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Empowerment Evaluation

Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow

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Abstract: Empowerment evaluation continues to crystallize central issues for evaluators and the field of evaluation. A highly attended American Evaluation Association conference panel, titled “Empowerment Evaluation and Traditional Evaluation: 10 Years Later,” provided an opportunity to reflect on the evolution of empowerment evaluation. Several of the presentations were expanded and published in the *American Journal of Evaluation*. In the spirit of dialogue, the authors respond to these and related comments. The authors structure their discussion in terms of empowerment evaluation’s past, present, and future as follows: (a) Yesterday (critiques aimed at empowerment evaluation issues that arise from its early stages of development), (b) Today (current issues associated with empowerment evaluation theory and practice), and (c) Tomorrow (the future of empowerment evaluation in terms of recent critiques). This response is designed to enhance conceptual clarity, provide greater methodological specificity, and highlight empowerment evaluation’s commitment to accountability and producing outcomes.

Keywords: *empowerment evaluation; capacity building; Getting To Outcomes; outcomes; empowerment*

A 2005 American Evaluation Association (AEA) conference panel session titled, “Empowerment Evaluation and Traditional Evaluation: 10 Years Later,” provided an opportunity to engage in an ongoing dialogue in the field and reflect on the development and evolution of empowerment evaluation. Speakers included Drs. Robin Miller, Christine Christie, Nick Smith, Michael Scriven, Abraham Wandersman, and David Fetterman. In this Evaluation Forum article, we engage in further dialogue and respond to comments made by panel members at AEA and in recent publications in the *American Journal of Evaluation* (R. L. Miller & Campbell, 2006; N. L. Smith, 2007). Many, including Cousins, have asked us to respond to Cousins’ (2005) criticisms (see Patton, 2005). In the present article, we divide our responses to the current criticisms into three categories: (a) Yesterday (where empowerment evaluation was): critiques aimed at empowerment evaluation at its early stages of development (many of which we have already responded to in the literature); (b) Today (where empowerment evaluation is today): comments and/or critiques pointed at current empowerment theory and practice; and (c) Tomorrow (where we see empowerment evaluation going in relation to the critiques): comments that are related to the

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future of empowerment evaluation. A brief discussion about the evolution of empowerment evaluation provides the context required to meaningfully evaluate the critiques and corresponding responses in the literature.

Background

The first empowerment evaluation book, *Empowerment Evaluation: Knowledge and Tools for Self-assessment and Accountability* (Fetterman, Kaftarian, & Wandersman, 1996), provided an introduction to the theory and practice of this approach. It also highlighted the scope of empowerment evaluation ranging from its use in a national educational reform movement to its endorsement by the W. K. Kellogg Foundation's Director of Evaluation. The book also presented examples of empowerment evaluation in various contexts, including federal, state, and local government; HIV prevention and related health initiatives; African American communities; and battered women's shelters. This first volume also provided various theoretical and philosophical frameworks as well as workshop and technical assistance tools. It set the stage for future developments.

Foundations of Empowerment Evaluation (Fetterman, 2001), the second empowerment evaluation book, built on the previous collection of knowledge and shared experience. The approach was less controversial at that time. Empowerment evaluation had already become a part of the intellectual landscape of evaluation.¹ The book was pragmatic, providing clear steps and case examples of empowerment evaluation work. It also highlighted the role of the Internet to facilitate and disseminate the approach.

The most recent empowerment evaluation book is titled *Empowerment Evaluation Principles in Practice* (Fetterman & Wandersman, 2005). It contributed to greater conceptual clarity of empowerment evaluation by making explicit the underlying principles of the approach, ranging from improvement and inclusion to capacity building and social justice. In addition, it highlighted the approach's commitment to accountability and outcomes by stating them as an explicit principle and presenting substantive examples of outcomes. Case examples of empowerment evaluation are presented in educational reform, youth development programs, and child abuse prevention programs.

All of these books have benefited immensely from lively engagement and critique by colleagues, including Alkin and Christie (2004), Altman (1997), Brown (1997), Cousins (2005), Scriven (1997, 2005), Sechrest (1997), Stufflebeam (1994), Patton (1997, 2005), and Wild (1997), among others. Building on our tradition of past responses to earlier critiques, this response further clarifies the purpose and objectives of empowerment evaluation. It also discusses misperceptions and differences of perspective (Fetterman, 1997a, 1997b, 2005; Wandersman & Snell-Johns, 2005.)

Yesterday

This category focuses on critiques based on old data (empowerment as it was in its earlier stages of development) or old arguments that have reappeared. They include the following topics or issues: (a) conceptual ambiguity, methodological specificity, and outcomes; (b) empowering others; (c) advocacy; (d) consumers; (e) compatibility (internal and external); (f) practical or transformative forms; (g) empowerment evaluation as a form of evaluation; (h) bias; (i) social agenda; (j) ideology; and (k) differences between collaborative, participatory, and empowerment evaluation. Although many of these issues seem like déjà vu to some, they have been raised again and appear new to enough colleagues to merit a consolidated response.

Conceptual Ambiguity, Methodological Specificity, and Outcomes

In many ways, we applaud the “taking stock” analysis by R. L. Miller and Campbell (2006) in the *American Journal of Evaluation*. Based on the 2005 panel at AEA, they were the first to publish in the symposium. Their work was designed to be a systematic review of empowerment evaluation examples in the literature. On the positive side, R. L. Miller and Campbell performed a very commendable job of highlighting types or modes of empowerment evaluation, settings, reasons for selecting the approach, who selects the approach, and degree of involvement of participants. The relationship between the type of empowerment evaluation mode, and related variables was insightful. They provided many insights, including the continuum of flexibility to structure and standardization in empowerment evaluation wording, based on the size of the project.² R. L. Miller and Campbell also noted that the reasons for selecting empowerment evaluation were generally appropriate, including capacity building, self-determination, accountability, making evaluation a part of the organizational routine, and cultivating staff buy-in. These and other insights are very useful contributions to the literature.

