

Getting scholarship into policy:
Lessons from university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers

by

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ABSTRACT

There is a documented gap between research-based recommendations produced by university-based scholars in the field of education in the United States and the evidence that U.S. politicians' use when deciding which educational policies to implement or amend. This is a problem because university-based education scholars produce vast quantities of research each year, some of which could, and more importantly should, be useful to politicians in their decision-making processes and yet, politicians continue to make policy decisions about education without the benefit of much of the knowledge that has been gained through scholarly research.

I refer to the small fraction of university-based education scholars who are demonstrably successful at getting scholarly research into the hands of politicians to be used for decision-making purposes as “university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers”. They are distinct from other university-based education scholars in that they engage with politicians from both political parties around research and, as such, are able to use scholarly research to influence the education policymaking process.

The problem that this dissertation addresses is the lack of use, by U.S. politicians, of scholarly research produced by United States university-based education scholars as input in education policy decisions. The way in which this problem is explored is through studying university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers. I focused on three areas for exploration: the methods university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers use to successfully get U.S. politicians to consider scholarly research as an input in their decision-making processes around education policy, how these scholars are different than

the majority of university-based education policy scholars, and how they conceive of the education policy-setting agenda.

What I uncovered in this dissertation is that university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers are a complete sub-group of university-based education scholars. They work above the rigorous promotion and tenure requirements of their home universities in order to use scholarly research to help serve the research needs of politicians. Their engagement is distinct among university-based education scholars and through this dissertation their perspective is presented in participants' own authentic language.

DEDICATION

In honor of Frances Ackman and Margarett Harper
Two women who were under-served by the educational systems of their times

To my family,
biological, surrogate, and betrothed
Ackman, Miller, and Larkins-Ford
I could not have done this without your unconditional love and support
Thank you, from the bottom of my heart

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Context of the Study

There is a documented gap between research-based recommendations produced by university-based scholars in the field of education in the United States and the evidence that U.S. politicians' use when deciding which educational policies to implement or amend (Sundquist, 1978; P. Davies, 2000; Kirst, 2000; Sin, 2008). This is a problem because university-based education scholars produce vast quantities of research each year, some of which could, and more importantly should, be useful to politicians in their decision-making processes – and yet, politicians continue to make policy decisions about education without the benefit of much of the knowledge that has been gained through scholarly research (Conaway, 2013; P. Davies, 2000; Firestone, 1989; Hetrick & Van Horn, 1988).

While most university-based education scholars in the United States never attempt to get research into the hands of U.S. politicians, a small percentage try. Of those who try, not all find success. I refer to the small fraction of university-based education scholars who are demonstrably successful at engaging with politicians with the goal of getting scholarly research into the hands of politicians to be used for decision-making purposes as “university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers”. They are distinct from other people who bring research to politicians (e.g. lobbyists, staffers, think tank researchers, etc.) because ensuring that research is considered in policy is what drives them. As such, the party affiliation of the politician with whom they consult does not matter. They are distinct from other university-based education scholars in that they

engage with politicians from both political parties around research and, as such, are able to use scholarly research to influence the education policymaking process.

The problem that this dissertation addresses is the lack of use, by U.S. politicians, of scholarly research produced by United States university-based education scholars as input in education policy decisions. The way in which this problem is explored is through studying university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers. I focused on three areas for exploration: the methods university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers use to successfully get U.S. politicians to consider scholarly research as an input in their decision-making processes around education policy, how these scholars are different than the majority of university-based education policy scholars, as well as how they conceive of the education policy-setting agenda.

The topic is explored using the qualitative research method of grounded theory. Qualitative methodologies were utilized in both data collection and analysis. Primary data was collected from semi-structured interviews with university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers. Secondary data came in the form of scholarly publications, newspaper, magazine, and university website articles, campaign literature, Race to the Top applications, state and federal education bills, court opinions, copies of presentations made to politicians, university syllabi, transcripts of political speeches, video or audiotaped interviews, state legislature and federal congressional hearings, and minutes from relevant public political meetings in order to provide me with greater insight into the role university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers play in the education policymaking process. The findings of this study are supported by evidence resulting from both deductive and inductive analysis.

This chapter introduces the investigation by describing the background of the study, problem statement, and purpose. It also presents the research questions and design guiding the study. Finally, this chapter addresses the potential contributions of the study and its limitations.

The Gap Between the Culture of Scholars and the Culture of Politicians

In reviewing literature that touches on the topic of why U.S. politicians do not use scholarly research in their decision-making processes – which can be found, in-depth in chapter two – themes that emerge indicate that the underlying reason is a professional culture gap between university-based education scholars and politicians. This professional culture gap has to do with, among other things, how and when information is obtained, verified, and disseminated. University-based education scholars and politicians have dramatically different professional traditions with regard to the communication of information (Caplan, 1979).

When making policy decisions, politicians obtain relevant information mostly from their staff members (Hetrick & Van Horn, 1988; Malen, Murphy, & Geary, 1988; McDonnell, 1988; Weiss, 1989), who themselves gather information – some of which can be conflicting – from multiple interested parties (Marshall, 1988; McDonnell, 1988; Young et. al., 2010). Politicians have many demands on their time and need to obtain information quickly and have it relayed to them under tight deadlines (Ball, 1998; Henig, 2008a; Lutz, 1988; Sin, 2008), thus are deterred from utilizing scholarly research because the lengthy scholarly peer-review process slows down the time when research can be made public (Firestone, 1989; Henig, 2008b). Politicians also need concrete solutions (Conaway, 2013; Nelson, Leffler, & Hansen, 2009; Schwartz & Kardos, 2009) that are

applicable in their local settings (P. Davies, 2000; Rigby, 2005), and often find scholarly publications difficult to understand, and not relevant to the needs of their constituents (H. Davies & Nutley, 2008). Even if university-based education scholars agree on research findings, and they are relevant to a politician's local contexts, varying scholarly interpretations about the findings based on differing theoretical frameworks can render findings unreliable from a politician's perspective and thus of no use (Greene & Peterson, 2000).

The research that produces information in the scholarly professional community is attained through the scientific method; where conducting research consists of positing a theory and then seeking to either disprove that theory or verify it. It takes many months to carry out the research, and on top of that, the culture of university-based education scholars demands that research stands up to the intensive peer review process (Firestone, 1989; Henig, 2008b) in order to be considered for publication and dissemination in a scholarly journal. Additionally, scholarly research conducted in service of gaining information regarding education policy is usually carried out on a specific group of students or a specific program in a specific location for a specified amount of time. This means that, for university-based education scholars, the findings that are drawn from any one study are offered with qualifications (H. Davies & Nutley, 2008) about the potential feasibility in other populations.

Depending on the phrasing of the research questions, as well as the method of analysis, results of research studies can be conflicting. "For every study, statistical or theoretical, that contains a proposed solution or recommendation, there is always another, equally well documented, challenging the assumption or conclusions of the first. No one

seems to agree with anyone else's approach.” (Hunter & Schmidt, 2004 p. 19) The likelihood of conflicting results increases for politically contentious educational issues, such as the quality of education provided by voucher programs or charter schools (Henig, 2009).

In addition to potential challenges to methods or conclusions that university-based education scholars deal with in the course of their research, the traditional promotion and tenure structure utilized by universities does not reward those who intentionally work with politicians to help incorporate research into the policymaking process (Firestone, 1989; Hetrick & Van Horn, 1988; Kirst, 2000; Labaree, 2003; Moses & Saenz, 2008), so there is little motivation for scholars to go above and beyond the already rigorous promotion and tenure requirements in order to help serve the research needs of politicians.

Despite this fact, there are university-based education scholars who are invested in ensuring that scholarly research, their own and that of their peers (Schwartz & Kardos, 2009), is included in the education policymaking process. They accomplish this through bipartisan engagement with politicians (Sundquist, 1978). Some university-based education scholars have taken to creating short written policy briefs (Nelson, Leffler, & Hansen, 2009; Rigby, 2005), while other have opted to engage through university-based education policy centers (Hetrick & Van Horn, 1988; Kirst, 2000; McCarthy, 1990). While their behaviors have been studied, the literature does not explore the motivations of these scholars, or their perception of the education policymaking process.

The subset of university-based education scholars who are using scholarly research to influence politicians in their education policymaking process are successfully

translating scholarly research into a format that politicians can understand and use. Their engagement is distinct in their profession and yet there is an omission of their perspective from the literature. Based on my research, this omission is due to the fact that no one had uncovered this group before now. These individuals do not play the role of an expert witness who comes in and testifies at a political hearing and then leaves; they are scholars who, on top of the rigorous professional expectations of their universities, work to become trusted resources for politicians from both political parties. They are university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers.

The work of these scholars has grown increasingly important in helping bolster the image of universities in recent years, as public funding for higher education has come under fire in media and politics (James, 2013). Media's use of prototypical conceptions of higher education has successfully swayed public opinion (Haas & Fischman, 2009) in favor of cutting civic investment in colleges and universities, which politicians have exploited to cut state budgets in lean economic times. University-based bipartisan scholarship brokers have a distinct advantage in helping to prevent further erosion of public economic support from taxes through their roles as public intellectuals (Said, 1996), potentially leveraging political relationships.

This is role that universities are increasingly recognizing as beneficial and necessary for the survival of brick & mortar universities in the 21st century. For example, at the 2011 American Educational Research Association's (AERA) annual meeting, there was a professional development session titled *How to inform policymakers: a strategic approach for academics*. This session was held with the express purpose of training interested university-based education policy scholars tactics for engaging politicians

through scholarly research (AERA, 2011). The session was set up and supported by the president of the organization, and hosted over thirty people from a wide array of universities around the country and the globe.

At the following year's meeting, the president of AERA dedicated the entirety of her presidential address to the subject of bridging gap between what researchers learn and what actions are being taken in the field of education. She calls this the *knowing-doing gap* (Ball, 2012), and argues that it has been recognized among researchers in many fields, such as medicine, law, and business. Researchers in these fields have not just acknowledged the gap, but have taken steps to close it. She argues that education researchers should be motivated by their successes to take similar action.

“...we know that the knowing-doing gap exists and that it is pervasive across fields and professions. We also know that other fields and professions have made progress in addressing that gap. Knowing this makes us more convinced that we can address the knowing-doing gap in education research as well. But the question remains: How? I propose that first we must acknowledge that the gap exists and then we must *choose* to close the knowing-doing gap...” (Ball, 2012 p 287)

The response to and support for the 2011 session, as well as the 2012 presidential address is indicative of the larger need for focused study of how the culture gap between scholars and politicians can be bridged, including a better understanding of university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers and the role they play in the education policymaking process. What is the role that university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers play in the education policy agenda-setting process for politicians? The importance of understanding their unique role and motivations for bridging the culture gap between scholars and politicians is addressed next.

Problem Statement and Purpose of the Study

Scholarly interest in politicians' use of research in their education policy decisions has ebbed and flowed in the United States since the 1960s, when the first publications on the topic appeared. Given the current national debate around the purposes and usefulness of higher education (Haas & Fischman, 2011) that arose with the sharp economic downturn in 2008, there is a renewed interest in the topic. Scholars across various fields of education agree that the lack of use of scholarly research by politicians is problematic (Conaway, 2013, Ball, 2012; Schwartz & Kardos, 2009) – rarely have scholars gone further to study the problem itself. The few studies that do touch on this topic, explore the problem from the perspective of the politician (Canfield-Davis & Jain, 2010; DeBray, 2005, Henig, 2009), who could use the research, and not the university-based education scholar who should be providing it.

The problem that this dissertation addresses is the lack of use, by U.S. politicians, of scholarly research produced by United States university-based education scholars as input into education policy decisions. This study examines the problem from the perspective of the research provider – the university-based bipartisan scholarship broker – as someone who successfully gets politicians to consider research when they are making education policy decisions.

The purpose of this dissertation is to identify and understand the practices and motivations of university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers in the United States who are repeatedly and directly consulted by U.S. politicians as a source of research for input on setting the political agenda regarding education policymaking decisions. Using snowball sampling (Atkinson & Flint, 2001; Patton, 1990; Schell et. al, 2013; Vogt,

1999), I uncovered the larger group and interviewed a sample. Using grounded theory (Glasser & Strauss, 1967; Dey, 1999; Charmaz, 2006), I developed an understanding of their own perceptions of the role they play in the policymaking process, motivations for why they choose to engage with politicians, and whether they perceive themselves as successful in getting politicians to consider scholarly research as an input into their decisions around education policymaking. Additionally, the study gains insight into their motivations for repeatedly engaging with politicians, and what they believe the professional advantages and challenges are in doing so.

Research Question and Design

This qualitative research study is guided by the following research questions:

1. What events lead university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers to actively engaging with politicians in the education policymaking process?
2. How do university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers conceive of the education policymaking process and their place in the process?
3. What are university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers' motivations for continuing to actively participate with politicians in the education policymaking process?

As previous studies in this topic area have done, I explored answers to these research questions using qualitative methods. The primary method of data collection was through interviews. Participants were identified using the snowball sampling (Atkinson & Flint, 2001; Patton, 1990; Vogt, 1999) method. Most qualitative interview protocols are either semi-structured or unstructured, and the questions are open-ended. The trust of the interviewees is obtained by offering varying levels of anonymity to participants

(Canfield-Davis & Jain, 2010; Henig, 2008a), and structuring interview questions from least-to-most threatening. In this vein, I used a semi-structured, open-ended interview protocol, with strict anonymity and an option of opting-out offered to all participants. To support the information gained through interviews, I gathered supporting artifacts in the form of scholarly publications, newspaper, magazine, and university website articles, campaign literature, Race to the Top applications, state and federal education bills, court opinions, copies of presentations made to politicians, university syllabi, transcripts of political speeches, video or audiotaped interviews, state legislature and federal congressional hearings, and minutes from relevant public political meetings. Supporting artifacts were collected from participants via email as well as from my own independent exploration. An explanation of the data collection and overview of the analysis can be found in chapter three.

Potential Contributions

This qualitative research study intends to make conceptual, methodological, and practical contributions to the field of education policy scholarship. Specifically, this study aims to understand what the traits and motivations are of United States university-based education scholars who engage directly with U.S. politicians, providing them with research and thus impacting the political agenda-setting process. More broadly this study aims to add, with practical suggestions, to the conversation about the way scholarly research is used when politicians are making decisions about education. This is done in chapter four by providing examples of the policy engagement work undertaken by university-based education scholars as well as policy recommendations in chapter five for scholars who are interested in getting research into the hands of politicians.

Chapter 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

In this chapter, I review the literature around the topic of U.S. politicians' research use in crafting education policy. Overall, there was limited scholarship to draw from, as this is not a subject for which any scholar, or set of scholars, has a sustained body of research. To supplement scholarly research, I also reviewed available foundation reports, government documents, and other written materials on this topic. The chapter begins with an overview of the literature that I uncovered, noting the gap that this dissertation addresses, where no published article has examined the topic of politicians' research use from the perspective of the research provider.

Following the overview, this chapter then delves into the literature on politicians' research use in education policymaking, making note of different models of politicians' research use that have been published. In addition to the published models, there are also descriptions of the research needs of politicians and the ways in which the professional structure of academia does not line up well to meet those needs. There is a synthesis of the literature describing various names for those who bring research to politicians – focusing in on the term “broker” which is the most frequently used descriptor found in scholarly research for someone who brings research to politicians. The scholarly interpretation of “broker” was the foundation for my term, university-based bipartisan scholarship broker. While the term “broker” has transformed in the literature over decades to refer to any individual who brings research to politicians, I am using an early interpretation of the term, coined by James Sundquist in 1978 as a person who provides

scholarly research to policymakers in a politically neutral manner (Sundquist, 1978 p. 114). The word that I use to describe politically neutral engagement with politicians is bipartisan. In order to clarify the group under study, I adapt a published model from Dr. Sundquist. Finally, I discuss how my review of the literature informed my dissertation research project.

University-Based Scholars Exploration of Education Policy

There is limited scholarly research to draw from regarding the study of politicians' research utilization in the field of education policy. The few scholars who have conducted research in this area usually use education policymaking as a case study for exploring a political theory, often publishing a book and a few articles from one research study (i.e. DeBray, 2005, 2006; Henig, 2008b, 2009; Mitchell, Marshall, & Wirt, 1985; Wirt, Mitchell, & Marshall, 1985), then abandoning this topic of inquiry. In my review of the literature, I could not find a scholar who has a sustained body of research over time in this subject area.

There are a few scholars who are widely acknowledged for influencing education policy through actively engaging with politicians, but their engagement did not result in a focused research agenda on politicians' research use in education policymaking. Recent examples are Diane Ravitch who worked as the assistant secretary of education under President George H. W. Bush (Ravitch, 2010), and Linda Darling-Hammond who helped to craft president Obama's education policy (Obama, 2008) and who currently sits on the California Board of Teacher Credentialing (Brown, 2013). While these individuals are established scholars who have been actively involved with the creation and implementation of political agenda setting regarding education policy, their scholarly

research in other fields is what informed this work. Dr. Ravitch is an educational historian (Ravitch, 2010) and Dr. Darling-Hammond is an expert on school redesign. Once their work inside politics ended, they went back to conducting research in their respective areas of expertise. Despite having actively provided research to politicians in order to help inform education policy, they did not conduct scholarship on politicians' research utilization.

The one scholar I found who has an established, dedicated scholarly research agenda over decades in the field of education policymaking is Carol Weiss, whose research focuses on politicians' use of the information gathered from program evaluations when making education policy decisions. Outside of her work, the scholars who have explored the topic of research utilization in education policymaking decisions do so only in relation to other subject areas such as charter schools (Henig, 2008a) or federal education policy (Manna, 2006), but never as a topic in and of itself. This has made for a buckshot approach to scholarly research in this field, with publications discussing the challenge of getting scholarly research into the hands of politicians, and pontificating about solutions, but not approaching the issue as a topic in and of itself that is worthy of a dedicated field of scholarly research.

In reviewing scholarly studies, foundation reports, government documents, and other written materials that examine politicians' research utilization in the education policymaking process, I found no instance where the subject of politicians' research utilization was explored from the perspective of the research provider. The extant research focuses on the perspective of the politician. This is a gap in the literature, providing for an incomplete understanding by university-based scholars about politicians'

education policy decision-making processes. For my research, I studied university-based education policy scholars who provide politicians with research and, as such, actively engage in the education policymaking process. In this dissertation I present, in their own words, what they do in this realm as well as their motivations. Additionally, I compare and contrast their perceptions of the policymaking work that they undertake with published models of research utilization in the policymaking process, to see if these models hold from their perspective, or not.

Politicians' Research Use in U.S. Education Policymaking

I begin this section by discussing how scholars came to study politicians' research utilization, then outline the various models of politicians' research utilization that have been developed since the topic was first studied in the 1960s. The names of these models are most often attributed to Carol Weiss, but are not used in any consistent fashion across the literature. As such, similar concepts end up having different names depending on the author. I then discuss the research consumption needs of politicians and how they are different from the way in which university-based scholars are trained to craft and present research. The consequences of these differences are realized when politicians make policy decisions where relevant scholarly research is often chosen only to boost a politician's predetermined point, or eschewed entirely in favor of anecdotal stories from constituents. I close this section by talking about the research that politicians do use in policymaking and how they receive it.

The interest, both of politicians in obtaining research regarding education, and university-based scholars in the study of politicians' research use, originated with the introduction of program evaluation at the federal level in the mid-to-late 1960s. With the

passing of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) in 1965, education policies funded by the federal government required a formal evaluation to ensure that the resulting programs were serving the needs of the underprivileged populations they were designed to help (Lagemann, 1997). After ESEA, most research on education policy focused on program evaluation and its use, or lack thereof, by politicians (Lagemann, 1997; Weiss, 1970).

The earliest recognized model that scholars developed to conceptualize politicians' research use, what Carol Weiss named "the problem-solving model", assumed politicians' research utilization to be strictly logical and linear (Guba & Clark, 1975; Weiss, 1970). This model presumed that once a politician defined an educational policy problem, he then only sought out rigorously conducted, peer-reviewed, politically neutral, research-based information to inform him when trying to resolve said problem. Once the politician obtained research, he rationally interpreted it and formulated a logical policy choice (Weiss, 1977b, 1979).

Scholars who began questioning the problem-solving model were the designers and implementers of politically mandated evaluations who were repeatedly witnessing politicians disregarding their concrete, research-based, findings for political reasons – often the same politicians who called for the evaluation research in the first place (Graff & Christou, 2001; Weiss, 1982). These scholars realized that the problem-solving model failed to incorporate many of the complexities involved in the actual decision-making processes of politicians (Guba & Clark, 1975; Weiss, 1977a). As a result, other models of politicians' research use were developed.

In Carol Weiss' 1979 article, *The Many Meanings of Research Utilization*, the problem-solving model, as well as six other models that are used for understanding how political actors use research in policymaking, were eloquently synopsisized and named.

The seven models are:

- The knowledge driven model – which is most prevalent in the physical sciences. “It assumes the following sequence of events: basic research → applied research → development → application... The assumption is that the sheer fact that knowledge exists presses it toward development and use.” (Weiss, 1979 p. 427)
- The problem-solving model – the expectation that politicians should directly apply, and only consider, peer-reviewed, scholarly research in their policy decisions. “The process follows this sequence: definition of pending decision → identification of missing knowledge → acquisition of social science research → interpretation of the research for the decision context → policy choice.” (ibid, p. 428)
- The interactive model – when university-based scholarly research is considered one type of evidence among many types politicians consider in the policymaking process.
- The political model – when research is selectively used to bolster the point being made by a politician.
- The tactical model – when the mere claim that research is being conducted is used to defend and legitimize a policy issue.
- The enlightenment model – when social science research, over time, helps shape public discourse, eventually influencing politicians' decisions in order to appease constituencies.
- Research as part of the intellectual enterprise of the society, when “social science and policy interact, influencing each other and being influenced by the larger fashions of social thought.” (ibid, p. 430)

Another model for politicians' research use, developed by Elizabeth Rigby, presents the circumstances under which different models of politicians' research utilization are likely to occur. This model can be found in Figure 1. The publication of Rigby's article exemplifies the lack of consistency in published research on the topic of politicians' research use. While using many of the same models outlined by Carol Weiss, Rigby attributes different names to the models and Weiss' work is not built on, or even discussed. Rigby's term, concrete-substantive is the same concept as Weiss' problem-solving model. Rigby's term, accumulation of knowledge is the same concept as Weiss' interactive model. Rigby's term, support for pre-determined policy positions, is the same concept as Weiss' political model. Rigby, with this model, is in many ways building on the scholarly research put forward by Carol Weiss, but because Rigby does not consult or reference Weiss' research, the model that she puts forward uses different terminology to present concepts that have already been published.

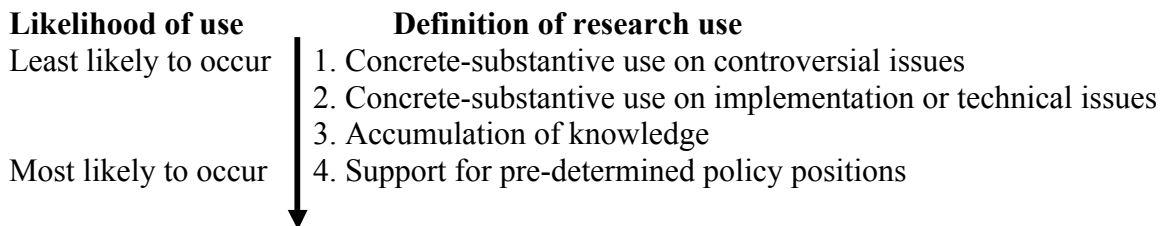


Figure 1. Rigby's (2005) Different definitions of research use held by research brokers.

In looking through various models of research utilization, Weiss' problem-solving model (which is the same concept as Rigby's concrete-substantive model) – where politicians take scholarly research recommendations and follow them exactly when crafting policy – appears to be the one university-based scholars expect politicians to follow, despite the fact that both practical experience and scholarly research in this field have shown this model to be unfeasible in practice (Conaway, 2013; Firestone, 1989;

Hird, 2005; Postlethwaite, 1986; Rigby, 2005; Weiss, 1979). This lack of understanding on the part of university-based scholars about how politicians use research indicates the lack of a consistent vein of scholarly research in this field.

There are many aspects of scholarly professional culture that make utilization of scholarly research challenging for politicians. Importantly, the traditional promotion and tenure structure utilized by universities does not reward those who intentionally work with politicians to help incorporate research into the policymaking process (Firestone, 1989; Hetrick & Van Horn, 1988; Kirst, 2000; Labaree, 2003; Levin, 2004), so there is little motivation for scholars to go beyond the already rigorous promotion and tenure requirements in order to help serve the research needs of politicians. There are myriad ways in which university culture and priorities are very different from those of government (Caplan, 1979; Kruzel, 1994; Schwartz & Kardos, 2009). There is a gap between what politicians want out of research and what university-based scholars produce (Ball, 2012; P. Davies, 2000; Postlethwaite, 1986; Weiss, 1982) with regard to concrete and actionable recommendations that politicians can use. University-based scholarly research tends to be produced slowly (P. Davies, 2000; Labaree, 2003), without concrete solutions (Conaway, 2013; Banfield, 1980; Weiss, 1977b) because that is the type of research that will be professionally rewarded with scholarly publications and tenure advancement (Firestone, 1989; Kirst, 2000). In contrast, politicians need to receive research results within a short timeframe (Firestone, 1989; Kingdon, 2011; Schwartz & Kardos, 2009), have it be locally relevant (Conaway, 2013; Nelson, Leffler, & Hansen, 2009) and jargon-free (McCarthy, 1990;) because they are balancing many issues, including constituent concerns and cost (Lutz, 1988; Weiss, 1989).

This gap between the research published in peer-reviewed journals by university-based scholars who study education policy and politicians' decision-making processes is problematic because politicians continue to make major education policy decisions without the benefit of relevant scholarly research. The problems inherent in the gap will continue unless scholars take steps to translate their research into terms that politicians can use (Rigby, 2005; Schwartz & Kardos, 2009; Weiss, 1979). An occasional scholarly chapter or article has suggested concrete steps, such as synthesizing findings or paying attention to the timing of the political cycle, so that university-based scholars can make their research more easily digestible by politicians (Henig, 2008a; Moses & Saenz, 2008; Rigby, 2005; Schwartz & Kardos, 2009; Weiss, 1979), but most university-based scholars do not follow through on these recommendations to try and get research into the hands of politicians. Those who do, still find very little success in actually influencing politicians around U.S. education policy.

It is unfortunate that university-based education scholars have little success in getting politicians to consider scholarly research in their education policy decision-making processes because peer-reviewed scholarly research can be very useful to politicians. In a field as politically tenuous as education policy (Henig, 2008a), politicians need to be able to turn to neutral analyses in order to understand the impact of potential policy decisions. Peer reviewed scholarly research is most likely to be a rigorously studied, politically neutral source of information because of the blind peer-review process that scholars must go through in order to have their research published. Other research, such as that from nonprofits, think tanks, or professional research firms is not subject to the same level of scrutiny and approval prior to publication – but research from each of

those groups is more likely to be translated into a format politicians' can utilize – as such, it ends up being more likely used as a source of information for the politician who is making education policy decisions (H. Davies & Nutley, 2008). For all the work that university-based education scholars put into researching, writing, and making recommendations, it is bewildering that most do not take the extra step to translate their published work into language that politicians can use.

The information that politicians use as evidence in their decision-making processes is obtained mostly from their staffs (Hetrick & Van Horn, 1988; Malen, Murphy, & Geary, 1988; McDonnell, 1988; Weiss, 1989). When research is referenced, it is because staffs collect research according to Carol Weiss' political model, citing only studies that bolster their politician's previously held stance on an issue (Weiss, 1979). For politicians, research is always secondary to constituent opinion, which often informs politicians through anecdotal stories (Firestone, 1989; Hamilton, 2000; Weiss, 1989). These anecdotal stories are useful to politicians because they are easy to understand and can be used in speeches to help bolster a point.

