Title: Mapping the field of evidence production and use

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Most academics are interested in how their research is used outside the academy. This means different things to different groups; perhaps trying to understand how research is measured and evaluated; how decision-makers from different backgrounds and sectors find and use evidence when making decisions studying how knowledge itself is generated; or what types of knowledge are considered valuable and credible. Ultimately, within most academic disciplines - in one form or another - there are a group of researchers who are studying how evidence is made and used. In this chapter, we discuss this broader field of inquiry, drawing on a large-scale bibliometrics study which mapped the field of evidence production and use. We use this study to identify key communities and to map the terms and concepts used by different academic groups to talk about evidence production and use, and examine what this means for the study of meta-research.

Keywords: evidence; knowledge; evidence production and use; mapping; bibliometrics

What is meta-research?

Meta-research is an umbrella term which – unsurprisingly enough – means different things to different people. At its simplest, it means the examination of how research and other forms of knowledge are created, produced, and used. Researchers, funders, and practitioners all have an interest in this very broad field of enquiry, but approach it from very different places and with different purposes, and different tools to conduct these enquiries (KA. Oliver & Boaz, 2019). Some focus on highly quantitative analyses of academic citation practices, developing research into the metrics used to rank and evaluate research publication (often as a proxy for research utilisation or even what research is considered most valuable). Others see this as an insufficiently nuanced way to evaluate research impact on society or decision-making. They wish to understand questions such as how research questions and projects are prioritised by funders, to what the allocation of money across research areas can tell us about what forms of knowledge are most valued by governments. Others wish to understand how research knowledge reflects and can influence the everyday lives of people, including those who have to make decisions in professional or practice capacities. Still others hold deeply sociological and political inquires into the nature of knowledge itself.

These concerns are very diverse; so diverse, it could be argued that they do not deserve to be bundled together. Yet all are fundamentally concerned with how evidence is made and used. If we do not treat them as related concerns, we risk disentangling processes which are inherently linked. For example, it has been compellingly demonstrated that involving users of research evidence in its production can increase the likelihood research use (Duncan & Oliver, 2017a). If we treated these as separate processes, we would not be able to frame this question or follow its implications; in this case, that involving all those with an interest in a research question can and perhaps should fundamentally alter how we ask, address, and answer research questions. Further, by failing to connect across this broader field of inquiry, we also miss the bigger picture: who is working on this, how, what do they bring, what can we learn from one another, and importantly, what are the gaps? We all share questions about

what research questions are asked, who gets funded and why, how research is prioritised and valued, and what counts as evidence at all. Looking at all those working on these related concerns allows us to map the intellectual space and identify the disciplinary-specific approaches active within it.

These questions are relevant to all academic disciplines and fields of practice / policy, but some areas and disciplines have focused more explicitly how we make and use knowledge, for different reasons. For disciplines like science policy or science and technology studies, how we fund, value and conduct research (predominantly physical sciences) is the core concern. For more applied areas like health and education research, researchers have been motivated by a wish to see their own research reflected in the professional practices and outcomes which they study and aim to influence. These different concerns meet and overlap, but often fail to draw on the scholarship and expertise which has developed in each field (Farley-Ripple et al., 2020). In this chapter, therefore, we describe some of the key professional and academic communities with an interest in this field. We argue that identifying the key lessons, terms and approaches used by these diverse communities would enable both more fruitful and novel meta-research, but also for its lessons to be put into practice by funders, researches, and decision-makers.

For the purposes of this chapter, we focus mostly on research evidence, embodied in papers and books, although we note that significant contributions to this field have been made from those exploring other forms of knowledge, such as experiential knowledge (Pawson et al., 2003). Indeed, the adaptation of research practices particularly in the health sciences towards greater inclusion and coproduction of knowledge has led to interesting questions about how we value and synthesise different forms of knowledge, and into research methods to enable greater appreciation of different knowledge forms. However, this forms a sub-field within the meta-research universe and so, for this overview, we focus on the majority concern: how academic research is made and used.

