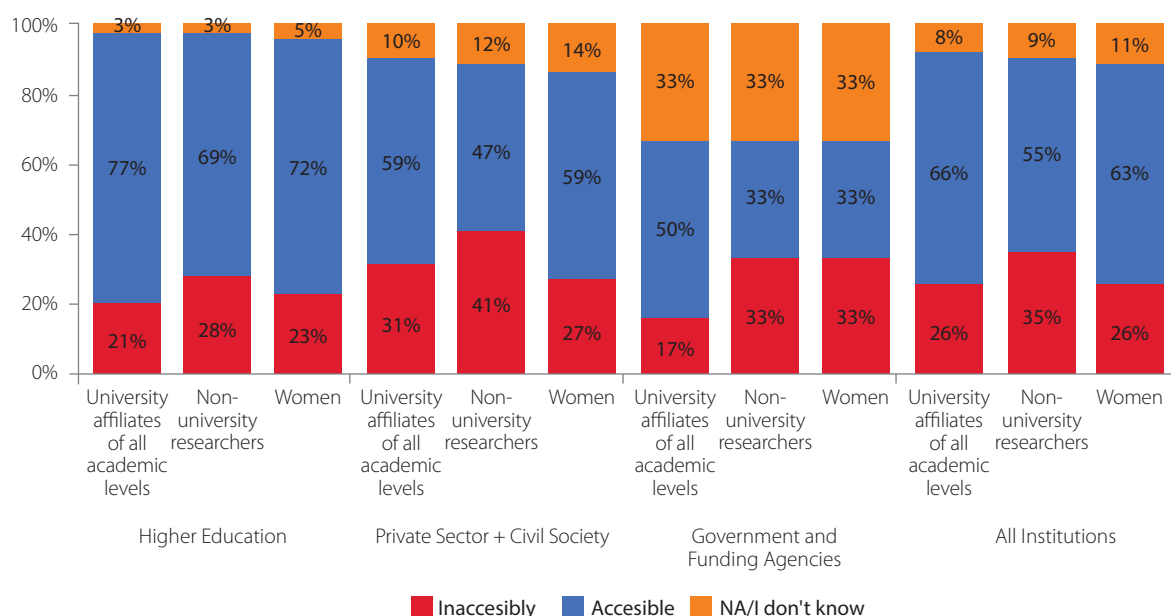
Table 16 shows that research discussions are less accessible to minority groups, policymakers, and community groups and associations. This is because, in some cases, these groups are less well organized or research discussions are somewhat abstract – research is not communicated in a format that is accessible to a wider non-specialist audience – or a lack of information exchange between actors (Pereira, 2016; Peres, 2012)

It is also worth noting the emergence of new civil society movements. These include:

- Collective action and social movements based around issues relating to culture, the environment, political activism, human rights and gender-based violence
- Social communities¹⁸

These groups tend to carry out simple forms of research aimed at documenting their experiences, or looking for information to justify their demands.

Figure 19 – Researchers: Accessibility of Research Discussions for University Affiliates, Non-University Researchers and Women, per Type of Institution (Percentage)



N for High Education = 39; N for Private Sector and Civil Society = 51; N for Government and Funding Agencies: 6; N for Bolivia = 96. Period of data collection: July - September 2019

Source: CERES, 2019

Table 16 - Researchers: Accessibility of Research Discussions for Minority Groups, Policymakers, Community Groups and Individual Community Members, per Type of Institution (Percentage)

		Higher Education	Private Sector + Civil Society	Government and Funding Agencies	All Institutions
Minority Groups	Inaccessible	35.9%	45.1%	66.7%	42.7%
	Accessible	53.8%	35.3%	0.0%	40.6%
	NA / I don't know	10.3%	19.6%	33.3%	16.7%
Policymakers	Inaccessible	33.3%	25.5%	16.7%	28.1%
	Accessible	56.4%	43.1%	50.0%	49.0%
	NA / I don't know	10.3%	31.4%	33.3%	22.9%
Community groups and associations	Inaccessible	28.2%	43.1%	66.7%	38.5%
	Accessible	64.1%	39.2%	0.0%	46.9%
	NA / I don't know	7.7%	17.6%	33.3%	14.6%
Individual community members	Inaccessible	35.9%	47.1%	50.0%	42.7%
	Accessible	56.4%	39.2%	16.7%	44.8%
	NA / I don't know	7.7%	13.7%	33.3%	12.5%

N for High Education = 39; N for Private Sector and Civil Society = 51; N for Government and Funding Agencies: 6; N for Bolivia = 96.
Period of data collection: July - September 2019

Source: CERES, 2019

In line with the perception of some of the surveyed researchers, we believe that the relationship between civil society actors and government agencies should be one of mutual exchange that is achieved when knowledge design and political engagement is a reflective and continuous process involving a whole range of actors, not just intellectuals and policymakers. However, a dynamic and reflective interaction between actors in Bolivia requires the broad deployment of economic, human and academic resources, which has become increasingly difficult in recent times.

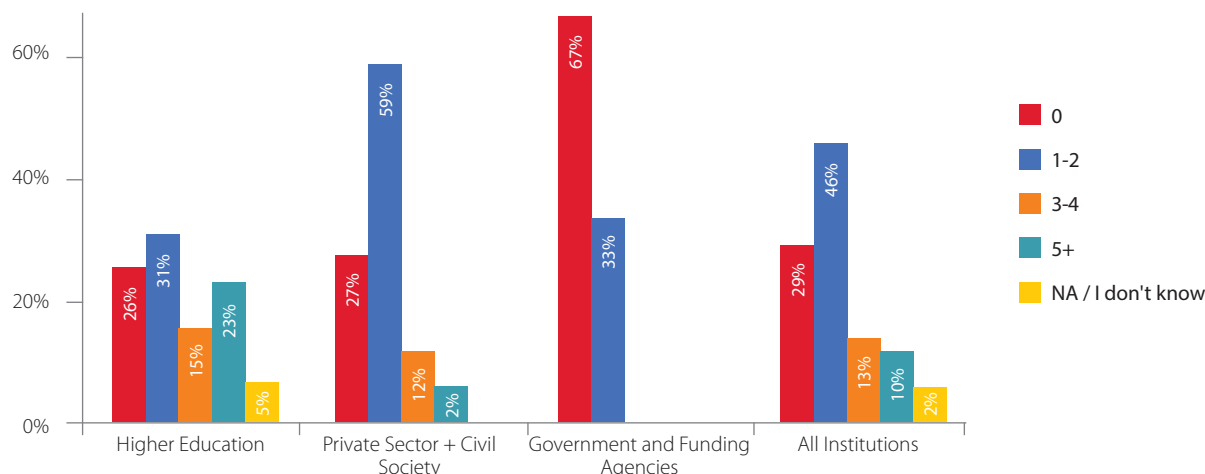
This has not always been the case. In fact, during the 1980s and 1990s, knowledge production was given a great boost, again with resources from international

cooperation agencies, which allowed Bolivia to establish networks for academic discussion at a global level (Pereira, 2016).

After this period, inter-institutional communication deteriorated, and social research in Bolivia became increasingly introspective, to the extent that even government agencies would not share their information with actors who required it (Peres, 2012). It is, therefore, no coincidence that communication training in the different social science research centers has not been a common practice. With the exception of research centers linked to public and private universities, we identified a lack of institutional support for developing communication skills for researchers in the social sciences: more than 28 percent of respondents reported not having received any form of communication training in the last three years.

18 Legally constituted neighborhood councils created to prioritize local development projects related to health, education and infrastructure services, among others.

Figure 20 - Researchers: Number of Communication Training Sessions, by Type of Institution (Percentage)



N for High Education = 39; N for Private Sector and Civil Society = 51; N for Government and Funding Agencies = 6; N for Bolivia = 96. Period of data collection: July - September 2019

Fuente: CERES, 2019

The actors and networks involved in dissemination report that the cost of disseminating data can be a barrier to its use. Budget planning and the type of financing determine whether research results are made public. Most foundations and NGOs have to subsidize dissemination through external financing; sometimes the dissemination of research is limited merely to internal technical reports.

Networks are the most effective means of presenting results; they are also considered a space for mutual feedback among institutions of a similar nature or with shared interests. However, according to the interviewees, participation in networks tends to be informal; in fact, knowledge tends to be circulated through unofficial channels rather than institutionalized networks.

Research communication

Local journals, International exposure

Over the years, scientific articles have become an essential source of knowledge dissemination (Hicks, 2004). In the case of Bolivia, there has been no increase in the number and quality of publications in journals, largely due to the lack of adherence

to internationally recognized standards (Buquet, 2013).

This academic introspection is reflected in the data on participation in international research: 53 percent of the researchers surveyed reported participating in between 1 and 2 international research projects in the last three years; only 25 percent have participated in between 3 and 4 projects, and 15.2 percent have not participated in any international research projects over the same time period. Consequently, Bolivia's presence and influence on the international stage has been lost.

Moreover, more than half of the researchers surveyed are not affiliated to any international network of researchers or registered in an international repository. There are also very few institutions that have inter-institutional agreements with universities and institutes abroad.

Research communication products

Conferences and debates, Online visibility of research, Media and advocacy

Written publications of research production remain the main form of dissemination

for most institutions; debates, workshops and conferences take second place. This corroborates the findings of Buquet (2013) in his analysis of the community of social science researchers in the region: he observed that the community is divided into two groups: those who give more importance to articles in peer-reviewed journals, following global trends in evaluation of academic production, and those who consider books as the highest-ranking form of publication, a more national or regional trend.

Many researchers produce books and reports that have limited reach. Their influence on public policies is therefore likely to be minimal.

The other thing that we have to take into account as academics, after so many years, is whether our striking reports, our beautiful publications are enough to influence policies ... we continue to pass on important information to technicians, not knowing if it will remain within the administration of State institutions for two or three months, assuming that the information is going to be read and/or discussed. I believe that there is an exercise that we are missing, and that is the ability to reflect and establish other types of relationship, because delivering reports is not enough. For years, we have been delivering reports to the State and international organizations, but this remains a mere formality and fails to establish a true relationship. (R. León, 2019)

There is a fixation with doing things in a more traditional way, which is also reflected in the number of institutions that have an active website. Surprisingly, 25 percent of the institutions visited during this project do not have a website for communicating their research activities. This significant gap in dissemination was also reported by Peres (2012), who argued that improvements in information and communication technology

would improve access to evidence that could form the basis of public policies.

Despite the fact that a high percentage of researchers recognize the potential of promoting online visibility, websites or other virtual academic spaces remain outdated and are not always linked to the activities of other institutions through online social media channels.

"... Our website is quite poor because the Internet is also really slow at the university. Our unit relies on half a gigabyte, which doesn't even let you load your emails properly. I have to ask the only IT person at the school to upload a file and then find out that I can't do it because it's too large. So, we are limited in what we can do. We could take more advantage of social media but we are not doing it." (J. Ledezma, 2019)

Popularization of science

Social appreciation and media coverage of research

The popularization of science involves the important task of translating scientific knowledge into a format that is more accessible to the general public (Scharer, 2017).