Politicians are more likely to look to research for guidance in the policymaking process at the implementation level, once a law has passed and policy decisions need to be made. For example, specific details about funding distribution or specific requirements for a legally mandated program are more likely to be based on research than the information that is used as input into the creation of a law pertaining to education (Caplan, 1979; Rigby, 2005; Weiss, 1989).

Despite an appreciation of the potential utility of research, politicians rarely have the time to read even short research documents, preferring to have someone communicate

the ideas to them verbally (Kruzel, 1994; Weiss, 1989). They also like to know where the research comes from because politicians believe that, if they know the political leanings of the source of the research, they can gauge how to interpret it (Schwartz & Kardos, 2009; Weiss, 1989). This way of understanding the world makes the use of university-based, peer-reviewed, scholarly research as a form of evidence even less likely for politicians because they “assume that academics, like everyone else, are pushing their own political values, but since they don’t know what these are, they can’t compensate for them.” (Weiss, 1989 p. 420)

Politicians appreciate research when it is presented to them in a simplistic fashion (Weiss, 1989), which is essentially the opposite of what university-based scholars are trained to do (Labaree, 2003). Because of the conflict between the “oral tradition” of politics (Weiss, 1989) and the “written tradition” of university-based scholarly research, university-based scholars are ill equipped to serve the evidential needs of politicians. To fill this void, think tanks and policy interest groups have increased in relevance in the field of education policy, managing to successfully market their research in a form that is appealing to politicians (Haas, 2004).

Some right wing advocacy think tanks have successfully used mainstream media to get market-based concepts regarding education – stemming from scholarly research in the field of economics – into public discourse and on politicians’ agendas (Spring, 2010; Haas, 2004). This was done over two decades through strategic use of “the enlightenment function” of research (Weiss, 1979), using economic arguments presented through media over many years to influence public discourse, with the goal of eventually influencing politicians. Chester Finn and Diane Ravitch, two academics cum politicians; both former

Assistant Secretaries of Education under Ronald Regan, as well as founding members of the conservative Fordham Foundation, are prime examples of individuals who used media to push their politically conservative agenda, publishing articles in professional education journals – not scholarly ones – as well as contributing to the op-ed page of the New York Times (Haas, 2004; Spring, 2010) with the expressed intent of using research to influence politics by way of popular media.

This campaign was successful. At the federal level, conservative economic research in education policymaking was apparent during the Congressional negotiation of the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) law. Much of the research was presented to members of Congress by way of congressional hearings (DeBray, 2006; Manna & Petrilli, 2008). Fewer than twenty percent of the witnesses who presented research to Congress during the hearings were actually researchers themselves. Of those who were researchers, slightly more than half were from a university, with the rest coming from think tanks and professional research firms. Of the eight research-affiliated witnesses who appeared most frequently, only three were scholars affiliated with universities, and of those three only one was associated with a college of education – that one being Diane Ravitch, the former Assistant Secretary of Education under President Reagan (Manna & Petrilli, 2008).

The research presented during NCLB hearings was mostly partisan and advocating for market-based strategies for schooling. Little of the research was scholarly, and almost none of it came from peer-reviewed journals. As such, the research that was consulted in the creation of NCLB was not comprehensive, and thus likely biased. An important element in choosing the research that members of Congress relied on during

the creation of NCLB was who was presenting it. Politicians are more likely to welcome research from trusted sources (Sin, 2008; Weiss, 1989). Members of Congress, when considering this bill, deemed these eight researchers – again only three of who were university-based scholars – to be trusted sources. It was not relevant to the politicians whether or not the research that was being presented was high-caliber or peer-reviewed.

Conceptions of Policymaking and Brokers

Overview

To begin this section, I introduce scholarly descriptions of the individuals that bring research to politicians, most often called research brokers, or just *brokers*. Concepts of who these individuals are and where they are housed have shifted since they were originally written about. According to the first published model of their role in research dissemination to politicians, brokers obtain their research from academic intermediaries who are housed at universities (Florio, Behrmann, & Goltz, 1979; Sundquist, 1978). While academic intermediaries do important work synthesizing research, they are not the ones who convey findings to politicians; brokers fill that role (Rigby, 2005; Sundquist, 1978).

Ever since the “research broker” role was named, scholars have called for more of them to be intentionally trained at universities, with one article calling for the training of specific *educational* research brokers to work for the federal government (Florio, Behrmann, & Goltz, 1979). Next, I discuss the attempts that university-based scholars have made at educational research brokerage through the creation of university-based education policy centers – the most recognized of which is the Policy Analysis for California Education (PACE) center. I end by briefly noting that recent conceptions of

research brokers in scholarly literature have shifted from the politically neutral model to one that is more partisan.

Brokers

Individuals that provide research to politicians are most often referred to in the literature as *brokers*. Brokers are primarily responsible for translating ideas uncovered through research into a format that is useful to politicians and their staffs (Florio, Behrman & Golt, 1979; Hetrick & Van Horn, 1988; Lynn, 1999; Lynn, 2001; Stone, 2002). Some job titles of brokers are: lobbyists, think tank researchers, non-profit advocates, government employees, other politicians, and occasionally university-based scholars (Nutley, Walter & Davies, 2007; Phipps & Morton, 2013; Rigby, 2005). There is little consistency across the literature about the role these individuals play in the policymaking process, where they are housed professionally, and how they transit knowledge between the university-based scholars who examine policy and the politicians who make policy.

The original concept of the research broker is attributed to James L. Sundquist in a chapter he wrote titled *Research Brokerage: the Weak Link*, in 1978. He claims that the primary task of the research broker is to compile synthesized scholarly research from varying perspectives on a given topic, and then present it in a user-friendly format to the relevant politician. The research is presented in a manner as value-neutral as possible (Sundquist, 1978), and is offered to all interested policymakers regardless of political party or affiliation. Sundquist delineates a clear vision of the research broker's place in the policymaking process: information produced by university-based scholarly researchers is gathered and synthesized by academic intermediaries, then turned over to

research brokers, who in turn use it to inform politicians. “The research broker is the participant who is responsible for serving as the conduit for the flow of social science information into the policymaking process.” (Sundquist, 1978 p. 131) This model can be found in Figure 2.

As with the title research broker, Sundquist had a specific name for someone housed at a university who can synthesize scholarly research for a research broker – an academic intermediary. In Sundquist's conception of the flow of research information from general university-based scholar to politician, academic intermediaries are the second step. They are scholars who

are men or women within a discipline who have a flair for interpreting, in nontechnical or at least semitechnical language, the technical findings of their colleagues, and who make it their business to do so. They do original research as well, probably, but the findings of their own direct investigations form a small part of the information they assemble and present to the world at large. (Sundquist, 1978 p. 128)

Academic intermediaries serve their discipline by synthesizing findings, their own as well as those of others, and getting them into the hands of research brokers, who will use the information to influence politicians from both political parties in their decision-making processes.

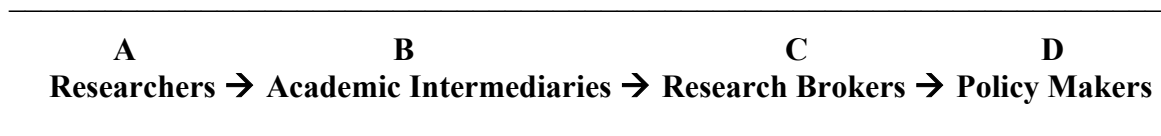


Figure 2. Sundquist’s (1978) model of the research dissemination process.

In this model, research brokers are government employees who work in the general bureaucracy or for a specific politician, and policy makers are politicians who set the political agenda. As the concept of “broker” has grown in the literature since 1978, the

idea of a broker as a government employee has been largely disregarded. Recent depictions of brokers describe individuals who work almost solely in fields affiliated with government – such as lobbyists, think tank researchers, or policy analysts (Nutley, Walter & Davies, 2007; Rigby, 2005) – not government employees.

The main point of Sundquist’s chapter is that the breakdown in the process of getting research into the hands of politicians is due to poor research brokerage, which is defined as an insufficient number of individuals dedicated to the role. Because of this problem, he concludes that there is a need for universities to create programs with the express purpose of training bipartisan research brokers. Those who could be trained in this new discipline would not be expected to become politicians themselves, but would dedicate their careers to the “importance of maintaining a flow of facts and interpretation from the world of research to the world of [political] action...” (Sundquist, 1978 p. 144)

An adapted version of Sundquist’s model served as the prototype for my participant group, which is shown in Figure 3. Specifically it is Sundquist’s conception of the politically neutral, or bipartisan, nature of the work that these individuals undertake that influenced whom I sought to interview.

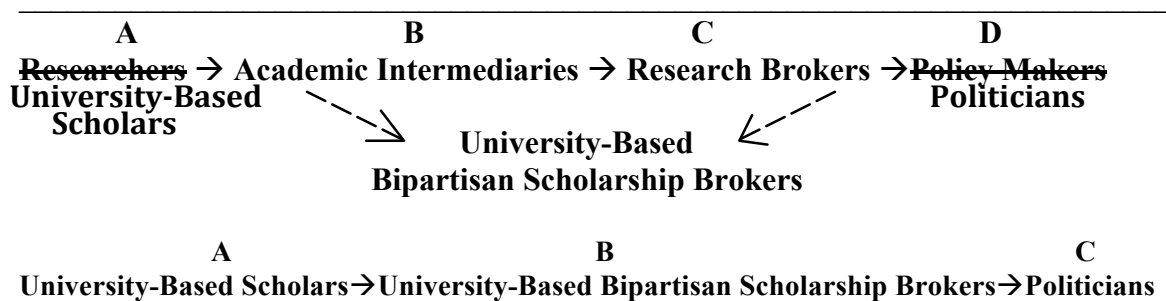


Figure 3. Adaptation of Sundquist’s model to identify university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers.

Around the same time Sundquist's chapter was released, an article was published proposing a series of solutions specific to the problem of weak educational research brokerage. Much like Sundquist, these authors call for universities to train research brokers who will then be embedded in government. The authors argue that among congressional staff and dedicated governmental research organizations, there are only a few individuals who are knowledgeable about education policy research findings and are able to get this information into the hands of politicians for utilization in the policymaking process (Florio, Behrman, & Goltz, 1979). Because there are so few of these individuals, but their role is so significant to education policy, the authors argue that a concerted effort needs to be made to increase their numbers.

Specific recommendations for the training of research brokers include learning to take into account practical challenges that politicians balance in the policymaking process (such as the cost and timeliness of policy implementation), while attempting to be as unbiased as possible regarding the research they present. They put the task of increasing the production and training of these brokers primarily on the shoulders of universities. Institutions, they argue, that could improve their standing with politicians by increasing the number of research brokers embedded in government because politicians see both scholarly publications in the field of social science and the university-based scholars who produce them as "unreliable and not policy relevant." (Florio, Behrman, & Goltz, 1979 p. 69) These calls to intentionally create research brokers at universities were never realized, and as such they are still reiterated in scholarly writing 30 years later (Schwartz & Kardos, 2009).

The literature claims that scholars who undertake the role of research brokers are bridging the gap between scholarly research and policymaking by fostering politicians' trust, as well as their understanding of how university-based scholarly research can be of value in the policymaking process (Hetrick & Van Horn, 1988; McDonnell, 1988; Rigby, 2005). Scholars who fill this role have to make a concerted effort to provide research in a timeframe and format that is actually useful to politicians (P. Davies, 2000; Firestone, 1989; Postlewaite, 1986, Schwartz & Kardos, 2009) in addition to the demanding promotion and tenure requirements that are an inherent part of being housed at a university. In order to meet the research needs of politicians, they also need to provide other scholars' research in conjunction with their own (Florio, Behrmann, & Goltz, 1979; McDonnell, 1988; Sundquist, 1978) to show a balanced perspective. While there are no studies of these individuals, their potential to encourage politicians to use research in their education policy decision-making processes is heralded (Saunders, 2007; Stone, 2002).

Some university-based scholars have made attempts at research brokerage through the founding of university-based education policy centers. "By serving as [research] brokers – connecting the providers (universities) with consumers (politicians and educators) – university-based education policy centers can create a more visible role for the university in the state policy community." (McCarthy, 1990 p. 25) Today, there are university-based education policy centers in almost every state. Most of these centers are housed at public universities, and attempt to conduct research on issues pertinent to their state's unique education context. Because these policy centers seek to impact "the state policy community" and not politicians specifically, many of them end up focusing

their research on issues pertinent to local school districts (McCarthy, 1990; Hall, 2005) and do not end up working with politicians.

One university-based education policy center that has successfully served in a research brokerage capacity to state politicians is the Policy Analysis for California Education (PACE) center, founded in 1983. It was originally housed at both the University of California at Berkeley and Stanford University, and has expanded to include the University of Southern California (PACE, 2011). The PACE center uses research to engage with politicians on all subjects that relate to public education and child well-being (Kirst, 2000; Schwartz & Kardos, 2009). PACE has been able to maintain its credible research brokerage status with politicians because many of the scholars who are affiliated with the center have experience working in California government. Thus, they bring with them the “knowledge of how state government works, and the ability to empathise with government officials...” (Kirst, 2000 p. 383)

The scholars who work with PACE parlay this knowledge by purposefully constructing “issue networks” of various stakeholders on a given policy issue in order to dispense relevant information to politicians and the public via multiple channels. This information is disseminated in formats and language that are easy for politicians to understand and relevant to the policymaker’s context. Additionally, PACE engages in an ongoing dialogue with researchers and policymakers to assess the needs of both groups in order to maintain a successful brokerage relationship (Kirst, 2000; Schwartz & Kardos, 2009). PACE is fortunate enough to remain independently funded by the Hewlett foundation, so researchers do not have to be concerned about a cut in funding as a potential reprisal for a politically disparaging report (Schwartz & Kardos, 2009).

While PACE is considered notable and well respected in academic circles, there is very little published in scholarly journals about the work that they do. There is scholarly research that stems from their work, but descriptions of how they engage with politicians surrounding education policymaking are nonexistent, except for one article published by the then-director (now the president of California's state board of education) in 2000 (Kirst, 2000). That article, interestingly enough, was published in the *Oxford Review of Education*, a journal from the United Kingdom. Publishing in a journal that is targeted to audiences outside of the United States indicates that there has not been much interest from scholars in the United States in studying how politicians use research in their education policy decision-making processes.

While many university-based education policy centers claim to have policy impact as a central tenet of their mandate, most end up just becoming another venue for university-based scholars to talk to each other about research on perceived policy problems (Levin, 2004), instead of a means for disseminating the research to politicians who can make use of it. For those university-based education policy centers that are successfully disseminating research to politicians, there is no record in the scholarly literature of how or why this happens, and importantly for my study, who is involved in the process. What is repeatedly discussed in the literature is the dearth of individuals who can serve in a research brokerage capacity, and a strong need for their presence (Lester, 1993; McDonnell, 1988; Saunders, 2007; Weiss, 1978).

There are still occasional calls for neutral policy analysis (Phipps & Morton, 2013; Rigby, 2005; Saunders, 2007), to be provided to politicians by a politically neutral research broker (Lynn, 2001; Stone, 2002; Sundquist, 1978), but for the most part, more

recent conceptualizations of research brokers have shifted to a partisan model of an individual who provides research for politicians to reinforce already politically partisan beliefs (Ball, 2012; Goldhaber & Brewer, 2008; Rigby, 2005; Stone, 2002).

Conclusion

Through a review of the literature, I learned that there is not one scholar, or set of scholars, who have consistently studied how U.S. politicians use research when making decisions surrounding education policy. As a result, the descriptive terms that are offered when scholars produce models of politicians' research use are varied, even when the concepts being discussed are the same. Despite this variation, there are still themes that arose from the literature, such as the difference in cultures between the professional cultures of university-based education scholars and politicians.

Specific examples of the differences in culture are the differences in timing for when politicians need research as compared with when scholars produce it (Firestone, 1989), the length and robustness of scholarly writing as compared with politicians' need for brief synopsis documents (Kingdon, 2011; Schwartz & Kardos, 2009), and the caveats or parameters that scholars put on their research, making very precise claims that can only be attributed to the population and timeframe under study as compared with politicians' need for answers that are applicable in a broader context (Ball, 2012; P. Davies, 2000; Postlethwaite, 1986; Weiss, 1982). There is also the fact that university-based scholars are not rewarded professionally through the tenure structure for intentionally working with politicians to help incorporate scholarly research into the policymaking process (Firestone, 1989). These cultural differences, as well as others that were illustrated in this chapter, serve as an explanation for why politicians do not use

scholarly research when they make education policy decisions and a reason for why university-based education scholars do not try to provide politicians with scholarly research to help shape education policy.

The literature provided the concept of a *broker*, someone who translates ideas uncovered through research into a format that is useful to politicians (Florio, Behrman & Golt, 1979; Hetrick & Van Horn, 1988; Lynn, 1999; Lynn, 2001; Stone, 2002). The title and description of “broker” can be attributed to individuals in a number of professions, as well as education policy centers, which are university-based organizations whose goal is to use scholarly research to influence education policy. The end of my review of the literature discusses how the original concept of a broker that was politically neutral has evolved into the concept of broker being a partisan role. More recent publications that discuss brokers, show them providing politicians with data along the political model (Weiss, 1979) only selecting research that will bolster the pre-determined partisan stance of a politician (Ball, 2012; Goldhaber & Brewer, 2008; Rigby, 2005; Stone, 2002).

The idea that modern-day brokers are solely partisan is what inspired this study. The concept of a broker as someone who provides politicians with research in a bipartisan fashion is essential to my study; even to the name that I created for the group studied in this dissertation, university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers. I knew that there were university-based education scholars who were acting as brokers of scholarly research in a bipartisan fashion and in reviewing the literature it became obvious to me that the omission of their perspective from the literature was an important oversight that needed correcting.

In the next chapter I detail the qualitative research design methods that I used to study this group. Because this group is one that has not been studied previously, snowball sampling (Atkinson & Flint, 2001; Patton, 1990; Vogt, 1999) was used to uncover the group and recruit participants for interviews. Participant interviews were transcribed and triangulated with other data for analysis using coding and analysis techniques from grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Adapting James Sundquist's theory regarding the way in which scholarly research gets into the hands of politicians, I outline in the next chapter the traits of university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers that I sought when embarking on this study.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Phenomenon

The phenomenon this study is exploring, broadly, is how and when politicians use scholarly research in their decision-making processes when crafting education policy. Specifically, this study explores the phenomenon from the perspective of one set of individuals who bring scholarly research to politicians. Of the few studies that were found during review of the literature that explore this phenomenon of politicians’ research utilization in the education policymaking process, each explored this topic from the politician’s perspective. This study adds to the literature by exploring this phenomenon from the perspective of the research providers.

Population

James Sundquist presented a visual for his theory of the path scholarly research takes as it makes its way from university-based scholar to politician.

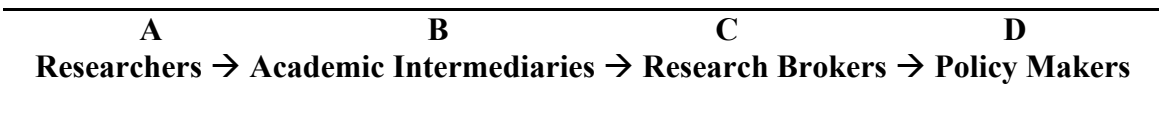


Figure 2. Sundquist’s (1978) model of the research dissemination process.

For my proposed research, I have updated this visual to focus on the participant sample that I uncovered.

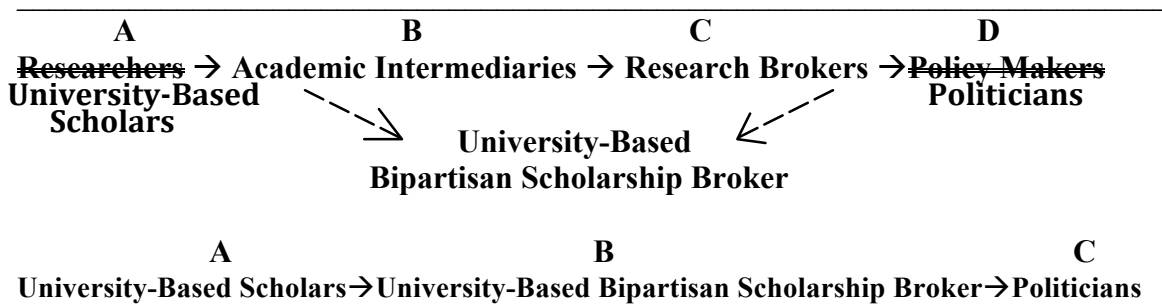


Figure 3. Adaptation of Sundquist’s model to identify university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers.

University-based bipartisan scholarship brokers are the group I pulled from for my participant sample. These scholars are actively engaged in conducting research and producing scholarship. In addition to the traditional professional activities of tenure-track professors that they engage in both at their home universities and within the scholarly community, they choose to build relationships with and help serve the research needs of elected politicians. They are not asked for scholarly research just once, as an “expert witness” at a public political hearing, the university-based bipartisan scholarship broker provides research-based information to politicians repeatedly, across the political aisle, and does so during the agenda-setting process as well as during policy creation and implementation.

Other scholars, who are aware of their work, acknowledge that university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers are distinct because the work of engaging with politicians to help incorporate scholarly research into the policymaking process is not traditionally rewarded for university-based education scholars on a tenure track. In some cases, university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers were able to acknowledge fellow scholars at other universities who fill this role. The university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers

who are able to acknowledge which other university-based education scholars are their peers in this work, are mostly aware of each other through work with university education policy centers.

The specific qualities that describe a university-based bipartisan scholarship broker are:

1. S/he is tenure-track at a university.
 - a. This trait distinguishes bipartisan scholarship brokers from other university-based education scholars because tenure-track university-based education scholars are not expected to be a source of research for politicians as part of the professional requirements of a university's tenure expectations.
2. S/he consults with more than one elected politician, face-to-face on a regular basis, and does so across party lines.
 - a. This is a characteristic of a bipartisan scholarship brokers taken from Sundquist's vision of a Research Broker (Sundquist, 1978). In order to be credible as a neutral provider of policy research, services must be offered to, and accepted by, elected officials from both political parties.
3. The politicians with whom s/he consults are elected officials at the state or federal level for whom education is only one of the policy issues to contend with.
 - a. This is important because literature states that elected officials pay greater attention to constituent opinion than research (Hamilton, 2000; Weiss, 1989). As such, it is a feat for scholars to get them to consider scholarship in their decision-making processes.

A few universities housed more than one bipartisan scholarship broker. Interviewing one person at a given university did not preclude me from interviewing another. Each time I received the name of a potential interviewee for my participant sample, I collected background information about the type of work this scholar does, both in the university-based scholarly community and the political realm, before approaching him/her for an interview.

Qualitative Methodology

Based on what I have learned from my review of the literature, qualitative data-collection and analysis is the best way to answer my proposed research questions. The first step I took was to uncover the group of university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers, utilizing the snowball technique of data collection by reaching out to university-based education scholars and asking if they know anyone who they would fit the description of a possible participant for my research study. With grounded theory, my chosen method of data analysis, the researcher is expected to collect data while simultaneously conducting data analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Dey, 1999; Charmaz, 2006). As such, my analysis began after conducting my second interview because I wanted to have a minimum of two for comparison.

I used the standard qualitative data gathering technique of interviewing subjects (Miles & Huberman, 1994), specifically utilizing intensive interviewing (Charmaz, 2006) through an open-ended interview protocol. I chose an open-ended interview protocol because it is the method used by previous studies of politicians' research utilization (Henig, 2008a; DeBray, 2006; Weiss, 1989). I recorded interviews using a digital recorder and transcribed the interviews, using EZ Scribe software. In order to corroborate

what I learned through interviews, I gathered supporting artifacts (Dey, 1999; Manna, 2006) in the form of scholarly publications, newspaper, magazine, and university website articles, campaign literature, Race to the Top applications, state and federal education bills, court opinions, copies of presentations made to politicians, university syllabi, transcripts of political speeches, video or audiotaped interviews, state legislature and federal congressional hearings, and minutes from relevant public political meetings. Table 1 is a General Coding Matrix (Scott, 2004) outlining the tools, permissions, and sources of data that were utilized in carrying out the study itself as well as the qualitative analysis.

Table 1

General Conditional Matrix to Explore Phenomenon

General Concepts	Items Needed to Conduct Study on University-Based Bipartisan Scholarship Brokers
Methodology	Grounded theory to uncover and analyze phenomenon
Snowball Sample	University-based Education Scholars at U.S. Universities
Primary Data Source	Interviews
Secondary Data Sources	Scholarly publications, newspaper, magazine, and university website articles, campaign literature, Race to the Top applications, state and federal education bills, court opinions, copies of presentations made to politicians, university syllabi, transcripts of political speeches, video or audiotaped interviews, state legislature and federal congressional hearings, and minutes from relevant public political meetings
IRB Permission	Collaborative Institutional Training Initiative (CITI) was completed and Institutional Review Board permission was obtained from Arizona State University
Field Equipment	Digital recorder, telephone, and a laptop computer

While there is no indication that grounded theory was used in any previous research study that explored politicians' research utilization, none of the studies sought to examine the topic from the perspective of the research provider. Previous studies of politicians' research utilization regarding policy decisions most often used education as a case study (e.g. DeBray, 2006 & Henig, 2008a) for exploring a predetermined policy theory. "Grounded theory is a good design to use when a theory is not available to explain or understand a process. The literature may have models available, but they were developed and tested on samples and populations other than those of interest to the qualitative researcher." (Creswell, 2012 p. 88) This is why I opted for grounded theory. It allowed me to come up with my own models and theories surrounding the work that university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers do, as well as their own conceptions of the role they play in the education policymaking process.

Coding & Analysis

I used grounded theory to analyze the data that I collected. Grounded theory analysis emerged as a research method with the innovative idea that research should not be collected "based on a preconceived theoretical framework" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967 p. 45), but instead should identify a general problem that is worthy of scholarly exploration. Then, only after identifying the research topic, will appropriate sites emerge where that problem can be studied (Dey, 1999). This method is well suited to my empirical study because in my review of the literature, I did not find a theory that touches on the perceptions and work of university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers and their role in the education policymaking process. My analytical use of grounded theory is discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

Interviews conducted for the study were transcribed and built into a data set that was continually analyzed for patterns as it grew (Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Glaser & Strauss, 1967), using open coding to form initial categories (Creswell, 1998) and then an axial theme (Charmaz, 2006). The axial theme “holds the most conceptual interest, is most frequently discussed by study participants, and is most ‘saturated’ with information” (Creswell, 1998 pp. 150–151). After each interview, a memo was written to be included as a source of data as well. In grounded theory, memo writing is a method of exploring data early on in the analysis process. “Memos catch your thoughts, capture the comparisons and connections you make, and crystallize questions and directions for you to pursue.” (Charmaz, 2006 p. 72) My memos recorded insights that were uncovered through each interview.

Themes and sub-themes were coded from the transcripts during constant comparison analysis (Charmaz, 2006; Glaser, 1967; Corbin & Strauss, 1990, 1998). Constant comparison is an element of grounded theory whereby the researcher is constantly looking at all available data for themes, even as additional data is being collected. These data were organized into themes and categories until the saturation point, meaning that no new themes emerged.

Transcripts of interviews and the memos were triangulated with supporting documents and artifacts that I collected for the purpose of corroboration. Examples of documents and artifacts for my purposes are of scholarly publications, newspaper, magazine, and university website articles, campaign literature, Race to the Top applications, state and federal education bills, court opinions, copies of presentations made to politicians, university syllabi, transcripts of political speeches, video or

audiotaped interviews, state legislature and federal congressional hearings, and minutes from relevant public political meetings.

