

*Process use is best understood and used as a sensitizing concept. Judging the concept's meaningfulness through the lens of operationalization misconstrues its utility. This closing chapter also examines what other chapters in this volume reveal about process use as a sensitizing concept.*

Process Use as a *Usefulness*

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Linguistic pundit William Safire devoted a *New York Times* column to defining the "pre-autumn of life." What, he pondered, is "middle age"? He considered several operational definitions, judging each inadequate. Ironically, the more precise the definition (e.g., 45 to 60), the more problematic its general utility. He concluded that the inherent ambiguity of the term "middle life" and the resulting implication that each of us must define it in context, made it, not a euphemism, but rather a "usefulness" (Safire 2007). I shall argue that the concept *process use* is a *usefulness*. Safire's playful term is what qualitative inquirers call a *sensitizing concept*.

*Process use* refers to changes in attitudes, thinking, and behavior that result from participating in an evaluation. Process use includes individual learnings from evaluation involvement as well as effects on program functioning and organizational culture. Process use is distinguished from findings use. Table 2, later in this chapter, lists six types of process use.

To appreciate the significance of this *New Directions* volume, consider the conclusion of Cousins and Shulha (2006) after reviewing the utilization literature for the *Handbook of Evaluation*:

Possibly the most significant development of the past decade in both research and evaluation communities has been a more general acceptance that *how* we work with clients and practitioners can be as meaningful and consequential as *what* we learn from our methods (emphasis in original, p. 277).

**A State of Confusion?**

Harnar and Preskill open this volume with analysis of an open-ended survey item aimed at discerning evaluators' understanding of process use. They "question whether the term is confusing to many evaluators, given that the field uses the term 'process' in describing the process of evaluation and process evaluations." However, their data show that only three of their 481 respondents actually confused *process evaluation* with *process use*. Overall, I was encouraged that so many respondents did so well with the concept. They found that those who expressed greatest clarity about process use were more experienced evaluators who employ *participatory, user-focused, and capacity-building* approaches, which makes sense, since such stakeholder-involving approaches emphasize learning from an evaluation.

Readers can decide for themselves how much the Harnar/Preskill analysis reveals confusion versus substantial understanding of the core concept. I'm actually reassured by their findings. Moreover, their construct validity concerns provide an excellent context for the Amo/Cousins chapter on operationalizing process use. At the 2006 AEA conference session that led to this volume, Harnar was especially critical of the lack of operationalization of the concept. So what did Amo and Cousins find about operationalization?

### **Operationalizing Process Use**

Amo and Cousins define operationalization "as the process of translating an abstract construct into concrete measures for the purpose of observing the construct...." This constitutes a well-established, scholarly approach to empirical inquiry with which few trained social scientists would quibble. I do quibble, however. I'm not worried about the lack of a general operational definition of process use. I have offered *process use* as a sensitizing concept in the tradition of qualitative inquiry, not as an operational concept in the tradition of quantitative research. I'd like to explore this distinction and its implications for understanding *process use*.

The *Encyclopedia of Social Science Research Methods*, in an entry on operationalization, affirms the scientific goal of standardizing definitions of key concepts. It notes that concepts vary in their degree of abstractness using as an illustration the concepts human capital versus education versus number of years of schooling as moving from high abstraction to operationalization. The entry then observes:

Social science theories that are more abstract are usually viewed as being the most useful for advancing knowledge. However, as concepts become more abstract, reaching agreement on appropriate measurement strategies becomes more difficult (Mueller, 2004, p. 162).

Interesting. Abstraction is useful for advancing knowledge and building theory. *Process use* is abstract, to be sure, and its very quality of abstraction makes it difficult to reach agreement on how to measure (operationalize) it. The entry continued:

Social science researchers do not use [operationalization] as much as in the past, primarily because of the negative connotation associated with its use in certain contexts (p. 162).

What's this? Operationalization has negative connotations and the term's use is in decline? The entry discusses the controversy surrounding the relationship between the concept of intelligence and the operationalization of intelligence through intelligence tests, including the classic critique that the splendidly abstract and sensitizing concept *intelligence* has been reduced by psychometricians to what intelligence tests measure.