In Bolivia, there are ethical, political, social and cultural understandings of science that need to be taken into account when publicly communicating social science research. In this context, actors such as public universities or national newspapers should articulate academic research for the benefit of public policymakers and civil society, but often fail to do so (Torrez, Yuri F., 2013).

Rennie and Stocklmayer (2003) note that "people selectively filter and re-structure scientific information into a form they find personally meaningful and useful... the 'public' simply do not understand science on science's terms, but on their own terms.

This includes understanding scientific ideas...but extends much further into issues of understanding risk, pride in local understandings, and cultural and societal values” (p. 765).

During the search for information for this section we discovered the existence of an agency under the Vice Ministry of Science and Technology, the System for Scientific and Technological Information (SIBICYT), which “is a set of strategies and tools for information and scientific and technological communication in support of the State Science and Technology System. Its aim is to develop a knowledge culture in Bolivia, based on access, exchange and generation of scientific, technological and innovation information”. Unfortunately, this agency was not mentioned in any of the surveys

or interviews. So, although there is a State initiative to popularize science, it is not recognized by social science researchers.

The role of the media is seen, ideally, as providing valuable insight into the perceived needs and priorities of the community, and disseminating policy-related information, especially where the aim is to effect action, a change of policy or to alter the public's view of an issue. As shown in Table 17, researchers identified the Internet and social media as the most popular space for research dissemination, giving it a satisfactory rating. On the contrary, the coverage in newspapers, and on television and radio was seen as unsatisfactory due, above all, to the lack of interest from media outlets and the sensationalist/tabloid editorial lines. These findings reflect the recent emergence

Table 17 - Researchers: Levels of Satisfaction with Media Coverage, per Type of Institution (Percentage)

		Higher Education	Private Sector + Civil Society	Government and Funding Agencies	All Institutions
Newspapers coverage	Dissatisfied	46.2%	49.0%	83.3%	50.0%
	Satisfied	51.3%	45.1%	16.7%	45.8%
	NA / I don't know	2.6%	5.9%	0.0%	4.2%
	Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Television Coverage	Dissatisfied	56.4%	66.7%	83.3%	63.5%
	Satisfied	38.5%	31.4%	0.0%	32.3%
	NA / I don't know	5.1%	2.0%	16.7%	4.2%
	Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Internet/ Website coverage	Dissatisfied	30.8%	31.4%	66.7%	33.3%
	Satisfied	66.7%	66.7%	33.3%	64.6%
	NA / I don't know	2.6%	2.0%	0.0%	2.1%
Radio coverage	Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	Dissatisfied	51.3%	52.9%	83.3%	54.2%
	Satisfied	43.6%	43.1%	0.0%	40.6%
	NA / I don't know	5.1%	3.9%	16.7%	5.2%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

N for High Education = 39; N for Private Sector and Civil Society = 51; N for Government and Funding Agencies: 6; N for Bolivia = 96.
Period of data collection: July - September 2019

Source: CERES, 2019

of social media through which researchers not only convey their research projects and findings, but also receive a substantial flow of almost instant feedback.

In summary, although there has been a considerable increase in scientific production, the dissemination of research at the national and regional levels has failed to reach an international audience and has had a limited impact on public policies. This is partly because researchers tend to publish in local indexed journals of little relevance or in books or book chapters because of the ease of publication (Buquet, 2013). As Oxhorn (2015) explains, scientific research needs to reach and be read by legislators and politicians if it is to achieve effective change.

A diffusion model that could be considered for application in the future is the one established by PIEB (1994-2016). This is based on strategic research, which seeks to produce and publicize research that has a social utility and that engages public policymakers, in addition to academics and civil society actors (Gutiérrez, 2007). Communication was an integral part of all stages of the research cycle; in other words, actors (including those involved in implementing/socializing the results) were engaged throughout the project, not just presented with the results at the end (Sandoval, Toranzo, Yapu, Franco & Aillón, PIEB, 2015).

Uptake

The overall view is that the influence of social science research on the design of public policies has been in decline and that the use of evidence as an input for public policy formulation is minimal (Peres, 2012). This finding is somewhat paradoxical given that the constitution opened up opportunities for civil society to have a direct role in elaborating bill proposals. This initiative should have increased the participation of

more actors in the design of public policies, but this has not been the case. In addition, the political climate in recent years has been particularly critical of the work of NGOs, including those that were dedicated to the production of research.

The government continues to demand research from government institutions such as the National Statistics Institute (INE) and UDAPE. However, the research produced by these organizations is often kept for internal use only and has relatively low rates of diffusion. As Zurita (2012) explains, there is a lack of coordination mechanisms to align themes, resources, operations, results and emerging interactions between the various research centers. As a result, the political and economic measures taken by the previous national government were based on the interests and ideologies of the State, rather than on studies by research centers.

Despite these considerations, there is a general consensus within the government about the importance of the production of research and the need for evidence-based public policymaking. However, while government agencies claim that they regularly generate research and have a responsibility to use the findings in developing policies – as noted in the reports by the Ministry of Education on research networks (2011, 2019) – much of this research is discredited by civil society organizations. The political climate in Bolivia is not conducive to scientific debate, mainly because of the excessive ‘ideologization’ that has polarized society and kept the different actors in constant confrontation for almost twenty years.

However, from the interviews carried out for this study, we were able to identify particular cases in which a local initiative had an impact on the demand for research, and how this was used to inform the design of public

policies. For example, the director of INCISO-FACTO-UMSS, explained how two of their researchers were able to use their findings to encourage their municipality to reach out to local communities and teach techniques for self-diagnosing cervical cancer. The municipality is now considering taking a more active role and pushing for legislation.

Experiences such as this show that research can have an impact on the design of public policies in Bolivia. However, the impact is limited to very specific contexts. While there is evidence of research from universities reaching the population and grassroots organizations and, at times, permeating sub-national levels of government, there is still a disconnect between the production of research, and policies and initiatives at the national level.

Within this study, it was reported that national data relating to population demographics (age and population size) has yet to be updated, hindering the design of effective public policies in Bolivia in recent years. We were unable to identify any education, health, safety, employment, housing or poverty reduction policies that

take into account demographic dynamics in a structured and scientific manner.

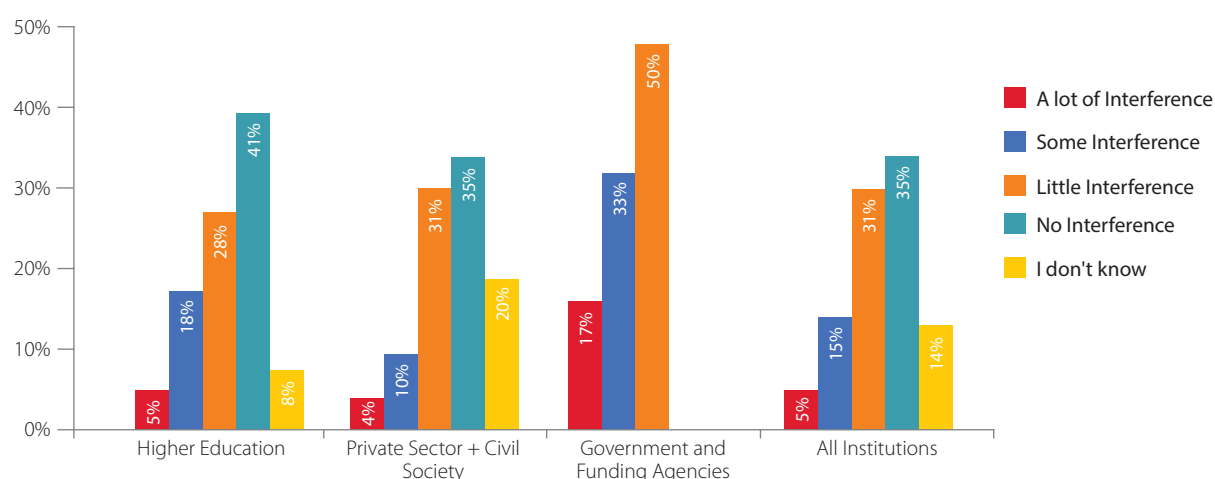
Policy-friendly research materials

Political value of research, policy-relevant research, Research-policy nexus

In general, researchers have sufficient independence to generate information free from political pressure. However, in Bolivia, the lack of available data makes it difficult to carry out in-depth research; this does not encourage the long-term development of scientific knowledge supported by viable empirical evidence (Camacho et al., 2015; Pereira, 2016). This translates into a level of indifference from policy makers toward academia and international cooperation (Pereira, 2016; Zurita, 2012), rather than policy that promotes the independent production of scientific knowledge.

Findings in Figure 21 show that there is little evidence of explicit censorship across all categories of institutions: 35 percent of researchers believe that, over the last three years, there has been no political interference from policymakers in their research, while 31 percent perceive only a little.

Figure 21 - Researchers: Ability to Conduct Research without the Undue Influence of Policymakers, per Type of Institution (Percentage)



N for High Education = 39; N for Private Sector and Civil Society = 51; N for Government and Funding Agencies = 6; N for Bolivia = 96. Period of data collection: July - September 2019

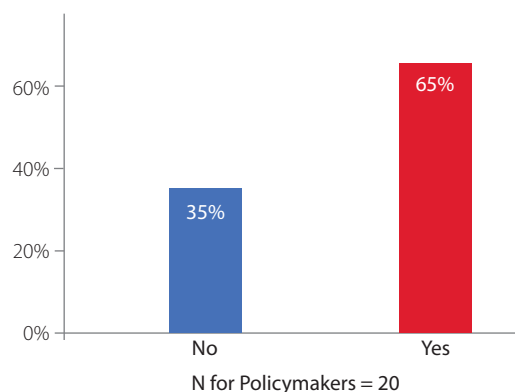
Source: CERES, 2019

In general, as verified by the survey, the current environment does not encourage collaboration between academia and state agencies, which is clearly reflected in the limited number (or absence) of interactions between these actors during the past decade (Camacho et al., 2015; Pereira, 2016; Zurita, 2012).

In terms of requests for inputs for public policy, 67 percent of the researchers surveyed reported that they had not received any, while 33 percent had. Of the latter, 49 percent had received one request per year and only 9 percent had more than five requests per year. Likewise, only 50 percent of surveyed research administrators reported that their institution had worked directly with public policymakers over the last three years; of these, 55.6 percent, two or three times, 22 percent, only once, and merely 11 percent, more than five times over the same period.

On the other hand, 65 percent of policymakers reported that they had requested research on particular issues in the last three years (Figure 22). Policymaking is essentially a government-led exercise. The government uses state-run research centers such as INE, UDAPE and the Central Bank of Bolivia to design economic policies. The latter, in a 2015 document entitled 'The role of scientific research in the Central Bank of Bolivia' reports that the public sector research entities responsible for the design and implementation of economic policies

Figure 22 - Policymakers: Requests for Research on Policy-related Topics (Percentage)



Source: CERES, 2019

disseminate their findings to all the relevant private sector and government stakeholders that will be affected by the policies as a means of avoiding any tension during implementation – rather than in an effort to seek their input (Banco Central de Bolivia, 2015).