After open coding had uncovered categories, axial coding was used to develop a central theme. “Axial coding aims to link categories with subcategories, and asks how they are related.” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 61) The theme that was central to all the interviews was “impact”. Participants articulated that they believe the work they do as university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers is the only way to guarantee that scholarly research will have impact on education policy. After axial coding, I engaged in selective coding to identify the significant elements for my study. I asked “when, where, why, who, how, and... what” (Corbin & Strauss as cited in Charmaz, 2006, p. 60). While Corbin & Strauss suggest that these themes should be used in a conceptual and not descriptive fashion, I found that these five categories, organized in my analysis as “who, where what, when, why, how”, did a fantastic job of categorizing and explaining my findings in both a conceptual and descriptive manner. During data compilation, organization, and analysis I utilized the qualitative analysis software Atlas.ti, which is organized around the principles of grounded theory.

DATA COLLECTION

Snowball Sampling

In order to find my group to study I utilized the snowball sampling method (Atkinson & Flint, 2001; Patton, 1990; Vogt, 1999). This method is also referred to as chain sampling (Atkinson & Flint, 2001; Patton, 1990), but in this paper the term “snowball sampling” will be used as that is the term that has been utilized in previous studies exploring politicians research use (DeBray, 2006 Weiss, 1989; Manna, 2006).

Snowball sampling can be applied for two primary purposes. Firstly, and most easily, as an ‘informal’ method to reach a target population. If the aim of a study is primarily explorative, qualitative and descriptive, then snowball sampling offers practical advantages (Hendricks, Blanken and Adriaans, 1992). Snowball sampling is used most frequently to conduct qualitative research, primarily through interviews. Secondly, snowball sampling may be applied as a more formal methodology for making inferences about a population of individuals who have been difficult to enumerate... (Atkinson & Flint, 2001)

I utilized snowball sampling by reaching out to university-based education scholars, describing my study, and asking “do you know of anyone who might qualify?” Snowball sampling is useful when uncovering hidden populations (Vogt, 1999) – which I was doing with this study, as the group of university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers is not one that has ever been identified or explored through scholarship.

[T]he main value of snowball sampling is as a method for obtaining respondents where... some degree of trust is required to initiate contact. Under these circumstances, techniques of ‘chain referral’ may imbue the researcher with characteristics associated with being an insider or group member and this can aid entry to settings where conventional approaches find it difficult to succeed. (Atkinson & Flint, 2001)

I used “characteristics associated with being an insider or group member” (ibid) specifically when conducting snowball sampling by utilizing the name of the person who had given the referral in the subject line of the email that I sent to potential participants. University-based education scholars are extremely busy people and I believe that referencing someone with whom they have a previous relationship when reaching out helped increase my response rate.

Participants

I have been a student at three different graduate colleges of education, with a research fellowship at a fourth. As such, I began uncovering my group under study by tapping into a network of university-based education scholars with whom I had

relationships. The majority of university-based education scholars who I initially contacted to find participants for my study are professors or graduates from the colleges of education at The University of Georgia, Teachers College at Columbia University, Mary-Lou Fulton Teachers College at Arizona State University, and Harvard Graduate School of Education. I reached out to these university-based education scholars mostly through e-mail and occasionally through individual conversations on the phone and in person. I sought names of other university-based education scholars whom they thought would qualify. I followed up on every name that was given to me. In order to try and secure a high response rate, I sent introductory emails to individuals who were recommended a minimum of three times in order to solicit a response.

In addition to the network of university-based education scholars to whom I reached out based on my own past relationships, I also did an Internet search for education policy centers. For any center that was housed at a university, I emailed the director and assistant director to see if they could provide me with names of possible participants for my study. The email sent to initial contacts can be found in Appendix A.

The term “snowball” felt very appropriate for this form of data collection, as I amassed communications with over one hundred and forty university-based education scholars. Through this, I uncovered over thirty university based bipartisan scholarship brokers, twenty-two of whom were willing to be participants in my study. For each person interviewed, background research was conducted both before and after the interview, on their publications, tenure status, mentions in the newspaper or other forms of media, Congressional and legislative hearings, or any other pertinent documentation in order to prepare for interviews and verify the claims made by participants.

Occasionally, university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers have been interviewed for scholarly research regarding politicians' research utilization, but in each book or article that I found, they were only one element of a participant sample (which included journalists, foundation managers, and government officials), to whom scholars turn when they are seeking information about politicians' decision-making processes (Henig, 2008a, DeBray, 2005).

In the literature review, I found no instance where university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers had been studied en masse. This study can add to the existing literature on politicians' utilization of scholarly research because members of this group are the entirety of my participant sample. They are an important connection to ensure that politicians who set the political agenda regarding education policy consider scholarship when making education policy decisions. Understanding the motivations of university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers, and how they conceive of their role in the education policymaking process will help to build a body of literature on the topic of politicians' research utilization.

Recruitment

In this study, I ended up identifying a previously undiscovered group. As such, in uncovering possible participants I was also learning about the group broadly. In obtaining my participant sample I wanted to interview as many qualified people as possible because the depth of the sample is how you pinpoint "the conclusions you can draw and how confident you and others feel about them" (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 27). The selection of participants for this study was guided by the research questions.

As previously mentioned, potential participants were sought out using snowball sampling (Atkinson & Flint, 2001; Patton, 1990; Vogt, 1999). Once participants were identified, they were sent the email that can be found in Appendix B, requesting their participation. For those who agreed to speak with me, an interview time was set up either on the phone or in person.

Interviews

Interviews were conducted using a semi-structured, open-ended interview protocol (Miles & Huberman, 1994). I began interviewing once I identified the first participant who fit my criteria. As was previously stated, prior to interviews I collected background information about the type of work that these scholars do, both in their field of scholarship and with politicians, when available, in order to have a strong foundation of understanding about their work – both academic and political – when I approached them to for a potential interview.

Each participant was interviewed one time, typically for a period of 30-90 minutes, with only two lasting longer. Any follow-up or clarifying questions were communicated and answered via email. Interviews were conducted between December 2012 and June 2013. Eighteen interviews were conducted on the phone and four were conducted in person. My dissertation committee as well as the Internal Review Board at Arizona State University approved the questions prior to starting the interviewing process. The questions are:

1. In what field are you trained?
2. What is your research specialty?
3. Does research affect policymaking? ⁱ

4. If so, what affects the likelihood of research utilization? ⁱⁱ
5. Please talk about the role you play in impacting policy.
6. Is research involved?
7. How have the policy decisions that you helped influence impacted your life?
8. What is the appropriate role for the researcher in the research-to-policy connection? ⁱⁱ
9. Do you believe that there is a tension between the academic and political realms?
10. What do you believe is an ideal role for university-based researchers to play in the policymaking process?
11. As a researcher, what are the pitfalls of engaging with politicians [probe]?
What are the benefits [probe]?
12. Why have you chosen to work with politicians from both political parties?
13. Can you point me to a policy artifact (legislation, a rider, campaign speech, etc.) that you consider an example of your work with politicians?
14. What is an example of research you believe to be influential?
15. What factors or individuals influence policymaking decisions? ⁱ
16. Is there a particular theory you ascribe to, in any field, regarding research's influence on policy?
17. Please talk about your professional path. Specifically, what kept/keeps you housed at a university, but still engaged with politicians [probe]?
18. What has been your experience with other professors as an academic who stays housed in a university, but continues to engage with politicians?

19. Do you have any recommendations for a researcher who is interested in engaging with politicians, but also wants to be housed at a university?

20. The goal of these questions is to better understand the motivations behind university-based scholars who choose to engage with politicians in the education policy agenda-setting process.

What important factors do I need to note, that have not been discussed yet? ⁱ

21. Are there other people you would suggest I contact about my research? ⁱⁱ

The template with these questions that I filled out during each interview can be found in Appendix C.

Archival Records

In order to corroborate what I learned through interviews with my participants I collected additional artifacts (Dey, 1999; Manna, 2006) in the form of scholarly publications, newspaper, magazine, and university website articles, campaign literature, Race to the Top applications, state and federal education bills, court opinions, copies of presentations made to politicians, university syllabi, transcripts of political speeches, video or audiotaped interviews, state legislature and federal congressional hearings, and minutes from relevant public political meetings to provide me with greater insight into the role these university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers play in the policymaking process.

Once interviews were scheduled I conducted background research, collecting documentation that is relevant to my study on each participant prior to the interview.

After each interview I obtained additional supporting documents, either from the

participant directly, or from an Internet search that was based on recommendations that the participant made during the interview.

Validity

“No qualitative studies are generalizable in the probalistic sense [but] their findings may be transferable” (Marshall & Rossman, 2006, p. 37). It is important to note the findings from this study are illustrative only of the twenty-two participants with whom I spoke. As was noted earlier, I uncovered a group larger than the participants with whom I was able to speak; as such I was only able to interview a sample of the larger group. Each interview transcript was read closely, and the themes uncovered were used to guide data analysis. To ensure the validity of the data analysis, I made sure to support each finding with participants’ own authentic language – doing my best to edit their words only when I needed to take out discourse particles or mask the identity of the participant being quoted. The data used in this study is only meant to answer the research questions posed.

Ethical Considerations

The required Collaborative Institutional Training Initiative (CITI) was completed and Institutional Review Board permission was obtained prior to starting interviews. The interviews themselves did yield information that is politically sensitive. Roughly one-third of participants told me stories during their interview which they requested not be made public – a request that I honored. Due to the sensitive nature of the material about which they spoke, I have masked participants’ identities, relevant political affiliates, and home university. Each participant was offered the opportunity to have the interview go unrecorded, both in audio and in writing.

All data collected is housed in a password-protected external drive to which I am the only person with the password. Additional steps were taken to mask politically sensitive information during the collection, storage, and analysis of the data gathered for this study. Per a verbal commitment that I made during my interviews, each participant will receive an electric copy of this research study upon approval by my dissertation committee.

Potential Bias

In order to engage in thoughtful and open qualitative research, I must acknowledge my own biases and the impact they could have on this study. As a scholar, it is important to recognize “the quality of your self-awareness [and] the potential effects of self on your research” (Glesne, 2006 p. 109). In order to combat potential bias in this study I am aware that I must engage in reflexivity – a form of “critical self reflection about his or her potential biases and predispositions. Through reflexivity, researchers become more self aware and they monitor and attempt to control their biases.” (Johnson, 1997 p. 284)

As was stated previously in this chapter, I have been a student at three different graduate colleges of education. In each state I also worked in the field of education – twice as a teacher and once as a researcher. These are in three different socio-political regions of the United States. My experience learning at these three schools, and working in education in each of these states, has provided me access to different ways of understanding education and the role that politicians and politics plays in the shaping of education policy. I believe the variety of academic and professional experience that I

have had has helped me to respect others' perspectives on the subject of education policy and listen objectively when they speak about politics, education, or both.

As a doctoral candidate, with aspirations of being a tenure-track, university-based education scholar one day, I believe that it is also important to keep in consideration that each person I interviewed is someone who could potentially be a future colleague. I do acknowledge that I have a bias in favor of scholarship having an applied use, but I argue that this bias is, in part, what led me to conduct this study. I hold a personal belief that scholarship should have practical impact, especially in a subject as important as public education. It is this belief that inspired me to find and learn from the university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers who live out my belief by using scholarship to influence education policymaking.

Conclusion

This chapter explained the research design and methodology of my study, providing an overview of the data collection and analysis that were utilized for identifying university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers in the United States, and understanding of their perceptions of the role they play in the policymaking process, motivations for why they choose to engage with politicians, and whether they perceive themselves as successful in bridging the cultural gap between politicians and scholars. Validity, ethical considerations, and potential bias were also addressed. The next chapter presents the analysis, which was conducted utilizing grounded theory, as well as the findings surrounding university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers that stemmed from that analysis.

Chapter 4

ANALYSIS & FINDINGS

Introduction

In this chapter, I describe the qualitative analysis utilized to examine the data collected from university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers interviewed for my study, as well as the findings that resulted. Analysis was conducted using grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Corbin & Strauss 1990, 1998) – beginning with open coding of primary data, followed by axial coding, and then selective coding to generate theory. The findings are broken down into categories that were uncovered through the grounded theory analysis. Broadly, this study has uncovered that there is a group of university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers in the United States, of which I spoke with only a sample. In the findings section, the characteristics and behaviors of this group, as well as specific descriptors of behaviors that set them apart from other university-based education scholars are described using their own words.

Analysis Overview

The grounded theory model that I utilized began with open coding using the constant comparison of data – constant comparison being its own formal method – to uncover themes. Following open coding I engaged in axial coding (Strauss, 1987) – the discovery of a central phenomenon, or axis, to which all other categories are related. Selective coding was the subsequent step, where I developed a theory based on the interrelationship of all categories with the central phenomenon that I uncovered through axial coding. The final step was writing up this theory to be used as a framework for interpreting my findings. The analytical process did not happen with each step following

the other in a linear fashion – it was all very inter-related. Throughout each round of coding, I used the qualitative analysis software Atlas.ti to organize my work and uncover themes from the data. The diagram in Figure 4 is a visual representation of my analytical process.

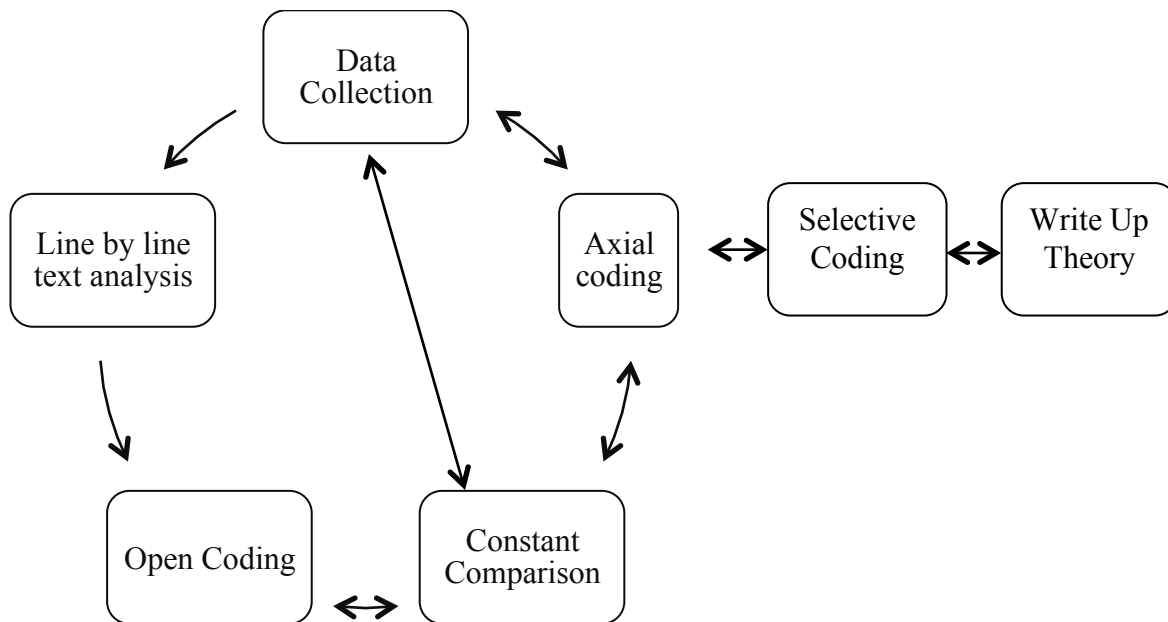


Figure 4. Analytical process using grounded theory.

Data Sources

Multiple sources of data were selected for this study. The primary source consisted of interviews with participants and transcripts of those interviews, as well as memos that I wrote after each interview. Secondary sources of data examined were scholarly publications, newspaper, magazine, and university website articles, campaign literature, Race to the Top applications, state and federal education bills, court opinions, copies of presentations made to politicians, university syllabi, transcripts of political speeches, video or audiotaped interviews, state legislature and federal congressional hearings, and minutes from relevant public political meetings.

Sequence

The interview transcripts were labeled with the letters A through V. This coding reflects the sequential order that the interviews were conducted. When more than one interview was conducted in a given day, the codes were assigned alphabetically. The codes also indicate the sequential order in which data from interviews underwent open coding. The participants' availability for an interview determined the order of coding. Analysis began after conducting my second interview because I wanted to have a minimum of two interviews for categorical and thematic comparison. When open coding was applied to interviews A & B, the transcripts were coded line by line. This continued with each subsequent interview. Categories and themes emerged as open coding progressed.

Open Coding

Glaser states that, "The essential relationship between data and theory is a conceptual code." (Glaser, 1978, p. 55) As such, the initial step in grounded theory is uncovering conceptual codes through open coding. I began open coding with a line-by-line text analysis of the transcriptions of interviews with participants. I fractured data into multiple categories until I found no new emerging categories, only recurring ones (Creswell, 1998). This is referred to as data saturation – it occurs when "no new information can be found [that] adds to the understanding of the category" (Charmaz, 2006; Corbin & Strauss, 1990). I continued to build these codes into categories using the constant comparison method. For example, during line-by-line coding I uncovered the theme of "synopsize research". Synopsizing research, as articulated by participants

interviewed for this study, is the act of synthesizing the findings from multiple relevant scholarly research articles for the politicians with whom they engage.

Open coding was conducted with the goal of figuring out a way to organize the data into categories. My initial supposition was that the answers could be organized in accordance with the questions that were asked. This was not the case. Due to the open-ended interview protocol (Miles & Huberman, 1994) that I used, participants answered the same question many different ways. While common categories were uncovered, they were not directly associated with any one question that was asked. Since categories could not be organized around the interview questions, I began to establish categories based on participants' "specific experiences and pieces of data" (Schram, 2003 p. 21). The categories that I uncovered as a product of open coding were descriptive of the group.

In the process of participant recruitment, I had specified that I was looking to interview individuals with the following qualifications:

- Tenure-track or tenured university-based education scholars.
- Ones who consult with more than one elected politician, face-to-face on a regular basis, and does so across party lines.
- Ones who interact with elected politicians who serve at the state or federal level, and for whom education is only one of the policy issues with which they contend.

All participants shared these three characteristics. Many participants articulated the importance of the characteristics outlined in the second and third bullets as necessary for success in getting politicians to use scholarly research in their education policymaking decisions.

During open coding I discovered that there were other characteristics that are shared amongst my entire participant sample. The characteristics that apply to all

participants fall into ten different categories. These ten categories, and examples of the terms that came from the data which fall into each category, can be found in Table 2.

Table 2

Primary Categories

Category	Examples
Tenured	associate professor, professor, dean
Synopsize Research	one-page, synopsis, succinct, example, meta-analysis, paraphrased, pull together, lit review, boil down, sound bite, specific
Work outside the university	consulting, service, not rewarded, spend time, duty to serve, obligation to contribute, time commitment, spend time, a lot of time, additional work, outside of academia
Timing	timeliness, timeline, less time, slower, faster, short, quick, quickly, timing, window, predict, prepare, ahead, anticipate, briefing, time, legislative session
Build Relationships	emails, involved, who, trust, communicate, staff, verify, relationship, vulnerability, constituent, help, personal, believe, personal, interested, conversation, sit down, meeting, face-to-face, give, reputation, respect, earn
Do not expect recognition	resource, role, wouldn't show up, not in public record, verbally, write up, no credit, adapt, reinvent, credit, other people's idea
Politically relevant research agenda	relate, real problems, double-duty, accomplish, care, relevant, critical, agenda, value, important, matters, interest, decisions, practical
Understand how politics affects policymaking	policy, political process, elected, political considerations, drives policy, politics, key factors, key organizations, relate, no caveats, politics is messier, games, power, position, ideology, game, played differently, emotion
Enjoyment	engage, community, enjoy the work, flexibility, like the role, like the climate, rewarding, lot of fun, awesome, happy
Impact	promote research, effective, positive difference, impactful, create, research gets used, broader view, promote use, make a difference

The first category is “tenured.” Despite the fact that during participant recruitment I stated that I was seeking tenure-track professors as well as those who had achieved tenure, each participant has already achieved tenure. The next category “synopsize

research” is an action that each participant spoke of engaging in, as a means of providing politicians with the information learned from scholarly research. Some only synopsise the research in their field, while others are willing to synopsise relevant scholarly research in subsets of education that they do not publish in and thus are not considered experts by their peers. The bifurcated nature of this category is to be discussed later in this section.

The work that university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers do for politicians is on top of their professional promotion and tenure requirements – as such their work in this role is “work outside of the university”. One aspect of this work outside of the university that is essential to the role of university-based bipartisan scholarship broker is paying attention to political “timing”, specifically the timing around when politicians’ need information. Politicians’ timing needs are often shorter (Firestone, 1989; Kingdon, 2011; Schwartz & Kardos, 2009) than the timeframe that university-based education scholars work under for producing scholarly research.

In order to work with politicians to help incorporate scholarly research into the policymaking process, participants had to actively “build relationships” with politicians and their staffs. An aspect of those relationships is that participants “do not expect recognition” for the work that they do, providing scholarly research to politicians. They do not expect public recognition from politicians themselves, but they also do not expect professional recognition from their universities in the form of credit towards tenure advancement. Still, in order to obtain tenure and keep their jobs as professors, participants must maintain a scholarly research agenda and publish in relevant scholarly journals. Each participant spoke of finding and maintaining a “politically relevant research agenda” so that they can keep up with scholarly research that might hold value

to politicians while simultaneously doing the necessary work to keep their jobs as university-based education scholars.

When working with politicians to help incorporate scholarly research into the policymaking process, participants discussed that they had to “understand how politics affects policymaking”. Politics is a set of behaviors that tie in with previously mentioned categories, such as “timing” and “building relationships”. Engaging in political activities is a necessary prerequisite for university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers to be able to engage in policymaking. University-based bipartisan scholarship brokers can only impact how education policy is made if they engage in politics. Participants articulated that, while the work that they do as university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers is demanding and time consuming, they find “enjoyment” in this role. Each of them stated that it is personally rewarding to see scholarly research utilized by politicians in formulating and/or promoting education policy thanks to the work that they do as university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers.

“Impact” is the reason that participants articulated most frequently for doing this work. Each participant stated a belief that scholarly research in the field of education should have impact beyond publication in journals. Each participant showed how s/he used scholarly research to influence the creation or adaptation of education policy. The way that I determined participants’ impact on education policy was by asking each participant to point to a specific education policy artifact over which they had influence through their work as a university-based bipartisan scholarship broker. Some participants emailed me copies of artifacts, while others explained to me where they could be found online. Examples of artifacts that I used to determine impact are Race to the Top

applications, campaign literature, state and federal education bills, copies of presentations made to politicians, video and transcripts of political speeches, video or audiotaped interviews, state legislature and federal congressional hearings, as well as court opinions. Once I had the artifact in my possession, I confirmed with each university-based bipartisan scholarship broker, often through email, how the artifact showed that his/her research had directly impacted education policymaking. The easiest examples to identify impact were from state court opinions, where scholarly journal articles were directly cited in the majority opinion. In some instances participants shared with me both early and final drafts of political speeches or education legislation, where their influence was the omission of language that would likely have been deleterious to students.

While these ten categories were ones into which all participants fall, there are also five categories that apply to many, but not all, participants. These five categories, and examples of the terms that came from the data which fall into each category, can be found in Table 3.

Table 3

Secondary categories

Category	Examples
Background & Training	outside the university, think tank, media training, state government, federal government, first job, accidental, job market, other work, perspective, day job
Train graduate students	teach, class, students, projects, policy research, group project, presentation, providing research, train, educate, useful research, skills, my students, prepare, present, long-term influence
Housed at a university with an education policy center	state-funded center, privately-funded center, starting a center, community engagement
Published models are not predictive	varied, variation, n of one, examples, descriptive, threads, principles, not uniform, cannot apply in every case, limited usefulness, retroactive, problems, retrospective, narrative, zero prognostic ability, policy scenario
Carol Weiss' work	insightful, heuristic role of research, politicians' considerations, utilization, change conversation, change thinking

One such category that demonstrated varied consistency is the professional “background and training” of university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers. Some of them worked in think tanks before going to a university, others were teachers, and others worked in state government. A few university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers have taken a traditional scholarly route, but most worked with politicians in previous professions prior to working as a university-based education scholar. Because of their own background and training, many participants spoke of the desire to “train graduate students” to engage with politicians using research through mentoring, teaching classes, and engagement with their home university’s education policy center. While most of the participants are “housed at a university with an education policy center” on campus, not all of them are affiliated with their school’s center.

The two other categories that apply to most participants have to do with their understanding of the scholarly literature around politicians' research utilization when making education policy decisions. Not all participants were conversant in this literature, but the ones who believe that most "published models are not predictive" of politicians' behavior surrounding research use. These models can look at the policy process retrospectively and explain what happened, but cannot project how someone can get scholarly research considered by a politician when s/he is making decisions about education policy. One university-based scholarly researcher whose published works on the subject of politicians' research utilization accurately reflects the experiences of university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers is Carol Weiss. Many participants mentioned "Carol Weiss' work" as a useful tool for understanding politicians' research utilization when making decisions about education policy.

There were additional categories uncovered that applied to all participants, but not in a uniform fashion. Through the constant comparison method, I also found a set of four bifurcated categories into which participants fell. The four categories are broken into sub-categories, and examples of the terms that came from the data that fall into each category can be found in Table 4.

Table 4

Bifurcated Categories

Category	Examples
Public University	land-grant university, public, publicly-funded, state university, taxpayer supported, state funding, outreach, community engagement, flagship
Private University	professional school, private, mission of the college, grant funding
Work with state politicians	state capital, local impact, multiple states, governor, governors' conference, state senators, state representatives, Race to the Top application, state
Work with federal politicians	federal level, Democratic president, U.S. Congressmen, Elementary & Secondary Education Act
Synopsise scholarly research in own field of study	one-page, paraphrased, lit review, boil down, sound bite, specific, policy brief
Synopsise scholarly research in field of education broadly	general, broad, overview, synopsis, succinct, example, meta-analysis, paraphrased, pull together, evidence, executive summary
Work with politicians publicly	attention, media, news, newspaper, interview, on record, quoted, picked up, public, known
Work with politicians privately	behind closed doors, behind the scenes, quietly, not recognized, trust

Most of the participants work at a “public university”. All of the public universities are large, research-driven schools – most are the flagship university in their state. Roughly twenty-five percent of participants are housed professionally at a “private university”. Interestingly, participants from some of the private universities overlapped. They came from only three different institutions, whereas each participant from a public university was the only university-based bipartisan scholarship broker that I found at that particular university.

Working at a public versus private university did not correlate with whether participants opted to “work with state politicians” or “work with federal politicians.” All

participants, except one, work with politicians at the state level. Most work in the state where their university is housed, but many work with politicians across multiple states in addition to their home state. For those participants who work with politicians at the federal level, each have taken one or more sabbatical years to spend time working in Washington, DC, embedded in the federal government, working for the National Center for Education Statistics or a Legislative Committee.

There was a correlation between participants who worked with federal politicians and those who “synthesize scholarly research in their own field of study”. Examples of participants who synthesize scholarly research in their own field of study are economists, legal scholars, and early childhood experts. Not all participants who synthesize scholarly research in their own field work with politicians at the federal level, but all participants who work with politicians at the federal level are ones who synthesize scholarly research in their own field. The majority of participants “synthesize scholarly research in the field of education broadly” – meaning that they explore scholarly research outside their area of professional expertise and synthesize it, highlighting only the relevant information that is important for the politician to use in his/her current context.

Most of the participants “work with politicians privately” in their role as university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers. Through their willingness to engage with politicians privately, they allow the politicians with whom they work to be the public face of the scholarly research-based ideas that they promote. Sometimes participants “work with politicians publicly” through, for example, staged media events and news articles. Most participants who work publicly with politicians also do so privately. The exception comes when university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers work in a formal consulting

capacity because that work typically has to be put out to bid and as such it is public.

Table 5 identifies the breakdown of where participants, A-V, fall in these four bifurcated categories. Participants will be referred to by their alphabetical identifier, letters A-V, when they are quoted in the Findings Section.