Concerns about the Miller and Campbell article. A review of the references in their article reveals a significant limitation to their findings. The majority of empowerment evaluation projects to which they refer were conducted more than a decade ago (Fetterman et al., 1996). We agree with many of the critiques raised by R. L. Miller and Campbell (2006), as they refer to that period, including conceptual ambiguity, methodological specificity, and outcomes. However, the R. L. Miller and Campbell study of cases of empowerment evaluation does not reflect the current literature. A few significant but neglected or omitted case examples in the sample include Fetterman’s work on a \$15 million Hewlett Packard Digital Village project (Fetterman, 2005, pp. 98-107), an empowerment evaluation of academically distressed Arkansas Delta school districts (Fetterman, 2005, pp. 107-122), and a statewide tobacco prevention empowerment evaluation (visit <http://homepage.mac.com/profdavidf/Tobacco.htm>). In addition, past published examples in a children’s hospital, a reading improvement program, and an Upward Bound program should have been included in the sample (Fetterman, 2001). International examples from Australia, Finland, Spain, Mexico, New Zealand, and Japan are neglected (see <http://homepage.mac.com/profdavidf>). Youth empowerment evaluations are not included. A second search using Google’s Scholar search (and limiting the search to 1999 to 2005, instead of the more complete 1994 to 2005 period) produces a result of more than 16 relevant—but it would appear neglected—citations well within the time period under study by R. L. Miller and Campbell, including journals such as the *Evaluation Review*, the Harvard Family Research Project’s *Evaluation Exchange*, and *Evaluation and Program Planning* (Andrews, 2004; Butterworth, 2004; Gilham, Lucas, & Sivewright, 1997; Horsch, Little, Smith, Goodyear, & Harris, 2002; Lerner, Fisher, & Weinberg, 2000; Lewis et al., 1999; Martin, Ribisl, Jefferson, & Houston, 2001; McQuiston, 2000; W. Miller & Lennie, 2005; Reiningger et al., 2003; Richards-Schuster, 2003; Sabo, 2003; Sanstad, Stall, Goldstein, Everett, & Brousseau, 1999; Secret et al., 1999; Wilson, 2004; Zimmerman & Erbstein, 1999). This list does not even include a review of the series of papers presented at the AEA or other international associations.

Moreover, the issues raised about conceptual ambiguity and methodology have been addressed at length. In fact, many of these concerns motivated the writing of the next two books on empowerment evaluation, *Foundations of Empowerment Evaluation* (Fetterman, 2001) and *Empowerment Evaluation Principles in Practice* (Fetterman & Wandersman, 2005). The issues that they raise in their article are briefly addressed again below.

In addition, there are a number of substantive problems with the design and execution of the R. L. Miller and Campbell (2006) study that have an impact on their conclusions and thus

their relevance to empowerment evaluation today. Specifically, many of the publications included in their analysis had the following problems:

- They were empowerment evaluation in name only (12 of 46), as R. L. Miller and Campbell themselves state. This is more than 25% of the studies used in their analysis. Evaluations identified as empowerment in name only should not have been included in the sample. This is commingling the data at best. This confounds the clarity and accuracy of their analysis. It certainly distorts and minimizes empowerment evaluation's outcome-oriented track record.
- They were not written with R. L. Miller and Campbell's criteria in mind concerning what constitutes empowerment evaluation or at least what needs to be included in the published article to be classified as such.
- They were not written with the latest empowerment evaluation principles in mind (i.e., "most of the cases analyzed in this review were published before Fetterman and Wandersman put forth this ten principle view" (R. L. Miller & Campbell, 2006, p. x).
- They were limited to journal articles, chapters, and books rather than the most common conduit for evaluation in general—evaluation reports.³

Empowering Others

N. L. Smith (2007) has brought up issues about the role of the empowerment evaluator in empowering "those groups in society they seek to empower" (p. x). This issue rests on a faulty assumption. No one empowers anyone—including empowerment evaluators—people empower themselves. Empowerment evaluators help create an environment conducive to the development of empowerment. This position was stated in 1996, in an attempt to anticipate this type of criticism (see Fetterman, Kaftarian, & Wandersman, 1996, p. 5). This is not a simple semantic game. It is an issue of accuracy and attribution. Empowerment evaluation helps to transform the potential energy of a community into kinetic energy. However, they are the source of that energy. Standing at a baseball diamond, it is not the bat that drives the run home; it is the player. The bat, like the empowerment evaluator, is only an instrument used to transform that energy.

Advocacy

N. L. Smith (2007) has raised an issue about the role of advocacy and empowerment evaluation, suggesting a philosopher king orientation or possibly revising the principles with a politically neutral position. First, as we have stated in 1996 and 2001, we do not think that any evaluation is truly neutral. We highlighted Greene's (1997) explanation that

social program evaluators are inevitably on somebody's side and not on somebody else's side. The sides chosen by evaluators are most importantly expressed in whose questions are addressed and, therefore, what criteria are used to make judgments about program quality. (p. 25)

This does not mean that empowerment evaluators are necessarily advocates of a specific program. In fact, empowerment evaluators do not typically advocate for a specific program, as program staff members and participants advocate for their own programs—if the data merit it. As stated in 2001, it would be disempowering for an empowerment evaluator to assume this role if their clients are capable of doing so themselves⁴ (Fetterman, 2001, pp. 115-117).

Consumers

R. L. Miller and Campbell (2006, pp. 30-31; N. L. Smith, 2007; also see Scriven, 2005) have suggested that empowerment evaluation focuses more on staff than on participants. Scriven

raised this issue in 1997. In an article responding to his book review and again in the second book (Fetterman, 2001), Fetterman explained specifically that consumers, or program participants, are often a driving force in empowerment evaluations (Fetterman, 2001, pp. 3, 118-119). In addition, we explained how we considered this to be a problem in all forms of evaluation, especially traditional evaluation. Furthermore, although program participants should be involved, they are not the only group in an empowerment evaluation (Fetterman, 2001). Typically, program staff members, evaluators, donors, and participants are involved. The value of this critique then and now, however, is that it is a useful reminder to ensure that participants have a significant role in the evaluation, in combination with program staff members and others. This concern is addressed further under the empowerment evaluation principles of inclusion.

