STUDENT LOBBYISTS' BEHAVIOR AND ITS PERCEIVED INFLUENCE ON
STATE-LEVEL PUBLIC HIGHER EDUCATION LEGISLATION:
A CASE STUDY

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by

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ABSTRACT

As state budgets have tightened and a college education has more frequently come to be viewed as a private good, public higher education has become increasingly politicized, particularly at the state level and over the past 15 years. This fact has made it necessary for public colleges and universities to actively engage in the state legislative arena. Generally, full-time professional lobbyists represent public colleges and universities. Students have been largely overlooked as potential partners in lobbying despite assertions that they may be among the best advocates for their institutions.

This study examined student involvement in state-level legislative lobbying activity. Specifically, this study explored the lobbying behavior of Associated Students of the University of Missouri (ASUM) student lobbyists and its influence on state-level higher education legislation during the 2009 Missouri Legislative Session. ASUM student lobbyists are registered legislative lobbyists with the state of Missouri. This study sought to do three things. First, it examined ASUM student lobbyists' lobbying behavior. Second, it compared ASUM student lobbyists' lobbying behavior with that of lobbyists from the same multi-campus public four-year institutional system. Third, it examined four participant groups' perceptions about ASUM student lobbyists' influence.

A qualitative case study methodology was used with pluralist theory and interest group theory as theoretical frameworks. The 37 participants included 10 ASUM student lobbying team members (eight student lobbyists, the Legislative Director, and the Assistant Legislative Director), 14 state legislators, seven legislative staff members, and six University of Missouri System lobbyists. ASUM student lobbying team members, legislators, and legislative staff members were individually interviewed; ASUM student lobbyists and UM System lobbyists participated in two separate focus group interviews; over 260 hours of observation was conducted at the Missouri State Capitol during the legislative session; and over 200 documents were collected for analysis.

The findings revealed that student lobbyists used many of the same lobbying behaviors used by higher education lobbyists as well as some unique ones. The findings also showed that student lobbyists were able to present a unique perspective, one not presented by other higher education lobbyists. The findings also demonstrated that participants perceived ASUM student lobbyists had substantial influence, specifically on issues that directly affected them and on which they mobilized other university students.

This study added to what is known about public higher education sector lobbying at the state level as well as what little is known about student involvement in it. This study has important implications for practice and future research. First, students can be effective partners in postsecondary institutional state-level lobbying activity. Second, this study's results may be informative to public higher education institutions in general as they seek to bolster state-level influence. Third, further research about how public colleges and universities can include students in institutional state-level lobbying efforts would be informative.

Chapter One

OVERVIEW

Introduction

Over much of its early history, public higher education in America enjoyed the

distinction of being recognized as a public good (Cook, 1998; Ferrin, 2003; Parsons,

2005). As such, it was believed that society accrued greater benefit from students seeking

a college education than did the individual graduate (Murray, 1976; Vedder, 2004). As a

result, public higher education was deemed essential to a high-functioning society

(Skocpol, 2003). Seen through this lens, public colleges and universities experienced a

high degree of autonomy from federal and state government control as well as a high

level of status in the legislative arena (Ferrin, 2003; St. John, 2006; Vedder, 2004).

Hence, public colleges and universities rarely had to advocate on their own behalf, could

count on advantageous public policy, and were able to depend on legislators'

unconditional support on funding decisions.

Thus, throughout the first half of the 20th century it was possible for public

colleges and universities to distance themselves from the legislative process (Benveniste,

1985; Cook, 1998; Ferrin, 2003; Gray, Lowery, Fellowes, & Anderson, 2005). Public

postsecondary education institutions could remain above the political wrangling of the

legislative arena (Jones, 1987; McLendon, 2003).

However, beginning in the late 1950s and early 1960s, the status of public higher

education began to diminish in the eyes of federal and state policymakers (Gove &

Carpenter, 1977), precipitating greater legislative involvement in public higher education

matters. Although the number and type of incidents or occurrences since the 50s that led

to increased legislative interest are many, some were of especially strong and of enduring impact. These events are detailed in Chapter 2.

The shifting political environment surrounding public postsecondary education, particularly over the past 15 years, jarred college and university leaders into the realization that the sector was "not above or apart from politics" (Gittell & Kleiman, 2000, p. 1088). Public higher education sector leaders came to accept the reality and necessity of political process participation (Cook, 1998). Simply put, it is now impractical for public higher education institutions to sit on the sidelines of the legislative arena. As nonprofit entities with varying degrees of dependency on state appropriations, public higher education institutions must now place particular emphasis on the state-level legislative process (Ferrin, 2003; Gray, Lowery, Fellowes, & Anderson, 2005; McLendon & Hearn, 2007).

Given that, now more than ever before, the public higher education community relies on lobbying in an attempt to favorably influence state policy-making and appropriations processes, research that examines how public colleges and universities can influence state-level legislation is needed (Ferrin, 2003; McLendon, 2003). Yet there is a void of empirically-based literature focused on higher education sector lobbying (Ferrin, 2003; McLendon, 2003; Tandberg, 2006).

Existing empirical literature rarely singles out legislative lobbying by the higher education sector from other sectors, focuses heavily on legislative lobbying at the federal level (Cook, 1998; Knorowski, 2000), and addresses interest group lobbying in general rather than specifically addressing the activity of nonprofit interest groups (Cook, 1998), such as public higher education (Emerson, 2007; Ferrin, 2003; Gray, Lowery, Fellowes,

& Anderson, 2005; Opfer, 2001). Moreover, little attention is paid in existing empirical literature to how public college and universities can improve their influence on the state-level legislative process (McLendon, 2003; Tandberg, 2006). These factors have resulted in a gap in empirical literature about state-level legislative lobbying by the public higher education sector.

Furthermore, exploration of the potential for college and university students as partners in state-level legislative lobbying is largely absent from the literature despite Benveniste's 1985 declaration that:

> Students are often the most vocal, organized and visible defenders of higher education. They are able to lobby energetically and influence policy in areas that interest them directly. …[S]tudent political cooperation is particularly relevant because the students are the university's most vocal, visible and important client (pp. 190-191).

Cook further delineated in 1998 that "student groups may be an especially interesting topic for further study because their leadership is temporary and constantly shifting, which means they may have [lobbying] motivations and incentives that differ from those of more established groups" (p. 195). Given this, the student approach to lobbying may be unique and as such, may be informative to higher education lobbying in general.

State student associations are linked to college and university campuses and have existed in the U.S. since the 1950s, although most date back to the 1970s. Student protests during this era also set the stage for student engagement in political matters and for the blossoming of state student associations across the country (Altbach, 1997; *2008-09 ASUM Legislative Intern Manual*). The earliest documented state student association, the Louisiana Council of Student Body Presidents, was founded in 1950 (Francis, 2004). The California State Student Association, one of the most active associations over time,

was founded in 1959. A majority of the state student associations, however, was founded in the 1970s. (See Appendix A.) The 1971 granting of voting rights to 18-year olds spurred increased levels of student participation in policymaking processes.

On the basis of purpose, membership, and structure, state student associations have been categorized as: (a) independent, (b) system-organized, or (c) informal (Francis, 2004). Further, some state student associations operate independent of a campus base, some are comprised only of student body presidents, others are delimited to one university system while others encompass many campuses in the state, and yet others are comprised of diverse institutional types. Some hire full-time staff, others hire full-time lobbyists, and most engage university students in lobbying activity.

Alternate perspectives exist, however, about the number and effectiveness of state student associations. For example, Levine and Cureton reported in 1998 that "state-wide student associations that seek to influence government higher education funding or policy, have declined in number, and even more importantly, in impact during the 1980s and 1990s." They attributed this finding to the challenge of sustaining student organizations due to the fact that students' tenure on campus is short, a fact also recognized by Cook (1998). However, a 2004 report entitled *Building the Student Voice: A Guide to State Associations* suggests otherwise. The 2004 report was the first and only known attempt to date to "catalog and describe specific [state student associations] in existence" (*Building the Student Voice: A Guide to State Associations*, 2004, p. 1). Researchers found that while some state student associations that had once been operational no longer existed in 2004 (e.g., Texas Student Association), new ones had

formed as recently as 2000. Moreover, the report established that in 2004, only 16 states were without some form of state student association.

As might be expected, the status of state student associations has changed even since 2004. For example, the Student Empowerment Training Project Web site chronicles the April 2007 adoption of the Associated Students of Colorado as well as the recent formation of Garden State Student Association in New Jersey. Specifically in Missouri and post-2004, the Student Association of Missouri (SAM) disbanded and the Missouri Higher Education Consortium (MHEC) was started by public 4-year college and university student body presidents to represent their students' concerns to lawmakers.

Thus, according to the most comprehensive report of state student associations to date, 41 state student associations were operational in 34 states in 2004 (*Building the Student Voice: A Guide to State Associations*, 2004). (See Appendix A.) Moreover, in 2004 these associations represented more than 6.3 million college and university students from across the country.

One of the 41 state student associations is the Associated Students of the University of Missouri (ASUM), founded in 1975 to represent the student voice to the Missouri General Assembly. ASUM is categorized as a system-organized association because of its direct connection to University funding and staffing. ASUM is unique among the 41 state student associations documented in 2004 (Francis, 2004) not only because of its longevity and stability, but because it is one of 17 institutional system-organized state student associations, one of seven state student associations that sponsor student internships, and the only student association I was able to locate that sponsors university students who are registered state-level legislative lobbyists.

ASUM is also unique in that many state student associations are comprised of student government leaders. While ASUM has a definite link to its campuses' student governments, it is comprised of students outside student government. With 33 years of sponsoring over 300 students who have been state-level registered legislative lobbyists, ASUM presents an appropriate topic for empirical examination.

In sum, as a result of the increased politicization surrounding public higher education, lobbying activity by the sector's institutions merits further scholarly attention. More specifically, student involvement in the legislative process is an understudied and relevant topic for additional study. Thus, this study seeks to understand the lobbying behavior of student lobbyists of one state student association in one state and to ascertain perceptions about its influence on public higher education legislation during the state's legislative session.

Theoretical Frameworks

As theoretical frameworks for this study, pluralist theory and interest group theory provided lenses for thinking about the potential for student lobbyists to represent public colleges and universities in the state-level legislative process. These frameworks situated this study in existing theory, guided data collection and analysis decisions, and undergirded interpretations of findings about perceptions of student lobbyists' influence on state-level higher education legislation.

Pluralist Theory

Balance of power and access to the legislative process are cornerstones of pluralism (Loomis & Cigler, 2007; Mawhinney, 2001). Pluralist theory posits that every citizen – including university students – can gain access to, have a voice in, and

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potentially influence the democratic legislative process (Loomis & Cigler, 2007;

Graziano, 2001). Pluralists not only assert that participation is accessible and possible for

all, but that interest groups are the conduit to citizen representation to and involvement in

democratic government (Ainsworth, 2002).

According to pluralist theory, interest groups form to represent diverse interests,

needs, and viewpoints of the citizenry (Dahl, 1967). Through interest groups, voices arise

to offset conflicting viewpoints and/or counteract an absence of voice (Dahl, 1967). Thus,

pluralist theory provided a framework for examining Cook's (1998) assertion that

students have unique interests and motivations that may shape their lobbying behavior.

Interest Group Theory

Political scientist David Truman (1971) coined the phrase *interest group* (also

known as citizen group, faction, organized interest, pressure group, and special interest)

to describe coalescing of individuals with similar needs, interests, and ideologies for the

purpose of affecting policymaking (Ainsworth, 2002; Cook, 1998; Loomis & Cigler,

2007; Skocpol, 2003). Over the past 2 decades, the number of interest groups proliferated

and their level of activity increased, particularly at the state level (Loomis & Cigler,

2007; Skocpol, 2003).

Higher education, classified as an occupationally-based nonprofit public interest

group, is among groups that lobby on behalf of a public service or good (Cook, 1998;

Cook & Arnold, 1996; Scholzman & Tierney, 1986). In this context, student lobbyists

who represent state student association members' interests, such as those who lobby on

behalf of ASUM, represent the voice of a nonprofit interest group.

In sum, pluralism, interest group theory, and lobbying can be likened to legs on a three-legged stool; each is pivotal to the strength and functionality of the other. Pluralism asserts that every citizen has access to the democratic process, interest groups represent the combined voices of their members, and lobbying is the tool used by some interest groups and citizens to attempt to influence the policy process.

Review of Literature

Throughout the history of public higher education, too little attention has been paid to its participation in the political process, especially its efforts to influence legislation. In 1968, Gove and Solomon described the empirical understanding of higher education's political involvement as "fragmentary" (p. 182). Years later, Beveniste (1985) urged that more attention be given to political matters in the planning of U.S. higher education. Even more recently, McLendon (2003) used the words "benign neglect" (p. 186) to describe the study of politics surrounding higher education.

Ferrin (2003) concluded that an empirical gap exists because political scientists, and higher education scholars alike, have tended to ignore higher education sector lobbyists as a topic for investigation. Moreover, a large portion of existing research focuses on lobbying at the federal level and does not differentiate public and private institutional lobbying activity (Cook, 1998; Gove & Carpenter, 1977; Knorowski, 2000). The few studies that do exist are primarily descriptive and most inquire about only one or two of these components: (a) characteristics and roles of in-house college and university lobbyists (e.g., Gove & Carpenter, 1977; Ferrin, 2003), (b) techniques and strategies used by higher education lobbyists (e.g., Brown, 1985; Cook, 1998; Cook & Arnold, 1996),

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and/or (c) influence and effectiveness of postsecondary education lobbyists (e.g., Key, 1992; Murphy, 2001; Tandberg, 2006).

<center>*Characteristics and Roles of Higher Education Lobbyists*</center>

Gove and Carpenter (1977) sought to understand and were the first to examine the roles of state-level higher education lobbyists. In *State Lobbying for Higher Education,* they summarized existing scholarly work to illuminate how public and private 4-year colleges and universities make their case to state legislators. Their synthesis of research revealed that pivotal roles (the term *role* is used in the literature to describe lobbying responsibilities and activities) of state-level legislative lobbyists included increasing lawmakers' understanding of higher education and providing information to legislators. An important finding was that higher education lobbying at the state level was in fact different than lobbying at the federal level.

Ferrin (2003) also sought to understand lobbyists' characteristics, roles, and effectiveness. However, unlike Gove and Carpenter (1977), he sought to describe lobbyists and their ability to influence federal-level higher education policy. His mixed methods study was based on a survey of and interviews with public and private 4-year institutional presidents and in-house lobbyists. General findings included that in-house federal-level college and university lobbyists did not have consistent backgrounds or experiences, few held prior political experience, and an understanding of higher education was critical to lobbying effectiveness.

<center>*Techniques and Strategies Used by Higher Education Lobbyists*</center>

Of the studies examining lobbying techniques used, Murray (1976) characterized the higher education lobby as docile and "passive" (p. 91) as compared to other interests.

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In *Defining the Higher Education Lobby,* Murray also concluded that both at the state and federal levels, public and private sector higher education lobbying in 1976 was unique from other interest groups because of its unorganized, consensus-seeking, and conciliatory nature. Nine years later, however, Brown's (1985) survey of public and private 4-year college and university presidents revealed that state-level lobbying strategies used by higher education interests in 1985 were not substantially different from those used by other interest groups. Brown's finding was perhaps a result of increased political activity by colleges and universities in reaction to the increasing politicization of public higher education between 1976 and 1985.

Cook's (1998) landmark study of higher education lobbying techniques at the federal level produced a summary of the frequency of higher education lobbyists' use of 18 lobbying techniques that had been described by Schlozman and Tierney in 1986 (Appendix A). Their mixed methods research titled *Lobbying for Higher Education* demonstrated that both 4-year public and private college and university lobbyists most frequently testified at legislative hearings to attempt to influence policy. The next most frequently used technique was directly contacting legislators or their aides.

Influence and Effectiveness of Higher Education Lobbyists

Influence and lobbying effectiveness have been used as frameworks for several empirical studies. For example, Key (1992) analyzed perceptions of state legislators' and public 4-year college and university presidents' regarding public 4-year institutional lobbyists' effectiveness. Survey and observation findings revealed that public postsecondary institutional lobbyists did not alter the outcome of state appropriations to public colleges and universities in Kentucky in 1992. Key also found that state

lawmakers perceived lobbyists' providing information to legislators the most effective means of influencing policy.

Murphy (2001), like Key (1992), was also concerned with public college and university lobbyists' influence and effectiveness at the state level. In a quantitative study, she surveyed state legislators and government relations officers from across the nation. Congruent with Key's findings, she found that providing information to state legislators was deemed the most important factor in public university lobbyists' effectiveness. More specifically, she discovered that personally presenting information to and maintaining a positive relationship with state policymakers contributed greatly to lobbyists' ability to influence state-level legislation.

Tandberg's (2006) qualitative study was also aimed at understanding public and private 4-year college and university lobbyists' influence on the state-level legislative process. He examined higher education interest groups' tendency to form alliances with other groups. Similar to Murphy's (2001) findings, Tandberg found that building and nurturing personal relationships was critical to lobbying effectiveness and lobbyists' influence on state policy.

In summary, while some empirical literature about public higher education lobbyists and what contributes to their influence does exist, there is an absence of empirically-based scholarship that examines the unique phenomenon of students as higher education lobbyists (Cook, 1998). Some scholars, however, have broached the subject (e.g., Beveniste, 1985; Cook, 1998; Gove & Carpenter, 1977). For example, Cook (1998) posited that researching student involvement in higher education policymaking might add to literature about the higher education sector's involvement in politics. The

lack of existing literature about student lobbyists supported the need for this inquiry about student lobbyists' behaviors and its perceived influence on state-level higher education legislation.

Purpose of the Study

Over the past 15 years it has become increasingly clear that public higher education must engage in the state-level legislative process. In the legislative arena, professional lobbyists most frequently represent public postsecondary institutions. However, students, alumni, and other constituents also interact with state legislators regarding higher education policy matters. Of these constituents, the possibility of students as effective lobbyists for public colleges and universities has gained some empirical mention (Benveniste, 1985; Cook, 1998; Gove & Carpenter, 1977; Parsons, 2005; Potter, 2003). Thus, the purpose of this study was to examine the lobbying behavior of one university system's student lobbyist group during the 2009 Missouri Legislative Session and ascertain perceptions of the group's influence on higher education legislation during the session.

Delimitations

This study had well-defined parameters or delimitations. Four overarching delimitations and their relationship to one another sharply focused this study's purpose. First, this study was focused on legislative lobbying and did not examine judicial or executive lobbying.

Second, this study focused on the regular session of the 2009 Missouri Legislative Session and not on the special or veto sessions. The regular session was held January 7, 2009, through May 15, 2009. The veto session was scheduled for September 16, 2009,

and the governor called extra sessions as needed. This study's findings were about the lobbying behavior of ASUM student lobbyists during the regular legislative session.

Third, this study was focused on the state-level legislative process because the state student association lobbyists being examined lobbied in the state legislature. Although the void of literature on the topic of state-level lobbying made it necessary that literature reviewed included examinations of both federal- and state-level legislative lobbying activity, this study examined state-level legislative lobbying activity.

Fourth, this study was focused on state-level legislative lobbying by the public 4-year higher education sector. This was true because the student lobbyists being examined represented students at a public 4-year university system and also because, in most cases, public 4-year institutions are more dependent on state appropriations than private non-profit higher education institutions. This fact makes legislative lobbying, at least for appropriations, a central activity of public 4-year institutions. Furthermore, this study was not focused on lobbying by public or private 2-year institutions because this study examined student lobbying activity on behalf of a public 4-year institutional system. In sum, this study focused on state-level legislative lobbying by public 4-year higher education institutions.

Research Questions

Three overarching questions guided this study:

1. What lobbying behaviors did the ASUM (Associated Students of the University of Missouri) student lobbyists use to attempt to influence higher education legislation during the 2009 Missouri Legislative Session?

2. How did lobbying behaviors of ASUM student lobbyists during the 2009 legislative session compare with lobbying behaviors of University of Missouri (UM) System lobbyists during the same legislative session?

3. How did ASUM student lobbyists, legislators, legislative staff members, and UM System lobbyists perceive the influence of ASUM student lobbyists on higher education legislation during the same legislative session?

Research Design

I selected to use case study methodology based on three tenets of the methodology. First, the single most important rationale for selecting case study design is that the phenomenon being studied was bounded (Merriam, 1998), making it a unique case (Merriam, 1998). This study was bound (Creswell, 2007; Merriam, 1998; Stake, 1995; Yin, 2003) by four conditions. First, it was bound to student lobbyists representing one state student association. Second, it was bound to student lobbyists at one public multi-campus university system. Third, it was bound to one legislative session. Finally, this case was bound to one state.

Second, case study design emphasizes collecting and analyzing a variety of data and multiple perspectives to gain as complete an understanding as possible about a complex and contextual social phenomenon (Yin, 2003) as it occurs within its natural context (Stake, 1995; Yin, 2003). Because there was not an existing base of knowledge about the influence of student lobbyists on state-level higher education legislation, case study design provided me the greatest breadth and depth of information available on this case.

Third, case study was appropriate for this study designed to seek an understanding of the topic being investigated, rather than hypothesize about it (Merriam, 1998). Hence, case study methodology was particularly relevant because this study examined a phenomenon not previously investigated. Therefore, absent a base of knowledge about student lobbyists as defined for purposes of this study, understanding and describing was a goal as well as an intended contribution of this study.

Data Collection

To gain the fullest possible understanding of the influence of one student associations' student lobbyists on state-level higher education legislation, a variety of evidence was collected to assure triangulation of data sources and to enhance the trustworthiness and credibility of findings. Because each source of data potentially revealed something unique about this case, multiple data sources were collected to understand the contextual nuances of this case and to cross check or triangulate findings across the various data sources.

Data sources included document data, observation, focus group interviews, and semi-structured individual interviews. Maximal purposeful sampling (Creswell, 2007; Merriam, 1998) was used to identify information-rich participants with direct experience with student lobbyists. Participants included student lobbyists, legislators, legislative staff members, and professional public university lobbyists. Snowball sampling surfaced additional information-rich participants (Hatch, 2002).

Data Analysis

Data were recursively and inductively analyzed through constant comparative methods (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Data analysis was begun upon

collection of initial data and continued through writing of findings. *A priori* categories

(Hatch, 2002; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Patton, 2002) were used for initial coding;

thereafter, a coding system of salient themes, categories, and sub-categories emerged

from in-depth, rigorous, and repetitive immersion in the data (Merriam, 1998; Patton,

2002; Yin, 2003). Triangulation or corroboration of emergent themes and rival

explanations across multiple data sources enhanced the credibility of this study's design

and findings. Furthermore, disconfirming data and rival explanations were identified and

explored (Yin, 2003). Analysis decisions, processes, and findings were validated through

an audit trail and peer debriefing.

Definitions of Key Terms

Its centrality to this study made it imperative to call attention to the definition of

student lobbyist. For the purposes of this study, *student lobbyist* was defined as a college

or university student who: (a) was registered with the Missouri Ethics Commission as a

legislative lobbyist, (b) had an ongoing presence at the Missouri State Capitol, and (c)

engaged in the state-level legislative process for the purpose of influencing it. More

specifically, for the purposes of this study, student lobbyists included students who lobby

on behalf of the Associated Students of the University of Missouri (ASUM). This study

did not consider students who engaged in periodic or single issue lobbying to be student

lobbyists (e.g., X University nursing student went to the Capitol once a year to talk with

legislators about a nursing-specific issue or to raise awareness of X University's nursing

program). Typically, students who participated in periodic or single issue lobbying were

not registered with the state and their interaction with legislators was singular and/or

infrequent.

Other key terms used in this study included the following:

Appropriations Committee: The standing legislative committee that considers bills to appropriate state and federal funds to the uses of state government (http://www.house.mo.gov/content.aspx?info=/info/glossary.htm).

ASUM (Associated Students of the University of Missouri): A system-wide student association founded in 1975 to advocate for and lobby on behalf of student interests (http://www.umsystem.edu/ums/departments/aa/asum).

Assistant Legislative Director: The one position hired to assist the ASUM Legislative Director with coordination of the legislative intern program (*2008-09 ASUM Legislative Intern Manual*).

House Higher Education Committee: The standing legislative committee that considers and reports on higher education-related bills and matters (http://www.house.mo.gov/content.aspx?inmfo=/bills081/commdesc.htm).

Legislative Director: The one position hired by the ASUM Board for the purpose of overseeing the ASUM legislative intern program (*2008-09 ASUM Legislative Intern Manual*).

Legislative Hearing: A public meeting held by a legislative committee to receive testimony from the public on a bill or topic (http://www.house.mo.gov/content.aspx?info=/info/glossary.htm).

Lobbyist/Lobbying: A "person who attempts to influence the legislative process as a part of his or her job or under hire by someone else or on behalf of a special interest group" (http://www.house.mo.gov/content.aspx?info=/info/glossary.htm, p. 3).

Lobby: A term used to describe a collective of lobbyists who represent a specific sector or community.

Missouri Ethics Commission: An agency, created by the 1991 Missouri Ethics Law, charged with enforcement of conflict of interest, lobbying laws, and campaign finance disclosure laws (http://www.moethics.mo.gov/Ethics/GeneralInfro/MECIInfo.aspx).

Platform/Policy: An official stance or position taken on matters of public policy (*The Random House College Dictionary*, 1975).

Senate Education Committee: The standing legislative committee that hears and considers all proposed legislation related to elementary, secondary, and higher education (http://www.senate.mo.gov/glossary.htm).

<div align="center">Limitations of the Study</div>

Two limitations of case study methodology were particularly relevant to this study. However, as described in Chapter 3, these same limitations can also be viewed as strengths of case study methodology.

First, the reader can potentially draw inaccurate conclusions about and from case study findings because findings may be unique to the case studied. Thus, case study findings must be viewed as a "slice of life" within the particular context of the unique case rather than an "account of the whole" (Merriam, 1998, p. 42). Given this limitation, thick rich description of the context of the case is provided, case boundaries are stated, and delimitations articulated.

Second, case study findings are susceptible to researcher bias (Heppner & Heppner, 2004; Merriam, 1998; Stake, 1995; Yin, 2003). The researcher must control for potential bias and preconceptions, particularly if s/he had previous experience in case the setting. This limitation was particularly important because I previously worked with ASUM student lobbyists during two legislative sessions. To reduce potential for

researcher perspectives to influence findings, my past experience with and inherent assumptions about the case were explained (Appendix D), reflexivity (Creswell, 2007; Patton, 2002) was practiced, and a conscious attempt was made to fairly analyze and report findings.

Significance of the Study

This study's findings have potential significance on a number of levels. First, the findings will generate a knowledge base about the lobbying behavior of student lobbyists and perceptions about its influence on state-level higher education legislation. This contribution may influence how institutional leaders conceive the student role in the legislative process. Other than the suggestion that students are potential actors in the legislative arena (Benveniste, 1985; Cook, 1998), they have not been included in studies of college and university lobbying. Moreover, higher education administrators have more often than not overlooked the student voice as a potential contributor (Longo, 2004). As higher education has become increasingly politicized, for good or for ill, and as institutions bolster efforts to assure a visible presence in state capitols, this study may provide a unique look at who currently is and who can potentially influence state-level legislation.

Second, this study may be instructive to state-level public college and university lobbyists tasked with influencing the state-level legislative process, often without benefit of financial resources and lobbying strategies available to for-profit interest groups (Berry, 2007). Findings about student lobbyists' influence may reveal lessons generally applicable to higher education lobbyists and contribute to what is known about public higher education lobbying effectiveness.

Third, this study may serve to more sharply foreground the importance of state-level legislative politics to public higher education by adding to the literature that addresses the increasing politicization of public higher education. Despite widespread acknowledgement that higher education policy is indeed a political process (Cook, 1998; Ferrin, 2003; Heller, 2007; McLendon, 2003), research addressing how public institutions can be effective in this necessary and increasingly important policy arena is limited. Findings may illuminate the broader, historically neglected, area of postsecondary education legislative lobbying.

Summary

This chapter described the rationale for this study, explained the theoretical frameworks that were used, and provided a brief literature review. Second, the purpose of the study was explained and delimitations articulated, followed by articulation of the questions this study sought to answer. Third, the research design was described, including data collection and data analysis processes. Fourth, concepts that may be unfamiliar to the reader were defined. Fifth, limitations of the study were articulated and finally, the potential significance of this study's findings was described. Chapter 2 will provide a review of empirical literature about lobbying in general, and higher education lobbying in particular.

Chapter Two

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

With the increasing politicization of public higher education in the United States, particularly over the past 15 years and at the state level, public colleges and universities cannot afford to be inactive in the state-level public policy process. Lobbying activity – activity intended to influence the policy-making process has become increasingly critical to public postsecondary institutions and is typically conducted by professional in-house lobbyists. However, student lobbyists may comprise a unique and underutilized voice in the public higher education sector's efforts to influence state-level legislation.

This study drew upon literature from the fields of higher education, educational policy, political science, public policy, public affairs, social science, and behavioral science to examine the influence of one multi-campus public university's student association lobbyists on higher education legislation during the 2009 Missouri Legislative Session. Although this study focused on public 4-year institutional lobbying at the state level, this review included research that was more broadly focused. Because of the limited empirical research available specifically about public 4-year institutional state-level lobbying, literature addressing federal-level lobbying by 4-year public colleges and universities was reviewed. For the same reason, literature that examined private not-for-profit 4-year institutional lobbying at both the state and federal levels was also reviewed. However, literature about public and private community colleges was not included in the review because there is limited literature addressing this topic and because this study focused on student lobbyists representing students of a 4-year institutional system.

In this chapter, I first review the political nature of higher education. Next, I describe the theoretical frameworks used in this study. Then, literature about lobbying in general, and higher education lobbying by 4-year institutions in particular, is reviewed, with primary emphasis placed on higher education-related literature. Finally, a synthesis of literature that broaches the topic of student lobbyists within the higher education context is provided.

<div align="center">The Political Nature of Higher Education</div>

Over much of its history the American public higher education community had been able to avoid the politics associated with legislative process involvement (Gove & Carpenter, 1977; Jones, 1987; McLendon, 2003). As a result of their solid reputations and society's consensus perception of higher education as a public good (Burke, 2005; Cook, 1998; Ferrin, 2003; Parsons, 2005), public colleges and universities had been unconditionally supported by policy actors. Public postsecondary institutions and their graduates were believed to serve their communities and states as well as society at large (Gruber, 1997; Skocpol, 2003; Vedder, 2004). Moreover, it was understood that they played a significant role in the country's economic well-being and ability to successfully address its national and global challenges (Freeland, 1997; Trow, 1997). Hence, even when the public higher education sector did not actively participate in the legislative process, financial and policy support of federal and state policymakers was unassailable. As a result, public higher education operated relatively independent of government oversight up until the mid-20th century (Richardson & Smalling, 2005; St. John, 2006; Vedder, 2004).

However, both the federal and state governments became more prevalent in public higher education with each passing decade, starting in the late 1950s. Yet the public higher education sector was slow to assert itself in the legislative process. As Cohen (1998) explained, most political impact on higher education happened to the sector rather than as a result of the sector's intentional attempt to influence legislative policy. In other words, while public higher education has always been a political entity because of its relationship to government, it has only recently actively engaged in the political process in an attempt to influence its outcome.

The 1950s

Dating back to the Morrill Acts of 1862 and 1890 and the establishment of a land-grant university in each state (Gruber, 1997; Johnson, 1997), states had been actively involved and invested in public higher education. State legislators made decisions about their land-grant institutions (e.g., name, location, governance). However, beginning in the 1950s, state-level government began to take even greater control of its public higher education institutions (McLendon, 2003).

During the World War II era of mass expansion of public higher education under enactment of the GI Bill (Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944), existing colleges and universities were expanded and new ones established to educate all that desired a college education (Cohen, 1998; McLendon, 2003). With so many more students and postsecondary institutions, states assumed greater responsibility for coordination and oversight. The earliest state-level higher education governing bodies emerged as a result of federal mandate that states establish a coordinating structure as a condition of

receiving federal funding (Ganey, T. *Governing universities*, 2009). State legislatures and governors established these bodies to set policy (Callan & Jonsen, 1987).

Mass expansion of public higher education created a "social compact" (Burke, 2005, p. 5) between government and the sector. Each party operated from a sense of trust. Public higher education trusted that government would provide financial support and government trusted that public higher education would act to assure access for all citizens (Burke, 2005), including the many who had previously been unable to attend (Callan & Finney, 2005). Public higher education, as a shared public policy priority (Callan & Finney, 2005), became accepted as a public good – something vital to the health and sustainability of the country.

The 1950s also brought greater federal-level control over higher education. Russia's successful launch of *Sputnik* in 1957 (Freeland, 1997) generated panic that America was falling behind other nations' space capabilities, elevated the importance of higher education on the legislative agenda, and linked higher education to national security. As a result, the National Defense Education Act was passed in 1959. Under this Act, government agencies were established (e.g., National Institutes of Health, National Science Foundation) (Cook, 1998) to fund research conducted on the nation's campuses to serve society's greater needs. Dedicated research funding sent the message that public higher education institutions were society's institutions. As such, the federal government had more of a stake and sense of ownership in them. Institutional emphasis on research was ignited. National security concerns had implications for state government involvement in higher education. For example, in Missouri the state legislature appropriated $3.2 million in 1959 for construction of a nuclear reactor on the University

of Missouri (UM) campus, increasing ownership in its public flagship campus (*MURR History*).

<p align="center">*The 1960s and 1970s*</p>

Beginning in the 1960s and continuing into the 1970s, student protests on campuses about the Vietnam conflict drew negative attention to public higher education, from both the public and the government (Burke, 2005; Cook, 1998; Key, 1992; Vedder, 2004). The majority of issues protested by students (and in some cases, by faculty and staff members) were political in nature, raising concerns about campuses' direct opposition to government policy and involvement in political matters. Moreover, the emergence of some student groups fueled the image of American campuses as being out of control. For example, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), established in 1965, became perhaps the most known student activist group, the Student Peace Union (SPU) organized to protest military involvement in Vietnam (Altbach, 1997), and the Young Americans for Freedom (YAF) actively protested against then President Lyndon Johnson (*United States Student Association History*, 2009).

State student associations, including the one being examined in this study, link back to student activism of the 60s. Based on the premise that students could more productively express their opinions through the voting booth than by protesting on campuses, lawmakers ratified the 26th Amendment giving 18-year olds the right to vote. Voting rights led to even greater student involvement in the legislative process. "Within two years after the first election in which [students voted], student legislative groups had been started in 11 states" (*2008-09 ASUM Legislative Intern Manual*). In Missouri,

students started the statewide Associated Students of Missouri. It failed to thrive and the Associated Students of the University of Missouri (ASUM) was started in 1975.

Faculty involvement in war protests also drew criticism for higher education. For example, the UM was censured by the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) because the administration sanctioned sociology faculty members for dismissing class for 2 days in memory of the Kent State University and Jackson State University students who had been killed while engaged in protests of war activity on their campuses (*The First 100 Years of Sociology at the University of Missouri-Columbia*). During this period, campuses came to be viewed as political entities, often in direct contradiction to government action and policy. This fact wrought criticism from government and the general public.

In the 1960s university students were leaders in many social changes viewed negatively by the general public. For example, students exerted influence on issues of roles of the sexes, sexual relationships, race relations, rock music, drug use, and a host of other sensitive topics (Altbach, 1997). Students took issue with and engaged in activism about the relevance and rigor of the curriculum (Cook, 1998), military research occurring on campuses, *in loco parentis* policies, focus on graduate education, civil liberties and rights, and their level of involvement in institutional governance (Altbach, 1997).

Also during the 60s and 70s, public colleges and universities experienced burgeoning enrollments (Trow, 1997). In fact, between 1960 and 1970 the number of students enrolled in college doubled and state funding to higher education increased 400 percent (Lingenfelter, 2007). Trow (1997) referred to this as the golden era of higher education. The growth in college enrollments and expansion of number of campuses led

the federal government to act again to assure that state systems were coordinated, their growth managed, and program duplication reduced.

The 1965 Higher Education Act directed states that had not already done so to establish a coordinating agency for its public higher education institutions (Cohen, 1998). Thereafter and into the early 1970s, a majority of public higher education oversight boards emerged. The Missouri Commission on Higher Education was established in the early 1960s. It was reorganized into the existing Coordinating Board for Higher Education in 1972 and constitutionally established in 1974 (Ganey, T. *Governing universities*, 2009). These boards placed greater authority over public colleges and universities into the hands of the state. This shift of authority made the institutions' relationships with state legislatures increasingly important and precipitated a sense of ownership by the state and its citizens over public higher education (Zumeta, 2005).

In the 1970s, states were urged to expand higher education opportunities, keep tuition low, and make public colleges and universities accessible to all. States were measured on how they compared on these priorities (Cohen, 1998) and it was during this time that public higher education began to be measured state-to-state and nation-to-nation (Mehta, 2008; St. John, 2006).

Also during the 70s, a recession precipitated decreased state funding to public higher education, triggering rising tuition costs (Burke, 2005). During this time, government regulations regarding federal and state funding for higher education increased as concern about meeting the country's needs escalated (Cohen, 1998). The increased regulations brought about greater control by federal and state legislatures (Cohen, 1998).

The 1980s

During the 1980s and into the 1990s, erosion of public confidence in higher education was magnified (Cook, 1998). This erosion was the beginning of what would prove to be intensified questioning of the sector, both by the public and legislators.

Stemming from the realization that U.S. education attainment was falling behind that of other countries, the U.S. Department of Education issued the 1983 report *A Nation at Risk*. The report exclaimed that our nation's public colleges and universities were inadequately preparing students to compete in a global marketplace and that student learning was inferior to that experienced by past generations (Mehta, 2008; St. John, 2006). This inadequacy was believed to compromise the nation's security. Concern was raised about the quality of public higher education, prompting a majority of state legislatures to mandate that public colleges and universities begin assessing student learning (Burke, 2005). Furthermore, this report illuminated higher education's role in the nation's economic and global welfare, instigated government-controlled accountability measures, and escalated the priority and frequency of higher education on legislative agendas. Along with the high profile *A Nation at Risk* report, the National Institute of Education and the Association of American Colleges released reports in the 1980s similarly critical of student learning outcomes at public postsecondary institutions (Cook, 1998).

Due to a recession in the 1980s, many states again reduced their financial support of public colleges and universities (Trow, 1997). When funding decreased, institutions that had been accustomed to healthy allocations had to do more with less. It was during this period state flagship institutions began to receive less of the available funding than

they had previously (Cohen, 1998; Trow, 1997). Postsecondary institutions, both public and private, began to compete with one another for state funding (Cohen, 1998). Tuition costs grew dramatically and it became more difficult for all citizens to access a public higher education (Freeland, 1997).

The increasing cost of postsecondary education generated angst among policymakers that many students were being priced out of higher education. The price of tuition "more than doubled from 1980 to 1995" (Vedder, 2004, p. 9), an increase of 234% (Cook, 1998), while the amount of family income required to afford college did not increase proportionally. During this period, federal financial aid shifted to a greater proportion of loan-aid (St. John, 2006). This shift resulted in increasing tuition costs, passing along a greater share of the cost of college to the consumer, and alarming student loan default rates at the expense of the federal government (Cohen, 1998; Cook, 1998; Mehta, 2008; St. John, 2006).

During this period, postsecondary institutions broadened their missions and responded to increased reporting mandates from federal and state governments. Administrative personnel and associated costs at public institutions began to increase as a percentage of operating budgets. Conversely, funding devoted to instruction decreased (Vedder, 2004), illuminating a growing concern about the sector's efficiency. Because of the budget shift from academics to administration, the higher education sector gained a reputation of being greedy (St. John, 2006; Vedder, 2004) and the value of a higher education or return on state investment was questioned (Cook, 1998). State legislators began to increasingly question their public institutions and call for greater efficiency and accountability (Cohen, 1998). This questioning instigated movement to a more

centralized state-level governance structure for higher education in many states during the 1980s and 1990s (Cohen, 1998). Dialogue frequently included discussion of which decisions should be made at the institutional and which at the state level.

The 1990s

Faculty workloads and salaries, emphasis on research and graduate education, curriculum requirements and rigor, tuition price-fixing, and use of federal grant monies were all nationally debated in the 90s, generating yet more public attention on and a deepening distrust of higher education (Cook, 1998). For example, faculty productivity became a common topic (Cohen, 1998), eliciting increased legislative scrutiny on faculty roles, compensation, and the tenure process. Then in 1991, the U.S. Department of Justice had to intervene in tuition price-fixing practices of a compact of public and private institutions that were alleged to have mismanaged indirect costs of federal research dollars. A national investigation was conducted (Cook, 1998; Vedder, 2004).

With economies in recession and tuition costs rising, the number of state-level reports and mechanisms implemented during the 1990s to measure outcomes of colleges and universities increased and have continued since (Cohen, 1998). Government officials were most interested in measures related to accountability, efficiency, and effectiveness (Burke, 2005). When public colleges and universities were slow to respond to the demands for greater accountability, many state legislatures enacted laws that required them to report outcomes to the state (Burke, 2005). Decreasing state budgets, increasing adoption of a business results model for government programs, and burgeoning demands to fund state public policy programs prompted legislators to question return on investment and increase its involvement in public higher education.

It was during the 1990s that postsecondary institutions established an office of government relations, increasing their emphasis on legislative lobbying (Cook, 1998; Murphy, 2001). Although these employees generally held other responsibilities in addition to state-level lobbying, legislative lobbying became embedded in the organizational structure and mission of public colleges and universities (Murphy, 2001). However, doing so brought more criticism to the sector because of the long-held perception that public colleges and universities were society's institutions and as such should remain removed from the political dealings of the legislative process.

The Past 15 Years

In the late 1990s and early 2000s, state financial support to public colleges and universities plummeted as states struggled to balance their budgets during a period of simultaneously decreasing revenues, expanding public service programs, and escalating costs of state-funded social service programs (Barr, 2002; Heller, 2007; St. John & Parsons, 2004). Subsequent budget cuts entrenched the perception and reality that higher education is often the first line item cut by states facing financial challenges (Goodman, 2009). In Missouri the UM System budget was cut $49 million in 2002 (Dunn, C. & Insinna, V., *Nixon vows to avoid cutting higher education budget in 2010*, 2009) and public colleges and universities have lobbied since that time to restore the public higher education budget to 2001 levels.

The 2001 economic recession resulted in unusually high tuition increases, spurring yet more criticism of higher education (Vedder, 2004). In Missouri public college and university tuition costs increased an average of 7.5 percent each year for the past decade (Youngs, J., *Deal avoids cuts at MU*, 2009). Specifically, UM tuition has

increased 73.6% since FY2002 or an average annual increase of 9.1% (*University of Missouri Core Budget Reduction Impact Statement*, 2008). Tuition was raised because state funding support decreased from 55% of the operating budget to 38%. Tuition revenues were increased from 36% to 46% of the budget to offset the loss in state funding support (*University of Missouri Core Budget Reduction Impact Statement*, 2008).

Legislators, many with term-limits or an upcoming election, had to balance the pressure to fund social service programs with that to enact policy to address increased tuition rates (Vedder, 2004). At the same time, the link between higher education, a skilled workforce, a stable economy, and ability to compete in a knowledge-based global economy has become more pronounced. Higher education has been called upon to prepare an educated workforce now and into the future (Burke, 2005; *Taking Action to Meet New Realities: A Report on the Midwestern Education to Workforce Policy Summit*, 2006). This fact makes public higher education a high-profile issue on state legislative agendas.

Concurrently, U.S. politics became more polarized and public higher education became a more polarizing and partisan issue (Doyle, 2007; Lingenfelter, 2007; St. John, 2006; Vedder, 2004). Viewed through this lens, legislators adopted the ideology that the individual benefitting from a college education should pay its cost rather than the state receiving a poor return on investment (Burke, 2005). Over the past decade and a-half, state legislators more frequently viewed college attainment as a private good, or as "both a consumer good and an investment good" (Vedder, 2004, p. 100). From this perspective, the lifetime earning accrued by and of benefit to the college educated believed to

outweigh the public benefit accrued by society in proportion to public financing of higher education (Doyle, 2007; St. John, 2006; Vedder, 2004).

Over the past decade and a-half, proprietary institutions exploded, offering greater flexibility in scheduling and less investment of students' time at a lower cost than their public counterparts. While students in public institutions began to take longer to complete a degree (St. John, 2006; Vedder, 2004), more flexible institutions offered more condensed programs that could be completed in a shorter time.

Moreover, during the more recent past, policy decisions about public higher education increasingly devolved to the state level (Mehta, 2008; St. John, 2006). The result, markedly so after the 1980s, has been an increase in government control over and a decrease in citizen and legislator confidence in the public higher education sector. Additionally, decisions historically made at the institutional level were more often being made at the state level. For example, Missouri passed legislation in 2007 that capped tuition and granted authority to the Commissioner of Higher Education to enact financial penalties should an institution exceed the cap.

It was during this time period that colleges and universities elevated part-time government relations officers to full-time state-level lobbyists while other institutions replaced contract lobbyists with in-house lobbyists (Cook, 1998; Murphy, 2001). As a result, state-level in-house lobbyists became more instrumental in institutional decision-making (Cook, 1998; Ferrin, 2003; Murphy, 2001; Tandberg, 2006).

Other higher education issues were controversial during this period: the practice and cost of faculty tenure; athletic-related expenditures and controversies; faculty workload debates; amassing of large endowments; coveting of national rankings based

largely on ability to raise money; decline of college enrollments; exclamations by employers that college graduates lack requisite skills; and the constant request for increased state funding have further eroded public confidence and trust in the public higher education sector (Cook, 1998; St. John, 2006; Vedder, 2004).

In the past few years, both state and federal governments have called for increased accountability from the higher education community (Ferrin, 2003; Mehta, 2008; St. John, 2006), particularly in controlling the cost of postsecondary education (Lingenfelter, 2007). In 2006, the U.S. Secretary of Education released the high-profile Spellings Commission report entitled *A Test of Leadership: Chartering the Future of U.S. Higher Education*, once again directing federal and state attention to shortcomings in the areas of access, accountability, affordability, and quality of public postsecondary education. Three other national reports, each concerned with the same issues, have been released since 2004, one by the National Conference of State Legislatures (Lingenfelter, 2007). These reports have spurred yet greater attention on public higher education, precipitated federal- and state-level legislative action, and caused governors to take a more active role in higher education-related policy (Lingenfelter, 2007).

Another reality that has drawn increased legislative attention to higher education over the past few years is that the U.S. is no longer the most college-educated population in the world. American higher education has gained negative attention due to this fact. Canada, Japan, Korea, Norway, Ireland, and Belgium have all outperformed the U.S. in recent years in terms of college educated among the 25- to 34-year old population group (*Education at a Glance*, 2007).

More recently, passage of the Reauthorization of Higher Education Act of 2008 placed additional federal mandates on public postsecondary institutions regarding tuition cost controls, accountability measures, and endowment management (Hartle, 2008). Meanwhile, a severe budget shortfall was projected in most states as the nation and the world faced the economic crisis that came to a head in late 2008. Missouri was projected to face a $342 million mid-year budget shortfall (Livengood, C., *Saved from state cuts*, 2009). To prepare for this situation, all state departments and public higher education institutions had been asked to submit a report outlining how they would handle a 15%, 20%, and 25% reduction in state funding for FY 2010 (*University of Missouri Core Budget Reduction Impact Statement*, 2008).

In sum, although public higher education has become increasingly politicized since the 1950s, legislative scrutiny of the higher education sector has increased substantially over the past 15 years. As a result, the public higher education sector found itself in a position of needing to aggressively advocate on its own behalf in the political process (Cook & McLendon, 1998; Gittell & Kleiman, 2000; Parsons, 2005). What Cook (1998) aptly summarized as the seriousness of the higher education sector's involvement in political matters is just as true in 2008 as it was in 1998: "Most higher education leaders understand now that their work is already politicized and that the future of colleges and universities is in fact on the line" (p. 172).

In short, the public higher education sector was once able to remain distanced from the politics of the legislative process. However, evolving trends since the mid-1950s, and particularly over the past 15 years, have necessitated that public colleges and universities become politically active and astute. Today, public higher education

institutions realize that they must have a presence at their statehouses (Doyle, 2007; Ferrin, 2003). In the current environment, effective lobbying by the public higher education sector "is a matter of survival" (Angel, 1987, p. 109). Given that, it may be time to rethink *who* can effectively lobby on the sector's behalf.

Theoretical Frameworks

Pluralist theory and interest group theory were the theoretical frameworks used in this study of student lobbying behavior and its influence on higher education legislation in one state. Given the pluralistic assertion that all citizens can participate in a democratic government and that interest groups form to represent collective interests, the influence of student lobbyists on state-level higher education legislation was examined through these two frameworks.

Pluralist and interest group theories go hand in hand; they are intertwined and highly interdependent concepts. Furthermore, lobbying, pluralist theory, and interest group theory are inextricably linked. "Group theory was framed on the fundamental pluralistic assumption that a free and active group system was critical in a democracy" (Mawhinney, 2001). Stated differently, interest group theory rests squarely on the premise of pluralism; pluralist theory espouses that citizens form interest groups so that their voices may be heard; interest group theory rests squarely on the premise of pluralism; and lobbying is the tool most frequently used by interest groups to express the interests of those they represent.

Pluralist Theory

 Since its inception in the 1940s (Ainsworth, 2002), pluralist theory has been widely debated and remains an area of unresolved conflict among political science

scholars (Baumgartner & Leech, 1998; Loomis & Cigler, 2007; Pennock, 1979). Even more specifically, ideological cleavages exist among the various types of pluralists (e.g. classical pluralists, neo-pluralists, post-pluralists) about the essence of pluralism. Pluralist theory, as originally introduced by David Truman (1971), is premised on the belief that all citizens can be active participants in the democratic governmental process.

The earliest pluralistic ideology, widely used as a framework for political research in the 1950s and 1960s (Mahwinney, 2001), contended that in a democratic government all voices could be heard. Moreover, pluralism posited that every citizen has access to, opportunity to participate in, and capacity to influence government. Pluralists considered citizen participation important to the democratic process: Broad and inclusive citizen participation in the governmental process undergirds pluralist ideology (Mahood, 1990). Despite their critics' assertion that only the elite held the social and material resources necessary to impact policymaking, pluralists held firmly to the ideal that, regardless of status, all citizens could actively participate in and impact government. Pluralist theory placed citizens – the majority – in a position to influence the actions and outcomes of a few elected leaders who constitute the minority (Loomis & Cigler, 2007; Pennock, 1979). Pluralism was thought to prevent abuse of power (Pennock, 1979), with associations or interest groups as the means by which government power was counter-balanced (Baumgartner & Leech, 1998; Graziano, 2001; Mahood, 1990).

Based on the premise that citizens have a constitutionally established right to assemble, individuals exercised this right and formed interest groups or associations that represented their desires, wants, and needs and spoke on their behalf (Loomis & Cigler, 2007; Pennock, 1979; Truman, 1971). Pluralists posited that coalition building or interest

group activity was an important part of the democratic process (Ainsworth, 2002; Pennock, 1979) and believed expansion of number and type of groups to be "part of the natural process of political development" (Ainsworth, 2002, p. 6). Interest groups raised awareness of individual issues and concerns while building individual "political efficacy" (Pennock, 1979, p. 451). Furthermore, pluralist theory addressed lobbying as a natural outcome of associations or groups. In fact, Dahl (1967), in his work on democratic pluralism, proclaimed that lobbying is an essential and necessary component of the U.S. legislative policy-making process.

<div align="center">Interest Group Theory</div>

Interest group theory also provides an appropriate framework from which to examine the influence of the student lobbyists being studied because they represent a particular interest group - the 64,000+ University of Missouri students. ASUM student lobbyists lobby on issues that have been identified through polling as important to students.

Federalist Papers co-author and then future president James Madison urged that Americans' tendency to form factions be taken into account when debating the U.S. governmental structure (Skocpol, 2004). Factions, as Madison called them, were defined as "membership organizations with political goals" (as cited in Mahood, 1990, pp. 2-3). Put another way, interest groups sought the collective good, serving as "an intermediary between citizens and government" (Berry, 1977, p. 5). Factions were interchangeably labeled as interest groups, organized interests, pressure groups, and special interests (Loomis & Cigler, 2007). Classified into distinct groups based on membership base,

policy goals, and structure, interest groups use a variety of unique lobby strategies (Berry, 1977; Cook, 1998).

Political science scholar David Truman (1971) asserted that interest groups were an essential component of the complex and specialized U.S. government structure (Loomis & Cigler, 2007). In 1951, Schriftgiesser predicted an increasing expansion of interest groups based on their growth during that time. True to his prediction, interest groups exploded in the 1970s (Loomis & Cigler, 2007), followed by a growing presence of interest groups in the modern age (Berry, 2007). And, in 2000 Mahwinney pointed out that interest groups had always been an integral part of American politics and government system.

At the same time as interest groups proliferated, so did lobbying activity. The history of lobbying in the U.S. depicts that interest groups recognized the benefit of lobbying. In fact, lobbying has been and still is a central activity of interest groups; so much so, that it is difficult to distinguish them as two separate concepts. In the literature, the terms *lobbying* and *interest group activity* are often used interchangeably. In essence, interest groups represent the shared voice of many in an attempt to influence policymaking, and lobbying is the tool or strategy used to exert influence.

Paradoxically, although college and university-related interest groups expanded in number and increased their level of activity in recent decades (Berry, 2007), the public higher education sector's purposeful engagement in lobbying was delayed (Cook, 1998). As a result, while other categories of interest groups have become expert at lobbying, public higher education interests have played catch-up.

Public higher education, classified as an occupationally-based nonprofit public interest group, is among groups that lobby on behalf of a public service or good (Cook, 1998; Cook & Arnold, 1996; Schlozman & Tierney, 1986). "Nonprofits do make up a major and growing portion of groups that provide representation within our system of government" (Berry, 2007, p. 235) with (secondary and postsecondary) education groups comprising 12% of the total nonprofit interests in 2000 (Berry, 2007). Nonprofit public interest groups are bound by laws regarding use of money and resources to influence policy, laws that do not apply to their private counterparts. Nonprofits are also prohibited from engaging in partisan activity. These facts influence their choice of lobbying techniques and strategies.

In spite of noted growth in political activity, nonprofit interest group activity has been largely neglected in the lobbying and interest group literature (Ferrin, 2003; Tandberg, 2006). What literature exists primarily examines interest group activity at the federal rather than at the state level (Knorowski, 2000). Even federal-level studies are unusual, with most dating back to the 1970s and 1980s (Cook & Arnold, 1996). The empirical studies that do exist demonstrate that interest group activity, primarily achieved through legislative lobbying, does impact legislative activity (Kingdon, 2003).

<center>Lobbying</center>

Defined as the tool or strategy used by interest groups to exert influence, lobbying has existed in this country since its formation. Graziano (2001) asserted that a lobby has no identity or purpose apart from the association or group that it represents. In essence, interest groups raise a collective voice in an attempt to influence policymaking.

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In the U.S., the term *lobby agent* was initially used in the early 1800s to describe individuals situated in the lobbies of the New York State Capitol, awaiting an opportunity to talk with and attempt to influence lawmakers (Brown, 1985; Rosenthal, 1993; Schriftgiesser, 1951). The term, shortened to *lobbyist*, became popularized in the U.S. Capitol. Subsequently, with the passage of the Federal Regulation on Lobbying Act of 1946, the term *lobbying* was formalized (Graziano, 2001; Hayes, 1981; Schriftgiesser, 1951) and parameters were set to guide lobbying activity. Prior to this, lobbyists had been perceived as questionable characters, whereas the formalization of the position lent more respect and legitimacy to lobbying (Brown, 1985; Schriftgiesser, 1951). The shape, form, art, and craft of lobbying have evolved over time. Additionally, a variety of definitions of lobbying have been proposed. Although each definition placed emphasis on various dimensions of lobbying, each focused on the desired outcome of influencing policy.

Webster's New World Dictionary (1991) defined lobbying as "an attempt to influence in favor of something or influence a public official" (p. 793). Milbrath's (1963) definition of lobbying emphasized the role of communication in attempts to influence policy decisions. And, in *Lobbying for the People*, Berry (1977) emphasized the relationship between representation and lobbying. Moreover, in *Total Lobbying*, Nownes (2006) personified lobbying by emphasizing the role of the lobby agent, the person who represents the interests' of others.

Regardless of the definition used, it should be emphasized that lobbying is a "complex phenomenon" (Nownes, 2006, p. 2) that "takes a wide variety of forms" (Nownes, 2006, p. 5). More importantly, lobbying should be viewed as "a process rather than a single activity" (Nownes, 2006, p. 6).

In one of the earliest examinations of lobbying, Schriftgiesser (1951) clarified the link between lobbying, interest groups, and American government. In *The Lobbyist*, he declared that "lobbying is as old as legislation and pressure groups are as old as politics" (p. 3). Schriftgiesser elaborated, "The history of lobbying in America is, in effect, the history of American legislation" (p. 6). Schriftgiesser posited, as have many scholars since 1951 (e.g., Berry, 1977; Graziano, 2001), that lobbying is an essential and necessary ingredient in democratic government. The next generation of political scholars took the connection between lobbying, interests groups, and democratic government even further. They made even more explicit the imperative to engage in lobbying. In 1973 Kingdon asserted that to be heard "groups simply must organize and lobby" (cited in Hayes, 1981, p. 69). Berry subsequently dubbed lobbyists "the nerve endings of an interest group" (cited in Ainsworth, 2002, p. 119). The lobbyist is the interest group's public face and represents its interests and issues to policymakers. Berry (1977) declared that if an interest group wants to influence policy, it must be "prepared to lobby …" (p. 246). Indeed, lobbying is an essential part of the American policy-making process.