Operationalization as a value has been criticized because it reduces the concept to the operations used to measure it, what is sometimes called "raw empiricism." As a consequence, few researchers define their concepts by how they are operationalized. Instead, nominal definitions are used... and measurement of the concepts is viewed as a distinct and different activity. Researchers realized that measures do not perfectly capture concepts, although, ...the goal is to obtain measures that validly and reliably capture the concepts (p. 162).

It appears that there is something of a conundrum here, some tension between social science theorizing and empirical research. This tension is reflected in the extensive and quite valuable table constructed by Amo and Cousins summarizing studies of *process use*. It looks to me like a great deal of what they report in Table 1 as "operationalization" actually references nominal rather than operational definitions.

A second entry in the *Encyclopedia of Social Science Research Methods* sheds more light on this issue.

Operationalism began life in the natural sciences... and is a variant of positivism. It specifies that scientific concepts must be linked to instrumental procedures in order to determine their values....In the social sciences, operationalism enjoyed a brief spell of acclaim.... Operationalism remained fairly uncontroversial while the natural and social sciences were dominated by POSITIVISM but was an apparent casualty of the latter's fall from grace [emphasis in the original]. (Williams, 2004, pp. 768-769.)

The entry elaborates three problems with operationalization. First, "underdetermination," is the problem of determining "if testable propositions fully operationalize a theory" (p. 769). Examples include concepts like homelessness, poverty, and alienation that have variable meanings in different social contexts. What "homeless" means varies historically and sociologically. A second problem is that objective scholarly definitions may not capture the subjective definition of those who experience something. Poverty offers an example: what one person considers poverty another may view as a pretty decent life. The Northwest Area Foundation, which has as its mission *poverty alleviation*, has struggled trying to operationalize poverty for outcomes evaluation; moreover, they found that many quite poor people in states like Iowa and Montana, who fit every official definition of being in poverty, do not even see themselves as poor much less *in poverty*. Third is the problem of disagreements among social scientists about how to define and operationalize key concepts. The second and third problems are related in that one researcher may use a local and context-specific definition to solve the second problem, but that context-specific definition is likely to be different from and conflict with the definition used by other researchers inquiring in other contexts.

One way to address problems of operationalization is to treat process use as a sensitizing concept and abandon the search for a standardized and universal operational definition. This means that any specific empirical study of process use would generate a definition that fit the specific context for and purpose of the study, but operational definitions would be expected to vary. More on the implications of that later. First, let's look at process use as a sensitizing concept.

### **Process Use as a Sensitizing Concept**

Sociologist Herbert Blumer (1954) is credited with originating the idea of "sensitizing concept" to orient fieldwork. Sensitizing concepts include notions like victim, stress, stigma, and learning organization that can provide some initial direction to a study as one inquires into how the concept is given meaning in a particular place or set of circumstances (Schwandt, 2001). The observer moves between the sensitizing concept and the real world of social experience giving shape and substance to the concept and elaborating the conceptual framework with varied manifestations of the concept. Such an approach recognizes that while the specific manifestations of social phenomena vary by time, space, and circumstance, the sensitizing concept is a container for capturing, holding and examining these manifestations to better understand patterns and implications.

Evaluators commonly use sensitizing concepts to inform their understanding of situations. Consider the notion of *context*. Any particular evaluation is designed within some *context* and we are admonished to take *context* into account, be sensitive to *context*, and watch out for changes in *context*. But what is *context*? Not long ago an animated discussion on *EVALTALK* explored this issue. Systems thinkers posited that system boundaries are inherently arbitrary, so defining what is within the immediate scope of an evaluation versus what is within its surrounding context, will inevitably be arbitrary, but the distinction is still useful. Indeed, being intentional about deciding what is in the immediate realm of action of an evaluation and what is in the enveloping context can be an illuminating exercise – and different stakeholders might well provide different perspectives. In that sense, the idea of *context* is another *usefulness*, or a sensitizing concept. Those on *EVALTALK* seeking an operational definition of context ranted in some frustration about the ambiguity, vagueness, and diverse meanings of what they, ultimately, decided was a useless and vacuous concept. Why? Because it had not been (and could not be) operationally defined -- and they displayed a low tolerance for the ambiguity that is inherent in such sensitizing concepts.