Compatibility: Internal and External Evaluation and Traditional and Empowerment Evaluation

N. L. Smith (2007) and others pit empowerment evaluation against traditional evaluation, including experimental design. However, we have stated, from the initial launching of the approach in both Fetterman's presidential address and the first book, that empowerment evaluation and traditional evaluation are not mutually exclusive (Fetterman, 1993; Fetterman, 2001, pp. 122-123; Fetterman et al., 1996, p. 6). In addition to these publications, Fetterman had a controversial exchange with Scriven (1997) about the topic. Internal and external forms of evaluation can be mutually reinforcing. This was also discussed in terms of how empowerment evaluation adheres to the spirit of the evaluation standards (Fetterman, 2001, pp. 87-99). The issue is a false argument. Even Scriven has stated that "it is as false an argument as deciding whether you will use qualitative versus quantitative approaches" (p. 12).

Practical or Transformative

Cousins (2005) asked whether empowerment evaluation is practical or transformative. We responded in the same book (Fetterman & Wandersman, 2005), that similar to the distinction Cousins and Whitmore (1998) made for participatory evaluation, empowerment evaluation can be practical and/or transformative depending on the task at hand (Fetterman, 2005, p. 188). Cousins (in a personal communication reported in Patton's 2005 review of our latest book) raises the same question. As Fetterman stated in 2001, practical empowerment evaluation focuses on program decision making and problem solving, much like Practical Participatory Evaluation (Cousins, 2005, p. 186). Similarly, transformative empowerment evaluation is primarily psychological and secondarily political in nature, similar to Transformative Participatory Evaluation (Fetterman, 2001, p. 20). Within this context, the question he raises about whether empowerment evaluation is "more about evaluation utilization than about self-determination" (Cousins, 2005, p. 187) is a false dichotomy. It depends on the task it is being used to address.

Empowerment Evaluation as Evaluation

N. L. Smith (2007) has rhetorically resurfaced an old issue. Within the context of attempting to depict empowerment evaluation as an ideology, he raises the question of whether empowerment evaluation is a form of evaluation. Smith appears to cushion this critique by also calling randomized control trials an ideology. However, this is a well-worn path in the literature. Sechrest (1997), Stufflebeam (1994), and Scriven (1997) referred to empowerment evaluation as a movement. The 1995 articles and book responded to that charge. Our position has been consistent: Empowerment evaluation is a form of evaluation and not a movement. The 2001 and

2005 empowerment evaluation books also provide ample evidence that empowerment evaluation is evaluation and can be used to fulfill two and possibly all three of Chelimsky's (1997) purposes of evaluation: development, accountability, and knowledge.

Bias (Self-Serving)

Empowerment evaluations should represent critical self-examinations of program operations. Contrary to Cousins' (2005) position that "collaborative evaluation approaches . . . (have) . . . an inherent tendency toward self-serving bias" (p. 206), we have found many empowerment evaluations to be highly critical of their own operations, in part because they are tired of seeing the same problems and because they want their programs to work. Similarly, empowerment evaluators may be highly critical of programs that they favor because they want them to be effective and accomplish their intended goals. It may appear counterintuitive, but in practice we have found appropriately designed empowerment evaluations to be more critical and penetrating than many external evaluations. This issue, along with the related issue of whether self-evaluation is possible and is evaluation, is addressed in detail in Wandersman and Snell-Johns (2005).

Social Agenda

N. L. Smith (2007) raised the question of whether empowerment evaluation should promote a social agenda. Our position is that if reducing obesity, AIDS, adolescent pregnancy, tobacco consumption, sexual violence, and other public health problems are considered a social agenda, the answer is yes, we are on the side of reducing them. As we stated explicitly in Fetterman and Wandersman (2005) and Wandersman and Snell-Johns (2005), empowerment evaluation is bottom line in its orientation, and we strive to see empowerment evaluation help reduce these and other societal problems. We are advocates for obtaining results, and we work in programs that aim to achieve widely agreed on social agendas. This is discussed in detail in the 2005 book focusing on the principle of social justice. We have also found that being in support of a social agenda, such as helping dropouts and students "at risk" of dropping out, makes us more critical about program performance because we want them to work.

Ideology

N. L. Smith (2007) proposed that empowerment evaluation is an ideology. The work of empowerment evaluation scholars and practitioners in the areas of definition refinement, guiding principles development, theory development, methodological rigor, and the politics of practice transcends the narrow classification of empowerment evaluation as an ideology. The power of ideological terminology can be clarifying because of its simplicity. However, it can also unintentionally mislead and distort. The proper use of terms and metaphors (as N. L. Smith points out in his 1981 work on *Metaphors*) must take into consideration the context or environment. Classifying an approach as a form of ideology is similar to early characterizations that empowerment evaluation is a movement. This label, within an academic environment, carries a lot of baggage, trivializing and undermining conscientious efforts, reducing much hard work to rhetoric and political posturing. This topic has been raised and addressed many times before (Fetterman 1997a, 1997b, 2001; Scriven, 1997; Sechrest, 1997; Stufflebeam, 1994).

The use of the term *ideology* to highlight a value difference underlying empowerment evaluation as compared with randomized design demonstrates the limited utility of the term. First, these two approaches are not mutually exclusive. Second, empowerment evaluators have used the experimental design as a tool. Third, they also value experimental design as a tool to test the efficacy of empowerment evaluation. Chinman and colleagues (2005), in a Centers for Disease

Control (CDC)-funded study, are using a quasi-experimental design to examine whether schools using empowerment evaluation (in terms of the 10-step “Getting to Outcomes” model) obtain greater outcomes than schools that implement programs without empowerment evaluation. They have plans to use a randomized design in future projects. We appreciate the strengths and weaknesses of randomized control designs.