This perception of 'self-reliance' was also observed in the surveys. A significant proportion of policymakers reported requesting research on specific topics, whereas the private sector reported the opposite: very few requests for research on topics of interest to policymakers as well as limited participation in policymaking and only occasional interaction with actors in the public sector.

An analysis of funding from public policymakers for social science research in the last three years (Table 18) shows that,

Table 18 - Researchers and Administrators: Grants Received from Policymakers, Per Type of Institution (Percentage)

		Higher Education	Private Sector + Civil Society	Government and Funding Agencies	All Institutions
Researchers	No	89.7%	80.39%	66.7%	83.3%
	Yes	10.3%	19.61%	33.3%	16.7%
Administrators	No	72.7%	80.0%	62.5%	74.4%
	Yes	27.3%	20.0%	37.5%	25.6%

Source: CERES, 2019

Table 19 - Researchers: Having Held A Policymaker Position, per Type of Institution (Percentage)

		Higher Education	Private Sector + Civil Society	Government and Funding Agencies	All Institutions
A policymaker position, at central level	No	92.3%	92.2%	100.0%	92.7%
	Yes	7.7%	7.8%	0.0%	7.3%
A policymaker position, at decentralized level	No	97.4%	90.2%	100.0%	93.8%
	Yes	2.6%	9.8%	0.0%	6.3%

N for High Education = 39; N for Private Sector and Civil Society = 51; N for Government and Funding Agencies: 6; N for Bolivia = 96.
Period of data collection: July - September 2019

Source: CERES, 2019

for the most part, neither administrators nor researchers (in both public and private institutions) received any state financing, which again reflects the lack of interaction between researchers and policymakers.

“...the Government has always been very reluctant to [collaborate with] NGOs, foundations and international cooperation, which in the end led to the cessation of financing.” (A. Uzeda, 2019)

However, 71.4 percent of policymakers say that they benefit, both personally and through their institution, from the products of researchers, and 47.6 percent have used these to produce material related to policies.

The number of researchers that have held policymaker positions at a central or decentralized level (Table 19) is minimal across all institutional sectors. This highlights the lack of opportunities for social science researchers to work with institutions engaged in policy design and implementation.

Research-based policymaking

Formal and Informal collaboration

Applying scientific standards of proof to policymaking is a recent phenomenon

across the developed world. It is a process enhanced by data generated within the social sciences, which enables policymakers to evaluate the impact of policies more precisely.

One of the main functions of public policies is to benefit the public good. This is achieved by promoting the formal and/or informal collaboration of a range of actors (besides the government) in the development of policies (Quisbert, 2018).

Evidence must be a fundamental part of public policymaking since it requires knowledge of the interests, motivations, aims and perceptions of actors across the whole country (Peres, 2012)

“I believe there was a period that, in time, will be valued as the golden age of [collaboration]... the period between 1993 and 1998, the first government of Sánchez de Lozada, when academic actors participated directly in the development of public policies.” (L. Baptista, 2019)

Several interviewees highlighted the ongoing use of state agencies to generate research for public policy, along with the excessive ideologization and regulation of academia

Table 20 - Researchers: Membership of Bodies Advising Policymakers, per Type of Institution (Percentage)

		Higher Education	Private Sector + Civil Society	Government and Funding Agencies	All Institutions
A member of a policy advisory body, at central level	No	84.6%	90.2%	50.0%	85.4%
	Yes	15.4%	9.8%	50.0%	14.6%
A member of a policy advisory body, at decentralized level	No	92.3%	84.3%	66.7%	86.5%
	Yes	7.7%	15.7%	33.3%	13.5%

N for High Education = 39; N for Private Sector and Civil Society = 51; N for Government and Funding Agencies: 6; N for Bolivia = 96.
Period of data collection: July - September 2019

Source: CERES, 2019

(as corroborated by Camacho et al., 2015; Pereira, 2016), both of which have been counterproductive for research in general.

Policymakers in Bolivia are influenced by a wide range of powerful actors and regulations, as well as party lines and ideological beliefs. In general, when designing and implementing public policies, political interests prevail over the evidence supported by research (Pereira, 2016; Peres, 2012). This is reflected in the fact that only around 14 percent of the surveyed researchers have held a position on a council/body that advises policymakers (Table 20). The dominance of political interests means that any change in administration can radically shift the direction of policy.

Often, according to an analysis by Quiroga (2012), weaknesses in public policies do not relate to a lack of information or knowledge, but to political interests or social pressures that generate bias in their design and implementation. Consequently, there is a need to strengthen institutions and existing mechanisms that can systematically promote interactions between researchers and policymakers, as well as other stakeholders who can influence the uptake of research findings without exclusions (Camacho et al., 2015; Pereira, 2016; Peres, 2012; Zurita,

2012). This, in turn, can contribute to the development of public policies that promote sustainable economic development (Pereira, 2016)

"Saying that legislation is based on research is an overstatement; it doesn't happen now, it didn't happen before, and I don't know if one day it will. UDAPE and other state research institutes already produce a lot of information, which is not exactly bad. Back in the 1980s, the Ministry of Planning produced a lot of social information. In fact, people from CERES at the time worked at the ministry. So, there is influence, but ultimately the decisions are strategic, and strategic means political. Although [research] is taken into account in planning, in policy design, we know that the discussion is not only about them listening to us, taking us into account within the design; the issue is between the design, the promulgation and the execution – that is where the gap is. When an implementation strategy is going to be carried out, that is when the philosophy or the approach are no longer taken into account... This happened before and it happens now; this is when real politics appears and begins to get in the way. The political actors who have to execute the policies, the ones that respond to the public,

to the opposition – that's where the gap is generated between science and politics.” (R. León, 2019)

In contrast to opinion-based policy, research-based policy requires an evidence base at all stages of the policy cycle – to shape agendas, define priority issues, decide on actions and monitor their impact and outcomes (Peres, 2012). According to the survey, this is not the case in Bolivia: over 65 percent of respondents report that they have never participated in the development of policy and that the State (as well as the private sector) does not welcome input from scientific professionals (Rodríguez and Weise, 2006 in PIEB, 2015).

Nevertheless, some of the interviewees have participated as political advisors or become opinion leaders.

“We have participated, for example, in the Scientific Citadel project, which is currently being developed. We have responded to all the projects of the local government that sends over their requests, and we are also participating through our BA programs, according to each of their lines of work. For example, [the departments of] social psychology, pedagogy, and the school of law, have agreements with the government, with the legal aid office, depending on the institution that is required.” (M. Guardia, 2019)

Research-based policy products

Instrumental utilization

Government agencies and related institutions claim that all their policies are the result of reflection and scientific research.

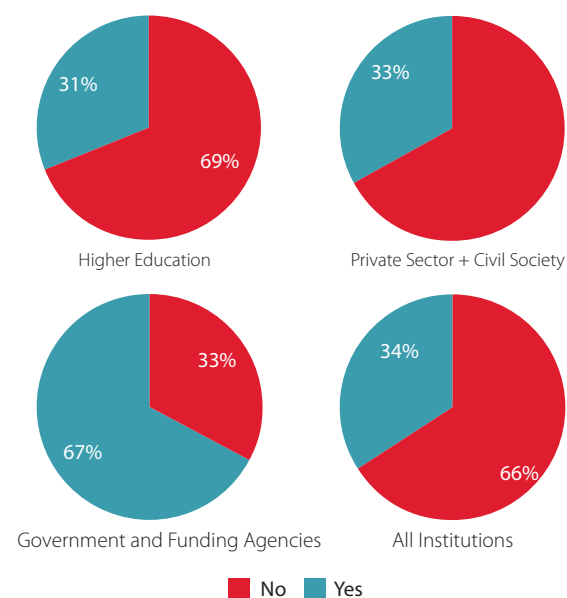
“...This unit [UDAPE] is dedicated to the production of research. When the Juana Azurduy Bonus [a bond scheme for uninsured pregnant women and children under the age of two] was designed, all the economic and social research was developed within this

unit; all the diagnoses, prior evaluations and implementation mechanisms were designed in coordination with the sectoral ministry and put forward to the executive authorities for consideration.” (UDAPE, 2019)

However, as observed in the work of Peres (2012), public officials often report that they use research “to make a good impression” and that, in reality, the demand for research products for informing public policy is in name only.

Over 66 percent of the researchers reported that they have never participated in policy development (Figure 23); those who had, claimed to have participated in the formulation of laws, strategies and programs, and not their implementation, monitoring or, importantly, their evaluation. Researchers who work closely with municipal authorities and/or higher-level public authorities were either from public universities in Cochabamba or civil society institutions/ government agencies in La Paz.

Figure 23 – Researchers: Participation in the Formulation of Policies, per Type of Institution (Percentage)



N for High Education = 39; N for Private Sector and Civil Society = 51; N for Government and Funding Agencies = 6; N for Bolivia = 96. Period of data collection: July-September 2019

Source: CERES, 2019

Acknowledging the absence of a functioning relationship between research and public policy – a recognition that it is rare for the State (at any level) to use research to inform regulatory and management policy, and that the design and implementation channels for public policy ignore (most often deliberately) the production of social knowledge (PIEB,2015) – the PIEB decided to dedicate a large part of their institutional efforts and capacity toward operating as an interface between the two. The numerous tools and strategies that were employed for this purpose could be replicated in the current context. These include sharing research results and proposals in workshops, identifying the research needs of public entities and supporting the planning of research processes. They also involve providing researchers with an insight into how public policymaking processes operate, the regulations governing public administration, and how to prepare project proposals – so that their research is produced/disseminated in a way that is more suited to the needs of policymakers (PIEB, 2015).

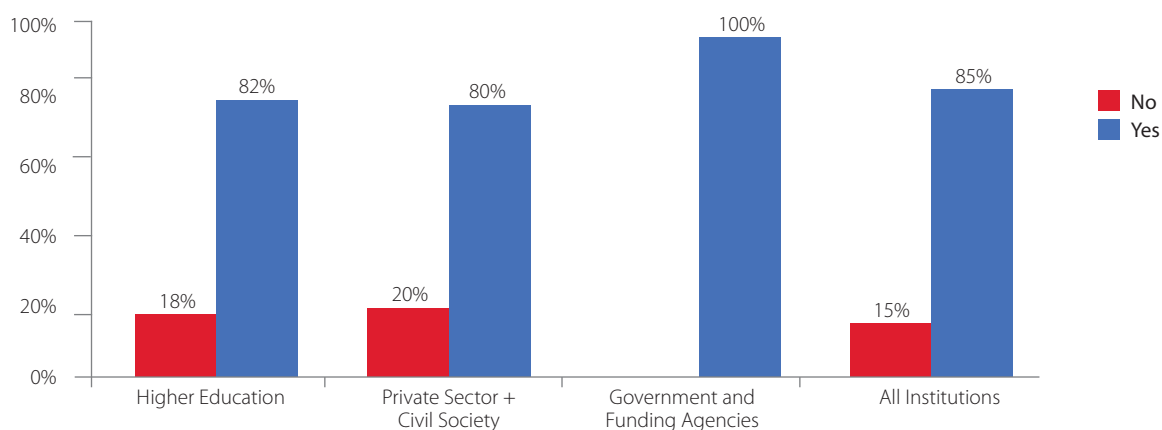
The use of research for better policies

Influence of research on policy outcomes

In order to improve the use of knowledge in policymaking, alignment between researchers and policymakers throughout the country during knowledge production is essential (Pereira, 2016). However, this is difficult to maintain, particularly given that the use of evidence is not an established practice in Bolivia and that the flow of information between actors is often restricted, especially from government sources (Peres, 2012). Nonetheless, as the findings in Figure 24 show, government entities acknowledge the usefulness of social science in the design and implementation of public policies – which bodes well for the future.