Table 5

Where participants fall in the bifurcated categories

WHO	Public	Private	State	Federal	Own	Compi- lacion	Work Publicly	Work Privately
A	X		X			X	X	
B	X		X			X		X
C	X		X			X	X	X
D	X		X		X			X
E	X		X		X		X	
F	X		X			X		X
G	X		X			X		X
H	X		X			X	X	X
I	X		X			X		X
J		X	X		X			X
K	X		X			X		X
L	X		X		X			X
M		X	X			X		X
N	X		X			X	X	X
O		X	X		X		X	
P	X		X	X	X			X
Q	X			X		X		X
R		X	X	X	X		X	
S		X	X		X			X
T	X		X			X		X
U		X	X			X		X
V	X		X	X		X	X	X

Open coding allowed me to develop initial categories generated from the voices of my participants, using their own words as the basis for the categories that were developed. After developing the initial categories, I engaged in axial coding to generate a central phenomenon (Corbin & Strauss, 1990) regarding the motivations of university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers.

Axial Coding

After developing categories through open coding, axial coding focuses the researcher further, by creating a central phenomenon from the categories. The central phenomenon is the one that “holds the most conceptual interest, is most frequently discussed by study participants, and is most saturated with information” (Creswell, 1998 pp. 150–151). For my participants the central phenomenon was “impact.” The reason for all the work done by university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers outside of their academic requirements is the desire to impact education policy with scholarly research. Each participant qualified for my study because they are successful at translating that desire into action. They do not just desire to impact education policy using research, they can demonstrate that their work has had impact on education policy. It is central to what they do, but it is also why they continue to work with politicians to help incorporate scholarly research into the policymaking process. They are content with the knowledge that, thanks to them, scholarly research has impact beyond publication in scholarly journals.

Selective Coding

After axial coding had uncovered the central phenomenon of “impact”, I used selective coding to uncover the “explanatory power” (Glaser, 2002) of grounded theory. During selective coding I was able to identify the significant categories in my study: “when, where, why, who, how, and... what” (Corbin & Strauss as cited in Charmaz, 2006, p. 60). While Corbin & Strauss suggest that these themes should be used in a conceptual and not descriptive fashion, I found that these five categories, organized in my analysis as who, where what, when, why, how, did a fantastic job of categorizing and

explaining my findings in both a conceptual and descriptive manner.

There were challenges in categorizing themes into who, where, what, when, why and how. In multiple instances, specific themes fell into more than one of these categories. For example, my axial theme of “impact” can fall under the category “what” because it is something demonstrated by my participants, but it also legitimately qualifies as “why” because it is their central motivation for continuing with this work. Because it is central to my study, “impact” is the only theme that I placed in both the “what” & “why” categories. All other themes are confined to one category. I did end up with two separate “what” categories because I used selective coding to categorize both the behaviors my participants engage in when they are in the role of university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers as well as the traits that set them apart from other university-based education scholars. These questions are “What do they do?” and “What makes them different from other university-based education scholars?” The categories that traits fell into are available in Table 6.

Table 6

Categorized Traits of University-Based Bipartisan Scholarship Brokers

Who	Where	What Behaviors	When	Why	How	What Differentiates
Tenured professors	State politicians	Synopsis research	Outside of the university	Demonstrable impact	Not prognostic	Politically relevant research
Public University	Federal politicians	Timing		Background & Training	Carol Weiss	Understands politics affects policy
Private University	In the public eye	Relationship building		Enjoyment		Train graduate students
Education Policy Center	Behind closed doors	Bipartisan engagement				Demonstrate impact
		Do not expect recognition				

Who are my participants?

They are tenured university-based education scholars – some associate, but most bear the title of full professor. Most participants are housed at public universities, with

twenty-five percent at private universities. Most of the participants are housed at universities that have education policy centers on campus, although not all of them are affiliated with their local center.

Where do participants do their work as university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers?

They work both at the state level and at the federal level, although for most participants the work is solely done at the state level. They do this work both publicly and behind closed doors. Because the desire to have an impact on education policy through scholarly research is paramount to university-based bipartisan policy brokers, recognition for the contribution of their work is unnecessary. Public recognition does happen sometimes and can draw the ire of university colleagues.

What behaviors do participants engage in to qualify them as university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers?

They synopsise research in a format that is useful to politicians, paying attention to the timing of when politicians will want to receive these research synopses. To further this work, they spend years building relationships with politicians to foster trust. They engage with politicians from both political parties. This is done because impact is more important than affiliation to political parties. As Participant P put it, “I don't really give a crap about what their political beliefs are as long as long as they're willing to try to make things better for these kids.” Because impact is what drives university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers, they do not expect recognition for the work that they do.

When do participants engage with politicians as university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers?

This work is done on top of the rigorous promotion and tenure requirements that they face as university-based education scholars – it is done outside of their professional obligations.

Why do participants engage with politicians as university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers?

They like showing that scholarly research can impact policy and they enjoy engaging with politicians around issues of education policy. Many of my participants received some sort of training outside of academia to facilitate them engaging with politicians. They enjoy using that training in service of improving education through research.

How do participants' perceptions of politicians' research use in the education policymaking process compare with published models?

Many participants were not versed in the literature surrounding politicians' research utilization. Those who were did not believe that any of the current models available were useful in a prognostic capacity. Carol Weiss published the models that were most accurate, from their experience.

What differentiates my participants from other university-based education scholars?

They maintain a politically relevant research agenda so they can be sure that some of the published scholarly research is relevant to politicians. As was previously mentioned, they understand how politics affects policymaking and use that knowledge to

strategically engage with politicians. Some participants purposefully train their graduate students in the skills necessary to become a university-based bipartisan scholarship broker. In contrast to other university-based education scholars, my participants can demonstrate that they are successful at impacting policy through research.

Theory

Open coding was applied to interview transcripts in order to create categories from which a new theory could be generated. Axial coding allowed for the development of a central phenomenon (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). Selective coding (Creswell, 1998, p. 65) allowed me to organize my categories and themes to help articulate my theory. My “theory is essentially an explanation used to guide the research, which is then supported or challenged by research” (Fleishman, 2006 p. 88). My theory is that university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers are a sub-group of university-based education scholars. This is a group that, until this study, has been unexplored for many reasons – the most significant of which is that the professional culture of universities typically does not reward this type of work in the tenure process. Impact is shown in the findings section.

FINDINGS

Findings Overview

In uncovering and understanding a group that had not previously been studied, one element of the findings is showing that they were found – that they exist. Beyond that, there are certain basic questions that I had to answer. Who are university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers? To answer that question I describe the characteristics they share that make them a distinct group. Where do they do the work that makes them part of this group? Most of the work is done with politicians at the state level, but a few

support politicians at the federal level as well. What is it that they do for politicians? Specifically, what is the type of engagement they have with politicians that sets them apart from other scholars? The answer varies from person to person, but each university-based bipartisan scholarship broker provides politicians with research in a non-partisan fashion. When do they do this work? For most of the participants, this work is done outside of the university setting, in addition to scholarly requirements. A few have managed to incorporate it in to their university setting, teaching courses on how to present research for a political audience. Why do they do this work? In short: impact. University-based bipartisan scholarship brokers want to influence the creation and adaptation of education policy with scholarly research – their own, as well as that of other scholars. How do their perceptions of the policy process compare with published models? Because many of the participants were not education policy scholars, they were not aware of scholarly research in the area of politicians’ research utilization. For those participants who were versed in the literature, there was a consensus that Carol Weiss’ scholarly research was the most accurate at describing the ways that research can successfully be utilized to influence politicians in their decision-making surrounding education policymaking.

They exist

When I sought to begin data collection, I had specific parameters for who would qualify as a participant in this study. In the initial round of inquiries that I sent out, I specified that I was looking to interview individuals with the following qualifications:

- Tenure-track or tenured university-based education scholars.

- Ones who consult with more than one elected politician, face-to-face on a regular basis, and does so across party lines.
- Ones who interact with elected politicians who serve at the state or federal level, and for whom education is only one of the policy issues they with which they contend.

From the beginning of my study I was discouraged by many university-based education scholars from proceeding with looking for participants with the specific set of parameters that I was using to identify my participant group. Multiple university-based education scholars in personal conversations and email warned me that these parameters were too narrow because education scholars simply do not influence policy through direct and repeated interactions with politicians. It was made clear to me repeatedly that this type of work is not rewarded in the structure of academia and can even undermine professional credibility if university-based education scholars use academic studies for purposes other than publication. One university-based education scholar, employed at a large public university in the Mid-West, who I reached out to in order to identify participants warned me in an email that I would not likely find any participants for my study. S/he did not end up as a participant in the study.

I think this is an interesting topic. The specific way in which you narrow your topic may be too restrictive, however. I am aware of a number of scholars, including myself that tend to publish more policy briefs and technical reports than traditional peer-reviewed journal articles. We do not directly communicate with politicians, however. You list three points below to narrow your focus. Your second point disqualifies me and other academics that might be of interest. Frankly I do not know of scholars who communicate directly and regularly with policymakers and not cross party lines. Actually, you may need to define “regular basis” and some of delimiting characteristics.

This email is characteristic of many comments that I received throughout participant recruitment. Many people who could not give me names questioned what I meant by “a regular basis”, whereas those who could identify participants, as well as university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers themselves, did not take issue with this term and understood what it meant. Another university-based education scholar, housed at a large public university in the southeast, who was not a participant stated in an email:

I can tell you, though, that I do not know of any academics who consult routinely with members of Congress or other federal policymakers. Generally, the way that a university researcher has a connection to the policy process is in one of two ways:

1. A briefing on the Hill, which is attended by aides rather than the members themselves; or
2. Via a think tank.

Even at the state level, I would be hard-pressed to name academics who consult regularly with state officials.

It was offered by multiple people to whom I reached out to that I should consider interviewing a wider set of people such as those who write policy briefs and publish them on websites, or university-based education scholars who have testified before congressional or legislative committees. One university-based education scholar, who works at a private university in the northeast and did not end up as a participant in my study, explained in an email the type of policy engagement that is more common.

Your three bullet parameters are VERY specific and may be a limiting factor in finding said individuals... Many academics regularly testify before city, state, or federal panels or work as expert advisors (paid and not paid) on legal cases. For example, in my current capacity as a professor, I regularly disseminate my research or am asked to testify to state panels who are debating specific policy reform issue. The invitations at times will come from individual politicians, from the specific committees that are hosting the hearing or from interest groups who have connections with politicians who might be shepherding a specific issue. Given the current wording of your criteria, someone with a similar active relationship with state policymakers may not fit your criteria.

Indeed that person was correct. This work that some education scholars engage in of writing policy briefs based on their own research and testifying before committees, while extremely important, did not fit my criteria as it had been outlined.

Multiple university-based education scholars suggested that one method I could use for finding participants was to look at Rick Hess' blog for his ranking of education scholars who have a public presence. This email came from a university-based education scholar at a large public university in the southwest.

Have you seen the EdWeek rankings from 2012 of EduScholars done by Rick Hess of AEI? He ranked 130 professors in terms of their "impact on public policy debates in education." He used a range of metrics, from scholarly productivity to appearance at major national events. I think looking at this would help shape your study, because it will get you to re-think your premise about direct consultation with policymakers, which I insist rarely occurs; and formulate questions about how exactly the process of influencing policy occurs. It is a hard question to answer right now because there is not any major education legislation moving, at least not K-12. I know the research office, IES, is up for renewal, and it could be interesting to see what organizations' recommendations are influential. About the Edu-Scholar list: the top-named people on that list for "impact", Linda Darling-Hammond and Gary Orfield, do not meet directly with members of Congress. Generally they are invited to the Hill by AERA, the American Youth Policy Forum, or other groups to present their research and then the education media will pick up the story.

The 2012 Rankings that are referenced above can be found in Appendix D.

Much in the same way that university-based education scholars who write policy briefs and testify before committees did not fit my criteria, neither did any of the elements of the Rick Hess Edu-Scholar Public Presence Rankings (Hess, 2013; 2012; 2010). Only one of the metrics used in these rankings makes reference to politicians, and that is the number of Congressional Record Mentions (a feat which only two people accomplished, out of the one hundred and twenty-one that were ranked). Being mentioned in The Congressional Record is not evidence of engaging with politicians in

person, as such, the Rick Hess Edu-Scholar Public Presence Rankings (Hess, 2013; 2012; 2010) could not help me uncover the group I was seeking.

As a result of the myriad warnings that I received, I was unsure how many individuals I would find and whether or not I would be able to gather enough data for analysis. Fortunately, most of the university-based education scholars to whom I reached out responded with names of possible participants, or names of people who could suggest possible participants. After reaching out to over one hundred and forty university-based education scholars, I can say for certain that there is a group of individuals who meet these criteria. Participant C responded to my solicitation email by addressing each of my qualification criteria directly.

I am a tenure-track or tenured university professor.
I consult with more than one elected politician (politician him/herself, not a staffer) on a regular basis, but in recent years it has been from one political party (due to nature of political landscape in [home state]). These elected politicians serve at the state or federal level.

When I was able to speak with this participant, s/he affirmed for me that s/he has experience working with politicians across the political aisle, but the political tide in the home state had swung in recent years towards one party, so most of his/her current work in this realm is with members of that party. Participant I described in his/her response email of the ebb and flow of his/her engagement during the many years in which s/he has spent as a university-based bipartisan scholarship broker.

Over the past 12-14 years I have provided research and opinion to multiple politicians related to educational policy issues although the intensity and number of politicians involved has varied over the years. I would be glad to speak with you for your research...

Fortunately, some of the people who qualified as participants were also able to suggest additional names of university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers for me to contact. Participant L offered me his/her own experiences as well as other connections.

On your research, I know people who do this (including me). I will check with a colleague about his work today.

As more people responded affirmatively to my participant qualification criteria, my list of potential participants grew into a full group of which I was only able to speak with a sample. Participant O asked me:

Are you wanting recommendations for people to talk with, or do you want to talk with me as that pretty well describes much of what I do.

As I continued to collect names of possible participants, the term “snowball sampling” felt very appropriate. Having been warned that I would find very few, if any, participants, finding the names of over thirty university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers, twenty-two of whom were willing to be participants in my study, made for a much more robust data set than I had anticipated.

Who are university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers?

The characteristics of the group for my study are as follows: of the twenty-two participants I interviewed, all are tenured university-based education scholars – some associate, but most bear the title of full professor. Most have been in academia for multiple decades and some are currently serving, or have served, as Deans of their colleges. Most of the individuals I spoke with were men; only twenty-five percent were women. Most participants are housed at public universities, with twenty-five percent at private institutions of higher education. Interestingly, participants from some of the private universities overlapped. They came from only three different institutions, whereas

each participant from a public university was the only university-based bipartisan scholarship broker that I found at that particular university. Most of the participants are housed at universities that have education policy centers on campus, although not all of them are affiliated with their local center. Characteristics of the participants are outlined in Table 7, which organizes participants in the same order as Table 5. As was stated earlier, participants will be referred to by their alphabetical identifier, letters A-V, when they are directly quoted.

Table 7

Characteristics of the Participants

WHO	Public	Private	State	Federal	Own Research	Compilation	Ed Policy Center on campus
A	X		X			X	X
B	X		X			X	X
C	X		X			X	X
D	X		X		X		
E	X		X		X		
F	X		X			X	
G	X		X			X	X
H	X		X			X	X
I	X		X			X	X
J		X	X		X		X
K	X		X			X	X
L	X		X		X		X
M		X	X			X	
N	X		X			X	X
O		X	X		X		X
P	X		X	X	X		
Q	X			X		X	X
R		X	X	X	X		X
S		X	X		X		X
T	X		X			X	
U		X	X			X	
V	X		X	X		X	X

Despite the cautions that I would not find enough people to speak with to provide for a robust group to study, the opposite happened. Of the individuals who met my qualifications as possible participants, I was only able to speak with an estimated fifty- to seventy-five percent of the designated group. Part of this was due to my reliance on self-identification of potential participants for this study. There were many people who were identified as possible participants, and when I reached out to them, opted to give me names of other potential participants, without affirming or denying that they too could qualify as a participant. Through independent background searches, I verified that they could have qualified. I opted not to persist if someone did not self identify after initial contact.

While all the participants are university-based education scholars in some capacity, most are not university-based education policy scholars. A few of the participants began engaging with politicians as a result of their own research studies – because they were willing to translate the findings into a non-academic format, usually a short policy-brief or one-page paper. Participant T stated:

I really feel like a part of my role is to promote use of my research by people who are making policy decisions. I actually actively try to engage with the policy community, put work out there in a format that can be easily used by policymakers. I view my role as to really go an extra step to promote youth.

Most of the participants engaging with politicians do so outside of their area of scholarly research – acting in an informal consulting capacity, providing politicians with synopses of scholarly research relevant to current education policy issues.

Most of the participants did not spend their entire professional career solely in academia – they had worked in government, at a think tank, or for a policy center prior to

entering academia. The knowledge that they gained from that experience helped them navigate in the political realm as a university-based bipartisan scholarship broker. Some spoke of being inspired to engage with politicians as a scholar because they were witnessing a disconnection between the recommendations put forth in scholarly publications and what they were seeing put into policy. Participant H stated:

I started working for Department of Education... it was particularly telling to me that what was going on at the legislature during the day was completely different than what I was reading in the evenings to finish my dissertation. They had had less relevance than what I would have liked or what I would really hope for in terms of helping me understand my day job, all the academic literature.

Some of the participants' colleagues at their home university know about this additional work that they do, engaging with politicians around issues of education policy – in part because it is made public through news stories. But for many of them, colleagues remain unaware of this work. Participant L stated:

Most faculty members don't do [this kind of policy-relevant work]. They don't have a clue what's going on outside the university. They don't even know [that I am doing this work] for the most part.

Where do they do this work?

University-based bipartisan scholarship brokers do the work of engaging with politicians using scholarly research wherever the politician needs the work to be done. They are willing to travel to where politicians are and engage with them on the politician's turf. Sometimes this work is done in the public eye because news reports discuss the policy issue and the input of the university-based bipartisan scholarship broker by name. Other times – this happens more frequently – this work is done out of the public eye, where only politicians see their involvement.

State and federal government

University-based bipartisan scholarship brokers go to the politicians in order to help them out. While this does not always involve literal travel – documents can be transferred via email – they take advantage of the access they have in order to actively stay within politicians’ frame of reference. They go to the state capital and to other political events in order to engage face-to-face with politicians. Participant F stated:

I live in the [state] capital. My university is in the [state] capital. There are many opportunities for face-to-face interaction. Do I take advantage of all of them? No. Are there opportunities? Yes. And do I take advantage of them sometimes? Yes.

Almost everyone I spoke with did some work with politicians at the state level – sometimes in the state where their home university is housed, but often in multiple states. Four of the participants who worked with state-level politicians also worked with politicians at the federal level. Participant P stated:

I work a lot at the federal level. I guess I work at the state level, but most of my examples of having research affect policy would probably come from the federal level.

The individuals who engage with politicians at the federal level, each have taken one or more sabbatical years to actually spend time working in Washington, DC, embedded in the federal government, working for the National Center for Education Statistics or a Legislative Committee. Participant R explained:

I’m going to be working in D.C. for the senate health committee. I see that as an opportunity to learn a lot first of all, but maybe be able to have an impact in a more direct way.

In the public eye and behind closed doors

For most of the participants, this work is done behind closed doors, so their impact is never known publicly. This is a conscious choice, even if members of the media

want to engage them. This work is also done in a strategic fashion when the university-based bipartisan scholarship broker believes that engaging with politicians around education policy is more successful if his/her involvement is without any public recognition. Participant N told me:

I gave an interview to a reporter who I didn't know before. He said, "In this particular state, there's all this legislation, school choice, charters – I want to get some quotes from you about these bills" and I said, "I'm actually trying to work behind the scenes to help to write these bills so I cannot go on record because I can't take a chance that something I say gets taken out of context, and then I'm not going to be able to work behind the scenes to fix these bills."

Many participants acknowledged that this work gives them more of a public presence than many university-based education scholars at their home university. This is because they are doing their work outside the traditional scholarly contexts, such as journal publication. When they are acting in the role of university-based bipartisan scholarship broker, they often have to engage with media and the general public as well as politicians. Participant C, who is comfortable doing this work under the watch of the public eye, acknowledged that many colleagues did not feel the same way.

There's still that ideological issue of what's our proper role. I mean, I think there's pushback too because people are afraid to put their work out there sometimes. It's okay to do it in an academic journal, but if I'm doing it in the media or we're getting picked up, I've opened myself up to different kinds of criticism that academics are sometimes very uncomfortable with.

S/he went further; mentioning that the publicity s/he received sometimes yielded professional jealousy.

Sometimes you get professional jealousy because your project or your program or the work that you're doing is fairly public and so get invited to the governor's mansion and everybody knows it. You get a little bit of professional jealousy around that. There are [colleagues] that view it as you're kind of dirty because you're dealing with politicians.

Many participants believe that the media attention they receive is beneficial to their home university, even if colleagues do not necessarily agree. Participant O told me

My work shows up in the newspaper because I go to [another state] and I do a study and I'm identified as a professor at the [home university]. And the news could've picked that up and throw it into our system and everybody sees that I'm out there. I'd argue it's good for our school. Our dean hasn't complained too loudly about it. I'm sure you can find people who'd tell you I do it too much. I think there are some others who would look at me in the eye and tell me that they were doing just as much and just hiding it better.

This university-based bipartisan scholarship broker did not want to hide these activities; s/he wanted to be public because s/he believes that this type of work is beneficial to the public presence of the home university. An in-depth exploration of the motivations of participants is discussed in the “why” section of this chapter.

What do they do?

University-based bipartisan scholarship brokers are distinct from other university-based education scholars because of the actions they take outside of their scholarly agenda to present research to politicians with the goal of having this research utilized as politicians craft education policy. This goal is accomplished through various actions outlined in this section. The actions that are outlined were discussed by most or all of the participants interviewed.

Synopsis Research

The legislature wants red/green. Stop or go. Academics want to offer the rainbow. (Participant V)

One element of the work that university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers do for politicians is to synopsise research into a format that politicians can utilize. This is an essential aspect of the university-based bipartisan scholarship broker's relationship with

politicians because it is taking verbose scholarship – long scholarly articles published in peer-reviewed journals – and highlighting only the relevant information that is important for the politician to use in the current context. Participant E said:

So many times, people would pull me aside and say, “That was great – and you just didn't use education jargon.” I think that's a really key element in terms of impact that you can have. I think that you need to learn how to be succinct, to the point and not perseverate like academics tend to do. This is perhaps the most difficult thing I had to figure out – that when you try to advise public policy, the research on which you're basing, it's not a straight linear relationship. It's not that you've done the study and you just bring it to them and somehow that becomes policy.

Most of the participants interviewed did this sort of synopsis outside their area of scholarly interest. Participant M said that the method s/he found to be most successful was to give a broad synopsis of relevant material and then use one relevant scholarly study as an example.

I do two things, one is I'll give a synopsis that in general this is what the findings are which is, “a compilation of the preponderance of evidence suggests this.” At the same time being very careful to say that there is always going to be another study that says something else and that what I'm talking about is the *preponderance of evidence* (emphasis added by author) across different genres and contexts. Then I will usually give one specific example of a particular study to say, “This is what the overview is. Here's what's done that kind of exemplifies what I just said” They get a more grounded sense through this one piece of research.

Another participant specified that s/he creates very short one-page overviews of the relevant research with more in-depth descriptions attached to support the one page document. The point of creating such a brief document is to appeal to politicians' desire to receive a concise delivery of the material. Participant K stated:

That's one of the things that we do. It's sort of a meta-analysis of research in the area because they [politicians] don't have time for that. They really want something concise. They want to see it on at least an executive summary that's one page, and then we also provide a more in-depth analysis, but the executive summary is going to be a page.

Participant H commented that creating synopses for politicians outside of his/her area of research is successful because politicians do not differentiate among education scholars the way other professors do.

I don't think that policymakers know exactly what I research. They think I do education research in general. There really is no difference for them if I bring them something that has got my name at the bottom as the source or its got one of my colleagues, names that I have paraphrased or put together from another journal article, or something else that I pulled together. They don't know the difference.

While many of the university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers were synopsisizing research outside of their scholarly area of focus, some used their own research, as well as that of other scholars in their field, as the basis for the synopsisized research that they provide to politicians. Participant J told me:

Any good research study is going to be partly a lit review of what has been done plus some new findings. Very little of what I've done has been strictly synopsis of other people's work but it always includes that. I had done some of the research that I was writing about, but then other people have done research as well. I was summarizing my own research as well as summarizing others at the same time.

Participant D spoke of working on a large research study that was conducted in collaboration with many other university-based education scholars, with results that are relevant to local politicians. When the idea was presented to his/her collaborators – all of them university-based education scholars – that the findings would be synopsisized into a one-page summary for politicians, many of the collaborators were surprised because, the participant surmised, the behavior of synopsisizing findings for a non-scholarly audience is something that goes against traditional scholarly sensibilities.

You really have to be able to communicate in lay language. You have to boil down your message into a very, very, very short sound bite paper or whatever. For some academics, that is the worst possible thing that you

can ask them to do. Some of them can't even envision that because they really appreciate the nuance, the specificity, and that's not what goes in to a policy document. I think part of it is style and communication style. I'm working on this project now for [politicians in home state]. We did this really good study and we have this great report and it is really interesting. I collected a lot of the data myself and I know it's fascinating. We will produce a one-page summary of this report. When I announced that at my research group meeting, they looked at me like "You have got to be kidding me." That is what we will do at the end and I think that goes against a lot of people's tendencies and what makes them good academics. Part of it is the communication style.

Timing

The creation of a synopsis document does not guarantee that politicians will look at it. Politicians only want research when it is relevant to the area of policy they are focusing on in that session. As such, the timing of when they receive research is key to actually getting them to use it. When asked what affects the likelihood of research utilization by politicians, Participant P replied:

I think timeliness. Is the research available at the time the policymakers are making the decisions? Then I would say the relevance of the work, is it answering the questions that policymakers need to know or value. Sometimes that isn't the same as what the researchers are interested in looking at. I would say timeliness and relevance.

In the context of the work done by university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers, "timing" means providing politicians with the information they need when it is relevant to the policy issues related to education being worked on in the current political cycle. This is an aspect of presenting research to which university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers pay significant attention. Participant M stated that:

[Politicians and academics] have different functions. It's totally different worlds with different languages, different cultures, different functions, different demands. Politicians, they work at best on a two-year timeline and they want answers that are going to show up in less than that time so that they can get something through and then six months later when they're running for election again, they can say, "See, I did this and the

world's a better place so vote for me." Researchers work on a much slower timeline with a lot more caveats. They're much less likely to say, "Because you did A and that made the B happen." They're more likely to say, "Well, you did the A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I and don't you know what the relative influences of all of them are, etc." I think there's a tension/frustration in that communication because what it is that research can actually provide is information *and* (emphasis added by author) more questions. The politicians don't need another question. They want a simple, quick answer.

In the review of the literature, it was noted that politicians want to obtain answers in shorter turnaround times than those which scholars are typically accustomed to working under for purposes of publication (Firestone, 1989; Schwartz & Kardos, 2009). This is a difference that university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers understand, and they are willing to work within the time frames of politicians. In order to work within a time frame that will provide politicians with research when they can use it, university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers must try to assess when research on a certain topic will be useful to a politician for decision-making purposes. In the political science literature, the brief amount of time that a political tide, and thus a politician, is willing to dedicate to a given subject is referred to as the policy window (Kingdon, 2011; Lieberman, 2002). Participant V stated:

The most important thing is timing. Probably the second thing is taking the effort to develop modes of communication that are digestible... The timing is the key thing. That presenting an idea that when the window is open then people will listen, and if it's not they probably won't. It's hard to predict when that will happen. It's a matter of being ready. The key is to be ready when the window opens. But you know that doesn't necessarily fit perfectly within an academic cycle. The people who are in the state capitals – for education, the state capitals are the critical place, but it could be federal as well – you're more aware of when the timing is right. You're more aware quickly and so on, and you could dust off what you've got or you could prepare for that window of opening over a period of time, or maybe you could get it off the ground or maybe even helping it open.