Collaborative, Participatory, and Empowerment Evaluation

Cousins (2005) and R. L. Miller and Campbell (2006) brought up the issue of conceptual clarity again but without referencing past literature on the topic. Cousins stated that there is “considerable confusion concerning conceptual differentiation among collaborative, participatory, and empowerment approaches in evaluation” (Cousins, 2005, p. 183). In brief, there are similarities and differences between the approaches. The difference between these similar and reinforcing approaches has been described in the first and second books (see Dugan, 1996, p. 283; Fetterman, 2001, pp. 112-113). For example, in our own book (Fetterman & Wandersman, 2005), Cousins (2005) has done much work to distinguish between the approaches based in part on their collaborative evaluation process dimensions. Dugan (in the first book) explained, “In general, participatory work follows a continuum from limited participation to an ideal of full control. Empowerment evaluation begins closer to the end point of participatory work” (Dugan, 1996, p. 283). Fetterman builds on this theme (in the second empowerment evaluation book) by explaining how “empowerment is at the furthest end of the continuum in terms of extensive participation and stakeholder controlled. Participatory evaluation . . . is second along the continuum with the same degree of extensive participation, but in the next category of balanced control” (Fetterman, 2001, p. 112). In addition, Patton (2005, p. 408) provided additional clarity (concerning how empowerment evaluation is distinguished from other similar forms of evaluation) by explaining how empowerment evaluation has a unique and explicit commitment to self-determination as a goal of the approach (see also Fetterman, 2001, p. 3; Fetterman, 2004, p. 306). Related to process use, Cousins (2005, p. 205) helped distinguish between the approaches by noting that “the most powerful aspect of empowerment evaluation for me is its obvious commitment to and power in developing among members of the program community the capacity for self-evaluation. . . . This is a strength, I think, of all forms of collaborative inquiry, but one that is particularly central to the empowerment evaluation process.” Although there are important distinctions among the approaches (which have been discussed in Fetterman, 2001, and in Fetterman & Wandersman, 2005), we continue to argue that these approaches have more in common than the differences that distinguish them from each other (and that this is positive and reinforcing).

In sum, we have addressed important issues raised by Cousins (2005), R. L. Miller and Campbell (2006), and Smith (2007) in their recent critiques; however, many of the issues they raise reflect empowerment evaluation’s past, rather than its present or future. Next we move forward to issues confronting empowerment evaluation today.

Today

In this section on empowerment evaluation, we focus on issues that are contemporary, directed toward current practice or scholarship, and challenge our current thinking. It includes the following topics or issues: (a) consistency in definition, (b) making the 10 principles explicit and elaborating on relevant empowerment concepts, (c) methodological specificity, and (d) documenting outcomes.

Definition

N. L. Smith (2007) has suggested that there has been a change in the definition of empowerment evaluation. This is inaccurate. We have not abandoned the original definition. We have explicitly built on the existing definition in pursuit of greater conceptual clarity. As Wandersman et al (2005) explained,

Fetterman (2001) defined empowerment evaluation as “the use of evaluation concepts, techniques, and findings to foster improvement and self-determination” (p. 3). Although this definition of empowerment evaluation has remained consistent since the origin of this approach, the definition, theory, methods, and values have continued to evolve and become more refined over time. (p. 140)

In 2005, nine empowerment evaluators reviewed what had been developed, built on it, and provided the following in the book *Empowerment Evaluation: Principles in Practice*:

Empowerment evaluation: An evaluation approach that aims to increase the probability of achieving program success by (1) providing program stakeholders with tools for assessing the planning, implementation, and self-evaluation of their program, and (2) mainstreaming evaluation as part of the planning and management of the program/organization. (Wandersman et al., 2005, p. 28)

This definition has an emphasis on program success; it builds on, instead of replaces, the original definition. It provides more of an elaboration than a substitution.

Clarifying Empowerment Evaluation Concepts and the Principles

The charge of conceptual ambiguity by R. L. Miller and Campbell was focused on the status of empowerment evaluation more than a decade ago (as indicated in part by the citations they referenced, as discussed earlier). Much progress has been made since that period of time, which was not taken into consideration in those reviews, ranging from a refined definition to specific guiding principles.

However, the question of conceptual ambiguity can be posed fruitfully at any time. Applying the question to present developments in the field would reveal much of the work that has been completed in empowerment evaluation and correct some current misperceptions as well. For example, Smith suggests that self-determination as a concept appears to be missing from our current work. We think, as Patton argued (2005), that self-determination is a defining niche of empowerment evaluation. This is, in part, because self-determination was defined in our earliest work, and it is one of the first things we returned to and elaborated on in the 2005 book (pp. 10-12). Self-determination is basic to empowerment evaluation and will continue to be a central part of the definition of empowerment evaluation. We also enhanced the conceptual quality of empowerment evaluation by elaborating on other concepts as well, such as the terms *empowerment* and *community* (pp. 10-12).

The most significant improvements in conceptual clarity are the empowerment evaluation principles. Empowerment evaluation has been guided by principles since its inception. However, many of them were implicit rather than explicit. This led to some inconsistency in empowerment evaluation practice. This problem motivated us to make these principles explicit in our 2005 book. The 10 principles are as follows:

1. Improvement,
2. Community ownership,

3. Inclusion,
4. Democratic participation,
5. Social justice,
6. Community knowledge,
7. Evidence-based strategies,
8. Capacity building,
9. Organizational learning, and
10. Accountability.

These principles are primarily designed to improve practice. “The principles guide every part of empowerment evaluation, from conceptualization to implementation. The principles of empowerment evaluation serve as a lens to focus an evaluation” (Fetterman, 2005, p. 2). The principles should respond to Cousins’ (2005), N. L. Smith’s (2007), and other colleagues’ critiques about conceptual clarity.

In essence, we agree with Patton (2005) that “its (empowerment evaluation’s) longevity and status established and documented the question of precisely what it is becomes all the more important” (p. 408). Therefore, we (in Fetterman & Wandersman, 2005) have worked to (a) reiterate and refine the definition of empowerment evaluation (p. 28); (b) make the empowerment evaluation principles explicit (pp. 1-72); (c) provide case examples (pp. 92-122, 123-154, 155-182); (d) define high, medium, and low levels of commitment to empowerment evaluation (pp. 55-72); and (e) suggest possible logical sequencing of the principles (pp. 210-211).

Methodological Specificity

The 1996 book provided an introductory level of methodological specificity. It highlighted the role of taking stock, setting goals, developing strategies, and documenting progress. Today, we have two primary methodological models with a significant degree of specificity associated with each one of them. There is a 3-step approach and a 10-step approach. There are also a variety of permutations to accommodate varying populations and settings. In response to Cousins’ (2005, p. 201) criticisms that there is variability in empowerment evaluation methods, we agree. However, we think that variability is appropriate and desirable. Having only one method and following Cousins’ dimensions (p. 189) in a uniform manner is not realistic or desirable. Evaluation approaches need to be adapted (with quality)—not adopted by communities. The principles guiding an evaluation are more important than the specific methods used. Nevertheless, most contemporary empowerment evaluation approaches are based on one of the two methodological models described below. They are described in some detail in part to be responsive to the critique aimed at empowerment evaluation’s methodological sophistication.