“I believe that Bolivia requires very important and structural support to conduct research. Aside from the State, the support must not necessarily come from international cooperation, but from civil society. I believe that, in order for this relationship between academia and public policymakers to exist and be renewed, the State has to invest in research; and not only invest but create facilities for research, create more institutes, give room for the expansion of knowledge; and not only fund research, but also use it.”
(R. León, 2019)

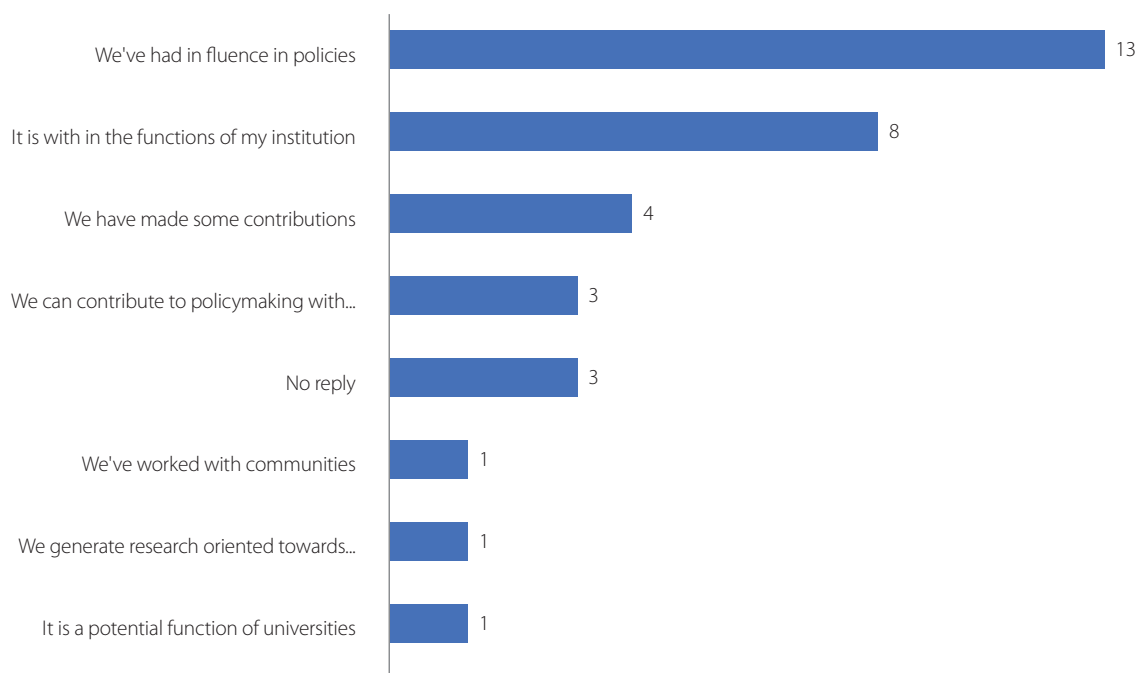
Figure 24 – Administrators: Perceived Influence of their Institutions on Policies, per Type of Institution (Percentage)



N for High Education = 11; N for Private Sector and Civil Society = 20; N for Government and Funding Agencies: 8; N for Bolivia = 39

Source: CERES, 2019

Figure 25 – Policymakers: Perception of The Usefulness of Social Science Research



Source: CERES, 2019

The importance of research for improving public policy is undeniable. However, the common perception is that social science research is used to further the interests of the government party and to validate their public policies. The current government's policymaking processes and development model is based on its own research agenda. Respondents from government agencies confirm that most of the research used to inform policymaking is developed and conducted within their own institutions (Figure 25). This reaffirms the State's 'impermeability' to wider research as a source of evidence and enrichment for public policy (PIEB, 2015). Government entities, however, argue that the source of research is irrelevant, as long as it is based on evidence:

"Any research that serves as input for the definition of public policies is very important, regardless of whether it comes from institutions in the public or private sector; if it is based on evidence, logically, it constitutes an important input for the definition of public policies." (UDAPE, 2019)

Nonetheless, reforms by the Morales' government have allowed communities to put forward their own bill proposals, as well as enabled the wider participation of different sectors of society (including private research institutions and NGOs) – although, as yet, there has been no consolidated effort to encourage more collaborative participation in policy design processes. As PIEB previously stipulated in their Research Management Model (2015), it is essential that public policymaking is not exclusive to the State, but involves and relates to different actors in society. The findings from the DRA illustrate that the use of research results can have an influence on policymaking, but it is often unclear which types of approach and the channels they can use to influence policymaking more effectively. Some of the respondents noted that regional government entities/local authorities are more accessible and can therefore act as an intermediary between national entities and non-governmental actors.

DRA Framework highlights

Table 21 - DRA Framework Highlights

Research System Functions	Production	Diffusion	Uptake
<p>Research system processes</p> <p>Although the production of research has increased, it still suffers serious deficiencies in terms of quality, norms and organization. In the absence of a law or agency responsible for coordinating research activities, they remain isolated and limited due to budgetary and political constraints.</p>	<p>The dissemination of research is one of the weakest aspects of the Bolivian research system.</p>	<p>There are opposing views on how research is used. While government agencies assert that it is common practice to formulate public policies based on scientific evidence, NGOs, civil society and the private sector were unaware of this work or simply discredited it.</p>	
<p>Inputs</p> <p>1.1 Research inputs</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relevant research is produced in different areas such as indigenous and territorial issues; rural-productive development; gender; poverty and inequality; the design of regional public policies, among others. • Respondents reported moderate satisfaction with respect to access to infrastructure and research equipment. • Specific resources such as software for research and data analysis are lacking. • There are a limited number of full-time researchers. 	<p>2.1 Actors & Networks</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attempts at regional decentralization of the production of scientific knowledge are incipient. • The linkages between categories of actors are weak. Researchers work more with non-profit organizations and national universities than with government and international organizations. • Access to policy discussions for community associations is limited, despite the emergence of new civil society actors: collective action groups and social movements. 	<p>3.1 Policy-friendly Research</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is considerable independence for researchers since they can generate data free of political pressures. However, this has led to a level of indifference toward academia rather than a policy of promoting independent knowledge production. • The structure of the research system does not encourage joint efforts between academia and government agencies; a situation that is clearly reflected in the lack or absence of interaction between research actors on specific topics. 	

Research System Functions	Production	Diffusion	Uptake
Activities	1.2 Research Culture and Support services <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Regardless of the material limitations and lack of incentivizing policies for scientific production, research is being carried out in history, anthropology, sociology and political science; however, production is not supported or sought out by public policymakers. • Despite interviewees from government agencies claim the opposite, there is no national research policy for social sciences in place nor a national body that articulates research activities in Bolivia. • There is no peer-review culture. As a result, research production in Bolivia lacks parameters to measure quality. 	2.2 Research communication practices <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Budget planning and the type of financing determine whether the results of an investigation are made public. • Networks (largely informal) of institutions of a similar nature or shared interests are the best spaces for presenting results and receiving feedback. • The limited participation of researchers in international research projects, has resulted in the loss of presence and influence of Bolivia in the field of social sciences. • Half of the researchers report they are not affiliated with any international network of researchers or registered in an international repository. A similar scenario was identified at an institutional level: few inter-institutional agreements with universities and institutes abroad were identified. 	3.2 Research-based policymaking <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is little demand from the private sector for research on topics of interest to policymakers, limited participation in policy formulation, and only occasional interaction with actors from the public sector. • Administrators and researchers from a variety of public and private institutions lament the lack of state funding. • There is little incentive for researchers to participate in the design of public policies, an issue reflected in their lack of participation in government institutions responsible for policy design. • In many cases, political interests prevail over evidence-based research. • The perception among researchers is that policies are not necessarily linked to an analysis of research results. • A large majority of researchers claim that they have not participated in the development of policy.

Research System Functions	Production	Diffusion	Uptake
Outputs	<p>1.3 Research Output & Training</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There has been a quantitative increase in production (reports, documents, studies or assessments) but with varying degrees of quality. • The publication of articles in indexed journals is limited. • In contrast to public universities, private and civil society institutions have little or no continuous research capacity development. 	<p>2.3 Research Communication Products</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The written publication of research production continues to be the priority for most institutions, while debates, workshops and conferences are rare. • There is a fixation with doing things in a more traditional way; reflected, for example, in the limited number of research institutions that have active, up-to-date websites. 	<p>3.3 Research-based policy tools</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some researchers (from public universities in Cochabamba, civil society institutions or government agencies in La Paz) stated that they have, in fact, been part of the formulation of laws, strategies and programs – in collaboration with municipal authorities and/or higher-level authorities.
Outcomes	<p>1.4 Opportunities & Sustainability</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is a lack of substantial opportunities for Social Science researchers in Bolivia. • Notoriety and social recognition appear to be the main motivation for researchers from universities, civil society and the private sector. In contrast, financial incentives are more important for government actors and financing agencies. • Only researchers in state institutions have a reasonable level of job security. 	<p>2.4 Popularization of Science</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There has been a clear public policy for the recovery of the ancestral knowledge of the indigenous peoples of Bolivia. However, due excessive ideologization and political confrontation, it has become a mechanism for discrediting scientific processes of knowledge construction. • Researchers identified the Internet and social media as the most popular spaces for research dissemination – as opposed to newspaper, television and radio coverage, which were rated as unsatisfactory. 	<p>3.4 Research for Better policies</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Administrators have a positive perception of their influence on public policies. • The interviews highlighted the lack of evidence-based research (particularly non-government research) in the formulation and execution of public policies.

Source: CERES, 2019

Ethical Considerations

There is no national committee/commission for research ethics to validate social science research activities in Bolivia. All approval processes for research findings are carried out at an institutional level. Each individual entity implements its own set of ethical guidelines, whether this is for basic, applied or commissioned research. Current codes of ethics are not specific to research. They promote an ethical culture based on respect, compliance and transparency, and seek to regulate the behavior of members of both public and private institutions. While they do not serve the same function as legislation, they must be consistent with current legal regulations.