Despite its long-established central role in the policy process, the literature on legislative lobbying is replete with "mazes of contradictions" (Baumgartner & Leech, 1998, p. 133), intriguing paradoxes, and unresolved dilemmas (Graziano, 2001; Hayes, 1981; Kingdon, 2003). These dilemmas are reported to be a byproduct of a decentralized, diffused, and contextual government structure. Clearly, one standard for measuring lobbying effectiveness and influence cannot be applied to all branches and levels of a democratic government; each has unique and fluid contextual nuances (e.g., culture, rules, party in power, power base, policymakers' ideology).

Perhaps the most confounding dilemma surrounding lobbying is that a formal theory of lobbying has not been developed (Graziano, 2001). Hence, there is not one standard definition of or formula for effective lobbying (Hayes, 1981; Nownes, 2006; Wright, 1996). Further, there is a void of empirically established criteria by which to assess lobbying effectiveness. Contributing to this void is the fact that passing legislation often takes many years and is the culmination of many factors, the legislative process and ability to influence legislation is not a linear one, and much about the process is not enacted in the public or transparent. Hence, the ability to concretely determine lobbying effectiveness and influence has eluded both researchers and practitioners (Baumgartner & Leech, 1998; Berry, 1977; Nownes, 2006). About this, Nownes (2006) expressed surprise at how few studies have addressed which lobbying techniques are most effective. Adding to this dilemma is that lobbying effectiveness cannot be defined simply as getting specific legislation passed (Kingdon, 2003), especially when subscribing to Nownes' portrayal of lobbying as a process.

Research has, however, established that lobbying effectiveness largely depends on the goal of lobbying, situation or context, political culture, policy actors, political mood, and a host of other situational or contextual factors (Baumgartner & Leech, 1998; Berry, 1977; Hayes, 1981). Findings have shown that (a) the same lobbying technique "sometimes produces results and sometimes it does not" (Nownes, 2006, p. 3); (b) some lobbying activity is highly visible, whereas other activity is relatively invisible (Kingdon, 2003; Nownes, 2006); and (c) some lobbying results are not immediate (Ainsworth, 2002; Nownes, 2006). Additionally, research has revealed that effectiveness is affected

by individual attributes such as interpersonal skills, communication skills, honesty, trustworthiness, and reputation (Ferrin, 2003; Nownes, 2006).

Activities used by lobbyists to influence policymakers are called techniques or strategies. Over the years, political science and lobbying scholars have organized the various techniques and strategies into lists and categories. For instance, Schlozman and Tierney (1986) devised a frequently cited compilation of 27 federal-level lobbying techniques and strategies (see Table 2.1 in Appendix B). They found that of the 27 techniques, the two most often used were testifying at legislative hearings and contacting legislators directly.

About a decade later, Baumgartner and Leech (1998) developed a comparative table based on a synthesis of six empirical studies that had examined variety and frequency of lobbying techniques used. They further divided the numerous lobbying techniques into 12 overarching categories: testimony, direct contacts, informal contacts, presenting research results, coalitions, mass media, policy formation, constituent influence, litigation, elections, protests or demonstrations, and other tactics, e.g., monitoring. Moreover, by comparing results from the six studies, they established that (a) testifying at hearings, (b) contacting policymakers both directly and indirectly, and (c) forming coalitions were the techniques most often used.

Because choice of technique is largely contextual, studies have been inconclusive about which lobbying techniques are most effective (Cook, 1998; Nownes, 2006; Schlozman & Tierney, 1986). However, a handful of techniques have been noted as highly important to effectiveness. Meeting personally with policymakers, testifying at hearings, and facilitating grassroots lobbying are particularly effective strategies

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(Baumgartner & Leech, 1998; Nownes, 2006; Schlozman & Tierney, 1986). Testifying at hearings is the most widely used technique according to Schlozman and Tierney, while personal presentation in a direct meeting with a legislator has been shown to be the most effective strategy (Berry, 1977; Milbrath, 1963; Nownes, 2006).

The primary purpose of meeting directly with legislators is to provide information (Ainsworth, 2002; Schlozman & Tierney, 1986; Nownes, 2006). Further, information that lobbyists present to legislators or their staff is often information they would not have had otherwise (Ainsworth, 2002; Kersh, 2007). Nownes (2006) emphasized the importance of information shared by lobbyists and went so far as to equate information with lobbying:

> Most every study of lobbying ever conducted illustrates that the lobbyists' stock in trade is information used in an attempt to convince either government officials or the public that he or she is right (p. 26).

Studies have also revealed that the majority of public policy lobbying is defensive or proactive (Rosenthal, 1993; Wright, 1996). Because lobbying against a particular issue, or defensive lobbying, has been found to be more effective than lobbying for a particular issue, or proactive or offensive lobbying, lobbyists often spend more time educating legislators about the negative consequences of proposed legislation than they spend advocating for new policies or legislation (Hayes, 1981; Nownes, 2006).

In sum, empirical literature indicates that lobbying (a) has been part of the political landscape since the inception of democratic government structures; (b) is and has been integral to interest group activity; (c) is contextual; (d) is unable to be conclusively measured for effectiveness; (e) is primarily about meeting directly with and providing information to legislators, and of primary importance; (f) is a process, rather than a singular activity.

Higher Education Lobbying

Even though lobbying is described in the literature as integral to and an important aspect of the politics of higher education (McLendon, 2003; Tandberg, 2006), little is known about higher education lobbying, particularly at the state level. As early as 1976, Murray described the politics of higher education as "a fascinating, significant, and unfortunately, ignored area of academic research" (p. 79). Nearly 30 years later, McLendon (2003) called attention to the persistent "acute underdevelopment" (p. 165) of the politics of higher education in the literature. And most recently, Basetedo (2009) noted the absence of literature that examined legislators' perceptions about higher education policy.

While there is not a significant body of literature focused on public higher education institutional lobbying, the phenomenon has received some scholarly attention over the past 3 decades. However, the existing body of literature presents four specific challenges for researchers examining legislative lobbying by public 4-year institutional lobbyists, particularly those conducting research at the state level. First, much of the existing literature has been situated at the federal level, creating a void in inquiry that specifically addressed state-level lobbying (Gove & Carpenter, 1977; McLendon, 2003). As a result, much of what is summarized about higher education lobbying at the state level has been informed by research conducted at the federal level and is based on the premise that there is similarity between lobbying at the two levels. Second, because of the lack of current literature, particularly any that addresses state-level higher education lobbying activity, 30-year old landmark research is frequently cited in current studies. For example, the first scholarly examination of state-level higher education lobbying was

conducted 31 years ago (Gove & Carpenter, 1977) and is frequently referenced in recent

literature. Third, few studies have exclusively examined state-level public 4-year

institutional lobbyists' activity. As a result, what is known about public institutional

lobbyists is informed by research addressing lobbying activity by private not-for-profit

postsecondary sector lobbyists. For example, only two of nine of those studies found for

inclusion in this review focused exclusively on public 4-year institutional lobbying

activity. Fourth, what literature exists is largely descriptive and atheoretical.

The literature that does exist demonstrates that public higher education's presence

in the political arena has evolved. Moreover, higher education lobbying activity increased

in both volume and sophistication during the 1990s (Cook, 1998; Schmidt, 2004).

Viewing lobbying as necessary in this age of accountability (Ferrin, 2003; Parsons,

2005), most colleges and universities now have an organized lobbying structure,

particularly at the state level. Consequently, college and university lobbyists have

become so pervasive that they encompass a distinct profession (Ferrin, 2003; Schmidt,

2004). In spite of this, higher education lobbyists have received limited empirical

attention (Ferrin, 2003; Tandberg, 2006). What is known primarily regards (a)

characteristics and roles, (b) techniques and strategies used, and (c) influence and

effectiveness of 4-year higher education institutional lobbyists. Findings from studies that

have addressed these overarching themes will be reviewed next.

Characteristics and Roles of Higher Education Lobbyists

Empirical studies focused on characteristics and roles of higher education

lobbyists generally cluster into three broad areas: (a) background, (b) attributes, and (c)

roles. Thus, the following sections are organized according to these three broad areas.

Lobbyists' Backgrounds

Although college and university legislative lobbyists do not enter the profession through one common career path and there is not a formal training or degree program required for the job (Ferrin, 2003), familiarity with the legislative and higher education sectors have been shown to contribute to effectiveness (Ferrin, 2003; Murphy, 2001). In a mixed methods study that described characteristics of public and private not-for-profit 4-year institutional in-house lobbyists and attributes that contributed to their lobbying success, Ferrin (2003) found that federal-level lobbyists held no consistent background. Rather, they had widely diverse backgrounds. When in-house lobbyist and institutional presidents were asked about the connection between previous experience and effectiveness, they were equally divided about whether (a) particular background experience, (b) political experience, or (c) higher education experience is necessary. Participants who believed a specific background was not necessary to be effective related that personal attributes, particularly people skills, personality, character, and honesty, could counterbalance a lack of experience.

Paradoxically, while another third of participants in Ferrin's (2003) study viewed previous political experience as requisite to effectiveness, only 12.5% of postsecondary legislative lobbyists included in his study had past political experience. Participants who took this position described an understanding of the legislative process as very important while at the same time extremely difficult to teach. Similarly, Murphy (2001) also found that state-level public college and university governmental relations officers believed that an understanding of the current political context was tied to effectiveness. Moreover, in a qualitative study that examined state-level public and private college and university

interest groups' tendency to form alliances, Tandberg (2006) asserted that understanding interest groups is basic to understanding state politics. This assertion connects an understanding of the political system with effectiveness and substantiates Ferrin's and Murphy's discoveries that political experience is important.

Another third of participants in Ferrin's (2003) study held that experience working in the higher education setting was essential to federal-level lobbyists' effectiveness. These participants elaborated that postsecondary experience gives lobbyists credibility, both in the political arena and on campus. Although his inquiry did not produce a clear-cut answer about lobbyists' backgrounds, Ferrin concluded that "in-house lobbyists are powerful and important actors in higher education institutions" (p. 16) and that opinion differed about what it takes to be effective.

Lobbyists' Attributes

Empirical scholarship supports that personal attributes of lobbyists offset a lack of legislative and/or postsecondary experience (Ferrin, 2003; Key, 1992; Nownes, 2006). Attributes specifically mentioned in the literature are communication skills, interpersonal skills, relationship-building skills, people skills, honesty, and integrity. For instance, in Murphy's (2001) analysis of characteristics or attributes deemed critical to successful state-level legislative lobbying by the 4-year public institutional sector, governmental relations officers cited the following as extremely important: (a) honesty and integrity, (b) people skills, (c) understanding of the legislative process, and (d) ability to communicate effectively.

Likewise, Key's (1992) qualitative dissertation confirmed the connection between communication skills and effectiveness. In Key's study, when asked their perceptions

about state-level public college and university lobbyists' effectiveness, state legislators emphasized the importance of communication skills. Similarly, Tandberg (2006) learned that state-level college and university lobbyists believed that their success was largely dependent on successfully building and nurturing personal relationships, something that involves people and communication skills and integrity.

Moreover, Ferrin's (2003) findings from his examination of federal- and state-level public and private not-for-profit college and university lobbyists' characteristics and roles, strategies, and effectiveness corroborated Murphy's (2001) discovery that building bonds of trust with state legislators is key to effectiveness. Participants in Murphy's study concluded that, first and foremost, lobbyists must be believable and trustworthy. About honesty and integrity, Cook and Arnold's (1996) mixed methods study about lobbying activities at the federal level revealed that public and private not-for-profit sector higher education lobbies are perceived to be honest, rational, real, high-quality "solid folks" (p. 185). Lawmakers reported that college and university lobbyists are granted greater access to legislators because of these attributes.

In sum, individual or personal attributes are germane to higher education lobbyists' effectiveness. Personal attributes are integral to (a) being considered an honest person, (b) building and nurturing relationships, and (c) communicating effectively. In other words, not only is lobbying effectiveness impacted by lobbyists' contacts and knowledge, but also by lobbyists' personal attributes.

Lobbyists' Roles

Because lobbying behavior is most frequently captured under the umbrella term *role* in the existing literature about higher education sector lobbying, *role* is the term used

in this dissertation to describe lobbyists' responsibilities, activities, and behaviors. The following roles have been deemed the most important for college and university lobbyists: (a) providing information to legislators (Gove & Carpenter, 1977; Key, 1992; Murphy, 2001; Tandberg, 2006), (b) meeting directly with legislators (Cook, 1998; Key, 1992; Murphy, 2001), and (c) building and maintaining positive relationships with legislators (Brown, 1985; Gove & Carpenter, 1977; Key, 1992; Murphy, 2001; Tandberg, 2006).

Providing information to legislators. Scholars of lobbying in general (Ainsworth, 2002; Berry, 1997; Nownes, 2006) and of higher education lobbying in particular (Cook, 1998; Gove & Carpenter, 1977) purported that providing information to legislators is a key, if not *the* key, role for lobbyists. For instance, in a pivotal examination of roles of public and private not-for-profit 4-year college and university lobbyists at the state level, Gove and Carpenter (1977) concluded that these roles were most important: (a) increasing legislators' understanding of and about higher education and the institution's interests and needs (Gove & Carpenter, 1977; Murphy, 2001), (b) monitoring legislative happenings, and (c) brokering resources and information to the institution and to the legislature. Similarly, Key (1992) discovered that Kentucky legislators perceived providing data and information to be the most important role of the public college and university legislative lobbyist. Likewise, participants in Murphy's (2001) state-level study deemed gathering and providing information to be the most important role. More precisely, Murphy found that a primary aim of public college and university lobbyists is to increase legislators' understanding of higher education and its role in society.

Lobbyists achieved this by providing information and being able to access relevant resources.

In addition, although congruent with earlier findings about the importance of the information-sharing role (Gove & Carpenter, 1977; Key, 1992; Murphy, 2001), Tandberg (2006) found that state-level public and private not-for-profit postsecondary lobbyists reported that they spent about 80% of their time providing information to legislators. The importance of the information-sharing role also holds true at the federal level. For instance, in Cook's (1998) mixed methods study, congressional members said they depended on information and communication from college and university lobbyists.

Meeting directly with legislators. In addition to providing information, meeting directly with legislators is a very important lobbyist role (Cook, 1998; Key, 1992; Tandberg, 2006), one tied directly to perceptions of effectiveness. For example, Murphy (2001) found that personally presenting information to and having influential contacts with legislators were key roles, ones deemed essential to state-level effectiveness. She also learned that state legislators desired ongoing contact and meetings with public postsecondary institutional lobbyists, suggesting that meeting with legislators is an ongoing, day-to-day role.

Similarly, in a qualitative analysis of Kentucky legislators' perceptions about public college and university lobbyists' effectiveness, Key (1992) found that legislators rated direct contact as the most effective strategy. Further, legislators indicated that they responded most positively to well-timed and direct contact. Legislators in his study emphasized importance of the quality rather than frequency of direct contact. And, similar to Murphy's (2001) findings, Key found that legislators also indicated that they

desired and valued contact by lobbyists even when the legislature was recessed. This finding suggests that the role of making direct contact is not sporadic but continual.

Tandberg (2006) also ascertained that successful state-level legislative lobbyists are on site at their Capitol, spending time meeting directly with policymakers and with other lobbyists. Tandberg's and Key's (1992) findings that legislators desired direct contact by college and university lobbyists even when not in session affirmed scholarly discoveries about the importance of meeting directly with policymakers as well as about the importance of building and maintaining relationships with legislators (Cook, 1998; Key, 1992; Murphy, 2001).

Building and maintaining relationships with legislators. Information sharing, meeting directly with legislators, and building and maintaining relationships with legislators are not distinct and separate acts. They are interdependent and overlapping activities. It is difficult to separate one activity from the other; however, empirical studies do point to the important role of building and nurturing personal relationships (Ferrin, 2003; Tandberg, 2006). For example, Key's (1992) work illustrated the importance of the public college and university lobbyist's role in relationship building. Kentucky legislators in his study indicated a desire for contact by lobbyists throughout the year and not just when the legislature was in session. Legislators also emphasized quality of contact and interaction. Hence, lobbyists are not only charged with building relationships and coalitions but they must invest time maintaining and strengthening them.

Murphy (2001) likewise found that state-level governmental relations officers at public postsecondary institutions perceived maintaining contact to be the most important of their lobbyists' roles. In addition, facilitating constituent contact with legislators was

found to be an important role. Further, Murphy found that recognizing legislators who have been supportive of higher education is an important, although frequently overlooked role. Each of these roles can only be accomplished through and is directly related to relationship building and maintenance. Moreover, each of these roles strengthens already established relationships.

Similar to Murphy (2001), Tandberg (2006) also learned that state-level public and private not-for-profit institutional in-house lobbyists believed that their success was largely dependent on establishing relationships, not only with legislators, but also with other higher education lobbyists and entities. Tandberg's conclusion emphasizes the importance of coalition or alliance building – the very essence of relationship building.

Techniques and Strategies Used by Higher Education Lobbyists

What is collectively known about techniques and strategies used by higher education lobbyists can be summarized in two sentences. First, techniques and strategies are contextual (Cook, 1998; Gove & Carpenter, 1977; Murphy, 2001; Tandberg, 2006). Second, although there is great variety in the choice of techniques and strategies used (Murray, 1976), those used differ by institutional type and government level (Brown, 1985; Cook, 1998; Cook & Arnold, 1996; Gove & Carpenter, 1977).

The Contextual Nature of Higher Education Lobbying Techniques and Strategies

Clearly, lobbying is not prescriptive but rather is contextual. Empirical research shows that context impacts higher education lobbyists' roles, techniques and strategies, and effectiveness (Cook, 1998; Gove & Carpenter, 1977; Murphy, 2001; Tandberg, 2006). The contextual factors most often cited in empirical scholarship include: level of government (state or federal); budget situation; political culture; law; legislators'

ideology; party in power; nature, priority, and timing of the issue; administration; resource availability; state of the economy; interest group classification and legal status; power structures and bases; state-level higher education governance structure; and state higher education environment (Cook, 1998; Gove & Carpenter, 1977; Murray, 1976; Tandberg, 2006). A more recent contextual nuance that impacts lobbying is legislative term limits (Moncrief & Thompson, 2001).

Of these contextual factors, level of government is one of the most important, however. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the U.S. government structure is diffused. Each level of government is unique as well as fluid and dynamic. Explicitly, Murray (1976), Gove and Carpenter (1977), and Cook (1998) all found a difference between higher education lobbying strategy, for both public and private not-for-profit higher education institutions at the state and federal levels. For instance, Murray declared that there is great variety in lobbying, both at the federal and state levels. Similarly, Gove and Carpenter concluded that lobbying techniques and strategies used at the state level did differ from those used in the federal legislative arena.

Another important contextual factor that impacts strategy is institutional type, size, and control (Cook & Arnold, 1996). An institution's legal status, determined by its for-profit or nonprofit classification, is yet another important contextual factor (Cook, 1998). As representatives of nonprofit public interest groups, public higher education lobbyists are accountable to laws regarding use of money and resources from which their private counterparts are exempt. Yet another key contextual factor is the current political context (Murphy, 2001), one that has a direct relationship to choice of strategies and their

subsequent effectiveness. Clearly, lobbying techniques and strategies vary according to context.

Variety in Lobbying Techniques and Strategies

Cook expanded upon the Cook and Arnold (1996) examination of impact of institutional type on the higher education sector's involvement at the federal level when she conducted a frequently cited mixed methods study in 1998. In *Lobbying for Higher Education: How Colleges and Universities Influence Federal Policy*, Cook (1998) summarized that in the 1990s, the higher education sector expanded its political involvement in D.C. as well as the variety of lobbying techniques it used. Cook noted that the most frequently used technique was testifying at legislative hearings, followed by contacting policymakers directly, and then by informal contacts.

Strategies by institutional type. Institutional type, size, and control have been found to impact postsecondary lobbying activity, strategy, and context (Brown, 1985; Cook, 1998; Cook & Arnold, 1996). For instance, Cook and Arnold (1996) established that research and doctoral universities were more likely than other institutional types to have full-time lobbying staff in D.C. Moreover, large research and doctoral institutions use a greater number of lobbying techniques and strategies and have presidents who are more familiar with the federal policy process than their small institutional counterparts. Similarly, Brown (1985) found that doctoral institutions more actively lobbied, had a more comprehensive strategy, and used a greater variety of techniques at the state level than did other institutional types. These two studies suggest that large private not-for-profit and large public research institutions place great emphasis on political activity and hold considerable political capital both at the federal and state levels.

Another difference in strategy and technique based on institutional type was discovered in Cook and Arnold's (1996) examination of D.C. policymakers' perceptions about lobbying strategies used by public and private not-for-profit 4-year colleges and universities. There is a difference in consensus-seeking behavior by institutional type. Although the public higher education sector tends to seek and present consensus positions on policy matters, many private institutions with their healthy privately donated coffers and research institutions with extensive and valuable federal grant funding on the line, were less likely to aim for consensus. Large public research colleges and universities presented another exception; they posited that being one among many typically very diverse public institutions represented by one consensus opinion was not always the most effective strategy.

Despite the overarching finding that institutional type, size, and control impacts techniques and strategies, the most noteworthy finding in Cook and Arnold's (1996) federally-situated study may be that "there is less variation among [higher education] institutional attitudes and approaches [to lobbying at the federal level] than one might expect" (p. 24). Brown (1985) had a similar conclusion about state-level lobbying. In her quantitative inquiry aimed at determining if lobbying strategies at the state level differed by institutional type, Brown found that although they differed by institutional type, overall strategies used by the higher education community were not vastly different than those used by other interests.

Influence and Effectiveness of Higher Education Lobbyists

As indicated earlier in this chapter, scholars of lobbying agree that there is not one set way to define or assess its effectiveness (Baumgartner & Leech, 1998; Berry, 1977;

Nownes, 2006). The same holds true for findings about higher education sector lobbying (Cook, 1998; Ferrin, 2003; Jones, 1987). However, some techniques and strategies have been repeatedly found to be effective. Further, legislators who participated in existing studies about higher education lobbying suggested ways the lobby could be improved.

Effectiveness of Higher Education Lobbying

Just as lobbyists' roles and strategies are contextual, so is perceived effectiveness. Opinion differs among federal and state legislators, in-house lobbyists, institutional presidents, and scholars about what effective lobbying looks like (Ferrin, 2003). However, some benchmarks or standards are suggested in the literature. For example, in Cook's (1998) examination of federal-level public and private not-for-profit institutional lobbyists' techniques and effectiveness, U.S. Congressional members correlated effectiveness with: (a) relevant information, particularly when provided in a timely manner, (b) frequency of communication, and (c) general accountability or trustworthiness. Adding to this, Cook suggested level of access provided a lobbyist as well as predetermined goals and outcomes of the lobbying activity as other possible measures of effectiveness.

In a national study of state-level public higher education lobbyists, Murphy (2001) used a researcher-designed survey that incorporated Schlozman and Tierney's (1986) 27 lobbying techniques (Table 2.1 in Appendix B) to determine the effectiveness of various strategies in state legislatures. Murphy found that the following lobbyists' activities were extremely important to effectiveness: (a) maintaining contact with legislators, (b) providing information to legislators, (c) establishing and maintaining relationships with legislators, (d) sensitizing legislators to budget needs, (e) advocating

the position of the institution to legislators, and (f) staying abreast of legislative activity and gathering timely and pertinent information.

Further, the following activities directly related to institutional administration were deemed as very important to higher education lobbyists' effectiveness: (a) alerting university administration of issues, (b) developing institutional strategies in partnership with administration, and (c) arranging meetings of policymakers and administrators (Murphy, 2001). Murphy's (2001) finding echoed Gove and Carpenter's (1977) contribution that state legislators viewed the institutional president as a key figure in lobbying activity. Likewise, Ferrin (2003) and Tandberg (2006) found that state-level public and private not-for-profit lobbyists' ability to work closely with the institutional leadership, most notably the president, increased their effectiveness. Thus, relationship building at all levels and in all arenas was a measure of effectiveness.

Suggestions for Improvement of Higher Education Lobbying

While effective lobbying is a challenge to define, empirical research offers clear advice about how higher education lobbyists can improve their effectiveness. Generally, the higher education lobby is advised to become better organized, become more assertive, and to work collectively and collaboratively. For instance, over 30 years ago, Murray (1976) discovered that while some postsecondary education interest group lobbies were well organized, most were not. At that time, policymakers and scholars alike concluded that the lobby, as a collective, lacked coordination and was fragmented, passive, and isolated. Another comment made a decade later highlights recognition that improvement was needed: "[M]any public colleges and universities are losing ground because they are playing the 1980s game by 1960s rules" (Jones, 1987, p. 110).

In 1977, Gove and Carpenter examined public and private not-for-profit 4-year college and university state-level lobbying activity and similarly found that the sector's lobbying was uncoordinated, although it was growing more assertive than heretofore. They urged the formation of more collaborations and alliances to give the sector a stronger voice in policy matters. Similarly, Cook (1998) and Tandberg (2006) emphasized alliance and coalition building. While higher education lobbyists frequently form alliances based on the premise that a collective voice is stronger than a singular one, Cook and Tandberg both urged greater involvement by its many constituents. Parents, alumni, and faculty are all suggested as alliance partners. Moreover, several scholars specifically suggested that students be among those inside constituents engaged in lobbying activity (Cook, 1998; Gove & Carpenter, 1977; Jones, 1987).

In his study of higher education lobbyists' impact on state funding to public institutions in Kentucky, Key (1992) discovered another possible improvement. His findings revealed that state legislators believed public college and university lobbyists could be more effective if they worked with all legislators, rather than focusing primarily on those in leadership positions. U.S. Congressional members also suggested specific actions to improve federal-level lobbying effectiveness: prepare more informed policy analysis, have pertinent information readily available, form more coalitions, involve constituents in lobbying (e.g., students), increase lobbying sophistication, increase communication among and between members of the higher education community, become more proactive and visionary, focus equally on non-budget issues, and thank legislators more frequently rather than taking legislative support for granted (Cook, 1998; DiBiaggio, 1990).

Summary of Higher Education Lobbying Literature

A summary of the state of higher education legislative lobbying indicates the following:

1. Out of necessity, public colleges and universities have become increasingly vested in legislative lobbying, particularly at the state level.

2. State-level legislative lobbying has taken on greater emphasis as higher education policy decisions have devolved to the state level, particularly for public colleges and universities.

3. Little is known about college and university legislative lobbyists, particularly about state-level lobbying by public institutional lobbyists.

4. Personal attributes of the legislative lobbyist make a difference.

5. Providing information to and meeting directly with legislators are the most crucial legislative lobbyists' roles.

6. Legislative lobbyists' choice of strategy and technique is contextual and differs by postsecondary education institutional type.

7. Legislative lobbyists' influence and effectiveness cannot be easily evaluated.

8. Regardless of its early resistance to political activity, the public higher education sector has become more sophisticated in its legislative lobbying activity, albeit room for improvement remains.

Student Lobbying

While it has become common for public colleges and universities to lobby at the state level, student lobbyists as defined for the purposes of this study are as yet uncommon. For example, in 2004, although 34 different states had 41 state student

associations (Francis. 2004) and although ASUM has been sponsoring student lobbyists for the past 33 years, other state student associations do not sponsor *student lobbyists* as defined for purposes of this study. This fact makes the practice of university students serving as registered legislative lobbyists a rarity. Not only are *student lobbyists* uncommon, but also in fact, the trend has been for postsecondary institutions to dissuade students (and faculty) from active involvement in legislative matters (Cook, 1998) or for administrators to dismiss the student voice (Longo, 2004). Perhaps this hesitancy stems from an institution's administration not being able to control the lobbying activity of students (or faculty) (Cook, 1998). In contrast, other lobbying sectors, both public and private, frequently engage clients and consumers to share a real-life, humanized account of the realized or potential impact of current or proposed legislation.

Scholars and research participants alike have suggested that college and university lobbying could become more effective by including students (Cook, 1988; Gittell & Kleiman, 2000; Gove & Carpenter, 1977). However, it is safe to say that student lobbying is a poorly understood phenomenon. In fact, it is more accurate to say that student lobbying, as defined for the purposes of this study, is *not* empirically understood.

Although the topic of students as registered legislative lobbyists has not been empirically examined, university students are specifically mentioned in higher education lobbying literature. When broached, the subject of student lobbying generally falls into three broad themes: (a) students as members of associations that lobby, (b) students as partners in institutional lobbying, and (c) student lobbyists as a topic for future empirical investigation.

Students as Members of Associations That Lobby

Students are sometimes overlooked when colleges and universities consider potential actors in state-level lobbying (Gove & Carpenter, 1977; Parsons, 2005). Some scholars, however, have encouraged the higher education sector to consider students as legitimate actors in the legislative process (Beneveniste, 1985; Cook, 1998; Gove & Carpenter, 1977; Parsons, 2005; Potter, 2003). Particularly on issues of great concern to them "student lobbies have had a considerable effect on legislative decisions" (Gove & Carpenter, 1977, p. 372). Used in this context, the term *student lobbies* refers to numerous students joining together to lobby legislators on specific lobby days or through contacting legislators by letter, phone, or electronic communication. The use of the term *student lobby* in this context is not analogous to student lobbyists as defined for purposes of this study.

To support their positions that student associations can effectively lobby, several scholars have illuminated legislative successes that were driven by student associations (Cook, 1998; Gove & Carpenter, 1977; Potter, 2003). In *State Lobbying for Higher Education,* Gove and Carpenter (1977) described successful state-level lobbying by students in California, Pennsylvania, and New York. Gove and Carpenter (1977) also noted the role of the Montana student lobby in passing collective bargaining legislation. Lederman (1998), as did Cook (1998), documented the pivotal role of student association lobbying in the 1990s to save federal student financial aid programs. Similarly, Potter (2003) heralded the past efforts of student lobbies in Maryland, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and California. Moreover, additional stories of student association lobbying activity were

recorded on the Student Empowerment Training Project and United States State Student Association Web sites.

<p style="text-align:center;">*Students as Partners in Institutional Lobbying*</p>

Empirical literature addressing higher education lobbying has repeatedly suggested that colleges and universities create grassroots coalitions with internal stakeholders. Including students in these coalitions was frequently urged, particularly in literature examining how the higher education lobby could strengthen its influence (Gittell & Kleiman, 2000; Parsons, 2005; Tandberg, 2006). For example, a U.S. Congressional member participant in Cook's (1998) examination of strategies used by postsecondary lobbyists at the federal-level suggested that the effectiveness of the higher education lobby would be improved by including more constituents, specifically students, in its lobbying tasks. Another congressional member remarked, "There has been a tendency for education people not to try to activate the parents, *the students* [italics added], and other constituents who will be affected by legislation, but it has to be done" (Cook, 1998, p. 190). Participants communicated that despite the perceived risk of student agendas and viewpoints that differ from those of the institutional administration, students need to be included in the higher education sector's legislative agenda.

Just as Cook (1998) did, other scholars (e.g., Benveniste, 1985; Gittell & Kleiman, 2000; Parsons, 2005; Potter, 2003) have suggested that the higher education lobby be more inclusive, naming students as one target group to involve in making the case for higher education, particularly at state capitols. Benveniste (1985) suggested that colleges and universities invest more time joining with students (and faculty) to discuss legislative issues and "define consensual positions" (p. 191) and work together to

<p style="text-align:center;">64</p>

positively impact the quality of postsecondary education. Benveniste espoused hope that

(a) the student role would become better understood, (b) administrators would work more

closely with students on legislative matters, and (c) purposeful student involvement in the

political process would be fostered. To that end, Benveniste concluded:

> We would expect the politics of higher education to be less hidden,
> more participative, and therefore, much more time consuming for
> administrators, faculty, and even for *students* [italics added] (p. 193).

Additionally, in *When Colleges Lobby States*, both Hicks (1987) and Jones (1987) offered

this advice: Include students among postsecondary institutional lobbying partners.

Another assertion that students can be partners in the legislative process has come

directly from students. At a 2001 Campus Compact Wingspread Conference convened to

listen to the political voice of students from across the country, students said they felt

excluded from government "decisions that impact their lives" (Longo, 2004, p. 66).

Longo (2004) reported that student participants (a) desired a greater level of participation

in the political process, (b) deemed having a platform for their voice as essential, (c)

viewed their inclusion in the process as a vital part of democracy, and (d) depicted

nurturing of student political participation as a role of higher education. In sum, these

students are representative of other students who also desire and are willing to be partners

in the legislative process.

Student Lobbyists as a Topic for Empirical Investigation

In 1998, Cook asserted that student lobbying and student involvement in higher

education sector lobbying was a topic worthy of empirical investigation. In her study's

summary and implications for research, Cook noted the benefit of student lobbyists and

the void of literature that examines student involvement in the legislative process. Cook

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stated, "Student groups may be an especially interesting topic for further study because their leadership is temporary and constantly shifting, which means they may have motivations and incentives that differ from those of more established groups" (p. 195).

Even more recently, at the 2008 Association for the Study of Higher Education (ASHE) Annual Conference, Bernard Harleston posited that student participation in higher education governance needed urgent empirical attention. As one of three participants on a panel discussion about how higher education practice is informed by research, the past president of City Colleges of New York cited a lack of findings about students' role in governance activities. He pointed out that administrators have historically paid too little attention to, and more often have overlooked the potential of students' participation. Clearly, the state-level higher education legislative process can be considered a governance activity.

Despite the void of examination of students as partners in the policy-making process and the recent assertion by Bernard Harleston that such research can inform higher education practice, examples of student lobbyists' participation in higher education legislation at the state level do exist. One such example is the Associated Students of the University of Missouri (ASUM).

About ASUM

Because ASUM student lobbyists are the focus of this case study, it is important to provide a backdrop for understanding the association and its lobbyists. The University of Missouri-Columbia's (UMC) undergraduate student governing body – the Missouri Student Association (MSA) – founded ASUM in 1975. On June 27, 1975, the UM System Board of Curators approved leveling a student fee to support the association.

According to original source documents from 1975, students believed that a specific legislative arm was needed to represent the student voice in government, particularly because "students … have been overwhelmed by the tremendous misunderstanding of higher education within the state legislature" (*Proposal for MSA Student Activity Fee Increase*, 1975, p. 3). The ASUM model, one that adapted some features of state associations in California, New York, Illinois, and Colorado (Preface, *Proposal for MSA Student Activity Fee Increase*, 1975), was based upon 15 months of discussion with UMC students, faculty, and administration. An important facet of its formation was that the association would serve as "guardian of its programs, with the University fulfilling the role of custodian" (*Proposal for MSA Student Activity Fee Increase*, 1975, p. 6). This relationship remains intact today; the University does not establish or influence the ASUM legislative platform, but it does hold ultimate responsibility for the association's activity and student lobbyists.

Since its inception, student fees have funded ASUM. Over its 30+ year history, its mission has remained steadfast: ASUM exists to "advocate and lobby for student interests while educating students on the importance of involvement in government" (http://www.umsystem.edu/ums/departments/aa/asum/mission.shtml, ¶ 1). As a non-partisan nonprofit interest group, ASUM represents and speaks on behalf of more than 64,000 UM students. Past successes included registering hundreds of thousands of students to vote and providing absentee ballots to students. Past legislative successes included, but are not limited to, passing legislation that granted 18-year olds the right to consent to medical treatment, establishing the state's Bright Flight scholarship program, passing legislation that increased the penalty for student hazing, shepherding through

legislation that provided loan forgiveness for teachers and medical and veterinary doctors who work in high-demand areas of Missouri, and most recently in 2008, passing the textbook transparency bill that was signed into law in August 2009 (*2009 ASUM Prospectus*).

ASUM is governed through a system-wide student-appointed board of directors. Additionally, each of the four system campuses has a local chapter that operates as a student organization within the division of Student Affairs.

ASUM is unique among the approximately 41 state student associations. Responses to a Student Empowerment Training Project 2004 national survey of 34 state student associations revealed that ASUM is: (a) one of 17 university system associations, (b) one of seven associations that has an internship program (experiences for which students earn academic credit), and (c) the only association with students who are registered as legislative lobbyists (Francis, 2004). Furthermore, a majority of the associations that reported some state-level lobbying activity by students reported that they do not engage in ongoing lobbying at the state level; rather, they engage in issue-focused singular lobbying efforts (e.g., a lobby day at the Capitol, contacting legislators). While a few associations hire full-time professional lobbyists, only a handful of the associations organize an ongoing student presence in their statehouse. Of the seven associations listed in Chapter 2 that reported having student internship programs in 2004, ASUM accounted for 10 of the 48 total internships. Moreover, my search of these associations' Web sites revealed that ASUM is the only association to have students as registered state-level legislative lobbyists. Thus, in the U.S. in 2004 ASUM sponsored one-fourth of all student association-affiliated interns and *the only* student lobbyists as

defined for purposes of this study. Over its 30-plus-year history, approximately 300 university students have represented ASUM as state-level legislative lobbyists.

Thus, the purpose of this study was to examine the influence of lobbying behavior of student lobbyists on higher education legislation during the 2009 Missouri Legislative Session. More specifically, this study examined the student lobbyists of a system-wide state student association – ASUM - formed to advocate for and lobby on behalf of students' interests.

Summary

This chapter examined literature related to lobbying and specifically to higher education lobbying. First, the political nature of higher education was reviewed to provide a backdrop for the subsequent literature. Second, general lobbying literature was reviewed, and overarching findings explained. Third, higher education lobbying-related literature was reviewed, with findings categorized into three overarching categories: (a) characteristics and roles of lobbyists, (b) techniques and strategies used by lobbyists, and (c) effectiveness of the lobby. Finally, literature that considers student involvement in the legislative process was reviewed. Chapter 3 describes the methodology that was used to examine the influence of student lobbyists on state-level higher education legislation in one state and also provides a context for this case study.

Chapter Three

RESEARCH METHODS

Introduction

Initially reluctant to fully enter the political arena, the U.S. public higher education community came to realize the need to have an active presence in the policy-making process at both the state and federal levels (Benveniste, 1985; Cook, 1998; Ferrin, 2003; Murray, 1976). This realization forced public colleges and universities to incorporate legislative process participation into the daily fabric of their organizational mission and structure (Cook, 1998; Ferrin, 2003). As a result, most colleges and universities are represented in their statehouses by professional lobbyists. In some states, university students have an active presence in their state capitols, and in one state, students also serve as registered state-level legislative lobbyists.

However, empirical literature about college and university lobbyists' influence and effectiveness is slim. Moreover, I was unable to locate empirical literature about student lobbyists, as defined for purposes of this study. Using pluralist and interest group theories as frameworks, this qualitative case study examined perceptions about the influence of lobbying behavior of Associated Students of the University of Missouri (ASUM) student lobbyists on higher education legislation during the 2009 Missouri Legislative Session.

This chapter describes the qualitative methods used in this study. The research design is described first, followed by a description of participant selection and site selection. Thick description of the context of this case study is also provided. Data sources and data collection as well as data analysis procedures are outlined next. Actions

taken to assure trustworthiness of this study's methodology and findings are then described. Finally, the chapter concludes with ethical considerations.

<div align="center">Research Design</div>

To examine perceptions about the lobbying behavior of student lobbyists and ascertain its influence on higher education legislation during one state's legislative session, I used a qualitative case study research design from a postpositivist paradigm. Postpostivists are guided by the belief that absolute truth cannot be constructed or completely comprehended although an approximation of truth can become known through diverse perspectives obtained through a rigorous research design (Creswell, 2007; Hatch, 2002). Using case study methodology, I was able to incorporate multiple data sources that would not have been collectively available to me through other research designs. Through rigorous analysis processes, I substantiated findings across multiple data sources to gain a robust understanding of perceptions of student lobbyists' influence.

<div align="center">*Case Study Methodology*</div>

To gain an in-depth understanding of a phenomenon that has not yet been examined – the perceived influence of student lobbyists on state-level higher education legislation – I used qualitative case study design. Of the many reasons why case study was the most appropriate design for this study, three were most pertinent. Specifically, this case study: (a) examined a bounded and unique case; (b) attempted to develop a holistic picture of the contemporary case being examined within its natural, everyday context; and (c) generated an in-depth understanding and rich description of the case, rather than generating or testing theory.

First, case study design is fitting when the purpose of a study is to examine a unique or innovative (Merriam, 1998; Yin, 2003) contextual and contemporary bounded case (Hatch, 2002), especially an understudied one (Merriam, 1998). A key consideration in case study tradition is identification of the bounded phenomenon under study (Hatch, 2002; Patton, 2002). Yin (2003) pointed out the utility of case study methodology when examining a bounded phenomenon and Merriam (1998) specified that bounding or delimiting the case is the single most important reason for selecting case study methodology.

This case was (a) unique because although many states have university students involved in state-level legislative activity, only the state being examined has student lobbyists, as defined for purposes of this study, lobbying the state legislature; (b) contextual because describing and understanding the context or natural setting of the case was essential to understanding it; (c) understudied because, although the topic has been suggested as worthy of empirical investigation, no research has been undertaken on this topic to date; and (d) bounded, specifically to ASUM student lobbyists from one public multi-campus university system during one legislative session in one state.

Second, case study was an appropriate design because case study seeks as holistic a picture as possible about the case being studied and takes into account and explains the natural, everyday context in which it is situated (Stake, 1995; Yin, 2003). Examination in the natural setting provides an understanding of the *how* and *why* of the real-life phenomenon being studied (Merriam, 1998; Stake, 1995; Yin, 2003), leading to a fuller understanding of processes surrounding the case. Because case studies examine the phenomenon as it is occurring, the case often cannot be separated from its context

(Merriam, 1998). As such, it is necessary to richly describe and consider the context of the case in seeking to fulfill the purposes of the study. Moreover, by using a variety of data sources, I was able to corroborate or triangulate findings across data sources to help me examine and describe perceptions about the influence of student lobbyists within the context of its natural, everyday occurrence (Merriam, 1998; Yin, 2003). This property of case study design was particularly relevant for this case that occurred in a political context, one in which processes are not completely transparent or fully played out in the public arena.

Third, case study was an appropriate design for this study, one designed to understand and describe the case within its real-life context (Merriam, 1998; Yin, 2003), rather than to generate or test theory (Merriam, 1998). Specifically, case study design seeks as rich and substantive an understanding of the case or phenomenon as is possible, but is not purposed for theorizing or generalizing. Because this study focused on an unstudied phenomenon – the influence of student lobbyists on state-level higher education legislation in the state of Missouri during one specific legislative session, understanding and description were important purposes of this study because of its potential contribution to a developing body of knowledge. Given this, case study was an appropriate method, one that would aid in fulfilling the purpose of this study.

Limitations of Case Study Design

While case study was the most appropriate approach for this study of student lobbyists' influence on higher education legislation in one state during one specific legislative session, the methodology also poses limitations, two particularly relevant to

this case. However, these limitations can also be perceived as strengths because they facilitate the fullest possible understanding of the case.

First, because case studies examine bounded, unique, contextual, contemporary, and often understudied phenomenon, they can potentially "oversimplify or exaggerate a situation" (Merriam, 1998, p. 42) or appear superficial, leading the reader to draw inaccurate conclusions. Incongruent perceptions may arise because interview data, a primary data source for case studies, are subjective. Given this limitation, it is important to note that perceptions of student lobbyists, legislators, legislative staff members, and university lobbyists about student lobbyists' influence during one legislative session in Missouri may not hold true for other legislative sessions, political contexts, student lobbyists, or states.

The limitation that this study's findings may not be relevant to other times, settings, or people can also be considered a strength. Because case study findings are not always transferable to other settings, I included rich information about the context of this unique case. Doing so enhanced the credibility, dependability, and transferability of this study's design and findings. This rich description provided the reader information with which to make a decision about applicability of the findings to another setting. Moreover, providing rich description facilitated my seeking a full understanding of and paying attention to the contextual factors of this case.

Second, like all qualitative inquiry, case studies are potentially biased as a result of their being highly dependent on researcher knowledge, ethics, and reflectivity (Heppner & Heppner, 2004; Merriam, 1998; Stake, 1995; Yin, 2003). As a part of the human condition, researchers hold preconceptions and biases, particularly if familiar with

the case and/or its real-life context. As such, researchers must mitigate personal bias entering into the research process. Researchers need to state past experiences with the case, recognize potential biases and preconceptions, apply the necessary rigor to fairly analyze data and report findings, and build in ways to verify findings (e.g., peer debriefer, audit trail). This limitation was particularly relevant to this study because I had worked with ASUM for 2 years and possessed first-hand knowledge of the Missouri legislative process and context.

Conversely, this limitation could be considered a strength because researcher experience with a case aids in high quality analysis (Yin, 2003). Compensating for this potential limitation helped me identify my preconceptions, fairly analyze the data, and enhance the trustworthiness of this study's findings. I took extraordinary caution to be reflective and keep personal biases out of the research process, reflected upon and recorded my inherent assumptions about this case (Appendix D), created an audit trail so that another researcher could replicate this study, and engaged a peer debriefer to check analysis patterns and themes and provide a critical perspective.

<div align="center">Participant Selection</div>

This study's 37 participants – 10 ASUM student lobbying team members, 14 legislators, seven legislative staff members, and six UM System lobbyists – were selected through purposeful maximal sampling. This process involved "purposefully choosing a varied group of participants who could inform an understanding of the research problem and central phenomenon of the study" (Creswell, 2007, p. 125). To assure credibility of findings, it was important that I include multiple perspectives (Creswell, 2007).

I identified a participant pool of approximately 40 individuals, including student

lobbyists and those who worked closely with them during the 2009 Missouri Legislative

Session (the ASUM student lobbyists, Legislative Director (LD), and Assistant

Legislative Director (ALD); legislators; legislative staff members; and University of

Missouri (UM) System lobbyists). In addition to those initially identified, I used a

"snowball" or "chain" (Hatch, 2002, p. 98) purposeful sampling to expand the participant

pool. I added four information-rich individuals who had been suggested by other

participants or who I became aware of while immersed in the case setting. I added three

legislators and one legislative staff member who worked directly with ASUM-initiated

legislation.

ASUM Student Lobbyists

I did not select the ASUM student lobbyist participants; they had been selected

through an internal process. Eleven UM students had applied and eight state- and one

federal-level lobbyists had been selected for the 2009 Missouri Legislative Session.

Six of the eight state-level student lobbyists were from UM-Columbia (UMC),

one was from UM-St. Louis (UMSL), and one was from Missouri University of Science

and Technology (MS&T). The LD was a UM-Kansas City (UMKC) student and the ALD

a MS&T student. And, although not included in this study or the descriptive text about

the state-level student lobbyists, the federal intern was a UMKC student.

As was true for the 2009 Missouri Legislative Session, more ASUM student

lobbyists have been from UMC than from any other system campus. This has occurred

for two primary reasons. First, it was convenient for UMC students to drive to and from

the Capitol each day and maintain a regular class schedule because Columbia is located

only 30 minutes away. Conversely, UMSL or UMKC student lobbyists drove to the capital on Monday, stayed each night, and then returned to St. Louis or Kansas City (a 3 hour drive each way) later in the week. Second, because UMC's student enrollment was the largest of the four system campuses, it had the largest pool of student lobbyist candidates.

Of the 8 state-level lobbyists, the LD, and the ALD, one was an African-American female, five were Caucasian females, and four Caucasian males. All 10 students hailed from diverse communities across Missouri, but that had not always been the case nor was state-residency a requirement of the position. Five students were sophomores, three juniors, and two seniors. Five had majored or minored in political science while the remaining students were pursuing degrees in interdisciplinary studies, communications, biological sciences, petroleum engineering, American studies/pre-law, and mechanical engineering. Besides political science, students' minors were Spanish, international economics, math, and business administration.

When selected for the positions, the 8 student lobbyists and the LD and ALD held 2 years of cumulative lobbying experience in the Missouri State Legislature, although they had past experience in the state-level public policy arena. One had interned in the Missouri House of Representatives Communications Office, three had worked in law offices, one was a political columnist for a magazine when the legislature was in recess, two had worked on state-level legislative campaigns, and another had worked in the Missouri Attorney General's Office. One had also worked as a summer intern at the AAA Public Affairs Office in Washington, D.C.

Legislators

Legislators were in the best position to share perspectives about ASUM student lobbyists' influence on higher education legislation. Legislators were the policymakers. Legislators who served on the House Higher Education and Senate Education Committees as well as those on their chamber's education appropriations committees worked most directly with student lobbyists and higher education issues. Many legislators served on both their education and education appropriations committees. Therefore, I purposefully selected to include members of these committees in my participant pool.

After committee membership lists were released during the second and third weeks of the session, I researched each member and then purposefully selected legislator participants. I attempted to achieve the best possible balance of legislative experience, longevity on the committee, political party affiliation, gender, and race. It was difficult to balance political party affiliation and race as a result of the party imbalance and low number of ethnic minority members of the General Assembly.

I invited 14 of the 21, or two-thirds of the members of the House Higher Education and Senate Education Committees to be participants, including the Chair and Vice Chair of each. Two declined and I discontinued follow-up with a third who did not decline but was unable to commit to an interview date and time. I added three additional legislators through snowball purposeful sampling, for a total of 14 legislator participants.

Legislator participants are described in the aggregate to protect their anonymity. Of the 14 legislator participants: nine were Republicans and five Democrats; 12 were male and two female; and all 14 were Caucasians. All 14 had attended or graduated from college, eight of whom held an advanced degree. Seven of 14 were UM alumni and all 14

had higher education institutions in their districts. Four of the 14 had served in both the Missouri State Senate and House of Representatives and the 14 had combined experience of 10 years in the Senate and 51 in the House. Of the 11 House Higher Education or Senate Education Committee members, six were returners and five were new to the committee and seven served on both their chamber's education and education appropriations committee.

Legislative Staff Members

Because literature has recognized the role of legislative staff members in lobbying activity (Moncrief & Thompson, 2001; Rosenthal, 1993) and because they worked closely with legislators, staff members of House Higher Education and Senate Education Committee members were among this study's participants. For the purposes of this study, I used the umbrella term *legislative staff member* to describe staff members who worked most closely with legislators (Chiefs of Staff, Legislative Directors, Legislative Aides, and Legislative Assistants).

The purposeful sampling process used to select legislative staff members built upon the one used to select legislator participants. Legislative staff members invited to participate worked for House Higher Education and Senate Education Committees members who were not included among legislators selected for participation. Had all consented to participated, I would have gained perspectives of 100% of the legislative offices represented on the two committees. In actuality, I obtained perspectives from 17 of 21 or 81%, represented on these two committees.

One legislative staff member in the original participant pool had agreed to participate but later told me that s/he had not interacted with ASUM student lobbyists

during the 2009 legislative session. Given that, this legislative staff member was dropped from the participant pool. One additional legislative staff member was added to the participant pool through snowball sampling.

The 7 legislative staff member participants are described in the aggregate to protect their anonymity. Of the seven: three worked for Republican and four for Democratic legislators; three were returners and four were new to their jobs; two had worked in both the House and the Senate; three were male and four female; one was African-American and six were Caucasian; and four were UM alumnae and one was a current UM student. Two had prior experience with ASUM, although this was not a factor in their selection. Two had worked on state-level legislative campaigns and one on a U.S. Congressional campaign. Between them, the seven had a total of 41 years and 4 months of experience in positions requiring interface with the Missouri Legislature.

UM System Lobbyists

UM System lobbyists were among this study's participants because they and ASUM student lobbyists both represented and spoke on behalf of the same public 4-year multi-campus institution. As such, the UM System lobbyists and ASUM student lobbyists lobbied on many of the same issues and more often than not, took similar positions on them.

In 2003 the UM System President moved lobbyists from the four system campuses into a system-level Government Relations Division. Under the new structure, they became a team of in-house professional lobbyists. In total, the UM System had six lobbyists at the State Capitol. Four of them, including the UM Vice President of Government Relations who was also a lobbyist, worked out of the UM System office in

Columbia and the other two were located in Kansas City and St. Louis when the legislature was recessed.

At the start of the 2009 Missouri Legislative Session, the six UM System lobbyists had a combined total of 61 years and 8 months of experience lobbying the Missouri State Legislature on behalf of UM System campuses. One of the six had previously coordinated state-level legislative lobbying activity for all public postsecondary institutions in Missouri when serving as Executive Director of the Council on Public Higher Education (COPHE), an association comprised of presidents and chancellors of all public 4-year campuses in the state.

Five of the six lobbyists held prior non-higher education experience in Missouri's legislative arena. One had practiced law for 3 years at a firm that handled clients' governmental affairs issues. A second had been the staff attorney for the Missouri Senate Research Office for 4 years and a lobbyist for the Missouri Association of Homes for the Aging for one year. A third had been Chief of Staff for the Missouri Senate for 8 years. A fourth had been the attorney for the Joint Committee on Legislative Research for the Missouri General Assembly for 7 years. A fifth had covered higher education issues at the Capitol for a university student newspaper. Finally, two had lobbied at the federal level, one for the UM System and the other for long-term care issues.

<center>Site Selection</center>

This case study was bound to the 2009 legislative session in the state of Missouri. Given that, a description of the context of this case, particularly its legislative and higher education context, aids the reader in determining this study's applicability to another context. Understanding Missouri's historical, demographic, economic, political, and

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higher education context will situate this study's findings. Contextual factors that most directly impacted the state's legislative processes are described in this section with higher education-related information interwoven throughout as well as being a stand-alone section. Some factors were not exclusive to any one context; they converged across and influenced multiple contexts.

Historical Context

Missouri was established in 1821 as the 24th of the nation's states. Missouri was most generally referenced as a Midwest region state, although it is centrally located in the United States. Missouri has had four different Capitol building locations, the first two in St. Louis, the next in St. Charles (near St. Louis), and the current one in Jefferson City, near the geographic center of the state (*Official Manual State of Missouri 2007-2008*). All legislative hearing rooms and legislators' offices are located in the current Capitol.

Demographic Context

The U.S. Census Bureau estimated Missouri's population to be approximately 5,878,415 in 2007, a makeup which ranked Missouri the 18th among the 50 states in terms of population (*U.S. Census Bureau Population Estimates*, 2007). Further, the state's population is predicted to reach close to 6.1 million by 2010 (*Missouri and the Nation*, 2007). Missouri's population is an increasingly aging one, with 13% of current residents over 65-years old (*Missouri: Population and Narrative Profile: 2005-2007*) and 18% of its residents are predicted to be age 65 or older by the year 2020 (*Trendletter*, 1994). In contrast, the number of high school graduates, or traditional-aged college-going population, which was at 330,839 in 2007 (*Missouri School Enrollment, 2005-2007*), was projected to decline by two percent between 2002 and 2017 (*Measuring Up: The*

National Report Card on Higher Education, 2006). Overall, the median age of Missouri citizens was 37.3 (*Missouri School Enrollment, 2005-2007*).

Trends across the state are geographically driven, with some regions much poorer than others, access to higher education more limited in some than in others, and high-school drop-out rates and college-going rates peaking and bottoming out according to region. Although Missouri has two major metropolitan cities (Kansas City and St. Louis), most parts of the state are rural and sparsely populated. For instance, Missouri has 947 towns of which 607 or two-thirds have a population of 1,000 or fewer and nearly two million citizens of the state live in the open country (*Missouri and the Nation*, 2007).

Economic Context

In 2004, Missouri ranked 20th of 50 states in gross domestic product (*Measuring Up: The National Report Card on Higher Education*, 2006). Educational services, health care, social services, agriculture, manufacturing, and retail accounted for the greatest amount of employment in Missouri (*Missouri: Population and Narrative Profile: 2005-2007*). Tourism was also a sizable industry as the state has numerous waterways, recreational lakes, and a robust entertainment industry.

In 2007, the per capita income in the state was $23,667 (*Missouri: Population and Narrative Profile: 2005-2007)* and the median household income $44,545 (*Missouri: Population and Narrative Profile: 2005-2007*), up from $43,310 in 2005 (*Missouri Economic Development Council Presentation*, 2007). The modest 2.87% increase in median household income is particularly challenging, considering that in 2008 the cost of college at a public 4-year college, even after financial aid is awarded, used up about 41% of the annual income of poor and working-class families (*Measuring Up: The National*

Report Card on Higher Education, 2008) and 29% of family income on average across all socio-economic strata. In contrast, 23% of annual family income, on average, was required to pay for expense at a state community college (*Measuring Up: The National Report Card on Higher Education*, 2008). Additionally, higher education, even at a less expensive community college, was likely beyond the reach of the 18% of the state's children who lived in poverty in 2007 (*Missouri: Population and Narrative Profile: 2005-2007*).

In 2008, UM was ranked 21st of the state's largest enterprises (*UM System Impact on the State of Missouri*, 2008). UM campuses located in Columbia, Kansas City, Rolla, and St. Louis had considerable impact on the state's economic development, workforce preparation, and economic health. In 2008, an estimated 209,000-plus UM alumni lived in the state and UM employees generated an estimated $146 million in tax revenue (*UM System Impact on the State of Missouri*, 2008).

Political Context

Missouri's current political culture was labeled individualistic (Fowler, 2004) although it had previously been described as exhibiting both traditionalistic and individualistic tendencies (Elezar, 1984). In an individualistic political culture, government is perceived as needing to be kept to a minimum, efficiently run, and responsive to its citizens' needs while not overreaching or becoming too intrusive in their lives (Elezar, 1984; Fowler, 2004). In this type of culture, efficiency and business-like processes and interactions are prized. Alternately, an individualistic culture is more "susceptible to corruption than other political cultures" (Fowler, 2004, p. 98), as its policymaking process could appear to be closed and inaccessible to many of its citizenry.

