An Approach To Programme Evaluation in Human Services Organisations: A Case Study

Andrew Meston

A Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master Social Science in Social Planning and Administration.

University of Cape Town.

1993

ABSTRACT

This study examines the issue of programme evaluation and places it within the context of the western cape region of Operation Hunger.

Data for this study was collected over a six month period of participant observation at Operation Hunger, during which time a programme evaluation model was developed and implemented.

The focus of this study is not so much the evaluation model which was developed, but rather how the model developed from the theory of illuminative evaluation to the Operation Hunger Evaluation Model. In discussing and exploring this process several strands are developed. A central theme is that it is not possible to transpose theory and experience from one context to another without firstly understanding the historical specificity within which programme evaluation developed and secondly, understanding the historical context in which it is to be applied. A second strand identifies five possible evaluation approaches for use in the South African context and applies a model useful in choosing theoretical evaluation approaches for the purposes of application. A final aspect of this study indicates how the theory of the illuminative approach was interpreted and developed into the practice of the Operation Hunger Evaluation Model.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study would not have reached fruition without the support of many people. In particular:

* I am indebted to all my friends without whose support this study would not have been possible. In this regard the contributions of Leslie, Josi, David, Andrew and Lux were of special importance;

* To my mother, Sybil Ann Kathleen, who has always been with me from afar;

* To Andre Smit, my Supervisor, who played a guiding role characterised by great trust, patience and insight to ensure the completion of a difficult journey;

* To Kam Chetty at the Foundation For Contemporary Research for his help at crucial moments; and

* Finally a special acknowledgement to all the people at Operation Hunger and its many projects.

This thesis is dedicated to all people who work in NGSOs.

TABLE OF CONTENTS Page

ABSTRACT
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

CHAPTER ONE
Introduction 1
1.1 The Dialogue Between the Past and the Present 3
1.2 Rupture and Praxis 5
1.3 Chapter Outline 6

CHAPTER TWO
Study Intent, Methodology and Limitations 11
2.1 Introduction 11
2.2 Study Intent 11
2.3 Why this Research Design was Chosen 12
2.4 The Research Design 15
2.4.1 Research Design, Field Strategy and Research Method 15
2.4.2 Field Strategy 16
2.4.3 Reliability and Validity 22
2.5 Limitations of the Study 25
2.6 Summary 27

CHAPTER THREE
Evaluation; Context and Concepts 28
3.1 Definitions 28
3.1.1 Defining Evaluation 28
3.1.2 Definition of Allied Concepts 35
3.2 Need to Evaluate 36
3.2.1 The Existentialists 37
3.2.2 Legitimacy 37
3.2.3 Goal-oriented Management 38
3.2.4 The Need for "Accountability" 41
3.2.5 Funding Agencies 41
3.2.6 The Need for Follow-up 41
3.2.7 Establishing the Possible 42
3.3 Summary 42

CHAPTER FOUR
History and Philosophy of Evaluation 44
4.1 The Early Period: 2000 BC-1929 45
4.2 The "Tylerian" Age and the Emergent Welfare State: 1930-1945 48
4.3 The Age of Social Irresponsibility: 1946-1957 51
4.4 The Age of Realism and the War on Poverty: 1958-1974 52
4.5 The Age of Professionalisation and Methods Choices: 1975-Present 64
4.5.1 Identifying Question and Method Types 72
4.5.2 Blurring of the Fit Between Question and Method Types 74
4.5.3 Recognising the Strengths and Limitations Provided by the Context of the Evaluation 75
4.6 Summary 76

CHAPTER FIVE
Critical Analysis of Evaluation Models 78
5.1 Evaluation Approaches Identified 78
5.2 Decision-oriented Studies - Decision-orientated Approach 80
5.2.1 Methodology of the Decision-oriented Approach 81
5.2.2 Advantages of the Decision-oriented Approach 85
5.2.3 Disadvantages of the Decision-oriented Approach 86
5.2.4 Discussing the Decision-oriented Approach 86
5.3 Connoisseur-based Studies - Connoisseurship Approach 87
5.3.1 Methodology of the Connoisseurship Approach 88
5.3.2 Advantages of the Connoisseurship Approach 90
5.3.2 Disadvantages of the Connoisseurship Approach 91
5.3.4 Discussing the Connoisseurship Approach 92
5.4 Policy Studies - Judicial Evaluation Method Approach 93
5.4.1 Methodology of the Judicial Evaluation Method (JEM) Approach 95
5.4.2 Advantages of the JEM 97
5.4.3 Disadvantages of the JEM 98
5.4.4 Discussing the JEM 100
5.5 Consumer-oriented Studies - Consumer-oriented Approach 101
5.5.1 Methodology of the Consumer-oriented Approach 102
5.5.2 Advantages of the Consumer-oriented Approach 105
5.5.3 Disadvantages of the Consumer-oriented Approach 105
5.5.4 Discussing the Consumer-oriented Approach 106
5.6 Client-centered Studies - An Illuminative Approach 107
5.6.1 Methodology of Illuminative Evaluation 109

5.6.2 Advantages of the Illuminative Approach 117
5.6.3 Disadvantages of the Illuminative Approach 118
5.6.4 Discussing the Illuminative Approach 118
5.7 Summary 121

CHAPTER SIX
Evaluation in South Africa 125
6.1 The Early Period: Pre-1909 125
6.2 The Development of the Politics and Ideology of the Welfare System: 1910-1947 130
6.3 The Rise of the Apartheid State: 1948-1975 136
6.4 The Period of Resistance: 1976-1985 143
6.5 The Period of Low Intensity Warfare: 1986-1989 151
6.6 The Period of Transformation: 1990-present 162
6.7 Summary 167

CHAPTER SEVEN
The Programme Evaluation 170
7.1 The Organisation and Evaluation 170
7.1.1 The Sense of Crisis 170
7.1.2 Evaluation in the Organisation 172
7.2 Research Brief 176
7.3 Choosing Approaches and Methods 177
7.3.1 Where to Begin in Approaches and Methods Choices? 178
7.3.2 Choosing the Evaluation Approach 179
7.4 Structure, Methods and Process Informed by Illuminative Evaluation 185
7.4.1 Summary Overview 185
7.4.2 Illuminative Evaluation Contributes to Decision-making 189
7.4.3 The Programme Evaluators 189
7.4.4 Three-stage Framework 194
7.4.5 The Information Profiles 196
7.4.6 Research Methods 197
7.4.7 Learning Milieu, Instructional System and Analysis 211
7.4.8 Issues of Authenticity 213
7.4.9 Decision-making 217
7.5 Summary 218

CHAPTER EIGHT
Conclusion 219
8.1 Programme Evaluation is on the Agenda 219
8.2 The Practical Application of Theory 221
8.3 The Paradigm of Choices 222
8.4 The Dialogue Between the Present and the Past and the Impact on Theory and Practice. 223
8.5 Social Welfare and Social Research 224
8.6 Five Approaches to Programme Evaluation 226
8.7 Critique of Illuminative Evaluation 226
8.8 Operation Hunger and Illuminative Evaluation - a Critique 229

BIBLIOGRAPHY 232

APPENDIX A
HOW APARTHEID WAS PUT TOGETHER

APPENDIX B
DESCRIPTION OF THE ORGANISATION OF OPERATION HUNGER WESTERN CAPE REGION

APPENDIX C
EXAMPLES OF A TIME-ORDERED MATRIX

FIGURES AND DIAGRAMS Page

Figure I	: Goal-oriented Management System	39
Figure I I	: Comparison of Program Versus Performance Evaluation	40
Figure III	: A Scheme Relating Evaluation Approaches to the Philosophy of Liberalism	59
Table IV	: Evaluation Approaches and Philosophy of Liberalism - Utilitarian	61
Table V	: Evaluation Approaches and Philosophy of Liberalism - Intuitionist/Pluralist	63
Figure VI	: Measurement, Design and Analysis: Mixed Paradigms	71
Table VII	: A Table of Question Types	73
Figure VIII	: The Role Of CIPP Evaluation in Effecting System Improvement	84
Table IX	: Five Approaches To Evaluation	123
Figure X	: Stage Discrimination of Profiles and Methods	195
Figure XI	: Organisational Structure of Operation Hunger in the Western Cape Region	IX

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The issue of programme evaluation has been placed firmly on the agenda of human service organisations in South Africa. This has been because of a combination of many factors, four of which are:

* *Accountability to communities and clients* - Communities and clients receiving services are demanding that human service providers are more accountable to them and that they play a more active role in the control of the programmes;
* *Accountability to the funders* - Firstly, the new programme directed approach with respect to subsidies used by the various Departments of Health and Welfare means that the "private" state-subsidised human service organisations now carry a greater onus in justifying continued subsidisation for their programmes. Secondly, non-South African funders in the form of international funding organisations such as multinational corporation social responsibility programme funders, national governments, and so on, are demanding that resources supplied by them, for programmes, are all accounted for and justified with respect to their use and worth;
* *The economic crisis and the pervasive shortage of funds* - The crisis in the South African economy has meant that the services of human service organisations are being requested by an ever expanding group of people in need. This is happening in the context of human service organisations finding that costs are escalating and new income is becoming more scarce. Therefore only the "best" programmes are being considered for implementation. Thus continued support for individual programmes has to be more thoroughly considered than before; and
* *The use of more sophisticated management techniques* - Human service organisations are beginning to see the advantages of using more sophisticated management and administrative techniques. The "logic"

within these techniques demands that thorough and coherent evaluation of programmes occurs.

However recognising that evaluation is on the agenda of human service organisations is one thing, but understanding what the role of the evaluator should be, is a different matter.

Michael Patton has argued that the evaluator's role should be that of "active-reactive-adaptive"[1] in working with decision-makers and information users to focus evaluation questions and make decisions about methods. In order to be active-reactive-adaptive, evaluators need a large selection of research methods at their disposal so that they can apply these to a variety of problems. According to Patton, evaluators are expected to be able to use many research methods, including analysis of quantitative and qualitative data, secondary data analysis, cost benefit analysis, cost effectiveness analysis, experimental designs, standardised tests, qualitative designs, participant observation, in-depth interviewing, and so on. Patton recognises that how and when evaluators should use these various methods is a topic of intense debate. In this regard he argues that ultimately the only criterion for assessing this is to determine whether the methods used, contribute to methodological rigor and to results that are valid, reliable and believable.

What Patton fails to understand is that producing these "valid, reliable and believable" results involves much more than a technician juggling a range of options in a way which will objectively produce the "best" results. The choice of research methods is a profound process because this choice involves a human being - a researcher. This researcher carries a range of bias - political, emotional, experiential, ideological, intellectual and so on - which all impact on the choice of methods, analysis and understanding.

---

1 Patton, M.Q. *Utilization Focussed Evaluation*, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1978.

1.1 The Dialogue Between the Past and the Present

In nineteenth century England, positivists, following the dictum of Ranke to "*Weis wie es eigentlich gewesen*"[2], argued that researchers must first ascertain the *facts* and then draw conclusions from them. This notion of the role of researchers fitted in perfectly with the philosophy of empiricism with its supposition that there is a separation between subject and object. In essence this means that the reception of data is a passive process; that *facts*, like all other sense-impressions, impinge on the observer from the outside and are independent of the observer's consciousness and that only once the data has been received does the observer act on it. The problem with this notion of knowledge is that it fails to identify how an occurrence comes to enter the realm of fact. It was this question which led E.H. Carr to ask "What is a historical fact?"[3]. The answer to this question is as important to evaluators as it is to historians. In answering this question Carr makes two important points. The first is that a historian is expected to do more than ensure the accuracy of facts which have been collected. As he cogently points out, "To praise a historian for his accuracy is like praising an architect for using well-seasoned timber or properly mixed concrete in his building. It is a necessary condition of his work, but not his essential function."[4] These basic pieces of information, or facts, are the same for all historians. They are the raw materials of the historian rather than history itself. Carr's second observation is that for these basic pieces of information to emerge from the clutter of the past depends not on the quality of the facts themselves, but on an a priori decision by the historian to

---

2 To show it as it really was.

3 Carr, E.H. *What is History?*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1987.

4 *ibid.*, pp.10-11.

choose one such fact over another. Carr explains that

> It used to be said that facts speak for themselves. This is, of course, untrue. The facts speak only when the historian calls on them: it is he who decides to which facts to give the floor, and in what order or context. It was, I think, one of Pirandello's characters who said that a fact is like a sack - it won't stand up till you've put something in it.[5]

Bearing Carr's observations in mind it becomes clear that the history we read and write, though based on facts, is not really factual at all, but rather a series of accepted judgements. This notion has critical implications for our understanding of the field of evaluation. If one accepts that evaluation is a form of historical analysis which uses specific analytical tools (for example, an evaluation approach), then it is critical, in the light of the above analysis, that the evaluator should be aware of the ideology encapsulated within the analytical tools and that the evaluator is fully aware of the context in which these analytical tools are used. It is only through this understanding that an evaluator is able to conduct research and present analysis and thus answer the research and evaluation questions at hand. The tasks faced by the evaluator and that faced by the historian are remarkably similar; each is trying to make sense of a series of events and processes so that present and future events and actions can be understood and acted upon. In the light of this notion it is useful to refer to Carr's answer to the question "What is history?". According to Carr, history "...is a continuous process of interaction between the historian and his facts, an unending dialogue between the present and the past."[6] In summary then this thesis analyses this "dialogue"; it is a discussion which explores the elements in this process in order to enhance an understanding of how analysis happens.

---

5 *ibid.*, p.11.

6 *ibid.*, p.30.

1.2 Rupture and Praxis

But this thesis goes further than merely identifying the historical context in which evaluations take place. It attempts to remove a theoretical evaluation approach from its context in which it was originally conceived and relocate it into a new and different context. In other words, this thesis explores what Laclau has identified as the notion of rupture, "...a disarticulation of ideas from those connotative domains to which they appear linked in the form of a misleading necessity, which enables us subsequently to reconstruct their true articulations."[7] This is realised through the exploration of the domain in which ideas and concepts are found. This domain is constituted through a unique and dynamic relationship between history, context, style, politics, personality, ideas and experience. In this process it is possible to "deconstruct" these concepts within their context and to reconstruct them in a way which is more reflective of the current context, and in so doing use these concepts to a greater effect.

This process of rupture ("deconstruction" and "reconstruction") occurs through praxis. Praxis is more than just the application of theory. It is, as Marx explains, part of a philosophy for the revolutionary transformation of the world; a radical change of both people and society through the abolishment of self-alienation by creating a human person and a human society. Marx differentiates praxis from the theoretical in a way that it enters and becomes, of the practical. In this regard he argues that "The resolution of *theoretical* contradictions is possible *only* in a *practical* way, only through the practical energy of man."[8] In this way he expands the notion of praxis and goes on to assert that "All social life is essentially *practical*. All the mysteries which lead theory towards

---

7 Laclau, E. *Politics and Ideology in Marxist Theory: Capitalism, Fascism and Populism*, London: Verso, 1979, pp.7-8.

8 Petrovic, G. "Praxis" in T. Bottomore (ed.) *A Dictionary of Marxist Thought*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell Publisher, 1983, p.386.

mysticism find their rational solution in human praxis and in the comprehension of this praxis."[9]

1.3 Chapter Outline

To achieve both a dialogue between past and present and praxis the following chapters explore the notion of evaluation, at both the theoretical and practical levels, with the intention of exposing the elements which constitute its makeup. In this sense this thesis enters the field of praxis where theory and practice coalesce into something new. The vehicle for this is the design and implementation of the Operation Hunger evaluation model. This discussion of the Operation Hunger evaluation model is not an instruction manual about how the model works. Rather this discourse is about how the theory of illuminative evaluation was translated into practice in the Operation Hunger evaluation model. The discussion of the actual model is found in the penultimate chapter of this thesis. The rest of the thesis explores the many aspects of the context which shape the particular interpretation of the illuminative approach.

This thesis is presented in 8 chapters. The following chapter (Chapter two) outlines the study intent, the research methodology and the limitations of this study.

The third chapter begins from the implied recognition that one of the problems facing the field of evaluation is that evaluation, both as a theoretical and "popular" construct, is riddled with misleading assertions. This is because of a combination of two factors. Firstly evaluation, by its very nature, tends to be a viewed as either a threatening or "life saving" process, for individuals and organisations. Consequently it is dogged by misconceived fears and expectations. Secondly, evaluation has developed because of its dynamic relationship with broader socio-economic and political moments in history and thus reflects these forces. As a result of

---

9 *ibid.*, p.386.

these misleading assertions there is a wide and conflicting scope of definitions and notions associated with this field. To this end, Chapter three recognises this confusion and addresses it by firstly introducing some essential definitions which are used throughout this thesis, and secondly by placing the process of evaluation within the context of society and its organisational activities.

While Chapter three recognises that there are debates within the field of evaluation, Chapter four takes this discussion one step further and examines the nature of some of these debates. There are three reasons why it is necessary to become familiar with these debates. Firstly, later chapters of this thesis examine five evaluation approaches. It is not possible to fully understand these approaches, without placing them in a political, historical socio-economic and philosophical context, where each approach can be viewed relative both to other evaluation approaches and to other debates within the social sciences as a whole. Secondly, such a discussion facilitates the introduction and examination of ideas and concepts which are used in later chapters. Finally, an understanding of the context in which evaluation has developed to central in achieving the "rupture" of concepts from misleading assertions and notions. This chapter begins to address these issues by identifying five distinct periods in the development of evaluation in the United States of America. These periods are examined with particular reference to the dialectical interaction between the rise and fall of particular evaluation approaches and political, philosophical and socio-economic forces which were active at specific points in time. The latter part of Chapter four surveys several of the debates facing programme evaluation, with specific reference to the dialogue around research and evaluation methods choices.

One of the issues highlighted in Chapter four is the fact that there are literally dozens of approaches to programme evaluation. In this sense, Chapter five follows directly from Chapter four at two levels. Firstly, this chapter identifies and examines the five approaches to

evaluation, first mentioned in Chapter four as approaches to evaluation worth pursuing in some depth. Secondly, this discussion of the five evaluation approaches relies heavily on the contextual discussion of the previous chapter. These programme evaluation approaches are considered in terms of their inherent strengths and weaknesses, thus going some way in disclosing which would be the best approach and methods to be used under particular circumstances. This chapter is particularly dense in that it describes the methods, advantages and disadvantages of relatively sophisticated approaches to programme evaluation with as much brevity as possible. Finally, this chapter provides the essential link between the evaluation theory discussed in previous chapters and the evaluation practice described in the chapters that follow.

Before transposing programme evaluation from the American context to the South African context it is necessary to explore the historical specificity of the environment in which the programme evaluation will be located. To this end Chapter six outlines the South African social service context in which the evaluation approaches and Operation Hunger are placed. This chapter begins with the implied recognition that the issue of evaluation has been set on the agenda of human service organisations in South Africa. However evaluation is still an underdeveloped field in this country relative to countries such as the United Kingdom and the United States of America. There has been little development of evaluation research designs and systems at either the theoretical and practical level within the "local" context. In this sense there is a gap between the need for the coherent and vigorous evaluation of programmes and projects and the methods for such evaluations. In describing the South African context, this chapter looks specifically at welfare in South Africa. The analysis is historical in nature; it traces the development of social research and social welfare provision within the context of the emergence and development of the racial capitalist state. To this end the political economy of the earlier period is considered in some detail - identifying, teasing out and accentuating certain

characteristics whose origins lie in the emergence of the modern South African state at the beginning of the last century. This chapter is important in that it introduces the South African context into which the American and British programme evaluation approaches (which are identified earlier) will be used.

Chapter seven considers how the theory of illuminative evaluation was transformed into the practice of the Operation Hunger evaluation model. As such, it represents the culmination of much of the context and constructs developed in previous chapters. Once again, as with many of the earlier chapters this discourse represents a further aspect of the process of rupture. In this case it is achieved through the practice of operationalisation, which is central to the chapter. This chapter begins by outlining the organisational issues which the evaluation model has to address. The identification of these issues is based on a critique of aspects of the organisation's management system as it relates to programme evaluation. Through this discussion it is possible to identify and outline what is meant to be achieved by the Operation Hunger evaluation model. Based on this notion, the argument uses the question and method choices model, developed in Chapter four, to critically assess the five evaluation approaches posited in Chapter five. Based on this assessment, the illuminative approach is identified as the most suitable approach to inform the formation and implementation of the Operation Hunger evaluation model. Following this, key aspects of the illuminative approach are identified for further examination. These key aspects are examined because of their important role in the operationalisation of the evaluation theory into programme evaluation practice. At the centre of this discussion is the close examination of the translation of theory into practice in a way which represents a harmony between the illuminative approach and the way the research and evaluation methods are used.