Public entities such as government ministries (Ministry of Development Planning,¹⁹ Ministry of Labor, Employment and Social Security²⁰), the Federation of Press Workers, the Central Bank of Bolivia,²¹ and other actors we interacted with throughout the course of this project, operate under approved codes of professional ethics, which serve an advisory, guiding and preventative function. Universities, on the other hand, have a statutory responsibility for ensuring that research, education and academic development are of high quality and conducted in accordance with recognized scientific, pedagogical and ethical principles. Their guidelines for research ethics mainly cover research, but they also deal with other research-related activities such as teaching, dissemination of research results, and the production of student's academic

work at all levels. Private universities, such as Universidad Católica Boliviana, rely on the Regional Research Coordination Unit to articulate research activities and to monitor the research processes supported by the Regional Strategic Research Plan – prepared under the supervision of the Regional Research Council (UCB, 2020).

It is important to note that current codes of ethics and guidelines do not have a judicial function or the power to impose sanctions or grant approval for research projects. Under this self-regulation model, the provisions stipulate areas that researchers should take into consideration to ensure that research is responsible, both in terms of the use of data and the relationship with research subjects, as well as the interaction with other researchers.

Most guidelines for local research projects are based on globally recognized norms for research ethics (NESH, 2016):

- 1) norms that constitute good scientific practice, related to the quest for accurate, adequate and relevant knowledge (academic freedom, trustworthiness, etc.)
- 2) norms that regulate the research community (impartiality, peer-review, etc.)
- 3) the relationship to people who take part in the research (anonymity, free and informed consent, etc.)
- 4) the relationship to the rest of society (independence, conflicts of interest, social responsibility, dissemination of research, etc.)

Nevertheless, there are obvious ethical concerns relating to the link between research and politics. The problem lies not in the design of public policies, but in the nature of political debate in general. Research has a social responsibility to provide critical analysis and alternative choices of action, and/or evidence-based knowledge to the

19 <http://www.planificacion.gob.bo/uploads/administrativa/reglamentos/CODIGO-DE-ETICA.pdf>

20 http://190.129.70.147/Descargas/Transparencia/Codigo_de_Etica_MTEPS.pdf

21 <https://www.bcb.gob.bo/webdocs/normativa/resoluciones/2001/090.01.PDF>

public discourse (NESH, 2016). As such, the most serious problem seems to lay in the idea that the social sciences, due to their 'social' nature, must be committed to a particular political project. Public universities and some international organizations, such as CLACSO, have promoted the idea that social sciences and social researchers should direct their work toward meeting social transformation and nation-building objectives. Although this may not raise any ethical concerns, in practice it usually leads to the formulation of methods, tools and conclusions that pre-select theoretical perspectives, hypotheses, methods and even data (Laserna, 2020). Researchers must be able to justify their choice of questions, methods and analytical perspectives, as well as the quality of the documentation used to support conclusions, so that preconceived notions and opinions have minimal influence on the research (NESH, 2016). In this sense, the methodological requirements established by the research community with regards to argumentation or documentation may serve as a model for other segments of society for how to deal with disagreement or bias (NESH, 2016). However, a significant amount of research with a 'social and political commitment' in Bolivia lacks empirical support or is heavily biased in tone. In some

cases, the most widespread criticism has been directed toward those who carry out rigorous evidence-based research – often labeled as 'empiricists' and 'unscientific' (Laserna, 2020).

Furthermore, certain components of research functions may not necessarily follow strict norms. Peer-review practices, for example, are uncommon in academia. When there are evaluations, these are often associated with projects with international funding, and they focus primarily on the fulfillment of goals and objectives rather than procedural ethics (Laserna, 2020).

In some cases (such as for this particular research project), researchers seek to validate their research through discussions and sharing findings among third-parties: other researchers, research administrators, policymakers and, sometimes, research participants. Openness and wider engagement/participation are often integral parts of research processes. Different academic approaches and positions allow for varied, but nonetheless reasonable, interpretations of research outputs, thus, ensuring consistency and impartiality in argumentation, while still maintaining the independence of the institution when reporting results and conclusions (NESH, 2016).

CONCLUSIONS

Highlights

- The findings from the data collected during 2019 for the Doing Research Assessment are intended to contribute to a national debate on social science research and the benefits it can bring to society.
- Support for scientific research in Bolivia has decreased in recent years. Furthermore, the resources provided through the redistribution of revenue from the tax on hydrocarbons (IDH) in the case of public universities, and financing assigned to research within different civil society institutions, have not been sufficient to strengthen scientific research in the various fields related to the social sciences.
- A national research coordinating body for the social sciences in Bolivia is required in order to consolidate a sustainable research system.
- Some research centers are part of regional networks such as the Latin American Council of Social Sciences (CLACSO); however initiatives of this nature need to be more efficiently consolidated in order to stimulate the action for change that the national context requires.
- Based on an interpretation of the collected data, and learning from the DRA implementation, it is clear that challenges and opportunities differ across the range of components and actors.
- Multiple approaches are needed to exert leverage and encourage the use of effective practices throughout the system.

This assessment analyses the research system in Bolivia based on the methodology developed under the Doing Research Program, an initiative of the Global Development Network (GDN). The results obtained from the data collected during 2019 are intended to contribute to a national

debate on the production and use of social science research for the good of society.

It is evident that support for scientific research in Bolivia has decreased in recent years. The support that has been provided through the redistribution of revenues from the tax on hydrocarbons (IDH), in the case of public universities, and financing assigned to research within different civil society institutions, has not been sufficient to strengthen scientific research in the various fields related to the social sciences. Furthermore, social science researchers do not engage in areas prioritized by policymakers, nor are they part of interdisciplinary teams that may contribute to policy development.

Nevertheless, it is important to note that over the past decade, there has been a significant increase in the number of people devoted to research, particularly in universities, as well as the number of scholars with PhDs. In contrast, there has been a reduction in the number and size of private research centers, NGOs and government-funded regional research institutes. And, although research production has undergone a quantitative increase, this and other research system functions such as diffusion and uptake still suffer serious deficiencies in terms of quality, norms and organization.

There are some research centers that are part of regional networks such as the Latin American Council of Social Sciences (CLACSO), but initiatives of this nature need to be more efficiently consolidated in order to stimulate the action for change that the national context requires.

To address these deficiencies and ensure the sustainability of the research system, many stakeholders identified the need to establish a national coordinating body for social science research in Bolivia. In the absence

of a law or agency responsible for these activities, the different actors will continue to carry out their activities in isolation and suffer from the limitations imposed by budgetary and political constraints.

As part of this collaborative framework, it is important to acknowledge the heterogeneity among actors. As such, priorities and incentives will differ, along with the needs for quality data to guide the variety of types of research required.

One of the main findings of this assessment is the lack of collaboration and inter-institutional commitment, which inhibits the production of more relevant research. While the majority of actors agree that regulatory policy is an essential component of the institutional architecture of the country, it is evident that institutions in Bolivia face enormous difficulties in developing an efficient and well-articulated research system given the legal restrictions on their operations – particularly the law on legal status which limits the capacity of NGOs to operate freely, independently and effectively. Based on our analysis, one of the recommendations for the short term is to promote the use of locally-grounded social science research as a key input to sustainable development planning by supporting the establishment of a regulatory framework for civil society organizations, free of excessive regulation and appropriate to the local context.

The institutional strengthening of the social science research ecosystem will be critical for promoting the long-term development of the Bolivian research system. The need for a common agenda is a must, as well as consolidating strategic partnerships/coalitions to influence policymaking.

Recommendations

This assessment of the state of the social science system in Bolivia was carried out to

gain a better understanding of the context for the production, diffusion and use of social research across different actors. There are a number of fundamental elements that need to be considered when identifying effective pathways for action.

Balance Reinstatement of a balance of institutions in decision-making processes and build broad capacity for the development of the social sciences in Bolivia.

Standards Develop an enabling environment for research by creating norms and standards for research practices that adapt to the different social paradigms in the country.

Training Enhance higher education programs – with more focus on rigorous research training – to develop a critical mass of creative and productive research professionals with a greater awareness of the country's social and cultural diversity.

Metrics Adopt a broad range of criteria in research assessments. Performance metrics should take many dimensions into account and must have clearly defined and effective parameters/standards based on the experiences of local scientific social science research.

Research culture Adopt research competencies as part of comprehensive human capacity training (including in non-academic institutions) in collaborative educational settings and articulated within the social, economic, political and cultural context.

Capacity Develop capacities through mentoring and training to strengthen research in social sciences at the individual and institutional level.

Uptake Create demand from decision-makers for quality outputs to inform the design of more efficient policies.

Develop a **trans-disciplinary research** community to share knowledge and data

as part of broader efforts towards national development.

It is essential to identify key levers for change that can advance future debate on the culture of research and policymaking, while recognizing the complex and multilevel nature of the environment in which such levers operate. Based on an interpretation of the collected data and learning from the DRA implementation, it is evident that challenges and opportunities manifest differently across the range of components and actors. Consequently, multiple approaches are needed to exert leverage and encourage the use of well-developed practices throughout the system.

Major structural constraints identified through this study must be addressed. Hence, the following **LEVERS OF CHANGE** are considered a priority when defining upcoming reforms.

Knowledge transfer

The current silo-based production, budgeting and management structures among research entities make it difficult to promote an effective transfer of knowledge from researchers to policymakers – hindering the contribution of research to policy debates. Data are being generated in partial isolation, which means that the different actors have little understanding of what other institutions and individuals are doing.

In this context, the social sciences in Bolivia must assume responsibility for sustainable development by promoting a new way of visualizing and contextualizing the major issues in the country – taking into consideration the need to:

- a) Re-conceptualize public policies in relation to health, education, housing, employment and leisure to account for the realities in different contexts (local, regional and national). This will strengthen

the interaction of social networks, public and private actors and international organizations, and help to consolidate spaces for debate.

- b) Establish objective criteria for public policy management so that policy managers and operators can resolve priority topics.
- c) Address the lack of institutional coordination between the economic, social, political and environmental sectors – to ensure the long-term sustainability of development efforts in Bolivia.

This implies building an institutional consensus around the social sciences that includes all stakeholders in the Bolivian research system. This requires an inter-institutional body to coordinate between universities, the public sector, the private sector and social actors through councils of local and regional representatives that define local research needs and actions in line with priorities under the Sustainable Development Goals.

Previous initiatives in Bolivia demonstrate the willingness of different actors to engage in networks. During the 1980s and 1990s, a series of departmental networks were created in different cities grouped under a coordinating body, the National Network Coordinator. This entity was an initiative of the Private Social Development Institutions (IPDS). Similarly, between 1994 and 2014, the Fundación para la Investigación Estratégica en Bolivia (PIEB) supported the development and consolidation of thematic regional and national networks of researchers – providing financing and advice, and promoting the sharing of accumulated experience in research, training and dissemination. These groups, primarily made up of young researchers, became points of reference for research activity in different regions.