One element of timing is trying to anticipate what policy issues politicians will be focusing on in the current legislative cycle and prepare ahead of time. This can be accomplished through staying apprised of state and federal policy trends and using that knowledge to plan for upcoming education policy issues that politicians will need to know about. Participant N told me:

Sometimes I say, "You know what? Topic X is going to be really important in six months." So we can get them to understand that let's do a policy brief and get out about three or four months. When it does pop up they will be ready for it. Sometimes your guess is right, sometimes you guess wrong.

While planning is an important aspect of timing because legislative cycles have some element of predictability, occasionally timing also means being ready when the policies get brought to politicians attention due to a sudden surge of political will. Participant P commented that:

You never know when [research] is going to be used and sometimes it is stuff that I have written a really long time ago. Maybe ten years ago, I did this I did this rubric, were looking at the implementation of standards and I thought, "Oh, this would be fantastic." People will use it because it was big in implementing standards at that time. I thought, "This is the bees' knees." But nobody really did anything with it. Now, they contacted me and they said, "We're going to use that rubric that you did to look at the implementation of content standards on the state test." As an academic, I would probably say, "that was ten years ago, I need to redo it. Don't use it now." I learned that there is a lag sometimes between research and policy and you just have to understand that when you do this kind of work.

Political will regarding education policy may arise as a result of unanticipated events, such as a major news story. Participant G gave an example.

Timing is also critical. You can take the same issue and take it forward in one session and it will not be included. Take it forward two sessions later and it would be the hottest topic around. All of those things have to do with factors that happen outside of the policy process, sometimes with the news events that you could think of right now. For example in [home state] a number of years ago, we cut school resource officers. With the

recent school shooting, school resource officers are now an extremely important issue at our legislature. For instance, there's lots of discussion about getting them back to school and how much they cost and what they did. I think that school resource officers have always been important. I think they've always served the same role but their importance to the policy issue even as a political issue has completely changed due to one factor that has nothing to do with research, nothing to do with politics at the time, has very much to do with an outside event.

Timing does not only mean having documents ready and available for politicians when there is a relevant policy discussion happening, but taking extra steps to ensure that the documents get into the hands of politicians when they need them. Participant C said:

I think that when you ask, “What is vital in this state policy?” as we're working our way through what components are important in order to be broad-based [and] to try to be all inclusive in the process, for example. One of the things that I would do as part of this work is, I actually write short white papers – one-page synopses of different research – but I wouldn't put my name on them. I'd put them in emails to the people who're involved in the effort to get them included as part of the package for the meeting.

In circumstances where a university-based bipartisan scholarship broker is working on getting documents in front of a politician or committee that is working on policy to which relevant scholarly research on education can be applied, the work of planning and synopsizing needs to begin months in advance. Participant A provided research for a task force of state politicians.

In that particular instance, before the task force had met, I worked for probably 3 months with staff members assigned to me and we assembled a briefing binder and we presented that to task force at the very first meeting.

Relationship Building

Honestly, I don't think there's a whole bunch of caring about high quality research. A lot of what I see going on is, who do they [politicians] have a relationship with in the area of education? Who do they trust the opinion of? (Participant F)

The skills of synopsisizing research into a format that politicians can use and timing the presentation of that synopsisized research to be most useful in political decision-making can only be accomplished if politicians believe that they can trust the person from whom the information is coming. Participant U stated:

I think their staff is probably nearly as credible as the expert when they give the answer. I believe that it's a combination of trust and just simple time. Things move so fast. They're going on so quickly. I don't think policymakers have much of a chance to verify things.

The prerequisite of trust for a politician's use of research is something that university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers understand, so they work to build relationships with politicians in order to foster that trust. Participant H told me:

I think that one important factor is the relationship with policymakers. I think that's extraordinarily important because from my perspective they're not experts but that doesn't mean that they're dumb. It just means that they're not experts in education policy and if you want them to ask you questions, legitimate open-ended questions, there's some vulnerability to that. They need to trust you. They need to trust that you're not going to the press and they need to trust you that you're not going to go talking behind their backs. That you're not going to be mocking them. Those kinds of things. You can be rest assured that if you did that then people wouldn't call you anymore for any reason. Developing that relationship is tough. It takes some time to do that.

The purpose of building these relationships for university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers is, in part, to set themselves apart from other university-based education scholars, who can be seen as just another constituent group advocating for their own interests.

Participant A said:

The expert policymaking community is not a terribly important constituent [group]. So what could a person proposing an education reform from their office at the university do that would materially affect a politician's career in any way at all? The answer is almost nothing.

Politicians do not just need to trust the people who are bringing them research, but they need to believe that these individuals respect them and, importantly, are providing them with reliable information that is of value to them for their education policymaking needs. This is why university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers work hard at building these relationships. Participant G told me:

One of the things that I spend a lot of time doing is trying to build relationships with some key policymakers without needing anything from them. In addition to relationship building, it's having a certain level of respect, being known for your fairness and the rigor of the work that you do. That you can be trusted from that point of view but also frankly, it's depending on what the political agendas are in terms of who is going to be receptive to wanting "expert" opinion.

Participant N stated:

It really is about personal relationships. I think what tenure track faculty tend to do is go in and tell policymakers either that they're wrong or that whatever the faculty member's specialty study is, that this is the way they do things. Is it surprising that does not work? Why would that work, right? I mean, in real life when do you get a situation where you're going in and just telling people that they're wrong gets them over to your side? Or you go in and say, "You need to do this, [because] it's what I believe." If people [say] that you kind of raise your eyebrows at them. Why would policymakers be any different? I work really hard at building... personal relationships. They need to know who you are. They need to see that you have value to them.

Relationship building is a long-term commitment on the part of the university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers. One aspect of this commitment is meeting with politicians in person, in a time frame and at a location that is convenient to the politician. Another aspect is offering brief useful information in convenient formats such as email. When asked what the ideal role for a researcher is in the research-to-policy connection,

Participant G replied:

Well, I think there are a lot of roles, frankly. I think one is doing rigorous unbiased policy research and making it available in ways that are very

accessible for policymakers. I would just send emails with things that I've found to certain people and say, "Hey, I saw this and thought you might be interested." Or if I'm down in our state capital, I'll try to pop in. But I don't do it so much during the legislative session because they're too busy, unless I've got something specific for legislation that's being talked about so that it would be useful for them. But I try to do my work *not* (emphasis added by author) during the legislative session as much as possible so you actually can sit down and talk with them rather than maybe a two-minute conversation in the hallway.

Relationship building is also an area where timing is a factor. When politicians are in legislative session, many more people want their attention, so part of the relationship building that university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers do is to reach out to politicians when they are not in legislative session. Participant B stated:

If possible, establishing a relationship with them so that you can send things to them and they'll recognize that it's from a trusted source. But I think a face-to-face meeting when possible. You might have to meet with staffers a few times first to begin to get access to them. I also think that that by meeting with some during times that are not super busy, that they're not right in the middle of their legislative sessions, you're going to have more time to talk them and you're going to have more access to them frankly than you will during the heat of the moment when the decisions are being made.

Face-to-face, or other brief interaction with politicians is one element of relationship building that is done in a personal, mostly private manner. Once this trusting relationship is established, it can be further built on in a more public fashion if a politician, or group of politicians, ask the university-based bipartisan scholarship broker to do research on their behalf. Participant H said:

The other thing that I have done more publicly is set up a relationship with our state board of education, an umbrella organization of our universities. In that case, I have set up a relationship where they can ask very specific research questions and if I can garner the resources and the interest from my colleagues either at [my home university] or other state universities, then we will give them back the research they're looking for. A good example, for instance – they had heard [for a] number of years that our standardized test score was unfair. I've answered the question that they

wanted to answer empirically. So myself and a professor from [another public university], we got some outside funding and we came back to our state board of education with that answer.

Having established these relationships and proven that s/he is a trustworthy source of research, a university-based bipartisan scholarship broker can use research to disagree with proposed policies that a politician puts forward. Participant G gave me an example where his/her trusting relationship with a politician made this politician more open to the research s/he provided.

For example, I served at our state drop out commission. The chair of the commission is, I don't know if it matters or not, but is a Republican senator in our state, and he had heard about policy in other states where in third grade kids had to pass the test in reading and if they couldn't pass the test then they were retained, and he thought that that would be a useful thing for us to do in the state in terms of promoting increased graduation rate.

I brought some research that emphasized that, no, that actually didn't help the situation and in fact, the research that he had been citing had all been done by one particular foundation that was in fact advocating strongly for this legislation, so he backed it up and didn't put it forward.

Because I have a relationship with him, because I served on commission with him for I think four or five years now – and was appointed by the legislature to serve on this commission –I have a certain reputation and a certain level of respect, [which] I've earned, that privileges me to be able to do those kinds of things.

Not all victories were so unambiguously successful. Oftentimes the research a university-based bipartisan scholarship broker brings to politicians makes a small difference in the education policy under consideration. Participant S stated:

In many cases I think what I provided had made a difference with regard to deliberation. It may have made a difference with regard [to] the contours of the policy but in a number of cases the policy continues to go through, even if I thought it was bad policy.

Bipartisan Engagement

I'm neither Republican nor Democrat. I respect the elected officials of people in the state of [home state] that somebody elected. Somebody I don't happen to agree with doesn't negate the reality that that is their elected official, and as long as they are engaged in good faith and service for the people of [home state], I'm going to work with them just like everybody else. (Participant L)

University-based bipartisan scholarship brokers do not do this work for one politician, or a political party. They are working at the state or federal level with elected officials who are crafting laws and policy. In order to influence the policy-making process, their work of providing politicians with research in order to inform education policymaking has to be done for both Democrats and Republicans, working across the political aisle. Participant O told me:

I think if you're going to suggest that you're able to provide unbiased summaries of research, you ought to be able to work with whoever steps forward and is leading the place where you are. If you want to work in Wyoming, you work with Republicans. There 85% of the legislature is Republican. In Vermont, most of the legislature were Democrats. In Maine, I think the committee was a majority Republican. The legislature's now very heavily Democrat. So I think if you can't work with both parties, you're in trouble as politics change in each individual state. We're talking about helping children learn.

When asked why s/he chooses to work with politicians from both parties,

Participant V answered:

Because that's the way policy generally has to get made in most states. There are some one-party states, but states where there's bipartisan split, where it's possible for parties to work together then you have to do that. You have to. They're important stakeholders and participants. If you don't work with both sides, you're not going to make change.

Most participants spoke of prioritizing having a positive impact on students and schools over political allegiances. Participant R stated:

I'm not a strongly partisan person myself. And I see an aspect of both parties' agenda that I think have value. So it's more about individual candidates who are doing things that I think have value. I guess it goes back to my basic professional role being to have impact on policy in a way that I think will lead to improved outcomes. I want to take any opportunity to do that that comes along. Especially in the area of education policy, a lot of the debates don't fall strongly along party lines. And so there are, you know, great opportunities to work with people from across the political spectrum. That's what I think makes education, or makes the politics of education so fascinating.

Participant E stated:

What's really important in education in my opinion, is not – shouldn't be ideological. It's not left versus right. It's not Republican versus Democrat. Actually, that's something I pride myself about because I've actually walked down that line and tried to stay away from my own politics, my own beliefs about the Right and Left, Republican and Democrat, and just stay with the issues. It has worked pretty well. I've been invited to the Republican governors' conference to speak to them. I've been involved with Democratic presidents and I've talked to Republican congressmen. I think it's the way to go, to stay as an academic in a neutral position with respect to those kinds of issues while advocating for policy issues that you think are really important from your academic experiences as to what really would be the best thing in education for our kids. I think that you can go there. I've been there and I think I continue to be. It matters not to me the politics. In fact, you should know that one of the great things about educational policy is that you can get to the governors. Because if you get to the governors, they're actually reasonable people who put aside all the politics when you get them in the room outside the press and you start talking about these issues. It's amazing to me how much they're willing to compromise with each other. When you talk these issues, if you didn't know coming into the room who's Republican and who's Democrat. I think that's where you can impact policy especially.

The commitment to working in a bipartisan fashion is informed by the relationships that are built with politicians. A trusting relationship leads to negotiation, which provides a space where policy can start to be crafted. Participant F stated:

Being at the table with bipartisan policymakers and having conversations in those early developmental stages as they are considering ideas, to me, has been so impactful in terms of being able to share my perspective and research that I bring to the table to make a compelling argument. That has some good influence.

Bipartisan work that university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers do is largely pragmatic. If the goal is to get research into the hands of politicians to influence their decision-making regarding education policy, then the party to which that politician is aligned should be irrelevant. When asked why s/he chose to work with politicians from both political parties, Participant P answered:

Why I have chosen to work with both political parties? The reason I went into education was to make a difference for kids, schools, etc. The schools that I've worked with and studied are importantly low performing and high poverty, high minority schools and I don't really give a crap about what their political beliefs are as long as they're willing to try to make things better for these kids. So I might not agree with their ideological practices, official policies or about economic design. But if I can get the type of school policy for the kids that I'm interested in working for, then I'm willing to work with whoever is willing to do that and try to encourage them to be willing to do that.

Participant A echoed the sentiment:

I was actually interested in accomplishing that... for children, and the way you accomplish something is the way you engage with people and you allow them to know you and allow them to help you with what you are doing. I had to have a relationship with Republicans and Democrats.

Many participants discussed the fact that in order to have impact with politicians from both parties through scholarly research, the research has to be what guides the work. When the platform that a university-based bipartisan scholarship broker brings is grounded in research, politicians may disagree, but will be respectful of the platform. Providing research lends a level of credibility and allows for university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers to engage with politicians in a politically neutral, bipartisan space.

Participant L told me:

It's important to not become partisan or be seen as partisan. As a tenured professor, you don't want to be viewed as a Republican or a Democrat. You can be a Republican or Democrat but I think you don't want to be

viewed as being it. You want to be careful you don't get aligned with the extremists. There are some extremists who are elected, and you don't want to look like you're the tool of an extremist or hyper-partisan because you'll lose your credibility and that's the most valuable asset you have.

Bringing research to politicians in a bipartisan fashion distinguishes university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers from partisan researchers, such as lobbyists or think tank researchers, as well. Participant N explained what distinguishes him/her this way:

There are plenty of people who fill the partisan void. There's not much room for space there. It's very crowded. I have seen this interesting, I would say weird, political transition over my lifetime from a center-left, center-right country to a very polarized country and not a lot of moderates left. Those [moderates] would be natural allies for researchers. They tend to be more pragmatic politicians, and just by definition, research should be able to influence them more. But there are fewer of those people, especially at the federal level. They are an endangered species in some ways. I think at the same time it creates great opportunities. There's not a lot of people in that space in the middle that will try to really look at what empirical research says. There are plenty of think tanks for lobby groups that will put out quote/unquote "research". I'm not sure that that's helping the conversation much.

There are types of some people on both political extremes where they will put out study, and my people kind of talked to them socially and say, "Parts of the study were all a little questionable". Privately they'll admit that. "Of course, but my job is not to do a study. My job is to do a study that says this." I think there's a big role for faculty who are willing to honestly ask and answer questions without presupposing what they're going to find. I think again that is still valued by a number of policymakers. Not all of them, but many of them.

Do Not Expect Recognition

Because much of the work that university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers do is conducted in personal interactions with politicians, they do not regularly receive recognition, either publicly from politicians, or privately from the deans of their college. Participants articulated that they do not expect to receive recognition for the role that they play in influencing education policy. Participant H explained:

I try to maintain a relationship with our state policymakers and in that, I try to be a resource for them to ask questions, get information and clarify issues when I know that many times in many public settings, they don't have an opportunity to do that. For a number of years, what I would set myself up as – politicians knew that if you had what you thought was a dumb question in education, you could come to me for more information. I have served that role now for a number of years. A lot of what I do wouldn't show up anywhere, at least not in the public records, but I do think it's important.

For some participants, the influence they have in working with politicians is very direct and hands-on, but they still do not expect recognition for the work. They do not expect it, nor do they seek it out. Participant N gave an example:

I just kind of innocently said [to a local politician], “You know, I know what you're trying to accomplish. You're trying to use market forces to do blah, blah, blah.”

They're like “Oh, yes actually that's a pretty good way to describe it.”

I said, “Here's why I don't think that's actually going to work and here's what I think you can do to get to your goals.” They immediately perked up.

I didn't hear anything for a month or two and then I got cryptic phone message from [an elected official] who basically said, “You need to write up what you shared with us verbally.” Should I get any credit for that? My compromise was pretty much what they put in place. Absolutely not. When you are a faculty member trying to influence policy, it does not matter. I think that's also hard for faculty to come to grips with. You may have an enormous influence and that influence may be changing three words in the middle but three brilliant words. No your name isn't going to be on it. No one's ever going to pat you on the back or say “thank you”. You just need to know that you did it and your bosses need to know that you did it and that it was important. That just doesn't fit the higher ed value system. I think that's another reason why we don't see for a fact that they at least try, if that's how our merit systems just don't line up.

The reason given by some university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers for not seeking out recognition ties back to relationships they built with politicians, and the desire to have impact as a priority over public recognition. Participant P explained:

I was tapped as a go-to person that was under a Democratic governor, Democratic house and Democratic senate. We now have a Republican governor, Republican house and Republican senate. You have this politics playing in that the program started by the previous administration – the current administration doesn't have any reason to continue it because then it's not a new program that they invented that they can claim credit for. If you're going to play in the game of politics, you have to continually reinvent yourself according to the political wind, and that can be very difficult. Currently, we don't talk about sustaining a program. We're talking about reinventing because the semantics matter. If you're sustaining the program, that's the previous administration's and it's going to die as soon as it gets wound up. But if you're *reinventing* (emphasis added by author) then the new administration can claim credit for it. It's their project. If you're not nimble and able to recognize the need to give people credit... it's the same when I write one-page papers anonymously. Well why? Why didn't I take the credit? Because you need to let other people think it's their idea. I think that's difficult. For a lot of academics, their whole identities are closely linked to their ideas.

What makes them different from other university-based education scholars?

It was discussed previously that university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers provide politicians with synopses of scholarly research, in a time-frame that is advantageous to politicians, purposefully building trusting relationships, all in a bipartisan fashion, while never expecting to receive formal recognition for this role. Each of these political activities is uncommon for tenured university-based education scholars. Despite all of their work outside of the university providing research to politicians, university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers are still tenured university-based education scholars who have a responsibility to publish in scholarly journals in order to keep the jobs that pay their salaries. However, their engagement in certain activities through their home universities distinguishes university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers from other university-based education scholars. Participant P said:

A lot of my colleagues are used to being authorities and experts. When people ask me to come in and give them advice, they do what you tell them. In a policy arena, that doesn't happen. I also do a lot of work with [a

large urban city's] public schools, and I've brought some of my other colleagues in in that. They like the work and it's really interesting. Then when we go to give our recommendations, they come out of the room and they expect that two weeks later they're going in and [that same large urban city's] public schools are going to be transformed. That really isn't what happens in a policy context. I think part of it is the impact and part of it is the communication style that makes it very challenging. It's just not in some people's nature.

Politically Relevant Research Agenda

While participants articulated that they appreciate the professional freedom that academia provides to set one's own research agenda, many of them also stated that they decided to focus their research agenda on subjects that are politically relevant to politicians. This research path was consciously selected with the intent of trying to produce research that could potentially have an impact on education policy decisions.

Participant J stated:

I publish probably as many journal articles as people who don't engage with policymakers. Part of it is picking topics. I know that they are going to play both roles. So I'm picking topics that I think relate to real problems. I know in the end I'm going to end up with a journal article version of this thing. I know that's also going to be relevant and so I'm going to write a policy brief for an outline or something that discusses the findings. In that sense, most of the heavy lifting is playing double duty and accomplishing both at the same time.

At times the decision to pick politically relevant research topics is surprising to other scholars who work in the same field. Participant L advised:

Pick research topics that are relevant. Nobody is going to care about how many angels can dance on the head of a pin. Pick research topics that are going to make a difference or there's no point in communicating that to policymakers. I think this is a critically important point and I think a lot of people at the university don't even think about this. They're chasing tenure and promotion and they end up picking research topics that they view of interest to them but they are not of real value to anybody outside of the University. Why not pick a topic that really matters? In fact people will say that to me, "Wow that's really important." And I think "When will you do research on something that's important?" Of Course I never

say that. Seriously, it always puzzles me why they seem so surprised to be working on something that matters. Why wouldn't everybody be working on something that matters?

For university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers who pick a politically relevant research agenda, the decision is based in their interests just like other colleagues. Their interests happen to be policy-driven. Participant B explained:

Faculty members direct their own research agenda. They really choose what they research. Very often it's driven by their own interest and the questions that are burning in their mind. Where if you're doing policy work, you're really driven a lot by the policy agenda.

Understanding How Politics Affects Policymaking

The policy process is ultimately a political process. Decisions [are] made by public officials who are either elected or appointed by people who are elected. At the end of the day politics and political considerations is what drive policy outcomes in the long run. (Participant R)

University-based bipartisan scholarship brokers use research to engage with politicians in the education policy agenda setting process. Since politicians by profession are political creatures, this means that participants who I spoke with need to be able to engage in the world of politics in order to impact policy. Participant A stated:

Politics is a different thing than the academic study of policy. Let me tell you the way in which my experience is outside of what generally happens in the academy under the heading of policy. What happens under the heading of policy is no different than what happens under the heading of any other academic subject. People set about studying policy; how was policy made; what are the key factors affecting policy formation; what the key organizations are; and how do the organizations relate to one another. None of this research has any connection to world of governing and how do those issues weigh against the other issues. So practically it's very different from the academic study of policy... I actually have engaged in practical politics.

Knowing that politics affects policymaking provides an opportunity for university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers to utilize the skills mentioned earlier in this section, such

as synopsising research and building relationships, to strategically engage with politicians on the subject of education policy. The knowledge of the way in which politics affects policymaking allows them to navigate potentially hazardous political terrain in order to achieve their goals. Participant E stated:

If you go in, talk in straight academic talk with all the caveats and qualifications, the policy people will just say thank you very much and go on and about their own way. So I think the tension of how far you can take the academic work into the world where policy is messier. Policy isn't about all the caveats. Policy is coming up with something that's best to deal with the problem even though your study may say "Well, there's blah... blah... this kind of constraint and that kind of constraint." Policy has to be moved in a broader spectrum than a piece of research, and so where research should bring it bear on that issue, there is that tension between how constrained you should stay while trying to recognize that public policy can't be constrained. With politics, I think the game is different than the academic side of your work. It's the academic who can disagree with you respectfully. The political world is about games and about power and about who can get the position and who can destroy somebody else because you don't like for some ideological reason or for the self-centered reason you don't want this to happen. Then it gets to be a very different game and the tension is [something] no academic does really well. I should say very, very few academics are really at all prepared to enter that realm unless they've had political experience because the game is so different and it's played so differently and it can be vicious and outside the realm of academia. Academics tend to argue rationally. Politicians argue on emotion and those things are in conflict tremendously. If you're not prepared for it you'd get buried as an academic.

This knowledge about how politics affects policymaking is accumulated over time from personal experience and not from scholarly research. Participant H explained:

It was particularly telling to me that what was going on at the legislature during the day was completely different than what I was reading in the evenings to finish my dissertation. They had had less relevance than what I would have liked or what I would really hope for in terms of helping me understand my day job, in all the academic literature. [I stay at a university because] that's where you will really research. It's that part of it. If I take that base away, then I am really no different than a lot of other folks who are within the policy process. In politics I think that there are three kinds of folks out there that are influencing policy and they're either coming

from a political angle, they're coming from a research angle, or they're coming from a legal angle. I'm not a lawyer. If I'm not coming at it from a research angle than I'm coming at it from a political angle which means I'm no different unless I'm housed at the university and the research is the work that I'm doing. Otherwise, I'm really no different than somebody who starts early with a candidate and eventually ends up their right hand person in something like education policy, who has never really done anything in education policy. Or a lobbyist who is influencing policy, but is really influencing policy through politics.

Participant K succinctly stated that, "Part of policymaking is politics."

Train Graduate Students

There are some university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers who believe that this skill set is one that needs to be passed on to the up-and-coming generation of education researchers. They take the time to train graduate students in the skills necessary to become a university-based bipartisan scholarship broker. Participant G said:

In my policy class that I teach, we actually do policy research for one or more policymakers every year. That is, the students do. They're all [graduate] students. They all contribute to our group policy analysis. They do individual ones too for a local policymaker, a legislator in their particular region. But for the group project we do want to present it to authentic audiences and get feedback on the usefulness of it. Simultaneously, you're providing free research to those policymakers. I have people lined up wanting us to do research for them every year. Of course, I've been doing this for 15 years now. So one level is actually doing the research. The other level is the training the people how to do it or educating other people how to do it.

This skill set of compiling research and presenting it in a format that is useful to politicians in their education policy decision-making is one that takes university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers a long time to learn, and can be a difficult skill to teach to others. Participant J suggested:

I think I wouldn't start off with the question, "How do I become influential to policymakers?" I would start off with "How can I do research that's interesting, that policymakers would find useful?" That's the secondary thing in figuring out how to frame the question and somewhat how to

write about it. That's the easy part. The hard part is having the skills to do good research and ask important questions. I've tried to train my graduate students in this and only occasionally I've been successful.

For those participants who spoke about consciously training graduate students in this skill set, the reward is having impact in many different education policy contexts around the country. Participant V told me that:

A lot of my graduates are in state agencies. So when I go to the state capital, my students are all over the place. In the state agencies, the legislation staff and all that. I prepare the way right there. That's an important vein of influence but that takes a long time to develop. But once you're in your cycle and out there receiving the message and interpreting it for the policymakers, that helps a lot. Another thing I've been doing recently with these Ph.D. students, I've had some of them who previously did master's degrees with me. They are so well prepared that I'm delegating legislative testimonies to them.

Participant G echoed this sentiment:

I think one of the reasons I have influence is through all the students... It has had a long-term influence. They last a long time. You can have a diverse influence across many places in the United States – many agencies and many organizations doing work with the state agencies.

Impacting Education Policy

The reason for all the work done by university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers outside of their academic requirements is the desire to impact education policy with scholarly research. Each participant qualified for my study because they are successful at translating that desire into action. They do not just desire to impact education policy using research, they can demonstrate that their work has had impact on education policy. As previously stated, impact was shown by each participant providing a specific education policy artifact over which they had influence through their work as a university-based bipartisan scholarship broker. Examples of these artifacts are Race to the Top applications, campaign literature, state and federal education bills, copies of

presentations made to politicians, video and transcripts of political speeches, video or audiotaped interviews, state legislature and federal congressional hearings, as well as court opinions. Participant G stated that:

My work is making a positive difference for children in the pre-K to 12 schools, and frankly in the whole pre-K to 20 continuum. The policies I work on... impacts my life in that it impacts my work and my ability to do my work more effectively.

For participants that spoke of training graduate students to also engage in this type of work, they believed that their impact is demonstrated is through their students' work.

Participant S stated:

You have the ability to be impactful. Frankly, some of the policy research that my classes have done over the years has helped to create what we now have as the basis of policies in the state. That's certainly a huge source of pride.

The work that they do on top of their professional academic requirements to impact policy contradicts many other scholars' professed beliefs that research cannot impact education policymaking. Participant N said:

I did a one-day event with a panel on this very topic [does research impact policymaking]. One speaker the entire day said the answer was "maybe" and everyone else said "no" and that just flies to the face of the last ten years of my experience, which is when I really started to work in policy seriously. I don't get where that comes from. I think it's one of those things where it has been said so often. I think that that has become the conventional wisdom, and that has never been my experience. I'm not really sure where it's coming from at this point. I think it's reinforced from stereotype. So yes, research impacts policy, but it depends how you do it.