The final chapter concludes this thesis by firstly, identifying and concluding the dominant themes in this thesis and secondly, critiquing the illuminative approach.

CHAPTER TWO

STUDY INTENT, METHODOLOGY AND LIMITATIONS

This chapter introduces the research methodology of this study. It consists of three sections: i.e. the first section presents the research design; the second section provides the justification for using the particular research design; while the last section discusses the limitations of both the research design and this study.

2.1 Introduction

The need for this study goes beyond the immediate needs of the organisation in which it is based. In recent years human service organisations have come under the following pressures:

* A demand for political accountability by individuals and organisations; and
* A shortage of funding from the state, the donating public and local and international funding organisations.

These pressures have forced human service organisations to consider programme evaluation as a way of meeting the challenges caused by these pressures. This study should be viewed in this context.

2.2 Study Intent

The intent of this study is threefold:

* To describe programme evaluation as a field - its historical development, major philosophical influences and selected debates within the field;
* To identify selected American approaches to evaluation which may be useful in the South African context; and
* To describe the selection and use of one of these programme evaluation approaches at Operation Hunger (Western Cape).

The research for this study occurred in the context of Operation Hunger in the Western Cape region. Operation Hunger is a national organisation involved in the feeding of poor people. Adjunct to its feeding activities, it facilitates community development through the material support of "self-help" groups.

My brief at the organisation was to develop a better approach to the evaluation of the organisation's programmes, especially its feeding schemes, so that the organisation and its staff could be more effective in the field.

The research was conducted over a six month period, during which time I spent about four days a week at the organisation. In addition there were several short visits after the research had been completed to monitor the implementation of the evaluation system.

2.3 Why this Research Design was Chosen

During a period of discussion and negotiation with the organisation it became clear that an adequate research design had to meet the following criteria:

* My activities had to be sensitive to the activities of the organisation's field personnel and projects;
* The activities of the field workers and the organisation's projects had priority over all research considerations;
* The research had to be consistent with the political and development aims and attitudes of the organisation;
* The organisation was open to constructive criticism and positive change in the area under consideration;
* The organisation's field personnel had to be able to participate in the research process; and
* The research design and methods used had to be able to reflect the nuances and subtleties of the organisation's work.

In short, the organisation would accommodate the researcher, but would not be put out by the research. Thus I had to "fit in" to the organisation. This both placed constraints on myself while at the same time supporting me in the research process.

These criteria made several quantitative and qualitative research designs impractical. For instance, experimental and quasi-experimental research designs were rejected. Firstly, the division of the organisation's projects and participants into control and experimental groups was seen as impractical on both ethical and practical grounds. Secondly, the administration of tests and questionnaires by an unknown person was considered intrusive.

Certain qualitative research designs were also rejected. For instance:

* A case study research design was rejected because it did not fully recognise the active, intrusive and educational role expected of the researcher; and
* A participative research design was rejected because it meant that the researcher would have to fulfil a role which was too intrusive in the activities of the organisation.

Action-research was the research design which best met the criteria discussed above. This design considers the researcher as an active participant within the situation being studied; the researcher is expected to participate to some degree in the process under study. Also it recognises that the situation under study is itself in a continual process of change and that these changes can become part of the focus of a study.[10] Action-research focuses on several core issues, such as:

* The meaning of events for the actors in the situations;
* The social process and wider social functions that provide the context for such personal meanings; and

---

10 Morphet, A.R. "Seminar on Research Methods: action-research", in M.B. Steinberg and S.E. Philcox (eds.) *Research Methods for Higher Degrees*, Cape Town: University of Cape Town, 1983, p.96.

* The intelligent grasp of activity and interpersonal interaction in specific contexts.

Implied within action-research is the bridging of the gap between mental (researcher) and manual (researched) labour. In practice this means that:

* The problem to be studied is identified by both researcher and researched;
* Issues of research are worked through together;
* An educative process occurs through the research; and
* The researcher actively changes the situation under research.

In choosing the methods for this type of research, the active researcher follows a strategy used in the illuminative approach to evaluation. No single method (with all its built-in limitations) is used exclusively or in isolation in this research strategy. Thus "...the problem defines the methods used not *vice-verso*."[11] The research methods and strategies used in this type of research include document analysis, background information, participant observation, structured and unstructured interviews, narrative reports and the like.

Social theory informs this research design. As Form argues "Since researchers live in a political community, they must behave politically and consider politics in their methodology."[12] The feeding of 1.2 million children a day by Operation Hunger, is a political act even if it is cloaked in "welfarist" rhetoric. The organisation's political activity spreads beyond the distribution of food. The terms and type of intervention, and the type of community entered, point to a particular approach towards community development. This approach has both overt and covert intentions towards:

* Overcoming the debilitating affects of starvation on people; and

---

11 Parlett, M., Dearden G. & Hamilton, D. "Evaluation as Illumination", in M. Parlett & G. Dearden (eds.) *Introduction to Illuminative Evaluation: studies in higher education*, Cardiff-by-the-Sea: Pacific Soundings Press, 1977, p.17.

12 Walters, *op. cit.*, p.103.

* Undermining the destructive elements on individuals and communities in the apartheid system.

The intention of the research with Operation Hunger was to help the organisation in this task. In this way, the role of the researcher is politicised both in terms of the organisation (assisting its projects) and the community (assisting the community through the organisation).

2.4 The Research Design

The following issues are dealt with in this discussion:

* The salient differences between the concepts of research design, field strategy and research method are outlined;
* The description of a three-part field strategy;
* An explanation of the research methods during the implementation of the field strategy; and
* Finally, issues related to reliability and validity are introduced and discussed.

2.4.1 Research Design, Field Strategy and Research Method

* A **research design** is a general plan of how research is meant to proceed. It places the entire research process in a theoretical framework. This framework points towards the use of specific field strategies and research methods. For this research the methodological framework is drawn broadly from that of action-research;
* A **field strategy** is a plan of action. It provides basic direction. It permits seemingly isolated activities to fit together; guiding separate efforts towards an integrated purpose. A field strategy provides guidance in selecting particular research methods. If part of praxis is understood as an action entailed by theory or a function that results from a particular structure, then the field strategy is the bringing of praxis to fruition through structuring the research process and using specific research methods; and

* **Research method** decisions represent strategic choices. A research method is a procedure - a regular and systematic way of accomplishing something during the process of research.

2.4.2 Field Strategy

The field strategy for the research at Operation Hunger consisted of:

* Dividing the research process into three stages;
* Developing theory; and
* Participant observation.

2.4.2.1 Dividing the Research Process into Three Stages. (These stages are consistent with those found in illuminative evaluation.[13])

* Stage 1: **Observation.** The intention here is to become familiar with the day-to-day reality of the organisation and the projects it supports, so that significant features could be identified at later stages. This takes the form of developing the observer role, building narrative displays, reading documentary and background information, observing and conducting interviews.
* Stage 2: **Further enquiry.** During this stage trends, tendencies and occurrences are identified for more intensive enquiry. Thus the information about the programmes gathered in the first stage is focused, so that enquiry is more direct and selective of issues. At this stage data analysis becomes more sophisticated; observation and interviews are used to check, change and update data; crude theory development is used to focus ideas, and more stress was placed on participation in the organisation's activities.
* Stage 3: **Seeking to explain.** This is based on the previous stages. Interpretations are developed and expanded, data analysis becomes more detailed, theory development became more sophisticated, a proto-evaluation system is tested on projects, background information is re-analysed, the participant observation role is expanded to become more participative, and the educative role is

---

13 Parlett, M., Dearden, G. & Hamilton, D. "Evaluation as Illumination" in M. Parlett & G. Dearden (eds.) *Introduction to Illuminative Evaluation: studies in higher education*, Cardiff-by-the-Sea: Pacific Soundings Press, 1977, pp.17-18.

assumed more directly as the field personnel were taught how to use the evaluation system.

2.4.2.2 Developing Theory. This consisted of building a social system model of Operation Hunger and its programmes. In general, the social system model consisted of the activities of a particular setting, (usually a project), the social and organisational roles in the setting and the perspectives of the participants within the setting. Initially, simple, speculative models were built for each project. As the research progressed so ideas and theories were developed through observation, formal and informal interviews, document analysis, and so on. In this way the models became more complex and sophisticated in the face of theories and notions being tested and checked. As individual models became more complete so they were compared to other models in order to isolate similarities and differences. Through this process of grouping similar models together, eventually only a few models remained. These, however, had the scope to explain a wide range of projects.

2.4.2.3 Participant Observation. Patton agrees that "Participant Observation is an omnibus field strategy in that it simultaneously combines document analysis, interviewing of respondents and informants, direct participation and observation and introspection."[14] Participant observation assumes that in order to understand the people and programmes under study, the researcher needs to get as close as possible to them in their "natural" setting. The advantages of this strategy for this research were:

* It was easier to collect data on a broader range of participant activities than with other research strategies and methods;
* It was possible to see and participate in participant's activities as well as to hear how participants interpreted their activities in interviews;

---

14 Patton, M.Q. *Qualitative Evaluation Methods*, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1980, p.127.

* The strategy was useful in situations where it is important to either become familiar with a setting, or to identify which variables are most significant; and
* Variables derived from the field work data and resulting theories were reformulated during the course of the research as new data became available.

The following participant observation methods were used to implement the above strategy:

* Direct participation;
* Interviews;
* Reporting and qualitative data analysis; and
* Document analysis.

2.4.2.3.1 Direct Participation. Gold's *Roles in Sociological Field Observation*[15] outlines four participative roles for the researcher. A similar sequence of participant observation roles was developed by Junker[16]. The role assumed was that of "observer-as-participant". The advantages of this role were:

* Being known as a researcher allowed a range of questions to be asked - these questions could often only be asked by an outsider;
* The "observer-as-participant" role encouraged "stranger value".[17] This meant that participants brought new information to my attention in the context of good rapport and neutrality.[18];
* By fully disclosing the "researching role" it was possible to escape some of the ethical and personal difficulties associated

---

15 Gold, R.L. "Roles in Sociological Field Observations", *Social Forces*, 1958, Vol.36, pp.217-223.

16 Patton, *op. cit.*, pp.131-132.

17 Trice, H.M. "The 'Outsider's' Role in Field Study", in W.J. Filstead, *Qualitative Methodology: firsthand involvement with the social world*, Chicago: Markham Publishing Co., 1970, p.77.

18 Patton contrasts rapport and neutrality: *Rapport is a stance vis-á-vis the person being interviewed. Neutrality is a stance vis-á-vis the content of what that person says*. Patton, *op. cit.*, p.231.

with the deception involved in other participant observation roles; and

* By maintaining a distance from the organisation, I was able to partially escape the problem of "over-identification" with the organisation and its activities.

The observer role was chosen throughout the research process in that that during the first stage of the research process the role was characterised by more observation than participation. During the final stage the role became more participative as the new evaluation was being field tested.

Being attached to a university as a student facilitated the initial entry into the organisation. Being accepted and granted legitimacy was facilitated by:

* Building rapport with the project participants and key people in the organisation;
* Remaining as neutral as possible with respect to the content of the project participants' views;
* Respecting the confidences of project participants and members of the organisation's staff;
* Defining the research priorities and parameters together with all the personnel directly involved in delivering services in the organisation;
* Operation Hunger staff introducing the research and evaluation project to project participants in a non-threatening manner; and
* Identifying and building "rapport" and "neutrality"[19] with "informants" in projects. "Informants" were defined as those who had special insight into the project group.

The process of observation itself relied on not always taking notes, dressing in a way to put people at ease, keeping to the background, asking as few questions about the project as possible, interviewing staff and project participants in "private" away from public forums, watching interpersonal interaction, and so on.

---

19 See previous footnote.

2.4.2.3.2 Interviews. A key area of information and theory building was through interviews. Programme informants, programme participants, organisation staff and outside observers were interviewed. Interviews were both structured and unstructured, and were of three types:

* **Informal conversational interviews.** These relied on the spontaneous generation of questions in the natural flow of conversation. Usually this happened as part of participant observation field work. Within this context the person interviewed does not realise they are being interviewed;
* **General interview guide.** This method outlines a set of issues which need to be explored in an interview. Issue questions were generated by a combination of observation, theory building and facts checking. The interview guide served as a checklist to make sure that all relevant topics were covered. The guide assumed that there was certain common information which could be gleaned from projects; and
* **Structured open-ended interviews.** These took the form of a "picture painting" exercise involving organisation staff. The interviewer carefully described and explained scenarios at a particular project or series of projects. These descriptions were highly evocative. The aim was to engage the interviewee and to draw out the subtleties associated with particular projects. These insights were used to modify theories, perceptions, lines of questioning and observations.

2.4.2.3.3 Reporting and Qualitative Data Analysis. Miles and Huberman have argued that

> ...writing begins in the context of discovery, then it needs to turn to the context of *presentation*. That effort turns us, often, back to the context of discovery once more. Writing, in short, does not come after analysis; it is analysis, happening as the writer thinks through the meaning of data in the display. Writing is thinking, not the report of thought.[20]

---

20 Miles, M.B & Huberman, A.M. *Qualitative Data Analysis: a source book of new methods*, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1984, p.91.

Displays[21] were the vehicle for this process. A display is a format which presents information systematically to a user. The display should present information in a compressed, ordered form, so that the user can draw valid conclusions and take action. Two types of display were used for analysis:

* **Narrative reports.** These were extensive notes drawn from the brief notes taken while at projects, during interviews or at the organisation. Written up as soon after an observed event as possible i.e. these lengthy reports carried several disadvantages, namely:
  - The data is spread out over many pages and is difficult to digest;
  - The data is sequential rather than simultaneous, making it difficult to consider a number of different variables at once; and
  - Writing and reading data in this way is time consuming.
* **Context charts.** In qualitative research the actions and statements of people and/or groups is important in their specific contexts. Context charts were used to achieve this. The context charts were structured like a flow-chart with the project at its centre. Various sub-groups and sub-systems, such as Operation Hunger with its resources, the leadership in the community, the socio-economic and political conditions of the community, and so on, were depicted round the project. A series of lines linked all these groups/factors to each other, with each line indicating the nature of the links. A short-hand notation indicated all the relevant data relating to the sub-groups. As the research proceeded, so better charts were drawn. Later charts were more detailed and sensitive to the intricacies of the projects. These later charts presented the opportunity for a more sophisticated analysis of individual projects.

---

21 Many of the ideas for the displays have been adapted from Miles & Huberman, *op. cit.*, pp.79-150.

2.4.2.3.4 Document Analysis. This provided the background to the organisation's activities, helped frame questions for interviews, checked the data from other sources and provided data not available from other sources. The following documentation was analysed:

* *Letters* to and from the organisation - Often the first contact between the organisation and the project/community is in the form of a letter. Letters revealed when the organisation was first contacted, what the writers' perceptions and expectations of the organisation were, and so on. Letters written in reply, indicated how long it took to respond to the initial enquiry, what the actual response was, and so forth. A series of letters made it possible to track events such as meetings, promises of aid, and so on;
* *Newspaper articles* - Articles relating to a project, be they about the project directly or about the community as a whole were collected. These provided background to the project and gave an indication of the project's/communitie's public profile;
* *Demographics* - Census data, particularly that relating to the "platteland" was collected; and
* *Internal organisation reports* - These yielded the majority of documentary evidence about the activities of the organisation and the projects it supported. Three types of report were analysed; feeding reports, the field workers' and the director's reports.

2.4.3 Reliability and Validity

Reliability is defined as "The extent to which a test would give consistent results if applied more than once to the same people under standard conditions."[22] One way of maintaining the reliability of qualitative data is to make findings as representative as possible. This was achieved in two ways:

* Firstly the entire field was sampled as often as possible. This was realised through participant observation at all the organisation's projects; and

---

22 Miller, P. & Wilson, M.J. *A Dictionary of Social Science Methods*, Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 1983, p.96.

* Secondly negative case analysis occurred in the context of model building (described above) and through the process of inductive analysis. This process entailed the active search for negative or deviant cases or events. Each time such cases were identified, new explanations were found to explain the new activity or viewpoint identified.

The issue of validity is more complex. Validity is "The extent to which a test, questionnaire, or other operationalization is really measuring what the researcher intends to measure."[23] According to Leedy[24] there are six types of validity: face validity, criterion validity, content validity, construct validity, internal validity and external validity.

In the case of Operation Hunger, face validity, content validity and internal validity were insured in the following ways:

* To counter those observed altering their behaviour in the face of observation:
  - projects were visited as often as possible so that the observed became used to being observed;
  - I developed a rapport and neutrality with the organisation staff and the programme participants;
  - the "observer role" was made non-threatening by wearing "non-alienating" clothing, asking few or "harmless" questions at first, playing the student role, and so on; and
  - I recognised that it is difficult for those observed to maintain a pretence towards the researcher over an extended period - A person or group will let their guard slip at some stage and thus reveal themselves.
* I was constantly aware of and sensitive to cultural and class differences. I consciously questioned how people felt about participation and observation. This kind of questioning relies on

---

23 *ibid.*, 1983, p.120.

24 Leedy, P.D. *Practical Research: planning and design*, New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., pp.26-28.

reflection and introspection. This was achieved through keeping a diary, discussion with close friends, consultation with the organisation's staff and interviews with members of other organisations;

* Informants were also biased. Previous experience of the informants' views, their role in the group, the content of their views and so on, helped to grasp the informants' information and ideas in context and thus better judge the validity of their views;
* A process of data collection know as triangulation was used wherever possible. This recognises that as many methods as possible should be used when collecting data of the phenomenon under study. Thus formal and informal interviewing, picture painting, data analysis, observation, background information, document analysis and so on, were all brought to bear when checking views and data. In this way discrepancies were highlighted and resolved or discounted;
* The use of circumstantial evidence helped to test whether conclusions were credible or not. Thus, during the model-building process conclusions were made which relied on a combination of observed and circumstantial evidence. The test of such conclusions was their relationship to other evidence and conclusions; and
* "Going native" refers to the phenomenon of field evaluators at programme sites who are unable to withstand the social tensions of the role and succumb to the pressure of need-affiliation, joining the staff in point of view and commitment. This can result in the evaluator becoming blind to the weaknesses in a programme or evaluation process. This phenomenon usually occurs where participant observation continues for a year or more. The field work component of the study lasted only six months. Also I did not develop social relationships with programme staff beyond the boundaries of the work environment. Furthermore regular reports and contact between the university supervisor and myself provided me with an alternative point of reference. Finally, constant contact with close friends and other students provided a support structure beyond the organisation.

The participant observation methodology makes it difficult to meet the terms of criterion validity, since what is being measured cannot be "objectified" against specific criteria. However, since the consumers of the research are the organisation staff and the contents of the research had to make sense to them, the staff could be the source of criteria for the observations. This meant that the organisation staff had to understand observations and assertions made during the study. The staff, in turn, had to judge these observations and assertions in terms of their own perceptions and criteria. The most important aspect of this process was that the organisation's staff had to understand my observations with out necessarily agreeing with them.

Construct validity was maintained through the use of inductive analysis. Thus constructs were not imposed on the research project. Rather they were developed through the process of research. Thus the constructs took on specific meaning within the organisation.

External validity is weak for this type of research. The results of this type of research cannot be used to explain other similar research. However the results of this research were not intended to be applied to research situations beyond those under study. Thus the weakness of the external validity of this study is not an issue.