Based on the experience of these initiatives and the findings from this study, a structure

similar to the one used within the PIEB model could be implemented to manage and/or strengthen new associations between different entities that would, ultimately, lead to the **institutionalization of social science research**. This process will contribute to the growing recognition of the importance of research in supporting socioeconomic development – further justifying the need for an autonomous national coordinating body.

A framework of research focal points could be established to represent and articulate the interests of affiliated institutions, and promote the generation and timely transfer of interdisciplinary social science knowledge. It would also support the development of lobbying spaces, the articulation of political demands (bill proposals, approval of laws) and greater cooperation with the State, as well as training for affiliated members.

Effective governance

As highlighted during this study, the Bolivian Government must also invest in long-term research development plans that are not subject to change as a result of the transition from one political party to another.

A more open and transparent political system, with the ongoing renewal and professionalization of politicians and greater government responsiveness, will offer levers of change that can create a demand for research and connect social researchers with decision-makers and policy designers.

There are three potential pathways for action under this specific recommendation:

Financing The social science research environment is resource-constrained. Financing is therefore a key lever. As previously mentioned, Bolivia has a Plan for Economic and Social Development in place to manage the allocation of resources. The plan consists of thirteen fundamental pillars for development, of which Pillar 3:

Health, Education and Sports and Pillar 4: Scientific and Technological Sovereignty are particularly relevant to this assessment. However, research centers, universities and the private sector had limited involvement in developing these goals. This limits access to public financing for research, since, in addition to complying with established requirements, researchers need to ensure that all projects are framed within the National Development Plan and priorities of the national agenda.

Establishing a national coordination body with a particular role in representing the range of actors and developing a process that allows recommendations and/or proposals for action, would allow different actors to contribute to the development of these goals. A national coordinating body that can work through regional units will be able to channel priorities and promote efforts to secure funding.

Access to data It is essential to develop viable systems for the regular collection of data and information to support research and policy formulation. Such policies should include institutions in charge of generating nationwide databases, such as the National Institute of Statistics (INE), in cooperation with all government entities at municipal and departmental levels.

Reducing and simplifying bureaucratic procedures This is crucial for facilitating more efficient interactions and consolidating mechanisms for policy influence.

The findings from this study illustrate the bureaucratic difficulties that restrict the operations of non-profit organizations, specifically with regard to the registration of legal status or the renewal of NGO registrations, which are processed through national public institutions.

The first version of a law for the Recognition of Legal Entity Status of Associations and

Foundations is currently under development. This law seeks to generate a clear legal framework that sets out the rights and obligations of NGOs. To this end, meetings were held to discuss the conditions conducive to the effective functioning of civil society organizations in Bolivia. This brought together different social organizations, institutions, and national and international NGOs, as well as institutional networks and platforms, to debate a new regulatory, legal and tax framework that recognizes and oversees their activities.

Spaces for dialogue have been set up with public entities such as the National Tax Service, the Vice Ministry of Public Investment and External Financing and the former Ministry of Autonomy (currently the Vice Ministry of Autonomy) to continue identifying solutions to the problems faced by NGOs in Bolivia. As part of this new law proposal, it was agreed that the following elements are essential: respect for freedom of association; and the need to strengthen the role that these institutions play in development. These observations will be compiled and later presented to the Executive and Legislative bodies for consideration.

In this context, the results obtained in this initial assessment could contribute evidence on the limitations of the current research system. The short-term objective would be to support the establishment of a regulatory framework for civil society organizations, free from excessive regulation and appropriate to the local context. This administrative simplification would allow not only a

reduction in bureaucracy, but would also help to minimize the restrictions imposed by the current regulations, particularly in terms of accessing the resources required to operate effectively.

Capacity-Building

Establishing comprehensive incentives through ongoing, relevant training can address the lack of adequate administrative support and the limited opportunities for continuous capacity development and career advancement. This involves:

- Developing capacity-building programs for researchers in the social sciences, through sponsorship or the allocation of funds from individual institutions.
- Establishing or reinforcing networks to ensure close cooperation between universities, governments, research institutes and other relevant stakeholders.
- Seeking funds and/or subsidies to support development programs to strengthen social science research capacity in civil society organizations and universities.
- Prioritizing the development of skills in writing research proposals, research design, data processing and disseminating research.

Monitoring research activity

Rigorous institutional and policy frameworks that clearly establish the rules of the game are essential to support the operationalization of an effective research system and ensure accountability/transparency in research activities at country level.

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ANNEXES

Annex 1: Context Analysis: List of Actors/Institutions Consulted

List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

The following acronyms pertain to the group of macro actors included in the context analysis:

CAINCO	:	Chamber of Industry and Commerce
CDC	:	Departmental Council of Competitiveness
CEDLA	:	Center for the Studies for Labor and Agrarian Development
CEDURE	:	Center for the Studies for Urban and Regional Development
CENDA	:	The Andean Communication and Development Center
CEP	:	Center for Population Studies
CEPAD	:	Center for Participation and Sustainable Human Development
CEPLAG	:	Center for Planning and Management
CERES	:	Center for the Studies of Social and Economic Realities
CESU	:	Center for Higher Education Studies
CIEE	:	Center for Research in Economics and Management
FEPC	:	Federation of Private Enterprises
FEPROCO	:	Federation of Professionals – Cochabamba
IESE	:	Institute of Social and Economic Studies
IIES-JOM	:	José Ortiz Mercado - Institute for Economic and Social Research
IIESEC	:	Institute for Socio Economic Research
INESAD	:	Institute of Advanced Studies in Development
PIEB	:	Foundation for Strategic Research in Bolivia
UAGRM	:	Universidad Autónoma Gabriel Rene Moreno
UCB	:	Universidad Católica Boliviana “San Pablo”
UDAPE	:	Social and Economic Policy Analysis Unit
UMSS	:	Universidad Mayor de San Simon
UNIVALLE	:	Universidad Privada del Valle
UPB	:	Universidad Privada Boliviana
UPSA	:	Universidad Privada de Santa Cruz de la Sierra

Location and category of institutions consulted for the context analysis:

CITY	ACTOR	CATEGORY
LA PAZ	UCB/IISEC	Higher Education Institutions
	Central Bank of Bolivia	Government and Funding Agencies
	Ministry of Productive Development and Plural Economy	Government and Funding Agencies
	Ministry of Environment and Water	Government and Funding Agencies
	UDAPE	Government and Funding Agencies
	INESAD	Civil Society
	CEDLA	Civil Society
	DIAKONIA	Civil Society
COCHABAMBA	UCB	Higher Education Institutions
	UNIVALLE	Higher Education Institutions
	UPB	Higher Education Institutions
	UPB/CIEE	Higher Education Institutions
	UMSS/CEPLAG	Higher Education Institutions
	UMSS/CLAS	Higher Education Institutions
	UMSS/IESE	Higher Education Institutions
	UMSS/CEP	Higher Education Institutions
	UMSS/CESU	Higher Education Institutions
	FEPROCO	Industry
	FEPC	Industry
	CERES	Civil Society
	Cuarto Intermedio	Civil Society
	CENDA	Civil Society
	CDC	Civil Society
	SANTA CRUZ	UPSA
UAGRM/IIES-JOM		Higher Education Institutions
CAINCO		Industry
CEPAD		Civil Society
CEDURE		Civil Society

Annex 2: Codification of Interviews Consulted for Context Analysis and DRA Framework

CONTEXT ANALYSYS		
NAME	INSTITUTION	CODE
Osvaldo Gutiérrez	Universidad Católica Boliviana "San Pablo"	UCB:R01
Sergio Vasquez	Centro de Comunicación y Desarrollo Andino Cochabamba/- Director	CCD:RA01
Ana Maria Bayro	Executive Director /Concejo de Competitividad	CCP:RA01
Oscar Zurita	President/ Federacion de Profesionales Cochabamba	FPC:RA01
Javier Bellot	President/ Federacion de Empresarios Privados Cochabamba	FEP:RA01
Sandro Guerrero	President UNIVALLE	UNV:RA01
Gabriela Canedo	Universidad Mayor de San Simon/ Full-time Professor-Researcher - Anthropology	USS: R09
Sergio Aviles	Universidad Mayor de San Simon- CLAS	USS:R11
Carmen Ledo	Universidad Mayor de San Simon – CEPLAG/Director	CPL:RA01
Sergio Daga	Universidad Privada San Andres/Academic Vicepresident	USA:RA01
Mariana Santa Cruz	Universidad Católica Boliviana "San Pablo" – Santa Cruz/Regional Coordinator	UCB:RA02
Pablo Mendieta Ossi	CAINCO	CAI:RA01
Fernando Prado	CEDURE– Director	CDU:RA01
Rubens Barbery	CEPAD - Director	CPD: RA01
	UAGRM – IIES/JOM	URM:R01
Carlos Foronda/ Dr. Hugo Rojas	UPB - CIEE/ Director/Vicepresident of Research	UPB:RA01
Alejandra Ramírez	CESU	CES:R01
Víctor Hugo Blanco	CEP/ Researcher	CEP :R01
Javier Gómez	CEDLA/Executive Director	CED:RA01
María Félix Delgadillo	UDAPE//Executive Director	UDA:PM01
Jean Paul Benavides	IIESEC/ Professor/Researcher	IIE :R01
Beatriz Muriel	INESAD/Executive Director	INE:RA01
Ricardo Azogue	IESE/Executive Director	IES:RA01

DRA FRAMEWORK		
RESEARCHERS		CODE
Rosario León	Researcher at CERES since 1982, member of the board at CERES since 1989	CER:R01
Alejandra Ramírez	Researcher at CESU, Center for higher education studies	CES:R01
Víctor Hugo Blanco	Researcher at CEP, Center for population studies	CEP :R01
Mireya Sánchez	Researcher at the Research Institute of the School of Humanities and Educational Sciences	USS:R01
Jean Paul Benavides	Sociologist, researcher at IIESE	IIE :R01
Andrés Uzeda	Sociology professor, Universidad Mayor de San Simon	USS:R02
Jhony Ledezma	Director a.i. Institute of research in social sciences, School of Social Sciences, UMSS	USS:R03
Miguel Veizaga	Professor/Researcher at CEP, Center for population studies	CEP:R02
Adolfo Mendoza	Professor/Researcher at Institute of research in social sciences, School of Social Sciences, UMSS	USS:R04
José De la Fuente	Independent Researcher	IND:R01
Antonio Mayorga	PhD Candidate, Directorate of Scientific and Technological Research, UMSS	USS:R05
Sarela Paz	Director, Graduate School, School of Social Sciences, UMSS	USS:R06
Fernando Prada	Director PhD program, PREIB-ANDES-UMSS	USS:R07
Alvaro Pinaya	Director, Sociology, Universidad Mayor de San Simon	USS:R08
Gabriela Canedo Vásquez	Professor of the Anthropology Program of Universidad Mayor de San Simon. Postgraduate & PhD professor, researcher at CIDES, University of San Andrés.	USS:R09
Antonio Bustillos Bailey	Institute of Economic and Business Research, Faculty of Economic and Business Sciences	USS:R10
Lucila Choque	Researcher	IND:R02
Felipe Quispe	Professor, Researcher	IND:R03
Elizabeth Andia	Sociologist, researcher, consultant and teacher on different issues of interculturality, gender, political participation and economics.	IND:R04
Gumerciendo Flores	Researcher, Institute for Sociologic Research	IDI:R01
Carlos Macusaya	Researcher Jicha, Independent Consultant	IND:R05