Three-step approach. The 3-step approach typically employs an empowerment evaluator who facilitates empowerment evaluation exercises and helps the group to (a) establish their mission or purpose; (b) take stock or assess their current state of affairs, using a 1 (*low*) to 10 (*high*) rating scale; and (c) plan for the future (specifying goals, strategies to achieve goals, and credible evidence). The “taking stock” step represents the group’s baseline. The “plans for the future” step represents the group’s intervention. Traditional evaluation tools, such as surveys, focus groups, interviews, and even treatment and control or comparison groups, are used to determine whether the strategies (selected by the group) are working. The bottom line is: Are the groups accomplishing their objectives and achieving desired outcomes? If they are not working, then those strategies are replaced (although the goals remain the same). Routine formative

evaluation feedback along the way allows for midcourse corrections. A second taking-stock session is completed after the intervention has had enough time to have an impact. Then the first taking-stock baseline ratings are compared with the second taking-stock ratings to document change over time. This allows the group to monitor its own progress, use data to inform decision making, and foster organizational learning. Videos enhance the effort because they often possess tremendous face validity (Anastasi, 1988; Trochim, 2006a); video summaries of some of the projects can be found at <http://homepage.mac.com/profdavidf> (see Fetterman, 2001, for details and additional case examples).

Ten-Step GTO. A second methodological approach to empowerment evaluation is the 10-step, results-based accountability method called Getting to Outcomes (GTO) (Wandersman, Imm, Chinman, & Kaftarian, 2000). The GTO approach asks 10 questions and helps users answer them using relevant literature, methods, and tools. The 10 accountability questions and types of literature to address them are as follows:

1. What are the needs and resources in your organization, school, community, or state? (needs assessment; resource assessment)
2. What are the goals, target population, and desired outcomes (objectives) for your school/community/state? (goal setting)
3. How does the intervention incorporate knowledge of science and best practices in this area? (science and best practices)
4. How does the intervention fit with other programs already being offered? (collaboration; cultural competence)
5. What capacities do you need to put this intervention into place with quality? (capacity building)
6. How will this intervention be carried out? (planning)
7. How will the quality of implementation be assessed? (process evaluation)
8. How well did the intervention work? (outcome and impact evaluation)
9. How will continuous quality improvement strategies be incorporated? (total quality management; continuous quality improvement)
10. If the intervention is (or components are) successful, how will the intervention be sustained? (sustainability and institutionalization)

This 10-step process enhances practitioners' planning, implementation, and evaluation skills. There is a manual with worksheets designed to address how to answer each of the 10 questions (Chinman, Imm, & Wandersman, 2004). Although GTO has been used primarily in substance abuse prevention, new customized GTOs have been developed for preventing underage drinking (Imm, Chinman, & Wandersman, 2006) and promoting positive youth development (Fisher, Imm, Chinman, & Wandersman, 2006), and others are in preparation. Several of these books are free (downloadable from the Web) to encourage widespread usage.

In addition, empowerment evaluations are using photo journaling, online surveys, virtual conferencing formats, and creative youth self-assessments (Sabo, 2001). Methodological knowledge and rigor have grown exponentially since empowerment evaluation was first introduced to the field.

Documenting Outcomes

R. L. Miller and Campbell (2006), N. L. Smith (2007), and Cousins (2005) have stated that there is a weak emphasis on the attainment of outcomes or results in empowerment evaluation. This is incorrect and contradicted by the data. Outcomes are paramount in empowerment

evaluation and even part of the empowerment evaluation language such as Getting to Outcomes (GTO; Fetterman, 2001, p. 118; Fetterman, 2005, p. 50; Wandersman et al., 2000). Self-determination and capacity building require some degree of goal attainment to be perceived as meaningful and credible. Outcome accountability is part of the 10th principle in empowerment evaluation.

Some of the same authors who claim this weakness in empowerment evaluation also state that empowerment evaluation generates outcome-oriented data. For example, according to R. L. Miller (personal communication, March 12, 2004), empowerment evaluation provides an innovative vehicle for helping programs to be accountable to administrators and the public by generating process- and outcome-oriented data within an evaluation framework that heightens an organization's sensitivity to its responsibility to the public and to itself. In response to the critique concerning outcomes, we present four examples⁵ of outcomes to illustrate empowerment evaluation's commitment to and ability to help generate outcomes. The first one focuses on capacity outcomes, the second on standardized test score outcomes, the third on explicit program outcomes, and the fourth on academic accreditation outcomes. These four examples highlight the wide variety of outcomes associated with empowerment evaluation.

Capacity Outcomes

Capacity outcomes are central to empowerment evaluation, as one of the main thrusts of the approach is to build capacity. In 2002, Chinman and colleagues received funding from the CDC (CCR921459-02, Chinman, PI) for the study "Participatory Research of an Empowerment Evaluation System." Chinman et al. (in press) employed a quasi-experimental design in two community-based prevention coalitions (in Santa Barbara, CA and Columbia, SC) comparing programs that used the GTO form of empowerment evaluation with programs that did not. Programs were compared on their prevention capacity and program performance over time. The GTO intervention involved distributing GTO manuals, delivering annual full-day training, and providing on-site technical assistance to participating program staff and coalition members. The study used several assessment strategies. Standardized ratings of program performance show that the GTO process helped the program staff improve in the various prevention activities known to be associated with outcomes (e.g., planning, conducting process, and outcome evaluation) more than the comparison programs. The percentage improvement on the aggregated rating of program performance after 1 year of GTO implementation was 13% for GTO, 7% for comparison; after 2 years it was 47% versus 8%. Individual staff members who were involved with the coalitions prior to and following the GTO implementation were also surveyed to assess impact on capacity at the individual level. This data showed that greater GTO participation was associated with improvements in individual prevention capacity—or knowledge (e.g., ease with which respondents could complete various prevention tasks), attitudes (e.g., importance of evaluation), and skills (e.g., frequency of doing evaluation)—across all the domains targeted by GTO. As a result of GTO, all the programs either started new ongoing program evaluations, whereas there were none before, or they significantly improved their current designs. Finally, qualitative data from coalition staff about the utility of GTO showed that it helped them better plan, implement, and evaluate their own programs, teaching them "a new language" about accountability. The data collected in the CDC grant, although on a small number of programs, suggests that GTO builds the capacity of local practitioners and helps to improve the quality of performance in planning, implementation, and evaluation of prevention programs.⁶