2.5 Limitations of the Study

The intent behind this study is modest. This study seeks to indicate a range of possible evaluation approaches which can be used by an evaluator. The study illustrates how one such approach is used in one case. This means that the results from this study cannot be applied uncritically to other studies. However, the process this study describes may give some insights to others involved in this field. It promises no simple answers or easy-to-use models. In this vein the following points should be born in mind when considering this study:

* This study does not claim the evaluation approaches identified are the sum total of all possible evaluation approaches worthy of consideration. Other authors have identified, discussed and developed other evaluation approaches. Furthermore, other studies using different criteria may identify similar or different evaluation approaches to those identified here;
* The way the identified evaluation approach is used is not the only way. The approach was modified to suit the specific needs Operation Hunger. Other users of the approach may adapt the approach to suit their needs. The approach is open to interpretation and variation, depending on the circumstances in which it is being used;
* The particular methods used in implementing the evaluation approach do not constitute a model. They merely show how this approach was used in this particular case;
* The evaluation approach developed for Operation Hunger only applies to the Western Cape region of the organisation. The approach was not developed with the rest of the organisation in mind. Thus it does not apply to the entire organisation; and
* The evaluation approach is not meant to be used by other organisations involved in the field of feeding and development. The study is case-specific - i.e. it relates to a particular organisation. However, this does not mean that other organisations cannot learn from insights gained in this study. The particular evaluation approach used and the manner in which it has been adapted can indicate to other organisations involved in the field how to approach similar problems. In other words this study has contributed towards the body of knowledge associated with the field of programme evaluation in South Africa. Individuals and organisations involved in programme evaluation can, and should, draw on this body of knowledge.

Finally, an important limitation of this study have been the difficulties associated with conducting the research. Firstly, programme evaluation is comparatively new in South Africa; there is no rich history of well documented programme evaluation studies, there are few acknowledged local "experts" in this field, and post

graduate courses at universities do not teach programme evaluation in any substantial depth. Consequently researchers working in this relatively new field find that they are often on their own without the experiential, theoretical and practical support which researchers in other fields can rely upon. In this way those working in this field are left to their own devices, as they attempt to tackle practical and theoretical difficulties. In part this thesis is a reaction to this dearth of local information, teaching and experience, and is written in the hope that others can gain from the lessons learnt in this study. Secondly, this study was conducted in a context where communities have been ravaged through oppression, repression, high levels of violence, poverty, hunger and under-development. All these destructive elements create distrust, discord, suspicion and poor communication. Conducting research in such an environment, severely restricts free and easy access to projects and key informants. This means that as much time was spent in this study on building trust and ensuring constant access to projects as it was on actually doing the research.

2.6 Summary

The study topic and research environment encouraged the use of a qualitative approach. The qualitative methods used are placed within the context of an action-research design with a strong emphasis on research methods associated with a participant observation case-study. The research relied on several methods to maintain the reliability and validity of the study. The study's limitations revolve around its poor external validity. However these limitations are not important because this study was not intended for wider application.

The following chapter introduces the topic of evaluation. Evaluation is defined, as well as some related concepts, and there is a discussion about why we evaluate. This discussion is placed within the context of society and its organisational activities.

CHAPTER THREE

EVALUATION; CONTEXT AND CONCEPTS

Evaluation is increasingly playing a key role in shaping service programmes. These range from small philanthropically inspired local projects (such as a church parish collecting clothing for the indigent in the community) to large politically motivated national programmes (like the repatriation of political exiles). As a consequence, evaluation influences not only organisational life, but also society. This chapter defines the concept of evaluation and other related concepts, identifies its *raison d'être*, examines the importance of evaluation, and places evaluation in the context of society and its organisational activities.

3.1 Definitions

The field of evaluation is complicated by a great deal of terminology and jargon. Where possible, this discussion will try to steer away from the use of such jargon. Furthermore for the sake of clarity the most important terms will be clearly defined.

3.1.1 Definition of evaluation

There are various approaches to the definition of evaluation. This discussion will introduce three common definitions, notably those of:

* Hope and Timmel;
* Weber and Polansky; and
* Epstein *et al*.

The inadequacies of each of these definitions will be highlighted. Following this the discussion will turn to the definition offered by the American Joint Committee on Standards for Education Evaluation. This is the accepted definition of this study.

Hope and Timmel described evaluation in the following way: "The only way forward is to take one step back."[25] This describes in essence what evaluation is about; in order for an organisation to advance and develop it has to consider what has been achieved and what has not been achieved. In the light of this consideration an organisation can plan its future development. The problem with this description is that it does little to define evaluation in more precise terms as an activity.

Weber and Polansky argue that

> Evaluating social service intervention...involves delineating: what exactly was done; with whom; under what circumstances; by whom; at what point in time; with what results; from whose perspective; and whether the benefits were worth the price paid.[26]

This definition's greatest strength is that it points towards the need to examine intended outcomes based on given inputs. However it has the following shortcomings:

* It fails to point towards the need to examine *unintended* outcomes which may, or may not, be based on given inputs; and
* The definition raises the important issue of cost effectiveness ("price paid") without indicating the meaning of this term. Does the notion of "price paid" refer to some sort of social cost, or does it refer to economic cost or to some other cost?

Epstein, Tripodi and Fellin define programme evaluation as the "...use of a variety of facts for providing information about the achievement of programme requisites and goals relative to efforts, effectiveness and efficiency."[27] Allied to this definition they

---

25 Hope, A. & Timmel, S. *Training for Transformation; a handbook for community workers, book 2*, Harare: Mambo Press, 1984, p.119.

26 Weber, R.E. & Polansky, N.A. "Evaluation", in N.A. Polansky (ed.) *Social Work Research*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975, p.183.

27 Epstein, I., Tripodi, T. & Fellin, P. "Community Development Programmes and their Evaluation", *Community Development Journal*, Vol.8, No.1, 1973, p.2.

define evaluation of programme efforts, evaluation of programme effectiveness and evaluation of programme efficiency:

* "Evaluation of *programme efforts*, which refers to the description of the type and quantity of programme activities."[28]
* "Evaluation of *programme effectiveness*, is concerned with whether or not intended outcomes, and beneficial unintended consequences, have been attained as a result of programme efforts..."[29]
* "Evaluation of *programme efficiency* is devoted to determining the relative costs of achieving these outcomes."[30]

Epstein *et al's* definition has two strengths. Firstly, it identifies the systematic nature of the evaluation process. Secondly, it stresses the importance of identifying and evaluating both intended and unintended outcomes.

In spite of these strengths, the definition has a pivotal weakness. Central to this definition is the notion of "facts". For the authors, the "facts" seem to exist in a value-free way, where they can be recognised unambiguously as "facts". These "facts", they argue, are applied to a set of values ("efforts", "effectiveness", "efficiency") which in turn yield an evaluation decision. What Epstein *et al* fail to recognise is that a system of values, like the researcher's values, the organisation's values, society's values, and so on, informs:

* The initial process of deciding how these "facts" are to be gathered; and
* What constitutes a "fact".

Thus, a "fact" is not an objective entity: the implied concept of objectivity within this definition fails to hold water. In other words, they do not grasp that a system of values impacts directly on the choice, recognition and measurement of the "facts".[31]

---

28 *ibid.*, p.2.

29 *ibid.*, p.2.

30 *ibid.*, p.2.

31 For more detail on the debate about "facts" see 1.1.

The accepted definition of evaluation for this study is that of the American Joint Committee on Standards for Education Evaluation (AJCSEE). They define evaluation as: "...the systematic assessment of the worth or merit of some object."[32]

The above definition relates directly to the concepts of *worth* and *merit*. These two concepts are related to each other and must be considered together because in combination both of these concepts are central in understanding and assessing the value of a project. These concepts are defined in the following way:

* The concept of merit applies to the excellence of a programme. It relates to both effectiveness and efficiency. Effectiveness refers to whether something does what it is supposed to do, while efficiency refers to the optimal use of available resources. Thus the question to ask when considering merit is: Does a programme do what it is meant to do in the best way possible with respect to the resources available? For instance, does an education programme (with known resources) which prepares mathematics teachers, succeed in producing teachers who are able to confidently and practically teach others the key concepts of mathematics?; and
* Worth refers to the potential need for a programme in the context of scarce resources. South Africa is characterised by a shortage of resources, be they money, skilled personnel, material and so on. Worth refers to the relative difference between a programme receiving resources and other programmes competing for the same resources in the context of differing priorities.

These concepts show up stark differences with respect to a project. For instance if a project is meritorious, then is it worthy as well? Or should the scarce resources used for the project be allocated elsewhere? Clearly this is related to the issue of equity which is discussed below.

---

32 Stufflebeam D.L & Shinkfield A.J. *Systematic Evaluation: a self-instructional guide to theory and practice*, Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff Publishing, 1985, p.3.

Implied in the AJCSEE definition is the notion that evaluation is not value-free; it involves judgement in the context of systematised, structured and dependable data collection and analysis. The essential goal of evaluation is to find the "value" of whatever is being assessed. The acceptance of the notion that evaluation is not value-free, means that great care has to be taken in the choice of data collection methods, the use of instruments and measurements, and the clarification and provision of defensible rationale for the value perspective (or perspectives) used in interpreting findings. The possible use of more than one value perspective in an evaluation is important in contexts where different "publics" or stakeholders want different things from an evaluation. An evaluation should be able to answer the needs of these constituencies in terms of their own commonly-held goals and values.

There are two further criteria linked to the notion that evaluation is not value-free - *feasibility* and *equality*.

A quality service might address some of the needs of various client groupings in the most effective way, yet it may not be able to meet the values of feasibility. *Feasibility* refers to the capacity for a project (or programme) to succeed. Thus a project which is not feasible might consume more resources than are available or it may be involved in a web of debilitating political tensions. For instance, an evaluation should speak to these issues and provide direction so that feasibility may be enhanced through making projects politically viable, improving client-directed services and increasing the efficient use of resources.

In South Africa the subject of *equality* is particularly germane, with the state having pursued a range of policies under the rubric of apartheid. These have maintained inequality by retarding the equitable distribution and redistribution of goods and services to society. The concept of equality refers to certain properties which human beings have in common, and to certain treatments which people

receive or ought to receive. Equality may be achieved through the pursuit of egalitarianism. Oppenheim has identified three operational criteria for egalitarianism:[33]

* *Egalitarian rules of allocation and distribution.*[34] This refers to two types of rule. Firstly, there are rules which determine how some benefit or burden is to be allocated among people. For example, universal suffrage and a universal head tax are considered as egalitarian, while the suffrage for whites only and a graded income tax would be considered inegalitarian. Secondly, there are rules concerning the distribution of some benefit or burden which is the result of some allocation. For instance, political equality and equality of possessions are considered egalitarian, while political inequality and inequality of possessions are not;
* *Inegalitarian allocations compatible with egalitarian distributions.*[35] This means that an intrinsically inegalitarian rule of allocation may be egalitarian with respect to an egalitarian rule of distribution. For example, with respect to reducing the inequality of wealth, a graded income tax is more egalitarian than a head tax; and
* *Degrees of egalitarianism.*[36] A rule of distribution or allocation is more, or less, egalitarian than another if it insures that a large number of people receive similar preferential treatment. For instance universal suffrage for all except minors and aliens is not completely egalitarian. But it is more egalitarian than suffrage which also excludes women.

With these criteria it is possible to make judgements with respect to instances of egalitarianism. Oppenheim has identified eight instances of egalitarianism[37] against which judgements can be made:

---

33 Oppenheim, F.E. "Equality: the concept of equality" in D.L. Sills (ed.) *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, New York: Crower Collier and Macmillan Inc., 1969, pp.104-105.

34 *ibid.*, p.104.

35 *ibid.*, p.104.

36 *ibid.*, p.104.

37 *ibid.*, pp.105-107.

* Equality of opportunity;
* Legal equality;
* Equal satisfaction of basic needs;
* Economic equality;
* Common ownership of the means of production;
* To each according to his/her merit;
* To each according to his/her need; and
* Political equality.

The interpretation of each of these instances, is a function of ideology and may result in conflict between these rules. For example, with respect to the instance of the common ownership of the means of production, opposing positions would be taken up by liberals and Marxists. Liberals would argue that equality in this sphere could be reached by redistributing the means of consumption, while Marxists would argue that this can only be achieved through the abolition of private control of the means of production.

The application of the egalitarian rules and the pursuit of the above instances of egalitarianism may also cause conflict with other social goals. Two examples help to illustrate this point. Firstly, equal welfare and equal freedom are competing goals because the former goal needs a government to impose restrictions on the freedom of economically dominant groups. Secondly, the equal distribution of welfare does not always lead to its maximisation. This might be achieved through inegalitarian methods like slavery or unequal wage incentives for higher production.

The issue of equality is complex. However, in spite of these complexities an evaluation must address this issue. The evaluator's particular response to this issue depends on the evaluator's ideology and the subject of the evaluation. If a programme evaluation does not speak to this issue in either an overt or covert manner then it does not fulfil the definition of an evaluation and cannot be considered as an evaluation.

In summary, the strength of this definition lies in its recognition of evaluation as a value laden process. Rather than weakening the validity of an evaluation, this recognition strengthens it. It does this by recognising that evaluation happens in a value laden environment with both the "evaluator" and the context in which the evaluation occurs, carrying their own values and agendas. At the same time the notion of "systematic assessment" indicates that the evaluation process must be carefully structured, rigorous and able to face questions of reliability and validity. Finally, the notions of worth and merit mean that the evaluation must not only relate to the worth and merit of the "object" being evaluated, but that the evaluation must be of worth and merit to those who requested the evaluation in the first place.

3.1.2 Definition of Allied Concepts

"Model" versus "approach". The most important distinction is between the terms "model" and "approach". The evaluation literature makes reference to various evaluation models. The word "model" is taken to refer to the original blueprint model. The term "approach" implies an approximation of the original model. Thus an evaluator may be persuaded to use a specific model, but wish to alter it in certain ways so that the "model" is transformed into an "approach". For instance, the approach developed by Eisner[38] is not termed the "connoisseurship model". Rather it is called the "connoisseurship approach" because others like Kelly, Guba and Sanders, through their "models", have all had a hand in the evolution of the approach.

Paradigm. Later chapters make reference to the term paradigm. The term "paradigm" is used in its general sense. T. S. Kuhn uses this

---

38 This approach is discussed in more detail in Chapter five.

word in two ways, firstly there

> ...is the *paradigm-as-achievement*. This is the accepted way of solving a problem which then serves as a model for future workers. Then there is the *paradigm-as-set-of-shared values*. This means the methods, standards, and generalizations by those trained to carry on the work that models itself on the paradigm-as-achievement.[39]

For the purposes of discussion, this distinction within the concept will not be made. All references to this term will assume these constructs.

3.2 Need to Evaluate

Evaluation is a process used in everyday life at a most basic level: When asked what the latest horror film is like, people readily give an opinion. When people use a specific product for the first time, they compare it to other similar products which they have used and decide whether they will use the product again.

However, in other contexts evaluation is a more specialised activity requiring special skills beyond those which the ordinary person uses on a daily basis. This more specialised form of evaluation is often conducted by journalists, social commentators, art critics, consumer councils, social scientists, and so on. For instance, journalist Hunter S. Thompson, writing on the first day of 1974 evaluated the Nixon administration in the following way:

> When the cold eye of history looks back on Richard Nixon's five years of unrestrained power in the White House, it will show that he had the same effect on Conservative/Republican politics as Charles Manson and the Hell's Angels had on hippies and flower power...and the ultimate damage, on both fronts, will prove out to be (sic) just about equal.[40]

Readers in this case, be they social historians or political scientists will use their own criteria to evaluate Thompson's judgement.

---

39 Hacking I. "Introduction", in I. Hacking (ed.) *Scientific Revolutions*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1981, pp.2-3.

40 Thompson, H.S. *The Great Shark Hunt: strange tales from a strange time*, London: Pan Books, 1980, p.25.

The above examples have illustrated that evaluation, in one sense, is a familiar day-to-day experience, while in another sense it is a very specialised activity. These examples have also indicated that evaluation is related to decision making. However the need to make decisions is not the only reason why evaluation happens. The discussion below outlines several reasons why individuals and organisations evaluate.

3.2.1 The Existentialist. According to existentialists people are free, and they should take cognisance of this fact and act in a manner appropriate to a free person. This means that an individual is able to choose specific courses of action. However these choices are based on the premise that he/she has access to the knowledge which allows him/her to make such a choice. There are many ways of gathering and processing such information, one of which is evaluation.

However, while an individual has an inalienable right to make choices, he/she may also choose to engage in a process of "flight from freedom".[41] Here the individual chooses not to make choices, allowing himself/herself to fall prey to the whims of destiny and circumstance. For the existentialist this implies giving up life's existential intensity. Clearly if a person's world view is guided by an existential philosophy, then the individual is driven to engage in a process of searching for choices in every aspect of life. One of these aspects is the work environment. Thus programme evaluation can become a necessity for such a person.

3.2.2 Legitimacy. Evaluation can also function to give legitimacy. In an interview about an evaluation at a school, Michael Patton asked

---

41 Olson, R.G. *An Introduction To Existentialism*, New York: Dover Publications, 1962, p.89.

the school principal if

> "From your point of view, what would you say was the impact of this evaluation?", to which the principal replied, "It served to legitimize us. The Board of Education, the district administration, and the State Department of Education were all interested in seeing an evaluation undertaken..."[42]

In this case evaluation played an important political role for the school principal. It helped to establish the legitimacy of the school's programmes and thus lessened the political pressure the principal and the programme had been under. Ignoring the serious problems associated with politically inspired evaluations, one must recognise that programmes, especially new or contentious programmes, need the legitimacy which evaluations are able to grant them. For the stakeholders in the programme, evaluation may be a risky process, in that the evaluation may either exonerate a programme and indicate areas of success, or the evaluation may be the one which ends or curtails the programme. However the political risks (and all it entails) associated with not carrying out a programme evaluation may be greater than the possibility of an evaluation with a negative outcome.

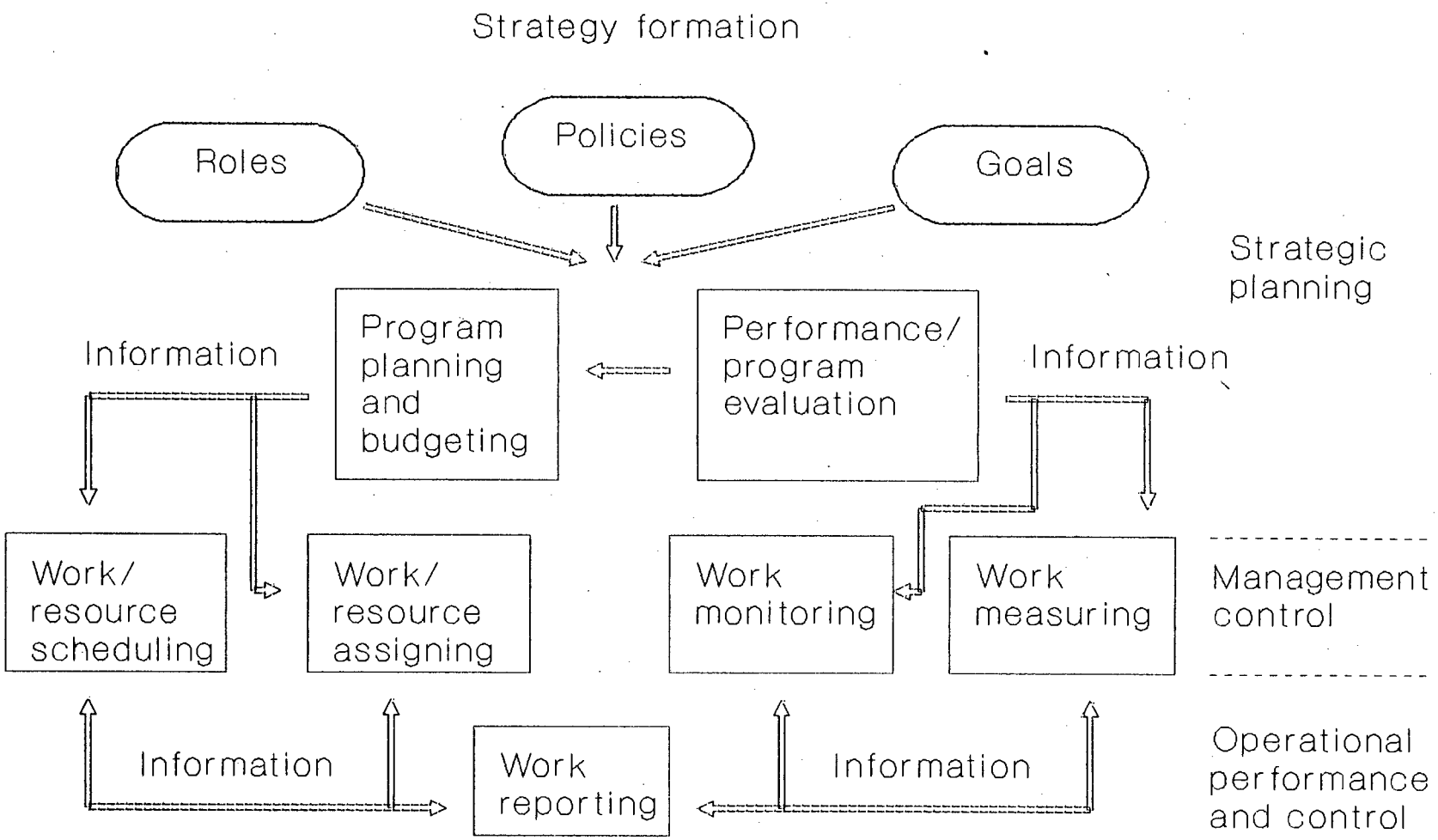
3.2.3 Goal-oriented Management. Human service organisations are beginning to recognise the advantages of using sophisticated management and administrative techniques. The "logic" within these techniques demands that there is thorough and coherent evaluation of programmes. Take for example a decision-oriented approach such as goal-oriented management.[43] Figure I illustrates that goal-oriented management is an integrated system. This system is made up of many elements. These elements are related to each other through "feedback" and "feedforward" loops. The elements of this approach include the following sets of administrative techniques: strategy formation,

---

42 Patton, M.Q. *Utilization Focussed Evaluation*, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1978, pp.277-278.

43 This is a term used by Weiner to denote management methods informed by the Management By Objectives (MBO) approach. Weiner M.E. *Human Service Management: analysis and applications*, Homewood: The Dorsey Press, 1982, pp.209-285.