Missouri has a bicameral legislature composed of senators and representatives and is classified as professional part-time. One general session and one veto session are held each year and the governor may call special sessions. The 2009 Missouri Legislative Session of the 95th General Assembly began January 7, 2009, and concluded May 15, 2009.

During the 2009 legislative session there were 34 senators and 163 representatives, although the number of each is static because of redistricting after each decade's population census. Of the 197 legislators, 3 of 34 senators were African-American and all others were Caucasian and 14 of 163 representatives were African-American, one was Hispanic, and the remaining 148 were Caucasian. Of the 197 legislators, 41 were female and 156 were male.

Senators must be at least 30 years of age and have been a qualified voter in the state for 3 years and a resident of the district represented for 1 year. In contrast, representatives must be at least 24 years old and have had been a qualified voter in the state for 2 years and a resident of the district represented for 1 year (*Official Manual State of Missouri 2007-2008*). Senators are elected to 4- and representatives to 2-year terms. As numerous states did in the 1990s, Missouri passed term limits legislation in 1992 which limited service to 8 years in either chamber or 16 years in total. The effect of term limits was evident in the fact that 6 of 34 or 18% of senators and 42 of 163 or 26% of representatives were newly elected in November 2008. In sum, nearly 1 in 4 senators and 1 in 5 representatives served their first term in their respective chamber during the 2009 legislative session.

Research revealed that a variety of factors shape the lens through which legislators establish their personal and legislative agendas, consider issues, and enact policy (Doyle, 2007; Rosenthal, 1993; Schlozman & Tierney, 1986). Among those factors were level of knowledge and experience with the issue, level of education, and party affiliation.

During the 2009 legislative session, 69% of senators and 82% of representatives held a 4-year college degree. Further, 37% of senators and 41% of representatives held at least one advanced degree, 30 of which were law degrees. Thirty-four of 17 or 50% of senators were UM alumni, as were 52 of 163 or 32% percent of representatives. The preeminent occupations among legislators included business, agriculture, and law or politics/public administration, while a greater percentage of representatives than senators were retired (Missouri Department of Higher Education, 2008).

When Missouri voted for the Republican presidential candidate in November 2008, it marked only the second time that its citizens voted contrary to U.S. popular vote. In the 2008 election, citizens elected a Democratic governor and a Republican lieutenant governor. With the exception of the lieutenant governor, Democrats occupied all other cabinet-level positions. Furthermore, 2008 election results created an even more Republican-controlled legislature than during the previous two sessions, particularly in the Senate. During the 2009 legislative session, 89 representatives (55%) were Republican and 74 (45%) were Democrat while 23 (68%) senators were Republican and 11 (32%) were Democrat.

The 2009 Missouri Legislative Session was dubbed *unique* by legislators and the higher education sector. Factors contributing to the uniqueness were the balance of power

(with a Democratic governor and a Republican-controlled legislature) and the number of new legislators. Perhaps even more challenging was the fact that Missouri faced a severe revenue shortfall, a phenomenon not unique to the state. In Missouri, higher education historically had been among the first programs cut when revenues fell short, particularly under a legislated mandate to produce an annual balanced budget.

<div align="center">*Higher Education Context*</div>

To understand higher education in Missouri, it is necessary to understand the state's elementary and secondary education context. Missouri had 536 public school districts. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, elementary and secondary school enrollment was 945,000 on average for the years of 2005-2007 (*Missouri: Population and Narrative Profile: 2005-2007*). The pool of high school graduates was projected to decline by four percent between 2008 and 2019 (*The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 2008). Data from 2008 indicated that about 88% of the state's students graduated from high school (*Higher Education in Missouri Gets Mixed Reviews in National Report Card*, 2008).

Missouri's college-going rate increased by 18% between 1999 and 2006, compared with a nationwide increase of six percent during the same time (*Measuring Up: The National Report Card on Higher Education*, 2006), and in 2008, 34.7% of the state's 18- to 24-year olds enrolled in college (*Higher Education in Missouri Gets Mixed Reviews in National Report Card*, 2008*).* About 369,000 of the state's population were enrolled in college in 2007 (*Missouri: Population and Narrative Profile: 2005-2007*). Of these, the completion rate was about 56% for the bachelor's degree and 55% for

persistence beyond the first year of community college (*Measuring Up: The National Report Card on Higher Education*, 2008).

The state's college completion rate was above and its overall college participation rate below the national average, particularly for first-generation and minority students (*Imperatives for Change: Building a Higher Education System for the 21st Century*, 2008). For example, only 44% of the state's citizens were likely to enroll in college immediately after high school (*State News Summary: Missouri*, 2008) and 27% of its citizens, aged 25-65, held a bachelor's degree in 2008 (*Higher Education in Missouri Gets Mixed Reviews in National Report Card*, 2008.). In addition, while 28% of the state's whites held a college degree in 2008, only 16% of its blacks did (*Measuring Up: The National Report Card on Higher Education*, 2008).

Missouri has a diverse system of 59 postsecondary education institutions. In 2009, 13 of these institutions were public 4-year, 21 were public 2-year, and 25 were independent 2- and 4-year institutions. In addition, there were approximately 160 for-profit and proprietary institutions in the state. Twenty-three separate boards govern the public campuses.

The UM System was the only public 4-year multi-campus system in the state. Moreover, the UM System was the only constitutionally established public university in the state, a fact that made its relationship to the state legislature unique among public institutions. The System's four campuses were located in Columbia, Kansas City, Rolla, and St. Louis and were governed by a gubernatorial-appointed nine-member Board of Curators. One was appointed from each of nine U.S. congressional districts in the state and no more than five could be from one political party. The Columbia campus, founded

in 1839, is the state's land-grant institution, its flagship campus, and boasts the largest student enrollment among the state's public institutions. The number of full-time students enrolled on each campus in fall 2008 was: UMC – 24,280; UMKC – 9,385; UMSL – 8,353; and MS&T – 5,323 (*Fall Enrollment University of Missouri System*, 2008). UM campuses' enrollment had grown by 8,000 full time students between fall 2000 and fall 2007, stretching the reduced state appropriations even further and lowering the per student funding amount (*University of Missouri Core Budget Reduction Impact Statement*, 2008).

Of the approximately 368,506 students enrolled in Missouri's postsecondary institutions in fall 2007, 70% were enrolled in a public and just over 29% in a private institution (*Missouri School Enrollment, 2005-2007*). Of these, 36% enrolled at public, state-supported 4-year and another 29% at public 2-year institutions (*Measuring Up: The National Report Card on Higher Education*, 2006). An additional 35% enrolled in a private 4-year institution. A total of 68,000 degrees were awarded in 2008, with 24,815 awarded by Missouri's public 4-year institutions.

As with its performance on number of college students who graduated, Missouri ranked near average on most every national performance measure. The exception to being average was state funding of higher education, a measure in which Missouri lagged far behind a majority of the states. Missouri appropriated $6,253 per FTE in 2007 (*SHEEO State Higher Education Finance FY 2007*). Furthermore, funding support of public higher education had not rebounded to the FY 2001 funding level after numerous years of deep cuts. Specifically, Missouri ranked 47th of 50 in per capita support of higher education and 46th of 50 in appropriations per $1,000 of personal income in 2007;

moreover, it ranked 49th of 50 in change in state appropriations between FY02 and FY07 (*Higher Education Funding Task Force Report*, 2008). In 2008, 46% of the budget of public institutions' was funded through state appropriations.

While higher education in Missouri had been historically under-funded, its tuition levels had exceeded the national average. Missouri was considered a high-tuition, low-aid state (*Measuring Up: The National Report Card on Higher Education*, 2006). In fact, "tuition is above average, state and local support is below average and personal family incomes are below average" (*Imperatives for Change: Building a Higher Education System for the 21st Century*, 2008, p. 3). To abate concern over increasing tuition costs, legislation was passed in 2007 to cap tuition increases at public institutions.

A Coordinating Board of Higher Education (CBHE), established in 1972 and constitutionally recognized in 1974, oversaw postsecondary institutions in Missouri. CBHE's authority was expanded as a result of legislation passed in 2007. The CBHE hired a Commissioner of Higher Education who hired and supervised staff. Furthermore, Missouri was one of 12 state members of the Midwestern Higher Education Compact (MHEC) – one of four multi-state higher education compacts in the U.S. Five Missouri legislators and higher education sector representatives served as commissioners for the Compact and numerous Missourians, including legislators and higher education sector leaders, participated in the Compact's annual higher education policy summit.

During the 2009 Missouri Legislative Session, higher education was a prominent issue. During his opening session speech the leader of the Senate listed higher education as one of three top priorities for the 2009 session (Heaven, J., *Higher ed a priority as legislative session begins*, 2009). More specifically, state funding for and state

governance of higher education was laid out as legislative priorities for the 2009 session. Additionally, the governor emphasized the role of higher education and linked it to the economic stamina of the state in his State of the State address given to the General Assembly. Then, at a press conference on January 21, 2009, just 8 days into the session, the governor pledged not to cut the higher education budget if public institutions agreed not to increase in-state tuition the next academic year (Dunn, C., & Insinna, V., *Nixon vows to avoid cutting higher education budget in 2010*, 2009), forming "political fault lines … around higher education" (Noble, J., *Higher education presents financial, political twists for Missouri lawmakers*, 2009).

Data Sources and Data Collection Procedures

Case studies often use a number of data sources including documentation, archival records, direct observation, participant-observation, interviews, and physical artifacts (Yin, 2003, p. 85). For this case study, delimited to the 2009 Missouri Legislative Session, I used four data sources: documents, observation, focus group interviews, and individual interviews. ASUM student lobbyists, the people of focus in this study, participated in both a focus group and individual interview, with the focus group interview conducted prior to individual interviews. Student lobbyists were also observed. All other participants participated in only an individual or a focus group interview.

Using multiple data sources enabled me to gain the broadest possible understanding of this case, corroborate findings among the various data sources, assure credibility and dependability of findings (Creswell, 2007), and establish trustworthiness of the research process and its results. Specifically, collecting data from a variety of

sources aided my "attempt to secure an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon in question" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 5) and allowed me to compare and contrast emergent patterns from the unique data sources.

Document Data

Document data are defined differently by various researchers. For example, Yin (2003) specifically delineated archival from document data and Creswell (2007) delineated audiovisual materials from document data. For the purposes of this study, the term *document data* is used to include all types of documents or records (e.g., records, documents, artifacts, and archives) (Patton, 2002) and numerous kinds of data were collected (Appendix E).

I collected in excess of 200 documents in addition to those produced as a result of interviews and observation. Because of their sheer number, I selected to analyze documents directly related to this study's research questions: ASUM student lobbyists' weekly reports, weekly ASUM e-newsletter produced by the LD and sent to ASUM board members and UM System administrators, and written copy of testimony presented by ASUM student lobbyists at legislative committee hearings. In all, in addition to observation and interview data analyzed, I analyzed 269 pages of document data. Other documents were used as references and contextual information. Documents collected fell into four overarching categories: (a) state produced documents, (b) UM System related or produced documents, (c) ASUM related or produced documents, and (d) newspaper articles.

State documents collected and examined included: legislative documents, the *Official Manual of the State of Missouri*, state archival records, House and Senate Web

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site information, House Higher Education and Senate Education Committee documents, *General Assembly Roster 2009*, the weekly publication titled *This Week in the House*, reports from the Missouri Department of Higher Education (MDHE) and the Missouri Ethics Commission, the MDHE weekly *Legislative News* electronic newsletter, and the MDHE weekly *Summary of Legislation Impacting Higher Education*.

I accessed a number of documents from and about the UM System including: Government Relations Web site documents (e.g., *District Data Sheets*, UM System Impact on the State Annual Reports, *UM Legislative Update e-newsletters*), UM System archives and original source documents from 1975 about the proposal and approval of ASUM, and copies of ASUM student lobbyists' applications and interview-related documents that had been purged of all information protected by student information privacy laws. I also obtained document data from the Office of Social and Economic Data Analysis, an affiliate of the UM System.

Most document data collected were produced by and/or were about ASUM and its student lobbyists, many of which were original sources. I collected ASUM Web site content; student lobbyists' training agendas and presentation handouts; student lobbyist terms of agreement; student lobbyists recruitment, marketing, and application materials; *2008-09 ASUM Legislative Intern Manual*; legislator and issues assignments; the *ASUM Board of Director Handbook*; and job descriptions for the LD, ALD, and student lobbyists. I also received copies of all documents produced by student lobbyists during the 2009 legislative session, including the training materials, *2009 ASUM Prospectus*, weekly *ASUM Legislative News* electronic newsletter produced by the LD and e-mailed to ASUM board members and UM System administrators, ongoing communication

between student lobbyists, student lobbyists' weekly reports, written testimony given at legislative committee hearings, written and e-mail communication to legislators, press releases, and fact sheets (Appendixes F-I). I also collected national reports on state student associations and information from the United States State Student Association and Student Empowerment Training Project Web sites.

I collected newspaper articles from a variety of sources: UM System daily clippings archive database, Missouri Press Association e-clips service, *Keeping Up* (a daily collective produced by the Missouri State Librarian of all newspaper articles printed in Missouri that address legislative matters), and local newspapers. I also periodically monitored *GovWatch* and johncombest.com – internet sites that provide daily news about Missouri politics and track legislative happenings.

Observation

Observation was primarily focused on ASUM student lobbyists. However, I also immersed myself in the context of this case through observations not exclusively focused on student lobbyists. Further, observation occurred pre-session and during the session.

Prior to the start of the legislative session, I observed 4 days of ASUM student lobbyists' training sessions, two in October and one in November 2008, and one in January 2009. On the first day of training and before it officially began, I explained this research project; explained the letter of invitation and consent form (Appendixes J and K); answered questions; and obtained signed informed consent forms from student lobbyists, the LD, and the ALD. On October 16, 2008, I gained consent from 100% of the ASUM student lobbying team to observe October and November training.

I prepared a separate consent process exclusively for October and November

training and a second consent process for data collection during the legislative session. I

did so for two reasons. First, there was little time for me to explain the project and the

informed consent process on the first day of training because the schedule was tight and

an outside speaker was first on the agenda. Second, since the first day of training

occurred in mid-October, I believed that waiting until closer to the start of the 2009

legislative session to obtain informed consent for additional activities (observing,

shadowing, focus group interview, individual interviews) would assure more informed

and thoughtful decisions about participation.

An invitation to participate and informed consent form (Appendixes L and M),

covering observation as well as all data collection activities (observing, shadowing, and

conducting focus group and individual interviews) for the period of January 7, 2009,

through May 15, 2009, was mailed to student lobbyists on December 26, 2008. On

January 6, 2009, I attended a pre-session training session at which I explained the study,

the invitation to participate, and the informed consent form to the ASUM student

lobbying team. I received all (100%) signed consent forms by January 7, 2009.

During the legislative session, I immersed myself in and achieved prolonged

engagement in the natural setting of the case (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Creswell, 2007). I

was at the Capitol during each of the 18 weeks of the 2009 Missouri Legislative Session.

I observed for a total of 260+ hours during 36 of the session's 70-day duration. While at

the Capitol, I observed student lobbyists interact with one another; discuss and develop

strategy; prepare for legislative committee testimony; testify at legislative committee

hearings; prepare talking points and fact sheets; participate in weekly meetings; meet

formally with legislators; and engage in informal interaction with legislators, legislative staff members, and other lobbyists. Observations occurred throughout the Capitol although much of my observation occurred in the legislative library on the third floor since students used it as a base of operation.

Beyond observing daily activity, I also shadowed each ASUM student lobbyist while s/he was lobbying. I shadowed each student twice, one-half day during the 6th and 7th weeks and again during the 15th and 16th weeks of the session. Doing so allowed me to observe any changes in student lobbyists' behavior as well as any shift in legislators' reception to them.

I also observed UM System lobbyists. I observed them testify at committee hearings, interact with legislators, and interact with ASUM student lobbyists. I also attended and observed one joint meeting of the two lobbying teams.

In addition, I observed committee meetings at which higher education issues were presented and discussed even when ASUM student lobbyists were not testifying. I did so to gain an understanding of legislators' agendas and ideologies and to make myself known to and build trust and credibility with legislator participants. I also periodically observed sessions in both chambers.

Focus Group Interviews

I chose to conduct focus group interviews with two homogenous groups because collective memory often generates data that might not surface in one-on-one interviews. Focus groups also "increase confidence in whatever patterns emerge" (Patton, 2002, p. 385), increasing the dependability and credibility of a study's findings. I held two audio-

recorded focus group interviews, one with ASUM student lobbyists and one with UM System lobbyists.

ASUM Student Lobbyists

I conducted a focus group interview with ASUM student lobbyists because each worked on different legislative issues, was a member of an issue team, and was assigned to build relationships with a different group of legislators. As such, each held a piece of perception about the influence of the collective group. In a focus group interview setting student lobbyists could respond to what others said, a technique used to enhance data quality and make data more meaningful (Patton, 2002). I chose to conduct the focus group interview mid-way through the legislative session so I could follow up on data from it, as necessary, during individual interviews conducted near the end of the session.

On December 26, 2008, I mailed ASUM student lobbyists, the LD, and the ALD an invitation to participate (Appendix L) and an informed consent form (Appendix M). I achieved 100% voluntary participation by January 7, 2009. In early March, 2009, I worked with the LD to schedule the focus group interview. It occurred March 31, 2009, in a House Hearing Room at the Capitol and lasted one hour and 26 minutes. I used the focus group interview protocol I had developed (Appendix N) to assure consistency of format in various interviews. Questions designed with feedback from dissertation committee members were asked (Appendix O). After the interview, each participant was sent the full interview transcript and asked to check its accuracy. Two student lobbyists filled in text that had been inaudible on the recording.

UM System Lobbyists

I conducted a focus group interview with UM System lobbyists because each worked on specific legislative issues, worked more closely with some legislators than others, and held unique observations of and interactions with ASUM student lobbyists. Their individually held perspectives became enriched "in a social context where [they could] consider their own views in the context of the views of others" (Patton, 2002, p. 386). UM System lobbyists were situated to offer unique perspectives about student lobbyists' influence since they worked closely with them and with legislators.

I met with the UM System Vice President for Government Relations on December 4, 2008, to explain this study's purpose. On December 26, 2008, an invitation to participate (Appendix L) and informed consent form (Appendix M) were sent to UM System lobbyists. I received signed consent forms from all six on January 7, 2009.

I worked with the Vice President to schedule the focus group interview that occurred on March 16, 2009, at University Hall adjacent to the UMC campus, and lasted 30 minutes. Four UM System lobbyists were present in-person and two joined by conference call. Because of a time constraint of the UM System lobbyists, I had e-mailed five demographic questions to participants prior to the interview and asked that answers be returned at the interview or e-mailed to me. The focus group interview protocol (Appendix N) and list of questions (Appendix P), developed with input from dissertation committee members, were used to assure a consistent interview format. Participants were sent a full interview transcript and invited to check it for accuracy. At my request, two participants filled in information on the transcript that I had been unable to hear because of conference call background noise.

Since the focus group interview had been short in duration, I gave the lobbyists my business card and invited them to contact me if they wished to share additional information. Throughout the session, I periodically conversed with the UM System lobbyists. Additionally, I met with five of the six for approximately 5 minutes each during the last week of the session to follow-up on their perceptions of ASUM student lobbyists' influence during the legislative session.

Semi-Structured Individual Interviews

Interview conversations produce rich descriptions about how participants interpret or perceive their world. These conversations are important because "specific working hypotheses … are best verified and confirmed by those people who inhabit that [legislative and student lobbyist] context" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 41). As Hrebenar and Thomas (1987) stated, "Those who are in the best position to judge a group's lobbying effectiveness are those who work in that policy area, especially legislators, their aides, and other public officials" (cited in Cook, 1998, p. 185).

I conducted 31 face-to-face audio-recorded semi-structured interviews. Interview participants included: 8 ASUM student lobbyists and the ASUM LD and ALD; 11 legislators who sit on the House Higher Education and Senate Education Committees; 6 staff members of legislators who sit on the House Higher Education and Senate Education Committees; and 3 legislators and 1 legislative staff member added through snowball sampling.

To assure a consistent interview format, I used the interview protocol I had developed (Appendix N) and a list of questions, developed with input from my dissertation committee members (Appendixes Q, R, and S). During interviews, I sought

clarification about and asked for elaboration on responses I did not fully understand. To assure dependability and credibility of interview findings, interviewees received and were asked to check interview transcripts.

ASUM Participants

On December 26, 2008, an invitation to participate (Appendix L) and informed consent form (Appendix M) were mailed to ASUM student lobbyists, the LD, and the ALD. On January 6, 2009, I explained in person the purpose of study, invitation to participate, and informed consent letter. By January 7, 2009, 100% of participants had returned a signed informed consent form.

I conducted individual interviews with the LD and ALD on February 2 and 24, 2009, respectively. I conducted these interviews early in the session because I wanted to explore their mentoring of student lobbyists and goals for the legislative session. I then conducted interviews with the eight student lobbyists on April 21 and 23, 2009. I conducted these interviews late in the session so I could explore perceptions of influence. I wanted to understand how student lobbyists viewed their influence after they had experienced most of the session. All interviews occurred at the Capitol. Interviews with the LD and ALD lasted 50 and 70 minutes respectively and interviews with student lobbyists lasted 8 to 16 minutes. The 10 interviews averaged 22 minutes in length.

Legislator Participants

On January 27, 2009, I hand-delivered an invitation to participate (Appendix L) and an informed consent form (Appendix M) to the 14 legislators in the initial participant pool. In many cases, I was able to speak directly with legislators about my study. This allowed me to respond immediately to any questions and to build credibility and trust

with legislators. I asked that signed informed consent forms be returned by February 10, 2009. On February 12, I followed up in person with legislators who had not yet replied. By February 19, I had achieved a 79% voluntary participation response rate; 2 of 14 legislators declined participation and I ceased checking with a third after stopping at her/his office numerous times and then being told to stop back after the appropriations process was concluded. I made the decision to drop this legislator from the participant pool. On March 3 and 10, I invited three additional legislators, all identified through snowball sampling, to interview. I hand-delivered the invitation to participate (Appendix L) and informed consent form (Appendix M) to these legislators and 100% consented to participate. I worked with legislators' staff members to schedule interviews. In several cases, interviews had to be rescheduled because of legislators' schedules, in one case as many as 4 times.

I purposefully scheduled interviews to begin after mid-session to ensure that legislators had experience with ASUM student lobbyists during the 2009 Missouri Legislative Session. Interviews with legislators occurred March 24 through April 21, 2009. All occurred at the Capitol. While most occurred in legislators' offices, one occurred in the third floor rotunda, one on the side of the House floor, and one on the side of the Senate floor. Interviews lasted an average of 17 minutes and ranged from 9 to 26 minutes in length. Legislator participants were sent a full interview transcript and invited to check it for accuracy; however, two legislators said they did not need to see the transcript. In another case, the legislator asked that the interview not be audio-recorded; I sent this legislator a summary of notes I had taken during the interview. Only one legislator followed up; s/he clarified the intention of and meaning of a statement.

Legislative Staff Member Participants

On January 27, 2009, I visited the office of each legislative staff member in the participant pool to assure that I had correct names because the 2009 *General Assembly Roster* had not yet been released. I then hand-delivered an invitation to participate (Appendix L) and an informed consent form (Appendix M) to seven legislative staff members on January 29. I was able to speak directly with legislative staff members about my study and to answer any questions at that time. I had asked that signed informed consent forms be returned by February 10 and achieved a 100% return rate by that date. On February 22, I invited one additional legislative staff member to participate as a result of snowball sampling. I hand-delivered an invitation to participate (Appendix L) and informed consent form (Appendix M) and received a signed informed consent form the following week. I contacted staff members the last week of February to schedule interviews. When I arrived to conduct the interview with one legislative staff member, I was told that ASUM student lobbyists had not interacted with him/her. Given this, I decided not to conduct the interview. This decision reduced the number of legislative staff members interviewed to a total of seven, six from the initial pool and one added through snowball sampling.

All seven interviews occurred in the Capitol in legislators' offices between March 24 and April 16, 2009. Interviews lasted 10 to 42 minutes, with the average lasting just under 24 minutes. I sent the full interview transcript to legislative staff member participants and invited them to check it for accuracy. Six legislative staff members suggested no changes while one suggested modification of a few words to clarify the meaning of a statement.

Data Analysis Procedures

I used a combination of data analysis techniques described by case study methodologists Yin (2003) and Merriam (1998) and by qualitative research methodologists Hatch (2002) and Patton (2002). However, before starting analysis I heeded Merriam's advice to create a data organization system because of the volume and variety of sources of data I would be collecting. I created a computerized case study filing system (Merriam, 1998; Patton, 2002; Yin, 1994) to organize and manage data. This filing system enabled me to search for data chronologically, by data source, by participant group, and by topic. I assigned each piece of data collected (including original field notes, observation summaries, and interview transcripts) a reference number for easy retrieval and logged it into the filing system.

I also organized paper files according to data source and kept alike items in chronological order in separate folders. Organizing and being able to retrieve data and analysis documents aided in cross-referencing data patterns, proved helpful in the peer debriefing process, and created an audit trail. I also maintained an original computerized file of each document so that I could access and double check original data during the analysis process.

I completed all interview transcription myself. Each interview was transcribed in its entirety and verbatim. Interviews were transcribed within three working days to assure accuracy and quick follow-up with participants. Because most interviews with legislators and legislative staff members occurred while live floor debate was being audio-broadcast in the background, while staff members were walking in and out of the office, or on the

chamber floors as live debate was occurring, many interviews were challenging to transcribe. Transcriptions were compared to original audiotapes to assure accuracy.

Data collection and analysis dovetailed and occurred simultaneously (Merriam, 1998) because in qualitative research the "distinction between data gathering and analysis [is] far less absolute" (Patton, 2002, p. 436). Preliminary analysis began after initial data were collected and continued throughout the data collection process. Analysis was recursive and involved continuous interpretation. Recursive analysis allowed me to search for patterns and consistency as well as to identify and note unexpected findings early in the data collection process. As a result of early and recursive analysis, I felt confident that data I was collecting would allow me to answer this study's research questions.

Data analysis triangulation – analysis across multiple data sources – ensured credibility of emergent themes and assured trustworthiness of findings. Because interviews were the primary data source, I corroborated emergent themes and patterns from interviews with themes discovered in data documents and observation field notes. I repeated this process until I achieved saturation or redundancy of emergent themes – a benchmark of trustworthy qualitative findings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

All data sources were coded through a process of category and subcategory development (Merriam, 1998) using *a priori* categories (Hatch, 2002; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Patton, 2002). Categories included the three research questions, the two theoretical frameworks, factors affecting ASUM student lobbyists' influence, and legislators' reactions to student lobbyists. I worked from the specific to the general, allowing broad and salient themes to emerge, an analysis technique Merriam described as

category construction analysis and Yin (2003) as pattern matching. Categories and themes were constructed through constant comparison of initially collected data.

Subsequent units of data were sorted or matched according to the established categories. Interpretation was used to decide if data fit into the typological categories (Hatch, 2002). As each new unit of data was analyzed, I noted "recurring regularities" (Merriam, 1998, p. 180). This analysis process allowed categories and themes outside those initially constructed to emerge and be checked against all data sources – allowing examination of discrepant cases, alternative explanations, or rival themes (Yin, 2003). As subsequent transcripts and field note summaries were created, I coded them according to constructed categories and subcategories. I remained mindful that names of categories and subcategories reflected and were relevant to the purpose of this case study (Merriam, 1998).

I initially coded each document by hand, using colored highlighters and matching colored Post-it notes. I coded each document in entirety for the first *a priori* category and then read through the entire document once again to code it for each subsequent category. Text for each category was marked in a specific color of highlighter and marked with a matching colored Post-it note. I then plotted my coding on *Word* tables using *a priori* categories as headings on the tables. For each entry on the table, I included the data source date and reference number and the participant code. Doing so allowed me to work from the tables and to easily locate the original source document.

Because I needed to keep perceptions of the four participant groups separate to be able to answer research question three and so that I could compare findings across the various data sources, a separate table was created for each data source, and in some cases,

for sub-categories within a data source. In all, I created a separate table for: legislators'

individual interviews; legislative staff members' individual interviews; UM System

lobbyists' focus group interview; ASUM student lobbyists' focus group interview;

ASUM student lobbyists', LD, and ALD individual interviews; observation field notes;

and ASUM student lobbyists' weekly reports.

By creating tables, I was able to see a mass amount of data at one time, visually

illustrate category and pattern frequency (Miles & Huberman, 1994), and constantly

compare themes and categories across tables (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Lincoln & Guba,

1985). I was also able to complete additional coding on the tables themselves, using the

highlight function to identify sub-categories within the categories and move text so that

all that matched the pattern was located together. Specific examples, significant

statements, and quotations were recorded on tables to illustrate and add richness to the

description of emerging themes and patterns. These examples aided in explanation

building and illuminated implications for future research (Yin, 2003).

I also created diagrams or pictures of emergent categories and themes to ensure

that all patterns had been matched and all data considered. These diagrams illustrated

overlap and frequency of categories; led to new ways of looking at emerging patterns;

fostered consideration of rival explanations; and portrayed patterns of interaction,

interdependency, and effect of emerging categories and subcategories.

I recorded reflexive journaling on observation field notes and on interview

transcripts. During days I was at the Capitol for observation, I took time to sit quietly,

reflect, and record reflexive notes. I did so when the student lobbyists went to lunch,

when I was observing a House or Senate session, and when student lobbyists were all at

meetings with legislators. I also recorded notes as I was transcribing and coding

interviews. These reflexive notes were about what the data were revealing and about

personally-held assumptions I needed to bracket.

In sum, these analysis processes enabled me to meet Yin's (2003) four criteria of

high-quality analysis: (a) attend to all the evidence, (b) explore and addresses all rival

explanations, (c) focus on the research questions and purpose, addressing the most

significant aspect of the study, and (d) use prior and current knowledge with the subject

under examination.

<center>Trustworthiness</center>

Trustworthiness encompasses sound data collection and analysis processes as well

as ethical considerations. A methodologically sound and rigorously described research

design and process leads to greater trustworthiness, described as the researcher's ability

"to persuade his or her audiences (including self) that the findings of an inquiry are worth

paying attention to, worth taking account of" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 290). Rigorous

collection and analysis methods and researcher self-reflectivity are at the heart of

trustworthiness. To establish trustworthiness of this study's findings, I used Lincoln and

Guba's (1985) four tenants of trustworthiness: (a) credibility, (b) transferability, (c)

dependability, and (d) confirmability. Though some researchers address dependability

and confirmability separately, Lincoln and Guba see them as dovetailing and "hence no

longer discussed independently" (p. 319). For that reason, I addressed dependability and

confirmability in tandem in the following text. See Appendix T for a listing of actions I

incorporated to build trustworthiness of this study's findings.

Credibility

Credibility can be described as believability of findings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Use of multiple data sources and triangulating patterns and themes across the sources until redundancy was reached was a primary way to assure credibility. I collected a variety of sources of evidence to "secure an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon in question" (Denizin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 5): document data, observation, focus group interviews, and individual interviews. By triangulating or corroborating themes and patterns among the various data sources, this study's findings were tested and scrutinized, making them more convincing and credible.

Additionally, credibility was enhanced by articulation of my paradigm, theoretical frameworks used in this study, and preconceptions I held about this case (Appendix D). Articulation of my paradigm informed readers of assumptions I held about research and about my belief system about what can be known and how it can be known (Hatch, 2002). Articulation of theoretical frameworks also informed readers of how this study built upon and was situated in existing theories (Hatch, 2002), provided a context for understanding research design decisions, and explained the lens that guided decisions about data collection and analysis. An additional assurance of trustworthiness of findings was that all interview transcripts were double-checked by me before each participant checked them to assure accuracy.

Transferability

Transferability is concerned with whether the findings can be used in and are applicable to other settings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The researcher must describe the setting and context of the study to provide adequate information for others to decide if

findings are applicable in another setting or context. To meet the criteria of transferability, I provided thick descriptions of this study's context, its delimitations, and the participant selection process used. Purposeful sampling used for semi-structured interviews and focus group interviews was described and quotations were used to support findings and emerging themes. I stated the potential relevance of the findings to higher education lobbying in general. The final decision about transferability from this case study, however, remains open to reader interpretation.

Dependability and Confirmability

Dependability refers to trustworthiness of the findings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Confirmability is substantiation of the research process and findings by another researcher. I provided enough description to allow for another researcher to follow and check the analysis processes, validate findings, and replicate a similar study. Both *process* and *product* needed to be dependable (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). I achieved dependability and confirmability through creation of an audit trail, and consistency of data format and storage, and peer debriefing. I also maintained an audit trail and developed a computerized file system (Yin, 2003). An original computerized file of each data document was maintained on my computer and on a back-up drive. I recorded decisions made about collection and analysis in reflexive notes, on interview transcripts, and on coding tables.

I also engaged a peer debriefer to check my coding of categories and patterns and to audit data collection and analysis methods. I met with my peer debriefer three times, once to critique my coding process and validate initial emerging categories and themes about one research question, another time to examine overarching themes about research

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question two, and a final time to critique emergent themes and formatting of findings to research question three. Peer debriefing allowed perceptions and ideas held only in the schema of this researcher to be revealed and known to me, thereby reducing researcher bias (Padgett, Matthew, & Cone, 2004).

<div align="center">Ethical Considerations</div>

Research is embedded with ethical considerations and "there is unanimous agreement among researchers and evaluators that their work and behavior should be ethical" (Eisner, 1998, p. 213). Berg (2003), Eisner (1998), and Waldrop (2004) addressed a variety of ethical considerations. Three ethical considerations are common in their work: obtaining informed consent, protecting participant identity, exposing potential conflict of interest, and securing data.

<div align="center">*Informed Consent Process*</div>

Informed consent means that participants freely chose to participate in the study (Berg, 2003). Invitation to participate letters and informed consent forms used for this study were approved by my dissertation committee and the UM-Columbia Institutional Review Board (IRB). Each potential participant received an invitation to participate letter (Appendixes J and L) and an informed consent form in the U.S. mail or in-person. The informed consent form (Appendixes K and M) explained the purpose of study, potential risks to participants, identity protection measures, voluntary participation, ability to withdraw from the study, and intended use of this research. Before each interview began, I explained in person the purpose of study and voluntary nature of participation.

Protection of Participant Identity

Case studies are inherently political (Merriam, 1998). This study was particularly so because it examined a political context and its political actors. Given that, it was critical that I protect participants' identity. When I hand-delivered invitation to participate letters to legislators and legislative staff members, I emphasized that participants would remain anonymous. To achieve this, participants were described in the aggregate rather than by individual description and identified as: Student Lobbyist A-H, Legislator A-N, Legislative Staff Member A-G, or UM System Lobbyist A-F. Direct quotations were attributed by participant category and letter code and any potentially identifying information was purged from reported findings, to the degree possible. There is one exception to this: Quotations made by the ASUM LD and ALD were attributed directly to them and not masked. I obtained permission from both to identify the position from which they spoke. I did so because there was only one LD and one ALD so there was not a way to provide anonymity while maintaining the meaning of the position from which they spoke.

As an additional identity protection measure, I was the only person who transcribed interviews and had access to document data, observation field notes, and interview recordings and transcripts. Additionally, documents shared with my peer debriefer were purged of any identifying information.

Exposing Researcher's Past Experience

My past experience with ASUM posed the greatest ethical consideration of this study. Thus, it was important to articulate my prior affiliation with ASUM. I served as the Executive Director of ASUM from November 2004 through June 2006. As such, I was

responsible for oversight of the student lobbying program during the 2005 and 2006 Missouri Legislative Sessions during which I spent 2 to 3 days a week at the State Capitol observing and advising student lobbyists. I did not personally engage in lobbying activity although my position and frequent presence at the Capitol necessitated that I register with the Missouri Ethics Commission as a legislative lobbyist.

My past experience with ASUM posed both a benefit and a challenge as noted in the earlier description of case study limitations. Yin (2003) viewed a researcher's past experience and "prior expert knowledge" of the case under study as a factor that underlies high-quality analysis (p. 137). While my knowledge of student lobbying and the legislative process fostered rigorous analysis, I was cautious that my experience-based perceptions did not cloud my analysis and findings. Because I held direct past experience related to this case, I worked to bracket my related perceptions and experiences. Additionally, I have provided a listing of inherent assumptions I held about the influence of ASUM student lobbyists on state-level higher education legislation as a result of past experience (Appendix D). These assumptions were recorded prior to beginning data collection and analysis.

Even though I comprehended that my past experience would impact my role as researcher, I failed to anticipate its full effect. Because of my past experience with ASUM, I was familiar to and with many actors in the legislative context. As a result, I was frequently asked questions and asked for my feedback and opinion. For example, a student lobbyist asked me how I thought his/her testimony went. In several other instances, my opinion was sought or I was asked what I was finding as a result of my research. When this occurred I was mindful of my role as researcher, refrained from

answering the question, explained that my role as researcher did not permit me to offer personal opinion about this study, and explained the need for as little bias as possible. Question asking became so pervasive during the 10th week of the legislative session that I re-explained to student lobbyists during their weekly meeting why I could not answer questions.

At other times, however, I deemed it acceptable to answer questions asked of me. For example, a legislative staff member asked me how the office might secure a UMC student as an intern and I passed this message to a UM System lobbyist. On another occasion, ASUM student lobbyists asked me the difference between a land-grant and flagship institution. I was able to answer this question because it did not compromise my role as researcher or my objectivity about this case. On yet another occasion, a professional lobbyist asked me to verify a statement made in a hearing, a statement unrelated to this study. Being able to answer these types of questions added to my trustworthiness and credibility, proving to be a benefit to me. I discovered as Yin (2003) posited that my past experience with this case was both a strength and limitation.

Securing Data

All original data was handled exclusively by me. The computer and jump drive used in conjunction with this research was in my sole possession. I took precautions not to provide identifying information when discussing the research with my peer debriefer, advisor, and committee. I also purged identifying information from materials before sharing them with my peer debriefer. Further, to safeguard all data and protect participants' identities, I stored all information related to this study in an apartment used only by me.

Summary

This chapter provided a description of the research methods used in this exploration of the perceived influence of ASUM student lobbyists on higher education legislation in the state of Missouri. In this chapter, case study research design, participant and site selection processes, and data collection and analysis procedures were described. Additionally, methods used to assure trustworthiness of data collection and analysis processes and findings as well as ethical considerations were described. Chapters 4, 5, and 6 will present the findings of this qualitative case study.

Chapter Four

FINDINGS: ASUM STUDENT LOBBYISTS' BEHAVIORS

Introduction

State student association involvement in politics in the U.S., both at the state and federal level, dates back to the 1940s and 1950s (Altbach, 1997; *History of United States Student Association*, 2009). In 1946 the United States Student Association (USSA), a national network of university students, was founded to address federal-level issues (*History of United States Student Association*, 2009). The Louisiana Council of Student Body Presidents was founded in 1950 as the first state-level student association (Francis, 2004). Then in the 1960s, student riots and activism propelled student organizing for the purpose of expressing opinions on political involvement. Since the 1960s, students have continued to find ways to make their voices heard on both federal and state legislative issues.

State student associations became a venue for student expression on state public policy issues. The number and activity level of state student associations surged during the 1970s (Francis, 2004). For example, as reviewed in Chapters 1 and 2, the Associated Students of the University of Missouri (ASUM) was founded in 1975 when members of the University of Missouri-Columbia (UMC) student government realized they needed a separate student association to represent the interests of students in the state-level legislative arena. While many state student associations have always been and remain comprised of campus student government leaders, ASUM was created as a separate arm of the student government body. In a memo proposing a student fee to support the new association, Missouri Student Association (MSA) officers wrote to the University of

Missouri (UM) Board of Curators that taking on state-level legislative issues along with other charges would not be as productive for students as would be formation of a separate body to focus on student involvement in state-level policy issues (*Proposal for MSA Student Activity Fee Increase*, 1975).

ASUM started on the UMC campus and expanded to become a system-wide association that represents the approximately 64,000+ students of the four campuses comprising the UM System. While members of its board of directors are selected through their campuses' student government associations, ASUM is an entity separate from each campus student government association. ASUM is considered a student organization, but the University does not set its legislative agenda. The association established its student lobbyists program in 1976. Since that time, over 300 ASUM lobbyists have represented UM students in the Missouri State Capitol.

ASUM is the state student association examined in this study. More specifically, the lobbying behavior of ASUM lobbyists and its perceived influence on state-level higher education legislation during the 2009 Missouri Legislative Session was the focus of this study.

To answer this study's overarching question about the perceived influence of ASUM lobbyists' behavior on state-level higher education legislation, it was first necessary to understand their lobbying behavior and how it compared with that of higher education lobbyists. Thus, findings to research question one and two are presented before research question three findings. For purposes of clarity and to deal with the richness of findings, research question one findings are presented and summarized in Chapter 4, research question two in Chapter 5, and research question three in Chapter 6.

This chapter specifically presents findings to research question one: What lobbying behaviors did the ASUM (Associated Students of the University of Missouri) student lobbyists use to attempt to influence higher education legislation during the 2009 Missouri Legislative Session? To situate findings to research question one, it was first necessary to explain (a) the lobbying team structure, (b) student lobbyists' training, (c) student lobbyists' roles and responsibilities, and (d) the 2009 initial and final legislative platform. Therefore, contextual information about the ASUM lobbying team is first described, followed by findings about ASUM student lobbyists' behaviors, including what lobbying strategies and techniques they used to attempt to influence higher education legislation during the 2009 Missouri Legislative Session. A summary of findings is then provided.

ASUM Lobbying Team Structure

In October, 2008, eight students were selected to serve as ASUM lobbyists for the 2009 Missouri Legislative Session. Five of the students learned of the opportunity through friends, two of whom had previously been ASUM lobbyists, while three students read about the position in announcements posted on campus. Of the eight, four were females and four males. Six of the 8 were from the UMC, one from University of Missouri-St. Louis (UMSL), and one from Missouri University of Science and Technology (MS&T).

Student lobbyists were accountable to and supervised by the Legislative Director (LD) and Assistant Legislative Director (ALD). Both the LD and the ALD were undergraduate students with past state-level legislative lobbying experience through ASUM. They had been selected through an application and interview process to serve as

LD and ALD for the 2009 Missouri Legislative Session and were paid a stipend. The LD was a University of Missouri-Kansas City (UMKC) student and the ALD was from MS&T. The LD had belonged to the ASUM Board of Directors prior to serving as a student lobbyist. In total, the LD had 3 years of experience with ASUM and the ALD had been affiliated with the association for 2 years. Both had job descriptions and were required, as were all ASUM lobbyists, to abide by all conditions set forth on the *ASUM Student Lobbyists' Terms of Agreement* (Appendix U).

The LD, ALD, and student lobbyists were ultimately accountable to the UM-employed Graduate Research Assistant who in turn was supervised by the UM System Assistant Vice President for Academic and Student Affairs. Each student lobbyist also reported to the faculty member who awarded a grade for 6 hours of earned academic credit for the lobbying experience. To augment the lobbying experience, faculty members made additional assignments. For instance, some students were required to complete three to four papers, others to read two to three books, and yet others to complete one major research paper about lobbying.

As a result of being registered as legislative lobbyists with the Missouri Ethics Commission, ASUM student lobbyists were responsible for upholding state laws pertaining to lobbyists. As of January 1, 2008, 1,195 lobbyists (legislative, judicial, and executive) were registered with the Missouri Ethics Commission (R. Gerling, personal communication, November 10, 2008); of this number, ASUM lobbyists comprised 1% of the state's registered lobbyists.

ASUM Student Lobbyists' Training

In preparation for their roles and responsibilities, ASUM lobbyists participated in training on 2 days in October 2008, two November 2008, and one in January 2009. I observed 4 of the 5 days of highly interactive training.

The *2008-09 ASUM Legislative Intern Manual* supplemented the training, and at times, presenters read directly from it. Student lobbyists received a manual for their use and were required to read and study it. The manual included detailed how-to materials that could be referred to during the legislative session (e.g., how to develop a fact sheet, how to develop talking points, how to testify to a committee hearing, how to contact a legislator, how to organize a letter-writing campaign).

Training included presentations by the ASUM LD, ALD, and Board Chair. Student lobbyists heard presentations by UM System Lobbyist C and the UM Vice President for Finance and Administration. The Budget Director of the Missouri Office of Administration had been scheduled to make a presentation about the budget process but cancelled due to a conflict. However, the Budget Director forwarded a PowerPoint presentation that was covered by the LD. Each speaker entertained questions and dialogued with the students. UM System presenters seemed supportive of and expressed genuine desire to help the student lobbyists. As one UM System presenter put it, "Thanks for all you do for us. We appreciate what you do so we want you to be as knowledgeable as you can be" (October 19, 2008).

Training included formal presentations about the history, mission, and role of ASUM; UM System Government Relations history and structure; UM System 2009 legislative priorities; UM budget and 2010 appropriations request; Missouri budget

process; Missouri legislative process; and resources available. During training, students also made presentations and engaged in role play scenarios. For instance, students were instructed to prepare for and act out an initial meeting with a legislator, with some students acting as legislators, some as legislative staff members, and others as student lobbyists. They critiqued each other and provided feedback on how the meeting could be improved.

Throughout training, time was also devoted to questions and answers. The environment was one of openness and learning. Numerous times the LD and ALD assured the new student lobbyists, telling them that if they felt confused, it was natural. Both shared that they too had been confused and overwhelmed at this time a year ago. For instance, on the first day of training the LD told student lobbyists, "Don't worry if you do not know what we are talking about. It will become clear."

At the end of each training session, student lobbyists were given assignments to complete prior to the next training session as well as prior to the start of the 2009 session. For example, because the student lobbying team represented all four UM System campuses and needed to be able to speak from an all-system perspective, students spent time learning about each others' campus. To do so, student lobbyists were assigned to research their home campus, speak to their campus chancellor, and prepare a presentation on their campus' points of pride to be given in November.

The LD and ALD assigned 20-21 representatives and four to five senators to each student lobbyist during the second October training session. Each was assigned to her/his home legislator and additional assignments were based on any pre-existing connections (e.g., family ties, home university district), things student lobbyists had in common with

legislators (e.g., college major, attendance at the same university), and legislative committee members who would likely deal with the issue(s) assigned to a particular student lobbyist. They were instructed to focus on meeting and building relationships with assigned legislators. They were assigned to make legislator note cards, to include a picture and key information about the legislator, prior to the start of and to use during the session.

Training also included discussions about housekeeping tasks. The seriousness of the student lobbyist position was conveyed during these discussions. For example, the LD and ALD talked with student lobbyists about class schedules, securing a faculty advisor to oversee the 6 academic credits earned for the experience, the requirement to be at the Capitol a minimum of 2 days a week, the process whereby each campus reimbursed students' travel expenses, and lodging details and the reimbursement process for the UMSL student who would be staying in Jefferson City during the week.

The ASUM 2009 legislative platform was covered during the October 2008 training and student lobbyists were asked to rank order issues on which they wanted to work. The following day they learned of their issues assignments and were given specific tasks to complete to become knowledgeable about their issue(s) (e.g., research, look at past ASUM files, check pre-filed bills, prepare a draft fact sheet). At the November training, the *ASUM Student Lobbyists' Term of Agreement* (Appendix U) was covered line by line, after which each student signed the agreement.

Additionally, on the second day of training in November, student lobbyists traveled the 30 miles to the capital city and participated in a guided tour of the Capitol. During the January 2009 training session, student lobbyists again went to the Capitol and

this time met with the Chief of Staff for the House Speaker Pro Tem. The Chief of Staff talked to them about each of ASUM's legislative issues and the particulars of the 2009 legislative session (e.g., given the projected budget shortfall, the state budget would be the number one priority for the session). He also took them onto the House floor.

Overarching themes were embedded into and stated repeatedly during each of the days of pre-session training that I observed. The LD and ALD wanted the new student lobbyists to fully understand and embrace these themes:

- ASUM lobbyists represented the UM System and spoke on behalf of 64,000+ students on all four campuses.

- ASUM lobbyists had to build relationships with and draw connections to legislators and staff members.

- ASUM lobbyists had to abide by all policies and laws and could not drink alcohol when working on behalf of ASUM.

- ASUM was a nonpartisan association and did not take stances on partisan issues.

- 2009 would be an unusual legislative session because of projected budget shortfalls; the legislative session would be all about budget.

- Being an ASUM lobbyist was a valuable learning experience.

- ASUM relied on its credibility, its reputation, and who it was as an organization. Do not do anything that would damage that.

- UM System lobbyists were a resource for ASUM lobbyists.

In addition to the pre-session training, ongoing training and mentoring occurred during the legislative session. During the session, student lobbyists participated in a formal weekly meeting and received informal mentoring and guidance from the LD and

ALD on a daily basis. The LD also met with student lobbyists outside of session and remained in constant communication via e-mail and phone to guide them on next steps, alert them to any upcoming hearings, and share recent happenings.

<div align="center">ASUM Student Lobbyists' Roles and Responsibilities</div>

The ASUM lobbyists examined in this study were responsible for lobbying on behalf of UM System students' issues during the 2009 Missouri Legislative Session. They lobbied for issues set forth in the annual ASUM legislative platform. Specifically, student lobbyists worked within the legislative process to advance the ASUM legislative platform. During the first day of training, the LD explained student lobbyists' responsibilities. The LD emphasized that student lobbyists would spend 95% of their time working on their respective legislative issue(s).

Specifically, student lobbyists were required to (a) have a presence at the Capitol; (b) attend the weekly student lobbyists' team meeting; (c) submit a weekly report; (d) work closely with the LD, the ALD, and the entire lobbying team; (e) build relationships with legislators to whom they were assigned; (f) work on assigned legislative issue(s), (g) attend legislative committee hearings; (h) track bills; and (i) work closely with campus student governments and ASUM chapters. Additionally, they were expected to dress and conduct themselves professionally; be on time; and represent ASUM, the UM System, and UM students in a professional manner.

<div align="center">*Have a Presence at the Capitol*</div>

ASUM lobbyists were required to be at the Capitol a minimum of 2 days a week, although they were not required to be there when the University was on break. The LD was at the Capitol 2 days a week and the ALD at least 1 day a week. Early in the

legislative session, seven of the eight student lobbyists spent each Tuesday and Thursday at the Capitol. The exception was the UMSL student who spent 4 days each week at the Capitol. Because traveling the approximately 350 miles round-trip from St. Louis to Jefferson City several times a week was impractical, the UMSL student lobbyist arranged her/his class schedule to be able to stay in Jefferson City during the week.

As the session went on, more student lobbyists also came to the Capitol on Wednesday, the day Senate Education Committee hearings were held. Two student lobbyists reported coming to the Capitol more than the required 2 days when they were seeking bill sponsors; they shared in a weekly report that they felt they had to work steadily on their issue so as to not lose ground. Other student lobbyists reported being at the Capitol nearly every day of the week when the budget and appropriations processes was nearing finalization and one student lobbyist, although not required to be, was at the Capitol 2 days during the University's Spring Break.

At the start of the legislative session, seven student lobbyists were at the Capitol every Tuesday and Thursday and one was there 4 days a week. As the session progressed, a majority of the student lobbyists were at the Capitol in excess of time required. Later in the session, there were numerous times when student lobbyists returned to the Capitol late at night to watch floor debate that continued into the early morning hours. The increase in number of days and hours spent at the Capitol was a result of scheduling of higher education related hearings, how late in the day each chamber was in session, and student lobbyists' ownership and investment in their assigned legislative issues.

Attend Weekly Meetings

ASUM lobbyists were required to attend a weekly team meeting led by the LD and ALD. During the early weeks of the session, they reported primarily on initial meetings with legislators. At that time, they appeared to be highly sensitive to legislators' and legislative staff members' attitudes toward them. Legislators had more time to meet during the first few weeks of session because it was slower; committee assignments were not announced until weeks 2 and 3 and many committees did not meet for the first time until the 4th week. During the first weeks of session, student lobbyists were researching and becoming more knowledgeable on their legislative issues and were feeling out where legislators stood on ASUM's legislative priorities.

As the session progressed, the nature of weekly meetings changed. Student lobbyists began to update the team on their issue(s), share which legislators supported or opposed ASUM issues, use meetings to develop strategy, ask fellow team members for suggestions and ideas, and solicit suggestions for sponsors and co-sponsors on priority issues. During the third week of session, the LD assigned each student lobbyist to track five bills not directly related to higher education. At each weekly meeting thereafter they reported on the bills. Student lobbyists also used weekly meetings for short-term planning. For example, student lobbyists made sure that pending testimony to legislative committees was ready or that the press conference being sponsored by ASUM was organized. In sum, while weekly meetings held early in the session were focused on updates, later ones were often used as team-focused strategy development meetings. Issue team experts engaged the lobbying team in developing strategy to move their issue forward in the legislative process.

Submit Weekly Reports

In addition to the weekly meeting, ASUM student lobbyists were required to submit a report of their week's activities each Friday. Reports included an update about assigned legislative issue(s), bills being tracked, and committee meetings attended. Reports grew in length and detail as the session passed. Often, weekly reports provided additional detail about events that had been mentioned during student lobbyists' informal conversations. They also used weekly reports to update lobbying team members on progress that occurred on their issues since the weekly meeting. Weekly reports were distributed to the ASUM LD, ALD, Graduate Research Assistant, and Board of Directors as well as to student lobbyists' faculty advisors, the UM System Assistant Vice President for Academic and Student Affairs, and to me.

Work Closely With the LD, ALD, and Other Student Lobbyists

The LD and ALD mentored ASUM student lobbyists on a daily basis. The student lobbying team used the legislative library on the third floor of the Capitol as its base of operation. Student lobbyists met the LD in the library each morning and then went from and came back to the library where the LD and/or ALD were available throughout the day. Early in the session, student lobbyists frequently came back and reported to lobbying teammates how meetings with legislators went. They recorded notes about the meeting and any follow-up needed. They frequently asked the LD for advice, especially during the early weeks of session.

Issue teams worked with the LD and/or ALD to create fact sheets, identify possible bill sponsors and co-sponsors, and develop strategy. This work was initiated by both student lobbyists' issue teams and the LD. The LD asked issue teams where they

were on their issue(s) and would then tell student lobbyists which legislators to schedule a meeting with and what to do next. In some cases, the LD accompanied student lobbyists to meetings with key legislators and leaders.

Student lobbyists worked closely with and relied upon one another. A different combination of student lobbyists was generally in the legislative library. While some were at committee hearings, others were at meetings with legislators, and yet others were gathered in the legislative library. While in the library, they reviewed and provided feedback about each others' fact sheets, discussed strategy with one another, paired into issue teams to work on their assigned issues, asked issue team members how best to respond to legislators' questions about or oppositions to ASUM legislative priorities, and used the computers to conduct research.

Build Relationships With Legislators

ASUM student lobbyists were instructed to develop and maintain a relationship with the legislators assigned to them. The LD and ALD directed them to amass enough information to be able to share with the lobbying team about where assigned legislators stood on ASUM legislative issues, which fellow legislators they were close with and could potentially influence, and whether they were likely to sponsor or co-sponsor legislation on which ASUM was working.

Work on Legislative Issues

At the first training day in November 2008, two student lobbyists were assigned to each ASUM legislative issue. The LD and ALD shared that when making issue assignments they considered student lobbyists' priority ranking of issues on which they wished to work and also strived to make teams as diverse as possible. Thus, three of the

four teams were comprised of one male and one female and, to the degree possible, teams included students from different home campuses.

The two student lobbyists assigned to each issue were referred to as an *issue team*. The issue team was responsible for all activities related to its legislative issue: researching, preparing and sharing talking points with the lobbying team, preparing fact sheets, testifying in legislative committee hearings, talking with students and student groups on campus, writing letters to the editor or op-ed pieces, working collaboratively with the UM System lobbyists, and accompanying other student lobbyists to meetings with legislators who wanted more information. In sum, student lobbyists assigned to an issue became the lobbying team's experts and took the lead on all activity related to that issue.

Attend Committee Meetings

To meet the requirement of attending two committee meetings each week, on most weeks the entire ASUM lobbying team attended the House Higher Education Committee meeting because it was held on Tuesday when they were all at the Capitol and because the committee dealt with many of the association's legislative priorities. Besides the House Higher Education Committee, student lobbyists generally attended committee meetings most aligned with their assigned issue(s). For example, the issue team working on the UM budget attended House Education Appropriations Committee meetings. When there were not committee meetings directly related to student lobbyists' issue(s), they attended other committee meetings of interest.

As the session progressed, student lobbyists purposefully targeted committee attendance. For example, they attended committee meetings at which legislators with

whom they were attempting to meet were present and tried to catch legislators going to or

leaving meetings. When I was shadowing Student Lobbyist F, s/he slipped into a

committee meeting, talked quickly to key legislative staff members who were sitting in

the audience, and reported to me after we left the meeting that s/he learned needed

information.

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Track Bills

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The five bills each ASUM student lobbyist was assigned to track throughout the

session were generally not related to assigned legislative issue(s) and often not directly

related to higher education. Student lobbyists chose from among a list of possible bills to

track and were assigned others by the LD. Bill tracking, as depicted by the LD at student

lobbyists' training, was designed to help student lobbyists gain familiarity with a broad

range of legislative issues. Student lobbyists tracked bills on which ASUM would not

likely take a stand but wanted to monitor and other bills of personal interest. They were

told to watch for opportunities to attach amendments related to the ASUM legislative

platform to bills being tracked.