Who has an interest in (meta-research)?

Governments and research funders have a direct interest in meta-research, in the sense that they wish to see a direct return on investment. They tend to characterise the relationship between research investment and research impact in a linear, fuel-in product-out way. Occasionally the analogy to research investment is more akin to gambling or entrepreneurship; one invests in 'best bets', some of which will lead to innovation, and social and economic transformation (Nurse, 2015). Funders often ask 'meta-research' questions such as : how can we spot which research proposals are most likely to lead to social impact? Can we quantify this impact? What are the best metrics to measure the impact of our investment? How can we incentivise grantees to maximise their outputs and impact? Some even ask questions about how they can best support grantees (DuMont, 2015). Funders often conduct or support meta-research, usually by commissioning independent consultants to review the impact (read: citations of) of a particular funding stream or of a grant portfolio. They use terms such as 'Research on research', 'Research assessment', 'Research evaluation', or 'Research impact assessment' to describe this set of activities. These terms help us understand research as a professional activity which can be measured in terms of outputs (both quality and quantity) and thus assessed at individual, organisational, and sector levels.

University administrators and knowledge brokers want to know how to best administer grants, how to help and train researchers to engage with relevant audiences, and how to support communication and engagement activities between stakeholders and researchers. This is an expanding group of – mainly – practitioners who are experts in convening, brokering, and administering research and research-related activities. Some are also based in intermediary organiastions, such as learned societies or (in the UK) the What Works Centres (Gough et al., 2018). There is little empirical evidence to support their activities, although some recent studies have begun to evaluate what they call 'knowledge brokers', 'embedded researchers' or 'intermediaries'. These terms describe the roles and activities of people or organisations who sit at the interface between researchers and their audiences, and bring concepts such as 'policy engagement' and 'research uptake' to the meta-research field.

Most researchers, particularly those who wish to see their research influence policy, practice and social outcomes, have an interest in meta-research. They mostly wish to understand how to maximise the impact of their research. In some cases, interest in this area was driven by a recognition of the failure of research to drive social impact, or even to do harm. In others – tending to be more focused on evidence production – on the failure of research to drive the expansion of our understanding of the world. These areas have tended to focus on research practices, e.g. the reproducibility crisis. In this chapter, we summarise contributions made by the main research communities active under the meta-research umbrella.

Which researchers 'do' meta-research, and what do they want to know?

To map the research communities, we conducted a survey of attendees (n = 134 in total) at two international meetings (April 2016, September 2018) of scholars, funders and practitioners interested in evidence production and use (see Farley-Ripple et al., 2020 for full details). Our identified studies therefore reflect the attendees of these UK/US meetings, who were drawn from the UK, US, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Europe) which may have biased the results. All participants had a primary research or funding focus on evidence production and use research, and were drawn from disciplines including STEM, science policy, STS, health sciences, social and political sciences including Science and Technology Studies, education, and environment research. We asked attendees to nominate the most influential papers or works in their discipline which had contributed to the broader field. Using this as a core seed sample, we conducted a bibliometric analysis of these resources by identifying (a) all papers which cite them and (b) all references which they cited. By mapping both the incoming and outgoing citations, we hoped to gather a rich picture of the scholarly communities working on these topics. Although we did not filter the sample by language, it is highly likely that the majority of these papers were in English.

This created a dataset of 15,000 individual papers / books. When analysed by co-citation, they fall into fairly distinct clusters which map roughly onto disciplinary fields, indicating that – broadly speaking – most researchers active in this area tend not to seek out potentially relevant work in other fields (see figure 1). By examining each of these clusters in terms of main topics, key terms used, and approaches, we can begin to describe the overall space (see Table 1 for a summary).