Figure I: Goal-oriented Management System



Source: Weiner, M.E. *Human Services Management; analysis and applications*, Homewood: The Dorsey Press, 1982, p.215.

programme planning and budgeting, work/resource scheduling and assigning, work reporting, measuring and monitoring, and performance and programme evaluation. Performance and programme evaluation are inherent elements of goal-oriented management. The difference between the two is that the former can be generated automatically while the latter needs an additional, more specialised effort. This difference is illustrated in Figure II.

Figure II: Comparison of Program Versus Performance Evaluation

	Evaluation factor	*Program*	*Performance*
1.	Focus	Policy and goals.	Objectives and milestones.
2.	Ease	Special designs, collection, and analysis.	Automatic output from goal-oriented management system.
3.	Time frame	Several years.	Short-term (one year).
4.	Expertise	Evaluation specialist.	Required skills for a program administrator.
5.	Data system	Special data collection.	Element of goal-oriented management system.
6.	Encompasses	Multiple programs.	Single program.

Source: Weiner, M.E. *Human Services Management; analysis and applications*, Homewood: The Dorsey Press, 1982, p.277.

From the above it is clear that:

* Performance evaluation relates to control. The information for this is generated automatically through procedures like those incorporated in the Management Information System and budgeting systems; and
* Programme evaluation examines the longer term issues facing the organisation, such as the organisation's goals and policies. The effects of this type of evaluation are profound, in the sense that it can call into question an entire organisation's existence.

Both performance and programme evaluation are necessary components to the cycle of goal-orientated management. The completion of the cycle puts managers, professionals, policy makers and the community into a position to consider their current strategies and methods and, if need be, to develop new strategies in the light of the outcome of the evaluation. Thus evaluation plays a part in the decision-oriented

management approach to the management of a human service organisation.

3.2.4 The Need for "Accountability". Tripodi, Fellin and Epstein in reviewing the American education, health and welfare fields during the 1970s, talk about a process where sponsors cut the budgets of programmes where programmes did not deliver services or promote social change adequately.[44] In other words, American programme directors were asked by funders, professional groups, clientele, and the broader community to demonstrate not only that certain needs were being met, but also that programmes contributed towards addressing wider social ills. Further, questions were being asked about the management of programmes and about possible alternatives to existing programmes. This context forced programme directors to consider and implement programme evaluation so that they are accountable to their various constituencies and are able to reply to their critics.

3.2.5 Funding Agencies. The crisis in the South African economy has placed increasing pressure on human service organisations; more and more people in need are requesting the services of such organisations. This is happening in the context of human service organisations finding that costs are escalating and "new" income is becoming more scarce. In the light of this, organisations are having to use evaluation to assess programmes in relation to criteria, resources and priorities. Thus each funded programme is considered far more thoroughly and carefully than before by funders. Evaluation plays a major role in this process of consideration.

3.2.6 The Need For Follow-up. The phenomenon of "attenuation with time" is a factor in rehabilitation, community and social service work; how long do the beneficial effects of a treatment, or method, stay with clients once they have left a programme? Only follow-up

---

44 Tripodi, T., Fellin, P. & Epstein, I. *Differential Social Program Evaluation*, Itacsa: Peacock Publishers, 1978, pp.1-2.

work in the form of a "Follow-up Evaluation"[45] can help develop an accurate estimate of the rate of the attenuation phenomenon. Part of this type of study would be to consider intervening variables of the programme and its participants. Thus if enough of a beneficial effect lasts long enough, a programme may be considered worthwhile. Further, it is only this type of evaluation which is able to generate accurate information on changes of programme effects as a function of time. Also, the follow-up evaluation can help researchers and planners discern the changes in dynamics of programmes over time. In this vein, the follow-up could also determine whether a particular programme has any unintended consequences; beneficial or otherwise. All the above have an important bearing on both the improvement of specific services and overall programme planning.

3.2.7 Establishing the Possible. An evaluation can help stakeholders and planners establish what are realistic expectations for a programme or policy. This is especially important in contexts where new pioneering programmes have been established using untested methods to reach hitherto unattained objectives. Thus the evaluation is able to help determine the advantages and disadvantages associated with a new approach to a specific context.

3.3 Summary

Evaluation is part of the planning and implementation of service programmes. It influences organisations and society. On a day-to-day basis people constantly evaluate their experiences and the objects around them. In the same way organisations also evaluate their programmes and actions to meet specific needs. The reasons that organisations evaluate their programmes depend on the organisation's needs. These vary from the need for legitimacy to the desire for accountability. While the list of reasons discussed above is not

---

45 For a definition of this term, as well as a discussion of its methods see Morell, J.A. *Program Evaluation in Social Research*, New York: Pergamon Press, 1979, pp.6-19, pp.41-51, pp.77-81.

exhaustive, it is important to note that there are many reasons for programme evaluation.

One of the prerequisites for a definition of evaluation is that it must recognise that evaluation is a value laden process. This and other criteria are met by the American Joint Committee on Standards for Education Evaluation's definition of evaluation. It is on this basis that this definition of evaluation is accepted for the rest of this thesis. The simplicity of this definition is deceptive in that it recalls a series of allied concepts such as "worth", "merit", "value perspective", " feasibility" and "equity". With this definition of evaluation in mind the discussion now turns to the evolution and development of programme evaluation.

CHAPTER FOUR

HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY OF EVALUATION

The concept and use of programme evaluation has not developed in a vacuum. Rather, programme evaluation has evolved in a dynamic relationship with society. This relationship has meant that the concept and practice of programme evaluation has changed over time. The intention of this chapter is to turn to America, where programme evaluation as a field is at its most sophisticated, and to examine its growth and development in the historical, political and philosophical contexts.

The development of programme evaluation may be divided into the following periods[46]:

(1) The early period, which includes developments before 1930;
(2) The "Tylerian" age and the emergent welfare state, which covers the period 1930 to 1945;
(3) The age of social irresponsibility, which spans the period 1946 to 1957;
(4) The age of realism and the war on poverty, which runs from 1958 to 1974;
(5) The age of professionalisation and methods choices from 1975 to the present.

---

46 The basis of the periods identified here, rely on Madaus G.F., Stufflebeam D. & Scriven M.S. "Program Evaluation: a historical overview", in G.F. Madaus, D. Stufflebeam & M.S. Scriven (eds.) *Evaluation Models: Viewpoints on Educational and Human Services Evaluation,* Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff Publishing, 1983, pp.3-22.

4.1. The Early Period: 2000 BC-1929

The concept and practice of evaluating individuals and programmes was evident as long ago as 2000 BC when the Chinese were conducting civil service examinations.[47]

Another early example of programme evaluation is in The Book of Daniel in the Bible.[48] After the king of Babylon (Nebuchadnezzar) conquered Jerusalem he instituted a programme to integrate Israeli (Judean) students into Chaldean culture. To this end, the king established a three-year education programme. Ashpenaz was appointed Director of this programme. He used a purposeful selection method to choose the candidates for the programme; previous education and intelligence were the main criteria. Part of the programme required the participants to eat the king's meat and drink his wine. Unfortunately for Ashpenaz, Daniel and three other participants on the programme refused this diet on religious grounds. Ashpenaz was worried that he would be executed if his students, physical condition deteriorated, so he appointed Melzar to solve this problem. Daniel proposed an education experiment and programme evaluation to Melzar. He suggested an experimental research design which consisted of a treatment group and a control group. The treatment group, (Daniel and his three friends), would be placed on a strict vegetarian diet, while the control group, (the rest of the class), would continue with the meat and wine diet. The experiment would last ten days, whereupon the two groups would be measured by simple physical comparison. After ten days the two groups were inspected. It was found that the experimental group, "...appeared fairer and fatter in flesh than all the children which did eat the portion of the king's meat."[49]

---

47 Stufflebeam, D.L. & Shinkfield, A.J. *Systematic Evaluation: a self-instructional guide to theory and practice*, Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff Publishing, 1985, p.16.

48 This account is a summary of the account in the book of Daniel. Daniel 1:1-17.

49 Daniel 1:15.

Following this all the participants in the programme were placed on a vegetarian diet.

More recently in nineteenth century Britain government, commissions were established to evaluate various programmes and services impacting on the poor, schooling, hospitals, and public health with an eye to reform. For instance, the 1882 Royal Commission on Smallpox and Fever Hospitals recommended "...that infectious-disease hospitals ought to be open and free to all citizens".[50] While commissions can be judged impressionistic in nature, slow in producing final recommendations and vulnerable to political pressure, they have played a meaningful role in assessing government policies and practices.

In the United States of America the field of education proved the most fertile ground for development of evaluation. The earliest forms of structured programme evaluation took place in Boston, during 1845, when Horace Mann[51] led an evaluation, based on performance testing, to assess whether schools were succeeding in educating their students. Between 1887 and 1898 Joseph Rice built on the work of Mann and carried out a series of comparative studies on the value of drill[52] in spelling instruction. These studies indicated the value of comparative research designs and quantitative methods as tools for evaluation. From this work Lindiquist and later Campbell and Stanley[53] developed the experimental research designs to be used in evaluation.

---

50 Madaus, *et al*, *op. cit*, p.4.

51 Stufflebeam & Shinkfield, *op. cit*, p.16.

52 Drill is a form of repetitive learning.

53 See the following:
a) Lindiquist, E.F. *Design and Analysis of Experiments in Psychology and Education*, Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1953.
b) Campbell, D.T. "Reforms as Experiments", *American Psychologist*, vol.29, no.4, 1969, pp.409-429.
c) Campbell, D.T. & Stanley, J.C. "Experimental and Quasi-Experimental Designs for Research on Teaching", in N.L. Gage (ed.) *Handbook of Research on Teaching*, Chicago: Rand McNally, 1963.

These approaches relied heavily upon the discourse of liberal philosophers, such as Locke, Berkeley and Hume, all of whom reformulated the work of the liberal British empiricist Hobbes.[54] J.S. Mill consolidated this work and encapsulated it in his canons of induction. These provided a method for sifting evidence of correlations on which (social) scientific laws were based. This philosophical thread ran through the work of not only Lindiquist but also that of Ralph Tyler.

At the start of the twentieth century the concepts of work study and scientific management developed by Fredric Taylor[55] had come into vogue and began to impact on administrative theory. These concepts were incorporated into evaluation methods. In line with this emphasis, a number of area based surveys were carried out at several large schools, focusing on school and/or teacher efficiency. By the mid 1920s these tests had reached some degree of sophistication and had expanded to the point where whole school districts were using the same tests.[56]

Thus the use of field testing to provide the principle data for evaluations became entrenched.

---

54 Hobbes is considered as the earliest liberal thinker. His work on the nature and role of the state (*Leviathan* written in 1651) became the starting point for early liberal philosophy. For more detail see:
a) Hobbes, T. "The Sovereign State", in W.E. Ebenstein (ed.) *Modern Political Thought: the great issues*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960, pp.291-302.
b) Barber, B. *The Conquest of Politics: liberal philosophy in democratic times*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1988.

55 Braverman, H. *Labor and Monopoly Capital: the degradation of work in the twentieth century*, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1974, pp.85-124.

56 Madaus, *et al*, *op. cit*, pp.7-8.

4.2 The "Tylerian" Age and the Emergent Welfare State: 1930-1945

During the early 1930s Tyler[57], employing the tools of behaviourist psychology[58], developed the concept of "educational evaluation". By defining evaluation as determining whether objectives had been achieved, he focused the evaluator's role to that of assisting curriculum developers in identifying the students' behaviour which was produced through specific curriculum. He concentrated on direct measures of achievement, like testing certain learnt skills, as opposed to indirect measures such as extent of teaching materials, number of books in the library, and so on. Also his evaluations covered a wider range of outcome variables than those covered by the norm-referenced tests of the previous period. This meant that curriculum design switched its locus from the content of subjects taught, to the development of desired behavior in students.

In the context of the Great Depression, the New Deal, and the shift towards the liberal welfare state, Tyler's ideas were adopted by the Progressive Education Movement (PEM) which tried to make education more dynamic, innovative and "self-renewing". The PEM launched the

---

57 Tyler, R. "Evaluating Learning Experience", in D. Hamilton *et al* (eds.) *Beyond the Numbers Game; a reader in educational evaluation*, London: Macmillan Education Ltd, 1977, pp.29-34.

58 Behaviourist psychology was developed from the work of J.B. Watson in 1913. It concentrates on that which is observable and measurable aiming to avoid subjective notions such as concentration, consciousness, and intuition. Based on experiments on animals in controlled environments, and observing measurable responses to applied stimuli, the approach applies similar concepts to the behaviour of people. The behaviourist's most persuasive claim is that their work is objective, and that their work will eventually yield general laws of behaviour.

Eight-Year Study[59] into the effectiveness of innovative curricula and teaching strategies being used at schools in the United States of America in the 1930s. His approach gained ascendancy through being associated with the research component of this study. By the 1940s his approach had reached national acceptance.

However, the development and innovation of evaluation in the field of education during this period was not matched by similar developments with respect to social service programmes.

Mileur argues that politics in the United States of America has been guided by the ideals of Lockian liberalism.[60] This form of political liberalism was expressed in social programmes like the New Deal and carried forward into the welfare state of President Johnson's "Great Society".

The New Deal was the direct response to the economic dislocation caused by the Great Depression. For American liberals the catastrophic drop in output and employment after 1931 demonstrated that an unregulated and private property based economy had produced vast wealth for the minority at the expense of the majority of the population. This does not mean that the New Deal aimed to cast out capitalism. On the contrary, it aimed to stimulate capitalism, while

---

59 With the advent of the Great Depression many young people went, or returned, to school because there was no work. The schooling system was face with a dilemma because it could not meet the needs of both this breed of students and the necessary entrance requirements of colleges. The Progressive Education Movement decided to address this issue. To this end a pilot programme at 30 schools and school systems was launched with the aim of developing new ways of learning and helping the colleges to select candidates for admission. A comprehensive evaluation of this pilot programme was conducted and the results were reported. Ralph Tyler served as director of evaluation for the Eight-Year Study. For more information see: Tyler R.W. "A Rational For Program Evaluation", in G.F. Madaus, D. Stufflebeam & M.S. Scriven (eds.) *Evaluation Models: Viewpoints on Educational and Human Services Evaluation,* Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff Publishing, 1983, pp.67-78.

60 Mileur, J.M. "Introduction", in J.M. Mileur (ed.) *The Liberal Tradition in Crisis: American politics in the sixties*, Lexington: D.C. Heath and Co., 1974, p.vii.

protecting the individual from the excesses of the system. As Mileur explained, "The New Deal was guided by humane and pragmatic values: the need to do something that would work to relieve the economic miseries of millions of Americans."[61] The New Deal's monuments of economic reform were impressive: a minimum wage law, social security, industrial union recognition, public housing and federal agencies to regulate the corporate economy. However, as Newfield and Greenfield have pointed out

> ...the New Deal still left 20 to 30 million citizens living in poverty, and the giant corporations...were bigger and stronger than ever. Blacks still lived in ghettos and held the lowest-paying jobs. The New Deal did not find a durable way to redistribute the abundance of America, although it did try.[62]

There were many reasons for this failure, one of which was the poor state of programme planning and evaluation. In terms of the evaluation of welfare programmes and policies, this era illustrated that programme planning and evaluation had *not* impacted beyond the schooling system, in spite of the pioneering work of Tyler. As Hofstadter explained cogently, "To describe the resulting flood of [New Deal social welfare] legislation as economic planning would be to confuse planning with interventionism."[63] Furthermore, Rossi[64] argues that when programmes for the War on Poverty were designed in the 1960s, planners made fruitless searches at the National Archives for studies which would provide some assessment of the effectiveness of New Deal programmes, such as those of the Civilian Conservation Corps. Only crude information, like numbers of projects funded, persons and families served and so on, could be found. This lack of

---

61 Mileur, J.M. "Liberal Politics From New Deal to Great Society", in J.M. Mileur (ed.) *The Liberal Tradition in Crisis: American politics in the sixties*, Lexington: D.C. Heath and Co., 1974, p.6.

62 Newfield, J. & Greenfield, J. "The Disrupted History of Populist Liberalism", in J.M. Mileur (ed.) *The Liberal Tradition in Crisis: American politics in the sixties*, Lexington: D.C. Heath and Co., 1974, pp.37-38.

63 Mileur, *op. cit*, p.6.

64 Rossi, P.H. "Testing for Success and Failure in Social Action", in P.H. Rossi & W. Williams (eds.) *Evaluating Social Programs: theory, practice and politics*, New York: Seminar Press, 1972, pp.12-14.

assessment material hamstrung the planners and evaluators of War on Poverty programmes, such as the Job Corps programmes.

4.3 The Age of Social Irresponsibility: 1946-1957

Stufflebeam and Shinkfield have described this period as the "age of social irresponsibility"[65]: a time when the United States of America was experiencing unprecedented public consumption and industrial expansion in the face of inner city decay and burgeoning racism.

Educational facilities and services expanded markedly during this period with new buildings being erected, small school districts amalgamating to provide more services, community education projects being founded, and so on. Further, educators were armed with a battery of Tylerian tools, such as algorithms for writing behavioural objectives, categorisation of objectives, and so on.
The 1950s also saw the expansion of standardised testing with the publishing of several national standardised tests, such as the *Technical Recommendations for Psychological Tests and Diagnostic Techniques*, issued in 1954 by the American Psychological Association.

There were two fatal flaws in all this work. Firstly, there was no demand for accountability by those funding or consuming services. Secondly, the expansion and development of evaluation and research technologies was not based on an analysis of what information was needed by users on the ground. As Madaus *et al* have pointed out, those involved in education continued to go through the motions of evaluation, yet for all this activity there was little evidence to indicate that this practice yielded processes which judged and/or improved programmes or services.[66] Indicative of this problem was the work of E.F. Lindiquist,[67] (a colleague of Tyler's) who developed the

---

65 Stufflebeam & Shinkfield, *op. cit*, pp.17-18.

66 Madaus, *et al*, *op. cit*, pp.9-11.

67 A cursory examination of E.F. Lindiquist (1953) will indicate the extreme lengths demanded by his approach before a piece of research could be considered 'scientific'.

principles of statistical designs to the point where evaluators were *unable* to meet the rigors and assumptions of the experimental research design, thus making the design useless. In areas of social services unaffected by education, evaluation still had not developed any further.

The launching of Sputnik I in 1957 by the USSR and the advent of the War on Poverty burst this bubble.

4.4 The Age of Realism and the War on Poverty: 1958-1974

The fourth of October 1957 saw the launch of Sputnik I by Soviet scientists; this was the first spacecraft to orbit Earth. For the Soviets this represented an ideological and propaganda coup of socialist technology over American and capitalist technology in the context of the cold war. This caused a crisis in the American education and defence establishment.

As a direct result of this, the American federal government enacted the National Defence Education Act of 1958. The act enabled the establishment of curriculum development programmes, education programmes, as well as expanded counselling and guidance programmes.