Standardized Test Score Outcomes

Empowerment evaluators worked for 3 years in rural Arkansas (the Delta) to help school districts in academic distress. At the beginning of the intervention (fall 2001), 59% of Elaine School District students scored below the 25th percentile on the Stanford 9 Achievement test. By the end of the empowerment evaluation intervention (spring 2003), only 38.5% of students scored below the 25th percentile, representing an improvement of more than 20 percentage points. Similar gains were made in the Altheimer Unified School District. According to an Arkansas Department of Education educational accountability official responsible for monitoring and assessing these districts,⁷ “Empowerment evaluation was instrumental in producing Elaine and Altheimer school district improvements, including raising student test scores.” To further address the question of attribution and threats to internal validity, it is important to describe the educational context. The test scores had languished or declined for more than 6 years before introducing empowerment evaluation to these school districts. During the period in which empowerment evaluation was used, there were no competing approaches or interventions. The fields of educational interventions were as stark as the Delta landscape, with miles of cotton, soy, and rice fields and not much else. The history threat⁸ was largely eliminated by a review of all past educational reform efforts in the area during that period, based on the Arkansas State Department of Education records and individual interviews with local school administrators. Test and instrument threats were also considered; however, the same statewide tests were used year after year with no significant changes. To complement our review to threats to internal validity, we documented improvements in other areas ranging from discipline to parental involvement. These improvements helped create an environment conducive to learning as evidenced by increases in standardized test scores—the “coin of the realm” in educational research and policy. (See Fetterman, 2005, pp. 116-129).

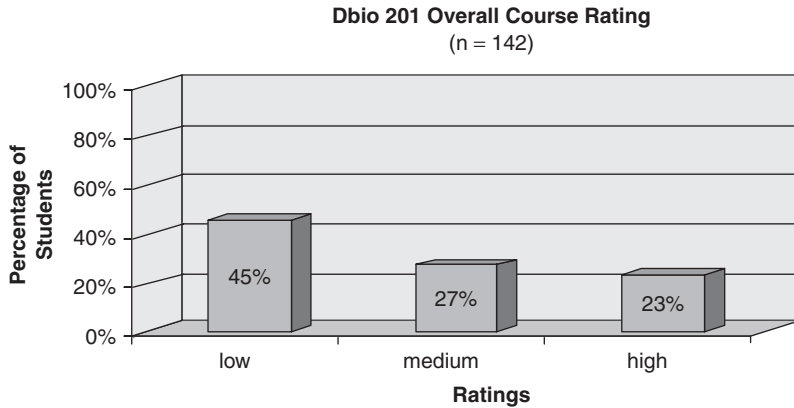
Explicit Program Outcomes: Bridging the Digital Divide

Hewlett-Packard funded a \$15 million Digital Village project designed to help disenfranchised communities bridge the digital divide. The project included distributing laptops in the schools and community businesses. In addition, community learning centers were established, providing community members with access to the Internet, digital video equipment, and online learning opportunities. One of the Digital Village communities was comprised of 18 American Indian tribes in California. They called themselves the Tribal Digital Village. The community used empowerment evaluation (the three-step approach) to collaboratively accomplish many of its goals. One of the most notable achievements was the creation of the largest unlicensed⁹ wireless systems in the country, according to the chair of the Federal Communications Commission. This system helped them communicate across reservations and to the world outside the reservation, including Stanford University. (See the Web videos of their efforts, which represents another piece of data that was previously ignored or neglected in past reviews of empowerment evaluation outcomes, at <http://homepage.mac.com/profdavidf/hewlettpackard.html>). This was an explicit goal of the Tribal Digital Village. They also accomplished a number of other concrete outcomes using empowerment evaluation as an organizational tool (see Fetterman, 2005, pp. 92-107 for more details).

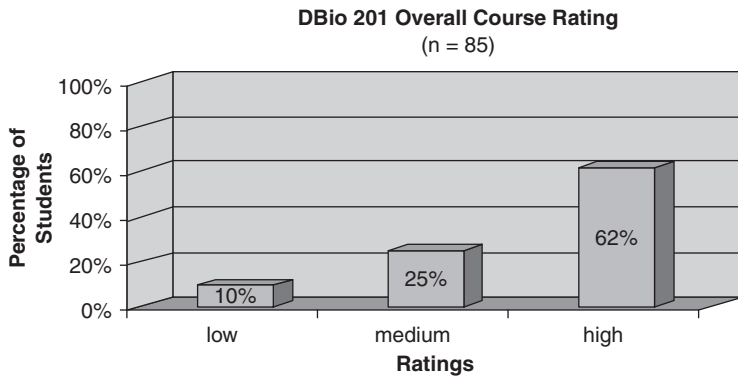
Accreditation Outcomes

Stanford University’s School of Medicine used an empowerment evaluation approach to successfully prepare for its accreditation site visit. Accreditation committees assess the degree of participation and engagement in their self-study. Empowerment evaluation was an effective tool

Figure 1
Increase in Student Course Ratings
(a) Before Evaluation Feedback



(b) After Processing Evaluation Feedback



Note: The graphs of student evaluations of this course, both before and after evaluation findings, were taken into consideration by course directors and dramatically demonstrate a radical increase in student ratings.

in fostering this kind of widespread and substantive participation in the process. This was an outcome in itself. In addition, an empowerment evaluation (three-step) approach helped improve courses, as evidenced by dramatic increases in student course ratings¹⁰ and faculty assessments (see Figure 1).¹¹ Similar self-reflective tools were used at the clerkship level, enhancing faculty effectiveness in evaluating medical students during their clerkship rotations.

An additional outcome directly associated with the use of empowerment evaluation was greater organizational clarity concerning governance. One of the programs in the School of Medicine engaged in a cycle of reflection and action to improve educational performance. In the middle of one exercise, the course directors had an epiphany or “ah hah” moment. The directors of the individual programs realized that they were the de facto governing body overseeing that part of the academic program. It was the “elephant in the room” that no one spoke about

but that everyone knew was holding them back from making critical decisions. This was a crystallizing moment for them, and it emerged from a dialogue in the taking-stock phase of the self-evaluation. This is a significant outcome. This was a pivotal moment for the program because administrative follow-through was a problem and represented a serious stumbling block in terms of long-term planning and sustainability of the program. It was a “transformative” moment—a common phenomenon in empowerment evaluation. The example illustrates why the language of transformation is an important part of the empowerment evaluation process, and it responds to R. L. Miller’s (2005, p. 317) and N. L. Smith’s (2007) concern that the language of transformation is notably absent from the definition of the empowerment evaluation. Empowerment evaluation has been used in other accreditation efforts as well (Fetterman, 2001, pp. 75-85).