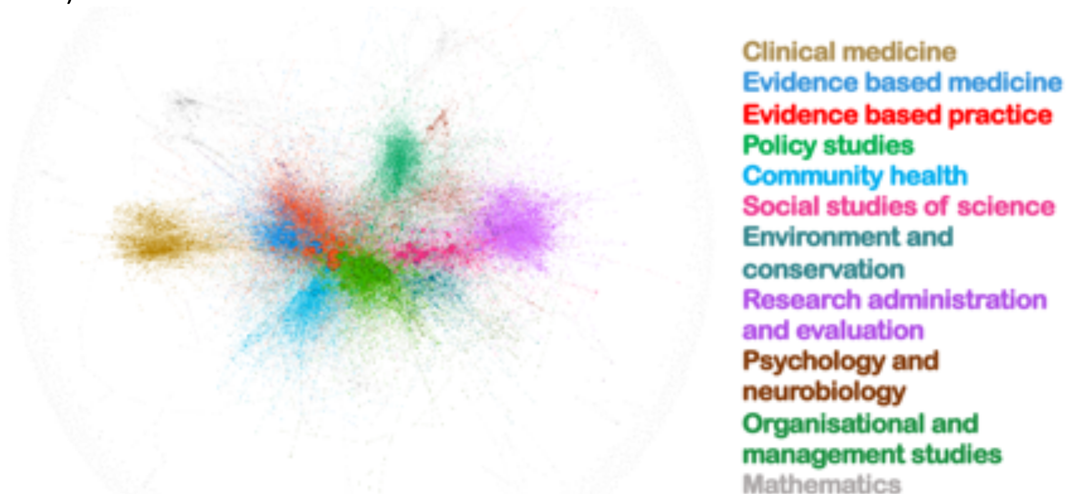
Table 1: Summary of key meta-research communities, their concerns and key terms

Community	What do they call 'meta-research'?	What are their core concerns and questions?
Funders and Science (research funding) policy	Research assessment, research impact assessment Innovation studies Responsible innovation	How to spot impactful proposals How to support grantees How to measure impact (citations, policy impact
Brokers, intermediaries	Knowledge mobilisation Policy engagement Science advice	Role of universities and other intermediary organisations and individuals How to train and capacity-build for research impact
Health and social care, education	Evidence-based / informed decision-making Use of research evidence Implementation science Evidence based medicine Science of Science	How to do research which meets policy, practice and public priorities How to implement evidence-based interventions within organisations, adaptation and fidelity Collaboration, micro-politics
Environment and conservation	Knowledge to action	How to work with communities and partners to effect change
Policy studies, evaluation	Evidence based policy, evidence informed policy, knowledge utilisation	Politics of knowledge
Philosophy	Metascience	Epistemology, generation of evidential proofs and certainties, risk assessments, language utilisation
Social studies of science	"STS", science studies, social studies of science	Social practices of knowledge generation
Research administration	Research on research Research evaluation Research impact assessment	What infrastructure is best? Measuring impact through citations
Psychology and neurobiology	Meta-science	Research reproducibility, open publishing, data-sharing, better research methods, better professional standards
Mathematics and economics	Science of science, research impact	Improving the quality of research outputs through reducing bias, improving research methods and communication

Most studies in our dataset are, by field of research, *medical and health sciences* and other *applied social sciences* (e.g. education, social work) – altogether around 45% of all identified studies. These breakdown further into the clusters indicated in Figure 1 to focus mainly on

clinical medicine (generally speciality-specific audits or quality improvement studies), evidence based medicine and evidence based practice (broader investigations into how research evidence can be incorporated into clinical, educational, nursing or social work practice), community health (studies of public health policy, community psychology and health improvement), and organisational and management studies (studies of change, leadership, organisational culture and similar factors). Clinical and applied health research receives large amounts of funding, which is why most of the meta-research studies we found are from this field. As a consequence, the intellectual approach to meta-research found in these studies has tended to inform and dominate how many funders and decision-makers think about evidence production and use; predominantly as a linear process in which research is conducted primarily for social benefit.