A sensitizing concept raises consciousness about something and alerts us to watch out for it within a specific context. That's what the concept of 'process use' does. It says, things are happening to people and changes are taking place in programs and organizations as evaluation takes place, especially when stakeholders are involved in the process. Watch out for those things. Pay attention. Something important

may be happening. The process may be producing outcomes quite apart from findings. Think about what's going on. Help the people in the situation pay attention to what's going on, if that seems appropriate and useful. Perhaps even make process use a matter of intention.

But don't judge the maturity and utility of the concept by whether it has "achieved" a standardized and universally accepted operational definition. Judge it instead by its utility in sensitizing us to the variety of outcomes that an evaluation may produce beyond findings. This means that specific studies of process use will generate their own operational definitions as appropriate. Over time, many empirical studies may use the same or similar operational definitions. Periodically, syntheses and comparisons will be undertaken, as in the Amo/Cousins exemplar in this volume. We can learn a great deal from how different researchers define process use, whether operationally (deductively and quantitatively), nominally (as a sensitizing concept), or inductively (exploring emergent meanings and manifestations). What I am arguing against is the notion that arriving at some standard operational definition is the desired target, some kind of "achievement" indicating maturity, consensus, shared understanding, and professional acceptance.

### **Specific Outcomes of Process Use**

When I introduced *process use* (Patton 1997), I suggested four outcomes that might occur from involvement in an evaluation: (1) enhancing understandings about the program among those involved (e.g., the program logic model); (2) reinforcing the program intervention; (3) increasing commitment and facilitating the learning of those involved, and (4) program and organizational development.

Harnar/Preskill refer to these as "indicators" of process use, but they aren't indicators at all in the operational measurement sense. They are specific sensitizing categories within the broader sensitizing concept of *process use*. In the forthcoming revision of *Utilization-Focused Evaluation* (Patton 2008), I add two more domains: (5) infusing evaluation thinking into an organization's culture and (6) instrumentation effects (what gets measured gets done). Table 2 provides more details on these six manifestations of process use.

The inspiration for the process use domain of *infusing evaluative thinking into an organization's culture* is the IDRC example that is presented in the Carden/Earl chapter in this volume. In consulting with

the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), I have observed up-close the effort to make evaluative thinking a centerpiece of the organization's culture and an explicit part of IDRC's accountability framework. In so doing, they have attempted to operationalize *evaluative thinking*, with mixed results. Why? Because evaluative thinking is also a sensitizing concept. The "Rolling Project Completion Report" process they describe is, in my judgment, a stellar exemplar of process use. People throughout the organization, at different levels and across program areas, interview each other to complete reports on implementation lessons and project outcomes. Those involved ask evaluative questions, probe for results, articulate "lessons" (another sensitizing concept), and enhance communications throughout the organization. The interviews generate reflections and reactions -- *instrumentation effects*.

A different example of instrumentation effects is learning that occurs during focus groups. Wiebeck and Dahlgren (2007) found that focus group participants engage in problem solving as they respond to questions. Sharing what they think and know, participants generate new knowledge as a group that can affect individual knowledge and beliefs, and even subsequent behavior. Expressing disagreement can also stimulate learning as participants challenge each other, defend their own views, and sometimes modify their viewpoints. Thus, while the quotations from focus groups constitute evaluation findings, the interactions and learnings in the group constitute process use.

The survey question analyzed by Harnar/Preskill is a premier example of instrumentation effects. The purpose of the question was to find out "what process use looks like" to evaluators. The responses are findings. But those who responded engaged in process use in that, by reading the survey's definition of process use and answering the question about it, they were learning about the concept, reflecting on it and, perhaps, deepening their understanding of it thereby, perhaps, increasing the likelihood that they would attend to it in their practice.

### **Findings Use**

While we are exploring process use, let's look at the concept's partner, *findings use*. Despite some 35 years of research on and gnashing of teeth about findings use, we have no agreed-on operational definition. We have nominal definitions of types (instrumental, enlightenment, persuasive), but no

generally accepted operational definition or measuring instrument for findings use. My own utilization-focused definition of instrumental use – *intended use by intended users* – is inherently situational and context-dependent (the essence of a sensitizing concept). Indeed, rather than becoming more specific and operational in our approach to findings use, we are becoming more vague and general as evidenced by the recent attention to evaluation ‘influence’ in lieu of use (Kirkhart 2000; Mark 2006).