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Work Closely With Campus Student Government and ASUM Chapters

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ASUM student lobbyists were told to build a relationship and remain in close

communication with home campus student government leaders and ASUM chapter

members. The LD and ALD emphasized that their role was to share the student voice

with government as well as to share government with students. They were encouraged to

attend their student government and ASUM chapter meetings to provide a legislative

update. It was also emphasized that ASUM chapter members were available to work

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collaboratively with student lobbyists, serve as a conduit to the student body, and assist with letter-writing or phone-calling campaigns.

ASUM's 2009 Initial and Final Legislative Platform

Student lobbyists represented and lobbied for the legislative platform established by the ASUM Executive Board. UM students' input on legislative priorities was communicated through ASUM board members on the four UM campuses. In October 2008, the Board Chair spoke at student lobbyists' training and shared legislative priorities being considered. Since the board was meeting the following week to finalize the platform, the chair asked them for suggestions on additional issues for the platform. Student Lobbyist H suggested legislation to require landlords to provide utility bill information to potential renters.

The ASUM Board established and student lobbyists were tasked to lobby on these priorities during the 2009 legislative session: (a) budget and financial aid, (b) student curator vote, (c) landlord-tenant relations, and (d) election reform (*2009 ASUM Prospectus*). The ASUM Board of Directors adopted these specific stances:

- "ASUM supports a 4.4% core funding increase for the UM System in FY09 to return funding to 2001 levels.

- ASUM supports appropriations of $7.2 million in FY09 for a ranked faculty compensation plan matched by the UM System.

- ASUM support $3.9 million in recurring appropriations benefiting all Missouri public institutions with health related education, in order to meet the needs of Missouri's students and aging population.

- ASUM supports the reorganization of the Access Missouri grant program [a state need-based student financial assistance award program] to benefit public institutions of higher education and the neediest of Missouri's students.

- ASUM supports having a voting student curator [on the UM Board of Curators].

- ASUM supports legislation that requires the number of deposits collected by a landlord and the number of units rented to be the same.

- ASUM supports legislation that requires landlords owning more than five rental units to place all security deposits in a trust fund.

- ASUM supports the designation of interest collected on such deposits placed in trust to either be returned to the tenant, or be designated to the office enforcing these regulations.

- ASUM supports legislation requiring the open records of energy consumption (i.e., prior utility bills) for a rental unit upon signing of the lease.

- ASUM supports measures to ensure the fair and legitimate practices of democratic elections.

- ASUM supports measures to protect the sanctity of elections and their related processes" (*2009 ASUM Prospectus*, p. 5).

However, occurrences early in the legislative session precipitated a change of priorities. These occurrences included: (a) budget issues, (b) the partisan nature of some legislative issues, and (c) unanticipated developments surrounding the Access Missouri award.

Budget Issues

Despite the predicted budget shortfall at the time of training, ASUM lobbyists and UM System lobbyists were planning to lobby for a 4.4% budget increase. Their goal was to restore operating budget funding to the level achieved in 2001 before the recession and subsequent years of annual appropriations reductions. When the legislative session began on January 7, 2009, student lobbyists, particularly the two assigned to budget, lobbied for this platform.

However, the budget scenario changed on January 21, 2009, when the governor pledged not to cut higher education funding if public institutions would agree to not raise tuition the following academic year. This announcement changed the legislative platform for the UM System and for ASUM. Student lobbyists' discontinued lobbying for a 4.4% increase or for restoring funding levels to those appropriated in fiscal year 2001. In late February the budget process was again affected. State executives and legislators learned that Missouri would receive approximately $900 million in federal dollars, some for stimulus related projects and some for sustainability of currently funded programs (March 26, 2009, House of Representatives Session).

The Partisan Nature of Some Legislative Issues

ASUM student lobbyists began the session lobbying for the ability for citizens to vote prior to *Election Day*, the day designated by federal, state, or county governments as the date on which to vote. They promoted legislation designed to make it easier for students, many of whom registered to vote in their home counties rather than the county in which the university is located. ASUM contended that it was difficult for students to miss class and travel home to vote on the one designated day. An issue team was

assigned to work on early voting. However, they learned that Republicans were generally

not supportive of early voting. Because Republicans were the majority and early voting

was a partisan issue, ASUM stopped lobbying to create a process different than the

existing absentee ballot process. This action was consistent with a statement made by the

LD during student lobbyists' training that ASUM does not take a stance on partisan

issues.

Unanticipated Developments Surrounding the Access Missouri Award

During November training, UM System Lobbyist C talked with ASUM student

lobbyists about the possibility of attempts during the 2009 legislative session to equalize

the amount of the grant paid through the Access Missouri financial award program. The

amount of the need-based scholarship was based on whether the student attended a

Missouri public or a private higher education institution. Those attending a private

college or university received a greater amount of money.

While the student lobbyists' issue team assigned to budget and financial aid issues

was monitoring movement on Access Missouri, two unanticipated developments

occurred. First, it was questionable whether any legislator would sponsor a bill to

equalize the scholarship award. Because of deals made when the program was

established, it was a highly controversial issue. The legislator who ended up sponsoring

the bill in the House to equalize the amount of the Access Missouri grant had initially

said that s/he would not. Second, because of the organization, intensity, visibility, and

early timing of lobbying activity by the private higher education sector that did not want

the award amount to be modified, ASUM was forced into defensive lobbying. ASUM

and all public 4-year institutions had to bolster their lobbying in direct opposition to the lobbying activities of private institutions.

As a result of the changing budget scenario, the partisan nature of a legislative platform issue, and the unanticipated developments surrounding the Access Missouri award, ASUM modified its legislative platform by the second week of session. Some issues the student lobbyists talked to legislators about during the first week of session were discarded in the second and third weeks and other issues taken up. After the second week of session, student lobbyists were lobbying specifically for: (a) no cuts in funding or level appropriations, (b) new funding for the Caring for Missourians initiative, (c) equalization of the Access Missouri grant program, (d) legislation to require landlords to set aside and not spend security deposits, (e) legislation to require landlords to provide information to potential renters on monthly utilities bills, and (f) legislation to establish a voting student curator on the UM Board of Curators.

Level Funding Appropriations

Once a deal was struck between the governor and public colleges and universities that public higher education institutions would not experience operating budget cuts if they agreed not to raise tuition costs for the 2010 year, ASUM lobbyists focused their energy on lobbying for a level budget, one funded at the same level as funded for fiscal year 2009. It looked at one time as if higher education, as well as other state programs and funding responsibilities, could receive as high as a 25% cut in operating costs.

Funding of the Caring for Missourians Initiative

The Caring for Missourians initiative was a proposed new program of statewide magnitude. ASUM student lobbyists pushed for $39 million in new and recurring funding

for the program designed to train additional health care workers in the state by appropriating new funding to 2- and 4-year public colleges and universities to train nurses, physicians, dentists, pharmacists, and other medical professionals for areas in which the state suffered a critical shortage. The initiative was designed to produce a 20% increase in the number of healthcare workers trained or 900 additional healthcare workers over 5 years (*UM System 2009 Legislative Priorities*; *ASUM Caring for Missourians Fact Sheet*, 2009).

Equalization of the Access Missouri Grant Program

The state's higher education scholarships and grants programs had been reconfigured during the 2007 Missouri Legislative Session. The Missouri College Guarantee and Charles Gallagher Student Financial Assistance programs, both need-based, were discontinued and combined into one new needs-based grant called Access Missouri Financial Assistance Program, commonly known as Access Missouri. The new program was the result of a State Aid Task Force "formed by the Coordinating Board of Higher Education to review all of the state's financial aid programs and come up with suggestions for improvement" (March 31, 2009, memo distributed to members of the House Higher Education Committee, p. 4). Under the new Access Missouri program, on the basis of family income and unmet financial need, students attending in-state private colleges and universities were eligible for a maximum of $4,600 per year while students attending public institutions were eligible for $2,150 a year. Public institutions lobbied for the amount to be equalized whereby all students would receive the same maximum award of $2,850.

Security Deposits Legislation

Having heard numerous and recurring stories of college students who rented apartments and were given various reasons for their security deposit not being returned upon check out, ASUM decided to lobby for legislation that would prohibit landlords from spending security deposits. This provision would assure that adequate cash was on hand to refund security deposits, making it less convenient for a landlord to create a reason not to return the security deposit.

Utilities Bills Legislation

Again, because of hearing numerous student concerns about landlord-tenant relations, ASUM lobbied for legislation that would require landlords to furnish average monthly utility bills to prospective tenants. ASUM was told by students that utility costs were often misrepresented and that potential tenants had not received accurate or truthful information about projected expenses of renting an apartment.

Voting Student Curator Legislation

In 1984, ASUM successfully lobbied to place a student on the UM Board of Curators. In 1999 they saw legislation passed to allow the student curator to attend closed board meetings. Since 1999, ASUM has lobbied for legislation to provide the student curator with voting rights. During the 2008 Missouri Legislative Session, ASUM was influential in getting legislation passed through the House and Senate to provide a vote to the student curator; however, the governor vetoed the bill. ASUM lobbied again during the 2009 session to attain a voting privilege for the student curator.

The 2009 session was unlike previous ones in that Missouri was expected to lose a congressional district as a result of the 2010 census. The UM Board of Curators had

nine voting members, one from each congressional district. The loss of a district would impact the board's make-up. Because of this, legislation was proposed to create a curator-at-large should a district be lost. If passed, each of the eight congressional districts would have one representative on the board. The ninth member would be a curator-at-large from any of the eight districts. This resulted in two vastly different bills, each proposing a change in membership of the board.

<p style="text-align:center">ASUM Student Lobbyists' Lobbying Behaviors</p>

This section presents findings about behaviors used by ASUM student lobbyists during the 2009 Missouri Legislative Session. These findings answer research question one: What lobbying behaviors did the ASUM student lobbyists use to attempt to influence higher education legislation during the 2009 Missouri Legislative Session?

Findings showed that student lobbyists most frequently used a handful of lobbying techniques and strategies to attempt to influence higher education legislation. They most often: (a) met with legislators; (b) provided information to legislators; (c) built relationships with legislators, legislative staff members, legislative student interns, and UM System lobbyists; (d) worked collaboratively with students; and (e) used media and social networking. In addition to these readily describable lobbying behaviors, nearly all legislators and legislative staff members participants talked about lobbying behavior in terms of what student lobbyists were and were not, thus the need for (f) personal characteristics and attributes.

Findings demonstrated that student lobbyists used many of these techniques simultaneously; seldom was any one behavior used in isolation. Further, employing one

technique or strategy was often prerequisite to being able to use another. For that reason, many findings converge across and are addressed in multiple sections.

Met With Legislators

Of the lobbying behaviors used by ASUM student lobbyists, findings showed that meeting with legislators was the technique most frequently utilized. However, findings revealed that the nature, location, and purpose of meetings with legislators fluctuated according to what was happening in the legislative session. Therefore, a short overview of the changing nature and location of meetings is first described. Then, detail is provided about the purposes for which student lobbyists met with legislators.

Nature and Location of Meetings

A strategy shared during ASUM student lobbyists' training was to meet with every legislator. Meeting with legislators was emphasized repeatedly during training sessions. Each student lobbyist was assigned approximately 25 legislators and told by the LD and ALD to meet and establish relationships with that core group. Among those assigned were students' home district legislators and the legislators for the district in which their home university was situated.

It was of note that most student lobbyists conducted their meetings with legislators as an issue team. When observing, I noticed that three of the four issue teams went to initial meetings with legislators together while two student lobbyists went individually. Interestingly, both legislator and legislative staff participants noted the tendency to be in pairs when they met with legislators. About this, Legislative Staff Member D remarked that student lobbyists were "unique in that they come in teams versus just regular lobbyists." Legislative Staff Member D expounded that their coming

as a team made them consistent and said that while the two would sometimes bring

another student lobbyist with them, every visit to that legislative office was made by the

same two students. Similarly, Legislator B commented that s/he only met with two of the

student lobbyists this year because they were the two who always visited her/his office.

And, Legislator H said, "They always travel in twos and threes."

Findings revealed that the direct meeting in legislators' offices was the most

frequent format. In the early weeks of the session student lobbyists reported being able to

frequently stop at legislators' offices and meet with them without an appointment. And in

one case, a legislator helped a student lobbyist meet other legislators. Student Lobbyist D

reported that her/his home district legislator took her/him into other legislator's offices.

Student Lobbyist D reported that s/he was given immediate access to legislators as a

result of being introduced by another legislator. As the session went on, legislators were

busier as committee meetings became more regular and floor calendars lengthier. It

became more common for student lobbyists to work with legislative staff members to

schedule meetings with legislators for a later date.

Findings showed that during initial meetings with legislators, student lobbyists

were professional, formal, and direct. While shadowing them during the 6th and 7th weeks

of session, I observed this formality as they covered information printed in the *ASUM*

Prospectus and outlined the ASUM legislative platform. In a meeting with a legislator, I

observed a student lobbyist miss an opportunity for follow-up and fail to respond to a

question. It appeared as if the student was following a script and wanting to do everything

just right. In informal conversations with one another and in weekly reports, they self-

reported that their initial meetings were formal. For example, Student Lobbyist G shared

with other students that her/his initial meetings with legislators had been overly formal and now s/he was going to try to be less formal.

As the legislative session went on, meetings with legislators became more informal and occurred in a variety of locations. Legislator participants shared about meeting with student lobbyists in the Capitol hallways, when pulled off the House or Senate floor, on the side galleries of both chambers, before and after committee meetings, in a "walk and talk" (Legislator B) in the hallway, and in elevators. For example, on a day I observed, Student Lobbyist D noticed that one of her/his assigned legislators came into the legislative library. S/he approached the legislator and the two of them walked side by side out of the library, talking about the ASUM legislative platform. Student Lobbyist D came back to the library and reported that s/he seized the opportunity to walk and talk.

Similar to meeting in a variety of locations, student lobbyists met with legislators for a variety of reasons. Those reasons fluctuated throughout session and were influenced by higher education becoming a priority early in the session. The focus on higher education necessitated that student lobbyists concentrate on moving their issue(s) through the legislative process. Specifically, they met with legislators to: (a) explain ASUM's stance on issues, (b) provide information, (c) build relationships, (c) learn about progress on issues, (d) seek bill sponsors and co-sponsors, (e) develop strategy, (f) canvass for votes, and (h) draft legislation.

Explain ASUM's Stance on Issues

As evidenced in weekly reports and at weekly meetings, during initial meetings

with legislators, student lobbyists focused their information sharing on ASUM's legislative priorities and stances. On many occasions, I observed student lobbyists come to the legislative library and invite their issue team expert(s) to accompany them to a follow-up meeting to answer specific questions. By doing this, legislators met with and heard the issues explained by several different student lobbyists.

In weekly reports and in the focus group interview, student lobbyists talked in depth about explaining ASUM's issues stances to legislators. Student Lobbyist F said that a role of the student lobbyists was to "meet with elected officials to educate them on ASUM legislative issues." For example, when I was observing in the legislative library, Student Lobbyists A and D were explaining to the LD that a legislator did not understand that the Caring for Missourians initiative was part of the higher education budget. The legislator thought it would be financed using federal stimulus money that had been allocated to the state of Missouri. The LD said, "It is your job to educate her/him" and told the students to go back and meet with the legislator. Student Lobbyist G understood that this was her/his job. In her/his next weekly report, G shared, "This week I am going to make it a point to see several senators and explain our case [on Caring for Missourians]."

Legislators and legislative staff members also talked about student lobbyists providing information on ASUM's legislative priorities. Most legislator participants described their initial meeting with the student lobbyists included a briefing on the ASUM legislative priorities and where the association stood on each. As Legislator H recounted it, student lobbyists met with her/him directly to say, "Here's what we are trying to do, this is what we would like to see happen, and do you have any questions?"

Legislator K reported their meeting with her/him to "provide information about their goals, mission, legislative priorities, and an analysis of the issues." Legislative Staff Members B and E affirmed that student lobbyists met directly with legislators to provide information about their position on issues while Legislative Staff Member E added that student lobbyists not only stated their stances but explained why they supported or opposed an issue.

Provide Information

All legislator, legislative staff member, and UM System lobbyist participants commented on ASUM student lobbyists providing information to legislators. Besides sharing information on ASUM legislative issues and stances, student lobbyists spent time on most days researching information to share with legislators. In meetings with legislators, they were asked questions about specific issues. When this happened, they researched the answers and returned to share the findings with legislators.

Perhaps the strongest example of this was the security deposit issue team. When Student Lobbyists C and H were meeting with potential sponsors for their legislation, a legislator asked them to find similar legislation from other states. Student Lobbyists C and H located similar statutes in Illinois, New York, and New Jersey and took the example language to potential sponsors. They also compiled a list of states that had already enacted similar legislation. On another day, these same students located a book titled *National Survey of State Laws* in the legislative library, read the section on landlord-tenant legislation, and showed the book to other student lobbyists. To gather additional information, they worked with two professional energy lobbyists to arrange a meeting with members of the Columbia Landlord Association, met with the UMC legal

counsel for students, and met with a lawyer who specialized in landlord-tenant litigation. They then shared their findings with the potential sponsor.

As another example, a legislator asked for information related to an ASUM legislative issue when I was shadowing Student Lobbyist G. When we left the meeting, Student Lobbyist G returned to the legislative library, looked up information on the computer, and called a UM campus to obtain more specific information. That afternoon, I passed Student Lobbyist G as s/he was going back to share the information with the legislator.

Student lobbyists also met with legislators to provide information about where other legislators stood on issues as well as arguments for their positions. As Legislative Staff Member B communicated, her/his legislator liked to know where both sides stood on issues before taking a stand. S/he elaborated that "When you ask them [ASUM student lobbyists] who is opposed to this [a piece of legislation] and where do they stand, they know the answer and they know where the opposition stands on the issue."

Build Relationships

At the beginning of session, ASUM student lobbyists focused on completing initial visits with their assigned legislators. On January 14, 2009, for instance, a student lobbyist reported completing 11 initial meetings with legislators that day. They put their energy into finding connections to legislators, practicing what they were going to say, meeting as many legislators each day as possible, and coming back to the legislative library afterwards to write up notes about meetings.

In approximately week four of the session, the nature of meetings with legislators changed. For example, by January 26, 2009, some student lobbyists completed their

initial meetings and were making return visits. On January 27, the LD advised student lobbyists to strike a balance between seeing new legislators and going back to see legislators a second or third time to build relationships.

At about mid-point of session and thereafter, I observed student lobbyists meeting with legislators who were critical to specific legislative issues and their relationship building efforts becoming more focused. On many occasions, the LD and/or ALD told student lobbyists to visit with all members of the House Higher Education or the Senate Education Committee because issues were scheduled to be heard or decided in those committees. They were also instructed to touch base repeatedly with sponsors of legislation related to ASUM legislative priorities. Clearly, as the session progressed and issues were moving through the House and the Senate, meeting for the purpose of relationship building was targeted to those legislators who could assist on a particular issue at a given point in time.

Learn About Progress on Issues

ASUM student lobbyists met with legislators to learn about legislation in which they were interested. On most days I observed at the Capitol and in most student lobbyists' weekly meetings, the LD instructed them to meet with legislators to find out where a piece of legislation was as well as where it was going. Specifically, students were instructed to meet with legislators with whom they had a good relationship, committee members, and bill sponsors to learn about progress on issues.

During the second weekly team meeting the ALD told student lobbyists to "make friends with a legislator who can teach you." On several occasions the LD or ALD emphasized that they should ask legislators with whom they had a relationship what was

happening with legislation. Student lobbyists' weekly reports, weekly meetings, informal conversations in the legislative library, and focus group interview responses suggested that they heeded this advice. They developed and met with a cohort of go-to legislators frequently to find out how an issue was progressing.

Committee members, in particular the chair, had information about when bills would likely be filed, referred to committee, heard in committee, voted on in committee, and heard on a chamber floor. Committee members were also often privy to the potential of substitutes being offered to bills heard in committee and when that might occur.

Bill sponsors were also good sources of information about how issues were progressing. I observed that when issues teams were being mentored by the LD or ALD, they were told to meet with the sponsor to see what was going on with the bill. On weekly reports, student lobbyists shared about meetings with bill sponsors for the purpose of learning about a particular piece of legislation. In the focus group interview, they talked about meeting with legislators to learn about movement on bills. One particular legislator was both a committee chair and sponsor of a piece of legislation that ASUM supported. Student lobbyists held many meetings with this particular legislator so they could learn about the status of the proposed legislation.

Seek Bill Sponsors and Co-Sponsors

From the outset of the legislative session, ASUM student lobbyists strategized about which legislators might sponsor their issues, with the exception of budget related issues. Budget issues did not require bill sponsors. Student lobbyists focused on finding sponsors for the voting student curator, security deposit, and utility bill issues. Caring for Missourians and UM operating budget appropriations did not require a sponsor because

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they were budget related. All budget bills were moved through the Budget Committee, sponsored by the Budget Committee Chair, and assigned the same bill number each year (for example, HB 3 was always the higher education and HB 2 the elementary and secondary education budget bill). Student lobbyists used initial meetings with legislators to learn legislators' stance on issues and identify potential sponsors. It was necessary to identify sponsors early in the session because each chamber had a deadline for bill filing, March 1 in the Senate and April 1 in the House.

Student lobbyists were also instrumental in obtaining signatures of bill co-sponsors and met with legislators to do so. Legislators and UM System lobbyists asked them to get co-sponsor signatures and they volunteered to do so. For example, on February 10, 2009, Student Lobbyists E and F spent most of the day meeting with legislators to get co-sponsor signatures. They obtained 18 co-sponsor signatures that day and two more the following day.

The following week, I observed a UM System lobbyist come into the legislative library and tell students that a sponsor could use their help getting co-sponsors. Because the bill was related to an ASUM issue, Student Lobbyist B met with the legislator and offered to take the *blue back*, or original copy of the bill to be filed, and get co-sponsor signatures. I was shadowing Student Lobbyist B when s/he joined up with her/his issue team partner, Student Lobbyist G, to work on lining up co-sponsors. When they went back to the legislative library, the LD warned them about the importance of having a party balance among co-sponsors. On another day, Student Lobbyists C and H were securing co-sponsor signatures on an original bill.

Develop Strategy

As described by participants, many of the lobbing techniques and strategies used by ASUM student lobbyists fell into the overarching theme of developing strategy. During training, the LD and ALD encouraged students to build a solid relationship with a few legislators with whom they could meet and develop strategy together. I observed this lobbying behavior when shadowing Student Lobbyist F. S/he met with a legislator and asked her/his opinion on various strategies, including asking if the legislator would stand up on the floor in support of a particular piece of legislation.

I heard all eight student lobbyists strategizing in the legislative library at some time. They usually decided to meet with specific legislators to seek their opinions on possible strategies and the strength of each. Student Lobbyists C and H reported spending numerous strategy meetings with legislators. They were considering whether to offer security deposit and utility legislation as two separate bills, as amendments to other bills, or as part of an omnibus bill. In another case, Legislative Staff Member F shared that her/his legislator requested that Student Lobbyists E and F attend a meeting to discuss a potential amendment and the strategy by which to propose it. As the session proceeded, decisions about strategy on issues ebbed and flowed based on other developments in the legislative session.

Canvass for Votes

Student lobbyists met with legislators to canvass for votes. When bills of interest to ASUM were about to reach a vote in a legislative committee or on a chamber floor, they worked as a team to canvass or lock in votes. They learned which legislators would be voting for and which would be opposing an issue.

On several occasions when a bill was coming up in one chamber or the other, the entire lobbying team was marshaled to canvass votes. Student lobbyists ceased work on assigned issue(s) and worked as a unit to canvass for votes within a short time frame. On other occasions, legislators asked student lobbyists to canvass for votes. For example, a legislator asked Student Lobbyists E and F to canvass votes related to an amendment s/he would be offering on the chamber floor. On another occasion, another legislator asked Student Lobbyists E and F to learn why legislators voted against an amendment. The legislator wanted to better understand the oppositions' concerns.

At weekly meetings, issue teams often asked student lobbyists where her/his assigned legislators stood on specific issues. Mid-way through the session, Student Lobbyist F created an online table on which each student could indicate where her/his assigned legislators stood on ASUM issues. The LD periodically reminded student lobbyists to fill out and keep current legislators' positions on issues.

Draft Legislation

While only legislators can file bills, ASUM student lobbyist issue teams working on voting student curator, security deposits, and utility issues were able to help draft legislation. Student Lobbyists C and H worked on draft language for two different proposed bills, one to require that landlords not spend security deposits and one to require landlords to make utility bills available to potential renters. They were able to look at various drafts of legislation, share drafts with legislators, and make suggestions for revisions. Student Lobbyist H reported showing draft utility bill language to a legislator's Chief of Staff. The Chief of Staff encouraged Student Lobbyist H to take the draft language to a few other specified legislators and record their reaction.

Student Lobbyists E and F also worked on draft legislation. A legislator asked her/his legislative staff member to invite them to a meeting to provide feedback on an amendment s/he wanted to offer. As Legislative Staff Member F recounted it, they came to the meeting with their own draft of amendment language in hand. Student Lobbyists E and F also helped on language on a similar amendment being offered in the other chamber.

Provided Information to Legislators

Providing information was a primary activity of ASUM student lobbyists. They most frequently provided information by: (a) meeting with legislators and legislative staff members, (b) testifying at legislative committee hearings, (c) disseminating fact sheets, and (d) researching answers to questions raised by legislators. Participants cited providing information as a valuable technique, remarked on relevancy of different types of information, and said information influenced higher education legislation.

Meeting with Legislators and Legislative Staff Members

Findings showed that meeting with legislators was a stand-alone lobbying behavior as examined in greater detail earlier in the findings; however, it was also a component of the overarching technique of providing information to legislators. The primary means of providing information to legislators was meeting with them or their legislative staff members. ASUM student lobbyists used meetings to share their and the opposition's viewpoint and rationale, present information, and entertain questions or requests for information.

Student lobbyists relied on their most knowledgeable teammates to maximize the quality of information shared. I observed this while shadowing Student Lobbyist G

during the sixth week of the session. S/he was intercepted in the hallway by Student Lobbyist F and asked to go along to a meeting with a legislator to explain Access Missouri. While at the Capitol, student lobbyists text messaged one another, arranged a location and time to meet, and then went to see specific legislators with issue team expert(s) in tow.

Testifying at Legislative Committee Hearings

While Legislators L and K both talked about student lobbyists providing testimony at committee hearings as a separate and distinct lobbying behavior, most participants embedded testifying into the technique of providing information to legislators. During the session, six of the eight ASUM lobbyists and the LD provided a total of 12 testimonies, seven to House and five to Senate committees. They testified in these committees: House Higher Education, House Standing Special Committee on Infrastructure and Transportation Funding, and Senate Education. Nine testimonies were offered in favor of and three in opposition to proposed legislation. Of the seven student lobbyists who testified, two did so with their campus chancellor and one at a hearing where the UM System President also testified. A UM System lobbyist testified on the opposite side of the issue at 4 of the 12 student lobbyists' testimonies.

While most testimony was presented by a solitary student lobbyist, the hearings before the House Higher Education and Senate Education Committees about Access Missouri were unique. Each of the four UM campus chancellors testified alongside a student from his respective campus. Student Lobbyist D provided testimony with her/his Chancellor. The LD also testified with her/his chancellor when a student was unable to attend. Student Lobbyists B and J also testified as a team at both of these hearings.

Legislators said student lobbyists' testimony to committees was valuable. For example, Student Lobbyist B shared that a committee member stopped her/him after a hearing and praised her/him for her/his testimony because it raised numbers and statistics absent from all other testimony. The legislator presiding in the chair's absence asked Student Lobbyist B to provide a copy of her/his testimony to the committee because the information was very informative and helpful.

After each testimony in a committee hearing, legislators questioned witnesses. This provided an additional opportunity for student lobbyists to share more information as well as clarify testimony. About this, Legislator J remarked that student lobbyists' testimony was especially helpful because "the questions that get asked [by legislators] are not ones I would have thought of." Legislator K shared about a time when s/he asked a question for the purpose of illustrating a point to other committee members: "The student actually understood the issue better than the members of the committee so I thought it [the question] was really particularly poignant." This also occurred when a legislator asked student lobbyists who testified how Access Missouri impacted families with multiple children in college. Student Lobbyists B and J called Student Lobbyist F to come forward and share how her/his family would be impacted when her/his sister entered college the following year.

Disseminating Written Information

ASUM student lobbyists produced and disseminated written information. The *ASUM 2009 Prospectus,* UM System produced materials, and fact sheets produced by student lobbyists were those most often used. In initial meetings with assigned legislators, student lobbyists gave each an *ASUM Prospectus*, a tri-folded, professional document

printed front and back. ASUM's purpose, a description of the student lobbyist program, student profiles, 2009 legislative priorities, and past legislative successes were printed in the *Prospectus*. It was a tangible document for student lobbyists to cover at initial meetings and something to leave for legislators. About the *Prospectus*, two student lobbyists reported legislators either throwing it away or sharing the intention to do so while in their presence. Conversely, when shadowing Student Lobbyist J, I observed a legislator review the *Prospectus* as the two were talking. The legislator then asked questions about the student's bio. Legislator L viewed students' pictures as helpful; s/he kept the *Prospectus* in her/his committee notebook so s/he could recognize the students at committee meetings.

Great emphasis was placed on preparing fact sheets, also called talking points. Tips for preparing fact sheets were presented during training and samples included in the *2008-09 ASUM Legislative Intern Manual*. Once at the Capitol, they spent a lot of time creating fact sheets. Generally, the LD gave student lobbyists a deadline by which to submit a draft fact sheet. Students provided feedback to one another regarding word use, page format, and order of facts and major points and made sure words did not unintentionally support the opposition. For example, Student Lobbyist D cautioned Student Lobbyist A to "put things in plain English; don't use a lot of words because legislators don't have a lot of time to view it." The LD and ALD also reviewed fact sheets before they were printed. While reviewing a fact sheet, the LD advised students to make their statistics quick, convincing, and straightforward.

Intended as a quick and factual resource, fact sheets incorporated graphs, tables, statistics, and numbers (Appendixes F-I). Messages were calculated; some designed to

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urge voting for while others urged voting against a particular piece of legislation. Fact sheets were created for dissemination to all legislative members and also produced for members of specific committees. Distribution was calculated; fact sheets were distributed just before a bill was to be heard in committee or on the floor. The Access Missouri fact sheet (Appendix F) was included in the media packet distributed at the March 10, 2009, ASUM-sponsored press conference.

Student lobbyists also used informational resources prepared by UM System lobbyists and administrators. For example, UM System generated handouts about the budget were shared at training and used throughout the session. Student lobbyists also accessed information from the UM System Web site, particularly its Government Relations page. *UM District Impact Sheets* prepared by UM System lobbyists were heavily utilized by student lobbyists. Impact sheet detailed UM's economic impact on each district. These sheets enabled student lobbyists to talk specifically about the district and make information shared more meaningful to the legislator. As Legislator A said, "If they can make the information meaningful to the district, it means more. A good lobbyist takes time to research and understand the legislator's district and the people in it."

Researching Answers to Questions Raised by Legislators

ASUM student lobbyists spent a great deal of time researching answers to questions posed or information requested by legislators. During informal conversations in the legislative library, most shared that they were asked for information not readily at their fingertips. They also shared on weekly reports that they were researching information to take back to a legislator.

Legislators asked student lobbyists questions about specific legislative platform issues and about a range of issues related and unrelated to higher education. When questions or requests related directly to ASUM legislative issues, student lobbyists relied on the LD, ALD, or fellow student lobbyists for information. They utilized the expertise of teammates assigned to specific issues; they asked questions of and shared with each other so they could provide pertinent and timely information.

Student lobbyists were also asked questions outside their legislative issues. For example, when I was shadowing Student Lobbyist G, a legislator asked her/him the cost of one credit hour at UMC, the cap or maximum amount awarded on various federal loans, and how financial aid works for independent students. The legislator wanted to know how a student who has declared her/himself independent is affected by the fact that a lot of financial aid is calculated using parents' income. Specifically, the legislator wanted to learn what financial aid resources were available to independent students.

When asked for information unrelated to ASUM issues, student lobbyists' utilized a range of resources. They obtained information from the legislative library, UM System lobbyists, and the Internet. They also contacted students on their campuses; called the Missouri Higher Education Loan Authority; worked with professional contract lobbyists; worked with the legislative librarian; and talked with the UMC legal counsel for students.

Information Deemed Most Relevant

Not only did participants address the format of information provided by ASUM student lobbyists, but they commented about the type of information provided. For example, legislators and legislative staff members commented on the importance and helpfulness of information about: (a) proposed legislation, (b) those favoring and

opposing legislation, (c) arguments of those favoring or opposing legislation, and (d) the potential impact of proposed legislation.

Proposed legislation. ASUM student lobbyists both talked with and explained proposed legislation to legislators. I was shadowing Student Lobbyists B and G when they handed a copy of a proposed bill to a legislator. The legislator asked the students to summarize the bill. The students did so. The legislator then said, "I am going to trust that it says what you said." The legislator did not read the bill her/himself, but relied on the explanation provided by the students.

Legislative Staff Member B shared that student lobbyists were able to explain a confusing situation to her/his legislator. Two different bills were proposed in each chamber to address the UM Board of Curators composition. One was designed to create a curator-at-large if Missouri lost a congressional district as a result of the 2010 census. This version would have filled the ninth seat, the one not designated to one of the eight congressional districts, with someone from any district. The other proposed that a voting student curator would fill the ninth seat if a congressional district was lost. The legislator had signed to co-sponsor the curator-at-large version. When student lobbyists explained the difference between the two bills, the legislator realized that s/he wanted to be signed on as a co-sponsor of the voting student curator version. Legislative Staff Member B explained that absent the students' explanation, their office would have made a mistake and not been signed onto the piece of legislation that they really wanted.

Those favoring and opposing legislation. Student lobbyists were able to let legislators know who was supporting or opposing legislation. As reported in earlier findings, in some cases legislators asked them to canvass and report the status of votes.

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They also frequently reported legislators asking them who was for, against, or co-sponsoring a bill before they would take a position or decide to co-sponsor or not. A legislator asked Student Lobbyist F if House leadership was in favor of a bill. If so, the legislator said s/he would also co-sponsor. Students told of sharing names of prominent sponsors because when legislators heard that leadership was co-sponsoring, they would often do likewise. In another case, a legislator asked students what another legislator was doing and said s/he would take her/his cues from that person and do as s/he had.

Arguments of those favoring or opposing legislation. Student lobbyists were able to share arguments espoused by both sides on an issue. This ability made them valuable to legislators and also helped move their issues forward. Student Lobbyist F shared that s/he and her/his issue team member purposefully met with legislators who opposed their issue to hear the rationale for their position. S/he said that knowing the opposition's reasoning helped craft a stronger argument in favor. Student Lobbyists C and H also listened to arguments against security deposit and utility bill legislation. With so many legislators being landlords, knowing the opposition's rationale was important. Once the team realized who the landlord legislators were and that they were so numerous, they sought them out to learn what they were up against. They shared this information with potential sponsors of security deposit and utility bill legislation and the information was used to draft language more palatable to legislators in opposition.

Potential impact of proposed legislation. ASUM student lobbyists were able to explain to legislators how students would be affected by proposed legislation. This aspect of providing information was the most frequently mentioned by both legislators and

legislative staff members. In fact, several legislator and legislative staff member participants referenced the student perspective itself as a lobbying technique or strategy.

Students reported many legislators asking their opinion on proposed legislation or asking how passage of a particular bill would affect university students in general and them individually. They were able to provide the face of students and to speak from a student perspective, something that legislators and legislative staff members cited as a primary benefit of student lobbyists being at the Capitol.

Built Relationships

Relationship building was emphasized on day one of ASUM student lobbyists' training and was repeatedly emphasized throughout the legislative session. Relationship building was not explained as exclusive to legislators. Student Lobbyist H explained the many relationships they built this way: "We [ASUM student lobbyists] have to build various levels of relationships." Findings showed that each level of relationships proved critical to student lobbyists' attempt to influence higher education legislation. In sum, although building relationships with legislators was a purposeful and frequent technique and strategy, student lobbyists built relationships with: (a) legislators, (b) legislative staff members, (c) student legislative interns, and (d) UM System lobbyists.

Legislator Relationships

ASUM student lobbyists were instructed during training to build strong relationships with legislators. They were told:

- Build relationships with legislators as a foundation,

- You want legislators to know you,

- Become friends with legislators,

- Learn as much as you can about your legislators so you can build relationships,

- Build a broad relationship with legislators, not about only one issue, and

- Go in and visit with legislators; have an open dialogue; find a connection.

In their relationship building efforts, student lobbyists found connections to legislators, focused on their approximately 25 assigned legislators, and targeted key legislators.

Student lobbyists acted on the advice to find ways to connect to legislators. They wrote down potential connections before meeting with assigned legislators and most often used these connections: home district (e.g., most participants shared that legislators spend more time meeting with a student from their home district), family or friends in common (e.g., many legislators had children attending a UM campus), alumna status (e.g., numerous legislators were UM alumna), Greek organization connections (e.g., Student Lobbyists B, C, and G all reported connections based on Greek organization membership), and academic degrees in common (e.g., the student lobbyist from MS&T was a petroleum engineering major, a point of interest for many legislators).

Two examples best illustrate the role of connections in building relationships with legislators. First, when I shadowed Student Lobbyists C and H to an initial meeting with a legislator, they talked to her/him about a bill s/he presented in a committee the day prior. The student lobbyists had researched and established a connection with the legislator by talking about the bill. The legislator appeared impressed by their knowledge and interest. The meeting then became more conversational. Second, Student Lobbyist B was invited by UM System lobbyists to go on a UM-sponsored Freshman Legislative Tour to her/his home campus. Student Lobbyist B spent a full day with a small number of legislators. A few days after the tour, I observed legislative tour attendees greet and

engage Student Lobbyist B in warm conversation in the hallway; the relationship and bond between them was apparent. Student Lobbyist B shared that going on the tour helped her/him build relationships with legislators.

By dividing up the 197 legislators, student lobbyists attempted to forge relationships with *all* legislators; however, they also purposefully targeted their relationship building, especially as the session continued. Key leadership, members of specific legislative committees, and sponsors or potential sponsors of bills of interest to ASUM were among those targeted.

Legislative leaders were important to student lobbyists. An inherent assumption of mine stated in Appendix D was affirmed by many participants: With the passage of legislative term limits in Missouri in 1992, legislative leaders came to hold more power. Because of this, student lobbyists focused attention on relationship building with key leaders. For example, they had a strong relationship with the House Speaker Pro Tem and her/his staff, one described by the ALD as developed over many years. Thus they were friendly to, took time to mentor and work with, and frequently aided them. Student lobbyists and the LD often met with the legislator or her/his staff to seek advice, monitor legislation, develop strategy, and figure out who favored and opposed legislation and next steps to take.

Other key leaders targeted for relationship building were the Chair of the House Higher Education Committee, the Chair of the House Democratic Caucus, and veteran legislators who were respected by colleagues. As an example, while observing in the legislative library I heard the LD instruct student lobbyists to go visit and build a relationship with the House minority caucus leader. The LD suggested that discussing

their priority issues with the minority leader might lead to ASUM issues being discussed in caucus meetings.

Student lobbyists also built relationships with members of higher education related committees. The two committees most germane were the House Higher Education and Senate Education Committees. Of the 2009 ASUM legislative issues priorities, voting student curator and Access Missouri bills were referred to and heard by these two committees and progress depended on their members. Conversely, these two committees heard the curator-at-large bill that ASUM opposed. Thus it was essential to build relationships with these specific legislators. Student lobbyists visited with them repeatedly to get co-sponsor signatures, find out where an issue was, develop strategy, canvass votes, draft amendments and legislation, and attempt to influence votes. Additionally, several developed a close relationship with the Chair of the House Higher Education Committee.

The various budget and appropriations committee members were integral to budget related priorities so student lobbyists built relationships with them. Many members of the House Higher Education and Senate Education Committees also served on their chamber's Education Appropriations Committee, but so did other legislators. This made it necessary for student lobbyists to build relationships with these members as well. As an example, when the budget book was released, Student Lobbyist A asked the LD about it. "Become friends with people on the Budget Committee," advised the LD, "but talk to legislators about things other than the budget right now." The issue team working on landlord and utility legislation targeted their relationship building to Utilities Committee members.

Legislative Staff Member Relationships

As gatekeepers to legislators, legislative staff members were pivotal to ASUM student lobbyists' attempts to influence higher education legislation. This was made evident during training when the LD and ALD talked about their roles and responsibilities. The LD told them to work with and build a relationship with the Chief of Staff or legislative aide in assigned legislators' offices. UM System Lobbyist C also stressed the importance of legislative staff member relationships when s/he spoke during training. Then at another training session, the ALD was more precise: "The relationship with the legislative staff member is important – almost as important as the relationship with legislators; make friends with legislative staff members." As the session progressed, student lobbyists appeared to fully comprehend the truth of this statement. They deemed relationships with legislative staff members to be critical. Because of the relationships, legislative staff members frequently became students' point of contact in legislators' offices and helped them advance ASUM legislative priorities.

When I was in Legislator A's office, Student Lobbyist F came in to meet her/him. The legislator was out but I observed a friendly conversation between three legislative staff members and the student. It was apparent that Student Lobbyist F had built a relationship with the legislative staff members. Staff members called Student Lobbyist F by name and stopped what they were doing to converse. A staff member asked Student Lobbyist F is s/he was going somewhere over Spring Break (Student Lobbyist F was at the Capitol during the University Spring Break although not required to be). S/he explained where s/he was going the following day. Then a legislative staff member got out a map and the two looked at it. The staff member talked with Student Lobbyist F for

at least 5 minutes about the trip destination. Weeks later, Student Lobbyist F indicated that s/he knew legislative staff members in all assigned legislator offices and staff members knew her/him. Student Lobbyist F drew a parallel between her/his relationships with legislative staff members and access to legislators.

Student Lobbyists E and F recounted a legislative staff member helping with their issue. They stopped at the legislator's office and explained the two bills addressing UM Board of Curators' membership, one to create a curator-at-large and the other a voting student curator. The legislator said s/he supported one version. The legislative staff member spoke up and said, "Actually, no sir, you don't" and clarified to the legislator which bill s/he was supporting. Student Lobbyists E and F attributed the legislative staff member's willingness to assist them to the relationship they built with her/him. The students added, "The LA (Legislative Assistant) was perfect. The LA kind of knew how to work her/him [the legislator]."

The seven legislative staff member participants substantiated that student lobbyists indeed built positive relationships with them. None reported a negative reaction to or encounter with a student lobbyist; rather, all commented on how polite, courteous, and respectful they were. Some legislative staff members reported helping the student lobbyists. Legislative Staff Members B and F described that, because they and the student lobbyists were close in age, their legislator often asked them what they thought of ASUM's stance on issues. Legislative Staff Member B told of a time when student lobbyists spoke to her/him about an issue. Later, the legislator asked Legislative Staff Member B to interpret why the issue was so important to the students. The relationship

with the legislative staff member was the conduit for providing information to the legislator.

Legislative staff members and student lobbyists alike viewed age as an important component to relationship building between the two. Because many legislative staff members were close in age to student lobbyists, relationship building occurred easily. As Legislative Staff Member F shared, s/he could relate to the student lobbyists and understand when they are a little nervous because s/he was just out of college. S/he also described social connections to student lobbyists and said groups of young people at the Capitol sometimes eat lunch together. The LD also mentioned the age component of building relationships with legislative staff members:

> …[F]rom my perspective, that's ASUM's number one advantage. We are so young and that there's such a young staff network going on here [at the Capitol]. It's kind of like we have this underground relationship where we can Facebook and text message them and be like, "Hey, what's going on; can you tell me what's up" or "This is important to me, can you mention it to your legislator?" And [legislative staff members] are in House leadership meetings where … they can mention, "Hey, this is a really important issue that these students are talking about". It comes up in leadership all of a sudden. And I know we wouldn't have the possibility of doing something like that, so I think that that's really a big advantage of the young staff network that's going on in this building right now to ASUM.

Student Legislative Intern Relationships

Although sometimes labeled legislative staff members, student legislative interns are treated distinctly because of their weight of importance in this study's findings. Student legislative interns were placed in the Capitol by their home campuses and earned academic credit for the experience. Students were placed in House, Senate, Democratic and Republican legislators' offices; legislative leadership offices; and administrative

offices (e.g., House Communications). Nearly all 197 legislators' offices had a university student intern during the 2009 legislative session.

Of all student legislative interns, 103 were UM students. In essence, over half of the legislators' offices had a UM student legislative intern. Of the 103, 100 were UMC and three MS&T students (UM System Lobbyist C, personal communication, March 3, 2009). UMKC and UMSL typically did not place student interns at the Capitol because of the distance between campus and capital. Besides the 103 UM students, other public 4-year university students interned at the Capitol. As a result of their sheer number, dispersion into so many legislative offices, and connections to their home institutions, building relationships with student legislative interns was a critical activity for ASUM student lobbyists.

On numerous occasions I observed student lobbyists stop in legislative offices to visit with student legislative interns from their home campuses. I observed them eating lunch with student interns in the Capitol Cafeteria. I observed them and student interns sitting together in committee meetings. I also observed interaction between the two groups of students in the hallways. I observed student interns come into the legislative library specifically to talk with student lobbyists.

Student Lobbyist H told of a relationship s/he and Student Lobbyist C built with a student legislative intern who worked for a potential bill sponsor. Student lobbyists got information to and from the legislative sponsor through the intern. In this particular case, the legislator instructed Student Lobbyists C and H to meet with the student intern about the issue.

Student lobbyists capitalized on relationships with student legislative interns when they hosted a press conference on March 10, 2009, to draw attention to Access Missouri. The press conference was scheduled to advocate for the position that the need-based scholarship should be equalized between students attending public and private 4-year institutions. On March 9, 2009, student lobbyists walked the Capitol and invited student interns to attend the press conference. While doing so, Student Lobbyists E and F encountered the student legislative intern coordinator. The coordinator volunteered to e-mail all student interns to invite them to attend the press conference. Reflecting on the press conference, a student lobbyist referred to student interns as "surrogate ASUM members." S/he explained that because ASUM lobbied on issues that affect not only UM students but all university students in Missouri, student interns were interested in what student lobbyists were doing. Thus, the two groups made a connection and built relationships.

Worthy of note is how relationships built with student legislative interns, just as those built with legislative staff members, affected student lobbyists' relationships with legislators. Several legislator participants talked about student lobbyists stopping at their office to visit with student legislative interns and some remarked that the students' relationship created a bond between ASUM and the legislative office.

UM System Lobbyists Relationships

ASUM student lobbyists began to build a relationship with UM System lobbyists when UM System Lobbyist C presented at their training and emphasized these things:

- UM System lobbyists were a resource for ASUM lobbyists,

- Members of the two teams needed to talk to one another when working on the same issues, and

- We [UM System and ASUM student lobbyists] have had a lot of successes at the Capitol sharing what we know with each other.

The relationship between the two UM entities, although they were on opposite sides of the voting student curator issue, could be characterized as strong. The relationship was one of mutual need and one in which both parties invested.

To work on their collaborative relationship, the two teams held a joint meeting at the Capitol on January 27, 2009, initiated by UM System lobbyists. At the meeting, both teams introduced themselves and shared the issues on which they were working. During the meeting, UM System Lobbyist C explained that they and the student lobbyists were usually on the same side of issues. The one exception noted was their differing stances on a voting student curator. About that, UM System Lobbyist C said, "On this issue we can agree to disagree" to which Student Lobbyist F replied, "I am working on student curator, but we can still be friends." The relationship between the two groups was emphasized during the meeting and UM System lobbyists offered:

- We are here to help you [ASUM student lobbyists],

- We can work on this [the budget] together, and

- We will provide information to you [ASUM student lobbyists] and seek your feedback.

As the meeting concluded, business cards were exchanged and informal conversations continued between those lobbyists working on the same issue(s).

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Members of the two lobbying teams developed a collaborative relationship on issues on which their stances were congruent. On most days I was at the Capitol, I observed at least one encounter between UM System and student lobbyists. Most often, UM System Lobbyist C came into the legislative library to talk with the students. S/he updated them about particular bills scheduled to be heard in committee or on the floor. On one day, UM System Lobbyists C and D both came into the legislative library and engaged student lobbyists in conversation about the budget. UM System Lobbyist D asked them if they knew how to look up the fiscal note on a bill. They said no and UM System Lobbyist D took time to show them.

On each of the days I observed, I heard a minimum of one student lobbyist say that s/he had talked or was planning to talk to a UM System lobbyist to get more information or see if s/he had heard anything new about specific issues. In total I heard them indicate on nearly 20 different occasions that they e-mailed or talked with a UM System lobbyist to find needed information. Student Lobbyists A and D spoke daily with UM System Lobbyists B and D who were also working on budget. With the status of budget matters constantly shifting, the relationship between these two teams was very strong. Student Lobbyist D shared that s/he and UM System Lobbyist D, the liaison to Student Lobbyist D's home campus, updated each other by phone every morning. Just before Student Lobbyist D was to testify at a committee hearing on an issue unrelated to budget, UM System Lobbyist B was offering her/him reassurance outside the hearing room. As they entered the room I heard UM System Lobbyist B say, "You'll do great."

Worked Collaboratively With Students

In both printed materials and testimony to legislative committee members,

ASUM student lobbyists acclaimed themselves to be representing 64,000+ UM students.

Being students themselves, they frequently worked collaboratively with students on the

four UM campuses. Collaboration with students was embedded in the purpose articulated

on the front page of the *2009 ASUM Prospectus*:

> The purpose of ASUM shall be to educate students about the political process; to
> increase political awareness, concern, and participation among students; to
> provide the public with information concerning student interests; and to channel
> student energy and interest in the governmental process.

True to this purpose, collaborating with students was a lobbying technique and strategy

utilized by student lobbyists during the 2009 Missouri Legislative Session.

Approximately one-half the participants commented on how successful student

lobbyists were in bringing other students to the Capitol. Most opined that Access

Missouri lent itself to this lobbying technique or strategy. In fact, Legislator D called it

their best technique: "[Student] volume is their strongest suit." UM System lobbyists

labeled this technique as one available uniquely to ASUM student lobbyists. UM System

Lobbyist C said, "They [ASUM student lobbyists] have groups they work with to carry

their message, like the MSA [Missouri Student Association] and GPC [Graduate and

Professional Council] and intercampus student council and those kinds of things."

Student lobbyists also spoke of this strategy but called it student mobilization.

About this, Student Lobbyist G said that bringing students to the Capitol and taking

legislative information back to students was the accomplishment of which s/he was most

proud. Perhaps Legislative Staff Member G best summarized student lobbyists' use of

this technique. S/he said,

> … [ASUM student lobbyists] can bring in students who can say this is why I
> support this, it affects me, I get this [Access Missouri] scholarship … I think those
> kinds of issues where [ASUM] can bring students and include students outside of

ASUM are the most effective. Being able to bring those students in is really important.

Working collaboratively with students was not by accident but rather by design. This lobbying technique and strategy was addressed in student lobbyists' training. Unsurprisingly, they collaborated with and used home campus students in their efforts to influence legislation. Moreover, they reached out to students from other 4-year public universities in Missouri because many issues they lobbied for affected not only UM students but all students. For instance, students at all 13 public 4-year universities would have benefited by Access Missouri legislation. The Caring for Missourians initiative also held potential benefit for all public 2- and 4-year campus students. As proposed, security deposit and utility legislation would have benefited college students across the state at both public and private higher education institutions. Student lobbyists comprehended this, and thus involved students in lobbying for these issues.

In sum, ASUM student lobbyists worked as an interest group by organizing grassroots involvement. They brought students to the issues and the issues to students, both inside and outside the UM campuses. Students became engaged in writing, calling, e-mailing, and visiting legislators to express support of ASUM issue stances. Student lobbyists collaborated with students by: (a) bringing UM students to the Capitol; (b) capitalizing on UM students already scheduled to be at the Capitol, (c) providing updates to students and exploring collaborations (d) joining forces with university students across Missouri, (e) tapping into personal student networks, and (f) responding to contacts by students and student groups.

Bringing UM Students to the Capitol

During the 2009 Missouri Legislative Session, ASUM student lobbyists brought numerous UM students to the Capitol. In the focus group interview, the ALD reflected upon her/his past student lobbyist experience and summarized: "This year's [student lobbyist] group has worked through getting students. We have done a whole lot more to have a student presence at the Capitol more consistently."

Student lobbyists mobilized students around Access Missouri. About 40 UM students attended the March 10, 2009, press conference to show support for HB 792 and SB 390 – acts to equalize the Access Missouri grant. Student governments rented vans to bring students to the Capitol. During the press conference, students from across the state stood up together beside the sponsoring legislators and behind the podium. After the press conference, UM students accompanied student lobbyists to the legislative library and sorted the 300+ letters students had brought to the Capitol. Student lobbyists and students then spent several hours delivering letters to legislators to express their support for grant equalization. Sponsor legislators praised student lobbyists' ability to bring students to the press conference.

UM administrators also called upon student lobbyists to bring UM students to the Capitol. For example, on February 24, 2009, while talking to ASUM student lobbyists in the legislative library, UM System Lobbyist C said:

> The hearing on proposed legislation to change the award amount of Access Missouri could be in the Senate Education Committee next week – we need lots of students, 40 or 50, there. The chancellors [of the four UM campuses] will turn to you [ASUM student lobbyists] to get the students there.

Yet another example was UM System lobbyists asking student lobbyists to secure a student from each UM campus to testify beside the campus chancellors in support of

Access Missouri. They brought students from their home campuses to the Capitol on two different days to testify with their chancellors, once in the House Higher Education Committee and again in the Senate Education Committee.

Capitalizing on UM Students Already Scheduled to be at the Capitol

ASUM student lobbyists learned which days UM students were scheduled to be at the Capitol. They contacted the students in advance or upon their arrival to update them on ASUM legislative issues. In some cases, they provided updates and information while in others they took students to see legislators. For example, they contacted UM Physical and Occupational Therapy students who were at the Capitol for an academic department function. They encouraged their fellow students to express support for Access Missouri when they met with legislators.

On another occasion, Student Lobbyist B provided students from her/his campus with fact sheets, talking points, sample wording for letters to legislators, and other requested information in preparation for a campus-specific student research day. On the day of the event, Student Lobbyist B greeted her/his fellow students at the Capitol and offered to take them around to meet legislators. The student lobbyists were also heavily involved in UM System Undergraduate Research Day, held at the Capitol on April 21, 2009. Approximately 90 students from all four UM campuses spent the day showcasing their research posters. Student lobbyists shared information about ASUM issues stances and escorted their fellow students to visit home district legislators. I heard UM System Lobbyist C thank student lobbyists for their help with Undergraduate Research Day. UM System Lobbyist C said, "You did a great job; I saw you all taking the students all around the Capitol."

Providing Updates to Students and Exploring Collaborations

Student lobbyists mobilized a student presence at the Capitol and they also updated students on their home campuses. As Student Lobbyist F saw it, educating people on campus was one of the student lobbyists' roles and responsibilities. Their efforts to update students on home campuses often materialized into students engaged in lobbying for the ASUM legislative platform.

For instance, student lobbyists provided updates to the four campuses' student government associations about Access Missouri. Throughout session, Student Lobbyists B, D, E, F, G, and H attended and spoke at home campus student government meetings to provide updates and encourage ongoing involvement in efforts to restructure Access Missouri. The LD encouraged them to go to their home campus student governments because "they will help you do a letter-writing campaign." They did so, connected the four bodies to work collaboratively on a letter-writing campaign, and crafted sample letters to legislators.

Student lobbyists also worked with the Alumni Association and its various branches. For example, Student Lobbyist G also met with the UMC Alumni Association to discuss ways they could work together. On another day, student lobbyists developed strategy with the UMC Alumni Association Advocacy Director. They brainstormed ways to work collaboratively. A few weeks later, UM Alumni Association representatives attended the press conference hosted by ASUM, testified at legislative committee hearings in support of award amount equalization, and brought a letter to the legislative library that would be printed in numerous newspapers. They asked the student lobbyists to sign on in support. Student Lobbyist G also attended a meeting of and worked with the

student branch of the UMC Alumni Association – the True Tigers, to develop an Access Missouri letter-writing campaign.

ASUM student lobbyists also worked with other students and student groups to garner support. Key examples illustrated their broad outreach. The Caring for Missourians issue team talked to students on their home campuses to learn real-life stories of qualified students being turned away because nursing programs were at capacity. Student Lobbyist G attended a UMC Legion of Black Collegians (LBC) meeting to talk about Access Missouri and assist in their letter-writing efforts. Student Lobbyist A met with the UMC Pre-Med Society about the Caring for Missourians and encouraged its engagement in lobbying activity.

Joining Forces With University Students Across Missouri

ASUM student lobbyists collaborated with students across Missouri to garner a more commanding student voice and presence at the Capitol. During student lobbyists' training the LD explained this option: "We may build a coalition on some issues and work with the Missouri Higher Education Consortium [MHEC] – every school's student body president. We draw power from here [MHEC] sometimes."

MHEC was founded in 2007 as a state student association. Comprised of student government leaders from all 13 Missouri public 4-year universities, MHEC's purpose was "to reinforce education as a legislative priority" (*MHEC Legislative Position Book*, 2008-2009). MHEC conducted one lobby day in 2008 and held its second annual lobby day on February 19, 2009. The LD reported having been in communication with the MHEC President prior to the lobby day. The LD offered to assist during their lobby day, provided sample letters to legislators, provided updates on pending legislation, and

offered that ASUM student lobbyists could answer questions when the MHEC students were at the Capitol.