Several evaluation methods were used for these programmes:[68]

* The Tylerian approach, with its strong behaviouristic tradition, was used to define objectives of the curriculum development programmes, and to assess the extent to which these objectives were reached;
* National standardised tests were developed to help assess whether the objectives and content of the curricula had been met.
* Professional educationalists were used to help judge and rate education project proposals; and

---

68 Stufflebeam & Shinkfield, *op. cit*, p.20.

* Curriculum development was evaluated through the use of field experiments.

Yet, in spite of using the best methods available, evaluators in the field realised that the evaluations were neither responsive to the questions asked by those who needed to know about their effectiveness, nor did they help the curriculum developers. Lee Cronbach expressed this problem in 1963 arguing that, "Old habits of thought and long established techniques are poor guides to the evaluation required for course improvement".[69] He stressed that evaluators should turn away from evaluations that are *post hoc*[70] and based on comparisons of norm-referenced test scores of experimental and control groups. Referring to education he said that

> Course evaluation should ascertain what changes a course produces and should identify aspects of the course that need revision. The outcomes observed should include general outcomes ranging far beyond the content of the curriculum itself.[71]

Evaluators ignored Cronbach's council until they realised the enormity of the failure of the War on Poverty.

On June 4, 1965, President Johnson commented on the War on Poverty launched less than a year before, saying that his administration was

---

69 Cronbach, L.J. "Course Improvement Through Evaluation", in G.F. Madaus, D. Stufflebeam and M.S. Scriven (eds.) *Evaluation Models: Viewpoints on Educational and Human Services Evaluation*, Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff Publishing, 1983, p.114. This is an edited version of Cronbach's formative article of the same title, which appeared in the *Teacher's College Record*, 64, New York: Columbia University Press, 1963, pp.672-683.

70. This term expresses the fallacy that a thing, or event, which follows another is caused by it.

71 Cronbach, *op. cit.*, p.114.

committed

> To move beyond opportunity to achievement...I pledge you to-night this will be a chief goal of my administration, and of my program next year, and in years to come. And I hope and pray, and I believe, it will be part of the program of all America...It is the glorious opportunity of this generation to end the one huge wrong of the American Nation and, in so doing, to find America for ourselves, with the same immense thrill of discovery, which gripped those who first began to realise that here, at last, was a home for freedom.[72]

This speech rang with the hope that basic change was within American society's grasp: That a national latent poverty rate of 33% and a 20% illegitimacy rate for black mothers[73] could be removed.

The War on Poverty aimed not just to help the needy, but ultimately to reduce the numbers of those who depended on government for an acceptable standard of living. Williams and Evans[74] argue that there were two dimensions to this aim:

* The redistribution of funds and power to the disadvantaged; and
* With this redistribution, new programmes bringing meaningful gains to those in need.

To this end the War on Poverty saw the launching of programmes aimed at reforming the health, education and social service sectors, to the tune of several billion dollars. This would set the tone for welfare over the next decade, beyond the life-span of the War on Poverty itself.

Integral to these programmes was the recognition of the notion and practice of evaluation, so lacking in the New Deal programmes. This was illustrated by the amendment of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 to specifically include evaluation requirements; specifically Title I of the act required schools receiving funds under the act to evaluate their programmes annually. Responding to the requirements of the act, the schools found that the

---

72 Williams, W. & Evans, J.W. "The Politics of Evaluation: the case of head start", in P.H. Rossi and W. Williams (eds.) *Evaluating Social Programs: Theory, Practice and Politics*, New York: Seminar Press, 1972, p.249.

73 Barry, N.P. *The New Right*, London: Croom Helm, 1987, p.156.

74 Williams & Evans, *op. cit*, p.249.

"traditional" standardised test methods of evaluation were inadequate.[75] Further, the experimental type designs proved unsuitable because of the difficulty in meeting the requirements of these designs.

Social service programme users, planners, directors, and related professionals realised that the old evaluation practices no longer held true for evaluation as a whole. This helped spawn a reconceptualisation of evaluation. To this end, Metfessel, Popham, Provis, Glaser and Tyler[76] all reformulated Tyler's original approach. Wolf, Eisner, Scriven, Stufflebeam and Stake,[77] introduced approaches to evaluation which departed markedly from all previous approaches. These approaches to evaluation all grew within the

---

75 Kellaghan, T. Madaus, G. & Airasian, P. *The Effects of Standardised Testing*, Hingham: Kluwer-Nijhof Publishing, 1982.

76 For more detail on each of these see:
a) Metfessel, N.S. & Michael, W.B. "A Paradigm Involving Multiple Criterion Measures for the Evaluation of the Effectiveness of School Programmes", *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, vol.27, 1969, pp.931-941.
b) Popham, W.J. "Must all Objectives be Behavioural?", in D. Hamilton *et al*, *Beyond the Numbers Game: a reader in educational evaluation*, London: Macmillan Education Ltd, 1977, pp.53-58.
c) Provis, M. *Discrepancy Evaluation*, Berkeley: Mc Cutcheon Publishing Co., 1970.
d) Glaser, R. "Evaluation of Instruction and Changing Educational Models", in M.C. Wittrock & D.E. Wiley (eds.) *The Evaluation of Instruction Issues and Problems*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970, pp.70-86.
e) Tyler, R.W. "Changing Concepts of Educational Evaluation", in R. Tyler, R.W. Gagne and M. Scriven (eds.) *Perspectives of Curriculum Evaluation; AERA Monograph Series on Curriculum Evaluation*, No.1, Chicago: Rand McNally, 1967.

77 For more detail on each of these see:
a) Wolf, R.L. "The Use of Judicial Evaluation Methods in the Formulation of Educational Policy", in G.F. Madaus, D. Stufflebeam and M.S. Scriven (eds.) *Evaluation Models: Viewpoints on Educational and Human Services Evaluation*, Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff Publishing, 1983, pp.189-205.
b) Eisner, E.W. *The Art of Educational Evaluation: a personal view*, Barcomb: The Falmer Press, 1985.
c) Scriven, M.S. "The Methodology of Evaluation", in R. Tyler, R. Gagne and M. Scriven (eds.) *Perspectives of Curriculum Evaluation; AERA Monograph Series on Curriculum Evaluation*, No.1, Chicago: Rand McNally, 1967.
d) Stufflebeam, D.L. "The Use and Abuse of Evaluation in Title III", *Theory into Practice*, Vol.6, 1967, pp.126-133.
e) Stake, R.E. "The Countenance of Educational Evaluation", *Teacher's College Record*, 68, 1967, pp.523-540.

context of the American liberal tradition and consequently they reflect this tradition in their methods and ideology. These new approaches to evaluation were themselves not without problems. This is illustrated by the national controversy which surrounded the Westinghouse Learning Corporation-Ohio University evaluation of the $100 million Head Start programme.[78]

By 1969 Johnson's dream had ended. Williams and Evans were driven to say,

> Standing in 1969 on the battle-scared ground of the War on Poverty, it is easy to see the naïvetè and innocence of that time - scarcely half a decade ago. Events were to crash upon us quickly.[79]

There are many reasons for the end of the War on Poverty. These include the draining of funds towards Vietnam, rising inflation, the fall from glory of Keynesian economics, the national riots, the failure to bridge the gap between brilliantly conceived plans and action that works in the field, the lack of understanding by planners of what poverty was, the still emerging sophistication of evaluation approaches and the acute changes to the political culture of American liberalism.

An understanding of the interaction and relationship between the latter two factors (the emerging evaluation approaches and the acute changes to the political culture of American liberalism) is crucial in grasping the specific political and philosophical undercurrents within contemporary American evaluation approaches.

It has been stated above that American politics has been dominated by a Lockian form of liberalism. The New Deal and the War on Poverty were an expression of this liberalism; they were as much social

---

78 This evaluation suggested that Head Start was relatively ineffective in attaining its apparent aims. This unpopular conclusion resulted in the evaluation itself being questioned. See Williams & Evans, *op. cit.*, pp.247-264.

79 *ibid.*, p.249.

Figure III [83] illustrates the relationship between liberalism, epistemology and these emerging evaluation approaches.

The utilitarian based approaches are illustrated in Table IV. House[84] argues that for the decision- and the consumer-orientated approaches the concept of "utilitarianism" implies that the end for ethical conduct lies in the realisation of a specified subjective experience. Thus if one takes the term "utilitarian"[85] to describe those who regard the maximisation of happiness as the basic criterion of moral judgement, then in terms of the above approaches, external measures, such as GDP or mean test scores, may be used as indicators for happiness. These indicators should be compared to other measures generated by an evaluation. An objectivist epistemology is used in deriving these measures. Such an epistemology implies the use of concepts like validity, reliability coefficients, control of bias, intersubjectivity principles and so on. The concept of utility plays a major role in legitimising the work of these evaluators, since they can relate their work to the maximisation of social "happiness". Thus the

> Utilitarian evaluation, then, is based on a subjectivist ethic, such as maximizing a state of mind like satisfaction, but employs an objectivist epistemology in doing so. Once one has determined what is to be maximized, the methodology can then be employed objectively to allocate resources to satisfy various desires.[86]

---

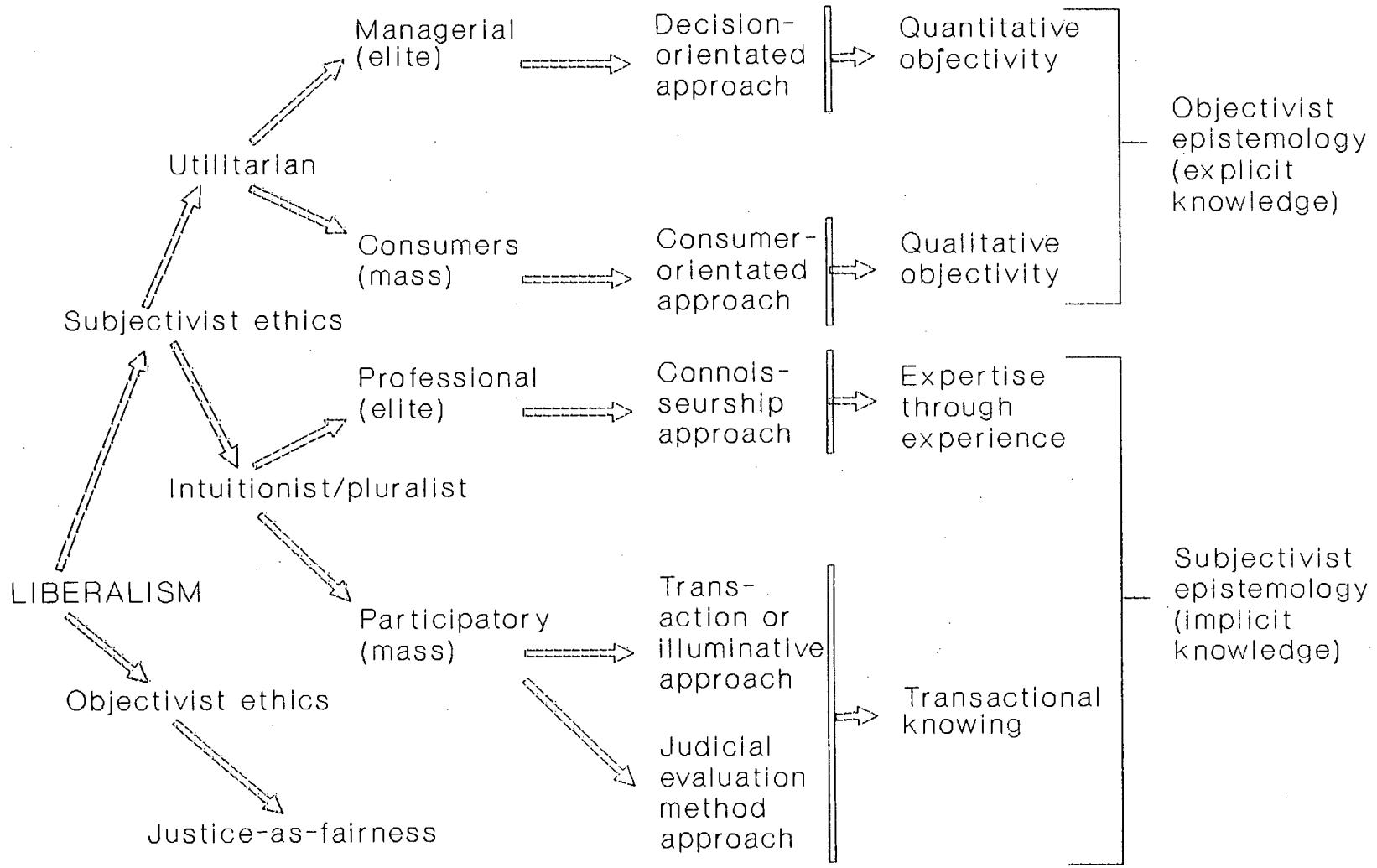
83. The format of this figure is based on House, E.R. "Assumptions underlying Evaluation Models", in G. Madaus, D. Stufflebeam and M.S. Scriven (eds.) *Evaluation Models: viewpoints on educational and human services evaluation*, Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff Publishing, 1983, p.49.

84 *ibid.*, p.49.

85 Dinwiddy, J.R. "The Classical Economists and the Utilitarians" in E.K. Bramsted and K.J. Melhuish (eds.) *Western Liberalism: a history in documents from Locke to Croce*, London: Longman, 1978, pp.12-13.

86 House, *op. cit.*, p.56.

Figure III: A Scheme Relating Evaluation Approaches to the Philosophy of Liberalism



Source: House, E.R. "Assumptions Underlying Evaluation Models", in G. Madus, et al., (eds.) *Evaluation Models*, Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff Publishing, 1983, p.49.

Utilitarians who adopt the concepts and ideals of the liberal welfare state embrace ethics and epistemology of Mills, but reject his political conclusions. Unlike Mills they argue that the state, or group, and not the individual, is able to implement the policies that will maximize people's happiness. For evaluators this means that the state or some ruling body must provide indices of effectiveness on which judgements are based. Thus the results of an evaluation are related to these indices, and from this choices are made in the general interest of a group or society.

In terms of the differences between the "elitist" and "populist" tendencies illustrated in Table IV the former (decision-orientated approach) makes its audience the administrators and managers of programmes, while the latter (consumer-orientated approach) makes the consumer the major audience, and helps to empower that audience.[87]

The intuitionist/pluralist based approaches are illustrated in Table V. The ethical principles of the intuitionist/pluralist based approaches are not explicitly defined. Rather, they consist of several principles derived from intuition and experience, with no specific criteria. House explains, "...the ultimate criteria of what is good and right are individual feelings or apprehensions".[88] For instance, within the connoisseurship approach the critic/evaluator builds up a repertoire of insights through a combination of training and experience which hones judgement. Similarly the evaluator using the transaction or illuminative approaches builds up many criteria by drawing judgements from participants in the programme. Thus the intuitionist/pluralist approaches rely on intuitive and implicit wisdom derived from experience as the basis for ethics and knowledge. This leads to the formulation of an epistemology which is radically

---

87 *ibid.*, pp.58-60.

88 *ibid.*, p.50.

Table IV: Evaluation Approaches and Philosophy of Liberalism - Utilitarian

Basic Liberal Tenets of Approaches	The principle of freedom of choice so that choice is maximised. Approaches are based on individualism. Orientation tends towards empiricism. The presumption of a free market of ideas, so that consumers can choose. Increased knowledge will make people happy or satisfied in some way.	
Utilitarian Ethics	Utilitarian ethics; the end of ethical conduct is the realisation of some type of subjective experience, such as maximising a state of mind like satisfaction.	
Utilitarian Principles and Objectivist Epistemology	For the utilitarian, knowledge is generated through state-sponsored research. On the basis of this the state will take steps to alleviate problems and increase social utility. The state supplies criteria of effectiveness on which judgements are based, so that choices can be made in the public interest. Objectivist epistemology; relies on explicit detail in defining methods which others can use. Validity is conceived as predicting one observable category from another. Thus there is a separation of the observer and "facts"; abstract theory is separated from application with prediction the goal. The use of procedures for determining intersubjectivity; objectivity is what several observers experience. The common experience makes an observation public through subjective agreement.	
Utilitarian Approaches	Decision-orientated approach; evaluation directed towards managers and administrators of programmes. Accountability, efficiency and quality control are major management concerns. Relegates decision-making to the state and not to participants. Epistemology relies on "objective" instruments like tests or questionnaires. The data analysed by quantitative techniques are also "objective in the sense that they can be verified by logical inspection regardless of who uses the methods.	Consumer-orientated approach; evaluation is directed towards consumers of a service so that they can choose between competing services or programmes. The epistemology equates objectivity with being free from bias or distortion. May or may not, use experimental designs. Also uses organisational and social devices to control bias. It is possible for a single observer to be more objective than many observers using reliable instruments.

different from that used in the utilitarian approaches. Instead of concentrating on detail which will aid others in replicating studies, the intuitionist/pluralists rely on their training and experience to find truth. Both validity and utility are defined subjectively; on personal judgement and desires. These approaches seek valid insights within the frame of reference of the evaluation audience. The evaluation is context-bound and findings are interpreted within context. The methodology reflects this philosophy, through the use of qualitative data collection and interpretation methods.[89]

The participation of diverse individuals and groups encouraged by the pluralistic principles of these approaches, has several political implications. Referring to Table IV, users of the connoisseur approach ("elitist" tendency) use their perceived "authority" in the field to assimilate their perceptions and make judgements about policies and programmes. The transaction approach[90] and judicial evaluation method fall within the "populist" tendency; the evaluator relies on the evaluation audience to participate in the evaluation process. For the transaction approach this occurs through interviews, negotiation and reading drafts of the final evaluation report. With respect to the judicial evaluation method approach the evaluation takes place through a court-like proceeding. This process implies the empowerment of the programme participants through a direct democracy, with respect to the management and control of the programme. Thus decision-making with regard to national programmes may be wrest away from formal authority like the government.[91]

---

89 *ibid.*, pp.56-58.

90 The philosophical base to the illuminative approach of Parlett *et al* can be placed with this approach.

91 House, *op. cit.*, pp.60-62.

Table V: Evaluation Approaches and Philosophy of Liberalism - Intuitionist/Pluralist

Basic Liberal Tenets of Approaches	The principle of freedom of choice so that choice is maximised. Approaches are based on an individualist psychology. Orientation tends towards empiricism. The presumption of a free market of ideas so that consumers can choose. Increased knowledge will make people happy or satisfied in some way.
Pluralist Ethics	Intuitionist/Pluralist ethics; individual feelings or apprehensions are the ultimate criteria of what is "good" and "right". Truth is relative to human nature.
Intuitionist/ Pluralist Principles and Subjectivist Episte-mology	A combination of participation, professional and scientific authority is used as an alternative to utility and as a criterion for making decisions. Principles are derived through the participation of diverse individuals and groups. Pluralistic evaluation tends to maximise local and individual choice, rather than social utility. The epistemology tends to be subjectivist; procedures to conduct an investigation are general rather than specific. The methodology tends to be naturalistic; it aims at generalisations based on the experience of the audience, is directed at non-technical audiences and uses everyday categories of events. Emphasises qualitative rather than quantitative methods. Theory and practice are blended together. Improving the understanding of particular individuals is the goal. Evaluators rely on training, experience and socialisation to ensure that truth is served. Validity is seen as relative to the condition of the human mind, either because of universal limitations on the way people think or because of personal limitations.

Intuitionist Pluralist Approaches	Connoisseurship approach; sees justice identified with the interaction of opposing individuals and groups. Professional authority makes a subjective and just decision. The evaluator seeks implicit rather than explicit knowledge. The evaluator uses a combination of observation and critical skills; collecting many conflicting perspectives and mediating them. The methods of the closed case and the use of precedent gives stability to judgements from subjective epistemology.	Transaction or illuminative approach; uses scientific authority with participation of people in a programme. The use of negotiation, interviewing and responding to drafts of the evaluation, aims to create a direct democracy among participants, the evaluator feeds information to the audience and lets them (the market) work the implications out. The flow of information will increase knowledge and thus happiness by allowing individuals to pursue their own goals.	Judicial evaluation method approach; uses scientific authority with participation of people in a programme and other specialists. Participation is encouraged by decision making operations like a mock trial. The evaluator acts as a "referee". The capacity to see competing claims as legitimate is essential to make this pluralist system work. Information gathering involves quantitative and qualitative methods, with negotiation between groups.