I embrace, then, the vagueness and abstractness of *process use* as a sensitizing concept. The concept can, perhaps, fulfill the function of being a *usefulness*, without its merit and worth being judged by the extent to which it can be precisely operationalized. This means it will have to be defined situationally, that its meaning will be context-dependent, and that its utility will be to encourage dialogue about the many and diverse uses of evaluation.

### **Deepening Our Understanding of Process Use**

The chapters and case examples in this volume provide in-depth examples of process use, deepen our understanding of how it can be manifest, explore its implications for evaluation practice, and raise further issues for clarification and dialogue. Let me highlight some of the issues raised.

**Evaluation Capacity Building (ECB), Intentionality and Process Use.** All of the chapters in this volume deal in some way with the relationship between building evaluation capacity and process use. Harnar/Preskill believe that process use reflects "incidental learning" and is a "by-product" of stakeholders' engagement, while "evaluation capacity building (ECB) represents the evaluator's clear intentions to build learning into the evaluation process." King, in contrast, sees intentional process use as having the practical effect of building the evaluation capacity of an organization and suggests that "process use and evaluation capacity building (ECB) may well be a marriage made in heaven." King also comments that, "Without knowing it, for almost thirty years I have engaged in and fostered process use during program evaluations in a range of educational and social service settings." She values the increased intentionality that identifying, recognizing, and labeling process use enables, and she now engages intentionally in facilitating process use, but her experience makes clear that process use as an outcome of evaluation participation can occur through varying degrees of intentionality. Figure 1 in the Amo/Cousins chapter makes ECB part of



"Evaluative Inquiry" while process use (and findings use) are "Evaluation Consequences;" in their model both ECB and process use contribute to evaluation capacity and organizational learning capacity. Carden and Earl aim to make evaluation a useful process that develops the evaluation capacity of everyone involved, thereby nurturing "the deep culture of evaluation and evaluative thinking we have built at IDRC." Lawrenz *et al*, in their case study of a multi-site evaluation effort, found that use of evaluation processes was related to site-based variations in evaluation capacity; sites with more capacity engaged in a wider range of evaluation tasks. Podems' South Africa case examines how process use can emerge in a situation where programs have no initial evaluation capacity or understanding.

So let us see what we can sort out about the relationship between process use and ECB. First Harnar/Preskill seem to confuse the activity (ECB) with the outcome (process use). This is like confusing methods of data collection with findings. The Amo/Cousins conceptualization maintains this distinction between the activity (ECB) and the outcome (process use). Process use is not, itself, capacity-building; rather, it is capacity *built* (see Figure 1 in the Amo/Cousins chapter). If an evaluation includes explicit ECB, and if that ECB is effective, then evaluation capacity is built, meaning that a *result* of the evaluation process is process use (capacity built). King's chapter, in this vein, refers to embedding evaluative thinking in an organization as "the ultimate goal, the dependent variable, of my evaluation practice." This is the outcome of ECB. When she discusses "how to make process use an independent variable in evaluation practice: the purposeful means of building an organization's capacity to conduct and use evaluations in the long term," (p. ??) I think she is distinguishing process use as a short-term outcome from the cumulative long-term impact of evaluative thinking embedded in the organization's culture as depicted in Figure 1. The long-term, cumulative impact is by no means certain or inevitable, as King illustrates in sharing her extensive experiences and insights.

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**Insert Figure 1 about here**  
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While we're on the topic of diagrams, my main suggestion about the comprehensive Amo/Cousins model is that a feedback arrow could be added from Evaluation Consequences directly back to Evaluation Inquiry because both process use and findings use (especially in combination) can affect Evaluation Inquiry. This can occur both within the life of a particular evaluation (because both process use and findings use can happen during an evaluation) and in subsequent or parallel evaluation inquiries (those going on at the same time). The feedback relationship would add a more dynamic system dimension to their framework (see Figure 2).