These studies are mostly drawn from the UK and the US, reflecting the history of inquiry into research for social policy. After the second world war, there was a growth in social experimentation for social policy, alongside increased investment in state-provided services. In the UK, there was a particular drive for evidence-use in medicine (Cochrane, 1972), which developed into what is often called the 'evidence-based policy and practice' movement (Boaz et al., 2019; Head et al., 2007; Stoker & John, 2009; Walter et al., 2003). For many, this often meant advocating for a particular form of evidence, usually randomised controlled trials (Baron, 2018; Kathryn Oliver & Pearce, 2017; Pearce & Raman, 2014). Over the decades, the focus on which type of research method was best suited to produce evidence for decision-makers has been retained (de Souza Leão & Eyal, 2019; Hammersley, 2005; Oakley, 1990), although recently there has been a shift to more critical work. This strand of research seeking to apply political and social theory to the production and use of research, around, for example, the ways in which collaborative and coproductive research can seek to address knowledge inequalities (Duncan & Oliver, 2017b; Langley et al., 2018; Kathryn Oliver et al., 2019), or on the importance of diverse evidence bases (Brett et al., 2014; Goodyear-Smith et al., 2015).



In health, the study of evidence production and use is usually referred to as 'evidence-based' or 'evidence-informed' medicine, practice, or decision-making. In social policy, terms such as 'science of science' are used in the UK, and 'use of research' in the US. These studies are predominantly concerned with how researchers can work more effectively with practitioners, service users and decision-makers (see, e.g. (Boaz et al., 2018; Coburn & Penuel, 2016; Tseng & Nutley, 2014; Vindrola-Padros et al., 2017), to develop tools and approaches to maximise

research impact (Dobbins et al., 2009; Haynes et al., 2011; Oxman et al., 2009), and to categorise and explore which types of research used in decision-making and why (K. A. Oliver & de Vocht, 2015; Kathryn Oliver et al., 2014; Orton et al., 2011). The relatively large amount of funding available has enabled study of long-term collaborative and responsive research structures as a mode of evidence production and use (Ferlie & Pettigrew, 1996; Gough et al., 2018; Kislov et al., 2014). These concerns are widely shared across health and social policy, and have given rise to a new sub-field of 'implementation science', which has developed a set of tools and concepts to support greater use of evidence to improve social and health outcomes. A range of research methods are used to address these concerns, in particular evidence synthesis (meta-analysis and systematic review), qualitative research (ethnographies, interviews, contribution mapping) and experimental studies such as randomised controlled trials.

Environmental and conservation research in general is driven by a wish to better understand how research can be used more by decision-makers. However, in this area, they call it 'knowledge-to-action' (Bednarek et al., 2016; Epstein et al., 2014; van Kerkhoff & Lebel, 2006) and retain a strong focus on working with intermediaries and partners, perhaps reflecting the multi-stakeholder nature of the sector. The focus on both 'knowledge' and 'action' as opposed to policy, practice or decision-making enables the framing of publics more broadly in the participation of evidence production and use processes. Studies in this field have explored the role of expert knowledge from within indigenous communities (Armitage, 2004; Gielen & Green, 2015; Reenberg, 2012; van der Ploeg et al., 2011), and developed communication tools, particularly narratives and story-telling, as a way of enabling evidence use (Brun & Lund, 2009; Cvitanovic et al., 2016; Pierce et al., 2014). Studies in this cluster often use ethnographic or qualitative methods to generate insights into evidence production and use.

The use and improvement of research methods is a central concern for *psychology and neurobiology.* Stemming from a recognition of poor research practices and outputs across their field, researchers in these areas have developed a strong focus on reproducibility and reduction of bias through improved research practices (Nosek & Errington, 2017). This set of studies refers to this activity as 'meta-science', with particular strands focusing on open science (that is, the publication of data and results freely to enable closer scrutiny)(Fanelli, 2019), and the reduction of research waste through improved methods and dissemination (BENNETT et al., 1983; Rein in the four horsemen of irreproducibility, 2019). Similarly, in mathematics and economics, the 'science of science' is mostly focused on improving research methods to reduce uncertainty and bias, thus enabling researchers to have more impact. Empirical approaches in these areas focus mainly on meta-syntheses to test the robustness of research findings, or scientometrics such as citation analyses to look at publishing practices.