In summary, Sputnik and the crisis following the War on Poverty were watersheds for programme evaluation in the sense that both of these brought evaluation to the fore. At the same time, the failure of the War on Poverty represented a crisis of both policy and liberalism. The net result of this was the shattering of the illusion of the "value-freeness" of evaluation approaches and the development of several alternative approaches to evaluation.

The new evaluation approaches in combination with increased expenditure on evaluation[92] during this period stimulated debate between the emergent approaches.[93] However, the early 1970s saw this era of intense debate stabilise as the crisis worked its way through and the various evaluation approaches were tested and refined. In essence, evaluation as a practice began to mature.

4.5 The Age of Professionalisation and Methods Choices:1975-Present

The field of evaluation received a boost when Jimmy Carter's 1976 Presidential campaign promised to "Provide better value for money by spending more money - on evaluation."[94] By the end of the 1970s close to $100 million had been spent by the government on the evaluation of social and educational programmes.

During the mid 1970s House and Scriven recognised that the rewards to evaluators for producing favourable evaluation reports often outweighed the rewards for producing unfavourable reports. As Stake

---

92 Between 1969 and 1974 there was a five-fold increase in expenditure devoted by the Government to the evaluation of its programmes. Room, G. *Cross-National Innovation in Social Policy: European perspectives on the evaluation of action-research*, London: Macmillan Press, 1986, p.18.

93 In 1967 the American Educational Research Association (AERA) sponsored a monograph series on curriculum evaluation to facilitate discussion on the topic of evaluation methods. By 1973 over 200 sessions at the AERA annual meeting were related to the methods and results of programme evaluation studies. Stake, R.E. "Program Evaluation, Particularly Responsive Evaluation", in G.F. Madaus, D. Stufflebeam and M.S. Scriven (eds.) *Evaluation Models: viewpoints on educational and human services evaluation*, Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff Publishing, 1983, p.288.

94 Room, *op. cit.*, p.19.

explains

> I do not know of any evaluators who falsify their reports, but I do know many who consciously or unconsciously choose to emphasize the objectives of the program staff and to concentrate on the issues and variables most likely to show where the program is successful. I often do this myself.[95]

Thus the field of evaluation looked towards meta-evaluation as a means of assuring and checking the quality of evaluations. Meta-evaluation has been developed by key figures in the field such as Scriven, Stufflebeam and Patton.[96]

This helped force the field to forge an independent identity for itself. Much of the field's pioneering work had been carried out by teachers and university trained social scientists. Field staff and teachers in the earlier periods were not sure if evaluation should be regarded as a profession, whether it should be accorded special attention at teaching institutions, or even if there was such a thing as an evaluator.

This period saw many of these questions being addressed: A range of journals[97] associated with evaluation were begun, many books on the subject began to appear and universities offered courses in evaluation methodology. Some universities like Illinois, Stanford, Boston College, UCLA, Minnesota and Western Michigan developed graduate programmes in evaluation.[98] Several centres were established to further develop and research evaluation like the Centre for the Study of Evaluation at UCLA and the Evaluation Centre at Western

---

95 Stake, *op. cit.*, pp.289-290.

96 For more detail see:
a) Scriven, M.S. "Evaluation Bias and its Control", in G.V. Glass (ed.) *Evaluation Studies Review Annual*, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1976, pp.119-139.
b) Stufflebeam, D.L. "Meta Evaluation: an overview", *Evaluation and the Health Professions*, Vol.1, No.2, 1978.
c) Patton, M.Q. *Qualitative Evaluation Methods*, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1980, pp.93-95.

97 Journals such as *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, Studies in Evaluation, CEDR Quarterly, Evaluation Review, New Directions for Program Evaluation, Evaluation and Program Planning* and *Evaluation News*.

98 Madaus *et al*, *op. cit.*, pp.15-17.

Michigan University. States like Massachusetts and Louisiana have established policies and programmes for certifying evaluators.[99]

The field of evaluation itself has developed new methods to answer the information needs of clients, to address central value issues, deal with issues related to standards, and so on. To this end, various approaches have emerged from the previous period of debate and growth in the field. These have become established as recognised approaches to evaluation. These include: adversary-advocate teams; meta analysis; responsive evaluation; curriculum-embedded evaluations, and illuminative evaluation to name but a few.[100] Several of these approaches will be discussed in later chapters.

The net result of the emergence and establishment of many different and competing approaches to evaluation is the rise of the issue of methods and agenda choices, with evaluators having to make choices in the field about which particular evaluation approach to use. These debates are addressed more at those who have identified themselves as evaluators, than at the social science community at large. At the same time, methodological and philosophical debates which have raged through the social science community have been manifest by similar debates involving evaluation.

In the light of the development of these various approaches to evaluation, evaluators have been facing the challenge of deciding which evaluation approach and research methods are most appropriate

---

99 *ibid.*, pp.15-17.

100 See for example:
a) Stake, R.E. & Gjerde, C. "An Evaluation of T-City, the Twin City Institute for Talented Youth", in *AERA Monograph Series on Curriculum Evaluation*, No.7, Chicago: Rand McNally, 1974. pp.99-139.
b) Glass, G.V. "Primary, Secondary and Meta Analysis of Research", *Educational Researcher*, Vol.5, No.10, 1976, pp.3-8.
c) Stake, R.E. "Program Evaluation, Particularly Responsive Evaluation", in Madaus *et al*, *op. cit.*, pp.287-310.
d) Chase, F. *Educational Quandaries and Opportunities*, Dallas: Urban Education Studies, 1980.
e) Parlett, M. & Dearden, G. (eds.) *Introduction to Illuminative Evaluation: studies in higher education*, Cardiff-by-the-Sea: Pacific Soundings Press, 1977, pp.1-155.

to a given situation. There have been two aspects to this debate. The first seeks to answer the dialogue with respect to the nature of positivism and its relationship to the natural and social sciences. The second aspect revolves around what mechanism evaluators can use to choose the most appropriate evaluation approach for their evaluation and research needs.

The late 1970s saw the debate around the nature of the relationship between positivism and the social sciences come to a head with Guttentag arguing in 1977 that, "...when it is demanded that problems be forced to fit methods, rather than *vice-versa*, then the need for a paradigm shift is patently clear."[101] The philosophical origins of liberalism can partly be traced back to the early empiricists such as Thomas Hobbes. This positivistic tradition found its expression in social science research in the form of quantitative measurement as expressed by experimental design, multi-variate and statistical analysis. Filstead[102] has argued that this method made its way into social science research by way of sociologists in the early 1930s. They imitated "natural scientists" in an attempt to make sociology more respectable and sophisticated by severing its ties with the image of the "do-gooders" and social "problem-solvers". This led Lundburg and others, to develop the theoretical, methodological and conceptual schemes of neo-positivism. Thus the shift from armchair theorising to empirical research began on the basis that the natural science approach was the only suitable way for the sociological investigation of reality. This formed the basis for the early evaluation work of Lindiquist, Stanley and Campbell discussed in 4.1. However this "hypothetico-deductive paradigm"[103] presented a dilemma

---

101 Room, *op. cit.*, p.23.

102 Filstead, W.J. "Introduction", in W.J. Filstead (ed) *Qualitative Methodology: firsthand involvement with the social world*, Chicago: Markham Publishing Company, 1970, pp.2-4.

103 Patton, *op. cit.*, p.19.

which Irwin Deutscher has summarised: That in

> ...attempting to assume the stance of a physical science, we have...assumed its epistemology, its assumptions about the nature of knowledge and the appropriate means of knowing, including the rules of scientific evidence...One of the consequences of using the natural science model was to break down human behavior in a way that was not artificial but which did not jibe with the manner in which the behavior was observed.[104]

The recognition of this dilemma led social science researchers to identify two profound limitations to the hypothetico-deductive paradigm. The first is that the experimental approach to research is based upon the notions of control, classification and interpretation of data with respect to hypothesis. The use of this approach implies the acceptance of the "natural" science epistemology, its assumptions about the nature of knowledge and the rules of "scientific" evidence. As Morphet explained, this assumes that small sections of "social reality" can be isolated. That it

> ...may be a classroom, a factory, a social group or whatever, but the experimental approach will only work if it can be maintained that the conditions operating within the experimental or test situation can be separated from conditions which impinge upon that local arena from outside. As social research has proceeded this has proved less and less possible.[105]

Social science researchers have recognised that powerful forces beyond the test domain sometimes act on it and its subjects. Thus circumstances external to the observed conditions can leave the study invalid. The second issue relates to the notion of "objectivity" which pervades the "natural" sciences. The work of Heisenberg in the field of particle physics revealed that it is not possible to state the exact coordinates of the electrons in atoms, it is only possible to predict where they will be within a certain probability. Thus for the nuclear physicist this means that it is not possible to simultaneously determine the velocity and momentum of an electron.

---

104 Deutcher, I. "Words and Deeds: social science and social research", in W.J. Filstead (ed.) *Qualitative Methodology: firsthand involvement with the social world*, Chicago: Markham Publishing Company, 1970, p.35.

105 Morphet, A.R. "Seminar on Research Methods: action-research", in M.B. Steinberg and S.E. Philcox (eds.) *Research Methods for Higher Degrees*, Cape Town: University of Cape Town, 1983, p.95.

This observation by Heisenberg has placed important limits on the notion of "scientific objectivity". Similarly social scientists have come to realise that procedures like random surveys, pre- and post-tests on control and experimental groups, and so on, have not escaped the issue of scientific objectivity: The researcher's assumptions are built into hypotheses and research designs, thus shaping the results. This means that instead of addressing questions around the issues of reliability and validity, the researcher should rather understand what is perceived from the standpoint of the researcher. As Mbilinyi, *et al*, explain

> ...the methodology is not only important in defining how the research investigation is carried out but also has a bearing on what instruments are used, and how the findings are interpreted. The methodology used determines the very questions to be posed, or issues to be investigated. This also means that the 'facts' which are produced are produced within a given methodology and can't be considered as external.[106]

These two insights into the limits of the hypothetico-deductive paradigm have taught social scientists to identify these limits and to use other research methods to neutralise and avoid these weaknesses.

Evaluators using qualitative based approaches, i.e. those coming from the pluralist/intuitionist perspective discussed earlier such as Wolf's judicial method, Eisner's connoisseurship approach, Stake's transaction approach and the illuminative approach of Parlett *et al* have recognised the relative weakness of the quantitative methodology. They have accordingly developed appropriate qualitative approaches to help circumvent these limitations. Patton recognised that as evaluators began to use qualitative approaches, so the field became embroiled in debates about which approaches were the best. He

---

106 Mbilinyi, *et al*, quoted by Walters, S. "Participatory Research - Issues and Questions: a working paper", in M.B. Steinberg and S.E. Philcox (eds.) *Research Methods for Higher Degrees*, Cape Town: University of Cape Town, 1983, p.105.

argues that the debate cannot be resolved and that a new "paradigm" should be identified; the paradigm of choices.[107]

The paradigm of choices recognises that different methods or approaches are appropriate for different situations: No single approach is able to address all possible research and evaluation needs. This paradigm allows the evaluator to escape the limitations imposed by the adherence to a specific approach to evaluation. Inherent in this concept of a "paradigm of choices" is the notion of what Patton calls "mixed paradigms".[108] This is illustrated in Figure VI. For Patton, an evaluator is expected to be able to use many research methods like secondary data analysis, analysis of quantitative and qualitative data, cost-benefit analysis, standardised tests, experimental designs, participant observation and so on. In this context, according to Patton, the evaluator is expected to create a unique "mix" to meet specific needs when drawing on a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods. The particular combination is used uniquely by the evaluator to produce results which are valid and reliable.[109] Thus, in employing the "paradigm of choices" and "mixed paradigms" the evaluator, Patton argues, must recognise that the choice of evaluation methods is an issue of strategy; the best strategy is the one which matches research methods to the evaluation questions being asked.

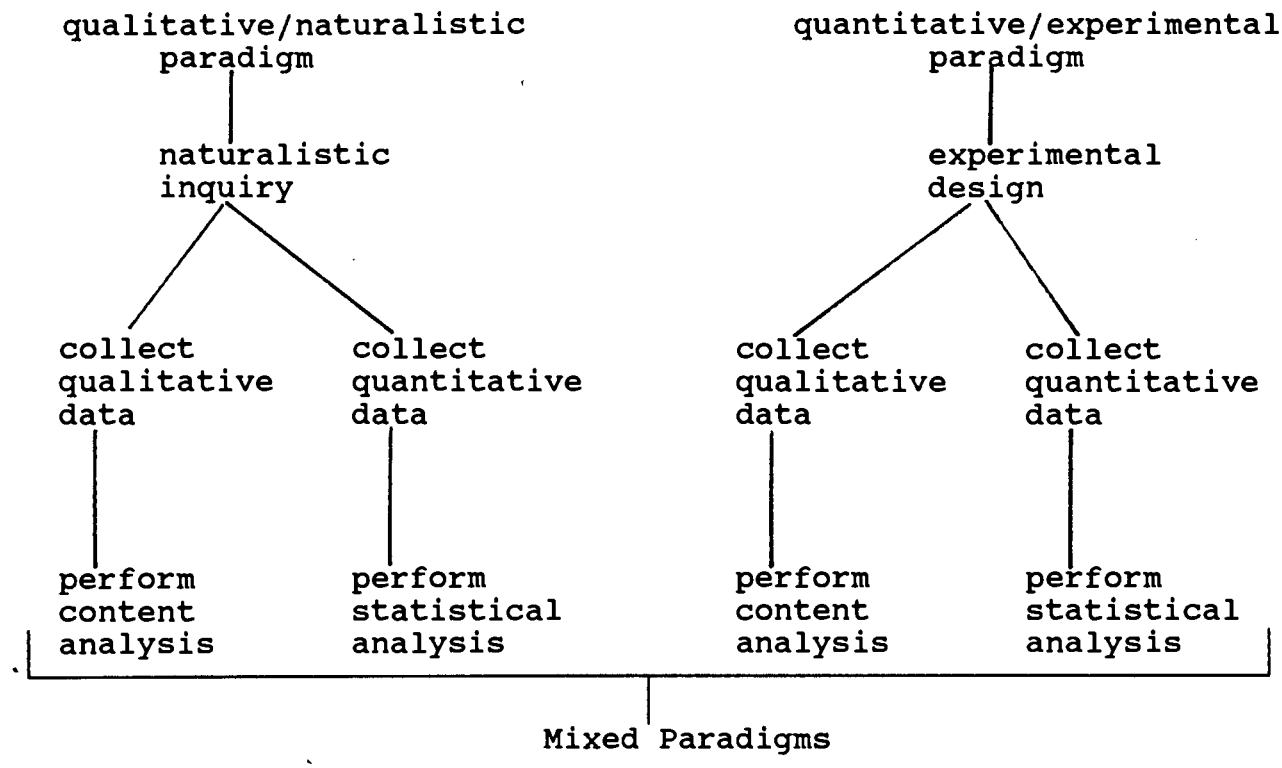
---

107 Patton uses Kuhn's notion of "paradigm" in an uncritical way, without reference to the controversy which this concept has invoked. Patton, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-20

108 *ibid.*, pp.108-117.
The concept of "mixed paradigms" is based on three assumptions:
* The methodological practices of evaluators can be described along a series of dimensions whose polar ends constitute the characteristics of ideal-type qualitative/naturalistic and quantitative/experimental paradigms;
* It is possible to combine various elements of the paradigms and various components of methods, measurement and analysis along the different dimensions used to describe and contrast the paradigms; and
* There are inherent conflicts between certain elements and aspects of certain methods. It is not possible to simultaneously conduct a goal-free and goal-based evaluation on the same programme at the same time.

109 *ibid.* pp.17-20.

Figure VI: Measurement, Design and Analysis: Mixed Paradigms



Source: Patton, M.Q. *Qualitative Evaluation Methods*, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1980, p.114.

Reichardt and Cook challenge this approach to choosing methods in evaluation research. They argue that conceptions, such as that forwarded by Patton

> ...create(s) the impression that the researcher must not only choose a method because of an allegiance to a paradigm [i.e., the methods and paradigms are irrevocably linked] but must also choose *between* the qualitative and quantitative paradigms because those are the only choices available.[110]

Patton vehemently denies that he is still only offering evaluators two exclusive options; either qualitative methods or quantitative methods.[111] In the ensuing debate, Reichardt and Cook make a crucial point which Patton is unable to address adequately. Reichardt and

---

110 Reichardt, C.S. & Cook, T.D. "Beyond Qualitative Versus Quantitative Methods", in T.D. Cook & C.S. Reichardt (eds.) *Qualitative and Quantitative Methods in Evaluation Research*, New York: Sage, 1979, p.18.

111 Patton, M.Q. "Making Methods Choices", *Evaluation and Program Planning*, Vol.3, 1980, pp.218-232.

Cook agree with Patton that the choice of evaluation approach and research method is an issue of strategy and that the optimum strategy is the one which best matches research methods to evaluation questions. They go on to agree that in the light of this, the challenge facing the evaluator is to decide which evaluation approach and research methods are most appropriate to a given situation. They then go one step further and argue that Patton's concepts of "utilization-focussed evaluation" and "mixed paradigms" are not enough to help evaluators with the key question of *how* to make that choice in a context where the choices of evaluation approach, field strategy and research method are almost limitless.

Reichardt and Cook point out that there are strategies which can aid the evaluator make the best choice of combinations. They assert that this question of how to make this choice is difficult because

> ...[1] limited resources force hard trade-offs between methods especially in evaluations which seek to answer multiple questions, and (2) because the past theory of fit between questions and methods has become blurred in recent years making the rules for method choices less clear cut.[112]

In answering this "how" question they develop three integrated elements:

* Identifying question and method types;
* Blurring of the fit between question and method types; and
* Recognising the strengths and limitations provided by the context of the evaluation.

4.5.1 Identifying Question and Method Types.

Reichardt and Cook argue that it is not possible to list all the potential questions of interest to evaluation. Instead they have categorised the most common questions.[113] Thus certain question topics give rise to certain research questions. Table VII lists these question types.

---

112 Reichardt, C.S. & Cook, T.D. "'Paradigms Lost': some thoughts on choosing methods in evaluation research", *Evaluation and Program Planning*, Vol.3, 1980, p.233.

113 Reichardt & Cook, op. cit., p.233.

Table VII: A Table of Question Types.

Question Topics	Research Questions
1) Audience or clients of a programme	Size of audience; demographics; degree of overlap between the audience reached and the intended audience.
2) The implementation of services	Description of the quality and quantity of services; identifying how service delivery is influenced by the context; elucidating ways in which the delivery of services can be made more efficient.
3) Casual impact	Intended and unintended effects of a programme on clients and communities; the differential impact of programme on different kinds of clients; difference in the effectiveness of alternative services or deliveries.
4) Processes that mediate a casual relationship between a programme and its effects.	Reasons why a programme may have produced or failed to produce a particular effect; specifying the chain of events in this effect process.
5) Do questions need to be discovered more urgently than they need to be presumed?	This dimension cuts across the above question types to emphasise that within each question topic one can be concerned with uncovering new questions as well as with answering pre-specified ones.

Source: Reichardt, C.S. & Cook, T.D. "'Paradigms Lost': some thoughts in choosing methods in evaluation research", *Evaluation and Program Planning*, Vol.3, 1980, p.233.

According to Reichardt and Cook the research methods used in answering these questions may be divided into five types.[114] For them the use of one of these "method types" does not preclude the simultaneous use of the other method types within a research design. Their "method types" are:

* **Open ended in-depth interviews**, focusing on the perceptions and reactions of samples of clients, service providers, administrators and the like;
* **Sample survey**, usually characterised by a formal theory of sampling and the use of close ended questionnaires;
* **Case study or a set of conceptually related case studies**, involving the protracted on-site observation of programme activities. This

114 This has been summarised from Reichardt & Cook. *ibid.*, pp.233-234.

also entails examining programme records, conducting interviews and so on;

* **Randomised experiments and their quasi-experimental derivatives**, designed to guide casual inferences using knowledge of when observations were made, how the subjects were exposed to different treatments, and so on; and
* **The econometric analysis of programmes**, operations, contextual variables, inputs and outputs using data from surveys and records.