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**Insert Figure 2 about here**

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Second, degree of intentionality cuts across both findings use and process use, a point emphasized in Kirkhart's "Integrated Theory of Influence" (2000) and illustrated in Table 1.

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**Insert Table 1 about here**

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Intended process use can include ECB, but *not all intended process use involves ECB*. Intentionally using the evaluation process to deepen shared program understandings or reinforce the program intervention are intended process uses that have nothing to do with ECB. Indeed, much process use has a greater and more direct impact on program or organization processes and effectiveness than on evaluative capacity itself. So, contrary to the Harnar/Preskill proposal, I do not find it conceptually clarifying to consider process use an incidental by-product while ECB is viewed as distinctly intentional, especially given the "gray area" in Table 1.

Third, *not all ECB involves process use*. Process use refers to impacts that flow from being engaged in and experiencing some actual evaluation process. Much ECB is free-standing and not part of an evaluation process. For example, direct training of program staff and evaluators is a form of ECB. ECB is only process use when such training (or other ECB activity) is part of a larger evaluation experience.

Moreover, as King's chapter emphasizes, ECB involves a continuum of engagement with evaluation from none to full integration (evaluative inquiry as a way of life, her "free range evaluation").

Fourth, not all ECB is intentional. Most stakeholders participating in an evaluation are doing so to get a specific evaluation conducted and attain findings, not to enhance their organization's evaluation capacity. Much ECB, then, is implicit and unintended from the perspective of those involved even if intended (or at least hoped for) by the evaluation facilitator. This distinction is key -- and this is the gray area of process use shown in Table 1. I may facilitate an evaluation focusing on intended findings use but also intending, by the way I facilitate, to engender some process use; from the perspective of those involved, the intentionality is about findings use and they only become aware of process use in reflecting after the experience. King also notes how unintentional ECB can occur in noting that "people may inadvertently learn evaluation skills" from an evaluator conducting an evaluation with no intentional ECB goals. I would add to this the case where a stakeholder participates in an evaluation to intentionally learn evaluation skills even though that is not the intention of the evaluator, who is only focused on findings use.

**Ethical Challenges.** Anyone in close proximity to an evaluation can benefit from -- be a user of -- the process. The Podems chapter shows not only how program staff, in her case, agency directors, learn from and change behaviors as the result of an evaluation, but also the ethical dilemmas that can emerge about how far to push process use. When an evaluator knows things about a funder's perspective that would benefit a program, how that information is handled has both ethical dimensions and process use implications. Because an evaluator will often have negotiated the design with the funder, it can be quite common for the evaluator to learn things that program directors don't know -- and only realize that fact during fieldwork. Thus, the Podems chapter highlights the difficult and ambiguous ethical issues that can accompany attention to process use. I would recommend using the Podems chapter as a teaching case with students to stimulate dialogue about real world ethical challenges.

**Users of Process Use.** The original focus of process use (Patton, 1997, 1998) was on program stakeholders who participate in an evaluation. The multi-site evaluation case in the Lawrenz *et al* chapter illustrates that evaluators can also be affected by and users of evaluation processes for learning. As the

local evaluators conducted evaluations under the multi-site design, the skills and knowledge of those local evaluators were subject to process use.

### **The Dark Side**

As I write this, the media are celebrating the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the first *Star Wars* film, which makes *Star Wars* and evaluation generational siblings. *Star Wars*, like evaluation, is about distinguishing good from bad. The examples of process use in this volume have illustrated positive examples – the “good.” But just as attention to findings use now includes concerns about misuse, it seems appropriate to inquire into the dark side of process use. What are examples of misusing evaluation processes?

Going through an evaluation *to justify a decision already made* (giving the false impression that the evaluation findings will be used) abuses the evaluation process in that it wastes scarce evaluation resources and contributes to organizational skepticism about evaluation. This is the shadow side of evaluation contributing to a program culture of learning or embedding evaluative thinking in the organization. Instead, false and inauthentic evaluation processes foster staff skepticism about and resistance to future evaluation efforts. I hear allegations that the US federal government’s Program Assessment Rating Tool (PART) falls in this category in that it is a highly politicized and compliance-oriented process administered to give the appearance that there’s accountability and an empirical basis for decisions which, in reality, are made on purely political criteria.