About 50 students participated in the event. Student lobbyists met MHEC students in the Capitol rotunda when they arrived, talked with students from their home campus, gave them a tour of the Capitol, updated them on legislative issues, and accompanied them to meet legislators. Because of their familiarity with the Capitol, legislators, and legislative issues, student lobbyists served as guides and mentors to MHEC students.

MHEC's legislative priorities overlapped those of ASUM. Both groups were advocating respectable higher education funding, a voting student curator, and health care-related funding. Because a student representative has been on all public university boards since 1983, MHEC supported a voting student curator. In past years, legislation filed to give the UM student curator a vote also included a vote for the student representative to the governing boards at Truman State University and Missouri State University, two other 4-year public universities in the state.

Besides student lobbyists' collaboration with MHEC, they worked with university students from across the state on Access Missouri. Student Lobbyist G e-mailed all public 4-year university student body presidents and asked them to write, e-mail, and call legislators. Student Lobbyist G urged leaders to encourage their student bodies to attend the March 10, 2009, ASUM-sponsored press conference.

Tapping Into Personal Student Networks

The LD told student lobbyists during training that they would become attached to, embrace, and take ownership for their assigned issue(s). That this happened was evidenced by their taking initiative to tap into personal networks to bolster lobbying

strength. Although additional examples likely existed, I was aware of the following. The first three examples related to Access Missouri, the fifth and sixth to voting student curator, and the seventh was not specific to an issue.

- Student Lobbyist B took sample letters to legislators to a popular college student "hang-out" and asked students to write and send letters,

- Student Lobbyists B and G e-mailed all members of their fraternity/sorority to encourage them to contact legislators,

- Student Lobbyist B encouraged all members of her/his fraternity/sorority to write letters to legislators,

- Student Lobbyist F used voting student curator legislation as the topic for a in-class presentation,

- Student Lobbyist A presented the voting student curator issue in a public speaking class when assigned to give a persuasion speech; 25 undergraduate students became aware of the issue because of the speech, and

- Student Lobbyists A and B e-mailed friends and family about legislative issues and urged their involvement.

Responding to Contacts by Students and Student Groups

Not only did student lobbyists contact other students, but students contacted them. Contacts regarded placing a voting student curator on the UM Board of Curators, Access Missouri, Caring for Missourians, and university budget appropriations. By following up on these requests, student lobbyists broadened their collaborative network of students. Students and key student organizations sought out student lobbyists because

they wanted to get involved in the legislative process and/or had an interest in a specific legislative priority.

For example, a representative from four different student organizations contacted the student lobbyists. The UMC College Democrats called the LD to suggest a legislative sponsor for voting student curator legislation. From the initial contact, communication was ongoing between student lobbyists and UMC College Democrats. At the request of the College Democrats, Student Lobbyist E and the LD attended an organizational meeting to discuss voting student curator legislation. The UMC Peer Health Advisors/ Educators contacted the ASUM Board Chair to obtain a Caring for Missourians fact sheet. The Board Chair then contacted the student lobbyists and a connection was made between the two groups. The UMC health professions contacted and urged ASUM to do a letter-writing campaign about the Caring for Missourians initiative.

On several occasions a UMC Missouri Student Association (MSA) student government leader called or e-mailed the LD. On one occasion, the student leader asked how MSA could help promote Access Missouri. On another, the student wanted to know where ASUM stood on an amendment to grandfather in Access Missouri equalization to begin in 2013. On yet another, the student wanted to know what was happening with the UM budget appropriations.

Not only did student groups contact the student lobbyists, but individual students also did. I was observing in the legislative library when a UM student legislative intern sought out student lobbyists, introduced her/himself, and offered to both write a letter and testify in a committee hearing to express support of Access Missouri. The student intern did not previously know the student lobbyists but knew where to locate them.

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Used Media and Social Networking

A lobbying technique and strategy used by ASUM student lobbyists is captured under the umbrella phrase *using media and social networking*. Using media and social networking involved projecting a desired message to a larger audience outside the legislative arena for the purpose of influencing legislators. Student lobbyists primarily used media to send messages about Access Missouri and voting student curator. Specifically, they employed these techniques: (a) communicated in print and electronic news sources, (b) created and used Web sites, (c) used e-mail, text messaging, Twitter, and blogs, (d) reached out through Facebook, and (e) organized and facilitated a press conference.

Communicated in Print and Electronic News Sources

Writing letters to the editor or op-ed pieces and participating in online newspapers was not discussed during student lobbyists' training although the *2008-09 ASUM Legislative Intern Manual* included information about writing press releases. However, students accessed the media early and often. Even before the legislative session started, a letter to the editor written by Student Lobbyists E and F appeared in the December 28, 2008, *Columbia Daily Tribune*. These particular student lobbyists had quickly embraced and taken action on their issue. Their letter articulated ASUM's support of and rationale for a voting student curator. The letter was in response to an earlier editorial that warned against a voting student curator because of students' youth and inexperience.

During session, student lobbyists used media most often to lobby for Access Missouri. During the weeks before Access Missouri legislation was scheduled to be heard in House and Senate committees, student lobbyists talked among themselves about

writing letters to editors and op-ed pieces and responding to online newspapers. When discussing this, the LD told them that they could write a letter to the editor and urged them to do so, particularly for the *Kansas City Star* and the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*. The LD also told them to join online papers and communicate ASUM's position.

Two weeks later the LD shared that s/he sent a letter to the editor to the four UM campus newspapers and asked the Access Missouri issue team (Student Lobbyists B and G) where else the letter should be sent. Student Lobbyist B indicated that s/he sent a letter to the *Columbia Daily Tribune* and *Kansas City Star*. Student Lobbyist G shared that s/he joined an online newspaper based in St. Louis and was posting opinions online. During the week, student lobbyists wrote a media advisory about their upcoming press conference. Student Lobbyist A had prior experience in the House Communications Office so worked on the advisory with Student Lobbyists B and G. Student Lobbyist A worked directly with the House Communication staff to send out the media advisory. The following week student lobbyists again talked about using media to get their message out. Student Lobbyist B reported that newspapers from St. Louis, Springfield, and St. Charles (a St. Louis suburb) received her/his editorial and called to ask permission to publish it.

Created and Used Web Sites

Student Lobbyists E and F created a Web site to promote their legislative issue, the voting student curator. A friend of Student Lobbyist F's needed to create a Web site for class credit. The two student lobbyists and the friend worked together to create and post a Web site to generate broad support for legislation to create a voting student curator. The site was interactive. It included answers to concerns commonly expressed by those in opposition to a voting student curator; sample letters to legislators; suggestions

for students, parents, and community members on how to get involved in supporting the issue; and a link to all media about the issue printed during the 2009 legislative session.

Used E-Mail, Text Messaging, Twitter, and Blogs

I was introduced to a professional contract lobbyist at the Capitol who had been an ASUM lobbyist during the early 1990s. S/he commented about how social networking capabilities had changed lobbying strategies. S/he shared that while many professional lobbyists were still communicating through standard modes, younger lobbyists and legislators were using technology. ASUM student lobbyists comprehended and incorporated this change.

For example, student lobbyists used e-mail for lobbying purposes. Many times, they reported e-mailing students to involve them in the legislative process. As they were taught during training, they communicated with students on their campuses. Access Missouri was an issue particularly suitable to e-mail communication. Student Lobbyist B sent e-mail messages to her/his fraternity/sorority brothers/sisters and also sent messages on her/his campus Greek community list serve to engage students in Access Missouri. Student Lobbyist G reported that s/he sent an e-mail to 120 men/women in her/his fraternity/sorority house. Student Lobbyist G met with her/his campus' Vice Chancellor of Student Affairs to see if a mass e-mail could be generated to all students. S/he learned that this was not possible since university policy prohibited engagement in political activity. Student Lobbyist G also reported that s/he e-mailed all public 4-year university student body presidents in the state and asked them to attend the legislative hearings on Access Missouri. In sum, these e-mails held the potential to reach thousands of university

students, not only on the four UM but on all 13 Missouri public 4-year higher education campuses.

Student lobbyists used Twitter to send and receive text-messages directly related to lobbying activities. Five of the eight student lobbyists had Twitter profiles and received text messages on their phone from a group of key legislators and reporters. Legislators tweeted about what was coming up next on the floor and commented on real-time activity in a chamber. Using Twitter allowed students to monitor what was happening elsewhere in the Capitol and to receive up-to-the-minute information. Student Lobbyist H said that s/he received a Twitter message as frequently as every 2 or 3 minutes during a filibuster or especially intense floor debate.

I observed the utility of Twitter when shadowing student lobbyists near the end of session. Student Lobbyist G was able to provide fellow student lobbyists and UM System Lobbyist C an update about budget-related occurrences; s/he received word from a legislator via a Twitter text message. All were unaware of the information received by Student Lobbyist C. Student lobbyists also tweeted to notify students about the press conference on Access Missouri. The messages encouraged students to come to the Capitol and also contact legislators. As Student Lobbyist A said about tweeting, "Not until I got here [the Capitol] did I realize how relevant is professionally."

Student lobbyists also used blogs to connect to and communicate with students. The UMC ASUM chapter already had a blog so Student Lobbyist F worked with the chapter to post legislative updates. They also posted sample letters to legislators about Caring for Missourians and Access Missouri. UM students could then access, personalize, and send letters to home district legislators.

Reached Out Through Facebook

While working on Access Missouri, Student Lobbyist G created a Facebook group that was accessible to the public. Student Lobbyist G explained to fellow student lobbyists that, while s/he invited her/his 700 Facebook friends to join the page, each of the other seven student lobbyists should bring at least 25 friends onto the page. Student Lobbyist G reported that 500 university students from across the state joined the group and were talking to one another about the importance of equalizing the financial aid award. The 500 included not only UM students but also students from other public 4-year colleges and universities in the state, including Missouri Southern University, located in the House Speaker's home legislative district. Because the Speaker had not assigned the Access Missouri bill to a committee, students from her/his home district were pressuring her/him to do so. Student Lobbyist G used the Facebook group to issue periodic updates.

The week after the Facebook group was established, UM System Lobbyist C came to the legislative library accompanied by the UMC Alumni Association Advocacy Director. The two engaged Student Lobbyist G in conversation about the Facebook group. I noted that both seemed impressed with the Facebook group technique. During a focus group interview, UM System lobbyists mentioned the Facebook group as a technique and strategy used by student lobbyists.

Organized and Facilitated a Press Conference

ASUM student lobbyists organized and facilitated a press conference to raise awareness of their position on Access Missouri. Students were supporting and lobbying for proposed legislation to make the award amount received by students attending a public 4-year institution equal that received by students attending 4-year private colleges

and universities in the state. They also wanted to draw attention to the fact that the Speaker of the House had not referred the Access Missouri bill to a committee. They used the press conference to pressure the Speaker. At the time of the press conference, the Senate version of the Access bill had been referred to the Senate Education Committee although a hearing on it was not scheduled. The press conference occurred March 10, 2009, in the House Lounge on third floor of the Capitol.

Student lobbyists handled all press conference details. To generate an audience, they prepared a media advisory announcing the conference, worked with House Communications staff members to promote the conference to the media, printed and hand-delivered invitations to legislators, and mobilized UM students and student legislative interns to attend. To assure a student voice at the event, they secured a supporting resolution from each UM campus student government and worked hard to turn out students. They also worked with bill sponsors to organize their speaking order. They also prepared a media packet and handled other details as they arose. The packet included: an ASUM fact sheet (see Appendix F), a copy of proposed legislation – HB 792 and SB 390, a media advisory, copies of resolutions from UM campus student governments, and a briefing paper entitled *The Associated Students of the University of Missouri and Access Missouri Legislation*.

At the press conference, student lobbyists and UM students who traveled to the capital to show their support for the bills stood behind the podium alongside sponsor legislators. I observed among the crowd four of the six UM System lobbyists, student legislative interns from around the Capitol, legislative staff members of sponsor legislators, the UMC Alumni Association President and Advocacy Director, the

Executive Director of the Council on Public Higher Education (COPHE), the ASUM Board Chair, and at least five media representatives. Students and administrators from private higher education institutions who were in opposition to changing the Access award amount were also in attendance as was the professional contract lobbyist for the Independent Colleges and Universities of Missouri (ICUM).

To begin the press conference, the sponsor of HB 792 – an act to equalize the scholarship amount awarded to both public and private institutional students – spoke. S/he thanked ASUM for bringing the bill to light. S/he then introduced the ASUM LD who spoke second. The LD praised the bill sponsors' courage for sponsoring legislation unfavorable with many fellow legislators. The LD pled with the House Speaker to assign HB 792 to committee. The bill had never been assigned, although it had been filed since early in session. It had lain dormant; thus, it could not be acted upon by a committee. Third, the sponsor of SB 390 spoke. S/he applauded ASUM and called it a formidable organization. S/he continued, "Student lobbyists speak very well, are very organized, and are a great and strong voice." The sponsor said s/he is glad to work with the student lobbyists. S/he then introduced the senate co-sponsor who complimented ASUM for organizing the press conference. Interestingly, a fourth legislator stood up with and was invited by a fellow legislator to say a few words. This legislator was not one the student lobbyists worked with in preparation for the press conference. After the press conference, student lobbyists said they did not realize s/he was such a strong supporter of the legislation or would speak. The HB 792 sponsor concluded the press conference with the comment: "I want to thank ASUM. They have taken the bull by the horns and tried to make something happen and we appreciate that." After the conference, both UM System

lobbyists and UMC Alumni Association representatives commended the student lobbyists on a successful press conference.

The press conference was covered on the Jefferson City TV channel and in the *Columbia Daily Tribune* newspaper, in the *Maneater* (UMC student newspaper), and *The Current* (UMSL student newspaper). In the days following the press conference, legislators who had participated in the press conference praised student lobbyists for their success. Several legislator and legislative staff member participants, including some who had not been present, talked about the student lobbyists organizing the press conference. The UM System President also called the LD to thank the student lobbyists for organizing the press conference.

Personal Characteristics and Attributes

Although numerous books have been written and lists constructed about lobbying techniques and strategies, participants repeatedly called what student lobbyists were or were not – personal characteristics and attributes – a lobbying technique or strategy. Specifically, legislators and legislative staff members used the phrases, "student lobbyists are …" and "student lobbyists are not …" when describing their lobbying behavior. Lobbying techniques and strategies as perceived by participants were not limited to tools enacted to attempt to influence legislation. Rather, they were perceived to be embedded in student lobbyists' personality and behavior.

Legislators shared that student lobbyists were visible, persistent, direct, straight forward, courteous, smart, pleasant, dedicated, hard working, consistent, positive, upbeat, congenial, professional, nice, polite, well dressed, respectful, courageous, enthusiastic, passionate, organized, well prepared, cordial, and easy to get along with. Of these

descriptors, the words respectful, nice, courteous, and professional were cited most frequently. Legislators commented favorably on the fact that they were courteous and three stated it repeatedly during their interviews.

After describing student lobbyists using these words, legislators frequently indicated that it was a pleasure having them around the Capitol. Legislator H said, "The most effective thing about them [ASUM student lobbyists] is that they are always respectful" and added, "If all lobbyists were like them, this would be a pleasant place." Numerous legislators remarked similarly, pointing out student lobbyists' maturity and professionalism. Legislator B reported that because they were professional, respectful, and their "decorum has always been very good, they are always welcome in my office." How student lobbyists acted in part determined the level of access they were provided to legislators. Without access, they had no opportunity to utilize other lobbying techniques and strategies.

Similarly, legislative staff members described techniques and strategies used by student lobbyists by explaining that they were personable, approachable, open, willing to listen, consistent, polite, respectful, and persistent. Legislative staff members frequently used the word *consistent* to describe student lobbyists' techniques and strategies. Regarding the consistency description, several staff members, as had some legislators, talked about the fact that the same two student lobbyists came to see the legislator. Staff members equated consistency with the fact that they consistently stopped at legislators' offices before or after a House Higher Education or Senate Education Committee meeting. Staff members also said they could expect them to stop by the week a bill of interest to ASUM would be heard in committee. Legislative staff members viewed

student lobbyists' consistency to be a lobbying technique or strategy, one they deemed effective.

Another finding that fit into the theme of what student lobbyists were was their status and perceptions as university students. Legislators, legislative staff members, and UM System lobbyists alike talked about their being university students as a lobbying technique and strategy. For instance, UM System Lobbyist A gave this response to a question about what lobbying techniques and strategies ASUM student lobbyists used: "Some of the [techniques] have to do with being a student. Being a student is both a pro and con. Is it a technique? No, but it is who they are and it's who they represent." UM System Lobbyist A continued to describe that who student lobbyists were was inseparable from and impacted their lobbying techniques and strategies.

Legislators spoke of student lobbyists' ability to speak from a student perspective as a technique, and an effective one at that. For instance, Legislator E posited that student lobbyists "come from a students' point of view and show a direct effect of a piece of legislation to them personally." Legislator J equated the fact that legislation impacted them personally to passion about issues. Because they were able to present ideas and information that legislators might not have considered otherwise, student lobbyists also viewed their being students as a technique.

Legislators portrayed student lobbyists as naïve and trustworthy; they cited this as a lobbying technique. Ironically, student lobbyists depicted themselves the same way. They talked at length about this during the focus group interview. The ALD said, "We are the pure voices in the legislative process." Student Lobbyist E added, "That we are so different than anyone else here" makes legislators "perk up and listen to us." Student

Lobbyist B described it like this, "[Legislators] view us as very innocent and naïve and our youth is one of our best lobbying assets; we are innocent, naïve to the process in a lot of ways." Student lobbyists, as well as Legislator H, viewed their not being scary or threatening as a lobbying technique. Student Lobbyist E posited that because of this, legislators reacted to them differently than to other lobbyists, differently in a positive way. The LD said that legislators did not expect student lobbyists to double-cross them, and as a result often shared a great deal of information with and helped them.

Another example was Legislator D's articulation that ASUM student lobbyists were unique from other lobbyists because professional lobbyists were hired to represent a client, while student lobbyists essentially represented themselves and their own interests. Legislator D expanded that student lobbyists represented issues that directly impacted them personally and as such, they operated like a consumer group. Legislator D deemed this uniqueness the root of their effectiveness.

Just as legislators and legislative staff members talked about what student lobbyists were, they also viewed what student lobbyists were not as a lobbying technique and strategy. As true of comments about what they were, most comments about what they were not were equated with lobbying behavior. Participants indicated that student lobbyists were not demanding, quitters, rude, abusive, pushy, argumentative, indignant, threatening, immature, or inappropriate. Of these descriptors, pushy was most often stated. As with what they were, what they were not made a difference in the level of access provided or not provided to legislators. For instance, Legislator E shared that a student lobbyist had been denied access to her/him because staff deemed the student to be dressed inappropriately.

Summary of Findings About ASUM Student Lobbyists' Behaviors

This chapter described findings about ASUM student lobbyists' lobbying behaviors. Before comparing their behaviors to those of professional higher education lobbyists and also describing their perceived influence, it was important to first understand what lobbying behaviors they used. Research question one was designed to do that by asking: What lobbying behaviors did the ASUM (Associated Students of the University of Missouri) student lobbyists use to attempt to influence higher education legislation during the 2009 Missouri Legislative Session?

This study revealed that ASUM student lobbyists most frequently used three lobbying techniques and strategies consistent with those described in previous studies. They (a) met with legislators, (b) provided information to legislators, and (c) built relationships. Additionally, they used techniques and strategies not previously identified in other studies.

More specifically, numerous sub-categories existed under each of the techniques and strategies used by ASUM student lobbyists. In other words, they met with legislators for various reasons, provided different kinds of information to legislators, and built relationships with a number of groups, including legislators. They met with legislators to: (a) explain ASUM's stance on issues, (b) provide information, (c) build relationships, (d) learn about progress on issues, (e) seek bill sponsors and co-sponsors, (f) develop strategy, (g) canvass for votes, and (h) draft legislation.

They provided different types of information by: (a) meeting with legislators, (b) testifying at legislative committee hearings, (c) disseminating written information, and (d) researching answers to questions raised by legislators. About providing information,

relevancy of information was also important. Information deemed most useful was about (a) proposed legislation, (b) those favoring and opposing legislation, (c) arguments of those favoring and opposing legislation, and (d) potential impact of proposed legislation.

They built relationships not only with legislators, but with legislative staff members, student legislative interns, and UM System lobbyists. Relationship building with each of these groups proved a factor in ASUM student lobbyists' influence on higher education legislation. Each of these relationships played a role in access to legislators. Because they were students themselves, they were able to tap into a unique relationship with student legislative interns. The relationship with student interns proved to be strong as well as important in their efforts to influence legislation.

In addition to using lobbying techniques and strategies frequently referenced in empirical literature, ASUM student lobbyists used what appeared to be unique techniques. Three such techniques and strategies were: (a) working collaboratively with students who were not lobbyists, (b) using media and the latest technology, and (c) personal characteristics and attributes as described by this study's participants as a lobbying technique and strategy.

Specifically, ASUM student lobbyists made their presence known by: (a) bringing students to the Capitol, (b) capitalizing on students scheduled to be at the Capitol, (c) updating students and exploring collaborations, (d) joining forces with university students across Missouri (e.g., MEHC, student body leaders), (e) tapping into personal student networks (e.g., Greek organization members), and (f) responding to contacts by students and student groups. Many participants perceived this to be one of, if not the strongest

lobbying techniques used by student lobbyists. These lobbying techniques were particularly used in conjunction with Access Missouri issue and Caring for Missourians.

ASUM student lobbyists also used media as well as the latest technology as a lobbying technique and strategy. They (a) communicated in print and electronic news sources (e.g., print and online newspapers), (b) created and used Web sites, (c) used e-mail, text messaging, Twitter, and blogs, (d) reached out through Facebook, and (e) organized and facilitated a press conference. Using social networking and communication technology bolstered their ability to engage students in legislative issues and to raise their voices during the 2009 Missouri Legislative Session. This approach had not been previously documented in studies about higher education lobbying or in many listings of lobbying techniques and strategies found in previous studies. Using media and social networking was generally done in relation to the Caring for Missourian initiative and the Access Missouri issue and to bring students to the Capitol for an ASUM-sponsored press conference.

Further, participants labeled what student lobbyists were and were not as a lobbying behavior. In other words, students' personal characteristics and attributes were viewed by participants as a lobbying technique or strategy. Specifically, participants depicted student lobbyists as respectful, nice, courteous, and professional. Likewise, they described them as *not* pushy. Participants likened their personal characteristics and attributes to a lobbying technique and they reported that this was a determinant of both access to legislators and influence on legislation. About student lobbyists' personal characteristics and attributes, participants said that their being students was a technique or

strategy. This technique was the ability to speak from a student perspective and describe the potential impact of proposed legislation.

Of the lobbying techniques and strategies used by ASUM student lobbyists, some were used more frequently for specific legislative issues. The issue determined what strategies would be used. For example, using media and social networking and mobilizing students were popular techniques for lobbying on the Access Missouri and Caring for Missourians issues. However, on the budget and landlord-tenant issues, they relied more heavily on meeting with legislators who were influential on the specific issues.

Moreover, lobbying techniques and strategies used by ASUM student lobbyists were not independent. Techniques were typically not used in isolation, but rather were used in tandem or were precursors to gaining access to legislators. Additionally, it was necessary to employ some techniques before using others. Many of the findings to research question one converged across themes; many techniques and strategies were interdependent with and inseparable from one another.

Chapter Five

FINDINGS: COMPARISON OF ASUM STUDENT LOBBYISTS' BEHAVIOR

WITH THAT OF UM SYSTEM LOBBYISTS

Introduction

Research question two asked: How did lobbying behaviors of ASUM student

lobbyists during the 2009 legislative session compare with lobbying behaviors of UM

System lobbyists during the same legislative session? A comparison was logical for three

reasons. First, both lobbied within the same context – the 2009 Missouri Legislative

Session. Second, both lobbied on behalf of the same higher education institution – the

University of Missouri. UM System lobbyists represented constituents of the UM System

(its Board of Curators, President, and four campuses) while ASUM student lobbyists

represented the 64,000+ students. Third, both usually lobbied for the same position on the

same issues.

This chapter first presents contextual information helpful to an understanding of

UM System lobbyists' lobbying behavior, including the UM System lobbying team

members, structure, and legislative platform. Then, ASUM student lobbyists' lobbying

behaviors are compared with those of UM System lobbyists' on the basis of 13 factors

that affected lobbying behavior. Finally, a summary of findings is presented.

UM System Lobbying Team

Of Missouri's 13 state public 4-year institutions, only the UM System and one

other university had in-house state-level lobbyists. All other Missouri public 4-year

colleges and universities, as well as the 2-year public and independent sector institutions,

contracted their lobbying to firms that represented multiple clients from a variety of sectors.

The Vice President of Government Relations supervised the UM System lobbyists and reported to the UM System President. As such, the lobbying team was responsible to the System President, and ultimately to its governing board – the Board of Curators.

The UM System had six state-level lobbyists. Three of the six, as well as the UM Vice President of Government Relations who was also a lobbyist, worked out of the UM System office in Columbia. The other two were located on the Kansas City and St. Louis campuses when the legislature was recessed. Between the six, they had 61 years and 8 months of experience lobbying for the UM System and additional experience related to the Missouri State Legislature. During the 2009 legislative session, one lobbyist was new to the team while all others had worked together the past 5 legislative sessions and some even longer.

The UM System lobbyist position description outlined these basic functions and responsibilities:

> Cultivate positive relations between the University of Missouri and federal and state government, including state legislators and office holders, Congressional delegation, and other public officials. Plan, develop, and implement various programs, services, and activities for governmental relations activities of the University of Missouri (*University of Missouri Classification Specification, Director, Governmental Relations*, 2008).

UM System lobbyists described their two primary roles as: (a) becoming experts on and following issues throughout the legislative process and (b) developing relationships with targeted legislators.

UM System lobbyists were responsible to become experts on their issues and follow them throughout the "whole process as far as committee assignments, committee

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hearings and testimonies, votes, and checking to make sure you have the votes and that the bill moves along" (UM System Lobbyist B). To do this, two lobbyists were assigned to each priority issue and referred to themselves as an issue team.

Each UM System lobbyist was assigned to develop relationships with specific legislators because:

> There is no way you can lobby 197 people [legislators] so you really have to narrow it down to the ones who are going to have some influence on the legislation … So what we [UM System lobbyists] tend to do first and foremost is determine who those players are and work with them to help them understand and educate them about our issue and what concerns they may have about it (UM System Lobbyist C).

In addition, each lobbyist was assigned a whip list, a list of legislators to remain in communication with throughout the session. When an issue arose that required the team to work as a unit, each lobbyist focused on their whip list.

Four of the six UM System lobbyists had an additional responsibility as liaison to one the four UM System campuses. In this role, liaison lobbyists communicated frequently with campus chancellors and administrators, provided legislative updates to the campus, and accompanied campus representatives when they came to the Capitol.

UM System lobbyists served as liaisons to other groups across the state. They worked closely with the UM System Alumni Alliance, the University of Missouri-Columbia (UMC) Alumni Association, and the UMC Flagship Council. The Alumni Alliance was a system-wide association comprised of alumnae from its four campuses. The other two entities were UMC affiliated; the UMC campus liaison attended meetings of and maintained a collaborative relationship with them. The UMC Flagship Council was an independent organization with its own Political Action Committee (PAC). As a

for-profit interest group, the Flagship Council had the financial resources to influence

public policy and political activity.

UM System lobbyists were also responsible for cultivating relationships with

alumni and business leaders across the state. UM System Lobbyist C said, "We have at

our disposal many different groups, like connections to chambers of commerce,

economic development groups, and regional alumni associations."

<div align="center">UM System's 2009 Legislative Platform</div>

UM System lobbyists worked closely with constituent groups and the UM System

President and his Cabinet, four campus chancellors, and UM Board of Curators to set the

2009 legislative priorities. Priorities were approved by the Board.

Initial priorities fell into four overarching areas: predictable and stable funding,

capital funding, health care (e.g., Caring for Missourians), and policy issues (e.g., Access

Missouri grant equalization) (*UM System 2009 Legislative Priorities*). After issues were

assigned, lobbyists began "plotting through issue development starting in summer" (UM

System Lobbyist B).

As the session got underway, unanticipated events modified legislative priorities.

On January 21, 2009, a deal was struck between the governor and the state's public 4-

year institutions. The governor agreed to hold higher education funding level to the FY09

appropriation if institutions agreed not to raise FY10 tuition costs. Budget priorities were

modified again when federal stimulus funding for Missouri was announced.

Modified legislative priorities included level funding appropriations, Caring for

Missourians, and Access Missouri issues previously described in Chapter 4 and: (a)

incurring no budget cuts during the remainder of fiscal year 2009 and (b) securing state

funding for building maintenance and repair. On all of these issues, ASUM student lobbyists and UM System lobbyists were aligned on their stances and lobbied for identical outcomes.

State revenues were below projections and the state was considering withholding FY09 appropriations for state funded programs as it had in the early 2000s when public higher education institutions did not receive their scheduled payments the last 3 months of the fiscal year. UM System lobbyists, as well as ASUM student lobbyists, worked to prevent this scenario from being repeated.

Another budget related priority was capital construction funding. UM System lobbyists, as well as ASUM student lobbyists, worked to secure federal stimulus funding to support capital construction projects. In addition to established legislative platforms, other higher education related issues arose during the session. Because of this, UM System lobbyists also became involved in conceal and carry and immigration issues.

Legislation was proposed to lower the age requirement from 23 to 21 for a permit to conceal and carry a firearm and allow permit holders to carry concealed weapons on college and university campuses. The UM System President engaged the ASUM Executive Board and its student lobbyists in discussion about lobbying against the bill. ASUM could not reach consensus and did not take a stance but UM System lobbyists actively opposed it.

An omnibus immigration bill was passed during the 2008 legislative session and signed into law by the governor. The public higher education community had concerns about provisions in the law. UM System lobbyists worked to clarify those provisions.

Although not printed on UM System 2009 legislative priorities distributed to legislators, UM System lobbyists lobbied to pass legislation to modify the UM Board of Curators membership to include a curator-at-large seat. Missouri was projected to lose one congressional district as an outcome of the 2010 census. If this projection materialized, the UM Board of Curators' membership needed to be revised. The Board had nine gubernatorial appointed members, one from each congressional district. To prepare for this possibility, the UM System lobbyists proposed legislation to create a ninth curator-at-large member to be appointed from any congressional district. This was the only UM System legislative platform issue on which ASUM and the UM System held differing stances. ASUM was opposed to the curator-at-large proposal. They lobbied to secure a voting student curator as the ninth member and the Board of Curators was opposed to that.

<p align="center">UM System Lobbyists' Lobbying Behavior</p>

UM System lobbyists predominantly used two lobbying techniques and strategies: (a) sharing information with legislators and (b) building and maintaining relationships with legislators. Their lobbying behavior was best summarized by Legislator K: UM System lobbyists use "relationship, information, information, information. It's kind of like the realtor who talks about location, location, location."

<p align="center">*Sharing Information With Legislators*</p>

Providing information was a key role of UM System lobbyists. Participants talked about UM System lobbyists' information sharing from a variety of angles, in a variety of formats, and as a two-way activity engaged in by both lobbyists and legislators. For example, participants depicted information shared by UM System lobbyists as

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knowledge-based and educational. Others, including Legislative Staff Member C, spoke

about information volume: "There is a great amount of printed matter that comes through

[from UM System lobbyists]." Other participants, like Legislator K, talked about

information value and use:

> [UM System lobbyists provide] good sound information and even beyond
> information, the analysis of it. So they are able to talk to us about the impact of a
> decision. 'This is the information that we have based on the analysis of the
> information; this is the impact.'

Participants also indicated that UM System lobbyists researched, learned about, and

presented information in the district context. "Legislators like it when lobbyists

understand the district and the people in the district and how issues impact the district"

(Legislator A).

Participants described information shared in print format. UM System lobbyists

used print information to share the UM System stance on legislative issues. They

distributed a one-page, one-sided document listing all of the System's legislative

priorities and talked through them one-on-one during initial meetings with legislators.

They also distributed and explained *UM System District Impact Sheets* during initial

meetings with legislators. The sheets detailed statistics about how the UM System

impacted each district, including UM students from, alumni residing in, extension

services provided to, and alumni teaching in the district. The sheets also reported revenue

generated from UM employees and aid provided to UM students from the district.

Participants related UM System lobbyists sharing non-print information including

testimony in legislative committee hearings, responding to requests for more information,

and meeting with legislators. Participants described meeting with legislators as a sub-

activity of sharing information rather than as a lobbying technique unto itself.

Legislators and legislative staff members talked about the timing of UM System lobbyists' meetings with legislators. For example, the lobbyists stopped at legislators' offices just before or after committee hearings or when a bill was about to be heard on the floor to see if the legislator needed anything related to or had any questions about the bill.

The strength of their relationships allowed UM System lobbyists to provide information to legislators as well as depend on legislators for information not publicly available. As developments occurred during the legislative session, UM System lobbyists visited with legislators to learn how and when bills were charted to progress.

Building and Maintaining Relationships With Legislators

Legislator participants remarked on the strength of relationships UM System lobbyists were able to build and maintain with them. Most participants connected UM System lobbyists' relationship building ability to them being consistent year to year and at the Capitol every day during the legislative session. Because of this, legislators knew and recognized them. Legislator L, for instance, shared that s/he had been in the legislature for several years and had worked closely and had established a strong relationship with nearly all UM System lobbyists.

Legislator L said that UM System lobbyists understood that "… relationships are the most important things in this building" and they "cultivate a relationship with legislators." ASUM student lobbyists also remarked on the strength of relationships built, "[UM System lobbyists] build relationships probably as well if not better than any group of lobbyists in this building" (ASUM ALD).

Legislator participants noted a distinction in location and time of relationship building. UM System lobbyists built relationships with legislators both within and outside

the Capitol as well as before the start of the legislative session. As Legislator C remarked, "[UM System lobbyists] have opportunities to interact in a social environment, not just come in my office on a hectic day."

Legislators also connected UM System lobbyists' interaction with them outside the Capitol to building and maintaining relationships. Because of interaction outside the Capitol, as Legislator C explained, "[UM System lobbyists] have more opportunity for access than just the typical 5 minutes you would get in an office during a very busy hectic day." Interaction outside the Capitol afforded UM System lobbyists the opportunity to provide information, explain the UM stance on issues, canvass for votes, learn about progress on issues, develop strategy, and strengthen and maintain relationships with legislators.

Legislators indicated that UM System lobbyists built relationships with legislators even before the legislative session started. Several legislators shared that they had known the lobbyists since before they were elected. Legislator K said, "They establish an immediate relationship with a legislator. I certainly experienced that from day one upon my election and the legislative tour." Relationships with legislators that started outside the legislative session carried over into the session. During the session, UM System lobbyists were able to maintain and strengthen relationships.

<center>Factors Affecting Lobbying Behavior of

ASUM Student Lobbyists and UM System Lobbyists</center>

Research question two was designed to understand how the lobbying behavior of ASUM lobbyists compared with that of UM System lobbyists. Of interest was that most

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participants compared lobbying behaviors of the two groups although not asked to do so.

UM System Lobbyist C was among those who provided a comparative response:

> I wouldn't say that they're [ASUM student lobbyists' lobbying techniques and strategies] not a whole lot different than what we [UM System lobbyists] do. They [ASUM student lobbyists] look at their issues; they figure out who the committee chairs or the sponsors are going to be, just like we [UM System lobbyists] do; they make sure they have their background information together, just like we do; they have their little talking points or one-pagers, just like we do; they prepare testimony, just like we do; they whip the committees to see where the votes are, just like we do. I think they're very similar. I don't know that I would break anything out as being that different from what we do.

Moreover, all participants – ASUM student lobbyists, legislators, legislative staff members, and UM System lobbyists – stated that ASUM student and UM System lobbyists used similar lobbying techniques and strategies. In fact, most legislators said something to the effect of "they are pretty much the same" or "they pretty much follow the same pattern."

As outlined in Chapter 4, ASUM lobbyists attempted to influence legislation by: (a) meeting with legislators; (b) providing information to legislators; (c) building relationships with legislators, legislative staff members, legislative student interns, and UM System lobbyists; (d) working collaboratively with students; and (e) using media and social networking. Participants designated student lobbyists' personal characteristics and attributes as a lobbying technique or strategy.

As reviewed earlier in this chapter, UM System lobbyists attempted to influence legislation by: (a) sharing information with legislators and (b) building and maintaining relationships with legislators. Participants noted UM System lobbyists' meeting with legislators but considered it part of building relationships.

Thus, the lobbying behaviors common to both ASUM lobbyists and UM System lobbyists included: (a) providing information to legislators, (b) building relationships with legislators, and although not a stand-alone lobbying behavior, (c) meeting with legislators. However, the way in which both lobbying teams enacted the three common lobbying behaviors was not necessarily similar.

A variety of factors affected how lobbying behavior was enacted by ASUM student lobbyists and UM System lobbyists. (See Appendix V.) These factors generally advantaged one lobbying team's attempts to influence legislation while it disadvantaged the other. However, because advantage and disadvantage were situational, statements are made as generalizations. In the remainder of this chapter, these factors are used to compare the lobbying behavior of both lobbying teams: (a) qualifications and previous experience, (b) nature of the lobbyist position, (c) reporting and support, (c) presence at the Capitol, (d) restrictions on lobbying behavior, (e) providing information to legislators, (e) building relationships, (f) meeting with legislators, (g) perspective presented, (h) involving constituents, (i) resource availability, (j) political capital, and (k) relationship between the lobbying teams.

Qualifications and Previous Experience

Qualifications for the ASUM student lobbyist and UM System lobbyist positions were vastly difference. This factor influenced the lobbying behavior of both teams; it generally advantaged UM System lobbyists and disadvantaged ASUM student lobbyists.

ASUM student lobbyists met requirements of, applied for, and were selected to serve in the position. They were required to be at least a sophomore in good standing with the University and have a 3.0 minimum grade point average. Student lobbyists were

working toward undergraduate degrees. Previous experience in the Missouri Legislature was not required. A new team of student lobbyists was selected each year. Because of these factors, "It's just kind of luck that gets you the right group of [students] who can be successful on an issue" (ASUM ALD). "At the end of the day, they are students" (Legislative Staff Member B). As Legislator A said, "Students have tough obstacles because they are trying to make it through school and academics must be the priority."

Conversely, UM System lobbyists had to apply, interview for, and be hired into the position. They were required to hold a Bachelor's degree in Communications or a related area, Political Science, or have an equivalent combination of education and experience (*University of Missouri Classification Specification, Director, Governmental Relations*, 2008). Four to 5 years of previous legislative relations experience was also required. Legislator D's words summarized the factor of qualifications:

> [ASUM student lobbyists are] not like contract lobbyists whereby the best person is hired for the job and represents the interests of the client. Rather, students are selected from among those who apply and [they] actually represent their own interests.

ASUM student lobbyists had very little experience in the legislative arena while UM System lobbyists were highly experienced, particularly in higher education lobbying. This factor disadvantaged ASUM student lobbyists and advantaged UM System lobbyists.

The eight ASUM student lobbyists, along with the Legislative Director (LD) and Assistant Legislative Director (ALD), had a cumulative total of two legislative sessions of experience at the start of the 2009 legislative session. Conversely, UM System lobbyists had over 6 decades of cumulative experience as full-time higher education lobbyists in the Missouri legislative arena.

Because of their lack of experience, ASUM student lobbyists did not have previously established relationships within or institutional knowledge about the Missouri legislative arena. They also lacked the big picture view of the UM System. In fact, some had not been on all four System campuses, yet were advocating on behalf of their students. Their knowledge consisted of what they learned during training sessions in October and November, 2008, and on the day before the 2009 legislative session began.

Alternately, as a result of their combined 61+ years of experience in the legislative arena, UM System lobbyists were able to see the big picture about both the UM System and the Missouri Legislature. They understood the UM System, its campuses, and the history of its legislative priorities. They possessed previously established strong relationships with legislators. They held both institutional and process knowledge about the UM System and the Missouri Legislature.

UM System Lobbyist C talked about the factor of experience and its importance:

When you spend time lobbying, you eventually run into situations where people disagree with you and you have to go in there and fight and challenge … If you have never been through or never really experienced the process or don't discern what a legislator is really telling you … some of that just comes with time and practice and the [ASUM student lobbyists] haven't had the benefit of having gone through that …That comes with practice and experience and … the students just haven't had that much experience.

Nature of the Lobbying Position

The ASUM student lobbyist position was an unpaid experiential part-time internship that lasted one legislative session while UM System lobbyists were hired into a full-time paid professional position with expectations to perform specific duties. In general, this factor disadvantaged ASUM student lobbyists and advantaged UM System lobbyists.

Most participants, including student lobbyists themselves, depicted being a student lobbyist as a learning experience for which 6 hours of academic credit was earned. On the first day of training the LD said, "Have fun with the *experience*; keep levity to it." The LD and ALD again reinforced on numerous occasions that students were completing a valuable learning experience.

UM System lobbyists emphasized the learning component of the student lobbyist experience. Various UM System lobbyists shared that the experience was a good one because it was such a good legislative year. Legislators also saw the ASUM student lobbyists' experience as a learning one. Legislator J said, "We enjoy seeing the students here and getting involved in the process and learning." Legislator H said, "I think this is great training for them."

Most participants also identified the future benefits of the learning experience. They believed student lobbyists were equipping themselves for future careers and active citizenship. "It is a great experience for them [ASUM student lobbyists] to be able to lobby the halls, walk the halls, and later put this process into place whatever they decide to do" (Legislative Staff Member C). Legislator B similarly commented: "These things are just so valuable, for them [ASUM student lobbyists] to learn the political process because no matter what career they go into, they need working knowledge of the political process."

Participants also talked about the time it took to learn the legislative process and said ASUM student lobbyists were disadvantaged compared with UM System lobbyists because they spent only one session lobbying. For example, Legislator F said, "It takes a

while to figure out, and they are only involved for a couple of years while they are students, so it is hard to really learn it that quick."

That the ASUM student lobbyist position was an experiential one adversely affected their ability to: set a legislative platform and assign issue teams any earlier than November, build and maintain relationships with legislators, access information, and have a presence at the Capitol. Because of this, students were often unable to build institutional knowledge, stay current on legislative happenings, and become savvy about the legislative process.

Conversely, that the UM System lobbyist position was a full-time job positively impacted their ability to: set a legislative platform well before the session started, assign issue teams early enough for them to become issues experts, build and maintain relationships with legislators, have a presence and be known and recognized in the Capitol, receive and access information, understand the ropes of the legislative process, know which legislators to target, and develop institutional knowledge. In sum, the nature of the lobbying positions deeply impacted lobbying behaviors of both teams.

Reporting and Support

ASUM student lobbyists reported to students and were supported by students. Conversely, UM System lobbyists reported to UM System administrators and its governing board and had access to administrative and staff support. This factor generally disadvantaged ASUM student lobbyists and advantaged UM System lobbyists.

ASUM lobbyists were accountable to and mentored by two fellow undergraduate students (the LD and ALD), who had both served as student lobbyists during the prior legislative session. Conversely, UM System lobbyists had a full-time experienced boss to

whom they were accountable. They also had access to and a level of accountability to the four campus chancellors, UM System administrators, and ultimately the Board of Curators.

ASUM student lobbyists had access to assistance from the four campuses' ASUM Board members and student staff members. These part-time student members, who had a high rate of turnover, were available to assist with campus-based letter-writing campaigns and communication with students. However, student lobbyists completed most lobbying related work themselves, e.g., research, wrote their own materials, dealt with the media directly, and mobilized students.

UM System lobbyists had access to full-time UM System administrators and staff to assist with research, prepare information, and talk with the press. For instance, the Division of Finance and Administration prepared budget related reports and information. Institutional public relations officers communicated with media. These administrators and staff members had a low incidence of turnover.

Because of the supervisory experience and support resources available to them, UM System lobbyists had access to more timely and pertinent information, staff assistance, and consistent supervisory assistance than did ASUM student lobbyists. UM System lobbyists could make a call and receive a report or information shortly therefore. On the other hand, ASUM student lobbyists spent a great deal of time researching information, preparing fact sheets, and mobilizing students. This factor was associated with a difference in support provided the two lobbying teams.

Presence at the Capitol

ASUM student lobbyists were required to be at the Capitol 2 days a week while UM System lobbyists were there every day. The LD was also at the Capitol 2 days a week and the ALD at least one day. In general, this factor disadvantaged ASUM student lobbyists and advantaged UM System lobbyists.

ASUM lobbyists were required to be at the Capitol only 2 days a week because of the part-time nature of the position and their academic obligations. The legislature, however, was in session 2 full days (Tuesday and Wednesday) and 2 half days (Monday afternoon and Thursday morning) each week. Moreover, after mid-point and particularly near the end of the session, chambers sometimes stayed in session until early morning and started committee meetings later the same morning.

While most ASUM lobbyists often exceeded the 2 day attendance requirement, they were not at the Capitol many times when UM System lobbyists were. A number of participants remarked about this. In fact, Legislator D called the students "part-time lobbyists" and Legislator M said:

> They [ASUM student lobbyists] may miss something important … They have a lack of sophistication with the legislative process. [UM System] lobbyists who are here more often and have been here for years know who can kill a bill and who can't.

The ALD also described time at the Capitol being limited. S/he said, "This [lobbying] is not even half of what my life entails; I have school and other jobs and other things on top of this."

Participants frequently noted that UM System lobbyists were at the Capitol every day. As Legislator G put it, "UM System lobbyists are here regularly." Legislator B and D were even more specific. Legislator B said, "The professional [UM System] lobbyists

are here every day and they are recognizable." Legislator D said, "They [UM System lobbyists] are at the Capitol a lot – all the time."

Because ASUM student lobbyists were not at the Capitol every day, each issue team met with the LD every Tuesday morning to catch up and craft a plan for the week. Their weekly team meetings were also held on Tuesday afternoon when all students were at the Capitol. However, UM System lobbyists were at the Capitol every day with legislators and were able to remain current on what was happening. They held their weekly meeting on Monday morning before the legislature reconvened so as not to miss anything.

Restrictions on Lobbying Behavior

Restrictions of time and place challenged ASUM student lobbyists' ability to build relationships with legislators. UM System lobbyists could build relationships both inside and outside the Capitol, both during session and when it was recessed. This factor generally disadvantaged ASUM student lobbyists and advantaged UM System lobbyists.

ASUM student lobbyists were at the Capitol for one session only and lobbied only within the Capitol and during working hours. Participants commented on this restriction of time and place. Legislator N said it like this, "So they [ASUM student lobbyists] are down here and do a fantastic job during session but I don't think that the students … there's an inherent hole in the program that they can't practically do much when we're not in session. There's nothing wrong with the program; it's just that these are student lobbyists and are doing this [lobbying] for a semester."

UM System lobbyists, on the other hand, worked year-round. Because their work did not start when the general session began nor did it stop when it ended, they could

"reach out in many ways which our students [ASUM student lobbyists] are unable to duplicate" (UM System Lobbyist D).

In addition to the restrictions of time and place, ASUM student lobbyists were also disadvantaged by the fact that they operated under conditions of the *ASUM Legislative Interns Terms of Agreement* (Appendix U). The agreement was intended to safeguard students who were underage, to prevent violations of ethics standards, and to preserve the nonpartisan nature of the association. As such, the agreement clearly outlined what student lobbyists could and could not do.

For example, student lobbyists could not spend money on lobbying activities, engage in partisan activities, or participate in political or legislative events outside the Capitol without prior approval of the LD. Legislator N talked about the disadvantage of these restrictions:

> One of the inherent restrictions on the ASUM student lobbyists is politics and that they are prohibited from participating – I don't know if they are really but they just don't participate in any politics. And so, as a result of that, there is one full sphere of my world that they are not part of at all.

UM System lobbyists were not restricted in these ways. They could interact with legislators both inside and outside the Capitol and both during the legislative day and outside of it. They could attend political activities outside the Capitol and when the legislature was recessed. Because of their financial resources, they were able to take legislators to meals outside the Capitol, sponsor dinners and recognition events for legislators outside the Capitol, and take legislators on tours of the four UM System campuses. UM System Lobbyist D summarized it this way:

> We [UM System lobbyists] not only meet legislators in the Capitol, but we also have several outside opportunities to educate them on our issues. We held events on each campus for freshmen legislators with the UM System President, and then

as it got into session, we held events with each campus chancellor and the UM System President and invited our regional delegation. This took place in Jefferson City.

A comment made by the ASUM ALD captured the advantages and disadvantages created by the factor of restrictions on lobbying behavior:

> They [UM System lobbyists] have an unlimited scope to what they can do, who they can lobby. We [ASUM student lobbyists] are limited to the people in this building for the time that we are here so we only have 4 months that we work with a set group of people.

Providing Information to Legislators

Both ASUM student lobbyists and UM System lobbyists provided information to legislators. However, participants deemed the type of information provided by each lobbying team to be different and UM System lobbyists more frequently received information from legislators than did ASUM student lobbyists. This factor both advantaged and disadvantaged each lobbying team.

Both teams of lobbyists researched, developed, and provided information to legislators. Both spent a great deal of time gathering and disseminating information. Directing research on and analyzing information related to legislative issues was listed as a characteristic duty on UM System lobbyists' job description. Likewise, ASUM lobbyists spent countless hours researching and preparing information to be provided to legislators. As ASUM Student Lobbyist B described, both teams' lobbyists were "merchants of information."

However, information provided by UM System lobbyists was perceived to be different than that provided by ASUM lobbyists. As reported in Chapter 4, ASUM student lobbyists usually presented information from the student perspective. They spoke from a personal vantage point and by doing so, uniquely presented information. They

brought up points that other higher education lobbyists did not think of and illuminated the potential impact of proposed legislation on students. Participants, especially legislators, deemed this the most frequently used lobbying behavior of ASUM student lobbyists, deemed the behavior effective and influential, and valued and considered the students' perspective.

Participants reported that UM System lobbyists were able to provide greater breadth and depth of information than were ASUM student lobbyists. In each example given, participants either stated or implied that student lobbyists were not able to provide the same quality of information. For example, Legislator D said that even when the two lobbying teams worked on the same issue, the UM System lobbyists "focus on it much broader." Legislator L said, "There's a bigger picture than just what they [ASUM student lobbyists] have." Legislator C cited ASUM lobbyists' "inability to speak in depth on an opposing argument." S/he continued, "They [ASUM student lobbyists] know they want it but sometimes cannot articulate the opposite side and don't head off questions as much as they could."

Participants also talked about amount and analysis as well and the applicability of information. For example, Legislative Staff Member A said that UM System lobbyists "… are able to provide more information to the legislator than what the ASUM student lobbyists may have access to." Legislator K talked of UM System lobbyists having analyzed the information and being able to present in terms of potential impact to the legislator's district. Legislator A referenced this same thing; s/he talked about UM System lobbyists knowing the legislator's district and providing information about the district impact.

A few legislators, however, spoke of UM System lobbyists' using information analysis specific to the district to pressure legislators. For example, Legislator E said:

> They [UM System lobbyists] also use a pressure based system of 'This is how it is going to affect you in your district.' … [S]ometimes it's successful and sometimes, it grates on you and you don't like [it] ... I know that that's part of it. They are trying to pressure you to make a decision and you have to be strong, but it concerns me if weaker [legislators] just follow just so the pressure isn't there.

When asked for clarification, Legislator E elaborated,

> [UM System lobbyists say] 'If you don't do this, this is what's going to happen.' And it's fine to share that with you but you don't do that from the perspective of … it's negatively going to affect the legislator based on a decision that [s/]he believes may be a different way to go and the right way to go.

Another difference in information sharing was that UM System lobbyists both provided information to and received information from legislators while ASUM student lobbyists primarily focused on providing information to legislators. ASUM lobbyists discussed this difference at length. The ALD suggested that "legislators feed them [UM System lobbyists] information," to which the LD added, "They [UM System lobbyists] can get an update on what happened the night before. [They] just show up the next morning and get their update." UM System lobbyists' ability to receive information from legislators advantaged UM System lobbyists and disadvantaged ASUM student lobbyists.

Building Relationships With Legislators

ASUM student lobbyists primarily built relationships with legislators while UM System lobbyists took it to another level. They built and maintained relationships with legislators. This factor generally disadvantaged ASUM lobbyists and advantaged UM System lobbyists.

UM System lobbyists described relationship building as one of their two primary lobbying techniques and strategies. Similarly, ASUM lobbyists regarded building

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relationships with legislators as one of their primary activities. As ASUM Student Lobbyist E summarized while reflecting on the session, "It's all about building relationships." While each lobbying team focused on building relationships with legislators, they did so differently.

Almost every legislator and one legislative staff member distinguished between the depth and quality of relationships UM System lobbyists and ASUM student lobbyists built with legislators. As Legislator H put it, "They [ASUM student lobbyists] don't have the same kind of relationship with legislators [as UM System lobbyists do]." Participants generally attributed UM System lobbyists with stronger relationships; Legislator K described a "trusting relationship where there is a degree of respect."

Most participants distinguished between building and maintaining relationships. They said that ASUM student lobbyists built relationships with legislators while UM System lobbyists both built and maintained them. Legislators generally attributed the difference to UM System lobbyists' longevity in their positions, having known legislators before they had been elected, and having worked with many legislators for a number of years. Legislator D summarized, "They [UM System lobbyists] cultivate relationships" while "students [ASUM student lobbyists] can't do this" because they are not here all the time.

Participants also attributed the difference in relationship building to time spent at the Capitol. As Legislator L remarked, "Communications and relationships are the most important things in the building and it takes a while to develop [relationships] so students are at a disadvantage for the short time they are here." Legislator A commented similarly, "It is difficult for ASUM lobbyists to develop relationships with legislators. They

[ASUM student lobbyists] are only here one year." Legislative Staff Member E

distinguished that "they [ASUM student lobbyists] can't develop long-term

relationships." Conversely, "because UM System lobbyists are here [at the Capitol during

legislative session] every year, they can build on relationships" (Legislator N).

Other participants attributed the difference in relationship building to differential

resources. For example, Legislator N said that "because [UM System lobbyists] have

many more resources at their disposal than do students; it [was] easier for the paid

lobbyists to build relationships."

Meeting With Legislators

ASUM student lobbyists met with all 197 legislators while UM System lobbyists

targeted their meetings with legislators who were influential on priority legislative issues.

This factor was not a decisive advantage or disadvantage to either lobbying team

although on the whole, UM System lobbyists were generally advantaged by greater

access to key legislators.

Both lobbying teams met with legislators to build relationships and influence

legislation. In the case of student lobbyists, meeting with legislators was a technique and

strategy frequently used. In the case of UM System lobbyists, meeting with legislators

was not a separate lobbying behavior, but rather a means of providing and receiving

information.

That ASUM student lobbyists met with all legislators while UM System lobbyists

invested their time in meetings that they thought most productive worked to the

advantage and disadvantage of both lobbying teams. Students, for example, got to know

most legislators and sometimes found an unlikely ally. The LD articulated their meeting with everyone like this:

> [W]e make a big effort to blanket everybody [all legislators]. … It is almost like we are running the presidential election, we have to go door to door to get out the Electoral College votes because we don't have all the big hitters on our side every time so we have to go to everybody and get all the small votes and get it all together.

UM System lobbyists, on the other hand, developed strong relationships with influential legislators.

During ASUM student lobbyists' training, the goal of meeting with every legislator was emphasized. To accomplish this, each student lobbyist was assigned approximately 25 legislators. During the first weeks of the session, students focused on meeting with their assigned legislators. By the fourth and fifth weeks of session, student lobbyists started having second meetings with legislators.

Conversely, UM System lobbyists realized that they could not meet and build relationships with all 197 legislators. UM System Lobbyist E explained that their concentrating on specific legislators had become prevalent over the last 5 years; s/he elaborated that because of term limits, a smaller group of people [legislators] now made the decisions. UM System lobbyists' specifically targeted their meetings to legislators who were leaders and/or held influence on their priority issues.

For example, I observed UM System Lobbyist C frequently meeting with the Chair of the House Higher Education Committee. On numerous occasions I crossed paths with UM System Lobbyist C leaving or coming from the Chair's office. On two occasions, s/he was sitting inside the Chair's office, once listening to floor debate on the

computer and once working on a laptop. On another day, I saw the two having lunch together in the Capitol Cafeteria.

That UM System lobbyists met with some legislators and not with others was also supported by participants. Eleven weeks into the session, two participating legislative staff members said UM System lobbyists had not yet been in the legislator's office for a meeting. And Legislator I said, s/he "only sees the UM System lobbyists in her/his office when the budget is being cut or when they're trying to do something specific for the school."

Another difference in lobbying behavior generally advantaged UM System lobbyists and disadvantaged ASUM student lobbyists. ASUM student lobbyists' meetings with legislators were generally scheduled, formal, and held in legislator's offices, especially during the early weeks of the session. As the session progressed and student lobbyists became more familiar with legislators and the legislative process, they frequently met with legislators in the hallways, in committee meeting rooms, and after requesting to see them outside the chamber. Conversely, UM System lobbyists more frequently met with legislators when and where the opportunity arose and meetings were informal.

I observed from the start of and throughout the session that UM System lobbyists met with legislators at every available opportunity. I observed UM System Lobbyist C use the time until the committee meeting was called to order to visit with legislative committee members. During a committee meeting on another day, UM System Lobbyist D arose from her/his chair to walk beside a legislator sponsor who had just presented a bill. S/he asked the legislator if they could talk and the two left the hearing room together,

engaged in conversation. I also observed UM System lobbyists pulling legislators off the chamber floors to meet. Legislators also mentioned frequently meeting with UM System lobbyists in the hallways.