Tomorrow

Empowerment evaluators are learning how to more effectively combine qualitative and quantitative data. They are capturing the critical “ah hah” or transformative moments more systematically. Empowerment evaluators are also learning how to more effectively translate what they do into policy language. In addition, empowerment evaluators are learning to build more refined empowerment evaluation tools and systems. Several current projects illustrate where empowerment evaluation is heading, focusing on both community control and traditional “coin of the realm” measures.

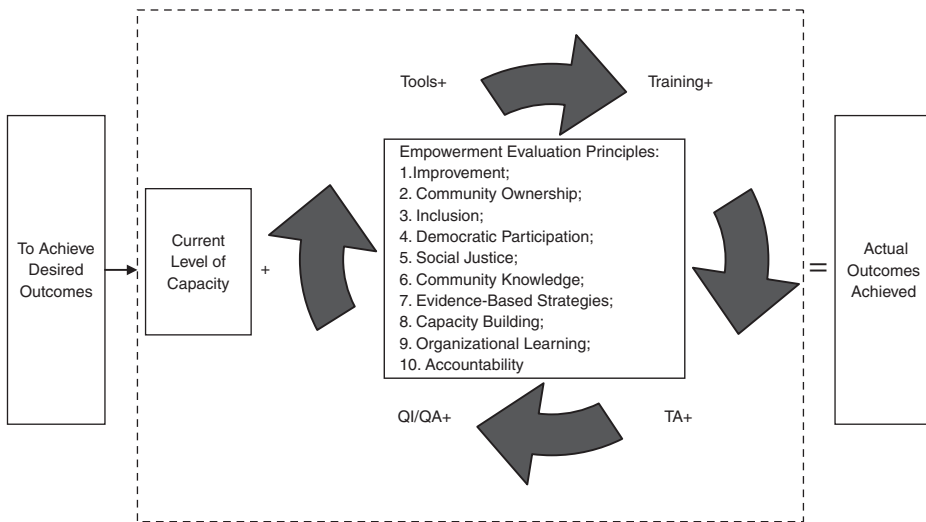
Tobacco Prevention Programs

The tobacco industry is spending more than \$97 million a year to encourage minority youth to use tobacco in the state of Arkansas. The Minority Initiative Sub-Recipient Grant Office (MISRGO) at the University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff is responsible for coordinating a statewide effort to respond to the tobacco industry’s efforts. MISRGO has awarded contracts to community-based organizations throughout the state to help reduce tobacco consumption. An empowerment evaluation approach has been adopted to guide this tobacco prevention effort and to coordinate evaluation efforts throughout the state.

One of the areas of weakness identified by the group involved the absence of a systematic data collection system (to record the number of people who quit smoking). This self-evaluation finding was a result of the taking-stock exercise in the three-step empowerment evaluation process. In response to this weakness, the group developed an “evaluation monitoring system” that enables grantees to document their effectiveness by recording the number of people who quit smoking or the number of lives saved. The grantees also translated these findings into dollars saved—specifically, in terms of reducing excess medical costs for the state. They multiplied the number of people who quit smoking by the average excess medical costs per person. The total saved, combining the efforts of all the grantees to date, is in excess of \$84 million (see <http://homepage.mac.com/profdavidf/Tobacco.htm>).

This self-assessment data has been instrumental in helping grantees monitor their effectiveness. The collective nature of the effort has served as peer pressure to maintain the effort. The data generated from this evaluation monitoring system have also been used to influence policy decision making, including appearances before the Black legislative caucus in the State. Grantees have also successfully shared this data with the news media to influence a concerned citizenry. Emerging from this effort was the recognition that additional evaluation capacity building was required throughout the state for other programs as well. This led to the introduction of a bill to create the Arkansas Evaluation Center, which is designed to address this

Figure 2
An Empowerment Evaluation Theoretical Model



need. Outcomes in this case example can be expressed in terms of dollars and cents as well as increased capacity.

Multi state Prevention Efforts

The scale and scope of empowerment evaluations are continually growing. We believe that to build capacity and reach outcomes in large-scale programs, it is increasingly necessary to develop an empowerment evaluation system that includes tools, training, technical assistance (TA), and quality improvement/quality assurance (QI/QA; Wandersman, 2007; see Figure 2). These are all key ingredients of a full GTO intervention. Wandersman and colleagues are developing GTO systems that work at multiple levels. They are working with the CDC to achieve outcomes by promoting science-based approaches.

The Promoting Science-Based Approaches to Teen Pregnancy Prevention (PSBA) project is a 5-year, capacity-building cooperative agreement between 16 (national, regional, and state level) grantees and the CDC. All grantees are charged with building the capacity of their own organization to serve as a TA provider in science-based approaches to teen pregnancy prevention and to build the capacity of others, particularly at the local level. Ultimately, the aim of the project is to improve the likelihood that local prevention delivery partners will select, implement, and evaluate a science-based approach to prevent teen pregnancy by building their capacity to do so (Lesesne et al., 2007).

Wanderman and colleagues are also working with two state agencies and multiple counties in New York State to promote results-based accountability. The projects also have an explicit emphasis on outcomes. The projects will represent another set of test cases concerning how large-scale empowerment evaluations might function. In the process, they will contribute to furthering the three themes that have been emphasized in the first part of this discussion (the Yesterday section): conceptual clarity, methodological specificity, and concrete outcomes.

Next Steps

The future is always difficult to predict. However, there are some indicators that suggest where empowerment evaluation is going, beyond being grounded in community control and increasingly relying on traditional external measures. The two trends are associated with research and technology.

Research

One of the benefits of continued growth and maturity in empowerment evaluation is that there is more time to mine the data in more depth. In Mexico, faculty members at the Colegio de Postgraduados, for example, are conducting a secondary analysis of the taking-stock data. They are applying statistical analysis to the data to identify patterns associated with roles, campus location, and topic interests. Instead of simply using the initial analysis to move forward, secondary analysis is being conducted that lends itself to traditional research activities and contributes to knowledge.