Imposing randomized controlled trial (RCT) designs because they are held up as the “gold standard” can constitute evaluation process abuse, in my view, because methods decisions are distorted. The most basic wisdom in evaluation is that you begin by assessing the situation, figure out what information is needed, determine the relevant questions, then select methods to answer those questions. However, when RCTs are treated as the *gold standard*, evaluators and/or funders *begin* by asking: “How can we do an RTC?” This puts the method *before* the question. It also creates perverse incentives. For example, in some agencies, project managers are getting positive performance reviews and even bonuses for supporting and conducting RTCs. Under such incentives, project managers will seek to do RCTs

*whether they are appropriate or not.* No one wants to do a second rate evaluation, but if RCTs are really the gold standard, anything else is second rate.

This also leads to imposing RCT designs before the program is ready for such summative evaluation. For example, an influential report from the Center for Global Development advocates RCTs for impact evaluation of international development aid arguing that randomized controlled trials "must be considered from the start—the design phase—rather than after the program has been operating for many years...." (Evaluation Gap Working Group, 2006, p. 13). At first blush that sounds reasonable, but for an RTC to work, an intervention (program) must be stabilized and standardized. This means you would not evaluate a new initiative with an RCT before doing formative evaluation to work out bugs, overcome initial implementation problems, and stabilize the intervention. Not even drug studies begin with RCTs. They begin with basic efficacy and dosage studies to find out if there is preliminary evidence that the drug produces the desired outcome without unacceptable side effects. *Only then are RCTs undertaken.* Imposing RCTs on new programs without a formative period amounts to using the evaluation design to rigidly control and interfere with program adaptability -- a potential misuse of evaluation. The Joint Committee (1994) feasibility standard on "Practical Procedures" states: "The evaluation procedures should be practical, to keep disruption to a minimum while needed information is obtained" (F1). By this standard, evaluation designs that interfere with effective program implementation would constitute evaluation process misuse.

Table 2 presents examples of positive and negative process uses (acknowledging that one person's positive use may be another's abuse, and vice versa).

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**Insert Figure 2 about here**

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### **Wisdom and Process Use**

In 1950, the renowned psychoanalyst Erik Erikson conceptualized the phases of life, identifying wisdom as a likely, but not inevitable, byproduct of aging, a finding I find myself strangely resonating to.

Wisdom becomes ascendant during the eighth and final stage of psychosocial development, a time of “ego integrity versus despair.” Ego integrity counters the potential despair of increasing infirmity and approaching death, yielding mellowness-inducing wisdom. Erikson, however, never operationalized *wisdom* and a half-century later psychologists still don’t agree on what it is or how to measure it (Hall, 2007).

I experience *wisdom* as a usefulness -- a sensitizing concept -- something to ponder, look for, and dialogue about. I confess that the possibility of at least one positive outcome of aging gives me some comfort, as does the possibility that all the hard work of facilitating an evaluation process may yield more enduring outcomes for participants than only findings, as important as they may be, for their relevance diminishes rapidly. Who knows? Perhaps helping people learn to *think evaluatively* will nurture ego integrity, fend off despair (that nothing works), and lead to wisdom. Add wisdom to the list of process use outcomes.

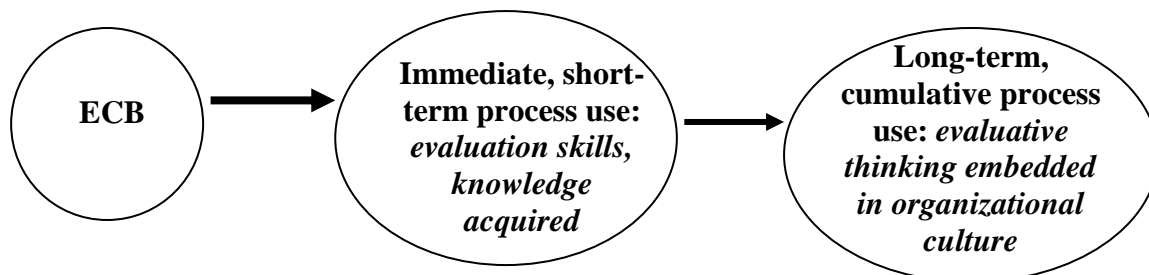
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**Figure 1. Longitudinal Perspective on ECB Leading to Cumulative Process Use**