Policy studies includes classic political science studies of evidence use (Weiss, 1979) as well as broader studies of the processes of decision-making (Cohen et al., 1972; Dye, 1975; Pierce et al., 2014). For meta-research, these studies are important to help explain the history and practice of the 'evidence based policy' movement and its forebears / descendants (Cairney, 2016), as well as exploring how power dynamics and vested interests influence evidence production and use (Cairney & St Denny, 2015; Hawkins & Ettelt, 2018; Parkhurst &

Abeysinghe, 2016). Understanding how individuals, actors, and organisations seek to participate in debate, develop and deploy evidence in support of or in challenge to political agendas, is a vital contribution to the evidence production and use field (Chrisler, 2015; Emejulu, 2018; Lopez & Gadsden, 2018; Malbon et al., 2018). Political science approaches tend to use documentary analyses (such as process tracing), qualitative studies, or comparative case studies.

For some disciplines, the study of science and research production and use is more of a core concern. In particular, the *social studies of science* (science and technology studies, philosophy of knowledge and science, science and research policy) focus strongly on understanding and conceptualising what we mean by research, evidence and expertise; what counts as evidence, and why we do research. The study of science as a discrete activity goes back decades if not centuries, with theorists describing the scientific method as a way of reducing doubt through experimentation and observation (Kuhn, 1970; Popper, 1963). Later theoretical insights draw on philosophies of science and sociologies of knowledge and practice, suggesting that knowledge was culturally contingent (Callon, 2009; Chan & Hall, 2010; Collins & Evans, 2002), generated by and within social contexts (Latour & Woolgar, 2013)and that what we value as 'good' evidence is equally socially determined (Jasanoff & Polsby, 1991; Wynne, 1992). This enables us to ask questions about how societies might respond to emerging technologies and knowledge (Owen et al., 2012; Smallman, 2018; Stilgoe et al., 2013), moral and ethical frameworks behind cultures and practices of research (Douglas, 2009; Hartley et al., 2017), and the politicisation of research and expertise through funding and assessment practices (Hartley et al., 2017; Prainsack et al., 2010).

Science and innovation policy shares these concerns about how and why governments choose to invest in particular types of evidence generation. Together with *research evaluation and administration*, these studies ask how research evidence can be best measured and improved, through understanding professional standards and evaluation methods such as the Research Excellence Framework. In these studies, the main focus is on evidence production, and they refer to the broader field as 'research on research'. There is a clear overlap here with funders' interests, in terms of wanting to know how to fund more effectively for research impact through selection and support of 'better' proposals. Empirical studies in these fields tend to analyse grant portfolios by e.g. looking at funding allocations, outputs, and intellectual property production. Many rely on metrics and scientometrics although there are increasingly methodologically diverse approaches used to explore these concerns.

Why does it matter what we call it?

Historically, as researchers have begun to reflect on what they do and why, they have invented new approaches and terms to describe this meta-research activity. This is in itself not a problem, but it does become one when researchers claim that the part of the puzzle they see is the whole picture. This rebranding becomes a territorial exercise which obscures existing expertise and knowledge, and enforces rigid disciplinary boundaries.