The work of university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers is also conducted despite the fact that the traditional university and academic reward structure traditionally does not recognize it for purposes of promotion and tenure. Participant P discussed this challenge.

I think really the reason people engage in that is because they want to make an impact. They want to make sure their work has an impact. I think

that's about it. At least that's what it boiled down to for me. It is a lot of extra work. I think that might be – actually I'm glad I said that out loud because that's probably another reason why, and I don't know why I didn't think about this before. There's nothing in our reward structure that would encourage me to do that work. It would probably distract from your ability to focus on other things that are rewarded, finishing your doctoral students, doing some good teaching, doing good academic service, getting your publications in top journals. The reward system is organized in such a way that engaging with politicians and engaging in the political processes, even if you're hoping to make a better difference to a lot of kids, you're not going to get rewarded at the university for doing that and so I think that's probably a big reason why not very many people do it. You aren't getting rewarded from your employer for it.

Despite often not getting rewarded professionally for this work, there is a personal satisfaction that university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers possess which comes from knowing that research they have presented to politicians is positively impacting public education in the United States. This is addressed more in-depth in the “why” section of this chapter.

When do they do this work?

The work that university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers do to get research into the hands of politicians to influence education policy is done in addition to their responsibilities as university-based education scholars. This work is done outside of the professional requirements of and responsibilities to their home universities. Participant O said:

In addition to being a professor, I do consulting... We do it through word of mouth. We just talk to folks and start doing things. My understanding is the Gates foundation has identified about a half a dozen school districts who they're going to help and they're all supposed to pick a model that they want to use and get the funding to do it. Ours is one of the models that's on the list. Where that will lead I don't know.

When Participant Q was asked if the work done in this capacity is part of professional requirements for the university, s/he replied:

No, it's not. I guess it counts as engagement or service, but no, it's not part of what I am assigned. It's additional work, but I think it's important.

Participant G speculated that the substantial additional time commitment required by this work actually discourages some university-based education scholars from considering trying it, even if they are interested.

How you are going to build an academic career on that kind of activity? When it comes time to promotion and tenure, not many members of the committee are going to be interested in how many community meetings you organized, or who you provide information about class size reduction for. That will be completely meaningless in context of tenure and promotion and it is enormously time consuming, so it also means that that's time not spent doing the sort of things that we will get you promoted that will enhance your career. So there are very good reasons why scholars aren't particularly knowledgeable about, or interested in, what policymakers say and why academics don't know how and don't want to know how to get engaged in two different worlds.

No participant said that this work was a required, or even requested part of their professional role at their home university. Many spoke about universities calling this work "service" so that it could be considered as one aspect of their professional tenure responsibilities, but it is not work that is rewarded in a university setting – which is why it is done outside of traditional scholarly responsibilities. Participant L said:

I think [home university] has a tri-fold duty of instruction, research and service. I think that even though I'm not funded for service, I take that service element seriously. We're a land grant institution and I think we have a duty to serve the state. Even if I'm not funded for that, I think it's important to do that, it keeps me doing that, and I'll always do that. This is more personal but, when I take my kids to McDonald's and they see the lady working there at McDonald's. She's paying taxes to support the [home university]. She should get something for her money. The schools should be better for her children. The schools should have been better for her. I take that's seriously. People that are working-class people pay a lot of taxes as compared to the percentage paid by people that are quite wealthy. They should get something for their money. I think we have an obligation to try to do what we can, to contribute to the welfare of the state.

The additional work that university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers do to engage with politicians in the education policy agenda-setting process outside of their professional scholarly responsibilities takes up additional time. But after years of doing this additional work, the university-based bipartisan scholarship broker knows what to expect and might be able to attain the same level of engagement while committing less time to the work. Participant J said:

There's a time commitment issue, right? So the standpoint of getting tenured is one of the reasons why I think it was really possible to have a job like this because I do want to spend a lot of time doing that other work. Partly, I balanced the two by just working a lot. Now, I've got enough experience writing these reports and the reputation for doing that kind of work that it has become pretty easy for me to do the translation. The additional work isn't as difficult as it used to be.

Regardless of the additional time commitment, many participants said that they continue to do this work outside of their scholarly requirements because they believe it is important. Participant O stated:

I think there's always a balance and I think it's important for faculty to do some outside work and to spend time poking around the world outside of academia. What's the right amount? I don't know. I'm sure you can find people who'd tell you I do it too much.

Why do they do this work?

Desire for impact

As was previously mentioned, university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers take on this role and the added responsibility that comes with it because they are interested in making sure that scholarly research, theirs as well as that of others, gets utilized by politicians in the education policy agenda setting process. In short, they want to make sure that scholarly research has impact beyond publication in scholarly journals. Participant P stated:

I really feel like a part of my role is to promote use of my research by people who are making policy decisions. I actually actively try to engage the policy community, put work out there in a format that can be easily used by policymakers. I view my role is to really go that extra step to promote use. I would say there are a lot more traditional researchers [that] really feel like their responsibility stops at publication. They put something out in a journal, or something like that. Their work is done. If you're an academic that is really what your university will reward you for – publications, grants, that sort of thing. I think that I maybe have a little bit broader view in that I see that we should go forward and try to promote use of our work by legislators. That involves interacting with them, going to legislator forums, sending them copies of what you've done in a form that they can understand, interacting with their staffers. Their staffers know what the current thing is. [This is] work that your regular old faculty member probably wouldn't identify as part of their responsibility.

They do all this extra work not solely because they want to have impact, but because, based on experience, they have seen that the activities they engage in through the role of university-based bipartisan scholarship broker are successful at positively impacting policy with scholarly research. Participant F explained it this way:

You get to a point that the data can carry you to and you then have to make somewhat of a leap in order to really affect public policy. Because if you do a research study, there's so many qualifiers, there are so many caveats. There's so many ways that you can say blah, blah, blah. If you keep conditioning things, people just stop listening to you. You have to find that line – I call that a line and I've learned to walk along the edge of that line without stepping over it. The line is where you go beyond your data in a reasonable fashion to make points that can inform policy without stepping over the line to where you've just gone way beyond your data that's not at all defensible. It's a really fine line and I don't know how I found it. I only know that I believe that I've ridden along that line fairly successfully. But I'm conscious of it and therefore I'm very careful with what I say.

Partly what I'm talking about is that public policy has to be by definition simpler than the complexity of a piece of research. When [I] go to inform policy, at first it was very difficult for me to make bigger statements because as an academic it was hard because my caveats were irrelevant. They didn't want to hear those. That's a tough thing to deal with. But then I realized – and this is the important insight that I think is relevant to what you're trying to study – I realized that if I didn't do that, they wouldn't pay attention. I had more data on these issues than most everybody else that

was informing the policy. Therefore it would be wrong of me, because of my worries as an academic, to simply become irrelevant. Because I had more information than most people that were suggesting what the policy should be or not be. So I figured there's a vacuum there that I have data about and therefore it's okay if I make some jumps just beyond the edge of my data. But then the line comes in because I can only go so far. If I go too far, I jump over that line and I become dishonest to the research and that's a really key feature that makes you successful or not successful I think.

Because university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers have such a strong desire for scholarly research to impact education policymaking, they learn from their experiences with politicians. Participant R said:

Through my involvement, [I have] a much better understanding of how the real world works beyond the Ivory tower and how decisions are actually made. And if you're a researcher who is motivated by impacting policy, you can learn how you go about doing that much more effectively.

Participant H described a specific function that many education scholars take on believing that they are able to impact policymaking, and that, based on multiple observations, actually does not influence policymakers.

When you're in th[is] position and doing some of the things that I'm doing – when you're asked to go speak, you need to be careful with where you go and how you go. Making sure that you're not just being used because of your perceived expertise. For instance, I know that we do quite a bit of counting and trying to figure out how people influence policy or how research has influenced policy. One of the things we can count in the public records is the number of committee presentations or testimonies. I firmly believe that there is nothing that anybody can say as a researcher in a testimony on a research committee that is going to change what's already been established prior to the meeting with regard to the vote count.

For university-based education scholars who are truly interested in making sure that scholarly research has an impact in the education policymaking process, the fine line that has to be walked and the additional extra work that is necessary to be a university-based bipartisan scholarship broker is worthwhile, because what results is the knowledge that

you have used research to positively impact education policy. Participant H went on to explain that:

The benefits, at least to me personally, it's really what I believe we should be doing. I think that to just study education policy from a distance and do a study retrospectively and to write about what has happened I think is pretty limiting. Most of us some time in our career get to the point where we're asking, "What was it all for? I wrote all this but what happened?" I think people get to that point generally later on in their career and they start asking themselves, "Alright so has any of this made a difference?" Meaning, at least, regarding education policy. "Has it affected education policy?" For me, I think that is the exciting part about doing this because you live that all the time. You know that what you're doing really is making a difference. Then again, not a big difference, not a lot. But that somebody is listening to it and on many occasions you can see some changes to a policy that otherwise would have gone through and been a lot worse. On even a few cases, you see one that ends or that doesn't make it as a law because it's something you're involved with.

Participant C echoed the sentiment:

I think really the reason people engage in that is because they want to make an impact. They want to make sure their work has an impact. That's about it. At least that's what it boiled down to for me.

Background & Training

Most of the participants I spoke with had some sort of formal training in political engagement, or a professional background outside of the university where political engagement was essential to their work. While they were not trained to be university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers, the activities in which they engage in this role often stem from their background experiences outside of academia. Participant R explained:

I realized that I was really committed to education... And at first I thought, "well maybe it's not going to work out to be an academic and maybe I should check out the think tank world in D.C." I was spending a year at [a think tank] while I was finishing my dissertation and really did move down to D.C. thinking that I would be there. The most likely outcome would be just staying in the think tank space or work in government directly. But pretty quickly I was reminded of why I came to graduate school in the first place which was to teach and be around

students and the university environment. And also I saw that in the think tank realm, a premium is placed on being visible and to have something to say about the events of the day rather than serve the events or the issues you think are most important. That led me to take another look at academic options that would work. But I [wanted to] have an impact in a direct way.

Participant J, who also started his/her career at a think tank, did not intend to wind up in academia – but is happy to be housed at a university.

I didn't really intend going into academia. My first job out of graduate school was at a think tank and I sort of ended up in academia almost by accident. When I was ready to leave the think tank that I was in, I got a call from the university. My [life partner] ended up in an academia as well. Both positions were open and this was in a city that my [life partner] wanted to move to. So, I mean, it was kind of accidental. One reason it was accidental was I didn't realize that I could do what I wanted to be doing in terms of engaging with policymakers from the university. I ended up getting a job that I'm very fortunate to have. There aren't a lot of jobs like this, but I didn't realize it was possible and I've just been really lucky to be able to do basically both.

For some participants, the professional path they took was unintentional, and primarily due to the job market when they graduated. Participant N explained that:

When I got my PhD, there was a horrible job market. We were coming out of a recession. There were just very few university positions. There weren't even opportunities for interviewers. It was just horrible. A friend said, "My dad is a professor and it has just got a state funding for a state education policy center. Would you want to do that?" I said yes because I needed the job but my thought was policy sounds so boring. Then I started doing it and I realized how much I loved it. I thought, "Maybe this is something I should do." For my next job I just went back to doing [university-based scholarly] work. I really enjoyed it. There's a real emphasis on methods, which is always helpful and measurement, assessment issues which I really enjoyed, and evaluation. The education policy center director at [second university] learned about my background and journeyed into it. He left the university suddenly and he said, "Would you like any of this [work]?" I said, "Gosh, I guess so." I think my background actually helps and that I am not a trained educational policy person. I've never taught a policy course.

Participants who had worked in state government prior to entering academia articulated that they felt this gave them a sense of the realities that politicians deal with in ways that other faculty may not understand. Participant F stated:

I worked for the state government initially. I was hired as part of a four-person research team to look at education. We were like an in-house think tank for the governor. So I got a taste of policy analysis and also working with elected officials directly, and their senior staff. [I learned] Like they say – most really good principals have once been a teacher, and superintendents should work at the school level before they go to the district level. I would say the same. I think that if you haven't worked in policy – haven't been in the thick of it – working for a state agency or elected officials, doing that, you get a perspective, an internal perspective. I do think often university faculty who have not had that experience are a little facile in attributing motivation to elected officials, underappreciate the sources of pressure they're under and the life they lead. I'm always telling elected officials to spend the day, 8:00-3:00, in a school. And, I'm always telling university faculty to spend a day down at the state legislature and walk the halls with your elected official for the day. It is humbling.

For those scholars who had professional experience in government prior to academia, they realized that politicians were not utilizing the standard academic methods of research output, publishing in academic journals. Participant H said:

I took off to graduate school to become a professor. I went into a doctoral [program] to study education policy. I went into an education policy department as opposed to going to sociology or some other academic discipline and then applying that discipline to education policy. It was really the matter of circumstance for me. I had not finished my dissertation at that point. I started working for Department of Education... During those years, it was particularly telling to me that what was going on at the legislature during the day was completely different than what I was reading in the evenings to finish my dissertation. They had had less relevance than what I would have liked or what I would really hope for in terms of helping me understand my day job, all the academic literature. Fortunately, I had the chance to go and be part of the faculty to eventually go down the academic tenure track. But every time we had conversations about policy, I knew that talking to my colleagues at a university session at AERA, or writing about it was in no way influencing anything that anybody was doing at a state house somewhere – that we were writing to each other. We were reading each other but I had no illusion that after

putting in on a journal, what I wrote and putting in the end [of the paper] what policymakers should be doing, that any policymaker at all was listening to it.

Because they wanted to have impact, they knew that they had to produce work that contained elements politicians would find valuable. Participant Q said:

I think university-based researchers – one thing they could do to be more helpful – they are not as cost-conscious as legislators, who are always thinking “okay, how much is this going to cost?” A good idea that is expensive will not go as far as an okay idea that is really cheap. I think university research that is a little more conscious to the cost of things will help them to be heard by elected officials. The other thing I would say – something you become so much more aware of working for the state – is the issue of the world of the state versus the world of the district. That is a more important conversation to elected officials than it is to university-based researchers. A lot of times, a research finding might point in a particular direction, but if that is not seen as the appropriate action for the state, then state politics may not pick up on it. Even if there is a research base behind it, they still think those are decisions best made at the district level. Being more attuned to the dynamics of inter-governmental relations is another way to have university-based research be likely to be heard by elected officials.

Enjoyment

While the work that university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers do is demanding and time consuming, it is also very enjoyable to them. They find it rewarding to see their research utilized by politicians in formulating and/or promoting education policy. Participant G stated:

I started off as a K-12 educator and my heart is very much both as a classroom teacher and a principal. I came here to [home institution] and have spent 16 years. I've been doing it a long time. I enjoy the work that I do. I direct the Research & Community Engagement center. We call it outreach down here but it's essentially better known as community engagement in most other places. That allows me to engage in a lot of research out in the field where we see, hands-on, the difference we're making every day, frankly. But also, it gives me that flexibility to be working with a lot of legislators on issues with them, so I love what I do.

Participant P articulated that while s/he enjoyed the specific role of a university-based bipartisan scholarship broker, s/he liked the schedule in the academic cycle much more than the schedule of the political cycle.

I like the role that I play... I just like the academic climate. I like teaching students. I like the fact that there's a yin and a yang. There's a fall semester, spring semester, summer. In a policy environment, there's not such a regular cycle. There isn't the education aspect of it. I still do live in that policy mode some of the time but I prefer an academic environment because of the teaching and also the way the year is structured and the way your time is allocated. Policy context is kind of 24/7. There are periods of no activity and there are periods of incredibly intense activity. Sometimes I find that a little bit difficult to work in, particularly since I've become a parent and have lots of other things in my life. It's a little brutal working in a policy context all the time.

Participants also spoke about enjoying working with politicians – getting to engage with them around issues of education policy. Participant N said:

In the end, it's very rewarding work and it can be a lot of fun, but fun and pleasant are not the same. I have gotten my rear end ripped to shreds at committee hearings and left. Then two days later, I still perversely enjoyed the whole thing. I was making a difference. This past summer I just got crucified, but then a very important person at state level called and said, "You kind of took one for the team. You stuck to your guns. You took the high road. The important people have noticed and they appreciate it. The comments you made are being seriously considered even though a few of the members just killed you." I was like, "You know what? At the end of the day, that's a victory." I got nasty emails from some of the senators afterwards but I was polite, I was trying to be funny and said what the research said. I was very honest about it and I wouldn't let them trick me into saying politically loaded things. It was not pleasant. No one would have watched that and said, "Oh, that's awesome." But it was kind of fun and I think it could make a difference, so that's why I do it.

Many participants articulated the joy they feel knowing that their work with politicians in the role of university-based bipartisan scholarship broker is having a positive impact on education policy. Participant O stated that:

Most legislators don't have the interest or the time or the desire to sit down and read those journal articles and figure out how they apply. So

somebody like me who actually enjoys reading those things is happy to try to help translate it, and help talk about what the policy implications are then. The average legislator is very, very busy and he goes through four committee meetings a day. When they're in session, they have general sessions where they have to vote to make informed decisions so they need some help. To me, the benefit is giving them information and helping them... I have enjoyed the rough and tumble world of politics and I really enjoy the give and take.

Considering the large amount of additional work that university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers do on top of their scholarly research in this role, and the lack of formal recognition they receive from their universities for doing this work, it is to be expected that they enjoy it immensely. Without professional rewards for this work, the feeling of enjoyment as well as the verification that this work is having an impact on education through policymaking, are the driving forces that continue to motivate university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers to continue in this role.

How do their perceptions of the policy process compare with published models?

Because all of the participants with whom I spoke are university-based education scholars, I asked them directly if they have found models in any published scholarly research that, based on their experience working with politicians to help incorporate research into the policymaking process, they believe successfully synthesizes or describes the work of getting research into education policy. Roughly half of the participants were not aware of available theories, or any published scholarly research on this topic. A few did not believe that scholarly descriptions would be of any practical use in the work they do. Participant A said:

To tell you the truth, I have no knowledge of such academic theories and really no interest in them because problems with such theories. They're, of necessity, descriptive. That means that somebody will have to look what I just told you and sort of abstract from that a series of relationships and steps. So that's the way an academic theory on policy formation gets

constructed and the danger is then that somebody takes that theory and says, “well, I can use that theory to predict outcomes. So, if [participant] did this in [home state], in this way, then the first thing I should do is this, the second this, the third thing this, and so on. That would be preposterous. You can see the threads in my example... You can see the obvious principles. How those principles get played out in any given circumstance is varied to a high degree of variation.

Participant M pontificated on his/her own theory for how s/he gets politicians to consider research in their decision-making processes. This harkens back to when s/he was a schoolteacher.

I don't know the literature. My theory for how politicians use research is really just a curriculum for a lesson plan. I'm trying to influence and achieve policy in a particular way. In this case, the policymaker has the power but, in effect, the policymakers are my students and I want to teach them something so that their product, their assignment, which is their policy, will be in my opinion better. The research is really what I use as this kind of textbook as a basis to the curriculum. Again, the research is the venue through which you tell stories. I know it's 'N of one'. I think that everybody claims they want the quantitative numbers and the gold standard for experimental research. My experience with all policymakers across the aisle is that they do like that, but they also want stories that they can understand – and then use it in their speeches. The 'N of one' story is also part of the research in this kind of work.

The participants who were university-based education scholars in fields other than education policy were not conversant in the literature on how research is used by politicians. Many of them felt that their lack of knowledge of formal scholarly theory was to their advantage in their work as university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers.

Participant N told me:

I've never taught a policy course. When I talked to my policy colleagues about it their big question is, “What theories of education policy are you going to use?” That's not how I approach policy. I'm trying to influence policymakers using research so they make better-informed decisions. I really haven't gone at it from a strict theoretical perspective and they find that just abhorrent. Which from their perspective, I totally get that. That's not how I do my [scholarly] work, but that's how I do my policy work. It's very pragmatic. I don't think most policymakers even think about theory.

They are overworked, understaffed. They study a million important issues and if you come along and start lecturing about theory – that actually doesn't work very well. You have to go in and offer, “What do you need help with? Can I help? Let's find some common ground.” They'll respond to that almost 100% of the time.

For participants who are versed in the scholarly research surrounding politicians' use of research in education policy decision-making, many of them articulated that published scholarly models of research use in policymaking do not capture the work that they do in any predictive fashion, it can only explain what happened retrospectively.

Participant R explained:

I find most theory is a quite accurate representation of the policymaking process that is useful retrospectively. And bringing order to some narrative that occurs – but has almost zero, prognostic ability, which really limits its sort of usefulness as a theory of the policymaking process.

Participant H agreed.

I don't necessarily prescribe to any one [theory]... When I see what is written, when I see it used, I see somebody who has not looked at the process well enough to understand that there really is more to it. If not, we would pay for a lobbyist. Lobbyists get paid because they can find order in something that from the outside looks totally disorderly. I think you could use those [theories] to explain any given moment retroactively, retrospectively. You can use those to explain but I don't think they're particularly useful as you're standing in a particular place and trying to figure out how to go forward. I don't think you could say, “Okay, I'm going to apply this theory because this is the one that always explains what's happening.” I think that you read what's going on... Yes, you know these theories are out there. You use them to help you recognize what might happen next. But I don't think that you can apply any one of them in every single case even from session to session, even within session and come out with an answer or come out with a strategy that's going to help you influence policy.

For those participants who did believe that there is some scholarly research that does a good job of explaining how politicians use research, most of them cited Carol Weiss' work as most operational. This was not a resounding consensus by any means, but

Dr. Weiss' work was the only relevant scholarly research that was repeatedly referenced as successfully representing what their experiences with politicians were actually like.

Participant R said:

Carol Weiss writes insightfully about the heuristic role that research can play by asking the right questions and by highlighting considerations that policymakers may not have had in mind. So, even when specific results are ignored, or aren't given sufficient attention, that they can still influence the conversation around the policy... I know there are plenty of people who have written in this space, [but] Weiss is very thoughtful.

Of the participants who teach courses on education policy, Carol Weiss' work was mentioned most frequently as readings that are used in class for students to learn about the politics of the education policymaking process. Participant P said:

I'm probably closest to Carol Weiss' theories. I teach [them] in my course. Sometimes it's a crapshoot too. I think you could find an example that would bear out a lot of the theories but for any given case, I don't know that anyone theory is better than any other. I think there's a lot of different policy scenarios.

Participant V, who had been working in the field of education policymaking as both a researcher and as someone who engaged in a practical fashion with politicians stated that Carol Weiss' work helped shape the conversation that scholars have through the limited literature on politicians' research utilization.

Carol Weiss with the study of utilization... Her notion that a lot of what you do in policy research does not so much influence the decisions today or tomorrow as change conversation so when the window opens people are thinking about things differently. That's the main contribution of policy oriented social science research or policy research. It's just got some different terminology than some of the rest of the field. It's really seminal stuff that's very, very important.

No other scholar that was referenced by participants was mentioned as consistently, or with as much professional respect and appreciation, as Dr. Weiss. Her model of politicians' research utilization is over thirty years old, yet it still holds both scholarly and

practical value for many university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers with whom I spoke.

The final chapter of this dissertation synthesizes the findings about university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers and the role that they play in ensuring that politicians use scholarly research when making decisions around education policy. In addition, I discuss the results of this study and the ways it can add to the literature on the subject of politicians' research use. Specifically, I build on Carol Weiss' seven models of politicians' research utilization, adding an eighth model based on the findings from this dissertation. I also discuss the way this research can be used to inform the larger debate about what the proper role is for university-based education scholars in the realm of politicians and policymaking and why qualitative research methods are successful at demonstrating impact of scholarly research on politicians' research utilization in education policymaking.

Chapter 5

DISCUSSION

Introduction

Most of the attention in the literature on research impact focuses on the research production side. However, even the best, most effectively shared research will not matter unless users are willing and able to benefit from it. The capacity of users is therefore a vital but largely uninvestigated issue (Levin, 2004 p. 9).

The goal of this study was to uncover and understand a group that I named university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers. The individuals in this group are professors of education in the United States who provide U.S. politicians with research outside of their scholarly requirements and, as such, actively engage in the education policymaking process. What was uncovered through this study were the traits that identify the group, their methods of engagement that are unique to the work that they do engaging with U.S. politicians outside of their professional scholarly requirements, as well as their motivation for why they do this work. In this chapter I discuss all aspects of the findings from the previous chapter. I compare university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers' work engaging with politician as described in their own words to other published models of politicians' research utilization. I also offer a theory, based on available research and information gleaned from interviews with my participants as to why this group has gone undiscovered before now.

This chapter begins with an overview of the previous chapters in this dissertation, precluded by a restatement of the research problem and a reiteration of the research questions that guided the study. Following that, there is a discussion of the data collection and analysis procedures including the snowball technique that was used to identify

possible participants and a review of grounded theory, the methodology used to analyze the data once participants were identified and interviewed. Then a synthesis of the major findings that were uncovered during the analysis is presented along with how each of the findings ties in with the literature. Relationships between various aspects of the findings are also addressed. The chapter ends with discussion of how this study adds to the literature on politicians' research utilization and then finishes up with recommendations for areas of new research.

Dissertation Review

The problem this dissertation addresses is the lack of use by US politicians of scholarly research produced by United States university-based education scholars as input in education policy decisions. The study examines, through qualitative data collection and analysis, this problem from the perspective of the research provider – the university-based bipartisan scholarship broker – as someone who has bridged the culture of politics and the culture of academia, purposefully, and has found success in getting politicians to consider research when making education policy decisions.

My dissertation study is guided by the following research questions:

1. What events lead university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers to actively engaging with politicians in the education policymaking process?
2. How do university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers conceive of the education policymaking process and their place in the process?
3. What are university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers' motivations for continuing to actively participate with politicians in the education policymaking process?

The first and second chapters of this dissertation provide an overview of the research that was conducted, the problem this study seeks to address, as well as the literature that this research is grounded in. In scholarly research dating back over thirty years there is a consistently documented gap between research-based recommendations that are produced by university-based scholars in the field of education policy in the United States and the evidence that U.S. politicians' use when deciding which educational policies to implement or amend (Sundquist, 1978; P. Davies, 2000; Kirst, 2000; Sin, 2008). This gap is attributed to the differences in cultures between politicians and university-based scholars. Some elements of this gap include differences in timing for when politicians need research as compared with when scholars produce it (Firestone, 1989), the length and robustness of scholarly writing as compared with politicians' need for brief synopsis documents (Kingdon, 2002; Schwartz & Kardos, 2009), and the caveats or parameters that scholars put on their research, making very precise claims that can only be attributed to the population and timeframe under study as compared with politicians' need for answers that are applicable in a broader context (Ball, 2012; P. Davies, 2000; Postlethwaite, 1986; Weiss, 1982).

In addition to these differences, university-based scholars are not rewarded professionally through the university tenure structure for intentionally working with politicians to help incorporate scholarly research into the policymaking process (Firestone, 1989). Despite the differences in culture and the lack of professional reward for the work, there is a subset of education scholars who work directly with politicians with the goal of influencing policymaking around education through research. For

purposes of the study I have named these individuals university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers.

The third chapter addresses the research methodology that was applied to group identification, participant selection, data collection, and data analysis. This is a qualitative study that uncovered a previously undiscovered group utilizing the snowball sampling method (Atkinson & Flint, 2001; Patton, 1990; Vogt, 1999), which has been used to find participants in previous studies of politicians' research use (DeBray, 2006 Weiss, 1989; Manna, 2006). It was through snowball sampling that I uncovered a larger population from which I was drawing a sample for my study.