**Figure 2. Interactive Relationship between Evaluation Inquiry and Evaluation Consequences**

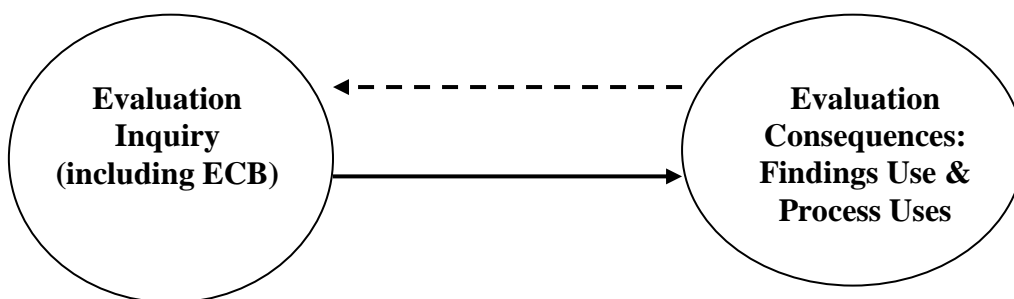




Table 1.

Matrix of Intentionality and Use/Influence

	<b>Findings Use/Influence</b>	<b>Process Uses/Influences</b>
<b>Intended</b>	Intended use by intended users	Includes explicit, planned ECB, as well as other process uses
<b>Intended/Unintended Gray Area</b>	Intentionality focused on primary intended users, but planned dissemination <i>hopes for</i> broader influence (though can't be sure if or where this will occur).	Evaluator facilitates the evaluation process to build capacity, but this is implicit and those stakeholders are involved are motivated by and focused on findings use.
<b>Unintended</b>	Unplanned influence of findings beyond primary intended users -- and even beyond original dissemination.	ECB implicit (an artifact of participation in the evaluation)

Table 2

## Process Use: Positive Outcomes and Potential Misuses

Type of Process Use	Positive Outcomes	Potential Process Misuses (or <i>perceived abuses</i> )
1. Infusing evaluative thinking into organizational culture	Evaluation becomes part of the organization's way of doing business, contributing to all aspects of organizational effectiveness. People speak the same language, share meanings and priorities. Reduces resistance to evaluation.	Lots of rhetoric from leadership about valuing evaluative thinking, but the rhetoric is used to provide cover for highly politicized decision-making. The false rhetoric actually deepens skepticism about evaluation and increases resistance.
2. Enhancing shared understandings within the program	Gets everyone on the same page; supports alignment of resources with program priorities.	Those with more power use evaluation to impose their own preferred criteria or perspective on those with less power.
3. Supporting and reinforcing the program intervention.	Enhances outcomes and increases program impacts; increases the value (cost-benefit) of the evaluation. The evaluation is integrated into the program, as when evaluative reflection is part of the program experience.	Distorts the independent purpose of evaluation; the effects of the program become intertwined with the effects of the evaluation, making the evaluation part of the intervention. Leads to design, role and purpose confusion.
4. Instrumentation effects	What gets measured gets done. Focuses program resources on priorities. Measurement contributes to participants' learning. Encourages reflection.	Measure the wrong things, the wrong things get done. What can be measured determines what the program's goals are (goal displacement). Corruption of indicators, especially where the stakes become high.
5. Increasing participant engagement, self-determination, and sense of ownership (empowerment).	Makes evaluation especially meaningful and understandable to participants. Empowering. Participants learn evaluation skills and critical thinking.	Can be used to manipulate participants. Done inauthentically, evaluation involvement leads to unfulfilled promises, creating alienation; disempowering.
6. Program and organizational development; developmental evaluation	Builds evaluative capacity; increases adaptability; nurtures becoming a learning organization. Increases overall effectiveness in program management and use of feedback.	Evaluator plays non-evaluation roles and functions, which confuses the evaluation purpose, reduces the evaluator's credibility, and misinforms participants about what evaluation's primary function is (judging merit and worth, not development).

Adapted from Patton (2008)