There are of course many very good reasons why these silo boundaries have remained so rigid. Few individual researchers have the capacity to learn about work in unfamiliar disciplines. Most funding for meta-research is patchy and short term, and there is a real

struggle to build careers where there are limited opportunities for publication or discussion. It is also not easy to draw out multidisciplinary lessons, nor to convene effective conversations where disparate meta-research communities can meet and learn from one another. As well as the lack of funding and opportunity to do this, there are significant intellectual challenges. For example, funders have a relatively straightforward picture of how research can be best produced and used. They will identify ‘excellence’, and enable these researchers to conduct their work which will lead to both robust, new knowledge, and societal change. This is a very simple model of knowledge generation – a problem-solving, linear, white-heat of technology kind of model. Sociologists at the other end of the STS spectrum delight in pointing out the over-simplicity of this model, and parse out the various power dynamics at play in each of these apparently simple steps. For these scholars, nothing about evidence use and production is simple; all must be problematised, critiqued, viewed through a multiplicity of lenses. This is all undoubtedly true, but not very helpful if you are trying to optimise your grant screening processes as a funder.

As can be seen, there is a wide variety of communities interested in meta-research. We can clearly see how the motivations for each group to be involved in meta-research shapes their questions, approaches, tools, terminology and even results. The question is, what is slipping between the gaps? There is much to be learned from each approach, and benefit to be gained in at the very least articulating more clearly what has, and has not been learned in different areas.

Each of these groups has a different motivation for wanting to understand how and why we do and use research evidence. These differences and nuances can be exciting and informative. But each have (usually quite clear) disciplinary homes to which they are tethered. The different terms, concepts and approaches reflect the conversations disciplines are having with themselves about what they do. Unfortunately, mostly they are not having conversations with each other. There are quite distinct disciplinary silos within meta-research, which causes all sorts of problems. People are using the same terms to mean different things, and vice versa. The lack of conceptual and empirical clarity about what is being done leads to confusion about what can and should be claimed as contributions to meta-research as a field. Each of these groups would benefit from better understanding each other. Greater clarity about what we are all contributing would enable the field to progress.

The future of the study of evidence production and use – a shared meta-research project?

How then can the field of evidence-production and use move forward? There is a clearly value in better connecting these bodies of research. Surfacing some of the conceptual and empirical lessons would enable other audiences to make practical responses. For example, the linear investment model popular amongst funders mischaracterises the relationship between evidence production and use. By bringing funders into conversation with sociologists of science studies, we can have more fruitful conversations about – what processes are required to maximise these benefits? What do we mean by ‘benefit’, anyway? Who benefits? Who does not? Asking these more sociological, critical questions is an essential step towards the diversification of the knowledge base, as well as a more democratic way to support knowledge generation on areas of importance to the public. Another example: Most research on tools to maximise impact have been developed been in applied social and health sciences,

but those working as brokers and intermediaries in other policy fields are not aware of key lessons around, for example, the prerequisites for doing stakeholder engagement and coproductive research. A third example from psychology: the laudable wish to improve scientific practice would be likely to find more traction if it did not simply seek to enforce methodological standards. Rather, by engaging with the lessons from STS, and understanding the social nature of how these standards are cocreated and enacted, the discipline would be more likely to identify practical, feasible steps to develop as a field.

This is of course not an exhaustive list of disciplinary and professional interests in meta-research, and of course there are many ways in which these communities could be grouped and analysed – but however analysed, meta-research could certainly be better connected as a field. At present, this does not happen, leading to very repetitive and wasteful research – a particular frustration where funding opportunities to do meta-research are rare. Taking a multidisciplinary, multi-professional approach would help us all guard against the hubristic over-claiming to which many fall victim. It would help us create a shared language, build careers and networks, and do better research together.

There remains the real challenge of supporting and conducting interdisciplinary academic work to support the use of research in tackling complex policy and practice problems (KA. Oliver & Boaz, 2019). So many of the incentives in universities in terms of taught courses, funding and publishing encourage us to stick in our disciplinary silos. How can meta-research break out of these silos? We see a need for more connectivity, enabling better interdisciplinary dialogue; in particular, more scope for knowledge exchange, shadowing, training and capacity-building. It will take engagement of and commitment from all meta-research communities - funders, scholars, and practitioners – to do so(Bammer, 2019).

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