4.5.2 Blurring of the Fit Between Question and Method Types.

In introducing their argument Reichardt and Cook maintain that "At one time in evaluation's history, even during much of the 1970s, it might have been possible to maintain a tidy but illusory theory of the fit between question and method types."[115] They assert that evaluators can no longer state that certain research methods are most suited to answering certain research questions. They maintain that there are two reasons for this:[116]

* Firstly, experience has taught evaluators to lower their expectations about how well particular types of methods answer the questions for which they were thought best; and
* Secondly, research methods originally thought best for one purpose were being considered and used for other purposes.

They argue that research methods have to be chosen because of what they can do practically in a research setting, not because of what they can do in the abstract. For instance, with reference to experimental procedures, they note that "The rigor of a method for causal inference depends on the method's ability to rule out threats to validity in specific research settings, not on any inherent qualities that the method is assumed to hold in the abstract."[117]

---

115 *ibid.*, p.234.

116 *ibid.*, p.234.

117 *ibid.*, p.234.

Taking this even further, they explore the overlapping capabilities of methods and suggest that "...all the major method types can be at least partly relevant for all major question types."[118]. They draw two conclusions: First, is that in research and evaluation practice there has been a move away from unrealistic expectations about the adequacy of specific methods to fulfil the functions with which they have been most commonly (and strongly) associated. Secondly that there has been a trend away from an orientation that made methods unique in their function.

As a result, there has been a decrease in confidence in research and evaluation methods and a convergence in the types of function that each method is thought to be able to produce; in other words, a blurring of the fit between question and method types.

4.5.3 Recognising the Strengths and Limitations Provided by the Context of the Evaluation.

The specific research and evaluation methods chosen by evaluators are mediated by the context in which the evaluation occurs. The context includes, limited resources (time, budget and personnel), research constraints (of ethics, politics, institutions and research training), research question priorities, prior knowledge of the particular research environment and the evaluator's previous experience in the field.

For Reichardt and Cook the evaluator has to juggle the various issues at hand, to come to an adequate research and evaluation design. These issues are those revealed through the process of identifying question and method types, recognising the blurring of the fit between question and method types and identifying and acting upon the constraints and opportunities presented by the context in which the evaluation occurs. In this regard, a useful tool in this process of juggling (not discussed by Reichardt and Cook) is the use of the game theory concepts of "minimax" and "maximin". Minimax refers to

---

118 *ibid.*, p.234.

decisions aimed at minimising the maximum loss, while maximin refers to decisions aimed at maximising the minimum gain. According to game theory, it is possible to achieve and maximise either of these states, but it is not possible to achieve both these states simultaneously. Thus by deciding which state is more desirable, minimax or maximin, it is possible to devise criteria which will assist in this "juggling" process.

4.6 Summary

This chapter has explored the links between history, philosophy and evaluation. It has also exposed evaluation approaches themselves as being value laden.

The roots of the Tylerian (or objectives) approach to programme evaluation can be traced to the earliest forms of "modern" structured evaluations such as Horace Mann's performance testing in 1845. Nearly a century later, Tyler perfected his approach to evaluation. The New Deal programmes of the 1930s represented the first major social intervention of the emergent welfare state. The important feature of this period is that the philosophical project of empiricism interacted with the technical needs of educational evaluation to create the first curriculum evaluation, in the form of a *seemingly* "value-free" approach to evaluation.

The War on Poverty came out of the heart of the liberal tradition, and represented American liberalism's greatest project. Consequently, the failure of the War on Poverty to reach its goals represented both the failure of policy and the failure of American liberalism itself. The recognition of this failure plunged policy and liberalism into a crisis affecting the formal political arena, administrators, planners, field workers, evaluators, and so on. For evaluators this ideological and programmatic crisis spawned a reconceptualisation of evaluation. Consequently, inherent within the emergent evaluation approaches was the specific political and theoretical reformulation

of liberalism attempting to address this crisis. In this sense the new evaluation approaches emerged with a particular value laden persona. The disparity between the various strands are expressed on one level in the differences between the utilitarian and intuitionist/pluralist persuasions and on another level between the elite and populist positions within each persuasion.

This discussion has placed these emergent evaluation approaches within an historical, philosophical and political context. Later chapters will continue to explore these evaluation approaches and are based upon this discussion.

The next chapter will discuss selected evaluation approaches.

CHAPTER FIVE

CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF EVALUATION MODELS

The mid to late 1960s saw socio-economic, political and philosophical currents interact in a fashion which changed American human service delivery and evaluation. These changes were expressed as a demand for greater accountability and improved evaluation of programmes in the fields of education and social welfare. Simultaneously educators and evaluators began to re-examine traditional evaluation approaches. The outcome of this was a critical reappraisal of the objectives-based studies as formulated by Ralph Tyler and others[119] and development of new innovative approaches to evaluation which could better answer the demands of accountability and modern welfare programme management.

This chapter identifies, introduces and critically discusses five of the evaluation approaches developed during this period.

5.1 Evaluation Approaches Identified

Many evaluation approaches currently in use are relatively new and the field is still expanding. This is illustrated by the fact that different commentators class approaches differently; Stufflebeam and

---

119 Such as:
a) Smith, E.R. & Tyler, R.W. *Appraising and Recording Student Progress*, New York: Harper & Row, 1942.
b) Tyler, R.W. *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950.
c) R.W. Tyler, R. Gagne & M.S. Scriven (eds.), *Perspectives of Curriculum Evaluation; AERA Monograph Series on Curriculum Evaluation*, No.1, Chicago: Rand McNally, 1967.

Webster[120] identify 13 types of evaluation, House[121] identifies eight, and Stake[122] nine. To complicate matters, evaluators, educators and academics have used different titles to identify the same evaluation approaches. Two examples illustrate this point:

* Stufflebeam and Webster refer to Eisner's approach as a "Connoisseur-based Study"[123] while House calls the approach "Art Criticism";[124] and
* Stufflebeam and Webster call Cronbach and Stufflebeam's approaches "Decision-orientated Studies"[125], while Stufflebeam and Shinkfield do not place Cronbach and Stufflebeam's approaches together under the same conceptual heading. They also call Stufflebeam's approach "Improvement-oriented Evaluation".[126]

This results in a muddle about the meaning of any one particular label. To exacerbate this problem there is no commonly accepted definition of evaluation.

The definition of evaluation used in this study has been discussed in Chapter three (3.1.1). This definition is similar to that used by

---

120 Stufflebeam, D.L. & Webster, W.J. "An Analysis of Alternative Approaches to Evaluation", in G.F. Madaus, D. Stufflebeam and M.S. Scriven (eds.) *Evaluation Models: viewpoints on educational and human services evaluation*, Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff Publishing, 1983, pp.23-43.

121 House, E.R. "Assumptions Underlying Evaluation Models", in G.F. Madaus, D. Stufflebeam and M.S. Scriven (eds.) *Evaluation Models: viewpoints on educational and human services evaluation*, Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff Publishing, 1983, pp.45-64.

122 Stake, R.E. "Programme Evaluation, Particularly Responsive Evaluation", in G.F. Madaus, D. Stufflebeam and M.S. Scriven (eds.) *Evaluation Models: viewpoints on educational and human services evaluation*, Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff Publishing, 1983, pp.287-310.

123 Stufflebeam & Webster, *op. cit.*, pp.39-40.

124 House, *op. cit.*, p.48.

125 Stufflebeam & Webster, *op. cit.*, pp.39-40.

126 For further discussion of this see: Stufflebeam, D.L. & Shinkfield, A.J. *Systematic Evaluation: a self-instructional guide to theory and practice*, Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff Publishing, 1985, pp.115-206.

Stufflebeam and Webster[127] in their characterisation and assessment of the most important evaluation types. In using this definition it is possible to discount seven of the 13 evaluation types (identified by Stufflebeam and Webster) because they are either:

a) Pseudo-evaluations; "Studies that promote a positive or negative view of an object irrespective of its worth"[128]; or
b) Quasi-evaluations; "Studies that address specified questions whose answers may or may not assess an object's worth".[129]

This leaves six evaluation types which conform to the definition of evaluation in 3.1.1. Stufflebeam and Webster's assessment of the evaluation types combine evaluation types aimed at purely "education evaluation" with approaches meant for both "educational" and other human services contexts. For the purposes of analysis, only evaluation types which can be used in human service organisations for programme evaluation will be discussed here.

Based on the foregoing elimination it is possible to identify five study types. Within each study type, one evaluation approach will be discussed. The study types and related evaluation approaches are:

1) Decision-oriented Studies - Decision-orientated Approach
2) Connoisseur-based Studies - Connoisseurship Approach
3) Policy Studies - Judicial Evaluation Method Approach
4) Consumer-oriented Studies - Consumer-oriented Approach
5) Client-centered Studies - Illuminative Approach

5.2 Decision-oriented Studies - Decision-orientated Approach

The launching of Sputnik I by Soviet scientists in 1957, galvanised Americans into a race to produce more and better linguists, scientists, physicists, and so on. To this end the government enacted

---

127 Stufflebeam & Webster, *op. cit.*, p.24.

128 *ibid.*, p.37.

129 *ibid.*, p.38.

the National Defence Education Act of 1958. The Act provided for the establishment of curriculum development programmes, counselling programmes and guidance programmes. Evaluators, like Cronbach, were involved in the evaluation of these programmes. In 1963 Cronbach expressed his concern about evaluation approaches in use at the time. He felt that they did not answer the questions they were meant to, and did not help decision-makers. Later Stufflebeam came to the same conclusions through his experiences in evaluating educational programmes. Although Cronbach and Stufflebeam did not work together, and came from different theoretical positions, they ended up at the same point: finding ways of evaluating projects so that the evaluations could aid decision-making. Cronbach did much of the pioneering and theoretical work of this approach. Through the CIPP, Stufflebeam took his notions and converted them into an effective approach.

5.2.1 Methodology of the Decision-oriented Approach

The decision-orientated approach described here represents a combination of the work of both Cronbach and Stufflebeam. For Cronbach, an evaluation has a political function. Thus it should be well planned so that it can withstand the challenges that such an evaluation will inevitably elicit. To meet this challenge the evaluator needs to be able to reflect on the questions and methods employed, so that external and credible analysis can be made. For Cronbach no one person has the depth of knowledge and experience to make all the judgements needed for designing and interpreting an evaluation: This task demands a team. The methods used by the evaluating team should include quantitative and qualitative designs:

> The best design is one that promises to increase the social benefit from the evaluation...Social institutions learn from experience, and so do programme clients and political constituencies. Evaluation...is intended to speed up the learning process by communicating what otherwise might be overlooked or wrongly perceived.[130]

Armed with Cronbach's view of evaluative research this discussion now turns to Stufflebeam's methodology.

---

130 Stufflebeam & Shinkfield, *op. cit.*, p.118.

In 1966 Stufflebeam redefined evaluation, and in so doing managed to encapsulate what Cronbach had been saying. He defined evaluation as, "...a process of providing useful information for decision making."[131] To this end he created the CIPP approach. CIPP[132] is an acronym for Context evaluation, Input evaluation, Process evaluation, and Product evaluation. CIPP can be used either in a formative or proactive role to aid decision-making or it can be used in a summative or retroactive role to aid accountability. The focus here will be on its formative role.

The CIPP approach applies a systems approach[133] to human services: it does not concentrate on guiding individual study but on providing an overall management frame-work for the conduct of programme evaluation. Thus "...[CIPP] is intended to promote growth and to help the responsible leadership and staff of an institution to obtain and use feedback systematically so as to excel in meeting important needs."[134] Each aspect of the system calls upon constituent parts of the CIPP. For the sake of clarity each part of the CIPP will be explained individually:[135]

* *Context evaluation*: identifies the strengths and weaknesses of a programme and gives an indication of the direction to follow in improving the programme. Also it should examine whether the existing goals and priorities are in tune with the needs of the client community;
* *Input evaluation*: helps prescribe a programme which results in needed changes through searching for and critically examining

---

131 *ibid.*, p.155.

132 *ibid.*, p.156.

133 Gibson, J.L., Ivancevich, J.M. & Donnelly, J.H., *Organizations: behavior, structure, process*, Plano: Business Publications Inc., 1985, pp.30-33.

134 Stufflebeam & Shinkfield, *op. cit.*, p.166.

135 The description of these concepts is a summary of Stufflebeam & Shinkfield, *op. cit.*, pp.169-178.

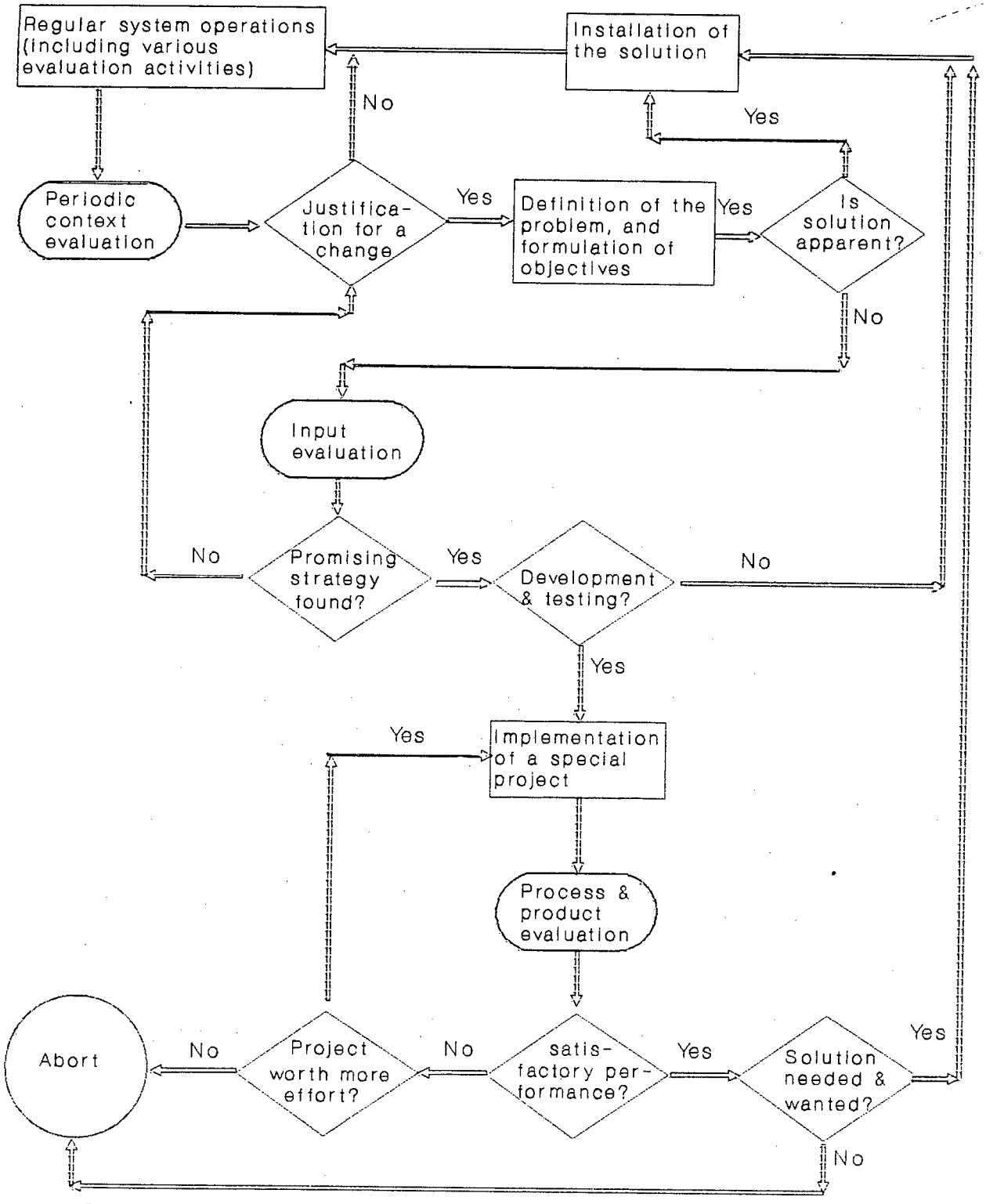
potential solutions. This process is important because a change in a programme implies a re-allocation of resources. Furthermore, planners need to know all the possible merits or otherwise of a proposed change so that outcomes can be anticipated;

* *Process evaluation*: checks the implementation of the plan. There are four objectives in this. Firstly, to give feedback to managers and staff about the extent to which the programme changes are being followed. Secondly, to guide changes and modifications to the programme as the need arises. Thirdly, to check to what degree programme participants are willing and able to carry out their roles. Finally, the compilation of a record of all the aspects and debates followed in the programme as it was implemented; and
* *Product evaluation*: measures, interprets and judges the achievements of the programme. The objective is to find out to what extent the programme has met the needs of its client group. This means consultation with stakeholders, experts in the field, policy makers, and so on.

For all the above stages, Stufflebeam has suggested a number of broad methods, leaving the final decision of which approach to use up to the evaluator.

Figure VIII illustrates the systems and decision-making orientation of this approach. The chart begins in the top left-hand corner with the organisation engaging in its usual evaluation methods. The organisation engages in a *context evaluation* as has been described above. The context evaluation should produce a decision about changing the programme or not. If change is wanted, then the staff would clarify the problem/s to be addressed and formulate objectives, where these objectives would be part of the solution. If a satisfactory solution were found then it would be implemented. However, if there was no obvious solution then an *input evaluation* would be conducted. The results of the input evaluation would be used to decide if a promising solution has been found. If no such solution had been found, then the staff would assess if the problem justified further research for a solution. If the solution seems promising, it

Figure VIII: The Role of CIPP Evaluation in Effecting System Improvement



Source: Stufflebeam, D.L. "The CIPP Model for Programme Evaluation" in Madus, Stufflebeam & Scriven (eds.), 1983, p.126.

would be appraised to see if it needs further development and testing. Assuming the proposed solution needs testing, a special project would be established to test the solution. After a time the test project would be subject to *process* and *product evaluations*. From this a decision would be made with respect to its relative success. If the test project was considered a failure it would be aborted. However, if it were found a success, and it still represented a desirable solution, then it would be implemented. This takes us back to the beginning of the cycle.

In summary, the methodology of the decision-making approach means that evaluations have to be carefully planned and designed so that they can be defended against criticism. The evaluations must be part of the administrative system of the organisation, and conducted in this context. Finally, methods used for the evaluation must produce results which will aid decision-making in the organisation.

5.2.2 Advantages of the Decision-oriented Approach

There are five advantages to this combination of Cronbach and Stufflebeam's approaches. Firstly, the approach is meant to aid decision-making. This gives it an immediate focus and direction for users. This focus is particularly useful when those initiating the evaluation are not sure what to expect from the evaluation endeavour. Secondly, the recognition that evaluation serves a political function means that users will treat it as such. This prevents a naïve impression of what it will entail for participants. However, this realisation of evaluation's political concern, does not mean that it will resolve political conflict: the reverse might occur. Thirdly, the systems orientation of CIPP emphasises that evaluation is an integral part of an institution's management; the implementation of CIPP places it within the pattern of formal and informal evaluations in an organisation. Thus evaluation is conceived as part of an organisation's functioning, and is not seen as an activity which happens when a force, such as demands by funders, specifically demand an evaluation. Fourthly, the CIPP approach emphasises that the

development of new programmes should include the provision for their ongoing evaluation once they have been installed. Thus it's possible to design systems in a new programme which will automatically yield information useful for checking progress. Finally, if the users of the CIPP approach record the process they have followed and make it available for public view, then it can become a tool for accountability of decisions to continue or abort programmes.

5.2.3 Disadvantages of the Decision-oriented Approach

There are several disadvantages to this approach. Firstly, the focus on decision-making and improvement is a double-edged sword. The approach is ideologically biased towards decision makers in organisations, especially those which use autocratic management styles. This serves to make this already powerful grouping even more powerful. This is underlined by only decision makers having the power to make the required allocations from the budget to finance such a study. Thus the views of those who are not decision-makers will only be heard at the discretion of the decision-makers. Secondly, the approach assumes that an organisation will have a large budget, support personnel with a high level of technical expertise and sophisticated administrative systems, consistent with the type found in a large organisation. Thus organisations that are small and/or have budget constraints and/or use crisis management techniques cannot make full use of this approach. Thirdly, too much trust is put in the evaluation staff to use the best methodology. Cronbach suggests possible methods for different evaluations. But he does not examine these methods in depth and views them in an uncritical manner. For instance, he suggests that the advocacy team method be used for input evaluation. Yet he does not indicate the possible pitfalls involved in this methodology.