<p style="text-align:center">Perspective Presented</p>

ASUM student lobbyists spoke from the student perspective and about the potential impact of proposed legislation on university students while UM System lobbyists spoke from the broader university system perspective. This factor both advantaged and disadvantaged each team.

Legislators stated that the student perspective advantaged ASUM student lobbyists, but it also disadvantaged them because it was a micro-level one. As examined in detail in Chapter 4, student lobbyists' ability to speak from a student perspective was deemed unique and useful to legislators. They were able to talk about how proposed policy would impact students. Because of their positions as students representing other students, they researched and provided information from that vantage point.

Similarly, legislators noted that UM System lobbyists' having the big picture view advantaged them. As reported previously in this chapter, UM System lobbyists were able to present legislators with the big picture perspective on higher education policy. They understood the UM System and its needs and legislative priorities, and the impact of the UM System on Missouri. As Legislator H said:

> We might talk to them [UM System lobbyists] about different kinds of things the University might like to do, whether it's funding, whether it's some initiative. We depend on them to know what's going on at the university and what their wishes are.

UM System lobbyists also understood and held an historical perspective on the legislative process as well as particular legislative issues and legislators' stances on them.

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UM System lobbyists understood the Missouri higher education context in a way that ASUM student lobbyists did not. UM System lobbyists attended statewide meetings at which ASUM lobbyist were not present. At least one UM System lobbyist attended Coordinating Board of Higher Education (CBHE) meetings. A team member also attended meetings of the Council on Public Higher Education (COPHE), Missouri's public 4-year college and university presidents and chancellors. The day following a COPHE meeting, UM System Lobbyist C told ASUM student lobbyists that Access Missouri had been discussed at the meeting and shared a handout produced by COPHE. UM System lobbyists had access to information that student lobbyists did not as a result of these statewide networks. Information and lack thereof impacted lobbyists' perspectives.

UM System lobbyists also attended meetings of all public higher education sector lobbyists held at the Capitol during the legislative session. These meetings were not open to the public and ASUM student lobbyists were not invited to attend. As a result, not only did student lobbyists miss valuable statewide perspective information, but they missed an opportunity to build relationships with other higher education lobbyists.

<div align="center">*Involving Constituents*</div>

ASUM student lobbyists involved constituents in the legislative process as did UM System lobbyists. Depending on the legislative issue and each team's stance on it, each team was either advantaged or disadvantaged by the other's ability to involve constituents.

As reported in Chapter 4, ASUM student lobbyists were able to mobilize UM students as well as students from other state public 4-year institutions. This lobbying

behavior was one described by many participants as the most influential of their lobbying behaviors. For example, UM System lobbyists commended ASUM students for their ability to bring so many UM students to the Capitol to visit with legislators, testify in committee hearings, and attend the Access Missouri press conference.

The manner in which ASUM student lobbyists reached out to constituents to secure their involvement generally advantaged them. Using advanced technology and social networking and relationships with young people who worked in the Capitol, ASUM student lobbyists were able to instantaneously involve a large number of students in their legislative issues. Their use of Web sites, e-mail, blogs, Twitter, Facebook, and meeting with key student groups advantaged their lobbying.

Similarly, UM System lobbyists also brought constituents to the Capitol. Over 600 UM alumni attended the UM System Legislative Day at the Capitol. UM System lobbyists reached out to alumni on an ongoing basis through the UM Alumni Alliance and the UMC Alumni Association.

During the 2009 legislative session, each team's constituent involvement was primarily focused on equalizing Access Missouri. Because both lobbying teams were on the same side of the issue, their behavior of involving constituents advantaged both.

Resource Availability

ASUM student lobbyists had few resources available for their lobbying activity while UM System lobbyists had many. Overall, this factor generally advantaged UM System lobbyists and disadvantaged ASUM student lobbyists. However, some participants viewed ASUM student lobbyists' as not being disadvantaged by a lack of resources while others viewed it as an advantage.

Student lobbyists did not have a budget for lobbying activity. They could not buy or give things to legislators. They could not provide a meal for a legislative committee meeting. Because of budget constraints, ASUM did not host their annual Student Showcase at the Capitol during the 2009 legislative session. As Legislator N put it, "[UM System lobbyists] have more resources at their hands than do students." Legislator N portrayed students as having "limited tools."

Conversely, UM System lobbyists had access to funding for lobbying activity, although far less than enjoyed by corporate contract lobbyists. UM System lobbyists had financial resources to purchase meals (e.g., dinners and lunches for legislators, food for legislative committee meetings, recognition event dinners for legislators, lunch for UM Lobby Day). They had resources to take freshman legislators on tours of the four UM campuses. They had resources to provide legislators with tickets to basketball games, football games, and concerts – all activities for which the general public had to pay admission – and to give autographed basketballs and footballs to legislators.

ASUM student lobbyists talked extensively about the difference in financial resources. "[I]t is frustrating that they [UM System lobbyists] have that resource available to them and we really have our integrity and our honesty" (ASUM Student Lobbyist A). ASUM Student Lobbyist J said, "We can't really give favors or bribes like other lobbyists do. We don't have the budget for that. So all we have is our word to go by." ASUM Student Lobbyist A talked about UM System lobbyists being able to give things to legislators and remarked:

> That is obviously something they [UM System lobbyists] can do that we can't. We can't provide anything to them [legislators] other than the facts. That is something that we have to deal with and we actually probably overcompensate with our reputation because we can't go out to big lunch dates with legislators.

Legislator and legislative staff member participants commented on the resource differential between the two lobbying teams. Legislator H said, "They [ASUM student lobbyists] don't offer to take you out for a dinner. I'm sure they don't have the money for it. And … they don't leave gifts. They don't use those techniques." Similarly, Legislator D talked about student lobbyists not being able to take legislators to dinner but added that s/he did not accept dinners from any lobbyist, adding that "their [ASUM student lobbyist] techniques are not financial."

Student lobbyists also told of UM System lobbyists having financial resources to take legislators to UM System campuses. The LD said that they had to bring students to the Capitol to see legislators:

> whereas they [UM System lobbyists] can just load them [the legislators] on a bus and take them [legislators] to Rolla [Missouri University of Science and Technology] and show them around which would be a heck of a lot simpler and students wouldn't be missing class [to come to the Capitol].

In additional to financial resources, participants talked of activity resources available to UM System lobbyists but not to ASUM student lobbyists. Of the activities, Missouri Tigers basketball games were most often mentioned. Legislators talked about UM System lobbyists' building relationships by taking them to Missouri Tigers basketball games. Asked what techniques and strategies UM System lobbyists used, Legislator D simply said, "Basketball games." The 2008-09 Missouri Tigers basketball team went undefeated at home, won its conference championship, and advanced to the NCAA Championship Tournament's *Elite Eight* before being eliminated. Because of the team's success, access to home basketball games, just 30 minutes from the Capitol, was important to most legislator participants. Legislator F called the games something the UM System lobbyists could uniquely provide, something "not to be underestimated."

Legislator D said that watching the game from the UM Presidential Suite was "pretty sweet." Legislator C also talked of tickets to basketball games and correlated it to relationship building: "They [UM System lobbyists] are able to say, 'Do you want to go to the basketball game and we'll talk while you are there?'" And, Legislator N said: "You get stuck at the game and that gives [UM System] lobbyists a good amount of time. They have you confined and discuss issues."

ASUM lobbyists described the game-going activity in light of how it disadvantaged them. The ALD labeled taking legislators to basketball games as "really strategic on their [UM System lobbyists] part." ASUM Student Lobbyist A recounted:

> [I was] watching from the basketball court and watched them in the UM System President's Suite and … it is so frustrating because I just sat there and there was nothing I could do and I knew exactly what they were talking about, I could see what they were doing and it is frustrating that they have this resource available to them and we really have our integrity and honesty.

The LD also spoke of how game activity disadvantaged ASUM student lobbyists: "We are not part of that conversation. We are not sitting at the table and there's nothing we can do about that." In response to the LD's comment, ASUM Student Lobbyist E continued:

> Money is something I thought didn't make a difference because you can't buy a vote. But when you see them [legislators] at a [basketball] game and they are talking to UM System lobbyists … Those legislators are in conversations that just affirms to me that there is an expectation when you [legislators] are taking those tickets that you are going to have these conversations and that you are going to … maybe have your mind changed. There is a certain weight to it. 'I give you these tickets. What does that change for you?'

More of the legislative staff members than legislators who acknowledged that a lack of financial resources disadvantaged ASUM student lobbyists also praised students

for their ability to lobby and have influence without it. For instance, Legislative Staff

Member D said:

> ASUM doesn't have access to money and the ability to … the basketball tickets
> and things like that that they [UM System lobbyists] have access to. They [UM
> System lobbyists] can provide dinner for a hearing… I don't know how effective
> that is at getting votes or anything but I think that's a lobbying technique that's
> widely used and ASUM doesn't have access to or doesn't do. I think that if
> ASUM started to do that, a lot of people would question the integrity of why
> ASUM is doing it.

Finally, Legislative Staff Member C proposed that ASUM student lobbyists not

having financial resources advantaged them. After listing off things given to legislators

by UM System lobbyists, s/he added, "I don't know if those things necessarily help. They

just cost money." S/he continued, "To ASUM's advantage they are not sinking money

into those kinds of things … the bare bones sort of budgeting process that an entity like

ASUM operates with; I think it's a good thing."

<div align="center">Political Capital</div>

UM System lobbyists had access to influential political capital not available to

ASUM student lobbyists. This factor generally disadvantaged ASUM student lobbyists

and advantaged UM System lobbyists. Conversely, ASUM student lobbyists had access

to political capital unique to them being students which generally advantaged them.

Most participants talked about ASUM lobbyists' political capital, or the ability to

influence legislators, being vastly different from that of UM System lobbyists. As

Legislator L described it, ASUM lobbyists represented the *little voices*. Contrarily,

ASUM student lobbyists portrayed UM System lobbyists as a *force to be reckoned with*.

ASUM student lobbyists viewed that they derived political capital from being: (a)

able to present a student perspective, (b) passionate about their issues, and (c) honest and

having a good reputation. First, legislators "value[d] [ASUM student lobbyists'] unique

perspective" (ASUM Student Lobbyist E). This fact "gave them a level of credibility;

their [ASUM student lobbyists'] ability to come in here and tell us how a piece of

legislation is going to affect them [gives them] influence [and political capital]"

(Legislator E).

Second, ASUM student lobbyists being passionate about their issues, a quality

akin to being able to present the student perspective, gave them political capital. About

this, ASUM Student Lobbyist A said that student lobbyists were:

> directly affected by proposed legislation - a fact that made them more passionate.
> If I'm not passionate about it, I can't sell it. If I am, I am going to do everything I
> can to get you [the legislators] to see why it's so important and I think that is a big
> difference between us [ASUM student lobbyists] and the [UM System] lobbyists.

Third, ASUM student lobbyists frequently said their reputation, honesty, and

integrity was all they had with which to influence legislation. Some legislators, like

Legislator B, also spoke of the reputation of ASUM: "Their reputation speaks for itself."

Alternately, UM System lobbyists were viewed as having a high degree of

political capital. ASUM Student Lobbyist A labeled their political capital as originating

from the UM *institutional muscle* and elaborated that:

> You are talking about an institution that is visible in every single county, you
> have students from one of the schools in every single county, you have four
> campuses across the state, you have the chancellors, you have the lobbying team,
> you have the President, you have the Board of Curators and they come out in full
> force. … They are already on it [the student curator issue]; they've already taken
> care of it [before we even know about it]. Their [UM System lobbyists']
> *institutional muscle* is already flexed [before we even know about it].

This *institutional muscle* was visible when proposed Access Missouri legislation

was heard in the House Higher Education and Senate Education Committees. On both

days, all four UM campus chancellors, UMC Alumni Association representatives, and

four of the six UM System lobbyists were present. This same group, with the addition of the UM System President and Vice President for Finance and Administration, attended and spoke at a committee hearing later in the day to support capital construction bonds. At no time during my observations did I see any other university amass a group of this stature or with equal political capital in one place at one time.

UM System lobbyists reaped additional political capital from its Board of Curators, one of whom had recently chaired the Missouri Republican Party, the majority party of the 2009 Missouri Legislature. Board of Curators members were appointed by the governor and prominent citizens of the state. As the ASUM LD summarized:

> The Board of Curators are some of the most politically powerful people in the state and everything that [UM System lobbyist] does is a direct order from them [UM Board of Curators] or a president … and so just having that weight behind them … they're just impressive in what they can do.

On three occasions I observed Curators lobbying in the Capitol. On one occasion, a Curator testified for proposed legislation to designate a curator-at-large immediately prior to an ASUM student lobbyist against it.

Participants frequently talked about the Board of Curators and four legislators and one legislative staff member specifically talked about its political capital. Legislator H said Curators called her/his office and other legislators to influence the curator issue. Legislator M also spoke of the phone calls: "They [UM System lobbyists] apply outside pressure from prominent people [Board of Curators] who make phone calls." And, Legislative Staff Member F said legislators "might feel more influenced by the Board of Curators" than by student lobbyists:

> You have the Board of Curators, a very powerful group of people in our state … and like lightning (snapped fingers), they were calling us from all over the country, and even former board members [were calling]. [The president] even

called us. I think the students [ASUM student lobbyists] try hard and they are really working for their causes but I think at the same time, they're at odds with some of the legislative priorities with another group of people [who] are considered much more powerful to a lot of legislators.

ASUM student lobbyists were lobbying to secure a voting student curator and the Board of Curators was opposed to. The Board was lobbying to create a curator-at-large to which ASUM was opposed. Because of this opposing stances, student lobbyists frequently talked about the Board's political capital and the overwhelming fact that they were lobbying against the Board.

Relationship Between the Lobbying Teams

ASUM student lobbyists relied heavily on UM System lobbyists and UM System lobbyists likewise relied on ASUM student lobbyists when in agreement on issues. Moreover, UM System lobbyists and ASUM student lobbyists worked against each other when on opposite sides of an issue. These factors both advantaged and disadvantaged each team.

The relationship between the teams fluctuated based on whether the teams were or were not working from the same position on an issue. The ASUM LD discussed the fluctuating relationship:

> We have to look to them [UM System lobbyists] on issues that we [ASUM student lobbyists] are lobbying … the same. They have become like our counselors in a certain sense. … Ultimately, they are the ones taking the lead on those issues that we collaborate on. And there [are] issues they are indifferent to, like our landlord-tenant legislation this year. … [On these issues], basically they help [us] know certain tricks of the trade. That [is] all they offer because the President and the Board of Curators … had not asked them to work on it, so basically they tell us how to stay out of their way. … On issues that don't relate to what they are doing, they are very helpful. They don't take the lead on our issues at all, and they don't get in the way on our issues. They tell us how to stay out of their way and they help us strategize if we ask for it.

Both the ASUM student lobbyists and UM System lobbyists talked about working together on particular legislative issues. When working on the same stance on the same issue, both advantaged the other. In this instance, the two teams worked closely, shared information, strategized together, and relied on each other. The relationship was one of mutual need and mutual aid. For example, the two teams worked collaboratively on budget appropriations, Access Missouri, and Caring for Missourians. In some sense and on these issues specifically, the two operated not as distinct teams but more like interdependent extensions of the other.

Some participants viewed them as one lobbying team working in tandem on these issues. For example, Legislator G said that on issues where the stance was in common the teams lobbied so similarly, s/he was unsure if the student lobbyists took their cues from the UM System lobbyists or if it was the other way around. Similarly, Legislative Staff Member D assumed that student lobbyists went back and checked with UM System lobbyists to get information requested by legislators.

When working on opposite stances on the same issue, each team disadvantaged the other. When working from opposite stances, as on the curator/curator-at-large issue, both teams closely guarded information and generally avoided talking about the issue. Student lobbyists looked around the legislative library to see if a UM System lobbyist was within earshot before discussing strategy on the issue. ASUM Student Lobbyist F also told of her/his knowing that the House Rules Committee intended to send the curator-at-large bill back to its Higher Education Committee. As Student Lobbyist F recounted:

> It was awkward because we passed UM System Lobbyist C in the hallway [when] we had been down in Rules [Committee]. [UM System Lobbyist C] said, 'Do you

guys know what is going on down in Rules [Committee]' and we were like, 'No, we don't know anything' and kind of played stupid because we didn't want anyone to know [what was happening].

A caveat of this factor was that both teams were not working in tandem or opposing one another on all issues at the same time. All issues were in play in the legislative process at the same time, requiring the teams to work collaboratively and in opposition simultaneously. This made the relationship even more awkward.

Not only did ASUM student lobbyists find the relationship awkward when the two teams were in opposition, but other participants found the presence of two teams from the same institution working opposite the other to be difficult to reconcile. For example, Legislative Staff Member E said, "There is sometimes a cognitive dissonance between ASUM student [lobbyists] and UM System lobbyists and their stances. Legislative Staff Member F said this was sometimes confusing to legislators:

> Student lobbyists coming in to lobby … one way and then we have them [UM System lobbyists] coming in lobbying … on the other side of the same issue. It is kind of a strange situation really because they are both essentially lobbying for the same purpose, but [on] two different sides of that issue.

Yet other legislators wondered why the lobbying teams did not have a more formal relationship and work more closely. Several legislators commented on the possibilities should they work more collaboratively. Legislator B talked at length about this:

> It is interesting that the professional [UM System] lobbyists generally do not use ASUM as a lobbying arm. It is like two totally separate organizations and it could be because sometimes they don't agree with one another. I tend to think that there's just not a lot of cooperation between them … that's just kind of the sense that I get. In my opinion, there is no cooperation between the paid [UM System] lobbyists and the lobbyists for ASUM and whether that is right or wrong, I don't know.

Summary of ASUM Student Lobbyists' Behavior

Compared With That of UM System Lobbyists

Research question two inquired about comparisons between the lobbying behavior of ASUM student lobbyists during the 2009 Missouri Legislative Session and that of UM System lobbyists during the same session. The teams were compared because they lobbied for the same higher education institution and often lobbied on the same legislative platform.

Before comparing lobbying behavior of the two teams, however, it was first necessary to describe UM System lobbyists' behavior. They primarily used two lobbying behaviors: (a) sharing information with legislators and (b) building and maintaining relationships with legislators. Sharing information with legislators consisted of providing information to and receiving information from legislators. Meeting with legislators was shown to be part of providing information to legislators.

Many similarities were identified within both teams' lobbying behaviors. Both teams provided information to legislators, built relationships with legislators, and met with legislators. However, meeting with legislators was a primary activity of ASUM student lobbyists while it was a secondary one for UM System lobbyists.

Appendix V provides an illustrative summary of similarities and differences in ASUM student lobbyists' and UM System lobbyists' lobbying behavior. Appendix V also depicts the factors that influenced both team's lobbying behavior. Some factors generally advantaged or disadvantaged one team or the other, while others did not. The 13 factors used to compare each team's lobbying behavior with the other are next summarized.

First, ASUM student lobbyists were full-time students serving as part-time lobbyists with cumulative experience of two legislative sessions between them while UM System lobbyists were full-time professionals who collectively held 6-plus decades of higher education lobbying experience. This factor generally advantaged UM System lobbyists and disadvantaged ASUM student lobbyists.

Second, ASUM student lobbyists served in an unpaid experiential position for the duration of one legislative session while UM System lobbyists were hired for and expected to perform specific job responsibilities. This factor generally disadvantaged ASUM student lobbyists and advantaged UM System lobbyists.

Third, ASUM's lobbying team was comprised of students reporting to and being mentored and supported by other students while a vice presidential-level lobbyist supervised and coached UM System lobbyists who were supported by full-time administrators and staff members. This factor generally disadvantaged ASUM student lobbyists and advantaged UM System lobbyists.

Fourth, because they had academic obligations and lobbied part-time, ASUM student lobbyists were required to be at the Capitol 2 days a week while UM System lobbyists were there every day. This factor generally advantaged UM System lobbyists and disadvantaged ASUM student lobbyists.

Fifth, because they were students affiliated with a nonpartisan student association, ASUM student lobbyists were restricted to lobbying within the Capitol when the legislature was in session while UM System lobbyists interacted with legislators both within and outside the Capitol during session and upon its recess. This factor generally disadvantaged ASUM student lobbyists and advantaged UM System lobbyists.

Sixth, ASUM student lobbyists provided information about how proposed legislation would potentially impact university students while UM System lobbyists presented breadth, depth, and analysis of information from a big picture perspective. This factor both advantaged and disadvantaged each lobbying team.

Seventh, ASUM student lobbyists built relationships with legislators only during the session and only at the Capitol while UM System lobbyists both built and maintained relationships with legislators both within and outside the session and the Capitol. This factor generally disadvantaged ASUM lobbyists and advantaged UM System lobbyists.

Eighth, ASUM student lobbyists attempted to meet with all legislators while UM System lobbyists targeted meetings to the most influential legislators. Both lobbying teams were generally advantaged and disadvantaged by this factor although UM System lobbyists were advantaged by their relationships with legislative leaders.

Ninth, ASUM student lobbyists represented the university student perspective while UM System lobbyists represented the UM System and statewide higher education perspective. This factor both advantaged and disadvantaged each team.

Tenth, ASUM student lobbyists involved UM and university students from across the state in the legislative process while UM System lobbyists involved UM alumni. This factor generally advantaged both teams when the issue was one on which both teams agreed.

Eleventh, UM System lobbyists had access to financial and activity resources unavailable to ASUM student lobbyists. This factor generally advantaged UM System lobbyists and disadvantaged ASUM student lobbyists.

Twelfth, ASUM student lobbyists amassed political capital through their ability to share a student perspective while UM System lobbyists had political backing from powerful individuals. Both teams were advantaged by their unique political capital but overall, this factor generally disadvantaged ASUM student lobbyists and advantaged UM System lobbyists.

Thirteenth, when ASUM student lobbyists and UM System lobbyists worked in tandem on issues, they were both advantaged. When the teams worked on opposite sides of an issue, both were disadvantaged.

On balance, a comparison of factors affiliated with lobbying behavior of the two lobbying teams – a student lobbying team and a professional lobbying team – more often generally advantaged UM System lobbyists and disadvantaged ASUM student lobbyists. Some factors, however, did not advantage or disadvantage either lobbying team. Moreover, the advantage and/or disadvantage of many factors depended on situational elements such as the particular issue or legislator. Overall, ASUM student lobbyists were advantaged in unique ways that professional higher education lobbyists were not and vice versa. A summary of the comparison of lobbying behavior might best be summarized like this:

> "[T]hey [UM System lobbyists] have ASUM. We're working on a lot of the same issues as them so they [legislators] are getting double-whammied … and I think that's a pretty impressive advantage that … [ASUM student lobbyists and UM System lobbyists] have over other [higher education] lobbyists" (ASUM LD).

Chapter Six

FINDINGS: PERCEIVED INFLUCENCE OF ASUM STUDENT LOBBYISTS

ON HIGHER EDUCATION LEGISLATION

Introduction

Numerous scholars (Cook, 1998; Gittell & Kleiman, 2000; Gove & Carpenter, 1977; Hicks, 1987; Jones, 1987; Parsons, 2005; Potter, 2003; Tandberg, 2006) have suggested that students can be influential as lobbyists and/or as partners in higher education sector lobbying. However, there is limited literature addressing the lobbying behavior used by students and its perceived influence on higher education legislation.

Thus, the overarching purpose of this study was to examine and describe this perceived influence. Therefore, the overarching research question of this study was research question three: How did Associated Students of the University of Missouri (ASUM) student lobbyists, legislators, legislative staff members, and University of Missouri (UM) System lobbyists perceive the influence of ASUM student lobbyists on higher education legislation during the 2009 Missouri Legislative Session?

Because research question three distinguished among perceptions of the four participant groups, findings are described separately for ASUM student lobbyists, legislators, legislative staff members, and UM System lobbyists. Doing so allowed unique experiences with ASUM student lobbyists as well as perceptions unique to any participant group to emerge.

Participants were not provided a framework for defining influence; therefore, perceptions of influence reflected participants' individualized ideology and value system. Because several of the 37 participants specifically used the terms *minimal* and *substantial*

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to describe student lobbyists' influence, they were adopted to label emergent themes about student lobbyists' influence. Because perceptions fell along a continuum, the label moderate was added by the researcher. Thus, student lobbyists' perceived influence was labeled: (a) substantial, (b) moderate, or (c) minimal.

First, perceptions of ASUM student lobbyists about their influence on higher education legislation are described. Second, legislators' perceptions are described, followed by legislative staff members' perceptions, and then UM System lobbyists' perceptions. Third, factors associated with the perceived influence of ASUM student lobbyists are described. Fourth, findings about how ASUM student lobbyists might have been more influential are described. Fifth, outcomes of ASUM's 2009 legislative priorities are reported. Finally, the chapter concludes with a summary.

ASUM Student Lobbyists' Perceptions of ASUM Student Lobbyists' Influence

Generally, ASUM student lobbyists perceived themselves as more influential than did other participants (Appendix W). However, before describing their perceptions and the reasons for them, two things are of note. First, there was disparity between how much influence student lobbyists envisioned they would have going into the session and what they perceived as actualized by the session's end. Some students had imagined that their influence would be greater than it was in actuality while others expressed surprise their actual influence exceeded what they believed probable.

When going into the session, two student lobbyists forecasted their ability to influence would be greater than it was. Student Lobbyist B said, "I thought we would have more ability to get things done." Student Lobbyist H shared that s/he "thought beforehand, 'I can get a bill passed'" only to later realize that the legislative process was

complex and bills were seldom passed in just one legislative session. By the session's end, of the two students who had imagined that their influence would be greater, one perceived that their influence had been substantial and the other moderate.

Conversely, six student lobbyists realized at the session's end that they had been more influential than anticipated. Student Lobbyist F said, "I really didn't think we would have that much influence. I think we have a lot more influence than I would have thought." Similarly, Student Lobbyist A concluded, "It was kind of surreal to realize that we did have [influence] because my initial feeling was that we were just kind of going to be simple student interns but that is really not what it was at all." At the end of session, five of six students who had projected less influence perceived they had achieved substantial influence while one viewed it as moderate.

Second, student lobbyists' perceptions of their influence halfway through the session were different than at its end. This shift was most evident on their weekly reports as well in the differences between responses to a mid-session focus group interview and individual interviews conducted in late April.

Close to mid-session, the LD said that student lobbyists' influence at that time varied by issue because some had "been thrown into their legislation more than others" as a result of how issues came up. Near the same time, the ALD assessed that influence was progressing more slowly than anticipated on certain issues because of the legislature's focus on budget. At the end of session, however, both the LD and ALD perceived student lobbyists' influence to have been substantial.

Student lobbyists became more pragmatic about the legislative process as they experienced it. They came to realize many things. One, "there are so many other things

that could be influencing the decision" (Student Lobbyist F). Two, passing a bill was not the only indicator of influence. Three, potential influence depended on individual legislators' openness. Four, "You never really know ultimately what made [an occurrence] happen, but it might have been you" (ASUM LD). Five, influence was not confined to one legislative session. Student Lobbyist G concluded, "We do have influence. … We accomplished a lot; we did a lot of good things. I am anxious to see next year, how they [ASUM student lobbyists] can capitalize on some of the strides that we have made."

<div align="center">Substantial Influence</div>

Although they became more pragmatic about their ability to influence legislation as the session unfolded, 8 of 10 ASUM student lobbying team members perceived that they had achieved substantial influence during the 2009 legislative session. They described their influence as *significant*, *a good deal of*, *pretty good*, and *great*. Those who perceived their influence was substantial most often attributed it to six factors: (a) issues, (b) being students, (c) providing a student perspective, (d) ASUM's reputation, (e) legislators, and (f) higher education focus during the legislative session.

First, ASUM student lobbyists perceived that they derived substantial influence since their issues were unique to students, generally solid ideas, and ones that might not have been considered otherwise. The ALD described how their issues contributed to their influence:

> In terms of what is sensible to people [legislators], our issues are strong – to certain people. And they are not things [issues] they would have necessarily have thought of on their own; they are something that a student has to bring up to them but once a student does bring it up, they say, 'Oh yes, that is something that ought to be changed.'

Student Lobbyist F shared on a weekly report that a legislator "was impressed on the stuff [issues] we were lobbying on." Similarly, Student Lobbyist H reported that a legislator "seemed shocked that students would take on an *adult* issue like landlord-tenant legislation." Regarding landlord-tenant issues, Student Lobbyist H posited, "We have a bill [being proposed on security deposits and utility issues] right now because we thought of the idea and pushed it and it is completely our thing. … No one would have thought of it if we hadn't."

Second, ASUM student lobbyists perceived that they derived substantial influence from the fact that they were students. Student Lobbyist G explained, "I think our influence is a different kind of influence."

Because they were students, some legislators gave student lobbyists more time and attention, listened to them more attentively, trusted them differently than professional lobbyists, and often adopted a mentor/teacher role with them. Student lobbyists also connected the fact that they were students to greater influence with new and with young legislators. Student Lobbyist F remarked, "Younger legislators and the freshmen [legislators] kind of depend on us a little bit more [than more experienced legislators]."

Third, ASUM student lobbyists attributed their substantial influence to the fact that they presented a unique perspective – the student perspective – as examined in Chapter 4. As such, they were able to explain the potential impact of legislation on university students across the state.

This student perspective was unique from any other lobbyist. Because of this, they carried a certain amount of influence. Student Lobbyist H exclaimed that "on the whole, we really do have a good deal of influence and people [legislators] do really listen to us,

and people [legislators] do actually work with us and take our [student perspective] opinions into consideration." As students, "we have a point of view they [legislators] wouldn't think of" (Student Lobbyist C).

Fourth, student lobbyists believed that ASUM's reputation was a factor in their substantial influence. ASUM was founded in 1975 and its student lobbyists had been at the Capitol since 1976. As such, the association had a sense of history with some legislators. Several legislators over the years had been former ASUM student lobbyists themselves. As Student Lobbyist A said, legislators "know what the organization is; they know … we don't get paid for this, that we don't have a budget to spend on this. It is purely our reputation and our word – that is what is influencing."

Fifth, student lobbyists linked their substantial influence to the fact that higher education was a priority from day one of the 2009 legislative session. As such, many higher education related issues rose to prominence: Access Missouri, Caring for Missourians, Board of Curators membership, immigration, conceal and carry, proposed expansion of Missouri's A+ Schools Program (a state program legislated in Missouri in 1992 for the purpose of preparing high school students for college and assisting with financing attendance at a public community college), general appropriations, and capital projects funding.

Because of their early introduction and the number of higher education-related bills, from the start of the session student lobbyists were able to work on significant policy issues and their opinions were sought. Many reported being asked by legislators, including during initial meetings, about the various higher education issues. Student

Lobbyist B described that "we [ASUM student lobbyists] are a resource, not only on our expert issues but on everything higher ed[ucation] and student related."

Moderate Influence

Two ASUM student lobbying team members perceived that they had moderate influence during the 2009 legislative session. Students attributed their moderate influence to four factors: (a) legislators, (b) being students, (c) UM System lobbyists, and (d) the legislature's focus on budget.

First, student lobbyists attributed their modest influence to individual legislators' personalities, ideologies, and stances. The 197 legislators' personalities, and thus their reactions to student lobbyists, varied greatly.

Some legislators opened their door to students while a few were not willing to meet with them. Some legislators were nice to students while others were not. Some were open to being influenced by students while others paid their opinions little heed. Some engaged student lobbyists in discussion while others interrupted or did not let them talk. Some became mentors and coaches to student lobbyists while others expressed shock that they were registered legislative lobbyists. Some understood student issues as a result of having a son or daughter in college while others had not been to and/or held misperceptions about college. Some legislators were ideologically opposed to some ASUM legislative stances and were forthright about saying that their stance would not change while others had their minds changed on the issue by student lobbyists.

Second, student lobbyists perceived that their being students and sharing a student perspective attributed to their moderate influence. They described being a student as a

double-edged sword. Paradoxically, being a student both contributed to and diminished their ability to influence.

Student Lobbyist G explained how being a student diminished influence. S/he acknowledged that they "did not have the experience and the age that most people [legislators] associate with lobbyists. They just think, 'Oh, they're students.'" Student Lobbyist G elaborated that their influence:

> is not taken the same way [as other lobbyists] I think. I think on one hand they [legislators] see us as students and on the other hand … There are two distinctions there between a student and a lobbyist and I think that sometimes it may be difficult for legislators to fit the two together. I think it all kind of depends on the legislator whether we [ASUM student lobbyists] were able to influence them or not.

Third, all ASUM student lobbying team members believed UM System lobbyists worked against their potential influence on the voting student curator issue. Student lobbyists had been instrumental in passing legislation in both chambers during the 2008 legislative session to place a voting student curator on the UM Board of Curators although the governor then vetoed it. Because of this, UM System lobbyists came out against a voting student curator from the start of the 2009 session. Student lobbyists were keenly aware that UM System lobbyists were working to mitigate their influence by convincing legislators that a voting student curator was not good public policy.

Student lobbyists often spoke about how challenging it was to influence legislators because they were up against the politically influential members of the Board of Curators, the UM System President who was calling legislators and visiting with them at basketball games, and the highly experienced UM System lobbying team. However, while student lobbyists recognized that UM System lobbyists diminished their influence, Student Lobbyist A also saw it as a sign of student lobbyists' influence:

You [ASUM student lobbyists] can tell how much influence you have by who [UM System lobbyist] is working against you. You have a team of professional lobbyists come in right behind you and try to persuade the other way. It clearly shows that they are concerned that you might actually be able to get this handled, actually be successful.

Fourth, student lobbyists posited that the 2009 legislative session being dominated by budget decisions had moderated their influence. Budget was a central focus coming into the session and remained so throughout. Because of this, other legislative matters received less attention. Student lobbyists attributed their moderate influence to the fact that non-budget issues were competing against budget issues for a place on the policy agenda. Student Lobbyist B reflected, "I think there has been little chance to influence this year because of the way the issues came up."

As described in Chapter 4, the budget process was more difficult to influence than other issues. Because of this, the issue team working on budget issues described that they lacked the opportunity for direct influence "because we have not pushed an actual bill which is just a product of the [budget] issue ..." Once federal stimulus and stabilization funding was announced, the budget process became more confusing and less open to influence. Separate bills for stimulus funding kept it apart from general revenue funds. The ASUM budget issues team described the budget process as very difficult to keep up with and their fellow other student lobbyists seemed unsure of what they were doing to influence it.

Legislators' Perceptions of ASUM Student Lobbyists' Influence

Overall, three of 14 participating legislators perceived ASUM student lobbyists' influence as substantial, eight as moderate, and three as minimal. In sum, more than one half the legislators perceived student lobbyists' influence as moderate. Further, legislators

were the only participant group to perceive student lobbyists' influence as minimal (see

Appendix W) and their perceptions were the most diverse among the four participant

groups.

Of note is that most every legislator, including those who perceived their

influence as minimal, commented positively about the student lobbyists. For instance,

Legislator I clarified that the "students were listened to." And, Legislator H said, "Their

trying is admirable and I think it's great that they are doing what they are doing …", and,

if they have a lack of influence, "it is certainly not because of anything they do wrong."

Substantial Influence

Legislators who perceived student lobbyists' influence as substantial attributed it

to four lobbying behaviors. The four included: (a) sharing the student perspective, (b)

exhibiting personal characteristics and attributes, (c) having a presence at the Capitol, and

(d) working within the legislative process.

First, legislators linked substantial influence to student lobbyists' sharing the

student perspective. Legislator E said, "… [T]he ability to come and tell us how a piece

of legislation is going to affect them" gives them credibility. Legislator N put it like this:

> I think most effective for them [ASUM student lobbyists] is that it is refreshing to
> see the young students come in here. They're not the grizzled old lobbyists who
> have been here for 100 years. So they have a fresh perspective on things, a fresh
> young perspective on things.

Legislator L described that student lobbyists talked to legislators "specifically on bills

that pertain to them and they come with arguments."

Of the legislator participants, Legislator B spoke the longest about the usefulness

and influence of the student perspective. Because Legislator B did not have ready access

to opinions from home district university students, s/he relied on the student perspective presented by ASUM student lobbyists.

Second, not only did legislators perceive ASUM student lobbyists' personal characteristics and attributes to be a lobbying behavior as described in Chapter 4, but they associated them with substantial influence. Legislators most often linked influence to the characteristics of being: prepared, respectful, organized, of high moral character, able to withstand a high degree of scrutiny when testifying at committee hearings, consistent, tenacious, professional, courageous, and courteous.

Additionally, legislator participants linked substantial influence to students knowing their issues, knowing the oppositions' arguments, having good interpersonal skills, and being passionate about their issues. Legislator H noted student lobbyists' passion for issues. S/he said, "I always tell them [ASUM student lobbyists] if there's ever anything I want to push, I'm going to get them because as young people and having the passion for what they do, it could not fail."

Other legislators focused on influence derived from the attribute of being students. Some legislators had "intrinsic sympathy for the students" and "want[ed] the students to be successful" (Legislator M). Similarly, Legislator K shared that legislators who had worked in higher education were open to student lobbyists and were willing to help them.

Third, ASUM student lobbyists' presence and visibility at the Capitol contributed to their substantial success. Legislators talked about their individual and collective presence and also about the presence of university students they brought to the Capitol. Legislator K linked presence to substantial influence:

… [S]omething else I might say is it is just the sheer presence of them [ASUM student lobbyists]. They might have two and a-half rows of students there [at legislative committee meetings] so I think their presence either as individuals or as a group is a powerful influence.

Legislator L also commented on their presence at committee meetings, noting that they all sat together. S/he described, "So *that* is a lobbying group, from my perspective." Other legislators remarked on student lobbyists always being around the Capitol, often sitting in the back of the chamber, and watching.

Legislators also spoke of student lobbyists' ability to bring a student presence to the Capitol. Legislator D said that "getting students to the Capitol" is most influential, "particularly if you can get students from the legislators' districts to see them."

Fourth, legislators linked ASUM student lobbyists working within the process to their substantial influence, although lack of knowledge about the process was conversely cited as a factor that diminished influence. Many legislators praised student lobbyists' maturity and ability to objectively navigate the process. For instance, Legislator G said, "They [ASUM student lobbyists] work the process to make sure if and when it [legislation of interest] is there, they can have their say and possibly influence the committee or me or both."

Similarly, Legislator B commended student lobbyists for being mature enough to realize that sometimes you and a legislator are apart on an issue and the next day, you are together on something because "that's just part of the process but I think we still need each other." Legislator B provided the specific example of speaking in support of the curator-at-large bill and a student lobbyist testifying in opposition during which the two sat side by side. The next week at the Access Missouri press conference, the two were on

the same side of the issue. Legislator B told the student, "Well, we are together on this one."

Moderate Influence

Eight of 14 or just over one-half of participating legislators perceived ASUM student lobbyists' influence to be moderate. However, this group of legislators held multi-dimensional perceptions of student lobbyists' influence, viewing it as varying with different legislators and on different issues. As a result, these legislators perceived student lobbyists' influence to have been moderate. Most legislators qualified their perceptions of moderate influence on the basis of: (a) the issue, (b) the legislator, (c) past encounters, and (d) the strength of the opposition.

First, legislators said student lobbyists' influence was different on different issues. Two issues most frequently mentioned were voting student curator and Access Missouri. Legislators perceived that they had less influence on voting student curator and conversely, a noticeable amount on Access Missouri. Some said that ASUM's reputation, and therefore influence, had been strengthened as a result of their working on Access Missouri. Legislator D said, "Taking on Access has provided the opportunity for them [ASUM student lobbyists] not to be a one-trick pony. They have lobbied on voting student curator for years and they are known for that *one* issue."

Legislator G, who said that student lobbyists had not influenced her/his stance on a voting student curator, talked of their being on the same side of Access Missouri. S/he said that this fact made the student lobbyists and her/him "more aligned" and "closer now because we have a common goal, despite [my] having always been categorically against the voting student curator."

About the student curator issue, Legislator A called it a tough issue and acknowledged that influencing it was made more challenging because "they [ASUM student lobbyists] have encountered opposition in their own community – the University of Missouri community." Legislator K remarked about this as well: "[T]hey have had difficulty influencing the curator issue … because there are a lot of forces against them that don't want them to accomplish that."

Second, legislators agreed that student lobbyists' influence was largely dependent on individual legislators and their openness to being influenced. Nearly every legislator said that each legislator would perceive, treat, and be influenced by student lobbyists in an individualized manner, depending on the legislator's personality and ideology. Participant legislators viewed themselves as being open to students, but suggested that some of their colleagues were less so. As Legislator N described, legislators' reactions:

> … run from both extremes, folks [legislators] who welcome these students with open arms and folks who say, 'You know what, you don't have much credibility with me.' [Legislators] embrace the students and [legislators] dismiss them or are dismissive toward [them]. We have seen it run the entire spectrum.

Several legislators connected legislators' openness to being influenced by student lobbyists to specific criteria. For example, Legislator F equated it having a college or university in the district: "Unless they [legislators] have a university in their district, they are not receptive [to student lobbyists' influence]. The ones [legislators] with a university seem to be more open."

Some legislators talked about legislators' misunderstanding about and attitudes toward college students. Legislator L said s/he listened to and was open to influence by student lobbyists, but did ponder "why people [legislators] have the attitudes they do to young people." Similarly, Legislator K said that while "some legislators have a sense of

warmth for students … there are a number of legislators who buy into that stereotypical view of college students." Legislator K elaborated that some legislators misunderstand the cost of college and college students in general, thinking that they do not take academics seriously "or that they are living a more lavish lifestyle than their finances allow and therefore, accruing more debt than would have been necessary just to pay expenses." Thus, some legislators set the bar higher for student lobbyists because they were students.

Most legislators posited that influence was dependent on the legislator. Legislator H described student lobbyists being influential with her/him on some issues, unable to influence her/him on the voting student curator issue, and less influential with the legislature as a whole than with her/him. Similarly, Legislator G commented on student lobbyists' substantial influence on Access Missouri, but said, "On the one issue [voting student curator] they've really had, and I'm just looking at myself, they have not influenced me." Yet other legislators shared the converse: Students had influenced them personally but were deemed less influential with the collective legislature.

Third, some legislators related past encounters with student lobbyists to current perceptions of the 2009 lobbying team's influence. This case study was bound to the 2009 Missouri Legislative Session, yet three legislators said past encounters impacted their current perception of student lobbyists' influence. Two of the legislators said they had debated sharing the past encounters but realized it was important because it shaped their current perceptions.

Past encounters shared both diminished and enhanced current levels of perception. Legislator L recounted that s/he had "only felt disappointment in one person

[ASUM student lobbyists] ...” S/he shared that a past student lobbyist had been disrespectful, antagonistic, and offended her/him. Legislator L indicated that s/he would always remember that incident because it was so negative. S/he noted that the lobbyist's personality impacted potential influence.

Conversely, Legislator K linked a previous positive encounter to her/his perception of student lobbyists' influence during the 2009 session. S/he elaborated: "Had I not had the previous [positive] experience with the student having stood up under very difficult situations, I would have had a much different view of ASUM students at this time." Legislator K shared that two student lobbyists had visited her/him at the start of the 2009 legislative session to ask for increased funding. This occurred after "public higher education institutions had been asked to develop scenarios of 10, 15, and 25 percent cuts" and after the governor agreed to hold higher education funding level (Legislator K). The students "came across as terribly naïve. It illustrated a level of naivety that I did not expect because I had the experience with past students being pretty astute" (Legislator K).

Fourth, many legislators qualified that student lobbyists' influence had been moderated by the strength of the opposition. Talking specifically about the students' lobbying to get a voting student curator, legislators commented on the difficulty of students influencing the issue because of the strong opposition to it, both among the legislators and from the UM System and its lobbyists.

Legislator H clarified that during the 2008 session, the UM System did not come out against the voting student curator until late in the session but that they were in opposition from the start of the 2009 session. Legislator H said s/he would have more

trouble going against the UM System lobbyists than the student lobbyists. Legislator K posed that student lobbyists lack of influence on the voting student curator issue was "perhaps more a reflection of the counterpoint than … of their lack of influence."

Minimal Influence

Three legislators used the term *minimal* to describe ASUM student lobbyists' influence. This level of influence was most often attributed to three factors: (a) being students, (b) being at the Capitol for a limited time, and (c) being one of many voices.

First, minimal influence was attributed to student lobbyists being students. Legislator H initially said, "I think they [ASUM student lobbyists] are probably pretty influential." However, when asked specifically about their influence, Legislator H described it as "not overwhelming" because:

> most people [legislators] here take them for what they are – students. I take them serious, but on the other hand, I understand [that] they're students … [and]... other people [legislators] … might not take them quite as serious … [or] feel as much obligation to them.

Second, minimal influence was attributed to the fact that, as students, they were only at the Capitol for a short time. Their limited time at the Capitol was described in Chapter 5 as a factor that disadvantaged ASUM student lobbyists. As Legislator F put it, "It is really hard to learn [the legislative process] that quickly. It takes everyone; it takes me, all of us, time to learn so you can't really blame them [ASUM student lobbyists] for that."

Third, legislators attributed minimal influence to the fact that student lobbyists were but one of many voices and often held a narrow perspective about higher education issues. Legislator C shared that their "argument is always from one vantage point – the

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student perspective – which is good to piece together a bigger picture of an education policy, but they don't provide an overall picture of education in the state."

<div align="center">Legislative Staff Members' Perceptions of ASUM Student Lobbyists' Influence</div>

Although not policymakers themselves, legislative staff members held a valuable perspective on ASUM student lobbyists' influence because they worked closely with legislators. Overall, attributes on which legislators and legislative staff members based their perceptions were quite similar. However, legislative staff members generally perceived student lobbyists' influence as greater than did legislators. (See Appendix W.) And, as legislators had, some legislative staff spoke of influence broadly while others personalized influence by providing specific examples.

Five of the seven participating legislative staff members perceived ASUM student lobbyists' influence was substantial. Two described that their influence was moderate and none perceived it was minimal.

<div align="center">*Substantial Influence*</div>

Very was a word often used by legislative staff members when describing their perceptions of ASUM student lobbyists' influence (for example, *very influential*, *very effective*). Many qualified their perceptions of substantial influence with real-life stories to support their viewpoint that influence was greatest when students were directly affected by and could involve other students in the issue.

Legislative staff members recounted that they had witnessed student lobbyists' "great influence" (Legislative Staff Member E) first-hand. For instance, Legislative Staff Member B said, "Well, I have seen it work" and described a time when student lobbyists "came in here and changed a mind." Students explained to the legislator the difference in

two bills regarding the make-up of the UM Board of Curators. The legislator was unclear about the bills, had signed on to co-sponsor one, and then changed her/his mind after hearing what the students had to say. Legislative Staff Member B described that her/his legislator would have made a mistake had the student lobbyists' "not cleared the air." As a result of this interaction, "they [UM student lobbyists] have very good influence with this office" (Legislative Staff Member B).

Legislative Staff Member F also shared a specific story of influence. S/he told of the legislator asking to meet with the students and see what they thought of a potential amendment. Legislative Staff Member F explained that her/his office took the view that if they are "making decisions over public higher education then the students need a voice." S/he said that student lobbyists had "great influence" with her/his legislator.

More specifically, legislative staff members associated ASUM student lobbyists' substantial influence with the issues. They talked specifically about issues: (a) that directly affected students, (b) on which they involved other students, and (c) on which the ASUM and UM stances were aligned.

First, being students themselves and able to address how proposed legislation potentially affected students enhanced ASUM student lobbyists' influence. Legislative Staff Member E described their "not knowing what is going on is disarming and might work to their [ASUM student lobbyists] advantage. For example, 'I'm young, listen to me. Trust me; it's a student issue.'" Similarly, Legislative Staff Member A said:

> I think they [ASUM student lobbyists] do influence because it directly affects them and by voicing an opinion about how they feel the legislation should be, it is helping the legislators make their decision because they are actually hearing it from the students themselves [rather] than just guessing at what [legislators] think the students need and want.

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Second, getting other university students involved in the issue also enhanced their influence. Legislative Staff Member E said, "I think on the issues where they [ASUM student lobbyists] can bring other students" they can have more influence and "be really effective." S/he continued, "[On] some types of policy issues, students can come down and actually provide good testimony ... and go see people [legislators]."

Third, legislative staff members also described that ASUM student lobbyists' influence was greater when they aligned with UM legislative stances and less influential when working in opposition. When the two teams were able to join forces on an issue, it made both more influential.

Moderate Influence

Although two of seven legislative staff members described student lobbyists' influence as moderate or as no more or no less than other lobbyists, both acknowledged that they exerted some influence. For example, Legislative Staff Member C equated influence with information and offered that "I don't know if ASUM is looked upon as being the premier source of information, but I don't see it being ignored either."

Legislative Staff Member E was more specific; s/he perceived student lobbyists' influence as "mediocre." S/he attributed this to many things, including that they were at the Capitol for only one session, could not get involved in partisan issues, and were not seen as representing all university students. S/he remarked that "ASUM stays too much inside the box and hasn't fully maximized connections between them and [other university] students." Legislative Staff Member E qualified that term limits had helped student lobbyists build relationships with legislators and legislative staff members and may bolster their future influence.

More specifically, moderate influence was attributed to (a) the legislators, (b) the issues, and (c) the opposition. First, legislative staff members held that the individual legislator – her/his policy stances and receptivity to student lobbyists – impacted student lobbyists' influence. Participants viewed some legislators as open to being influenced by student lobbyists while others were not.

Legislative Staff Member B imagined that some legislators had closed minds while Legislative Staff Member E posited that legislators fall into three categories regarding their openness to being influenced by student lobbyists. According to Legislative Staff Member E, some legislators were strong "allies who are with you, some were stand-offish because lobbyists were students, and a handful of legislators were hard to approach because of a [past] rift [with ASUM] that [was] unresolved."

Legislators' line of work also affected how open they were to student lobbyists' stances. Legislative Staff Member C specifically said that because many legislators were landlords themselves, they were unlikely to vote for landlord-tenant legislation designed to further regulate them. Legislative Staff Member E explained that legislators were "certainly familiar enough with the situation and the issue that [they would have] strong feelings about it."

Second, a number of legislative staff members believed student lobbyists had little ability to influence some issues. As Legislative Staff Member C said, "[T]he issue itself would be the way to put it; it was more a question mark as to whether the issues that they were espousing were going to happen or not. Their methodology is fine." For example, Legislative Staff Member E wondered if any lobbyists really had influence over the

budget process. The voting student curator was another issue frequently linked to an inability to influence. Legislative Staff Member F explained:

> [T]he issue that is associated with them [ASUM student lobbyists] as their main issue is the [voting] student curator issue and I think that is a controversial issue ... The people [legislators] who fall on the other side of that issue, … I think that they [legislators] probably don't give them [ASUM student lobbyists] the time of day.

Third, ASUM student lobbyists' influence was moderated when they were working against the UM System lobbyists. As Legislative Staff Member F put it, "[O]n some [issues], they're [ASUM student lobbyists] at odds with … another group of people [UM Board of Curators] that is considered much more powerful to a lot of legislators."

UM System Lobbyists' Perceptions of ASUM Student Lobbyists' Influence

As full-time higher education lobbyists for the UM System and lobbying on many of the same issues as ASUM student lobbyists, UM System lobbyists' perspectives provided a piece of the complete picture about ASUM student lobbyists' influence. However, of the four participant groups, data on UM System lobbyists' perceptions of student lobbyists' influence was least robust.

This was true for two primary reasons. First, at the request of UM System lobbyists, their focus group interview was held during Legislative Spring Break, at the midway point of the legislative session. This was early in the session to have firm perceptions of student lobbyists' influence. Because of this, I talked to five of the six UM System lobbyists during the last week of the session to follow up on their perceptions. Second, unlike the other participant groups, UM System lobbyists generally did not witness or were not directly involved in interactions between ASUM student lobbyists and legislators.

Two-thirds of UM System lobbyists perceived that ASUM student lobbyists' had

substantial influence and one-third perceived that they had moderate influence during the

2009 legislative session. (See Appendix W.) The perceptions are not separated out

because factors associated with substantial and moderate influence were not different, but

were described as different dimensions of the same factor.

On numerous occasions throughout the session, UM System lobbyists sought me

out to share that ASUM student lobbyists were doing a good job. And in the interview

setting, UM System Lobbyist A said, "I think, for me, the group [ASUM student

lobbyists] this year is as good as any they've had." UM System Lobbyist D commented:

"I have also found them to be the most engaged group of students ASUM has had. … I

am very impressed." UM System lobbyists also reported that numerous legislators had

shared with them that they were impressed by student lobbyists' work during the session.

Two main conclusions were drawn about UM System lobbyists' perception of

ASUM student lobbyists' influence. First, student lobbyists had unique influence because

they were students. Second, student lobbyists had more influence on some issues than on

others.

First, UM System lobbyists perceived that student lobbyists had more influence

on issues specifically related to and directly impacting students. UM System Lobbyist A

said that being students "gives them [UM student lobbyists] a lot of benefit. About this

comment, UM System Lobbyist E added, "It [being a student] is mostly a benefit." UM

System Lobbyist E made the point that on issues where student lobbyists have a stake or

are personally affected, they are very influential. UM System Lobbyist E ventured that

"ASUM student lobbyists are players in any dialogue about the quality of education; they can speak to issues by which they are personally affected."

During ASUM student lobbyists' training, UM System Lobbyist C shared with the students: "You have a louder voice than someone like me with legislators because you are a consumer." During a joint meeting of the two lobbying teams held in January, 2009, UM System Lobbyist D declared, "Legislators love students. I think students [ASUM student lobbyists] are our best ambassadors." UM System Lobbyist C added, "Most legislators are familiar with ASUM and will want to hear what you [ASUM student lobbyists] say." About this, UM System Lobbyist B said that legislators gave students more time, simply because they were students.

Second, UM System lobbyists largely perceived student lobbyists' influence in light of specific issues. Even more than the other three participant groups, UM System lobbyists talked about student lobbyists' influence in the context of specific issues. UM System Lobbyist E explained, "They [ASUM student lobbyists] have excellent positive influence on issues when you get them out of their little box." This finding was not dissimilar to how legislators and legislative staff members perceived student lobbyists' influence, nor different from how ASUM student lobbyists perceived their own influence.

Access Missouri was the issue UM System lobbyists most often linked to ASUM student lobbyists' influence. As UM System Lobbyist C said, "Absolutely, they have influence on how that issue [Access Missouri] is viewed and how it is moving this year." Specifically, UM System lobbyists linked student lobbyists' influence on Access Missouri to their ability to: (a) share how the issue would affect students personally, (b) bring other students to the Capitol, and (c) reach out through media.

UM System lobbyists viewed student lobbyists' ability to "represent the face of students" (UM System Lobbyist E) as their primary source of influence. Student lobbyists not only represented students impacted by a lesser value award, but in many cases they were grant recipients themselves. As such, they told legislators how the lower award amount affected them personally. UM System Lobbyist E said, "It is helpful to get their perspectives on issues," and UM System Lobbyist D espoused that "students are always a better link [to influencing legislators on student-related issues] than hired guns like us."

UM System lobbyists also commended ASUM student lobbyists' bringing other students to the Capitol to lobby on Access Missouri and linked it to their influence. UM Student Lobbyist C praised their taking the lead on Access Missouri:

> I think they have done a great job focusing on this issue and getting organized and we've really only gotten going on it but I think that [Access Missouri] is going to become the main focus that they will have throughout the rest of the session (UM System Lobbyist C).

UM System lobbyists also posited that writing op-ed pieces, providing testimony, and communicating with the media about Access Missouri were all factors in student lobbyists' influence. UM System Lobbyist D specifically praised an op-ed piece written by a student lobbyist; s/he called it articulate, intelligent, exceptional, and very well written.

The other issue on which student lobbyists were particularly influential, according to UM System lobbyists, was Caring for Missourians. In a joint meeting of the two lobbying teams held early in the session, UM System Lobbyist B predicted, "You guys [ASUM student lobbyists] can be extremely helpful in lobbying for Caring for Missourians." Then, at mid-session UM System lobbyists commented favorably on

student lobbyists' work on the issue. In addition to positing that student lobbyists had the greatest influence on issues that directly affected students and those in which they could involve other university students, UM System lobbyists made three points about student lobbyists' influence that were unique among the four participant groups.

One, on issues on which UM System lobbyists and ASUM student lobbyists worked in tandem it was sometimes hard to gauge whether influence could be attributed exclusively to one or the other. This point was made in reference to the teams' lobbying on Access Missouri and Caring for Missourians.

Two, UM System lobbyists perceived student lobbyists' influence in the context of past successes and future momentum. UM System lobbyists frequently compared 2009 session student lobbyists' influence to that of previous years' student lobbyists. From their perspectives, past legislative successes were intertwined with and inseparable from student lobbyists' influence during the 2009 legislative session. In addition to looking back, UM System lobbyists also talked about the potential for 2009 session successes to impact future influence. For instance, UM System Lobbyist E posed that "It will be interesting to see how ASUM carries this momentum [on Access Missouri] into year two and maybe into year three if it is going to be around that long."

Three, UM System lobbyists talked about student lobbyists being able to substantially influence while simultaneously achieving what was perceived to be a negative outcome. As described, by working "through relationships with certain legislators" (UM System Lobbyist D), student lobbyists had been substantially influential in not only killing UM System backed legislation to establish a curator-at-large on the

UM Board of Curators but also keeping alive legislation to create a voting student curator, something the UM System opposed.

<div align="center">Factors Associated With Perceived Influence</div>

The previous sections focused on each participant groups' perceptions of ASUM student lobbyists' influence because the research question was written in a way to distinguish perceptions of each. This section examines factors associated with perceived influence in a holistic manner and synthesizes participants' perceptions about ASUM student lobbyists' influence. The synthesis is presented in table format, followed by a descriptive summary of overarching themes about perceived influence.