Data was collected from participants via interviews and email. Additional data came in the form of memos that I wrote after each interview, transcriptions of the interviews, as well as corroborating artifacts. Examples of these artifacts are scholarly publications, newspaper, magazine, and university website articles, campaign literature, Race to the Top applications, state and federal education bills, court opinions, copies of presentations made to politicians, university syllabi, transcripts of political speeches, video or audiotaped interviews, state legislature and federal congressional hearings, and minutes from relevant public political meetings. These data were coded using grounded theory to uncover categories and themes.

The fourth chapter consists of a further in-depth description of the analysis that was conducted as well as the findings from the analysis. These findings were categorized into six different sections, answering seven different questions. Who are university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers? Where do university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers do the work that defines them as part of the group? What is it that university-based

bipartisan scholarship brokers do? What makes them different from other university-based education scholars? When do they do this work? Why do they do this work? How do their perceptions of the policy process compare with published models? The way in which these findings can advance the literature on the topic of politicians' research utilization is discussed in this chapter.

Synthesis of Findings

They exist

In uncovering the group of university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers, I documented that many of the university-based education scholars to whom I reached out cautioned me against embarking on a study where I try to identify these individuals because they may not exist. What I uncovered was that they exist and that there are over thirty of them currently working at U.S. universities. Trying to understand why this is a group that has remained undiscovered until now – a group that many university-based education scholars did not believe existed – I looked to the university's reward structure.

Although varying somewhat from institution to institution, the rules favor research... over "service" that includes working with policymakers. Because of the rules, university researchers are rarely deeply interested in policy issues. To be sure, some are, but the university does not usually reward them for their policy influence. (Firestone, 1989 p.22)

This echoes a quote from Participant P about his/her experience working as a university-based bipartisan scholarship broker.

There's nothing in our reward structure that would encourage me to do that work. It would probably distract from your ability to focus on other things that are rewarded, finishing your doctoral students, doing some good teaching, doing good academic service, getting your publications in top journals. The reward system is organized in such a way that engaging with politicians and engaging in the political processes, even if you're hoping to make a better difference to a lot of kids, you're not going to get rewarded at the university for doing that and so I think that's probably a big reason

why not very many people do it. You aren't getting rewarded from your employer for it.

The traditional promotion and tenure structure utilized by universities does not reward those who intentionally work with politicians to help incorporate research into the policymaking process (Firestone, 1989; Hetrick & Van Horn, 1988; Kirst, 2000; Labaree, 2003; Levin, 2004), so there is little incentive for scholars to go beyond the already rigorous promotion and tenure requirements in order to help serve the research needs of politicians. For those that do intentionally work with politicians to help incorporate research into the policymaking process, this work goes unrewarded and unrecognized by their employer as well as their colleagues.

“University-based research is driven by the university culture and reward system; it is primarily aimed at communication with other scholars and the rewards are related to... peer recognition.” (Levin, 2004 p. 10) It makes sense then, that in a profession where communication of research with peers is intimately tied in with career advancement, engaging in work where you are communicating research to people outside of the university is not something to share in your professional setting. Participant C stated that, “there are [colleagues] that view it as you're kind of dirty because you're dealing with politicians.” When peer recognition is paramount to career advancement, one colleague’s disdain for sharing research with politicians could potentially have a negative effect on professional growth opportunities. That being the case, it provides an incentive for university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers to not be forthcoming with other university-based education researchers about the work that they do bringing scholarly research to politicians. I believe this is the primary reason that no one was aware of this group prior to my study. University-based bipartisan scholarship brokers

have no professional incentive, and could potentially be professionally penalized by their peers, for the work that they do with politicians – as such, they are not sharing this work with colleagues. That is why many of the university-based education scholars to whom I reached out were not aware that this group exists.

The fact that university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers are not rewarded professionally for the work that they do with politicians begs a critique of the university promotion and tenure system. Their lack of support is surprising considering that scholars have called for these individuals to be housed and trained at universities for over thirty years (Florio, Behrmann, & Goltz, 1979; Kirst, 2000; Rigby, 2005; Sundquist, 1978). Additionally, it is not in the financial interests of universities to leave these individuals unrewarded for their work with politicians. Most universities receive some sort of government funding in the form of grants or contract work. Public universities receive funding in the form of tax revenue from their home state. The work of university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers helps to bolster the image of the university with the people providing some of the funding, politicians. As one participant stated, “I am told by legislators... that I am the voice of our college. I am the face of our college in terms of anything policy related, not our dean, not other people within our college.” As public funding for higher education continues to drop (James, 2013), it would make sense for universities to expand the type of work that can be considered for promotion and tenure to include the important work that university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers do.

Who are university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers?

While synthesizing scholarly research into a format that is useful to politicians (Henig, 2008a; Moses & Saenz, 2008; Rigby, 2005; Schwartz & Kardos, 2009; Weiss,

1979) is part of “what” university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers do, it is also an element of who they are because many university-based education scholars are not willing to take that extra step of translating research into a format that politicians can utilize. When first seeking university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers, I was expecting for them to only synthesize the work of many scholars into a format that politicians can use. This is largely due to the model that I adapted to describe my participant sample. I combined James Sundquist’s concepts of academic intermediaries and research brokers into one person. Academic intermediaries are described as scholars who

are men or women within a discipline who have a flair for interpreting, in nontechnical or at least semitechnical language, the technical findings of their colleagues, and who make it their business to do so. They do original research as well, probably, but the findings of their own direct investigations form a small part of the information they assemble and present to the world at large. (Sundquist, 1978 p. 128)

Based on this characterization, as well as others that I found in the literature (e.g. Florio, Behrmann, & Goltz, 1979; McDonnell, 1988), I was expecting that the skill of synthesizing scholarly research in a document that is comprised largely of other university-based researchers research findings would translate to the group of university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers. This was indeed the case for most of the participants, but for roughly twenty percent of my participants, it was their own research that was used to engage politicians.

For those who synopsize their own scholarly research to provide to politicians, they acknowledge that all of their own studies include the work of other individuals through their literature review. Participant J offers an example.

Any good research study is going to be partly a lit review of what has been done plus some new findings. Very little of what I've done has been strictly synopsis of other people's work but it always includes that. I had done some of the research that I was writing about, but then other people have done research as well. I was summarizing my own research as well as summarizing others at the same time.

In my sample, the subset of university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers that synopsise only their own scholarly research for politicians do so with a discipline-specific approach. The information is provided to politicians from both political parties, but it is only provided from the perspective of his/her discipline.

The fact that many of the participants were housed at universities with education policy centers makes sense, even if they are not affiliated with their home university's education policy center. University-based education policy centers are created to act as "brokers – connecting the providers (universities) with consumers (politicians and educators)..." (McCarthy, 1990 p. 25) Any university or college of education that would provide space to house a facility dedicated to providing scholarly research around education policy to politicians and other members of the general public is likely to foster an environment where a university-based bipartisan scholarship broker would feel comfortable doing just that type of work. Participant N said, "I think it's helpful if you're at a place that has mechanisms to really meet policymakers. If you're at a university that has a policy center... That's part of what brought me to [home institution]."

Where do they do this work?

Politicians are busy by profession. When crafting education policy they are balancing many issues, including constituent concerns and program costs (Lutz, 1988; Weiss, 1989), which is why they need university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers to be willing to work with both them wherever the work needs to be done. If the politician

needs media attention to be brought in order to support an issue, the work is done publicly. If the politician needs help crafting compromise-legislation, that work is done behind close doors. Where this work is done incorporates aspects of “timing” and “relationship building” is explored further in the next section.

What do they do?

While each element of their behavior as university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers is notable, each behavioral element in isolation would not have the same impact that they do in concert. Timing, relationship building, and bipartisan engagement are intertwined in the work of university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers. In the review of the literature, it was noted that politicians want to obtain answers in shorter turnaround times than those which scholars are typically accustomed to working under for purposes of publication (Firestone, 1989; Schwartz & Kardos, 2009). This is a difference that university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers understand, and they are willing to work within the time frames of politicians. “Policymakers need immediate answers and do not often have the time or the resources to disprove all the options available to them.” (Lutz, 1988 p. 126)

In order to work within a time frame that provides politicians with research when they can use it, university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers must try to assess when research on a certain topic is useful to a politician for decision-making purposes. “Yes education research can speak to... policy. It will require that researchers anticipate the future information needs of policymakers” (McDonnell, 1988. p. 96). This echoes a quote from Participant N.

Sometimes I say, “You know what? Topic X is going to be really important in six months.” So we can get them to understand that let's do a

policy brief and get out about three or four months. When it does pop up they will be ready for it. Sometimes your guess is right, sometimes you guess wrong.

The way that university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers use timing has a strong impact on the relationship building with politicians that they actively cultivate. University-based bipartisan scholarship brokers have to make a concerted effort to provide research in a timeframe and format that is actually useful to politicians (P. Davies, 2000; Firestone, 1989; Postlewaite, 1986, Schwartz & Kardos, 2009). In doing so, they are building relationships by fostering politicians' trust, as well as their understanding of how university-based scholarly research can be of value in the policymaking process (Hetrick & Van Horn, 1988; McDonnell, 1988; Rigby, 2005).

Participant H said:

I think that one important factor is the relationship with policymakers. I think that's extraordinarily important because from my perspective they're not experts but that doesn't mean that they're dumb. It just means that they're not experts in education policy and if you want them to ask you questions, legitimate open-ended questions, there's some vulnerability to that. They need to trust you.

One aspect of maintaining a trusted relationship with politicians is their perception that the research provided is credible and coming from an expert who is politically neutral (Lynn, 2001; Stone, 2002; Sundquist, 1978). The belief that anyone, even university-based education scholars, can behave in a politically neutral fashion is difficult for politicians to recognize. Politicians believe that if they know where the research comes from, then they know the political leanings of the source of the research, they can gauge how to interpret it (Schwartz & Kardos, 2009; Weiss, 1989). They “assume that academics, like everyone else, are pushing their own political values, but since they don't know what these are, they can't compensate for them.” (Weiss, 1989 p.

420) This is why university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers build relationships and provide research in a bipartisan fashion – doing so combats politicians’ natural suspicions, lending credibility to the work that university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers provide. As Participant L stated:

It’s important to not become partisan or be seen as partisan. As a tenured professor, you don’t want to be viewed as a Republican or a Democrat. You can be a Republican or Democrat but I think you don’t want to be viewed as being it. You want to be careful you don’t get aligned with the extremists. There are some extremists who are elected, and you don’t want to look like you’re the tool of an extremist or hyper-partisan because you’ll lose your credibility and that’s the most valuable asset you have.

What makes them different from other university-based education scholars?

It is university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers’ understanding of how politics affects policymaking that allows for their work to have demonstrable impact on education policy. They understand that their ongoing relationships and their credibility are their ticket to education policy influence (Kirst, 2000; Schwartz & Kardos, 2009). It is important to them that politicians consider scholarly research when making decisions about education policy, not necessarily to the politicians themselves. As Participant H said:

Honestly, I don't think there's a whole bunch of caring about high quality research. A lot of what I see going on is, who do they [politicians] have a relationship with in the area of education? Who do they trust the opinion of?

Being able to demonstrate impact is a key characteristic of university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers, which is what sets them apart from university-based education scholars who are referenced early on in the Findings Chapter. The other university-based education scholars are politically active through synthesizing research into policy briefs and who testify, either at the request of a specific politician or interest

group, in front of state legislatures and congress. While this type of work sets them apart from the majority of university-based education scholars, university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers are different from these individuals.

University-based education scholars who consider themselves politically active through writing policy briefs and testifying before legislative or congressional committees, but do not engage in regular, face-to-face interaction with politicians cannot demonstrate the impact that they are having on education policymaking the same way that university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers can. When university-based education scholars provide political testimony, they are brought in specifically so that they can discuss their area of scholarly expertise in defense or opposition to a specific program or policy. While this work is an important element of public presence for their home university, direct impact on education policy cannot be shown through this type of work. What I was looking to uncover in my study were scholars who could demonstrate their direct impact on education policy, using scholarly research, through bipartisan political engagement. The activities that were offered by other professors, such as policy briefs or committee testimony, could not show the same results of impact of scholarly research on education policymaking in a direct fashion in the same way that the activities of the university-based bipartisan scholarship broker could.

This ties into the suggestions that I seek out the Rick Hess Edu-Scholar Public Presence Rankings (Hess, 2013; 2012; 2010) as a way to identify possible participants for my study. Much in the same way that professors who write policy briefs and testify before committees did not fit my criteria, neither did any of the elements of the Rick Hess Edu-Scholar Public Presence Rankings. Only one of the metrics used in these rankings

makes reference to politicians, and that is the number of Congressional Record Mentions (a feat which only two people accomplished, out of the one hundred and twenty-one that were ranked). Being mentioned in The Congressional Record is not evidence of engaging with politicians in person, as such, the Rick Hess Edu-Scholar Public Presence Rankings could not help me uncover the group I was seeking. These rankings are about presence, not impact. Rick Hess himself states that, “[t]he rankings offer a useful, if imperfect, gauge of the public impact edu-scholars had...” (ibid). Based on my findings, these rankings are not at all a useful gauge of scholarly impact. When discussing presence as compared with impact, Participant H stated:

We do quite a bit of counting and trying to figure out how people influence policy or how research has influenced policy. One of the things we can count in the public records is the number of committee presentations or testimonies. I firmly believe that there is nothing that anybody can say as a researcher in a testimony on a research committee that is going to change what’s always been established prior to the meeting with regard to the vote count.

The suggestion that I use these rankings equates presence with impact – which, based on the findings from my study, is incorrect.

When do they do this work?

University-based bipartisan scholarship brokers do their work outside of their already rigorous promotion and tenure requirements in order to help serve the research needs of politicians. Based on research, it would seem that there should be a space for them to conduct this work at their home universities through university-base education policy centers (Kirst, 2000; Schwartz & Kardos, 2009). As previously stated, some participants are affiliated with the education policy center at their home university. Even with that affiliation, this work is not considered part of their professional requirements.

Why do they do this work?

There is a sub-group of education scholars who value the use of scholarly research by politicians to such a high degree that they are willing to do additional work on top of their scholarly requirements in order to make sure that it gets considered in politicians' decision-making processes around education policy. Their primary reason for doing this work is that they want to ensure that scholarly research has impact beyond publication in scholarly journals. As was stated throughout my review of the literature, this group has not been studied or even uncovered in previous scholarly research. This is surprising because what is repeatedly discussed in the literature is the dearth of individuals who can serve in this capacity, and a strong need for their presence (Lester, 1993; McDonnell, 1988; Saunders, 2007; Weiss, 1978).

How do their perceptions of the policy process compare with published models?

It is telling that the only published model for politicians' research utilization that participants found to be most accurate based on their experiences is from the one university-based education scholar who has a dedicated scholarly research agenda on the topic of education policymaking. Carol Weiss' scholarly research on the variety of ways that politicians utilize research (Weiss, 1970, 1978, 1979) is as applicable today as it was when she was first publishing it in the 1970s. Participant P said, "I'm probably closest to Carol Weiss' theories. I teach [them] in my course."

Carol Weiss' seven models of politicians' research utilization are:

- The knowledge driven model – which is most prevalent in the physical sciences. "It assumes the following sequence of events: basic research → applied research → development → application... The assumption is that the sheer fact that knowledge exists presses it toward development and use." (Weiss, 1979 p. 427)

- The problem-solving model – the expectation that politicians should directly apply, and only consider, peer-reviewed, scholarly research in their policy decisions. “The process follows this sequence: definition of pending decision → identification of missing knowledge → acquisition of social science research → interpretation of the research for the decision context → policy choice.” (ibid, p. 428)
- The interactive model – when university-based scholarly research is considered one type of evidence among many types politicians consider in the policymaking process.
- The political model – when research is selectively used to bolster the point being made by a politician.
- The tactical model – when the claim that research is being conducted is used to defend and legitimize a policy issue.
- The enlightenment model – when social science research, over time, helps shape public discourse, eventually used by politicians’ to appease their constituency.
- Research as part of the intellectual enterprise of the society, when “social science and policy interact, influencing each other and being influenced by the larger fashions of social thought.” (ibid, p. 430)

Based on my findings, I believe that university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers constitute an eighth model – “the active engagement model”. They are actively engaging with politicians on a regular basis to ensure that research is considered in the education policymaking process. They do so for the purpose of mobilizing the knowledge uncovered through research. Often it is not one type or field of scholarly research that they present, but synopses of scholarly research that they provide to politicians because they believe that scholarly research can and should be utilized outside of scholarly publications.

In her article defining the seven models of politicians’ research utilization, Carol Weiss does not discuss the similarities or differences between each of the models. I have

assembled a Table that builds on her work by indicating what categories exist in various groups across these models as a means of comparing the different ways they demonstrate how research knowledge is mobilized by politicians. See Table 8. I have also added my own model “The Active Engagement Model” to the table in order show with a concise visual the similarities and differences between all eight models.

In this section, I discuss this table, including my logic around how and why categories fit with certain models. Some of the categories present in Dr. Weiss’ models were written about explicitly, while others were indicated implicitly through the naming or description of the model. Categories, and the sections they were grouped into, are discussed using relevant examples from published research and the research from this dissertation. Using the categories outlined in the table, I show what makes “The Active Engagement Model” distinct from Dr. Weiss’ seven models. This section ends with my theory as to why qualitative research methods are successful at identifying the ways in which scholarly research impacts policymaking in a way that quantitative research cannot.

The categories in Table 8 are ones that I uncovered and named through my own research, but were eluded to in Dr. Weiss' article. Some of the categories she discussed explicitly. For example, the influence of journalists over politicians is mentioned in multiple models, which falls into the category "Media's influence."

The category "Politically relevant research" is implicit in some models and explicit in others. Regardless of the quality of scholarship, if scholarly research is not politically relevant, it cannot be mobilized for politicians' education policymaking decisions. In The Knowledge-Driven Model, this is stated explicitly. "The notion is that basic research discloses some opportunity that may have relevance for public policy..." (Weiss, 1979 p. 427). In other models, this is implicit. For example, in the Political Model, it would stand to reason that scholarly research must be politically relevant as a prerequisite for its mobilization. The model has "political" in the name, but in the Political Model, politically relevant research is a category that is implicit, as it is never mentioned in the description.

Because some of the characteristics in Table 8 are explicit in Dr. Weiss' article and others implicit, I incorporated this difference into the visual. In Table 8, explicit categories are indicated with the letter "Y" and implicit categories are indicated with the letter "Z". Blank cells indicate that the category cannot be applied to that model. The categories are grouped into five sections based on their potential to impact politicians' research utilization.

Is this model intended to be feasible in practice?

The first section is a single category that asks, "Is this model intended to be feasible in practice?" The two models that this category is intended to address are the

Knowledge-Driven Model and the Problem Solving Model. While each of these models is represented in the literature, neither is feasible as a practical representation of knowledge mobilization. Dr. Weiss acknowledges that the Knowledge-Driven Model was developed for the natural sciences and is not really reconcilable with social science research. “The assumption is that the sheer fact that knowledge exists presses it toward development and use... Social science knowledge is not apt to be so compelling or authoritative as to drive inevitably toward implementation.” (Weiss, 1979 p. 427) The Problem-Solving Model is similarly unrealistic because one of the tenets of this model is that research “will have direct and immediate applicability and will be used for decision making.” (ibid) Based on her research, as well as my own, the likelihood of scholarly research being mobilized for policy use in a direct and immediate fashion is extremely unlikely. Because these models are not feasible in practice, neither can show impact on politicians’ research utilization.

Timing of research use

The second section, “Timing of research use”, focuses on when in the policymaking process the knowledge from scholarly research is mobilized. It describes whether research is completed in advance of policymaking, if research is the impetus for policy, if research is considered as an input in policy creation, if research is considered after policy has been created, or whether or not research is considered at all in the policymaking process. Based on my research, the timing of when research is considered in the policymaking process has significance as to whether the knowledge from scholarly research is mobilized in education policy creation or not. As Participant G stated, “Timing is also critical.”

In Dr. Weiss' models, the potential for mobilizing the knowledge generated from scholarly research in education into education policymaking is dependent on when in the policymaking process scholarly research is considered. In order for knowledge from scholarly research to be mobilized, it must be completed prior to policymaking discussions. Due to political timing, research may be completed years before politicians ever consider it. Participant N spoke to this point. "You never know when [research] is going to be used and sometimes it is stuff that I have written a really long time ago. Maybe ten years ago..." It does not matter to the politicians considering the research how far in advance the research is completed, it just needs to be done prior to politicians' engagement with the topic.

Often, research that is the impetus for policy change is published long before politicians ever take it into consideration. Politicians may not ever know much about the scholarly research that provided the knowledge being mobilized in their education policymaking decisions if it reaches them through the Enlightenment Model. Implicit in this model is that politicians do not purposefully seek out the knowledge from scholarly research as to mobilize in policymaking decisions, but they can be swayed by research if the knowledge generated from it has larger societal impact.

The imagery is that of social science generalizations and orientations percolating through informed publics and coming to shape the way in which people think about social issues. Social science research diffuses circuitously through manifold channels – professional journals, the mass media, conversations with colleagues – an over time the categories it deals with and the generalizations it offers provide decision makers with ways of making sense out of a complex world... Rarely will policy makers be able to cite the findings of a specific study that influenced their decisions, but they have a sense that social science research has given them a backdrop of ideas and orientations that has important consequences. (Weiss, pp. 429-430)

This description brings to mind the Perry Preschool Study (Schweinhart, et. al., 2005; Schweinhart, Weikart, & Lerner, 1986; Schweinhart & Weikart, 1997), an early education intervention for at-risk children that demonstrated impressive longitudinal results. In our current political climate of economic imperatives, the knowledge generated by this study has been mobilized in debates around early childhood education policy. Politicians are discussing universal pre-kindergarten as a long-term cost-saving measure that will keep individuals out of jail and provide greater tax revenue (Castro, 2013). Whether or not politicians can cite it, the knowledge generated from scholarly research conducted in the Perry Preschool Study was mobilized to inform their policy action through the Enlightenment Model.

Most of the time that knowledge generated by scholarly research is considered in politicians' education policymaking decisions, it is not the impetus for the policy, but one of numerous sources of information that politicians consider. The model that best demonstrates this is the Interactive Model. "In this model, the use of research is only one part of a complicated process that also uses experience, political insight, pressure, social technologies, and judgment." (Weiss, p. 429) Based on my research, this model is not just feasible in practice, but likely. If politicians are going to consider the knowledge generated by scholarly research in their education policymaking decisions, it is certainly only one information source that is interacting with other sources of information as the policy is crafted. Despite the strong feasibility of the Interactive Model, it cannot demonstrate that the knowledge generated from scholarly research has been mobilized in a ways that can show impact on policymaking. "The process is not one of linear order

from research to decision but a disorderly set of interconnections and back-and-forthness that defies neat diagrams.” (ibid p. 428)

Based on my review of the literature, the knowledge generated by scholarly research is most likely to be mobilized in education policymaking once policy has been made and implementation needs to be enacted. For example, specific details about funding distribution or specific requirements for a legally mandated program are more likely to be based on research than the information that is used as input into the creation of a law pertaining to education (Caplan, 1979; Rigby, 2005; Weiss, 1989). While Dr. Weiss does not mention this as a method of knowledge mobilization from scholarly research in her article, she does discuss that in the Political Model, knowledge generated by scholarly research is considered after policy is made in order to defend a predetermined stance taken while crafting the policy. “Using research to support a predetermined position is... research utilization, too” (Weiss, 1979 p. 429).

There are many reasons that politicians do not mobilize the knowledge generated by scholarly research when crafting education policy, but most prevalent is that they are balancing many issues, including constituent concerns and cost (Lutz, 1988; Weiss, 1989), when making education policy decisions.

Non-research considerations

The myriad issues that politicians balance when making policy decisions serves as an explanation for the third section of categories, which focuses on politicians’ “Non-research considerations”, such as constituent opinion, public perception, media, cost & budget considerations, as well as political viability of the policy. Each of these categories

holds stronger sway for politicians in their education policymaking decisions than does the knowledge generated by scholarly research.

While Carol Weiss mentions most of these considerations explicitly in her models of politicians' research utilization, a surprising omission is any consideration of costs and budgets. I labeled cost as an implicit category in the Interactive Model because it is certainly one of the many considerations that politicians take into account when crafting policy, even though cost was not explicitly stated as a factor in Dr. Weiss' description of the Interactive Model. While cost may not have been as predominant a consideration for politicians when these models were published, it was undoubtedly still a concern that they had to weigh.

Part of the reason it is surprising that budget and cost considerations were not included in Carol Weiss' models of politicians' research utilization is that her academic career is in a field that arose, in part, because of politicians' cost and budget considerations. Dr. Weiss is a scholar of program evaluation. With the passing of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) in 1965, it became policy that all education programs sponsored by the federal government had to be externally evaluated. The purpose of these evaluations were to ensure that the tax dollars invested were being well utilized on education programs that were doing what they were designed to do – serve the needs of underprivileged populations (Lagemann, 1997). With a career evaluating the cost and quality of education programs, it is surprising that she would not discuss politicians' cost and budget considerations explicitly in any of her models of politicians' research utilization.

Politicians' needs considered

The fourth section, labeled “Politicians’ needs considered” consists of categories that focus on what a politician is seeking from individuals who mobilize the knowledge that is used for input into policymaking decisions. Politicians’ relationships, timeframe, research needs, and desired presentation style are taken into consideration. Because this is the focus of my own research more than Dr. Weiss’, this is the section were implicit, “Z”, categories are most common.

This section begins with the category “Research consideration is influenced through personal relationships.” This is a category that Dr. Weiss alluded to, and it ties in directly from the findings in this study. As Participant H stated,

Honestly, I don't think there's a whole bunch of caring about high quality research. A lot of what I see going on is, who do they [politicians] have a relationship with in the area of education? Who do they trust the opinion of?

Politicians care more about the person who is providing them with the knowledge to be mobilized, than the quality of the scholarly research that is the origin of the knowledge. They like to know where the research comes from because politicians believe that, if they know the political leanings of the source of the research, they can gauge how to interpret it (Schwartz & Kardos, 2009; Weiss, 1989). This way of understanding the world makes the mobilization of the knowledge that stems from university-based, peer-reviewed, scholarly research even less likely for politicians because they “assume that academics, like everyone else, are pushing their own political values, but since they don’t know what these are, they can’t compensate for them.” (Weiss, 1989 p. 420) This is the reason that university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers work so hard to build relationships with

politicians. They know that these relationships serve as the pathway for the mobilization of the knowledge that stems from scholarly research in the field of education.

The next category, “Politician’s timeframe considered” is directly connected to my research. Politicians need to receive the knowledge generated by scholarly research in a shorter timeframe than scholars are accustomed to working under (Firestone, 1989; Kingdon, 2011; Schwartz & Kardos, 2009). Politicians’ timeframes are not just shorter than university-based scholars’; they are entirely independent. Politicians need to receive information in whatever timeframe they are working under and not anyone else’s. They will not mobilize knowledge generated by scholarly research unless it is provided to them when they want it. When asked what affects the likelihood of research utilization by politicians, Participant P replied, “I think timeliness. Is the research available at the time the policymakers are making the decisions?” Participant V stated, “The most important thing is timing. Probably the second thing is taking the effort to develop modes of communication that are digestible... The timing is the key thing.” Dr. Weiss only discussed a “politician’s timeframe considered” in the Tactical Model. This model takes politicians’ timeframe into consideration by showing that research may be used as a way to buy more time to make a decision on an issue. “Faced with unwelcome demands, they may use research as a tactic for delaying action.” (Weiss, 1979 p. 429)

Politicians mobilize the knowledge generated by research when that research is politically relevant, even if the research is being used in a tactical manner. While the need for “Politically relevant research” is discussed in many of Dr. Weiss’ models (and was discussed earlier in this section), “Research is presented to politicians in a customized format” is not a category in any of her models of politicians’ research utilization. Based

on my research, the knowledge generated from scholarly research can only be successfully mobilized if it is presented to politicians in a format that they can utilize.