RESEARCH ADMINISTRATORS

Beatriz Muriel	Executive Director of the INESAD Foundation	INE:RA01
Ricardo Azogue	Director of IESE, Institute of Social and Economic Studies	IES:RA01
Javier Gómez	Director of CEDLA, Center for Labor and Agrarian Development Studies	CED:RA01
María Esther Pozo	VicePresident, Universidad Mayor de San Simon	USS:RA01
Roxana Aleman Castillo	Director, Center for Business Information and Strategic Planning (CIEPLANE), School of Economic and Financial Sciences	CIE:RA01
Gilberto Etauwels	Director, CEPA, Center of Ecology and Andean Communities	CPA:RA01
Godofredo Sandoval	Director of the Foundation for Strategic Research in Bolivia for 25 years	PIE:RA01
Marcelo Guardia	Regional Research Coordinator of the Universidad Católica Boliviana	UCB:RA01

POLICYMAKERS

María Félix Delgadillo	Director of UDAPE, Unit of Analysis of Social and Economic Policies	UDA:PM01
Claudia Mallon	National Deputy for Unidad Demócrata	UDE:PM01

KEY INFORMANTS

René Orellana	Former state minister, currently Bolivia's ambassador to Uruguay	KIN:01
Juan Cristóbal Soruco	Former director of Los Tiempos, a national newspaper, retired journalist.	KIN:02
María Esther Mercado	Anthropologist, columnist for Opinion, a national newspaper	KIN:03
Luis René Baptista	Director of Puntos de vista, editor and short-term director of Los Tiempos, a national newspaper	KIN:04
Frank Arteaga	Director Mano Diversa	KIN:05
Frank Delgado	Former director of Agroecology (AGRUCO)/University center	KIN:06
Pedro Portugal	Director of Pukara, digital newspaper	KIN:07

Annex 3: Stakeholder Mapping /Selected Sample

Subgroup	# Institutions	# Resear - chers	Share in total of # Researchers	Initial number of respon- dents	Rate of response	Final number of respon- dents
Subgroup 1		20	1.54%	5	75%	6
1	Sociological Research Institute (IDIS)	20				
Subgroup 2		62	4.77%	14	75%	18
2	Center for Planning and Management (CEPLAG)	20				
1	Institute of Social and Economic Studies (IESE)	11				
	Institute for Architecture Research (IIA)	19				
	Center for Research in Economics and Management (CIEE)	12				
Subgroup 9		71	5.46%	16	75%	20
	ARU Foundation	20				
	Center for Studies for Labor and Agrarian Development (CEDLA)	18				
1	Institute of Advanced Studies in Development (INESAD)	18				
2	UNDP (PNUD)	15				
Subgroup 10		36	2.77%	8	75%	10
1	CIUDADANIA - Community of Social Studies and Public Action	24				
	Center for the Studies of Social and Economic Realities (CERES)	12				
Subgroup 12		28	2.15%	6	75%	8
1	PROAGRO	15				
	Fundación Tierra (sede Sucre)	13				
Subgroup 13		319	24.52%	74	50%	110
	Danish Agency for International Development (DANIDA)	15				
1	GiZ (German agency/ international cooperation for sustainable development and international education work)	15				
	Ministry of Economy and Public Finance - Viceministerio de Presupuesto y Contabilidad	15				
	Ministry of Economy and Public Finance - Viceministerio de Tesoro y Credito publico	15				
4	Ministry of Environment and Water - Viceministerio de Medio Ambiente, Biodiversidad, Cambio climático, Gestión y Desarrollo forestal	15				
	Ministry of Environment and Water - Viceministerio de Recursos Hídricos y Riego	12				
	Ministry of Productive Development and Plural Economy - Viceministerio de Micro y Pequeña empresa	35				
	Ministry of Public Works, Services and Housing . Viceministerio de Vivienda y Urbanismo	15				
	OMS	15				
2	OPS	15				
6	Social and Economic Policy Analysis Unit (UDAPE)	37				
	Spanish Agency for International Development Cooperation (AECID)	19				

Subgroup	# Institutions	# Resear - chers	Share in total of # Researchers	Initial number of respon- dents	Rate of response	Final number of respon- dents
	Swiss Contact	14				
	UNICEF	24				
5	Ministry of Rural Development and Land - Viceministerio de Desarrollo Rural y Agropecuario	17				
3	Ministry of Development Planning - Viceministerio de Inversion Publica y Financiamiento Externo	29				
	Ministry of Labour, Employment and Social Security - Viceministerio de Empleo, Servicio Civil y Cooperativas	12				
Subgroup 17+33		38	2.92%	9	75%	11
3	Institute of Economic Research	10				
	Instituto de Investigaciones Fausto Reinaga - UPEA	8				
	Universidad Publica de El Alto	6				
1	School of Productivity and Competitiveness	4				
	Universidad de Aquino Bolivia	3				
	Institute of Socio Economic Research (IISEC)	4				
2	Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales - Pablo Zárate Villka - UPEA	3				
Subgroup 18+34		43	3.31%	10	75%	12
3	Universidad Católica Boliviana	6				
	Center for population studies (CEP)	7				
	Institute for Education Sciences Studies (IIHCE)	6				
1	Center for Higher education studies (CESU)	7				
	Universidad Privada Franz Tamayo	4				
2	Universidad Simon I. Patino	3				
	Center for the Generation of Information and Statistics (CEGIE)	3				
	Center for Finance Innovation (CIIFI)	4				
	Center of Innovation in Information Technologies for Education and Enterprise (CITIEE)	3				
Subgroup 20+36		67	5.15%	15	75%	19
	Centro de investigaciones de Facultad de Ciencias Políticas, Jurídicas y Sociales - UTO	6				
	Instituto de Investigaciones Económicas y Empresariales.	6				
	Instituto de Sociología Boliviana.	8				
6	Departamento de Postgrado de la Universidad SXX	6				
	Centro de Investigación y Documentación Pedagógica	2				
2	Dirección de Postgrado e Investigación Científica UTO	3				
	Instituto de Investigación de la Amazonia Boliviana de la Facultad de Ciencias Forestales	4				
3	Instituto de Investigación en Ciencias Económicas	5				
5	Instituto de investigaciones de la Facultad De Ciencias Económicas Financieras Y Administrativas	2				
	Instituto de Investigación y Proyectos	5				
	Instituto de Investigación de Estudios Sociales y Humanísticos	3				
	Centro de Investigaciones Lingüísticas y Educativas.	1				

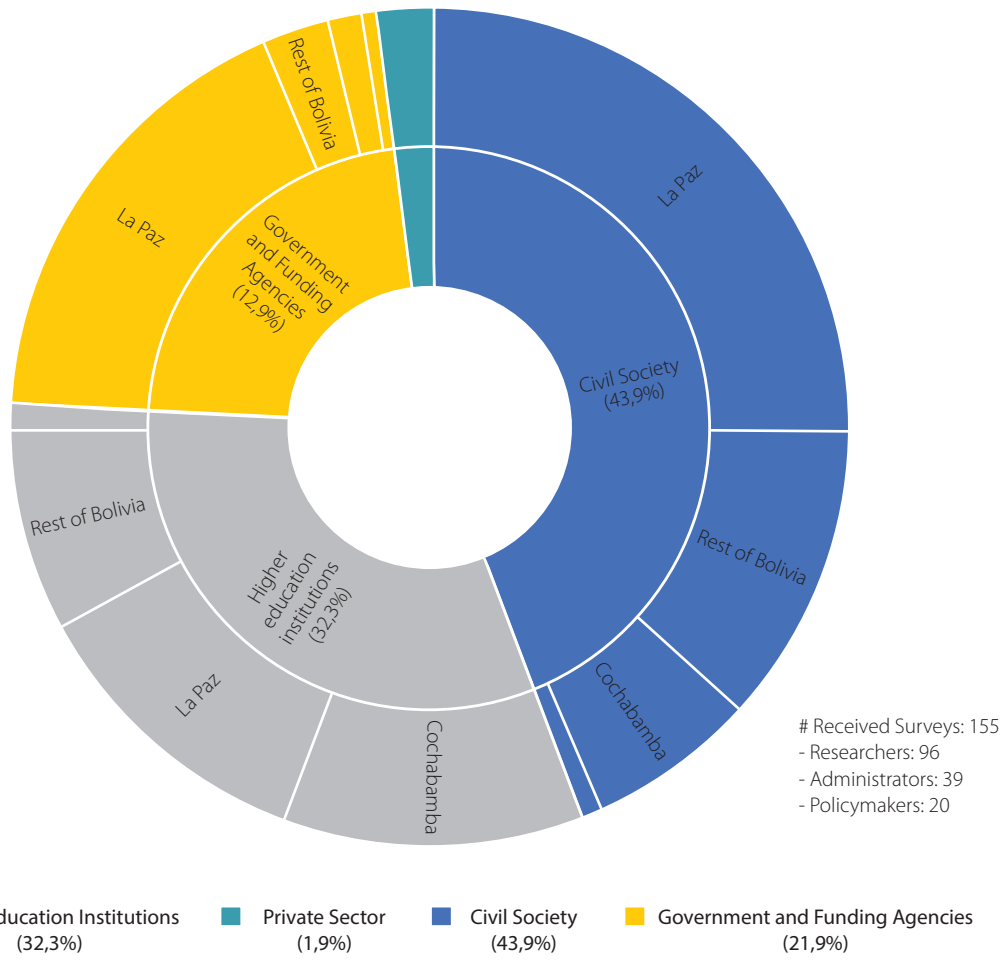
Subgroup	# Institutions	# Resear - chers	Share in total of # Researchers	Initial number of respon - dents	Rate of response	Final number of respon - dents
4	Dirección de Investigación Científica y Tecnológica (Dicyt) Sucre	1				
	Organización Boliviana de Mujeres en Ciencia (Capitulo Chuquisaca, existe a nivel nacional)	2				
	Centro De Investigación de Proyectos de Grado para la Interacción Socio comunitaria (CIPGIS)	4				
	CIBIOMA (Centro de Investigación en biodiversidad y medio ambiente) - UABJB	1				
1	Instituto de Investigaciones Económicas, Administrativas y Financieras	3				
	Dirección de Investigación Científica y Tecnológica (Dicyt) Tarija	1				
	Centro de Información Empresarial y Planificación Estratégica	2				
	Dirección de Investigación Científica y Tecnológica (Dicyt) Potosí	1				
	Dirección de Investigación Científica y Tecnológica (Dicyt) Pando	1				
Subgroup 25 +41		162	12.45%	37	75%	47
	Agua Sustentable	9				
	Asociación CUNA	6				
	Bolivian Center for Multidisciplinary Studies (CEBEM)	7				
	Centro Boliviano de Investigación y Acción Educativas (CEBIAE)	8				
	Centro de Investigación Social y Trabajo en Equipos Multidisciplinarios (CISTEM)	6				
	Centro de Promoción de la Mujer Gregoria Apaza (CPMGA)	6				
	Fundación SARTAWI SAYARIY	6				
	Fundacion SER	6				
3	Fundacion Solon	6				
9	JUBILEO Foundation	10				
5	National union of institutions for the work of social action (UNITAS)	8				
4	Peasant Research and Promotion Center (CIPCA)	7				
	TIERRA Foundation	10				
	La Razon	8				
7	Fundacion UNIR	8				
	Fundacion CONSTRUIR	8				
	Servicios Múltiples de Tecnologías Apropriadas (SEMTA)	6				
	Centro de Capacitación y Servicios para la Integración de la Mujer (CECASEM)	3				
	FUNAVI	5				
2	Fundacion PUMA	4				
1	Milenio Foundation	4				
	Fundacion PROFIN	4				
8	Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung FES Bolivia	4				
	Vision Mundial	5				