Table 1

Factors Associated With Substantial Influence

Participant Group	Factors
ASUM Student Lobbyists	The issues
	The fact they were students
	The fact they could provide a student perspective
	The reputation of ASUM
	The legislators
	The focus on higher education during the legislative session
Legislators	The fact they could provide a student perspective
	The personal characteristics and attributes of student lobbyists
	The fact they had a presence at the Capitol
	The fact that they worked within the legislative process
Legislative Staff Members	The fact they could provide a student perspective
	The involvement of other university students
UM System Lobbyists	The fact that they lobbied uniquely because they were students
	The fact they lobbied on issues that directly affected students

The common theme running through factors associated with substantial influence was being a student, being able to speak from a student perspective, and being able to influence issues that directly affected students. All participating groups associated the fact that ASUM student lobbyists' were students to their perceived level of influence.

Table 2

Factors Associated With Moderate Influence

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Participant Group	Factors
ASUM Student Lobbyists	The legislators The fact they were students The UM System lobbyists The focus on budget during the legislative session
Legislators	The issue The legislator Past encounters with ASUM student lobbyists The strength of the opposition
Legislative Staff Members	The student lobbyists were not always at the Capitol The strength of the opposition The fact that student lobbyists could not engage in partisan activities The fact that student lobbyists did not represent all university students The legislators The issues The opposition
UM System Lobbyists	The fact that student lobbyists were students The difficulty influencing some issues

_____

Of these factors associated with moderate influence by ASUM student lobbyists, the four most prevalent were being students, the strength of the opposition, the issues, and the legislators. While being students added to their influence, it also lessened it. The strength of the opposition, in this case the UM System lobbyists, was mentioned by three

of four participating groups. The nature of issues was also mentioned frequently; participants held that some issues were difficult to influence but that student lobbyists held the most influence on those issues that directly affected students. Finally, most participants talked about the role of legislators in perceived influence. Some legislators were not willing to be influenced by student lobbyists for a variety of reasons.

Table 3

Factors Associated With Minimal Influence

Participant Group	Factors
Legislators	The fact student lobbyists were students The student lobbyists were part-time and as such, not always at the Capitol The fact that students held a narrow perspective on issues

The participants, all three legislators, who perceived ASUM student lobbyists' influence to have been minimal, associated it with specific factors. All three factors are directly related to the fact that student lobbyists were students.

Conclusions can be drawn about the holistic picture of factors associated with ASUM student lobbyists' levels of influence. Further, many of the conclusions are paradoxes. In many cases, factors associated with their substantial influence are also associated with their minimal influence. And about all conclusions, individualized criteria for perceptions of influence played a part.

First, perceived influence was associated with the fact that student lobbyists were students. This factor presented a paradox, however. While participants perceived that student lobbyists achieved substantial influence because they were students and abilities associated with that fact (e.g., sharing a student perspective, speaking about issues that

directly impacted students, involving other students in the legislative process), participants also perceived that being students was associated with their minimal influence (e.g., having a narrow perspective, only being at the Capitol part-time, some legislators not taking them seriously).

Second, ASUM student lobbyists' perceived influence was associated with the issue itself. Perceptions about this factor were also paradoxical. While participants associated their influence to being able to speak about specific issues that directly affected students (e.g., Access Missouri, Caring for Missourians), they associated lesser levels of influence to other issues. Specifically, lessened influence was associated with being unable to speak holistically about issues, to influence budget issues, and to influence certain legislators on the voting student curator issue.

Third, legislators themselves were integral to perceptions about ASUM student lobbyists' influence. Every participant group described that legislators were individuals, each with a unique personality, political ideology, and set of policy-related values. Legislators' reactions to student lobbyists fell along a continuum. As such, some were open to being influenced by them while others were not, a factor that affected the level of influence student lobbyists could achieve.

Fourth, the strength of the opposition was a factor associated with moderate and minimal influence. ASUM student lobbyists, legislators, and legislative staff members all asserted that who was lobbying in opposition to ASUM legislative stances diminished the amount of influence possible. UM System lobbyists, however, as the ones generalized as the opposition, did not mention this factor. This conclusion pointed to the fact that influence was not always or only about the lobbying behavior of lobbyists.

In sum, four factors were most frequently associated with ASUM student lobbyists' perceived influence. Those four were: (a) being a student, (b) the issue, (c) the legislator, and (d) the opposition.

How ASUM Student Lobbyists Might Have Been More Influential

Though not asked, members of all four participant groups, including student lobbyists themselves, mentioned specific ways in which ASUM student lobbyists' influence might be strengthened. This added to the overall picture of how ASUM student lobbyists' influence was perceived.

ASUM student lobbyists recognized that they could have been more influential by:

- Being better prepared for meetings with some legislators by having complete information prior to the meeting,

- Understanding that legislators cannot always be taken at their word about how they will vote on an issue,

- Seeing a big picture, rather than developing tunnel vision about their issues,

- Being less open and upfront about information they had learned,

- Working more closely and having more frequent communication with UM System lobbyists,

- Getting the UM student base more involved,

- Being more assertive with legislators,

- Taking ownership for issues and striving for success on the issues, and

- Using legislators more frequently as resources to understand what needs to be done to move an issue forward in the process.

Legislators noted ways in which the ASUM student lobbyists could have been more influential, including:

- Being more careful not to appear to be whining or complaining,

- Being more professional,

- Being dressed more appropriately,

- Letting legislators know more about them upfront (e.g., how they were selected, academic major, professional background, purpose in being at the Capitol),

- Knowing how to interpret what a legislator is saying about how s/he will vote,

- Being trained on how the legislative process works,

- Being able to speak in depth about the opposing viewpoint,

- Focusing less on and giving the student curator issue a rest,

- Arguing an issue from more than one – the student – vantage point,

- Being able to see the bigger picture on their issues, and

- Working more collaboratively with UM System lobbyists.

Legislative staff members perceived that student lobbyists' influence could have been enhanced by their:

- Being more visible in the Capitol,

- Knowing who legislators are before talking to them about issues (e.g., talked to landlord about legislation to restrict landlords without realizing s/he was a landlord),

- Being less intimidated by legislators, and

- Giving out less print information, because paper is not effective and legislators do not read it.

UM System lobbyists mentioned these ways in which ASUM student lobbyists could have increased their influence:

- Monitoring how often they attempted to meet with legislators – some legislators reported to UM System lobbyists that student lobbyists were visiting them too frequently,

- Knowing the hidden meaning behind what legislators say (e.g., when they say they will vote for something, it does not mean that they will),

- Focusing less effort on the voting student curator issue and more attention on other issues, and

- Understanding where the votes lie on an issue (e.g., students told a legislator that the votes were there for the voting student curator amendment when the votes were not solid).

Among the ways ASUM student lobbyists could have increased their influence, three were most frequently mentioned. First, ASUM student lobbyists, legislators, legislative staff members, and UM System lobbyists all agreed that student lobbyists could have increased their influence by knowing where votes lay and realizing that how legislators indicate they will vote is not how they will necessarily vote. This critique related to a particular incident. Student lobbyists sought out and persuaded a legislator to offer an amendment during floor debate to add language to create a voting student curator. The students canvassed for and told the legislator that they had the votes to pass the amendment. When the vote was taken, the amendment was handily defeated. Many participants called this incident a great learning experience for the students. Students

acknowledged that they had misread the votes because they had failed to disentangle what legislators told them.

Second, legislators and UM System lobbyists were in agreement that student lobbyists could have increased their influence by focusing less attention on the voting student curator issue. In a few cases, student lobbyists reported legislators or legislative staff members declaring they would not discuss the issue. In one case, students were told by a legislative staff member that they would be forbidden from legislators' offices if they continued talking about it. Many participants said ASUM had been almost exclusively about this one issue for many years. Others commented that Access Missouri coming along helped ASUM become more credible. Student lobbyists themselves discussed whether the voting student curator issue was hurting their overall influence or negatively impacting their other issues.

Third, as mentioned by legislators, UM System lobbyists, and ASUM student lobbyists themselves, student lobbyists' inability to see the big picture and view issues from other than the student perspective had diminished their influence. Legislators shared that they took the big picture into account when deciding on policy and that the students' perspective was often too narrow. Legislators also commented on student lobbyists' inability to articulate and counter the oppositions' perspective. As Legislator C described it, lobbyists need to be able to communicate every possible perspective on an issue as well as the arguments for each.

Outcomes of ASUM's 2009 Legislative Priorities

During the 2009 Missouri Legislative Session, ASUM student lobbyists lobbied on a legislative platform that included: (a) no cuts in funding or level appropriations, (b)

general operating budget, (c) new funding of the Caring for Missourians initiative, (d) equalization of the Access Missouri grant program, (e) legislation to require landlords to set aside and not spend security deposits, (f) legislation to require landlords to provide information on monthly utilities bills to potential renters, and (f) legislation to establish a voting student curator on the UM Board of Curators. By the end of the legislative session, legislation had been enacted to address some priorities and not others.

No Cuts in FY10 Funding Appropriations

Public colleges and universities in Missouri were appropriated funding equal to their FY09 appropriations. The UM honored its agreement with the governor not to raise tuition for FY10.

General Operating Budget

FY10 appropriations to the UM for its general operating expenses was approximately $475 million. Of this, $49 million came from federal stabilization funds through the stimulus funding package. Additionally, UM was appropriated approximately $65.8 million in federal stimulus dollars for capital projects.

New Funding for Caring for Missourians

Caring for Missourians was appropriated $24.2 million in one-time federal stabilization funds. These funds could be used for the initiative or healthcare related needs. Although requested as an ongoing operating budget line item, the appropriation was made as one-time funding with the stipulations that campuses could decide how to best use the funding.

Equalization of the Access Missouri Award

The Access Missouri issue lay dormant in both the House and Senate throughout the legislative session. In both chambers, proposed legislation to equalize the Access Missouri award was held up by legislative leaders. In the House, the proposed bill was not assigned to a committee. In the Senate, the bill was heard but never voted out of committee. Numerous attempts made to amend Access Missouri equalization onto bills being debated on the Senate floor failed.

Setting Aside Security Deposits

Although ASUM student lobbyists reported securing a legislative sponsor, security deposit legislation was never filed or amended onto another bill. The legislation was charted to be part of an omnibus landlord-tenant bill that did not materialize.

Providing Utility Information to Potential Renters

This proposed legislation was to be part of an omnibus landlord-tenant bill, just like planned for security deposit legislation. Although several pieces of legislation related to landlord-tenant issues were considered, the ASUM-initiated version did not come to fruition.

Establishing a Voting Student Curator

Proposed legislation was filed in both chambers to establish a voting student curator to the UM Board of Curators. In both chambers, proposed bills did not make it out of committee. On the Senate side, an attempt was made to amend the voting student curator legislation onto a bill being considered on the floor. The amendment was ruled out of order.

Proposed legislation to establish a curator-at-large was also filed in both chambers. In the House, the bill was passed by the House Higher Education Committee but the Rules Committee voted unanimously to send it back to committee, where it sat stagnant. The Senate version of the bill successfully passed through the Senate, was sent to the House, was voted do pass by the House Higher Education Committee, and the House Rules Committee voted it "not passed."

<div align="center">Summary of Perceived Influence of ASUM Student Lobbyists</div>

As illustrated in Table 4, 20 of 37 participants perceived ASUM student lobbyists influence as substantial. Fourteen participants perceived student lobbyists' influence as moderate. Three perceived student lobbyists as minimally influential, all three being legislators. Moreover, no participants in the non-legislator participant groups described student lobbyists' influence as minimal.

Table 4

Perceived Influence of ASUM Student Lobbyists on State-Level Higher Education Legislation

Participant	Substantial	Moderate	Minimal
ASUM Student Lobbyists	8	2	0
Legislators	3	8	3
Legislative Staff Members	5	2	0
UM System Lobbyists	4	2	0
Total	20	14	3

There was not great difference in the perspective of three participant groups – ASUM student lobbyists, legislative staff members, UM System lobbyists – about student lobbyists' influence being substantial. Of the three groups, however, student lobbyists perceived themselves to have been more influential than did any other group. Eight of 10 ASUM student lobbying team members perceived that they had been substantially influential, compared to five of seven participating legislative staff members, and four of six UM System lobbyists. Perceptions of substantial influence among ASUM student lobbyists, legislative staff members, and UM System lobbyists were not vastly different from one another. Further, more than any other participant group, legislative staff members provided real-life accounts of instances when legislators had been substantially influenced by student lobbyists.

Table 5

Factors Associated With Perceived Influence

Factor	Substantial Influence	Moderate Influence	Minimal Influence
Issue	ASUM/ Legislative Staff Members/ UM System Lobbyists	ASUM/ Legislators/ Legislative Staff Members/UM System Lobbyists	
Being students	ASUM/ UM System Lobbyists	ASUM/UM System Lobbyists	Legislators
Providing a student perspective	ASUM/ Legislators		
ASUM's reputation	ASUM		
Legislators	ASUM	ASUM/ Legislators/ Legislative Staff Members	
Focus on higher education during the legislative session	ASUM		
Strength of the opposition		ASUM/ Legislators/ Legislative Staff Members	
Focus on budget during the session		ASUM	
Personal characteristics and attributes	Legislators		
Having a presence at the Capitol	Legislators		
Working with the legislative process	Legislators		
Past encounters		Legislators	
Time at the Capitol limited			Legislators
Being one of many voices			Legislators

Of the 20 participants who perceived student lobbyists' influence had been

substantial, the most common factor associated with influence was that student lobbyists

were students. Because they were students, they could share a student perspective, lobby

uniquely, involve other students in issues, impact some issues in a way none other could, and derive influence from their personal characteristics and attributes.

While the majority of participants perceived that student lobbyists' influence was substantial, 14 viewed it was moderate. Of these participants, legislators numbered the most, with eight legislators perceiving student lobbyists' influence to have been moderate.

Two student lobbyists perceived their influence had been moderate. More than one half of the participating legislators perceived student lobbyists' influence was moderate. Some described influence as moderate because they had not been influenced to change their mind on specific issues. Others posited that although the students had been influential in changing their minds, they were not that influential with the legislature as a whole. Yet others described that students had changed their mind on one issue but not on another. These legislators seemed to be saying that influence varied by legislator as well as by issue, resulting in many legislators holding multiple perspectives about influence.

Legislative staff members perceived ASUM student lobbyists' influence was greater than that perceived by legislators. Two of seven legislative staff members perceived it was moderate, five perceived it was substantial, and none perceived it was minimal.

Of those who perceived student lobbyists' influence was moderate, the factors most commonly associated with level of influence were those associated with being students, the legislators themselves, and the strength of the opposition. Participants described that with 197 legislators, each having different personalities and ideologies, some were more open to influence than others. The participating legislators generally

described themselves as open to students but said that many others were not. Further, ASUM student lobbyists, legislators, and legislative staff members said that the strength of the opposition moderated student lobbyists' influence.

Three participants perceived that student lobbyists' influence had been minimal. All were legislators. Legislators attributed minimal influence to factors all related to student lobbyists' being students. None of the ASUM lobbying teams affiliates (eight student lobbyists, the LD, and the ALD), legislative staff members, or UM System lobbyists perceived that the influence had been minimal.

In addition to how the four participant groups, individually and in the aggregate, perceived student lobbyists' influence, five patterns among perceptions were both unique and noteworthy. One, on the whole, legislators' perceptions of student lobbyists' influence was substantially less than for the other three participant groups. This difference is important because legislators were the ones who decided what higher education policy got considered and enacted.

Two, legislators, more than other participants, clarified their perspectives. They did so by defining influence, speaking about influence either at the macro or micro level, clarifying that they might perceive the issue differently than would fellow legislators or the collective legislature. It appeared that legislators, more than other participants, held a multi-dimensional perspective about student lobbyists' influence, seeing it one way on one issue and another on a different issue or seeing that they held a perspective not shared by other legislators. Legislators also talked about personalized influence and provided instances of student lobbyists' changing or not changing their mind on an issue.

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Three, ASUM student lobbyists' perceptions about influence changed throughout the legislative session. Many students became more pragmatic about the legislative process. Six of the eight believed they achieved greater influence than they had imagined while two perceived their influence had fallen below their expectations.

Four, UM System lobbyists raised three unique points about student lobbyists' influence raised by no one else. First, it was sometimes hard to distinguish if the influence originated from UM System lobbyists or from ASUM student lobbyists. Second, influence cannot be viewed as exclusive to one legislative session. Past success affect current perceptions of influence. Third, it was possible to be perceived as having a substantial negative influence. This last factor related to student lobbyists' successfully sidetracking legislation to create a curator-at-large on the UM Board of Curators.

Five, participants provided insight on how ASUM student lobbyists might have increased their level of influence. Three themes were most often mentioned. First, they could have better understood where votes lay and what legislators were conveying about how they intended to vote. Second, they could have paid less attention to the voting student curator issue and focused more on other issues. Third, they could have strived to gain a larger picture of issues on which they were lobbying.

Finally, although each of the four participant groups associated various factors with levels of perceived influence, four were most often mentioned: (a) being students themselves, (b) the issues, (c) the legislators, and (d) the strength of the opposition. Each of these factors was a paradox in that they were associated with both substantial and minimal influence. Thus, these factors both strengthened and diminished student lobbyists' influence.

In sum, ASUM student lobbyists were perceived to have influenced higher education legislation during the 2009 Missouri Legislative Session. As students, they used lobbying behavior unique to them. Specifically, they provided a unique perspective not provided by any other higher education lobbyist, particularly on issues that directly affected them.

Chapter Seven

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Introduction

Chapter 1 provided the rationale for and an overview of this study. Chapter 2 described the theoretical frameworks used and reviewed empirical literature about lobbying in general and higher education lobbying in particular. Because there is not a sizable body of literature addressing public college and university lobbying exclusively at the state level, literature reviewed examined 4-year public and private college and university lobbying at both the federal and state levels. Chapter 3 described the methodological design, including participants and the data collection and analysis procedures used. Chapters 4, 5, and 6 described findings about this study's three overarching research questions.

This chapter paints a holistic picture of this qualitative case study and the significance of its findings. To aid the reader in understanding the focus of this study, its purpose and research design are overviewed first. Next, key findings are discussed in terms of how they intersect with, differ from, or extend existing empirical research. Then, implications for future research, policy, and practice are discussed as are study limitations. The chapter is concluded with a summary.

Overview of Study

Public higher education has become increasingly politicized, particularly over the past 15 years. This has occurred in part because college education has come to be viewed as a private good rather than a public good (Doyle, 2007; St. John, 2006; Vedder, 2004) and in part because most states have reduced funding for public higher education (Cohen,

1998; Heller, 2007; St. John & Parsons, 2004). As a result, public higher education institutions have increased their presence and level of activity in state capitols for the purpose of attempting to influence higher education-related legislation.

To address the need to be active in the state-level legislative process, the number of professional lobbyists representing public colleges and universities has increased, particularly over the past 10-15 years. Many institutions have designated in-house governmental relations offices. Public 4-year institutions that do not have in-house lobbyists generally contract for lobbying services. Whether in-house or contracted, public higher education has acted to assure that its voice is inserted into the state legislative process.

In some cases, university students have been active players in the state-level legislative process. Dating back to the 1950s, student associations have been formed in some states to provide a venue for student participation in the legislative process. More often than not, state student associations are comprised of student government leaders from institutional member campuses (Francis, 2004). Generally, their activities have included specific lobby days during which numerous students spend a day talking with state legislators about issues that affect them.

However, in a handful of states (Arizona, California, Minnesota, Missouri, North Carolina, Oregon, and Wisconsin), state student associations sponsor internships. Of these, only ASUM student interns serve as registered legislative lobbyists (Francis, 2004). To date, empirical study has not been undertaken to examine the university student lobbyists' lobbying behavior and its perceived influence on higher education legislation, specifically at the state level.

Therefore, the purpose of this study was to examine the lobbying behavior of one university system's student lobbyist group during the 2009 Missouri Legislative Session and ascertain perceptions of the group's influence on higher education legislation. Specifically, this study was designed to describe lobbying behaviors used by Associated Students of the University of Missouri (ASUM) student lobbyists. This study also sought to compare students' lobbying behaviors with those used by professional higher education lobbyists – in this case, the University of Missouri (UM) System lobbyists. Finally, this study was designed to understand the influence of student lobbyists' lobbying behavior as perceived by ASUM student lobbyists' themselves, legislators, legislative staff members, and UM System lobbyists.

To do so, three research questions were asked:

1. What lobbying behaviors did the ASUM student lobbyists use to attempt to influence higher education legislation during the 2009 Missouri Legislative Session?

2. How did lobbying behaviors of ASUM student lobbyists during the 2009 legislative session compare with lobbying behaviors of UM System lobbyists during the same legislative session?

3. How did ASUM student lobbyists, legislators, legislative staff members, and UM System lobbyists perceive the influence of ASUM student lobbyists on higher education legislation during the same legislative session?

Case study methodology was selected because the phenomenon studied was bounded (Merriam, 1998; Yin, 2003) and because case study design allowed a holistic picture to emerge of a contextual case being examined in its natural setting (Lincoln &

Guba, 1985). The case was bound to one state student association's student lobbyists, to one public multi-campus institutional system, and to one legislative session in one state.

By using a variety of data sources, findings were able to be triangulated or compared across data sources, assuring credibility and trustworthiness of findings (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Data collected included document data, observations, semi-structured individual interviews, and focus group interviews. Thirty-seven individuals participated in this study, among them 8 ASUM student lobbyists, the ASUM Legislative Director (LD), the ASUM Assistant Legislative Director (ALD), 14 legislators, 7 legislative staff members, and 6 UM System lobbyists.

Data were analyzed through a rigorous process. Data were coded according to *a priori* categories (Hatch, 2002; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Patton, 2002) and analyzed using constant comparative and recursive analysis methods (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Emergent themes, patterns, categories, and sub-categories were compared and disconfirming data examined (Merriam, 1998; Yin, 2003). Member checks and peer debriefing added to the trustworthiness of findings.

Discussion of Findings

Findings about research questions one, two, and three were presented and summarized in Chapters 4, 5, and 6 respectively. This discussion is designed to illuminate key findings and situate them in the empirical literature base. Because university students who are state-level legislative lobbyists are not a common phenomenon, there is not a previous body of empirical literature that examined their lobbying behavior and its perceived influence. Thus, this study connected existing empirical research about lobbying in general, and professional higher education lobbying in particular, to a more

diverse group of participants than had previously been examined. Therefore, this study's findings are similar to yet different from, and also extend the existing research.

Eight key findings emerged from researching and answering this study's three research questions:

1. ASUM student lobbyists and their lobbying behavior embodied the theoretical frameworks used in this study – pluralist theory and interest group theory.

2. ASUM student lobbyists used many of the same lobbying behaviors used by lobbyists in general and by higher education lobbyists in particular while they uniquely enacted some of the same behaviors as well as used some different lobbying behaviors.

3. ASUM student lobbyists' *being students* exemplified a paradox.

4. ASUM student lobbyists' lobbying behavior was contextual.

5. ASUM student lobbyists' perceived influence was contextual and they were most influential on issues that directly affected university students.

6. ASUM student lobbyists did not have access to the variety of lobbying behaviors and resources available to lobbyists in general and professional higher education lobbyists in particular.

7. ASUM student lobbyists' perceived influence differed among participant groups.

8. ASUM student lobbyists experienced a complex relationship with the professional higher education lobbyists examined in this study.

Theoretical Frameworks

ASUM student lobbyists and their lobbying behavior embodied the theoretical frameworks used in this study – pluralist theory and interest group theory. A participating

legislator referred to student lobbyists as the *little voices* and asserted that their

participating in the process was the only way legislators could hear their voices. This

reflects the pluralist theory assertion that *every* citizen, regardless of status, can

participate in and have a voice in the democratic government process (Dahl, 1967;

Truman, 1971).

Because they were not the anticipated everyday voices in the legislative process,

several legislators expressed surprise, even shock and disbelief, that university students

were registered legislative lobbyists. Some legislators had not previously thought about

or been exposed to student lobbyists; however, student lobbyists were full participants in

the legislative process. As such, they acted according to and acted out pluralist theory.

While pluralist theory asserts that every citizen can actively participate in

government, interest groups serve as a venue for their participation. Individuals holding

common viewpoints and opinions join together to express a collective voice (Berry,

1977; Loomis & Cigler, 2007; Truman, 1971). In essence, student lobbyists were unpaid

lobbyists for a nonprofit interest group with UM students as its members.

Acting as an interest group, ASUM student lobbyists not only represented but

mobilized UM students, a lobbying behavior Baumgartner and Leech (1998), Nownes

(2006), and Schlozman and Tierney (1986) found to be particularly effective. Student

lobbyists brought UM students to the government and the government to the students.

Doing so facilitated interest group members' voices reaching the policymakers.

Moreover, ASUM student lobbyists were the only university students who were

registered legislative lobbyists in Missouri. As such, not only did they operate as an

interest group but as a unique interest group. They were able to form coalitions or

alliances with UM student organizations as well as with those on other public university campuses across the state. Baumgartner and Leech (1998) and Tandberg (2006) found alliance building to be especially effective and Tandberg suggested the higher education sector more often do so. As a result, even students across Missouri who were not members of the UM student interest group benefitted by student lobbyists actively working on student-related issues.

<p style="text-align:center">Similar Lobbying Behaviors</p>

ASUM student lobbyists used many of the same lobbying behaviors used by lobbyists in general and higher education lobbyists in particular. Further, they uniquely enacted some of the same behaviors as well as used some different lobbying behaviors.

Overall, there was less variety in lobbying behavior between student lobbyists and higher education lobbyists than might have been anticipated. ASUM student lobbyists met with, provided information to, and built relationships with legislators, the same three lobbying behaviors most frequently used by public and private college and university lobbyists at both the federal and state levels (Brown, 1985; Cook, 1998; Gove & Carpenter, 1977; Key, 1992; Murphy, 2001; Tandberg, 2006).

Further, even when ASUM student lobbyists and higher education lobbyists used the same lobbying behaviors, students did so uniquely. For instance, both provided information to legislators, a common behavior among higher education lobbyists (Cook, 1998; Gove & Carpenter, 1977; Murphy, 2001; Key, 1992), but student lobbyists did so from the student perspective. Another example was the lobbying behavior generally referenced in existing literature as building and maintaining relationships (Ferrin, 2003; Key, 1992; Murphy, 2001; Tandberg, 2006). While ASUM student lobbyists' built

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relationships with legislators, they were unable to maintain them beyond the session, a behavior exhibited by and expected of higher education lobbyists (Key, 1992; Murphy, 2001). As Cook (1998) had predicted, the temporary nature of student lobbyists affected their ability to lobby, in this case, to maintain relationships with legislators.

ASUM student lobbyists also employed unique lobbying behaviors as a result of their being students. This finding is consistent with and provides concrete examples to support Benveniste's (1985) and Cook's (1998) proposals that students lobby uniquely because they lobby on issues of interest to them. For instance, student lobbyists involved other UM students in their lobbying activities and used media and social networking tools to do so.

ASUM student lobbyists were uniquely able to successfully reach out and bring students to the Capitol. In contrast, previous research discovered that professional higher education lobbyists did not fully involve students in the institutions' lobbying activity (Benveniste, 1985; Cook, 1998; Gittell & Kleiman, 2000; Gove & Carpenter, 1977; Parsons, 2005; Potter, 2003). Student lobbyists did what legislator participants in Cook's (1998) study suggested the higher education sector do to increase its effectiveness – share a consumer viewpoint. Student lobbyists facilitated constituent contact with legislators, a behavior Murphy (2001) connected with lobbying effectiveness.

Participants also viewed student lobbyists' personal characteristics and attributes, both those possessed and not possessed, as a unique lobbying behavior. Previous literature established that lobbyists' personal characteristics and attributes were critical to influence (Cook & Arnold, 1996; Ferrin, 2003; Key, 1992; Murphy, 2001; Nownes, 2006; Tandberg, 2006), able to offset a lack of legislative or postsecondary education

experience (Ferrin, 2003), and linked to access to legislators (Cook & Arnold, 1996). In contrast, this study demonstrated that student lobbyists' personal characteristics were a stand-alone lobbying behavior. Participants described characteristics not possessed (e.g., not pushy, not immature, not disrespectful) just as often as those possessed as a distinct lobbying behavior. Perhaps participants did so because they had expected student lobbyists to behave in certain ways as a result of their age or inexperience or because of misconceptions held about college students.

Being Students

ASUM student lobbyists' *being students* exemplified a paradox. Advocates of greater student involvement in the legislative process acknowledged the paradox that students could contribute uniquely to higher education lobbying success, yet they were not always viewed as legitimate participants in the legislative process (Benveniste, 1985; Cook, 1998; Gove & Carpenter, 1977; Longo, 2004; Parsons, 2005; Potter, 2003).

ASUM student lobbyists presented a unique perspective not available from other higher education lobbyists, addressed the potential impact of proposed legislation on university students, and shared rationales for their stances that legislators may not have considered or thought about otherwise. However, while student lobbyists gained influence by being able to share a unique student viewpoint, their influence was sometimes weakened because they did not understand the big picture of higher education policy decisions.

Being students also presented a paradox in terms of lobbying behavior. On one hand, ASUM student lobbyists could uniquely mobilize other students and present testimony in legislative committee hearings from a student lens, behaviors found to be

influential. On the other hand, because they were students, they were not able to meet with legislators when session was recessed or interact informally with legislators outside the Capitol, activities also linked to lobbying influence (Baumgartner & Leech, 1998; Ferrin, 2003; Key, 1992; Murphy, 2001; Schlozman & Tierney, 1986; Tandberg, 2006).

Being students also affected student lobbyists' relationship building. Because they were students, they developed relationships with young legislators, young legislative staff members, and student legislative interns that the higher education lobbyists examined in this study did not.

Being students also affected legislators' responses to them. Some legislators adopted a mentor/teacher relationship with student lobbyists. This resulted in legislators spending more time with student lobbyists than afforded other lobbyists. On the other hand, being students was the basis for other legislators dismissing student lobbyists or not being open to being influenced by them.

Lobbying Behavior was Contextual

ASUM student lobbyists' lobbying behavior was contextual. This finding is consistent with findings in previous research about lobbying in general and higher education lobbying in particular. Lobbying scholars have established that lobbying behavior is largely contextual (Ainsworth, 2002; Berry, 1977; Cook, 1998; Gove & Carpenter, 1977; Hayes, 1981 Moncrief & Thompson, 2001; Murray, 1976; Nownes, 2006) and a variety of contextual factors have been examined. The present study demonstrated that student lobbyists' lobbying behavior was most directly affected by the contextual factors of the issue.

In previous research, the issue itself appears to have received less examination than other contextual factors (e.g., budget, legislator ideology, party in power, state political culture). Rather, timing of the issue is cited as a contextual factor. However, this study found that *the issue* was the most significant contextual factor in ASUM student lobbyists' lobbying behavior. For example, budget was a primary focus of the 2009 Missouri Legislative Session yet it was difficult to influence budget decisions. As a result, student lobbyists' primarily used invisible lobbying, a lobbying technique described by Kingdon (2003) and Nownes (2006), and monitoring of happenings on the budget issue.

On other issues student lobbyists worked to have legislation proposed and passed. On these issues, they sought bill sponsors and co-sponsors, helped to draft legislation, talked with legislators about the issues, and canvassed for votes. And, on one particular issue student lobbyists used defensive lobbying, a lobbying technique described in previous literature (Rosenthal, 1993; Wright, 1996).

However, on issues that directly affected students, student lobbyists presented a student perspective. Being able to do so was a unique lobbying behavior. Student lobbyists also mobilized other students from across the state to tell legislators how particular issues would potentially impact them. The lobbying behavior of mobilizing others is frequently mentioned in literature about lobbying in general and higher education lobbying in particular (Baumgartner & Leech, 1998; Cook, 1998; Tandberg, 2006). ASUM student lobbyists' ability to marshal additional students to share the student perspective greatly added to their perceived influence. This behavior is one

identified by Murphy (2001) and Tandberg (2006) as one that would improve the higher education sector's lobbying.

Influence was Contextual and Student Lobbyists Were Most Influential on

Issues That Directly Affected Students

ASUM student lobbyists' perceived influence was contextual. Similar to participants in previous studies (Graziano, 2001; Kingdon, 2003; Nownes, 2006), this study's participants used a variety of criteria to assess influence. This study's participants' individual ideology (e.g., personality and attitudes toward students) framed their perceptions of student lobbyists' influence. This finding is consistent with findings that legislators' ideology impacted their perceptions of higher education lobbyists' influence (Cook, 1998; Murphy, 2001). Further, scholars' found that legislators' party affiliation was a key factor in their perceptions of influence of lobbyists in general and higher education lobbyists in particular (Baumgartner & Leech, 1998; Berry, 1977; Cook, 1998; Hayes, 1981; Tandberg, 2006).

While there were inconsistencies in how influence was defined by participants, there was remarkable similarity in factors cited as adding to or diminishing from ASUM student lobbyists' perceived influence. Further, most participants qualified their perceptions and many provided conflicting examples of influence. Contextual factors that most directly affected influence were being students, the issue, the legislator, and the strength of the opposition. Of these, issues that directly affected students were most often linked to perceived influence.

As described in previous key findings, on issues that directly affected university students, ASUM student lobbyists told legislators how the issues would impact them

personally, how they would impact students across the state, and involved other university students in lobbying activity. Because they were able to speak personally and passionately about them, student lobbyists were perceived as most influential on issues that directly affected students. This finding is congruent with Cook's (1998) and Benveniste's (1985) assertions that students are most influential on issues that directly impact them.

Access to Resources

ASUM student lobbyists did not have access to the variety of lobbying behaviors and resources available to lobbyists in general and higher education lobbyists in particular. This is similar to Cook's (1998) finding that nonprofit lobbyists had access to fewer financial resources largely because they were held accountable to different laws regarding use of money and resources than their private counterparts.

This study demonstrated that even within the nonprofit interest group sector, of which public higher education is part, significant differences existed regarding resource availability and use. The nonprofit interest group literature is sparse and what exists tends to lump all nonprofit groups together (Loomis & Cigler, 2007) and does not examine the disparate levels of resources among them.

ASUM student lobbyists did not have access to many of the resources available to the higher education lobbyists examined in this study, although they were associated with the same higher education institution. For example, student lobbyists did not have a budget for their lobbying activity. As Key (1992) and Tandberg (2006) found, legislators expected to have contact with higher education lobbyists when the legislature was in recess, an activity they linked to greater effectiveness. Even had student lobbyists worked

year-round, they did not have the financial resources to travel to legislators' districts during off-session.

This study also demonstrated that lobbying resources were not exclusively financial; they were also related to the ability to sponsor and provide activities outside the Capitol and to political capital. Because of their lack of such resources, student lobbyists' were unable to engage in the full gambit of activities related to legislative decision-making, and thus had diminished influence. This was an unexpected finding since higher education lobbying literature does not fully examine the resource dimension of lobbying behavior and influence or distinguish between types of resources. Rather, it focuses on specific lobbying behaviors.

In addition to lacking resources, ASUM student lobbyists were held accountable to university policies and laws which made some lobbying behaviors off-limits, many of which have been linked to influence. Legislators in this study deemed engagement in these activities as not only important, but as part of and not separate from the legislative process. Thus, student lobbyists were not only part-time lobbyists but were only able to participate in a portion of the comprehensive process.

Perceptions of Influence Differed

ASUM student lobbyists' perceived influence differed among participant groups. Overall, nearly two-third of this study's participants assessed student lobbyists' influence as substantial and only one-tenth as minimal. Further, ASUM student lobbyists, legislative staff members', and UM System lobbyists' perspectives of influence were very similar.

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ASUM student lobbyists perceived their own influence as higher than did any other participant group. This finding mirrors Key's (1992) finding about one legislative session in Kentucky. In his study, the public college and university lobbyists being examined believed they had been more influential than lawmakers believed they had.

Student lobbyists most often attributed their level of influence to factors related to *being students*, a factor discussed in previous key findings. An additional finding was that most student lobbyists perceived their influence to have been greater at the end of session than they had anticipated as probable before the legislative session began. This change of thinking was attributed to experiencing the lobbying process first-hand. Student lobbyists appeared to have learned that lobbying was not so much about a singular act or accomplishment, but rather was a process. This finding is similar to Nownes' (2006) assertion that because lobbying is a process, its influence is difficult to assess.

This study's legislator participants perceived student lobbyists' influence lower than any other participant group. Further, legislator participants were the only ones to perceive ASUM student lobbyists' influence as minimal. This fact is significant because legislators make the policy decisions. Legislators considered multiple viewpoints, primarily those of their constituents, when making policy decisions. Thus, student lobbyists presented but one viewpoint among many and one many legislator participants viewed as lacking breadth and depth about state higher education policy.

When legislators talked about student lobbyists' influence, they generally framed it in comparison to the higher education lobbyists examined in this study. Further, it appeared that general perceptions of student influence were based on the same qualities legislators would have used to assess professional higher education lobbyists. In fact,

many legislators assessed both although not asked to do so. One difference, however, was that legislators were somewhat protective toward student lobbyists when asked about their influence. For example, most legislators linked any lack of influence to contextual factors beyond the student lobbyists' control.

Complex Relationship

ASUM student lobbyists experienced a complex relationship with the higher education lobbyists examined in this study. Scholars who have articulated support of student involvement in the legislative process (Benveniste, 1985; Cook, 1998; Jones, 1987; Longo, 2004) have recognized that involving students is not without challenges. Cook (1998) recognized that colleges and universities may be reluctant as a result of any perceived or real lack of control over student lobbying activity. Benveniste (1985) similarly noted the time and attention required of institutions that involve students in the political process. Yet another challenge illuminated in this study was managing the relationship between student lobbyists and in-house higher education lobbyists. This subject has not been heretofore examined.

This study illuminated the complex relationship between ASUM student lobbyists and UM System lobbyists. The relationship appeared to have a *Janus* quality to it. The two lobbying teams worked well together and could be said to need one another on certain issues, much as a coalition or alliance would (Baumgartner & Leech, 1998; Tandberg, 2006). On other issues, they were secretive with and cautious around one another. Because the legislative process did not handle one issue at a time, but rather handled hundreds simultaneously, the two teams worked in tandem one minute and in opposition the next.

Because of the structure of the ASUM student lobbying program, the higher education lobbyists examined in this study realized they could not interfere with the students' legislative platform or tell them not to lobby on certain issues. The higher education lobbyists encouraged, but did not direct student lobbyists. In the less powerful role, students had to work side-by-side with the UM System lobbyists even though they were on opposite sides of a particular issue. On this particular issue, both lobbying teams practiced defensive lobbying (Nownes, 2006) against and also lobbied one another.

Managing this complicated relationship demanded maturity and role clarification from both lobbying teams. Outside the legislative arena, student lobbyists were university students who perceived UM System lobbyists as high-ranking administrators. Yet in the legislative arena, they were equals of sorts.

The complex relationship between student lobbyists and UM System lobbyists was confusing to this study's participants. Many of this study's participants pointed out the maturity required of student lobbyists to manage the relationship.

Implications for Research

This study's findings raised three promising lines of inquiry for future research. Two relate to greater university student involvement in the state-level legislative process while one would illuminate how such involvement could benefit students.

One, additional examination of state student associations might inform institutional leaders about the potential role that students could fulfill in state-level institutional lobbying activity. Although state student associations have been mentioned in research about student activism and alluded to in the higher education lobbying literature, their influence has been understudied. Particularly worthy of study are those

associations that have experienced lengthy and impressive histories, can claim notable lobbying victories, and have student lobbyists in their statehouses.

Two, additional research is needed to demonstrate how public colleges and universities can purposefully and more fully incorporate students into their state-level legislative lobbying activity, particularly on issues that directly impact them. As Cook (1998) found, while higher education institutions have been hesitant about involving students in lobbying activity, doing so would improve the sector's lobbying effectiveness. This could be accomplished by examining public colleges and universities that currently involve students in state-level lobbying activity. Such an examination could yield evidence-based best practices that could then be shared within the higher education community.

Three, exploring to what extent the ASUM student lobbyist experience influences students would be informative. This study's participants speculated that the student lobbying experience would benefit students in the future, addressing the transferability of the experience to any career field. In fact, many previous student lobbyists have become state legislators, professional lobbyists, or remained in the legislative arena. Therefore, examining how the experience impacts students' career paths, personal goals, or ongoing involvement in the political process would be informative, especially as colleges and universities seek to make learning experiences more practical and to prepare informed and active citizens.

Implications for Policy

This study's findings pointed to one primary implication for policy. This implication does not suggest a policy to be implemented but rather illuminates one that is working well and suggests that it be continued.

Some state student associations across the nation are independent (Francis, 2004), and as such, have no formal relationship to a university although they represent university students. However, others are directly connected to and have some level of accountability to an institution. In the case of ASUM, UM system administrators have ultimate oversight of the association and its student lobbyists. However, the institution does not set the association's legislative platform, tell students what issues they can or cannot lobby on, control student lobbyists' daily lobbying activities, or stifle the process when they and the students are on opposite sides of an issue.

In an era when public higher education has become even more politically charged, institutional leaders could easily perceive student lobbyists as another obstacle in the lobbying process. Yet the UM System has historically supported the ASUM student lobbyist program. When the student lobbying team lobbies in direct opposition to the System's stance on an issue, it might be tempting to pull back support of the student lobbying program. However, as this study made clear, when looking at the big picture, ASUM students lobbyists appear to be more advantageous to the UM System in the long run than disadvantageous in the short run.

Implications for Practice

This study's findings bring to light two implications for practice. Each implication is described in the context of this case study and also in the context of its broader implications.

One, findings about ASUM lobbyists' lobbying behavior and its influence on higher education legislation during the 2009 Missouri Legislative Session can be used to strengthen their influence during future legislative sessions. ASUM may incorporate this study's findings into future student lobbyists' training, consider them when setting future legislative platforms, and use them to improve its state-level legislative lobbying activity as needed.

In the broader context, this study's findings may hold significance for students at other universities who are involved in state-level lobbying activity. Findings may offer guidance to state student associations trying to create or strengthen the university student presence in their statehouses. Findings may hold significance for public colleges and universities as they assess and strive to strengthen their influence of state-level higher education legislation.

Two, this study's finding that having student lobbyists at the Capitol benefits the UM System's legislative agenda may foster additional collaboration between UM System lobbyists and ASUM student lobbyists. As suggested by several of this study's participating legislators, a more synergistic linkage could be purposefully created between the two lobbying teams, at least on issues where they agree. However, if such a linkage were created, the current level of autonomy whereby students decide their own legislative platform should be preserved.

In the broader context, this study's findings may encourage other colleges and universities to incorporate students into their institutional state-level lobbying activity and provide information relevant to such an undertaking. As this study documented, students have a unique perspective to share and one that is influential, at least to some legislators, and colleges and universities may wish to capitalize on this largely untapped and unique lobbying resource.

Limitations

This study, as all studies do, had limitations that need to be considered when reading findings and contemplating their transferability to other settings. This study had three primary limitations.

First, because of time constraints, individual and focus group interviews began just after mid-point of the legislative session and continued through the week prior to the session's end. Interview data collection was robust. However, because of their timing, some perspectives may have not captured student lobbyists' influence on policy decisions that occurred during the final hours of the legislative session.

Second, interviews with legislators were shorter in duration than desired, making it possible that data were missed. However, the interviews were not brief considering that typical appointments with legislators were scheduled for 5 or fewer minutes. Since I knew that my interview time with legislators would be short, I asked only those questions most critical to credibly answer this study's research questions.

Third, my presence as researcher may have impacted actions of and interactions between this study's participants, and therefore, had an impact on its findings. For example, ASUM student lobbyists may have acted differently or may have shared less

freely with one another when I was observing. Moreover, legislators may have reacted differently toward student lobbyists when I was shadowing them. Also, the fact that I was observing may have shaped interactions between UM System and ASUM lobbyists.

Conclusion

Public higher education has become increasingly political, particularly in the state-level legislative arena. Despite the reality that state legislators' interest in public higher education issues has been steadily escalating, public colleges and universities have been slow to increase their sophistication in the legislative arena. Given that the public higher education sector's capacity for effective legislative lobbying has not kept pace with the necessity for it, is it time to take more seriously the role that university students can play in institutional lobbying activity? Is it time for institutional administrators and lobbyists to find ways to purposefully involve students in their state-level lobbying activity? This study suggests that it is. This study demonstrates that university students ought to be included in public postsecondary institutions' lobbying activity.

This study established that not only were ASUM student lobbyists able to actively participate in the state-level legislative process, but they also were able to influence it. Students derived influence by being able to present a unique perspective valued by legislators, talk personally about how proposed legislation directly affected students, present a consumer viewpoint, access social and personal networks, and share ideas and perspectives unable to be presented by other higher education lobbyists. Given this, as public colleges and universities focus increasingly on having a presence in the state-level legislative arena and increasing their lobbying effectiveness, there is a now a demonstrated role for students, a role that has heretofore been overlooked and a role that has now been demonstrated to be influential.

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Appendix A

State Student Associations

Year Founded:	Association Name:
1950	Louisiana Council of Student Body Presidents (S)
1959	California State Student Association (IN) (SI)
1960	United Council of University of Wisconsin Students (IN) (SI)
1967	Minnesota State University Student Association (IN) (SI)
1968	Georgia Student Advisory Council
1970	Student Association of the State University of New York (IN)
1970s	Montana Associated Students
Early 1970s	Oklahoma Student Government Association
1971	University of California Student Association (IN)
1971	South Dakota Student Federation
1972	University of North Carolina Associated Student Government (S) (SI)
1972	University Student Senate of the City University of New York
1974	North Dakota Student Association (S)
1974	Arizona Students' Association (IN) (SI)
1975	Associated Students of the University of Missouri (S) (SI)
1975	Oregon Student Association (IN) (SI)
1975	Kansas Student Advisory Council
1975	Oregon Community College Student Association
Mid 1970s	Council of Commonwealth Student Governments, PA (S)
1976	Florida Student Association
1976	Utah Intercollegiate Assembly
Late 1970s	Nevada Student Alliance
Early 1980s	California Student Association of Community Colleges
1982	Washington Student Lobby (IN)
1987	*State Student Association of Massachusetts
1988	Maryland Student Council
1988	Colorado Student Association
1990	Kentucky Board of Student Body Presidents
1990	*Alabama Student Association
1990	Associated Students of New Mexico
Early 1990s	University of Hawaii Student Caucus
1993	Coalition of Student Leaders of the University of Alaska
1995	Idaho Student Association
1997	*Student Government Association of Arkansas
1997	Ohio Council of Student Governments (I)
1998	Minnesota State College Student Association (IN)
2000	*Rutgers University Lobbying Association
2001	*Student Association of Missouri (IN)
2002	*Tennessee Student Presidents' Council

2002	*Washington Student Association of Community & Technical Colleges
Unknown	Mississippi Student Body Presidents' Council
Unknown	*Illinois Student Association
Unknown	*Iowa State Student Association
Unknown	Texas State Student Association (IN)
Unknown	West Virginia Student Government Association
Unknown	*Maine Student Government Organization
2007	Associated Students of Colorado
2008	Garden State Student Association
2008	Missouri Higher Education Consortium

*In existence at one time, but since disbanded.
(IN) Independent
(S) System
(I) Informal
(SI) Student Internships

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Appendix B

Table 2.1   Percentage Of Organizations Using Each Of Techniques Of Exercising
                 Influence

	Lobbying Technique	**%**
1	Testifying at hearings	99
2	Contacting government officials directly to present your point of view	98
3	Engaging in informal contacts with officials – at conventions, over lunch, and so on	95
4	Presenting research results or technical information	92
5	Sending letters to members of your organization to inform them about your activities	92
6	Entering into coalitions with other organizations	90
7	Attempting to shape the implementation of policies	89
8	Talking with people from the press and the media	86
9	Consulting with government officials to plan legislative strategy	85
10	Helping to draft legislation	85
11	Inspiring letter writing or telegram campaigns	84
12	Shaping the government's agenda by raising new issues and calling attention to previously ignored problems	84
13	Mounting grass roots lobbying efforts	80
14	Having influential constituents contact their congressional representative's office	80
15	Helping draft regulations, rules, or guidelines	78
16	Serving on advisory commissions and boards	76
17	Alerting congressional representatives to the effects of a bill on their districts	75
18	Filing suit or otherwise engaging in litigation	72
19	Making financial contributions to electoral campaigns	58
20	Doing favors for officials who need assistance	56
21	Attempting to influence appointments to public office	53
22	Publicizing candidates' voting records	44
23	Engaging in direct-mail fund raising for your organization	44
24	Running advertisements in the media about your position on issues	31
25	Contributing work or personnel to electoral campaigns	24
26	Making public endorsements of candidates for office	22
27	Engaging in protests or demonstrations	20

Note. From *Organized Interests and American Democracy* (p. 150), by K. L. Schlozman and J. T. Tierney, 1986, New York: Harper & Row, Publishers. Copyright 1986 by the Harper & Row, Publishers. Reprinted with permission.

Appendix C

December 1, 2008

Pearson Education Glenview
1800 East Lake Avenue
Glenview, IL 60025

Post-it® Fax Note   767

Dear Pearson Education:

I am a PhD student at the University of Missouri-Columbia (UM-C) and am working on my dissertation titled *The Influence of Student Lobbyists on State-Level Higher Education Legislation*.

I am seeking permission to use Table 7.1 on page 159 in Scholzman, K. L., & Tierney, J. T. (1986). *Organized Interests and American Democracy*. The ISBN is 9-06-044792-9. I seek to use the table as an Appendix. The table Appendix is currently referenced two times in the body of the dissertation, both times in Chapter Two. There is also a possibility that the Appendix will be referenced in Chapter Four findings.

On the bottom of the Appendix page, I will cite the table as follows and in accordance with the Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association (APA):
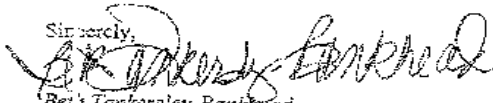
> Note: From *Organized Interests and American Democracy* (p. 150), by K. L. Schlozman and J. T. Tierney, 1986, New York: Harper & Row, Publishers. Copyright 1986 by Harper & Row, Publishers.

I will also provide with my final dissertation a copy of the letter stating that I have sought and received copyright permission to use the table as an appendix

My dissertation proposal has been accepted, UM-C institutional Review Board clearance has been secured, I will defend my dissertation in June or July 2009, and I will graduate in August 2009.

Please let me know if you need additional information and I appreciate your consideration of this request.

Sincerely,

Beth Tankersley-Bankhead

PhD Candidate, ABD
Educational Leadership and Policy Analysis - Higher & Continuing Education
University of Missouri-Columbia
202 Hill Hall
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etw ____@mizzou.edu

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Appendix D

Researcher's Inherent Assumptions About This Case Study

Based on past experience within the context of this case study, the researcher holds the following inherent assumptions (preconceptions and potential biases) about the influence of student lobbyists on state-level higher education legislation during the 2009 Missouri Legislative Session.
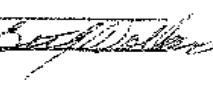
Legislative Process Understanding:
1. The only way to fully understand state-level legislative processes and lobbying is to experience it first-hand.
2. The legislative process, being a political one, is not always what it appears to be at the surface level.

Lobbyists' Influence:
1. Lobbyists become more effective at lobbying with time and experience.
2. Lobbyists' influence in one legislative year is shaped by and dependent upon past year's lobbying influence, as well as upon the reputation of the individual lobbyist and the interest group represented.
3. Lobbying is a very individualized experience – each lobbyist experiments with and finds his/her best approach and unique style of lobbying.

Impact of Term Limits:
1. Term limits have an impact on lobbyists' influence as well as their behavior, roles, and strategies.
2. As a result of term limits, nearly 1/4th of the Senate and over 1/5th of the House are new legislators during the 2009 Missouri Legislative Session. Both student and professional college and university lobbyists will have to work to build new relationships with these legislators.

Specific to Student Lobbyists:
1. The ASUM Legislative Director and Assistant Legislative Director guide ASUM student lobbyists; therefore, ASUM student lobbyists' influence is heavily dependent upon the legislative process knowledge and experience of the LD and ALD.
2. ASUM student lobbyists are disadvantaged over veteran, professional college and university lobbyists because of the students' lack of first-hand experience with the legislative session and its actors, particularly at the start of a legislative session.
3. ASUM student lobbyists with past experience in the political arena (e.g., working in the Attorney General's Office, interning in the House Communication Office, working on a Senatorial campaign) learn more quickly about lobbying. Thus, they hold greater potential for influence of state-level higher education legislation than their student counterparts who lack first-hand experience in the legislative arena.
4. Some legislators will take ASUM student lobbyists less seriously than professional college and university lobbyists simply because they are students. On

the other hand, some legislators will listen more intently to ASUM student lobbyists simply because they are students, particularly if they from the students' district.

5. ASUM student lobbyists have fewer financial and human resources at their disposal than do UM System lobbyists.
6. ASUM student lobbyists, in general, hold less political capital than do UM System lobbyists.
7. ASUM student lobbyists are less influential than professional college and university lobbyists because they actively lobby only when the legislature is in session. Furthermore, ASUM student lobbyists are less influential than professional college and university lobbyists because their lobbying activities occur only within the State Capitol.