Similarly, empowerment evaluations have become routinized enough to invite meta-evaluations. Third-party evaluators are currently involved in evaluating ongoing empowerment evaluations. For example, one of the RAND studies of empowerment evaluation tobacco-prevention work suggested that the program has been effective in reducing tobacco consumption in one of the most difficult regions in the state (Farley et al., 2004). Empowerment evaluation has reached a stage in which a more distanced and reflective stance can be adopted.¹²

Technology

Empowerment evaluators have long realized the benefits of the Internet, ranging from Web pages to listservs and videoconferencing to online surveys (Fetterman, 2001, pp. 129-140). Technology is, in part, responsible for the exponential growth of the approach in a relatively short period of time. And it appears that this relationship is only beginning to blossom.

The American Evaluation Association Collaborative, Participatory, and Empowerment Evaluation topical interest group (TIG) recently created an interactive blog¹³ to enhance evaluative dialogue in the field. In addition, a team of empowerment evaluators at Stanford University's School of Medicine is using interactive, collaborative writing software owned by Google called Writely. It allows us to collaboratively write institutional review board submissions, evaluation plans, reports, and articles on the Internet together. The Arkansas team of empowerment evaluators is using an interactive, collaborative spreadsheet owned by Google to manage incoming data concerning numbers of people who quit smoking and how this translates into dollars saved in terms of excess medical costs.

In addition, Zhang and Wandersman and colleagues have a technology transfer grant (STTR) from the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism to develop an interactive, Web-based GTO system and to research its utilization. In this grant, the iGTO system is being rolled out in two states in more than 30 coalitions with 50-plus programs. The system will be used at multiple levels: program, coalition, state. Data will be gathered and *used* at each level for program improvement and program accountability purposes and travel up to a higher level to promote appropriate technical assistance support as well as quality assurance. iGTO is more than a hierarchical reporting system. It builds in guidance for how to do each of the 10 steps and then helps users answer each of the steps with their data. This helps them fulfill results-based accountability.

The immediate future promises to build on this type of dynamic cyber-tradition in empowerment evaluation. This Web-based engagement has produced innovations, created new opportunities

for collaboration, and taught numerous lessons about process use and knowledge use that extend far beyond the walls of empowerment evaluation. The lessons learned from this exchange are applicable to evaluation as a whole as the entire field grows and evolves in the digital age.

Conclusion

Empowerment evaluation has captured the imagination of many evaluators, program staff, and program participants who are committed to achieving outcomes on important educational, health, and human service concerns. We know of no other evaluation approach that is currently being held to the same standard to prove its effectiveness with demonstrable outcomes. However, we welcome the challenge. We have made advances in conceptual clarity, methodological specificity and rigor, and documentation of outcomes. The seeds of empowerment evaluation have been planted both in the community and the field of evaluation and they have taken hold. Now it is time to cultivate the field and help the approach grow. Admittedly, there is much work ahead. However, as Thomas Edison said, "Opportunity is missed by most people because it is dressed in overalls, and looks like work." We, on the contrary, are eager to seize this opportunity to continue to work with communities, as we all expand our understanding and insight into empowerment evaluation. We also eagerly await a review of the next 10 years by the same community of evaluators, such as Alkin, Altman, Brown, Campbell, Christie, Cousins, R. L. Miller, Patton, Sechrest, Scriven, Smith, Stufflebeam, and Wild, as well as a host of new stars shining over the intellectual landscape of evaluation.

Notes

1. More than a fourth of the AEA membership specified an affiliation with the Collaborative, Participatory, and Empowerment Evaluation TIG (S. Kistler, personal communication, October 4, 2006: "Approximately 1,133/4,999 = 23% in your TIG").

2. There are parallels with the introduction of ethnography into evaluation. Smaller-scale projects allowed for greater flexibility. However, the larger the project was, the more structure was required to facilitate meaningful data collection and analysis (A. G. Smith & Robbins, 1984).

3. Carol Weiss asked Fetterman to help her collect relevant evaluation reports to inform her revision of her *Evaluation* textbook while at the Center for Advanced Studies in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford University. Weiss argued, and Fetterman agreed, that this is one of the most credible forms of data to determine what evaluators do in the field and should be at least a minimum criteria or basic standard for inquiry in the field of evaluation.

4. There are exceptions in which an empowerment evaluator works collaboratively with clients to advocate for continued support, such as when a group is not organized or developmentally prepared to do so, and their prospects for continued funding are dim but the data overwhelmingly support continued operations.

5. Cousins (2005, p. 203) distinguished between case example and case study, suggesting that most examples provided are case examples instead of studies. However, the authors have been immersed in the study of these programs, conducting virtual ethnographies (Fetterman, 1998). A more detailed study is required if the empowerment evaluator is not an integral member of the program and its day-to-day operations. In addition, these authors have generated a brief summary of the case examples because they are more appropriate and digestible than full-length case studies or ethnographies given the task at hand.

6. See Chinman et al. (in press) concerning steps taken to rule out alternative explanations that might pose a threat to internal validity, including the implemented research design. See Trochim (2006b) concerning single group threats: <http://www.socialresearchmethods.net/kb/intsing.php>.

7. A second official corroborated this during the same conference call (Wilson, 2004).

8. Maturation, testing, instrumentation, and mortality threats were also considered.

9. This is an unlicensed system because the American Indians are a sovereign nation and not subject to the local licensing requirements.

10. For example, course ratings have dramatically improved after collaborative action was taken to assess and revise problematic courses. One of the preclinical course ratings (based on student assessments) was 45% low and 23% high before receiving evaluation feedback. However, after student data was presented and considered, faculty

and students created a plan of action (to revise the curriculum). Activities ranged from faculty attending each other's lectures to reduce redundancy to student assistance in revising the syllabus. The ratings after receiving evaluation feedback and implementing a course of action were 10% low ratings and 62% high ratings for the same course. These are quantifiable outcomes of the evaluative process.

11. The analysis of the differential attrition suggested that it was not a threat to internal validity. In addition, the same patterns were documented with a number of other courses during the same period using the same approach.

12. R. L. Miller and Campbell's analysis also shows evidence of this.

13. The empowerment evaluation blog is at: <http://evaluation.blogspot.com>.

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