Participant M explained this idea well,

Again, the research is the venue through which you tell stories. I know it's 'N of one'. I think that everybody claims they want the quantitative numbers and the gold standard for experimental research. My experience with all policymakers across the aisle is that they do like that, but they also want stories that they can understand – and then use it in their speeches. The 'N of one' story is also part of the research in this kind of work.

While “Research is presented to politicians in a customized format” is not a category that can be found in any of Carol Weiss’ models, it does apply to the Active Engagement Model that I developed.

Results

The final category, “Can demonstrate research’s impact on policy” is also a category that only applies to my Active Engagement Model. The two categories, “Research is presented to politicians in a customized format” and “Can demonstrate research’s impact on policy” are demonstrative of what sets the Active Engagement Model apart from Dr. Weiss’ seven models.

Because I was able to use qualitative analysis to develop my model, I argue that qualitative research is the only way that a university-based education scholar can record and demonstrate that the knowledge generated from scholarly research was successfully mobilized to impact education policy. There are attempts to quantify the impact that the knowledge generated by any one university-based education scholar has on education policy, such as through the previously mentioned Rick Hess Edu-Scholar Public Presence Rankings (Hess, 2013; 2012; 2010). Through the years these quantitative rankings have been publicized impact has not been demonstrated, just presumed, because these

quantitative rankings equate presence with impact. The equation of presence with impact through these rankings is a great example of Carol Weiss' Enlightenment Model.

Scholars who are mentioned in these rankings present the knowledge generated by their scholarly articles in varied public settings and that is what gets counted. But the impact of the knowledge, or how politicians mobilize the knowledge, cannot be demonstrated through numeric rankings. The impact of knowledge generated from scholarly research when it is mobilized in education policymaking is, however, successfully demonstrated through qualitative methods, as was shown in the Findings section.

Limitations of the Study

As mentioned previously, I used snowball sampling to find participants and semi-structured open-ended interviews collect research from them. The limitation with interviews is that the only people who were interviewed for the study were university-based scholars who were willing to make the time to be interviewed during the period of data collection (December 2012 to June 2013). Limitations with snowball sampling have to do with leveraging relationships. I could only gather participants from informants who responded to outreach. Outreach was mostly done via email. There are some university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers who were identified and not available to be interviewed during the period of data collection. Additionally, there are possibly some university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers who went unidentified.

Contributions of the Study

This dissertation has built on over thirty years of research into the way politicians utilize research when making education policy decisions. Through my dissertation research, I have uncovered a previously undiscovered group – one that many university-

based education scholars did not believe existed. In order to frame the attributes of this group, I adapted a model that was created by James Sundquist in 1978 to explain the way that he understood the process by which values-neutral scholarly research was provided to politicians.

The occasional scholarly chapter article has suggested concrete steps, such as synthesizing findings or paying attention to the timing of the political cycle so that university-based scholars can make their research more easily digestible by politicians (Henig, 2008a; Moses & Saenz, 2008; Rigby, 2005; Schwartz & Kardos, 2009; Weiss, 1979). What this study shows is that these individual actions are not enough to ensure that scholarly research has impact on policy. While each of the elements of their behavior as university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers is notable, each behavioral element in isolation would not have the same impact that they do in concert. This is strongly evident when this study's participants are compared with other university-based education scholars. Other scholars may engage in one or two of the behaviors that published models have demonstrated may have impact on politicians decision-making around education policy, but it is the entirety of behaviors that university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers engage in that demonstrate how their work impacts public education policy in the United States.

Some scholarly research has touted university-based education policy centers as a way to get scholarly research into the hands of politicians (Kirst, 2000; McCarthy, 1990). These centers have not demonstrated through scholarly research their success at accomplishing this goal (McCarthy, 1990; Hall, 2005). I argue that the existence of university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers is proof that most university-based

education policy centers are not accomplishing the goal of getting scholarly research into the hands of politicians. If they were, each participant would be directly affiliated with a university-based education policy center at his/her home university, which is certainly not the case for my participants.

For the university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers who were familiar with the scholarly research on politicians' models of research utilization, the only models that made sense to them based on their experience with politicians were the ones published by Carol Weiss (1978, 1979). While her explanations of the seven models of politicians' research utilization are comprehensive of politicians' behavior surrounding research use, I believe that based on my findings, one more model should be added – “the active engagement model”. This model describes university-based education scholars who get politicians to consider scholarly research in their education policy decision-making processes through multiple actions, such as synthesizing research, building relationships, and paying attention to the timing of the political cycle. Often it is not one type or field of scholarly research, but scholarly research in general that they are providing to politicians because they believe that it can and should find use outside of scholarly publications. My new model ties in with Carol Weiss' own beliefs about how scholarly research should be used to impact policy.

Perhaps it is time for social scientists to pay attention to the imperatives of policy-making systems and to consider soberly what they can do, not necessarily to increase the use of research, but to improve the contribution that research makes to the wisdom of social policy. (Weiss, 1979 p. 431)

Recommendations for Research and Practice

There are multiple options for both scholarly research and policy that could build on the findings in this dissertation. My first recommendation is driven by both policy and

research. Through my interviews I learned that there are some university-based education policy centers that are successful in providing politicians with research, while research has shown that others end up focusing their research on issues pertinent to local school districts (McCarthy, 1990; Hall, 2005). As a study, it would be interesting to uncover how and why some university-based education policy centers are successful at providing politicians with research. This presumes that the mission of the center is to provide politicians with research and not just school districts. I can explore whether or not the broader culture of the home university, or the college of education itself, has any influence over the mission of the policy center and over whether it conducts research in line with that mission.

The policy recommendation is for scholars who but would like to provide politicians with scholarly research to inform education policymaking decisions. The information detailed in my findings chapter is a useful resource to learn the methods university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers have used successfully in bringing scholarly research to politicians in order to inform education policymaking decisions. They are steps that any university-based education policy scholar can take if s/he is inclined.

During the course of my interviews, participants who were familiar with the research on a politician's research utilization noted that there is not a published model that successfully offers any prognostic ability to project when and how politicians will use research when crafting policy. Table 8, which builds upon Carol Weiss' models of politicians' research utilization with my own set of categories that was uncovered through my dissertation research, is an attempt to begin to create such a model. The traits that are

outlined in Table 8 demonstrate behaviors that can be practiced consistently to increase the likelihood that a politician considers scholarly research as an input into decisions surrounding education policy. As I study, I would like to observe someone who actively models these behaviors with the deliberate goal of getting one or more politicians to consider scholarly research when engaging in education policymaking and see if they are successful. If so, which of the methods uncovered through my dissertation research aided in the success.

Another possibility is to do a retrospective study on the creation of a law that one of the university-based education policy scholars in my study influenced. This study would look at the bill before it became a law, tracing its path and seeing when in the policy process scholarly research influenced politicians' decision-making. If the bill was voted down in sessions prior to its successful passing, what was changed about the bill and the policy environment that enabled it to pass? Such a study could provide concrete examples about where in the policymaking timeline scholarly research has the best chance of influencing decisions. If possible, this could be a comparative study between two states – one of which is dominated in the House, Senate, and Governorship by a single party as compared with a state that is more politically divided. Comparing when scholarly research is used in education policymaking in each of these instances would be interesting, informative, and very useful for university-based education scholars who want to increase the likelihood of scholarly research getting used by politicians and their decision-making processes around education policy.

One last study would be to compare university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers in the field of education with university-based scholars who engage with

politicians in other professional academic fields, namely health and business. Each of these fields has university-based scholars who are explicitly trained to engage with politicians around their area of academic expertise. This does not exist in the field of education. This can be explored in two ways. One study could explore why university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers in other fields believe that there is professional space carved out for them to do work in this capacity, and more importantly why there isn't the same kind of space and training for individuals in education who may have such a proclivity. Another way of exploring this issue would be to ask a similar set of questions that I asked in my dissertation study to university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers in other fields to see whether or not the tools of engagement that they use are similar to those uncovered in my study.

Conclusion

I remember when I first discovered Carol Weiss' Seven Models of Politicians' Research Utilization (Weiss, 1979). I was impressed by the simplicity with which she explained the many ways that politicians use research in the policymaking process. I presume this is why her models still hold true today and are still considered the most accurate portrayal of politicians' research utilization that is available through scholarly research.

This process, of uncovering a group that no one knew existed has been surprising, fulfilling, inspiring, and extremely time-consuming. One professor explicitly told me when I started that I should expect to find six university-based education scholars, at the most, who would qualify as participants in my study. The large number of university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers that I found certainly surprised me. Once I

discovered a group to draw from for my participants, I undertook the task of trying to figure out what to name them. The name chosen for most of the time I was writing was “unique university-based education policy scholar”. I realized that “unique” is not descriptive enough, and that the name as a whole does not touch on bipartisan political engagement, which is an essential aspect of the work that they do. Other potential names were:

- education scholar policy activist
- politically participant education scholar
- politically engaged education scholar
- politically active education scholar
- politically engaged bipartisan education scholar
- politically active bipartisan education scholar
- university-based research broker
- education scholar political broker

I believe that consideration of the term “broker” was my ‘ah-ha’ moment. The traits of a broker that are described in the literature are essential to university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers. The journey to name them helped me better assess how I wanted to present this group to others as well. Uncovering dozens of university-based bipartisan scholarship brokers was a heartening experience for me. As someone whose career goal is to be a university-based bipartisan scholarship broker, I am excited to know that this is not nearly as rare as I thought it was when I began this study.

I am still trying to figure out where this study should be situated in the scholarly literature. Is this study exploring Higher Education? Public Policy? Political Science? Education Policy? I believe that the answer is “all of the above”. The interdisciplinary nature of this study and its findings can add to scholarly research in each of these fields. There are so many ways of exploring and interpreting these data. I look forward to engaging with them more for future research.

Notes

ⁱ This question is taken from Rigby, 2005

ⁱⁱ This question is taken from Manna, 2006 p. 175

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APPENDIX A
INFORMANT LETTER

Dear [Informant]

I am a doctoral student at Arizona State University studying state & federal political decision-making regarding education. Currently I am in the process of collecting data for my dissertation and [Previous Informant] recommended that I contact you.

The purpose of my research is to study tenure-track education policy scholars who provide politicians with research outside of their home university's professional requirements and, as such, actively engage in the education policymaking process. I plan to compare these individuals' perceptions of the policymaking work that they undertake with published models of research utilization in the policymaking process, to see if these models hold from their perspective or not.

I am looking to interview individuals with the following qualifications:

- A tenure-track or tenured university professor.
- Who consults with more than one elected politician, face-to-face on a regular basis, and does so across party lines.
 - These elected politicians serve at the state or federal level, and education is only one of the policy issues they contend with.

If you can recommend anyone for me to interview or additional contacts who I can reach out to in order to find participants, I would be very appreciative. I look forward to hearing from you and any insight you may have into this subject.

Thank you in advance for your help,
Emily R. Ackman

APPENDIX B
INTERVIEWEE LETTER

Dear [Interviewee],

I am a doctoral student at Arizona State University studying state & federal political decision-making regarding education. Currently I am in the process of collecting data for my dissertation and [Previous Informant] recommended that I interview you.

The purpose of my research is to study tenure-track education policy scholars who provide politicians with research outside of their home university's professional requirements and, as such, actively engage in the education policymaking process. I plan to compare these individuals' perceptions of the policymaking work that they undertake with published models of research utilization in the policymaking process, to see if these models hold from their perspective or not.

I am looking to interview individuals with the following qualifications:

- A tenure-track or tenured university professor.
- Who consults with more than one elected politician, face-to-face on a regular basis, and does so across party lines.
 - These elected politicians serve at the state or federal level, and education is only one of the policy issues they contend with.

I am reaching out to you because many other scholars put forth your name as one of the few individuals who falls into this unique category. I am interested in conducting a 30-60 minute interview with you at your earliest convenience to be part of my participant sample. Please let me know what your availability is during this semester and I will call you at your earliest convenience.

Please keep in mind that your participation is entirely voluntary and confidential. Additionally, should you choose to participate, you can opt out at any time.

I hope you can find the time to help me move forward with this important research. Your perspective on the intersection of politics and education is essential to my work. I look forward to hearing from you.

Thank you in advance for your help,
Emily R. Ackman

APPENDIX C
INTERVIEW TEMPLATE

This study is looking to gather knowledge from a subset of education policy scholars – ones who actually engage with politicians. These are individuals who are/were tenure-track at a university, but consult regularly with politicians. They provide these politicians with research outside of both university and scholarly requirements and, as such, actively engage in the policymaking process. I have asked you for an interview because you are one of these individuals and I would like to get your thoughts on the unique space that you fill in the education policy realm as well as your understanding of the policymaking process in comparison to known models.

Where did you get your PhD?

In what field are you trained?

What is your research specialty?

Does research affect policymaking?

If so, what affects the likelihood of research utilization?

Please talk about the role you play in impacting policy.

Is research involved?

How have the policy decisions that you helped influence impacted your life?

What is the appropriate role for the researcher in the research-to-policy connection?²

Do you believe that there is a tension between the academic and political realms?

What do you believe is an ideal role for university-based researchers to play in the policymaking process?

As a researcher, what are the pitfalls of engaging with politicians [probe]?

What are the benefits [probe]?

Why have you chosen to work with politicians from both political parties?

Can you point me to a policy artifact (legislation, a rider, campaign speech, etc.) that you consider an example of your work with politicians?

What is an example of research you believe to be influential?

What factors or individuals influence policymaking decisions?

Is there a particular theory you ascribe to, in any field, regarding research's influence on policy (e.g. Kingdon's *Garbage Can*, Cohen, March & Olsen's *Multiple Streams*, or Weiss' *Political Model* or *Interactive Model*)?

Please talk about your professional path. Specifically, what kept/keeps you housed at a university, but still engaged with politicians [probe]?

What has been your experience with other professors as an academic who stays housed in a university, but continues to engage with politicians?

Do you have any recommendations for a young researcher who is interested in engaging with politicians, but also wants to be housed at a university?

The goal of these questions is to better understand the motivations behind university-based scholars who choose to engage with politicians in the education policy agenda-setting process.

What important factors do I need to note, that have not been discussed yet?

Are there other people you would suggest I contact about my research?

APPENDIX D

2012 FREDRICK HESS EDU-SCHOLAR PUBLIC PRESENCE RANKINGS

	Name	Affiliation	Google Scholar	Book Points	Highest Amazon Ranking	Education Press Mentions	Blog Mentions	Newspaper Mentions	Congressional Record Mentions	Score
1	Linda Darling-Hammond	Stanford	83.0	19.0	19.2	21.0	50.0	16.5	5.0	213.7
2	Diane Ravitch	NYU	27.0	37.0	19.7	41.5	50.0	22.0	5.0	202.2
3	Eric Hanushek	Stanford	62.0	11.0	12.0	10.5	50.0	12.0	0.0	157.5
4	Larry Cuban	Stanford	42.0	37.5	13.6	2.5	50.0	4.0	0.0	149.6
5	Richard Arum	NYU	16.0	8.5	19.3	26.0	50.0	26.8	0.0	146.5
6	Terry Moe	Stanford	35.0	12.0	15.2	5.5	50.0	3.8	0.0	121.4
7	Paul E. Peterson	Harvard	38.0	26.5	15.5	3.5	29.8	4.3	0.0	117.5
8	Pedro Noguera	NYU	20.0	7.0	16.1	6.0	50.0	13.8	0.0	112.8
9	Daniel Koretz	Harvard	28.0	5.5	14.3	2.0	50.0	3.0	0.0	102.8
10	David K. Cohen	U. Michigan	33.0	6.0	10.3	1.0	50.0	0.5	0.0	100.8
11	Gary Orfield	UCLA	39.0	21.0	0.0	1.0	28.8	7.3	0.0	97.0
12	Caroline Hoxby	Stanford	39.0	1.5	0.0	2.0	50.0	4.3	0.0	96.8
13	Nel Noddings	Stanford	42.0	35.5	13.7	0.0	2.5	0.0	0.0	93.7
14	Roland Fryer	Harvard	20.0	0.0	0.0	7.0	50.0	14.0	0.0	91.0
15	Richard F. Elmore	Harvard	46.0	17.0	17.7	7.0	1.3	0.0	0.0	89.0
16	Gloria Ladson-Billings	U. Wisconsin	39.0	17.0	16.9	2.0	9.0	3.0	0.0	86.9
17	Camilla Benbow	Vanderbilt	46.0	1.0	20.0	0.5	16.0	2.5	0.0	86.0
18	David Berliner	Arizona State	54.0	10.5	13.3	1.0	4.5	2.5	0.0	85.8
19	Robert Pianta	U. Virginia	58.0	8.0	0.0	3.5	7.8	4.3	0.0	81.5
20	Michael W. Kirst	Stanford	28.0	10.0	0.0	3.5	28.5	10.5	0.0	80.5
21	Jay P. Greene	U. Arkansas	25.0	4.0	1.6	8.0	36.0	5.3	0.0	79.8
22	Andrew C. Porter	U. Penn	33.0	0.5	0.0	3.5	41.5	1.3	0.0	79.8
23	Bruce Fuller	UC-Berkeley	37.0	12.5	0.5	1.5	18.0	8.5	0.0	78.0
24	Henry M. Levin	Teachers College, Columbia	50.0	18.0	1.8	1.0	6.5	0.8	0.0	78.0
25	Gene Glass	CU-Boulder	40.0	12.0	12.3	1.5	9.8	1.8	0.0	77.3
26	Kenneth Zeichner	U. Washington	52.0	7.5	14.8	0.0	0.5	0.3	0.0	75.1
27	Carol Tomlinson	U. Virginia	31.0	24.0	18.9	0.0	0.5	0.3	0.0	74.6
28	James P. Comer	Yale	34.0	21.0	0.0	1.0	7.3	2.3	5.0	70.5
29	Adam Gamoran	U. Wisconsin	36.0	3.0	0.0	5.5	16.8	7.3	0.0	68.5
30	Marcelo Suarez-Orozco	NYU	28.0	12.0	17.4	0.5	9.5	1.0	0.0	68.4
31	Sara Goldrick-Rab	U. Wisconsin	9.0	0.5	0.0	2.5	50.0	3.5	0.0	65.5
32	Deborah L. Ball	U. Michigan	50.0	1.5	0.0	2.0	8.3	2.3	0.0	64.0
33	Daniel T. Willingham	U. Virginia	15.0	4.5	19.0	2.0	21.5	1.5	0.0	63.5
34	Dan Goldhaber	U. Washington	23.0	1.5	0.0	5.0	21.3	12.0	0.0	62.8
35	Marilyn Cochran-Smith	Boston College	50.0	8.0	2.1	0.0	1.0	0.5	0.0	61.6
36	David Figlio	Northwestern	34.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	15.0	5.5	5.0	61.5
37	Sonia Nieto	U. Mass-Amherst	23.0	14.0	17.2	1.0	4.8	1.5	0.0	61.4
38	Thomas J. Kane	Harvard	44.0	2.0	0.0	4.0	8.5	2.3	0.0	60.8
39	Gary Miron	Western Michigan U.	13.0	1.5	0.0	5.0	30.8	10.0	0.0	60.3
40	Patrick J. McGuinn	Drew	6.0	2.0	4.1	3.0	40.0	4.8	0.0	59.9
41	Anthony S Bryk	Stanford	44.0	5.5	1.4	4.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	56.4
42	Richard J. Murnane	Harvard	39.0	6.0	9.2	0.0	1.0	0.3	0.0	55.5
43	Ronald F. Ferguson	Harvard	16.0	5.5	5.2	2.0	15.8	7.5	0.0	51.9
44	Paul T. Hill	U. Washington	15.0	13.0	0.0	6.0	10.3	5.0	0.0	49.3
45	Douglas N. Harris	U. Wisconsin	14.0	2.0	15.3	2.0	14.3	1.5	0.0	49.1
46	Jeffrey Henig	Teachers College, Columbia	23.0	11.0	0.0	4.0	9.5	1.5	0.0	49.0
47	Richard Ingersoll	U. Penn	30.0	2.0	0.0	1.5	6.8	3.3	5.0	48.5
48	Patrick J. Wolf	U. Arkansas	16.0	0.5	0.0	1.0	16.3	8.5	5.0	47.3
49	Kenneth Wong	Brown	23.0	10.0	4.7	0.5	5.5	2.5	0.0	46.2
50	Susan Fuhrman	Teachers College, Columbia	25.0	12.5	0.0	0.5	7.5	0.5	0.0	46.0
51	Lorrie Shepard	CU-Boulder	40.0	4.0	0.0	1.0	0.8	0.3	0.0	46.0
52	Kevin Welner	CU-Boulder	13.0	7.5	0.0	2.5	19.5	2.8	0.0	45.3
53	Jonathan Plucker	Indiana U.	22.0	1.0	8.9	0.5	6.5	5.0	0.0	43.9
54	Brian A. Jacob	U. Michigan	21.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	17.3	4.3	0.0	43.5
55	Susanna Loeb	Stanford	25.0	2.5	0.0	3.5	8.0	2.8	0.0	41.8
56	Douglas Staiger	Dartmouth	37.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	1.5	2.5	0.0	41.5
57	James E. Ryan	U. Virginia	16.0	4.5	14.4	0.5	3.5	2.5	0.0	41.4
58	Julian R. Betts	UC-San Diego	31.0	7.5	0.0	0.5	1.3	0.5	0.0	40.8
59	Jonathan Zimmerman	NYU	7.0	8.0	0.0	1.5	23.8	0.0	0.0	40.3
60	Bruce D. Baker	Rutgers	17.0	1.5	0.0	2.5	12.0	6.5	0.0	39.5
61	Eva Baker	UCLA	33.0	4.5	0.0	0.0	1.8	0.0	0.0	39.3
	Median		20.0	4.0	0.0	1.0	3.8	1.5	0.0	39.3

	Median		20.0	4.0	0.0	1.0	3.8	1.5	0.0	39.3
62	James W. Guthrie	SMU	20.0	11.0	4.7	0.5	1.8	1.0	0.0	38.9
63	David Breneman	U. Virginia	22.0	11.5	0.0	0.5	2.0	2.0	0.0	38.0
64	Michael Podgursky	U. Missouri	24.0	2.5	0.0	2.5	6.5	1.8	0.0	37.3
65	Susan Dynarski	U. Michigan	17.0	0.0	0.0	2.5	16.0	1.8	0.0	37.3
66	Jacob Vigdor	Duke	24.0	2.0	0.0	0.5	8.0	2.0	0.0	36.5
67	Amy Stuart Wells	Teachers College, Columbia	25.0	8.5	0.0	1.0	1.8	0.0	0.0	36.3
68	Susan Moore Johnson	Harvard	24.0	9.0	0.0	1.0	1.5	0.5	0.0	36.0
69	Dominic Brewer	USC	28.0	4.0	0.0	1.0	2.0	0.8	0.0	35.8
70	David Labaree	Stanford	17.0	11.0	5.0	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.0	34.5
71	John F. Witte	U. Wisconsin	20.0	9.5	0.0	0.5	2.5	1.8	0.0	34.3
72	Thomas R. Bailey	Teachers College, Columbia	15.0	7.0	0.0	1.0	6.8	3.5	0.0	33.3
73	Robert Maranto	U. Arkansas	14.0	9.0	0.0	0.5	5.0	4.0	0.0	32.5
74	Jesse Rothstein	UC-Berkeley	15.0	0.5	0.0	3.0	12.5	1.3	0.0	32.3
75	Sherman Dorn	U. South Florida	9.0	6.0	4.2	1.0	9.8	2.0	0.0	31.9
76	Jonah Rockoff	Columbia	13.0	0.0	0.0	1.5	9.0	2.8	5.0	31.3
77	Robin J. Lake	U. Washington	8.0	2.5	0.0	6.0	10.3	4.5	0.0	31.3
78	Priscilla Wohlstetter	USC	24.0	5.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	1.0	0.0	30.8
79	Lance Fusarelli	NC State	16.0	4.5	10.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	30.6
80	Paul Teske	CU-Denver	20.0	6.0	0.0	0.5	3.8	0.3	0.0	30.5
81	Paul Manna	William & Mary	7.0	4.0	16.3	1.0	0.5	1.3	0.0	30.0
82	Gary Sykes	Michigan State	23.0	5.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.3	0.0	29.0
83	Donald Heller	Penn State	18.0	4.0	0.0	2.5	0.8	3.3	0.0	28.5
84	Carol Lee	Northwestern	23.0	2.5	0.0	0.0	1.5	1.5	0.0	28.5
85	Thomas Dee	U. Virginia	26.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	1.0	0.0	28.0
86	Kris Gutierrez	CU-Boulder	26.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	27.3
87	Mitchell Stevens	Stanford	8.0	4.0	12.0	0.5	0.3	0.5	0.0	25.3
88	Martin R. West	Harvard	13.0	2.0	4.2	1.5	2.8	1.5	0.0	25.0
89	Edward Haertel	Stanford	22.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	1.8	0.0	0.0	24.8
90	Eric Bettinger	Stanford	16.0	0.0	0.0	4.0	1.8	2.3	0.0	24.0
91	Dale Ballou	Vanderbilt	21.0	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.3	0.0	23.5
92	Bridget Terry Long	Harvard	16.0	0.0	0.0	4.0	2.3	1.3	0.0	23.5
93	Margaret Grogan	U. Missouri	15.0	4.5	3.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	23.0
94	Marguerite Roza	U. Washington	9.0	2.0	0.0	1.5	8.3	1.8	0.0	22.5
95	Sarah E. Turner	U. Virginia	18.0	1.0	0.0	2.0	1.0	0.3	0.0	22.3
96	Wilbur Rich	Wellesley	9.0	12.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	21.5
97	Katrina (Kati) Bulkley	Montclair	16.0	2.0	0.0	0.5	1.8	0.5	0.0	20.8
98	Catherine Lugg	Rutgers	13.0	4.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	2.8	0.0	20.5
99	John H. Tyler	Brown	15.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	1.0	1.3	0.0	19.3
100	Matthew Springer	Vanderbilt	9.0	1.5	0.0	1.0	5.5	2.0	0.0	19.0
101	Michelle Young	U. Virginia	16.0	2.5	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	19.0
102	Heather C. Hill	Harvard	16.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	1.0	1.3	0.0	18.8
103	Jennifer King Rice	U. Maryland	13.0	5.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	18.0
104	Michael Feuer	GWU	10.0	2.0	0.0	0.5	1.3	3.5	0.0	17.3
105	Jal Mehta	Harvard	6.0	0.5	0.0	7.5	1.8	0.5	0.0	16.3
106	Christopher Lubienski	U. Illinois	12.0	1.5	0.0	1.0	0.8	0.8	0.0	16.0
107	Luis Huerta	Columbia	8.0	4.0	0.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	0.0	16.0
108	Curt Bonk	Indiana U.	4.0	0.0	8.4	0.0	3.5	0.0	0.0	15.9
109	Meredith Honig	U. Washington	13.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.5	0.0	14.5
110	Elizabeth DeBray	U. Georgia	8.0	2.5	2.4	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0	13.9
111	Kathryn A. McDermott	U. Mass-Amherst	8.0	4.5	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	13.5
112	Sean Corcoran	NYU	8.0	1.0	0.0	1.0	1.5	0.0	0.0	11.5
113	Nora Gordon	Georgetown	10.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	10.3
114	Joshua M. Dunn	CU-Colorado Springs	2.0	2.0	4.2	0.5	0.8	0.3	0.0	9.7
115	Lora Cohen-Vogel	UNC	9.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.5
116	Saul Geiser	UC-Berkeley	8.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.3	0.0	9.3
117	Malachy Bishop	U. Kentucky	8.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	9.3
118	Audrey Amrein-Beardsley	Arizona State	5.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	2.0	0.0	0.0	7.5
119	Jon Fullerton	Harvard	3.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	1.5	0.0	5.3
120	Bonnie Fusarelli	NC State	3.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.5
121	Michelle Reinger	Stanford	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0