Appendix E

Document Data Collected

State Produced Documents:
1. November 11, 2008 e-mail and listing from Missouri Ethics Commission of all lobbyists registered in the state of Missouri
2. December 5, 2008 Missouri Department of Higher Education (MDHE) Legislative News e-newsletter
3. December 5, 2008 MDHE Summary of Legislation Impacting Higher Education
4. Higher Education and Career Status of 2009 legislators (report produced by MDHE) (received December 2, 2008)
5. Missouri House of Representatives 2009 Educational Data (report produced by MDHE) (received December 2, 2008)
6. Missouri Senate 2009 Educational Data (report produced by MDHE) (received December 2, 2008)
7. Listing of newly-elected legislators – those elected in November, 2008 (report produced by MDHE) (received December 11, 2008)
8. December 12, 2008 MDHE Legislative News e-newsletter
9. December 12, 2008 MDHE Summary of Legislation Impacting Higher Education
10. December 19, 2008 MDHE Legislative News e-newsletter
11. January 2, 2009 MDHE Legislative News e-newsletter
12. January 2, 2009 MDHE Summary of Legislation Impacting Higher Education
13. January 9, 2009 MDHE Legislative News e-newsletter
14. January 9, 2009 MDHE Summary of Legislation Impacting Higher Education
15. January 16, 2009 MDHE Legislative News e-newsletter
16. January 16, 2009 MDHE Summary of Legislation Impacting Higher Education
17. General Assembly Roster 2009
18. January 20, 2009 *This Week in the House*
19. January 23, 2009 MDHE Legislative News e-newsletter
20. January 23, 2009 MDHE Summary of Legislation Impacting Higher Education
21. January 26, 2009 *This Week in the House*
22. January 31, 2009 MDHE Legislative News e-newsletter
23. January 31, 2009 MDHE Summary of Legislation Impacting Higher Education
24. February 2, 2009 *This Week in the House*
25. February 6, 2009 MDHE Legislative News e-newsletter
26. February 6, 2009 MDHE Summary of Legislation Impacting Higher Education
27. February 9, 2009 *This Week in the House*
28. February 13, 2009 MDHE Legislative News e-newsletter
29. February 13, 2009 MDHE Summary of Legislation Impacting Higher Education
30. February 16, 2009 *This Week in the House*
31. February 20, 2009 MDHE Legislative News e-newsletter
32. February 20, 2009 MDHE Summary of Legislation Impacting Higher Education
33. MDHE Missouri Student Financial Assistance Programs 2008-2009 Payment Table
34. February 23, 2009 *This Week in the House*
35. February 27, 2009 MDHE Legislative News e-newsletter
36. March 2, 2009 *This Week in the House*

37. March 9, 2009 *This Week in the House*
38. March 13, 2009 MDHE Legislative News e-newsletter
39. March 23, 2009 *This Week in the House*
40. Report of Fall 2008 headcount at public postsecondary institutions in Missouri (n.d.)
41. MDHE Missouri Student Financial Assistance Programs (As of January 23, 2009)
42. March 27, 2009 MDHE Legislative News e-newsletter
43. March 30, 2009 *This Week in the House*
44. March 31, 2009 memo from Representative Kingery, Committee Chair, to House Higher Education Committee members about background on *Access Missouri* financial award
45. April 3, 2009 MDHE Legislative News e-newsletter
46. April 6, 2009 *This Week in the House*
47. April 10, 2009 MDHE Legislative News e-newsletter
48. April 14, 2009 *This Week in the House*
49. April 17, 2009 MDHE Legislative News e-newsletter
50. April 20, 2009 *This Week in the House*
51. April 24, 2009 MDHE Legislative News e-newsletter
52. April 27, 2009 *This Week in the House*
53. May 1, 2009 MDHE Legislative News e-newsletter
54. May 4, 2009 *This Week in the House*
55. May 8, 2009 MDHE Legislative News e-newsletter
56. May 11, 2009 *This Week in the House*
57. May 18, 2009 MDHE Legislative News e-newsletter

UM System Related or Produced Documents:

1. State Funding for Higher Education and the University of Missouri Key Points (handout presented on October 18, 2008 at ASUM student lobbyists' training)
2. UM System Government Relations Update Power Point presented on November 14, 2008 at ASUM student lobbyists' training
3. UM System 2009 Legislative Priorities
4. Listing of 2009 senators' UM alumni status (n.d.)
5. Listing of 2009 representatives' UM alumni status (n.d.)
6. 2006 UM System Impact on the State of Missouri
7. 2007 UM System Impact on the State of Missouri
8. UM System web site page on Government Relations (retrieved November 11, 2008 and February 22, 2009)
9. Power point presentation given by UM President on December 12, 2009 – Attitude Toward Higher Education Among Missouri Voters and Business Leaders
10. December 17, 2008 UM System Legislative Update e-newsletter
11. January 9, 2009 UM System Legislative Update e-newsletter
12. January 16, 2009 UM System Legislative Update e-newsletter
13. January 21, 2009 e-mail from UM System President to members of the University community about Governor Nixon's proposal not to cut higher education funding in exchange for institutions' holding tuition flat
14. January 30, 2009 UM System Legislative Update e-newsletter
15. February 6, 2009 UM System Legislative Update e-newsletter
16. February 13, 2009 UM System Legislative Update e-newsletter

17. February 20, 2009 UM System Legislative Update e-newsletter
18. February 27, 2009 UM System Legislative Update e-newsletter
19. March 6, 2009 UM System Legislative Update e-newsletter
20. March 13, 2009 UM System Legislative Update e-newsletter
21. March 30, 2009 UM System Legislative Update e-newsletter
22. Fall 2008 Enrollment University of Missouri System (n.d.; received March 16, 2009)
23. April 6, 2009 UM System Legislative Update e-newsletter
24. April 10, 2009 UM System Legislative Update e-newsletter
25. April 17, 2009 UM System Legislative Update e-newsletter
26. April 24, 2009 UM System Legislative Update e-newsletter
27. UM Government Relations Director Job Description
28. May 8, 2009 UM System Legislative Update e-newsletter
29. May 20, 2009 UM System Legislative Update e-newsletter

ASUM Related or Produced Documents:
1. Memo to UM System President and MU Chancellor from Missouri Student Association requesting approval of a student activity fee to fund ASUM (n.d.; deliberated at UM Board of Curators meeting in 1975; memo indicates that the information had been sent to UM Board of Curators members as well) (document retrieved from UM System archives)
2. August 18, 2008 memo from ASUM LD announcing applications for the 2008-2009 state legislative program
3. Brochure tiled *State Legislative Internship Program* (n.d.)
4. Format for recommendation letter to be completed by a professor/advisor/staff member to accompany the student lobbyist application (n.d.)
5. October 6, 2008 sample letter offering ASUM student lobbyist position to those selected
6. October 6, 2008 sample letter sent to applicants not selected for the ASUM student lobbyist position
7. Copy of student lobbyists applicants' application materials submitted September 17, 2008 – application for eight state-level lobbyists and one federal-level lobbyist selected and for two not selected (identifying information purged)
8. ASUM Legislative Interns, Assistant Legislative Director, and Legislative Director Terms of Agreement (n.d.)
9. Agenda - Friday, October 17, 2008 ASUM Student Lobbyists Training
10. Agenda - Saturday, October 18, 2008 ASUM Student Lobbyists Training
11. Agenda - November 14, 2008 ASUM Student Lobbyists Training
12. Agenda - November 15, 2008 ASUM Student Lobbyists Training
13. ASUM Mission, History, & Structure Power Point presented on October 17, 2008 at ASUM student lobbyists training
14. 2008-2009 ASUM Legislative Intern Manual (content specific to this case listed below):
    - History of ASUM
    - Mission of ASUM
    - Basic Structure of ASUM
    - ASUM Constitution
    - How ASUM Legislative Policy is Set
    - History of ASUM Legislative Successes
    - ASUM Legislative Staff

15. Public universities by legislative district – a document produced by ASUM student lobbyists (n.d.)
16. Power Point presentation and accompanying handouts given by MS&T student lobbyist on November 14, 2008
17. Legislative issue assignment request form distributed at October 18, 2008 student lobbyists' training
18. 2009 legislative session legislator assignments (each ASUM student lobbyists was assigned to develop relationships and communicate with 20-21 representatives and 4-5 senators) distributed at November 15, 2008 training
19. December 30, 2008 e-mail from LD to student lobbyists team about January 6, 2009 training
20. 2009 ASUM Prospectus
21. ASUM 2009 Legislative Policy Handbook (October 24, 2008)
22. E-mail communications from the LD to ASUM student lobbyists (e.g., reminders, calling attention to articles in the press, summaries recent happenings, specific instruction to issue teams) (January 16, 2009, January 21, 2009, four sent on January 23, 2009, two sent on February 9, 2009, February 18, 2009, two sent on February 20, 2009, February 26, 2009)
23. January 16, 2009 ASUM student lobbyists' weekly reports (a separate report from each of the eight lobbyists)
24. January 23, 2009 ASUM Capitol Notes e-newsletter
25. January 23, 2009 ASUM student lobbyists' weekly reports (a separate report from each of the eight lobbyists)
    January 30, 2009 ASUM Capitol Notes e-newsletter
26. January 30, 2009 ASUM student lobbyists' weekly reports (a separate report from each of the eight lobbyists)
27. February 6, 2009 ASUM student lobbyists' weekly reports (eight reports compiled into one report by the LD)
28. February 13, 2009 ASUM Capitol Notes e-newsletter
29. February 13 2009 ASUM student lobbyists' weekly reports (eight reports compiled into one report by the LD)
30. House Directory/Support Table (n.d.)
31. Senate Directory/Support Table (n.d.)
32. ASUM Fact Sheet – NO on HB515: Restructuring the Board of Curators (n.d.)
33. ASUM Fact Sheet – Caring for Missourians (n.d.)
34. Sample letters UM students sent to legislators about Access Missouri Scholarship funding (differentiated letters for current students, alumnus, parents, supporters) (n.d.)
35. February 20, 2009 ASUM Capitol Notes e-newsletter
36. February 20, 2009 ASUM student lobbyists' weekly reports (eight reports compiled into one report by the LD)
37. Written testimony delivered by an ASUM student lobbyist to the House Higher Education Committee on February 24, 2009
38. February 27, 2009 ASUM student lobbyists' weekly reports (eight reports compiled into one report by the LD)
39. March 6, 2009 ASUM student lobbyists' weekly reports (compiled into one report by the LD)
40. Media packet distributed at ASUM-sponsored press conference held on March 10. 2009:
    - ASUM Fact Sheet – Access Missouri SB 390 & HB 792: Putting Missouri's Neediest Students First (n.d.)

- The Associated Students of the University of Missouri and Access Missouri Legislation (n.d.)
- H.B. 792 (n.d.)
- S.B. 390 (n.d.; 1st read February 17, 2009)
- Media Advisory (March 10, 2009)
- Resolution from UMC Student Government in support of equalizing Access (n.d.)
- Resolution from UMKC Student Government in support of equalizing Access (March 4, 2009)
- Resolution from MS&T Student Government in support of equalizing Access (n.d.)
- March 6, 2009 ASUM Capitol Notes e-newsletter

41. March 13, 2009 ASUM student lobbyists' weekly reports (eight reports compiled into one report by the LD)
42. 2008 ASUM Prospectus
43. ASUM 2008 Legislative Policy Handbook (November 17, 2008)
44. Written testimony delivered by ASUM student lobbyists during the 2008 Missouri Legislative Session (four different testimonies) (n.d.)
45. Sample letters written to legislators by ASUM student lobbyists during the 2008 Missouri Legislative Session (n.d.)
46. Fact Sheets prepared and distributed by ASUM student lobbyists during the 2008 Missouri Legislative Session (n.d.)
47. October 22, 2008 e-mail sent by ASUM to all University of Missouri-Columbia students encouraging them to vote and sharing information about absentee ballots
48. October 29, 2008 e-mail sent to all MU students announcing a candidate's debate sponsored by ASUM, the Graduate Student Association (GSA), and the American Association of University Professors (AAUP)
49. Brochure titled *What is ASUM*? (n.d.)
50. Testimony given by ASUM student lobbyist E to the House Higher Education Committee on March 31, 2009
51. Testimony given by ASUM student lobbyist F to the House Higher Education Committee on March 31, 2009 and to the Senate Education Committee on April 1, 2009
52. Testimony given by ASUM student lobbyist F to the House Higher Education Committee on March 31, 2009 and to the Senate Education Committee on April 1, 2009
53. Testimony given by ASUM student lobbyist E to the House Higher Education Committee on March 31, 2009
54. Testimony given by ASUM student lobbyist G to the House Committee on Infrastructure and Transportation Funding on March 31, 2009
55. April 3, 2009 ASUM student lobbyists' weekly reports (eight reports compiled into one report by the LD)
56. April 10, 2009 ASUM student lobbyists' weekly reports (eight reports compiled into one report by the LD)
57. April 17, 2009 ASUM student lobbyists' weekly reports (eight reports compiled into one report by the LD)
58. April 24, 2009 ASUM student lobbyists' weekly reports (eight reports compiled into one report by the LD)
59. May 1, 2009 ASUM student lobbyists' weekly reports (eight reports compiled into one report by the LD)

Miscellaneous Documents:
1. Power Point presentation made by UM System President to the Senate Seminar on Higher Education on January 22, 2009
2. Power Point presentation made by Council on Public Higher Education (COHPE) and MSU President to the Senate Seminar on Higher Education on January 22, 2009
3. Missouri Higher Education Consortium (MHEC) Legislative Position Book 2008-2009
4. Legislation to amend Access Missouri Scholarship (a handout distributed at and used by COPHE) (n.d.)
5. Memo to Members of the House Higher Education Committee from the Chair (2009, March 31)
6. Independent Sector of Missouri College and Universities Position Paper on Missouri Student Higher Education Financial Assistance: Access Missouri (2009, January 9)

Newspaper Articles:
1. Mahshie, A. (2008, September 5). Veto override touchy four curators. *Columbia Daily Tribune*, p. 12A.
2. Soto, J. (2008, September 12). Senate votes down student curator bill. *Maneater*, p. 1, 8.
3. Youngs, J. (2008, October 2). Student group pushes tuition as voters' issue. *Columbia Daily Tribune*, p. 7.
4. Rosenbaum, J. (2008, October 5). Robb vs. Kelly. *Columbia Daily Tribune*, p. 1D.
5. (2008, November 14). Governor Blunt's landmark higher education initiative distributes $7.1 million to benefit Missouri students.
6. Youngs, J. (2008, December 8). Curators still cold to adding student member. *Columbia Daily Tribune*.
7. Osterlind, A., & Karl, J. (2008, December 12, 2008). Student curator would be a real asset to UM Board [Letter to the editor]. *Columbia Daily Tribune*, p. 2D.
8. Youngs, J. (2008, December 13). Forsee talks up UM as stimulus. *Columbia Daily Tribune*, p. 1.
9. (2009, January 5). Senators begin session in seminars on major issues. *Inside Missouri Politics Blog*
10. Livengood, C. (2009, January 7, 2009). Text of state Senate leader's opening day speech. *Inside Missouri Politics Blog*, p. 1.
11. Dunn, C. (2009, January 7). General Assembly opens with call for higher education reform, emphasis on economic development. *Columbia Missourian*.
12. Heavin, J. (2009, January 7). Higher ed a priority as legislative session begins. *Columbia Daily Tribune*.
13. Erikson, R. (2009, January 7). Opening day at the legislature. *KOMU Discussion Board*.
14. Noble, J. (2009, January 7). Senate Republicans favor empowering higher ed board. *Kansas City Star*.
15. Heavin, J. (2009, January 8). University autonomy under fire. *Columbia Daily Tribune*, p. 1A.
16. (2009, January 15). Thomson to oversee education budget discussions. *St. Joseph News-Press*
17. Ganey, T. (2009, January 18). Governing universities. *Columbia Daily Tribune*, p. 1D, 4D.
18. Ganey, T. (2009, January 21). Senators clarify on higher education. *Columbia Daily Tribune*, p. 12.
19. Winters, N. (2009, January 21). Governing power of higher education unlikely to change. *Columbia Daily Tribune*, p. 1.

20. Dunn, C., & Insinna, V. (2009, January 21). Nixon vows to avoid cutting higher education budget in 2010. *Columbia Missourian*.
21. Youngs, J. (2009, January 21). Deal avoids cuts at MU. *Columbia Daily Tribune*.
22. (2009, January 21). Missouri governor seeks university tuition freeze. *Kansas City Star*.
23. Kumar, K., & Messenger, T. (2009, January 22). Nixon has plan to freeze tuition. *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, p. 3B.
24. Noble, J. (2009, January 22). For Missouri colleges, deal calls for no state funding cuts if they don't raise tuition. *Kansas City Star*.
25. Livengood, C. (2009, January 22). Saved from state cuts. *Springfield News-Leader*.
26. Tang, D. (2009, January 22). Colleges praise Nixon deal. *Springfield News-Leader*.
27. Winters, N. (2009, January 22). Officials deny reduction of UM boards. *Columbia Daily Tribune*, p. 3A.
28. Heavin, J. (2009, January 22). Higher ed seeks unity. *Columbia Daily Tribune*.
29. Raletx, A. E. (2009, January 22). Nixon, higher ed cut deal. *St. Joseph News-Press*, p. 1.
30. Waters, III, H. J. (2009, January 22). Higher education budget. *Columbia Daily Tribune*, p. 2.
31. Youngs, J. (2009, January 23). University alumni must step up, lawmakers say. *Columbia Daily Tribune*, p. 4.
32. (2009, January 24). Our opinion: Deal puts legislators in bind. *St. Joseph News-Press*.
33. Noble, J. (2009, January 25). Analysis: Higher education presents financial, political twists for Missouri lawmakers. *Kansas City Star*.
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47. Ganey, T. (2009, March 5). UM lobby helps kills student-vote plan. *Columbia Daily Tribune*.
48. Ganey, T. (2009, March 11). Scholarship issue splits campuses. *Columbia Daily Tribune*, p. 2A.
49. Wysocki, A. (2009, March 13). MSA, ASUM support Access Missouri changes. *Maneater*, p. 3.

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Note. Newspaper articles without a page number were obtained from *Keeping Up*, a publication of the State Librarian in the Missouri Secretary of State Office. *Keeping Up* is retrievable in paper copy and online and was produced each day of the 2009 Missouri Legislative Session. Keeping Up was a compilation of all newspaper articles in all major newspapers in Missouri that dealt with topics related to Missouri politics and the legislative session.

ACCESS MISSOURI HB 792

Putting Missouri's Neediest Students First

- Equal Access
- Accountability
- Taxpayer Dollars
- Priorities

The Status Quo

Public 2–year	Public 4–year	Private 4–year
Maximum	Maximum	Maximum
$1,000	$2,150	$4,600
6,590 students benefit	20,941 students benefit	11,399 students benefit

- In FY09, the Access Missouri program is budgeted at $95 million.
- Currently, Access Missouri funds are unfairly allocated, with private school students receiving up to **twice** as much funding as public school students.
- **52%** of Access Missouri funds are received by students in private institutions.

The Proposed Plan

- Would level out Access Missouri funding to public and private school students.
- Public and private school students would receive $2,850 per year, **increasing scholarships to public school students by $700 per student**.
- Would require **no additional funding from the state.**
- Provides **balance** in the way funds are distributed.

Why?

- The state has a **responsibility to its public colleges and universities** that encourage their students to **stay in Missouri** and **contribute to the Missouri economy**.
- Over the past several years, unstable funding from the state has forced public institutions of higher education to place the burden on students.
- Missouri is currently **47th in public** higher education funding per-capita and **4th in private** higher education funding.
- Private institutions do little to encourage students to stay in Missouri when a large portion of their students come from out-of-state.
- Private institutions of higher education have much larger endowments than their public counterparts.
  - For example, Washington University has an endowment of over $4 billion while the University of Missouri's endowment is $800 million.
- The state has **little control over how private institutions spend their money**.
- Private colleges and universities are not governed by the Coordinating Board for Higher Education.
- **Missouri's public colleges and universities enroll twice as many Missouri students** as the private institutions.
  - In 2007, public institutions had a total enrollment of 90,905 Missouri students whereas private institutions taught only 45,752 Missouri students.

The Associated Students of the University of Missouri

NO on HB515
Restructuring the Board of Curators

BACKGROUND ON HB515

- Currently the University of Missouri Board of Curators is a **nine-member board** with one Curator appointed **from each of Missouri's nine congressional districts**

- After the 2010 census, **Missouri is expected to lose a congressional district**, leaving only eight districts from which to pull the Board of Curator's nine members

- HB515 proposes changing Missouri statute to allow **at least one but no more than two curators from each district,** creating an "at-large" curator

PROBLEMS WITH THIS PLAN

- Two curators from a single district would *exaggerate* the influence of a single constituency in decisions that affect *all* students
    - ❖ Could lead to an urban or rural bias on the board
- It *guarantees* one constituency would be **disproportionally represented**
- Governor Blunt vetoed SB873 last year on the grounds that it would allow two curators from a single district, creating potential conflicts of interest – *the same problem* presented by HB515
- It excludes the *largest financial contributors* to the University of Missouri, **the students,** from having their interests represented
    - ❖ Without language to *specifically reserve a seat* for the students, the Board of Curators will lack the voice of those most invested in the UM System.

A BETTER SOLUTION

- **HB692** allows a *voting* **student curator** to serve on the Board of Curators should a seat be vacated following the 2010 census, solving this same statutory problem
- A *nonvoting* student representative has served on the board since 1984, but a **VOTE** *solidifies the influence of students* on a board whose decisions affect **students**, not curators
- A student curator would **give voice** to the more than 64,000 students representing *every county* from the state of Missouri
- Currently, student tuition accounts for **47.6%** of the university's operating costs while state appropriations account for only **38.3%** of its operating costs.
- While **HB515** does not explicitly prohibit adding a voting student curator, it does make it *substantially more difficult to do so.* Increasing the number of members on the Board of Curators would require amending Missouri's Constitution.

64,000 Students; *One*Vote

The Associated Students of the University of Missouri

Caring for Missourians: An initiative to improve health care across Missouri!

The Caring for Missourians initiative, formerly   known as Preparing to Care, **increases** the number of **health care professional graduates** in public institutions **by 20%.**

Why is it necessary?
- According to the Dept of Health and Human Services, **95%** of Missouri counties are underserved by physicians
- **93%** of Missouri Counties are underserved by dentists
    - A vast majority of Missouri is underserved is seen in this map to the right

Medically Underserved Area

Adequate Medical Service
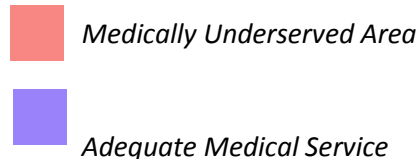
What will this do?
- As an initiative, $39 Million in reoccurring funds would be appropriated to **all 26 two and four year public higher education institutions** in Missouri.
- Caring For Missourians will increase **900 additional health care professionals** over 5 years. This includes much needed **nurses**, **therapists**, **pharmacists, dentists** and **physicians**

Helping to provide for Missouri's Future
- The aging baby boom generation will add increasing stress to Missouri's already under-staffed and under-funded system. Missouri ranks **14th in the nation in the number of people over age 65**
- About **90% of graduates** UM Health Care programs, stay within the state to serve Missouri's citizens.

Support for the Initiative
- Governor Jay Nixon announced Caring For Missourians as one of his top priorities and is currently in the proposed budget for fiscal year 2010
- Caring for Missourians is part of the ongoing cooperation among all 26 Public higher education institutions.

The Associated Students of the University of Missouri

YES on HB692

A Vote for the Student Curator

BACKGROUND ON HB692

- Currently the University of Missouri Board of Curators is a **nine-member board** with one Curator appointed **from each of Missouri's nine congressional districts**
- After the 2010 census, **Missouri is expected to lose a congressional district**, leaving only eight districts from which to pull the board's nine members
- **HB692** fixes this statutory problem by filling the ninth seat with a voting student curator
- The **House _and_ Senate** passed this plan with bipartisan support last year on votes of **100-47** and **31-2** respectively

A SOUND SOLUTION

- A student curator would give voice to the **64,000 students** of the University of Missouri system representing _every county_ in the state
- **HB692 gives a voice to the University's largest financial contributors**, **the students**
- Student tuition accounts for **47.6%** of the University's operating costs for FY09 while state appropriations account for only **38.3%** of operating costs
- Students are close to the _pulse of the University_ and have the **benefit of _recent_ experience** with the institutions governed by the Board of Curators – something which other members lack
- As students become increasingly vested in their own education, both financially and intellectually, _their interests deserve representation_ on the system's governing board
- At least **29 other states** have a voting student curator or respective counterpart including: Iowa, Illinois, Kentucky, Tennessee, Utah, California, and Florida.

QUALIFIED TO SERVE

- The rigorous application process a student must complete ensures the quality of a candidate who would not only be _sufficiently_ qualified to vote, but also _uniquely_ qualified to do so
- A student curator must go through the same process as _any political appointee_; **selection by the Governor and confirmation by the Missouri Senate**
- The two-year term length allows the position to _rotate between all the UM System campuses,_ allowing the board to benefit from views from all four University of Missouri schools
- A _nonvoting_ student representative has served on the board since 1984, but a VOTE _solidifies the influence of students_ on a board whose decisions affect **students**, not curators
- The average age of past student curators is 23 – **just one year shy of the requirement to serve as a Missouri Representative**

64,000 Students; _One_ Vote

Appendix J

Consent for Researcher to Observe ASUM Student Lobbyists' Training

October 17, 2008

ASUM Student Lobbyists
University of Missouri

Dear Name:

Higher education has become increasingly politicized over the past decade. Today, it is necessary for public colleges and universities to have a presence in their State Capitol. In-house lobbyists generally represent higher education institutions. However, students, alumni, and other constituents also interact with state legislators regarding higher education-related policy matters. This raises the question of who can effectively lobby on behalf of the higher education community.

This purpose of this letter is to ask if you are willing to participate in this study that examines the lobbying behavior of one multi-campus institutional system's student lobbyists and to ascertain its influence on higher education legislation during the 2009 Missouri Legislative Session.

Doing so would allow me to observe ASUM student lobbyists' training, and to record field notes of the observations. The attached informed consent form and handout also further describes this research and the protocol that will be used to protect participants. If you are willing to participate in this study, please sign and date the attached informed consent form to indicate your willingness to be observed.

If you wish more details about the study, please contact me or my faculty advisor Dr. Barbara K. Townsend, at townsendb@missouri.edu, 573-882-1040, or at University of Missouri, Department of Educational Leadership and Policy Analysis, 202 Hill Hall, Columbia, MO 65203. You may also contact the MU Campus Institutional Review Board at 483 McReynolds Hall, Columbia, MO 65211, 573-882-9585, umcresearchirb@missouri.edu if you have questions regarding your rights as a participant.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth (Beth) Tankersley-Bankhead
Doctoral Student
Educational Leadership and Policy Analysis – Higher & Continuing Education
cell (660) 888-3334

Appendix K

Informed Consent for Researcher to Observe ASUM Student Lobbyists' Training

This form requests your consent to participate in a study titled *Student Lobbyists' Behavior and its Perceived Influence on State-Level Higher Education Legislation: A Case Study*. Specifically, the researcher seeks to examine student lobbyists' behavior and its influence on higher education legislation in Missouri during the 2009 legislative session.

The dissertation research project will be conducted by University of Missouri-Columbia Ph.D. student researcher Elizabeth (Beth) Tankersley-Bankhead and supervised by Dr. Barbara K. Townsend, dissertation committee chair and Educational Leadership and Policy Analysis Department faculty member.

Project Description: This qualitative study will seek to examine ASUM student lobbyists' lobbying behavior and its influence on higher education legislation during the 2009 Missouri Legislative Session. Please see attached handout for additional detail of the study.

Potential Benefits and Concerns: The U.S. higher education community has come to realize the need to have an active presence in the legislative process at the state level. In-house or hired professional lobbyists represent colleges and universities in state capitols; however, in a handful of states, Missouri among them, university students serve as registered legislative lobbyists. Higher education lobbying has received little empirical research attention and the influence of student lobbyists has not been examined. Findings of this study may generally inform higher education lobbying and specifically inform Missouri higher education lobbying.

Potential concerns are minimal and there is no known risk to participants.

Confidentiality: All information regarding this project will be kept confidential according to legal and ethical guidelines. All information associated with participants will be kept in locked files accessible only to the researcher and will be destroyed three years after completion of the project. Every effort will be made to protect the accuracy of the data and confidentiality of the participants. Participants will be assigned a random letter code; codes will be used in any publication or presentation of findings. All identifying information will be cleansed and any data disseminated will be in aggregate form.

Participation is Voluntary: Your participation is entirely voluntary. You can freely withdraw from the project at any time without negative consequences and information related to you will be destroyed.

Results of the Study: The results of this study will be used to fulfill a Ph.D. dissertation requirement. It is also the aim of the researcher to present the research findings at state,

regional, and national higher education conferences and to submit the project for publication in a scholarly journal.

Questions? Please contact student researcher Beth Tankersley-Bankhead, at etyw9@mizzou.edu or at 660-888-3334. You may also contact faculty advisor, Dr. Barbara K. Townsend, at townsendb@missouri.edu or at 573-882-1040 or at University of Missouri (MU), Department of Educational Leadership and Policy Analysis, 202 Hill Hall, Columbia, MO 65203. If you have questions about your rights as a research project participant, you may contact the MU Institutional Review Board at umcresearchirb@missouri.edu or at 573-882-9585.

**PLEASE COMPLETE THIS PAGE AND
RETURN IT TO THE RESEARCHER**

Please check the appropriate line to indicate that you have read and understand this letter:

_____ I give consent to participate in this project designed to seek an understanding of ASUM student lobbyists' behavior and its influence on higher education legislation during the 2009 Missouri Legislative Session. I understand that this form grants consent for me to be observed as I participate in ASUM student lobbyists' training.

_____ I do not give consent to participate. As such, notes will not be recorded about your participation in training, nor will anything related to you be used as data for this study.

Please sign this informed consent form and give it to researcher Beth Tankersley-Bankhead prior to the start of ASUM student lobbyists' training.

Printed Name (first, middle initial, last) _____

Signed: _____   Date: _____

A copy of this form will be made and provided to you.
Please keep a copy for your records.

Appendix L

Invitation to Participate

December 26, 2008

Name
Address
Address

Dear _____:

Higher education has become increasingly politicized over the past decade. Today, it is necessary for public colleges and universities to have a presence in their State Capitol. Institutional lobbyists generally represent higher education institutions. However, students, alumni, and other constituents also interact with state legislators regarding higher education-related policy matters. Their doing so raises the question of who can effectively lobby on behalf of the higher education community.

This purpose of this letter is to ask if you would be willing to participate in a study that examines lobbying behavior of one multi-campus institutional system's student lobbyists (Associated Students of the University of Missouri) so as to understand their lobbying behavior and its influence on higher education legislation during the 2009 Missouri Legislative Session.

Your willingness to participate would require (this section was adapted according to participant groups: ASUM student lobbyists, legislators, legislative staff members, UM System lobbyists):

___   Allowing me to observe ASUM student lobbyists' training during the period of January through May 2009

___   Participating in one audio-recorded semi-structured individual interview, to last a maximum of 90 minutes, during the period of January 7, 2009, through May 15, 2009

___   Participating in one audio-recorded focus group interview, to last approximately 90 minutes, during the period of January 7, 2009, through May 15, 2009

___   Allowing me to shadow ASUM student lobbyists for one day at the State Capitol during the period of January 7, 2009, through May 15, 2009

___   Engaging in informal conversations on a daily basis at the State Capitol during the period of January 7, 2009, through May 15, 2009

The enclosed informed consent form further describes this research and the protocol that will be used to protect its participants.

If you are willing to participate in this study, please sign and return the enclosed informed consent form in the self-addressed, stamped envelope. A response by **January 6, 2009,** is greatly appreciated. Once I receive your response, I will follow up to arrange observation,

an individual interview, a focus group interview, and/or shadowing. If you are unable to participate in this study, an e-mail response declining participation would also be appreciated.

If you wish more details about the study, please contact me at etyw9@mizzou.edu or call me at 660-888-3334, or my faculty advisor Dr. Barbara K. Townsend, at townsendb@missouri.edu, 573-882-1040, or at University of Missouri, Department of Educational Leadership and Policy Analysis, 202 Hill Hall, Columbia, MO 65203. You may also contact the MU Campus Institutional Review Board at 483 McReynolds Hall, Columbia, MO 65211, 573-882-9585, umcresearchirb@missouri.edu if you have questions regarding your rights as a participant.

Thank you for your consideration!

Sincerely,

Elizabeth (Beth) Tankersley-Bankhead
Doctoral Student
Educational Leadership and Policy Analysis – Higher & Continuing Education
University of Missouri-Columbia
etyw9@mizzou.edu
cell (660) 888-3334

Appendix M

Informed Consent Form

This form requests your consent to participate in a study titled *Student Lobbyists'*
Behavior and its Perceived Influence on State-Level Higher Education Legislation: A
Case Study. Specifically, the researcher seeks to examine the influence of student
lobbyists on higher education legislation in Missouri during the 2009 legislative session.

The dissertation research project will be conducted by University of Missouri-Columbia
PhD student researcher Elizabeth (Beth) Tankersley-Bankhead and supervised by Dr.
Barbara K. Townsend, dissertation committee chair and Educational Leadership and
Policy Analysis Department faculty member.

Project Description: This qualitative study will seek to examine ASUM student lobbyists'
influence on higher education legislation during the 2009 Missouri Legislative Session.
Participants are invited to participate in one or more of the following: observation,
individual interview, focus group interview, shadowing, and/or informal interview
conversations. The events you are being asked to participate in are listed on the invitation
to participate letter.

Potential Benefits: The U.S. higher education community has come to realize the need to
have an active presence in the legislative process at the state level. In-house or hired
professional lobbyists represent colleges and universities in their state capitols; however,
in a handful of states, including Missouri, university students serve as registered
legislative lobbyists. Higher education lobbying has received little empirical research
attention and the influence of student lobbyists has not been examined. Findings of this
study may: (a) influence how institutional leaders conceptualize the student role in the
legislative policy-making process, (b) be instructive to higher education lobbying in
general, and (c) serve to more sharply foreground the importance of politics to higher
education.

Potential Concerns: Potential concerns are minimal and there is no known risk to
participants.

Confidentiality: All information regarding this project will be kept confidential according
to legal and ethical guidelines. All information associated with participants will be kept in
locked files accessible only to the researcher and will be destroyed three years after
completion of the project. Every effort will be made to protect the accuracy of the data
and confidentiality of the participants. Focus group interview participants will be asked to
maintain confidentiality about other participants' comments. Participants will be assigned
a random letter code and the code will be used in any publication or presentation of
findings. All identifying information will be cleansed and any data disseminated will be
in aggregate form.

Participation is Voluntary: Your participation is entirely voluntary. You can freely withdraw from the project at any time without negative consequences and information related to you will be destroyed. You are also free to skip any interview and/or focus group interview questions that you feel uncomfortable answering.

Results of the Study: The results of this study will be used to fulfill a Ph.D. dissertation requirement. It is also the aim of the researcher to present the research findings at state, regional, and national higher education conferences and to submit the project for publication in a scholarly journal.

Questions? Please contact student researcher Beth Tankersley-Bankhead, at etyw9@mizzou.edu or at 660-888-3334. You may also contact faculty advisor, Dr. Barbara K. Townsend, at townsendb@missouri.edu or at 573-882-1040 or at University of Missouri (MU), Department of Educational Leadership and Policy Analysis, 202 Hill Hall, Columbia, MO 65203. If you have questions about your rights as a research project participant, you may contact the MU Institutional Review Board at umcresearchirb@missouri.edu or at 573-882-9585.

**PLEASE DETACH THIS PAGE AND
RETURN IT TO THE PROJECT RESEARCHER**

Please check the appropriate line to indicate that you have read and understand this letter:

_____ I give consent to participate in this project designed to seek an understanding of the influence of lobbying behavior of student lobbyists on higher education legislation during the 2009 Missouri Legislative Session. I understand that I will participate in:

       _____ one individual interview
       _____ one focus group interview
       _____ being shadowed for one day at the Capitol
       _____ being observed in activities as a student lobbyist
       _____ engaging in informal conversation while lobbying at the State Capitol

_____ I would like more information before giving consent. Please call me at _____.

_____ I do not give consent to participate.

Please bring a signed copy of the informed consent form to your interview and give it to Beth Tankersley-Bankhead prior to the start of the interview, or if you need additional information prior to agreeing to participate please e-mail me at etyw9@mizzou.edu or call me at 660-888-3334.

Printed Name (first, middle initial, last) _____

Signed: _____   Date: _____

A copy of this form will be made and provided to you.
Please keep a copy for your records.

Appendix N

Protocol for Focus Group and Individual Interviews

Interviewee:

Name: _____

Code: _____

Interview:

_____ Individual _____ Focus Group (check one)

Date: _____, 2009

Start and Stop Time: _____ - _____

Minutes Duration: _____

Location: _____

Pre-Interview:

_____ Introduce self

_____ Explain purpose and scope of study

_____ Explain and obtain signed informed consent form (if not already received)

_____ Explain interview format:
Questions
Timeframe
Audio-recording and note-taking (test the audio-recorder)
Member check and clarification process desired by interviewee:

_____

_____ Ask if questions before the interview begins

Conduct Interview:

Post-Interview:

_____ Explain follow-up (call me if Qs and/or e-mail additional thoughts to me)
_____ Identify preferred mode of contact if I have questions
_____ Suggest who else I should interview

_____

Appendix O

Focus Group Interview Questions for ASUM Student Lobbyists

Demographic Questions:
First, I want to ask some demographic questions to learn more about you.
1. How did you learn about the ASUM student lobbyist opportunity?
2. Do you have past experience in the legislative setting? If so, for how long and please describe.

About ASUM Student Lobbyists:
To start our discussion, I will ask seven questions about your experience as an ASUM student lobbyist during this legislative session. I ask you to provide specific examples as further explanation of your comments.
1. As you perceive them, what are your primary responsibilities and roles as ASUM student lobbyists?
2. Describe the frequency and nature of your interaction with legislators and legislative staff during the 2009 Missouri Legislative Session.
3. What lobbying techniques and strategies do you use to attempt to influence higher education legislation during this legislative session? Please provide specific examples.
4. Of the lobbying techniques and strategies your team uses, which do you perceive as most effective and why?
5. Of the lobbying techniques and strategies your team uses, which do you perceive as least effective and why?
6. What is your perception about legislators' and legislative staff members' attitudes toward you as student lobbyists?
7. What is your perception of ASUM student lobbyists' influence on higher education legislation during the 2009 legislative session?

About UM System Lobbyists:
Now, I want to turn the conversation to the UM System lobbyists because they represent the same institutions that you do and you and they lobby on many of the same issues. I have two questions about UM System lobbyists.
1. What lobbying techniques and strategies do UM System lobbyists use to attempt to influence higher education legislation during this legislative session? Please provide specific examples.
2. Did you observe the UM System lobbyists using techniques and strategies that were different from the ones you use? Please provide specific examples.

Appendix P

Focus Group Interview Questions for UM System Lobbyists

Demographic Questions:
First, I want to ask some demographic questions to learn more about your past lobbying and/or legislative arena experiences and to get an idea of your cumulative experience as a lobbying team.
1. How many years and/or months have you served as a UM System lobbyist?
2. Have you lobbied for other higher education institutions? If so, for how long and please describe.
3. Have you lobbied on higher education issues at the federal level? If so, for how long and please describe.
4. Do you have prior experience, other than as a UM System lobbyist, in the Missouri legislative arena? If so, for how long and please describe.
5. Have you lobbied for sectors other than higher education? If so, for how long, at what level of government, and please describe.

About UM System Lobbyists:
Next, I will ask one question about the lobbying techniques and strategies your team is using during the 2009 legislative session.
1. What lobbying techniques and strategies are you using to attempt to influence higher education legislation during this legislative session?

About ASUM Student Lobbyists:
Now I want to move our discussion to ASUM student lobbyists. I will ask seven questions about the ASUM student lobbyists during this legislative session. I invite you to provide specific examples as further explanation of your comments.
1. Describe the frequency and nature of your interaction with ASUM student lobbyists during the 2009 Missouri Legislative Session.
2. What lobbying techniques and strategies do ASUM student lobbyists use to attempt to influence higher education legislation?
3. Other than your direct experience with ASUM student lobbyists, have you observed them using lobbying techniques and strategies during this legislative session besides those stated in response to the previous question?
4. Of the lobbying techniques and strategies used by ASUM student lobbyists during this legislative session, which do you perceive as most effective and why?
5. Of the lobbying techniques and strategies used by ASUM student lobbyists during this legislative session, which do you perceive as least effective and why?
6. What is your perception about legislators' and legislative staff members' attitudes toward this session's ASUM student lobbyists?
7. What is your perception of ASUM student lobbyists' influence on higher education legislation during the?

Appendix Q

Individual Interview Questions for ASUM Student Lobbyists

<u>About ASUM Student Lobbyists:</u>
I want to ask six questions about your experience as an ASUM student lobbyist during this legislative session. I ask you to provide specific examples as further explanation of your comments.

1. What, if any, preconceived impressions did you have coming into this legislative session about your ability as a student lobbyist to influence higher education legislation? What was the basis for these preconceptions?
2. What is your current perception of your ability as a student lobbyist to influence higher education legislation during the 2009 legislative session? If your perception about their influence has changed over the course of this legislative session, when did it occur and what precipitated the change?
3. What are some specific examples of your ability to influence higher education legislation during this legislative session?
4. In your perception, what affected your ability to influence higher education legislation during this legislative session?
5. What are some specific examples of your inability to influence higher education legislation during this legislative session?
6. In your perception, what affected your inability to influence higher education legislation during this legislative session?

Appendix R

Individual Interview Questions for Legislators

Demographic Questions:
There was not a need to ask specific demographic questions because demographic information about legislators is publicly available.

About ASUM Student Lobbyists:
First, I want to ask seven questions directly pertaining to the ASUM student lobbyists who are working at the Capitol this legislative session. I invite you to provide specific examples as further explanation of your comments.
1. Describe the frequency and nature of your interaction with ASUM student lobbyists during the 2009 Missouri Legislative Session.
2. What lobbying techniques and strategies do ASUM student lobbyists use to attempt to influence higher education legislation during this legislative session? Please provide specific examples.
3. Other than your direct experience with ASUM student lobbyists, have you observed them using lobbying techniques and strategies during this legislative session besides those stated in the previous response? Please provide specific examples.
4. Of the lobbying techniques and strategies used by ASUM student lobbyists during this legislative session, which do you perceive as most effective and why? Please provide specific examples.
5. Of the lobbying techniques and strategies used by ASUM student lobbyists during this legislative session, which do you perceive as least effective and why? Please provide specific examples.
6. What is your perception about legislators' and legislative staff members' attitudes toward ASUM student lobbyists?
7. What is your perception of ASUM student lobbyists' influence on higher education legislation during the 2009 legislative session?

About UM System Lobbyists:
Next, I want to ask one question about UM System lobbyists because both they and the ASUM student lobbyists represent the same higher education institutions.
1. What lobbying techniques and strategies do UM System lobbyists use to attempt to influence higher education legislation during this legislative session? Please provide specific examples.

Appendix S

Individual Interview Questions for Legislative Staff Members

Demographic Questions:
First, I want to ask some demographic questions to learn more about your legislative staff experience.
1. How many years and months have you served as a legislative staff member?
2. Do you have previous experience in the Missouri legislative arena? If so, for how long and please describe.
3. Are you a University of Missouri alumnus?

About ASUM Student Lobbyists:
Now I want to move our discussion to ASUM student lobbyists. I will ask seven questions about the students who are serving as ASUM student lobbyists during this legislative session. I invite you to provide specific examples as further explanation of your comments.
1. Describe the frequency and nature of your interaction with ASUM student lobbyists during the 2009 Missouri Legislative Session.
2. What lobbying techniques and strategies do ASUM student lobbyists use to attempt to influence higher education legislation during this legislative session? Please provide specific examples.
3. Other your direct experience with ASUM student lobbyists, have you observed them using lobbying techniques and strategies during his legislative session besides those stated in response to the previous question? Please provide specific examples.
4. Of the lobbying techniques and strategies used by ASUM student lobbyists during this legislative session, which did you perceive as most effective and why? Please provide specific examples.
5. Of the lobbying techniques and strategies used by ASUM student lobbyists during this legislative session, which did you perceive as least effective and why? Please give specific examples.
6. What is your perception about legislators' and legislative staff members' attitudes toward ASUM student lobbyists?
7. What is your perception of ASUM student lobbyists' influence on higher education legislation during the 2009 legislative session?

About UM System Lobbyists:
Next, I want to ask one question about UM System lobbyists because both they and the ASUM student lobbyists represent the same higher education institutions.
1. What lobbying techniques and strategies do UM System lobbyists use to attempt to influence higher education legislation during this legislative session?

Appendix T

Trustworthiness Criteria, Concerns, and Methods

Criteria	Concerns	Methods
Credibility	- Test for misinformation - Build trust - Identify salient elements - Identify crucial atypical events - Acknowledge researcher bias - Acknowledge human instrument frailty	- Triangulate data collection and analysis methodology - Estimate data collection obtrusiveness - Prolonged engagement - Use peer debriefing - Use constant comparative analysis - Employ recursive data collection and analysis - Analyze data sources separately and compare conclusions from various sources - Examine incongruent or unexpected themes - Communicate early and thoroughly with participants to build trust - Conduct member checks with interviewees after interviews to build trust - Delete names or representative agencies of participants; direct quotes not linked to participant - Make reflexive notes in observation field notes - Include text about researcher's past experience with the case, including an Appendix of researcher's preconceptions about the case
Transferability	Provide reader with contextual reference	- Provide literature review to situate the case - State that transferability is left to the reader perception and interpretation - State limitations of case that

		are related to transferability
Dependability	• Recognize methodological shifts • Establish redundancy • Employ inquirer sophistication	• Overlap data collection methods • Triangulate data collection and analysis • Continue interviews until redundancy was achieved • Estimate data collection obtrusiveness • Collect and analyze data systematically • Use peer debriefing and chain of evidence to check data coding (interrater reliability) • Use narrative or examples to support findings • State researcher's role • Bracket researcher's perceptions of and experiences with the student lobbying program
Confirmability	• Ground theory in data • Make logical inferences • State reasoning for category identification • Accommodate negative evidence	• Maintain an audit trail • Triangulate data collection • Use peer debriefing (interrater reliability) • Note decisions made throughout the research project about data collection and analysis • Collect and analyzed data systematically and recursively • Maintain a project log • Make reflexive notes in observation field notes

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage
    Publications.

Appendix U

Associated Students of the University of Missouri
Legislative Interns, Assistant Legislative Director
and Legislative Director Terms of Agreement

ASUM is a non-partisan student association that lobbies on behalf of University of Missouri students and lobbies for the legislative platform set forth and approved by the ASUM Board of Directors.

All ASUM interns, ALD, and LD are asked to carefully read and sign this agreement. Your signature indicates understanding of and agreement to adhere to the following for the duration of your legislative internship with ASUM:

Internship Requirements:
1. I will be available to lobby for ASUM during the legislative session, which begins January 7, 2009.
2. I will participate in all intern training programs, meetings, and other ASUM programs as requested by the LD, ALD, and ASUM Legislative Advisor.
3. I will be on time.
4. I will notify the LD and ALD if I am unable to meet my obligations.
5. I will follow the ASUM legislative platform as established by the ASUM Board of Directors.
6. I will communicate and work within the legislative intern program chain of communication and reporting.
7. I will travel to Jefferson City at least two days per week regardless of the status of my issue.
8. I will submit weekly reports as required by ASUM.
9. I will submit a final written report as required by ASUM.
10. I will complete a mid-term and end-of-semester assessment of the internship experience and provide to ASUM a copy of any internship-related reports turned in to the faculty internship advisor.
11. I will research my legislative issues and be informed on relevant issues by reading assigned materials and researching.
12. I will track legislation daily in person, by phone or by email.
13. I will adhere to reimbursement policies set forth by ASUM.
14. I will reimburse ASUM for any pre-paid non-refundable travel costs incurred if I commit to attendance and then cancel due to reasons deemed inexcusable by the ASUM Board of Directors.

Policy and Protocol Requirements:
15. I will abide by the University of Missouri Collected Rules and Regulations (available online at UM website at www.umsystem.edu).
16. I will abide by my specific campus Conduct Code (available online at UM campus website).

17.   I will not consume alcoholic beverages or illegal drugs while engaged in lobbying activities, in the presence of a legislator, at any time in Jefferson City, or any night before I am to lobby in Jefferson City.
18.   I will be professional and respectable as my behavior represents ASUM and the University.
19.   I will dress in a professional manner as my dress represents and reflects upon ASUM and the University.
20.   I will follow the MO Ethics Commission code of conduct, as required of all registered lobbyists. I realize the consequences of a MO Ethics Commission code violation will result in removal from the internship and may result in action taken by
the MO Ethics Commission (codes available online at Commission website at www.moethics.state.mo).
21.   I will follow all policies shared during training, weekly meetings and/or in training materials provided to me.

Legislative Team Member Requirements:
22.   I will work as a team member and do my part in the ASUM legislative intern program.
23.   I will respect and listen to my colleagues and I will share my opinion and perspectives with my colleagues.
24.   I will be assigned to one or more issues and to one or more issue teams and I will research and advance the issue(s) for the duration of the internship.

Political Participation /Conflict of Interests Requirements:
25.   I will not participate in any political or legislative event outside the Capitol without prior approval from the ASUM Legislative Director
26.   I will not represent any organization or platform outside of ASUM while working in the Capitol.
27.   I shall not lobby for issues that are not approved by the ASUM Board of Directors and the LD, ALD and ASUM Legislative Advisor. Interns shall lobby for all issues approved by the ASUM Board of Directors, per instruction of the LD and ALD.
28.   I will not hold a statewide or higher level partisan office while serving on the ASUM legislative team.
29.   I will not testify on behalf of any group outside of ASUM while I am an intern with ASUM.
30.   I will not hold another post at the Capitol during the time I am an ASUM intern.
31.   I will not work on legislative issues outside the ASUM platform while I am in the Capitol serving as an ASUM intern.

Note: The University of Missouri Collected Rules and Regulations are available for view of the University of Missouri website. The Missouri Ethics Commission Guidelines are available for view at www.moethics.state.mo

Should the above terms be violated, appropriate action will be taken by ASUM. If Missouri Ethics Commission guidelines are violated, action may be taken by the Commission to include a class B misdemeanor or up to a class D felony.

An intern found in non-compliance with the Terms of Agreement (modified Terms approved by ASUM Board of Directors August 5, 2005) is subject to immediate suspension by the ASUM Legislative Advisor, upon consultation with the LD and ALD and intern faculty advisor. Any intern so suspended shall be either removed or reinstated following review by the ASUM Board of Directors. Should the academic department remove the intern, there will be no review by the ASUM Board of Directors. (Adopted by vote of the ASUM Board of Directors at the 9/14/2002 Board meeting.)

Signature:_____

Printed
Name:_____

Date:_____

Appendix V

Comparison of ASUM Student Lobbyists' and UM System Lobbyists'

Lobbying Behavior

ASUM STUDENT LOBBYISTS	UM SYSTEM LOBBYISTS
Knowledge and Experience	
Had two years of legislative lobbying experience among eight lobbyists, a Legislative Director (LD), and an Assistant Legislative Director (ALD)	Had 61+ years of legislative lobbying experience and practice among six lobbyists
Was experiential, learning experience; position was only a part of student lobbyists' lives	Was a job and full-time career for which they are held accountable
Had new student lobbyists each session	Had 61+ years of lobbying experience, knowledge, and legislative arena relationships
Structural Reporting, Support, and Communication	
Reported to Legislative Director (LD), Assistant Legislative Director (ALD), and Graduate Research Assistant with ultimate reporting to the UM System Assistant Vice Chancellor for Academic and Student Affairs	Reported to UM Vice President of Government Relations with ultimate reporting to the UM System President and Board of Curators
Turned over ASUM Board members frequently	Turned over UM System administration less frequently
Utilized campus-level ASUM student board and student staff members as resources	Utilized UM System administrators and staff members as resources to assist with research, talk with press, prepare information
Received legislative platform in November 2008 prior to January 2009 start of session	Began working on legislative priority issues in summer 2008 prior to January 2009 start of session
Communicated with UM campuses' students	Communicated with UM campus chancellors (the four assigned as campus liaisons)
Followed laws and *Terms of Agreement* – restricted informal and social interaction outside the Capitol	
Presence at Capitol	
Were at the Capitol two days a week, only during the legislative session, and did not work not	Were at the Capitol four days a week, worked during University breaks, and worked year-round

during University breaks	
Were new to the Capitol each legislative session	Had 61+ years of long-term presence and visibility at the Capitol

Similar Lobbying Techniques and Strategies (with nuanced differences)	
Worked as a team	Worked as a team
Met with all legislators	Concentrated legislators meetings on whip list and key legislators
Utilized UM System lobbyists as a resource	Utilized ASUM student lobbyists as a resource
Developed issues	Developed issues
Developed and disseminated information: • fact sheets • talking points • *2009 ASUM Prospectus* • media packet	Developed and distributed information: • fact sheets • talking points • one-page 2009 legislative agenda • UM district impact sheets
Developed strategy on issues	Developed strategy on issues
Became experts on the issues	Became experts on the issues
Developed relationship with legislators: • built new relationships each session • created formal and professional relationships • occurred during business hours • occurred inside the Capitol	Developed relationship with legislators: • built upon established relationships • built on ongoing basis and year-round • maintained and strengthened during session • created informal and social as well as formal relationships • occurred during and after business hours • occurred inside and outside the Capitol
Developed position on priority issues	Developed position on priority issues
Followed issues throughout the legislative process	Followed issues throughout the legislative process
Testified at legislative committee hearings	Testified at legislative committee hearings
Monitored chamber sessions – although primarily the House	Monitored chamber sessions – both chambers
Canvassed for votes	Canvassed for votes
Worked closely with UM System lobbyists	Worked closely with ASUM student lobbyists
Focused on legislative leadership	Focused on legislative leadership
Were coached and mentored on-site by Legislative Director (LD) and Assistant Legislative Director (ALD)	Were supervised and mentored on-site by UM System Vice President of Government Relations
Involved students and key student groups	Involved alumni
Worked on drafting legislation and amendments	Worked on drafting legislation and amendments
Worked with legislative staff members	Worked with legislative staff members
Pulled legislators off the floor	Pulled legislators off the floor
Waited at committee hearings to see legislators	Approached legislators at committee meetings
Recognized/awarded legislators	Recognized/awarded legislators

Utilized the media (e.g., press conference, Facebook, op-ed pieces in newspapers, online newspapers, blogs, Twitter)	Utilized media by UM staff; however, lobbyists themselves did not contact or utilize media

Dissimilar Lobbying Techniques and Strategies	
	Took advantage of every opportunity to potentially influence legislation – talked to legislators before and after hearings, walked out of hearing room with legislator to talk, stood up in hearing and talk about UM
	Had access to powerful allies with political capital: • University of Missouri (UM) Board of Curators • UM alumni • UM Alumni Alliance members • UM President • UM Chancellors • Chambers of Commerce • Economic development groups
	Hosted events/gave things to legislators: • gave away tickets to MU Tigers sports events • sponsored campus tours with freshmen legislators • hosted banquets • hosted hearings on campus • invited legislators to meals
	Shared information with other higher education lobbyists: • met with all Missouri public 4-year institutional lobbyists • talked with other higher education lobbyists at the Capitol
	Facilitated other UM representatives' visits to the Capitol and interactions with legislators (e.g., UM System President, UM campus chancellors, Alumni Association members, football team)
Built collaborations with students and key student groups, both at UM and across the state: • Missouri Higher Education Consortium (MHEC) • public 4-year institution student leaders • campus student government leaders • students at the Capitol for other event • student legislative interns	

• students ASUM brought to the Capitol • key student organizations (e.g., talked with, assisted, met with, and involved students in lobbying activity)	
Obtained legislative sponsor signatures on blue back or original bills to be filed for legislative co-sponsor signatures	
Worked as an interest group – represented 64,000 UM students	
Broadly represented college students across the state on issues that affected students; represented the consumer voice; spoke from the student perspective	Presented a broad multi-faceted, statewide, perspective on higher education issues
	Attended meetings to remain informed of higher education issues in Missouri : • joint hearing of House Higher Education and Senate Education Committees to hear a Midwestern Higher Education Compact representative speak • joint Committee on Education meeting • Coordinating Board of Higher Education (CBHE) • Council on Public Higher Education (COPHE)
Brought up novel ideas framed from a student perspective - ideas that others might not have considered	
Worked with private sector lobbyists on utilities and landlord legislation	
Spent time with some legislators; asked questions of and were mentored by legislators	
Took legislators at their word about how they would vote	Understood hidden meaning in what legislators said
	Spent time with legislators in their districts when the session was recessed to build and maintain relationships
	Got to know candidates before they were elected as legislators to build relationships

Appendix W

Perceived Influence of ASUM Student Lobbyists' on
State-Level Higher Education Legislation

Participant	Substantial	Moderate	Minimal	Qualifiers Provided by Participant Regarding Her/His Perception
ASUM Student Lobbyist A	X			Influence depends on the issue
ASUM Student Lobbyist B		X		It is hard to influence when you cannot figure out how legislators decide their votes
ASUM Student Lobbyist C	X			Our influence is not like paid lobbyists' influence
ASUM Student Lobbyist D	X			Influence is greater with home district legislators
ASUM Student Lobbyist E	X			
ASUM Student Lobbyist F	X			
ASUM Student Lobbyist G		X		Influence depends on the issue and the legislator
ASUM Student Lobbyist H	X			Some legislators are not open to being influenced
ASUM LD	X			Influence depends on the issue
ASUM ALD	X			
Legislator A		X		
Legislator B	X			
Legislator C			X	
Legislator D	X			
Legislator E		X		Influence is growing with younger legislators as a result of term limits
Legislator F			X	
Legislator G				

		X		
Legislator H		X		
Legislator I			X	
Legislator J		X		Influence depends on the issue
Legislator K		X		
Legislator L		X		
Legislator M		X		Influence is substantial on specific issues
Legislator N	X			
Legislative Staff Member A	X			Influence is higher on things that directly affect them
Legislative Staff Member B	X			
Legislative Staff Member C		X		
Legislative Staff Member D	X			
Legislative Staff Member E		X		
Legislative Staff Member F	X			
Legislative Staff Member G	X			
UM System Lobbyist A		X		
UM System Lobbyist B		X		Influence depends on issue
UM System Lobbyist C	X			
UM System Lobbyist D	X			Influencing the budget process is difficult
UM System Lobbyist E	X			Influence is greater on issues that touch students
UM System Lobbyist F	X			Influence is greater when working in tandem with UM System lobbyists
TOTAL	20	14	3	

VITA

Elizabeth (Beth) Tankersley-Bankhead was born in Jefferson City, Missouri and grew up near Versailles, Missouri. She graduated from Morgan County R-II High School in Versailles, Missouri in 1979. She attained a Bachelor's of Science degree from Central Missouri State University in 1983, with a major in elementary education and a minor in English education. She holds a lifetime teaching certificate in the state of Missouri. She earned her Master's of Science degree at Eastern Illinois University in 1985 in Guidance and Counseling, with an emphasis in College Student Personnel. Elizabeth will receive her doctoral degree in Educational Leadership and Policy Analysis at the University of Missouri-Columbia in August 2009. During her postsecondary education, Beth was a member of numerous honor societies; leadership associations; and state, regional, and national professional education associations. Beth has also made numerous professional presentations as well as served on boards at both the regional and international levels.

Beth has had a successful career in higher education, working for many years in residential life as a hall director, assistant director, and director at universities in Missouri, Illinois, and Nebraska. She also worked as the Director of Field Services for Kappa Delta Pi, an international honor society in education. In this role, she worked with and traveled to over 400 colleges and universities in the United States and some internationally. Beth returned to Missouri to work at her alma mater as the Director of Community Engagement. In this role, she started the University of Central Missouri's Summer Bridge Program for Kansas City metro high school students and established relationships with the Kansas City metro community. When Beth relocated near the University of Missouri-Columbia she worked as the Executive Director of the Associated

Students of the University of Missouri (ASUM). As such, she directed ASUM's student lobbying program at the state and initiated the federal-level internship program.

Beth has a history of community involvement and leadership, including President of the Warrensburg Rotary Club, Johnson County United Way board member, Urban League of Greater Kansas City advisory council, graduate of Urban League of Greater Kansas City Multicultural Leadership Development Institute, and graduate of Johnson County Community Leadership Program (CLIMB).

While working on her Ph.D., Beth worked with the Statewide Cooperative Ed.D. Program facilitated by the University of Missouri-Columbia and also worked as a Graduate Research Assistant at the Missouri Department of Higher Education. While at the University of Missouri, Beth was a member of the Association for the Study of Higher Education (ASHE), the MU Griffiths Leadership Society for Women, a graduate of the Preparing Future Faculty Program, and a doctoral scholarship recipient.

Her parents are Paul and Dorothy Tankersley of Versailles, Missouri. She is married to Thomas (Tom) A. Bankhead and they live on a farm near Fayette, Missouri. Beth has one brother Jeff and he and his wife JuAnn live near Versailles, Missouri.

Beth's paternal grandmother, Frances Tankersley, lives near Versailles, Missouri and her mother-in-law, Kay Bankhead, lives in Columbia, Missouri. Beth has two stepdaughters, Laura and Sarah. Laura and Ron Eblen and their two children, Ashleigh and Dylan, reside in Warrensburg, Missouri. Sarah and Trent Welsh and their two children, Alexander and Elizabeth (Elle), reside in North Palm Beach, Florida.