Subgroup	# Institutions	# Resear - chers	Share in total of # Researchers	Initial number of respon- dents	Rate of response	Final number of respon- dents
	INASET	4				
6	Colectivo de la Mujer Indígena Andina Amazónica y Oriente Pachamama (COMAI - PACHAMAMA)	4				
Subgroup 26+42		32	2.46%	7	75%	9
	The Andean Communication and Development Center (CENDA)	8				
1	Documentation and Information Center Bolivia (CEDIB)	4				
2	FAUNAGUA	5				
	Fundación Gaia Pacha	3				
	Los Tiempos	5				
	Opinion	4				
	Somos Sur	3				
Subgroup 27+43		54	4.15%	12	75%	16
2	Center for Participation and Sustainable Human Development (CEPAD)	10				
	Centro de Promoción Agropecuaria Campesina (CEPAC)	6				
	El Deber	8				
	Natura	10				
3	Asociación Forestal Indígena Nacional	5				
1	Center for the studies for Urban and Regional Development (CEDURE)	5				
	Centro de Investigación y Documentación Santa Cruz (CIDCRUZ)	5				
	PROCESO Servicios Educativos	5				
Subgroup 28+44		100	7.69%	23	75%	29
	Centro de Ecología y Pueblos Andinos	10				
	CIPCA (Norte Amazonico)	8				
	Herencia	8				
	Plataforma Interinstitucional de Apoyo a la Igualdad de Oportunidades de Género	9				
	PFCUVS - Investigación y Transferencia de Tecnología (FAUTAPO) (regional Tarija)	10				
4	Acción cultural Loyola (ACLO)	7				
	Asociación Social Tarija (ASOCIO)	5				
5	CEJIS (Regional Trinidad)	5				
2	Centro de Estudios Hoya Amazónica - Mojos	4				
	CIPCA - Beni	5				
	Instituto de Investigación y Capacitación Campesina (IICCA)	4				
	Instituto Politécnico Tomás Katari (IPTK)	3				
	JAYNA Comunidad de Estudios	4				
	Línea Institucional de Desarrollo Rural (LIDER)	3				
1	Fundación Participación y Sostenibilidad (PASOS)	5				
3	Centro de Investigaciones y Políticas Sociales (CIPS)	5				
6	Centro de Investigación y Servicio Popular (CISEP)	5				

Subgroup	# Institutions	# Resear - chers	Share in total of # Researchers	Initial number of respon - dents	Rate of response	Final number of respon - dents
Subgroup 29+45		144	11.07%	33	50%	50
4	Center for Social Research (CIS) – Vicepresidency of the Plurinational State of Bolivia	6				
7	Central Bank of Bolivia	10				
	Gobierno Autónomo Departamental de La Paz	10				
	Ministry of Development Planning - Viceministerio de Planificación Estratégica del Estado	8				
5	Ministry of Development Planning - Viceministerio de Planificación y Coordinación	10				
	Ministry of Economy and Public Finance - Viceministerio de Pensiones y Servicios	8				
	Ministry of Economy and Public Finance - Viceministerio de Política Tributaria	8				
	Ministry of Environment and Water - Viceministerio de Agua Potable y Saneamiento básico	8				
2	Ministry of Productive Development and Plural Economy - Viceministerio de producción industrial a mediana y gran escala	9				
6	Ministry of Public Works, Services and Housing - Viceministerio de telecomunicaciones	10				
3	Ministry of Public Works, Services and Housing - Viceministerio de Transportes	8				
	Swedish Agency for International Development Cooperation (ASDI)	8				
	Ministry of Rural Development and Land - Viceministerio de Coca y Desarrollo Integral	8				
	Ministry of Labour, Employment and Social Security - Viceministerio de Trabajo y Previsión Social	10				
	Ministry of Productive Development and Plural Economy - Viceministerio de Comercio Interno y Exportaciones	8				
	Gobierno Autonomo Municipal de La Paz	6				
	Banco Mundial	2				
1	Diakonia	1				
	Interamerican Development Bank	2				
	Ministry of Rural Development and Land - Viceministerio de Tierras	4				
Subgroup 30		20	1.54%	5	50%	7
1	Gobierno Autónomo Departamental de Cochabamba	10				
	Gobierno Autónomo Municipal de Cercado (GAMC)	10				
Subgroup 31		14	1.08%	3	50%	5
	Gobierno Autónomo Departamental de Santa Cruz	6				
1	Gobierno Autonomo Municipal de Santa Cruz	8				
Subgroup 32+48		65	5.00%	15	50%	22
2	Gobierno Autónomo Departamental de Beni	8				
	Gobierno Autónomo Departamental de Chuquisaca	8				
	Gobierno Autónomo Departamental de Potosí	6				

Subgroup	# Institutions	# Resear - chers	Share in total of # Researchers	Initial number of respon - dents	Rate of response	Final number of respon - dents
4	Gobierno Autónomo Departamental de Tarija	10				
	Gobierno Autonomo Municipal de Oruro	6				
	Gobierno Autonomo Municipal de Potosi	6				
	Gobierno Autonomo Municipal de Sucre	6				
1	Gobierno Autónomo Departamental de Oruro	3				
	Gobierno Autónomo Departamental de Pando	3				
	Gobierno Autónomo Municipal de Cobija	3				
	Gobierno Autónomo Municipal de Tarija	3				
3	Gobierno Autonomo Municipal de Trinidad	3				
Subgroup 35		14	1.08%	3	75%	4
	Universidad Católica Boliviana "San Pablo"	5				
	Universidad Privada de Santa Cruz de la Sierra	5				
1	Jose Ortiz Mercado Institute for Economic and Social Research (IES-JOM)	4				
Subgroup 37+38+39		12	0.92%	3	75%	3
	Fundapro	1				
	Chamber of Commerce and Services	3				
	Federation of Private Enterprises	2				
1	IMG Consulting	2				
2	Chamber of Industry and Commerce	4				
TOTAL		1301	100%	300		407

Annex 4: Distribution of Selected Sample



Annex 5: Stakeholder Mapping – List of Universities in Bolivia and Academic Staff Members

A Public Autonomous Universities:

1. Universidad Mayor Real y Pontificia San Francisco Xavier de Chuquisaca (USFX) Sucre, Chuquisaca
2. Universidad Mayor de San Andrés (UMSA), La Paz
3. Universidad Mayor de San Simón (UMSS), Cochabamba
4. Universidad Pública de El Alto (UPEA)
5. Universidad Autónoma Gabriel René Moreno (UAGRM), Santa Cruz de la Sierra
6. Universidad Técnica de Oruro (UTO)
7. Universidad Autónoma Tomás Frías (UATF)
8. Universidad Autónoma Juan Misael Saracho
9. Universidad Autónoma del Beni Mariscal José Ballivián (UAB)
10. Universidad Nacional Siglo XX
11. Universidad Amazónica de Pando

B. Private University members of the Executive Committee of the Bolivian University (CEUB):

1. Escuela Militar de Ingeniería (EMI)
2. Universidad Católica Boliviana San Pablo (UCB)
3. Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar
4. Universidad Policial (UNIPOL)

C. Private Universities:

1. Universidad Adventista De Bolivia (UAB)
2. Universidad Bethesda
3. Universidad Boliviana De Informática
4. Universidad Central (UNICEN)
5. Universidad Cristiana De Bolivia (UCEBOL)
6. Universidad De Aquino Bolivia (UDABOL)

7. Universidad De La Amazonía Boliviana
8. Universidad De La Cordillera
9. Universidad De Los Andes (UDELOSANDES)
10. Universidad Evangélica Boliviana (UEB)
11. Universidad La Salle (ULS)
12. Universidad Latinoamericana
13. Universidad Loyola
14. Universidad Nacional Del Oriente
15. Universidad Nacional Ecológica
16. Universidad Priv. Ntra. Sra. De La Paz (UNSLP)
17. Universidad NUR
18. Universidad Para El Desarrollo Y La Innovación
19. Universidad Para La Investigación Estratégica En Bolivia
20. Universidad Privada Abierta Latinoamericana (UPAL)
21. Universidad Privada Boliviana (UPB)
22. Universidad Privada Cumbre
23. Universidad Privada De Ciencias Administrativas Y Tecnológicas
24. Universidad Privada De Oruro (UNIOR)
25. Universidad Privada De Santa Cruz De La Sierra (UPSA)
26. Universidad Privada Del Chaco
27. Universidad Privada Del Valle (UNIVALLE)
28. Universidad Privada Domingo Savio (Upds)
29. Universidad Privada Franz Tamayo (UNIFRANZ)
30. Universidad Privada Indígena Tawantinsuyu Axlla (UTA)
31. Universidad Real De La Cámara Nacional De Comercio

32. Universidad Salesiana De Bolivia (USALESIANA)
 33. Universidad San Francisco De Asís
 34. Universidad Simón I. Patiño (USIP)
 35. Universidad Técnica Privada Cosmos (UNITEPC)

36. Universidad Tecnológica Boliviana (UTB)
 37. Universidad Tecnológica Privada De Santa Cruz (UTEPSA)
 38. Universidad Unidad
 39. Universidad Unión Bolivariana

Source: Ministerio de Educacion, 2016

D Academic and Research Staff:

Research Staff	Type of University			Notes
	Public		Private	
	2011	2015	2011	
Researchers	1181	963a	450	Number of Social Science researchers is not available.
Fellowships	351	-	135	Number of Social Science centers and their researchers in 2015 is not available.
Number of Research Centers	210	-	53	
Natural Sciences	41	-	8	
Engineering and Technology	65	-	13	
Medical Science	22	-	9	
Agricultural Sciences	40	-	3	
Social Science	36	-	15	
Humanities	6	-	5	

a Data available for 9 of 11 Public Universities.

Source: Ministerio de Educacion, 2011 – CEUB, 2015



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