5.2.4 Discussing the Decision-oriented Approach

On the whole this approach has a great deal to recommend it. Unlike the other approaches discussed here, the decision-oriented approach locates evaluation in the administrative process of an organisation.

This makes evaluation part of the life of the organisation, (just as budgeting is) and not just a special activity which occurs from time to time. The approach is open to abuse through autocratic management techniques, but at the same time it has enormous potential in organisations attempting to practise democratic management. In this situation, the decision-oriented approach can empower members by illustrating what a particular type of evaluation is attempting to achieve, and where this fits in with the activities and goals of the programme.

The systems orientation of this approach means that it must be part of other systems. Small organisations which work under a great deal of pressure and do not have a large staff do not usually have sophisticated management systems in place for the CIPP to become part of. A possible outcome of this is that the CIPP could be used as a catalyst for an organisation to build an integrated administrative system.

5.3 Connoisseur-based Studies - The Connoisseurship Approach

In 1966 Eisner presented a paper to the fiftieth annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association. The paper took a critical view of the then dominant[136] objectives type studies favoured by the likes of Tyler[137], Herrick[138] and Bloom[139]. Following from this understanding of past evaluation approaches, and his own experiences as a painter, commercial artist, and as one interested in

---

136 Three years previously Cronbach had written his critique of the Tylerian-based approaches with their distraction for measurement and objectification.

137 Tyler, R.W. *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950.

138 Herrick, V.E. "The Concept of Curriculum Design", in V.E. Herrick and R.W. Tyler (eds.) *Towards Improved Curriculum Theory*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950, pp.37-50.

139 Bloom, B.S., Englehart, M.D., Furst, E.J., Hill, W.H. & Krathwohl, D.R. (eds.) *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives, Handbook 1: the cognitive domain*, New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1956.

art, Eisner formulated a new approach to programme evaluation. He synthesised concepts which recognise that education and human service delivery should be seen as human endeavours which need to be understood through the eyes of the sensitised critic who can recognise and appreciate the art of the process.

His approach is based on two concepts[140]: Educational connoisseurship (the art of appreciation) and educational criticism (the art of disclosure). For Eisner, like Stufflebeam, the focus of evaluation should be both the context and the product of the project so that practice can be improved. Eisner believes the evaluator must pursue methodologies based in the arts in order to capture these elements in an evaluation. Thus Eisner puts words and concepts to the "common sense" notion that programmes and human interaction in the human services rely as much on experience, perceptions and comprehension of staff and programme participants, as on practical "studied" methods.

Philip Taylor expresses the spirit of Eisner's approach when quoting William James, saying

> ...you make a great, a very great mistake, if you think that psychology, being the science of the mind's laws, is something from which you can deduce definite programmes and schedules and methods of instruction for immediate schoolroom use. Psychology is a science, and teaching is an art: and sciences never generate arts out of themselves.[141]

5.3.1 Methodology of the Connoisseurship Approach

For Eisner, teaching is an activity which draws on the "artist" in the teacher. The teacher however, participates a process of education which varies from context to context. Thus this approach concentrates on the context. Within this scheme, theory has the role of enhancing the artistry the teacher brings to bear on the context. Theory "...does not replace intelligence and perception and action, it

---

140 Eisner, E.W. *The Art of Educational Evaluation: a personal view*, Barcombe: The Falmer Press, 1985, p.105.

141 Taylor, P. "Foreword", in E.W. Eisner, *The Art of Educational Evaluation: a personal view*, Barcombe: The Falmer Press, 1985, p.vii.

provides some of the windows through which intelligence can look..."[142]

The two concepts at the centre of this approach are educational connoisseurship and educational criticism:

* **Educational connoisseurship** is defined as the art of appreciation. To be a connoisseur, the evaluator must be informed about the qualities of the context being viewed. The evaluator must be able to draw upon "...a gustatory, visual and kinesthetic memory against which the particulars of the present may be placed for purposes of comparison and contrast."[143] Connoisseurship does not mean the evaluator has to like what he/she sees; rather to understand and be aware of what has been experienced; and
* **Educational criticism** is defined as the art of disclosure. The aim of the critic is to comprehend what has been viewed and experienced in the same way that the connoisseur understands, and to explain so that others can enter the world of the connoisseur: "Its aim is to lift the veils that keep the eyes from seeing by providing the bridge needed by others to experience the qualities and relationships within some arena of activity."[144]

These concepts rest on the following assumptions:[145]

* If an observer is able to describe the characteristics of a complex milieu, then they must be able to see the interactions between these characteristics;
* Seeing these characteristics, assumes an ability to grasp significant and salient features;
* Such situations can be described through a variety of writing styles and media presentations;

---

142 Eisner, *op. cit.*, pp.91-92.

143 *ibid.*, p.92.

144 *ibid.*, p.105.

145 *ibid.*, p.180.

* All the above ways of presentation have their own advantages and disadvantages; and
* The use of critical narrative will benefit the audience to which it is directed.

Educational criticism, unlike connoisseurship, is a public activity in that an audience consumes a report. The focus of the report depends on the following factors:

* Prefigured criticism, where the focus has been determined by the clients requesting the evaluation;
* Emergent criticism, where the critic is not given a focus and thus discerns the focus for him or herself; and
* The particular type of audience the report is directed at. For instance the needs of funders are different to the needs of administrators.

The report reflects the descriptive, interpretative and judgmental aspects of educational criticism:

* The descriptive aspect involves the writer describing the site or event to help others understand;
* The interpretative aspect involves the interpreting of what has been seen into theoretical constructs; and
* The judgmental aspect deals with making of judgements about what has been described and interpreted.[146]

In summary, this approach sees the evaluator as an art critic with finely tuned perceptive skills. The evaluator's task is to translate what is observed, into interpretation and judgement to facilitate decision making.

5.3.2 Advantages of the Connoisseurship Approach

There are several advantages to this approach. Firstly, the approach is case-intensive and captures the most subtle of nuances and shifts in mood. This can present the evaluation audience with quality

---

146 *ibid.*, p.182-183.

information which can allow them to make the best judgements. This is especially important for projects where it may be difficult to measure process or outcomes. Secondly, this approach intends to provide feedback for decision making which will improve standards. Decision-makers are seen as those who requested the evaluation, be they the funders, management, clients or stakeholders. Thus the approach escapes the trap of defining decision-makers in management terms.

5.3.2 Disadvantages of the Connoisseurship Approach

Eisner's approach is vulnerable to attack in several areas. Firstly, with respect to the reliability and validity of observations, the reader of a report has no way of knowing the specific bias of the critic. The approach relies on the view of a person with no hidden agendas or axes to grind. A critic could carry out a character assassination on an organisation, or person, through a combination of selective viewing and skilful writing. Secondly, how does the consumer of the report know if the critic has in fact identified and focused on the correct issues? This question is particularly apt if the critic uses a process of emergent criticism. Thirdly, there is the problem of the generalisation of the findings or conclusions. This is a problem faced by all case-intensive approaches. This is an issue for the person wanting to compare evaluations of similar organisations. With this method it is not possible to make general statements about evaluations of particular types of organisations. Fourthly, there is no attempt to deal with the issues of power and trust. Lord Acton's statement to the effect that power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely, may be cynical, but there is a grain of truth in this notion. The critic is in a position to pronounce on an organisation or programme. This gives the critic enormous power. This power can make programme participants fearful about the outcome of an evaluation, promoting distrust and suspicion of the entire process and thus negating any potential good which might have come from the evaluation process. Fifthfly, the concept of "art criticism" is based on an elitist notion of "high culture". This

can be alienating for evaluation audiences, like semi-literate people, who are not used to these concepts. Finally, this type of evaluation can only be used by external evaluators with specialised skills. This prevents the widespread use of this approach because:

* Organisations with small budgets could not afford to employ a specialist for the process of evaluation; and
* The specialised skills which the evaluator needs, limits the number of people who can use this approach.

5.3.4 Discussing the Connoisseurship Approach

Eisner anticipated the first two parts of this critique, and prepared answers for his critics. In answer to the question of validity and reliability he asserts that any "...observation schedule or test leaves much more out than it includes, regardless of the form. In this sense, any form of data collection is biased by the assumptions on which it is built and the methods that it employs."[147] He goes on to argue that as in the case with evidence used by a trial court, the consumers of a report must rely on circumstantial evidence, or structural corroboration, to test the credibility of the report. Thus the compiler of the report must provide conclusions supported by evidence embodied within the criticism. These must relate to events that have occurred. A second "test" of a report's reliability is its "referential adequacy". This means that the report should illuminate the topic to which it refers: "...criticism that is reliable and valid will enable someone with less connoisseurship than the critic to see what otherwise would have gone unseen."[148] Thus Eisner answers the question about whether the correct issue has been chosen. But he does not adequately address the issue of critics grinding axes. All he points out is that structural corroboration makes it difficult for a critic to falsify insights.

On the issue of being able to generalise results, he argues that the assumptions used in the experimental research design are such that it

147 *ibid.*, p.184.

148 *ibid.*, p.184.

is easier to pay lip service to them than to implement them. He adds, that in everyday experiences people build up generalisations. These generalisations do not rely on random samples or the like. Rather they form through a "...build-up of common general features recognized in particulars. What we learn from particular situations we use to form expectations for the future. We modify those expectations as a result of subsequent experience."[149] The problem with this explanation of how people build generalisations is that this same process builds up and reinforces bigoted notions of the world. Racist, sexist, and other notions are fed through the unconscious and conscious feeding of generalisations. This takes place through a process of selective seeing - i.e. seeing what one wants to see. The critic can fall prey to these same perceptions. These notions do not have to be as crude as the ones mentioned above. For instance, if a critic has a deep-seated paternalism towards poor people, then he/she could let this attitude colour his/her perception of a radical community development programme organised in a poor community.

Barring this last criticism, Eisner has gone some way to replying to his critics. His approach has much to recommend it, especially to those keen on qualitative approaches. It can be used to capture nuances and moods which other approaches cannot. In this sense it can present an evaluation which is rich and evocative in its imagery presenting more of a project under examination than most other approaches.

5.4 Policy Studies - The Judicial Evaluation Method (JEM) Approach

The image of competition has always had a certain appeal. It was only a matter of time before the popular notion of competition was drawn into an approach to evaluation, using the romantic imagery of the court room. This approach promises to present evaluators with the dramatic rewards of a competitive event, and in line with legal

---

149 *ibid.*, p.186.

fiction, the possibility of a fair and rigorous evaluation in which both sides of a case are competently presented.

Between 1973 and 1979 the Judicial Evaluation Method (JEM) was developed by Levine[150], Owens[151] and Wolf[152], the latter being foremost amongst its developers. Wolf evolved this approach to answer the crisis around accountability and control of policy within the American educational system. Wolf felt that, "Parents, teachers, tax-payers, and vested interest groups within the community are being locked out of the decision and policy making process."[153]

This approach recognises that the act of making policy represents the link between ideas conceived and those ideas being incorporated into laws, procedures, schedules, and so on, which inform action. The approach argues that if those affected by policies (the stakeholders), want to take control of these laws, procedures, and so on, then they must find methods which can both *evaluate* and inform *policy*. To achieve this, an approach is needed which is participatory in method and responsive in nature with respect to the needs of the stakeholders. The JEM approach was designed specifically to facilitate this process and answer these needs. It is meant to establish systematic procedures for inquiry and set forth criteria for classifying, evaluating, and presenting evidence in a cogent and fair manner. Within this formula a group of stakeholders (the jury) would be able to make clear and informed decisions.

---

150 Murry, L. "Scientific Method and the Adversary Method", *American Psychologist*, September 1974, pp.666-677.

151 Owens, T.L. "Educational Evaluation by Adversary Proceeding", in E. House (ed.) *School Evaluation: the politics and process*, Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing, 1973.

152 Wolf, R.L. "The Use of Judicial Evaluation Methods in the Formulation of Educational Policy", in G.F. Madaus, D. Stufflebeam and M.S. Scriven (eds.) *Evaluation Models: viewpoints on educational and human services evaluation*, Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff Publishing, 1983, pp.189-203.

153 *ibid.*, p.190.

5.4.1 Methodology of the Judicial Evaluation Method (JEM) Approach

The law, as a metaphor, provides the concepts and terms used in this approach. The use of this metaphor informs concepts such as structured deliberation, cross-examination and fact-finding. The JEM regards human testimony as the cornerstone of evidence within the judicial proceeding. Thus, not only is quantitative data used, but extra weight is placed on qualitative data-gathering and analysis. This implies that evaluation must involve the consideration of perceptions, opinions, and assumptions within the context of values and beliefs - this constitutes the body of "evidence". The approach aims to be both rigorous and responsive.

* It is rigorous in the sense that competing teams within the judicial inquiry must present strong cases using a range of naturalistic enquiry methods[154] so that the appropriate evidence can be amassed. This includes in-depth interviews, "within-site" and "on-site analysis", reviews of qualitative and quantitative data at hand, and so on; and
* The approach is responsive in that the process of gathering and sifting of data means that adversarial teams become attuned to the issues and debates addressed by them. This awareness helps the antagonists to focus arguments and to address the most pressing debates and needs.

According to Wolf[155] the JEM is characterised by four stages:

* Stage 1: **Issue Generation.** A pool of issues is generated through the use of naturalistic research strategies, such as interviews, reviewing background data, participant observation, and so on;
* Stage 2: **Issue Selection.** The issues gathered in the previous stage are consolidated so that they may be presented to the Clarification Forum (see stage 4). The selection of issues is made on the basis

---

154 Guba, E.G. & Lincoln, Y.S. "Epistemological and Methodological Bases of Naturalistic Enquiry", in G.F. Madaus, D. Stufflebeam and M.S. Scriven (eds.) *Evaluation Models: viewpoints on educational and human services evaluation*, Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff Publishing, 1983, pp.311-333.

155 Wolf, *op. cit.*, pp.193-194.

of the information needs of the stakeholders. These issues are periodically re-examined throughout the entire JEM process so that any changes in the issues can be detected;

* Stage 3: **Preparation of Arguments**. Arguments are gathered and the contending cases are prepared for presentation. This means that specific areas of contention are identified first, so that the adversaries can build their own positions. Secondly, witnesses are interviewed and prepared for cross-examination. Thirdly, documentation, transcripts, other quantitative and qualitative data and previous evaluations are re-examined. Throughout this process opposing teams share plans of action and information so that issues are clarified; and
* Stage 4: **Clarification Forum**. A hearing that approximates a court of law in its format is conducted. The "jury" includes policy-makers, interested citizens, agency directors, and so on. The case presenters present opening arguments, cross-examine and re-examine witnesses, and close arguments at the completion of their cases.

The key persons in this approach are the investigating teams, case analyst, case presenter, forum moderator, clarification panel and panel facilitator. Each of these has a specific role which is discussed below:

* **Investigating Teams** - The contending teams are responsible for building up the respective cases and challenging opposing arguments;
* **Case Analyst** - Heads the investigating teams' activities as they research data and gather evidence and also prepares and presents interim reports on the status and content of the investigating teams' preparations;
* **Case Presenter** - Is the "senior council" within the court metaphor, presenting arguments to the Clarification Forum and cross-examining witnesses;
* **Forum Moderator** - Chairs the Clarification Forum and plays the role of "judge" in enforcing the rules of evidence, ruling on

objections, instructing the Clarification Panel on the adequacy of evidence, and so on;

* **Clarification Panel** - Consists of the stakeholders, such as policy analysts, advocacy groups, agency personnel, clients and those affected by the policy. The panel plays the role of "jury", and considers all the evidence. At the close of the clarification proceedings the panel presents a report of its conclusions; and
* **Panel Facilitator** - Acts as an extension of the Forum Moderator, advising the Clarification Panel on points of contention and helping the panel weigh up the evidence.

In summary, the judicial metaphor is used to structure a process of evaluation of policies or programmes. The process is meant to aid decision-making and to empower stakeholders. The stakeholders fulfill the role of "jury" and make a final decision based on the "trial" proceeding.

5.4.2 Advantages of the JEM

In general the developers claim this approach has the following advantages:

* It provides an opportunity for different perspectives to be represented. This facilitates a greater understanding of the issues at hand and thus aids a more informed decision-making process;
* Claims made by advocate groups can be carefully examined through cross-examination and testing;
* It encourages dialogue with all those involved in policy development or the programme. This has the potential of unifying competing perceptions; and
* The approach encourages stakeholders to make decisions and can thus be used to empower the stakeholders. This is important in that it helps to develop people and aids the process of accountability.

5.4.3 Disadvantages of the JEM

Against these advantages a number of difficulties have been found with this approach. What follows is a synthesis of the major points made by commentators and evaluators[156] who have used the JEM:

* The model relies on a number of key personnel, such as informed witnesses, planners, panelists, a moderator and case presenters; Experts bring their own biases to a hearing. In the face of evidence it is not clear if specialist will not swing away from their biases;
* Considerable effort and expense are needed to plan, finance and co-ordinate this approach:
  - The logistics are extensive; housing of witnesses, coordinating of schedules, creating a court-like environment and so on; and
  - The dearth of written guidelines, (except for those used by the trial court) means that time is wasted by users of the approach trying to work out the ground rules of the method.

Both of these factors make this approach costly. Popham and Carlson assert that

> It is difficult to conceive of an adversary evaluation project that would cost no more than a conventional evaluation study. The costs of doing an adversary study properly are typically double, at least, the cost of an ordinary evaluation study.[157]

Organisations which have limited budgets would not be able to use this approach, especially if other less expensive evaluation methods can yield equally good results;

---

156 This is a synthesis of arguments by:
a) Braithwaite, R.L., Patton, J.M. & Fang, W.L. "Evaluating a Human Service Program: employing the judicial evaluation model", *Journal of Evaluation and Program Planning*, Vol.5, No.1, 1982, pp.81-89.
b) Madaus, G.F. "The Clarification Hearing: a personal view of the process", in G.F. Madaus, D. Stufflebeam and M.S. Scriven (eds.) *Evaluation Models: viewpoints on educational and human services evaluation*, Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff Publishing, 1983, pp.215-227.
c) Popham, W.J. & Carlson, D. "Deep Dark Deficits of the Adversary Evaluation Model", in G.F. Madaus, D. Stufflebeam and M.S. Scriven (eds.) *Evaluation Models: viewpoints on educational and human services evaluation*, Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff Publishing, 1983, pp.205-213.
d) Thurston, P. "Revitalizing Adversarial Evaluation: deep dark deficits or muddled mistaken mussings", *Educational Researcher*, Vol.7, No.7, 1978, pp.3-8.

157 Popham & Carlson, *op. cit.*, p.211.

* The Forum Moderator can exert substantial sway on the proceedings as the role of "judge" is exercised in disputes between opposing teams. In South Africa a trial judge's ruling can go to appeal; those using the adversary approach do not have this benefit;
* There are two problems with respect to the case presenters:
  - Two Case Presenters have to be found who have equivalent abilities with respect to investigative techniques, oratory and examination skills; and
  - Since Case Presenters are allocated their Adversarial Teams in a random manner, they could end up presenting arguments for a case in which they do not believe. This could dull their enthusiasm.
* The JEM can be divisive, just as it can be a unifying process. As Madaus explains, in his experience of the Clarification Hearings on the Minimum Competency Test (MCT), it was decided not to use the Clarification Panel because

> By eliminating a "verdict" or a set of recommendations, NIE [National Institute of Education] avoided the unpleasantness and controversy that would have certainly followed on a federally sponsored panel declaring one side or the other the "winner"...By eliminating the panel or jury component from the Clarification Hearing process, NIE avoided this no-win situation. "Winning" or "losing" was left in the eyes of the beholders.[158]

In other words the verdict was left up to individual members of the "audience" who viewed the Clarification Hearings. Furthermore, the approach is unsuitable for issues which are emotionally charged, such as developing policy for abortion. The selection of the two teams and hearing officer could set off protest from advocacy groups. Further, the rivalry around the issue would make co-operation and data sharing between the teams very difficult.

The latter two problems point to a naïve assumption within this model: It is assumed that debate conducted in full view of the public on technical and esoteric aspects of a controversial subject will somehow wring out the political venom involved.

---

158 Madaus, *op. cit.*, p.216.

5.4.4 Discussing the JEM

The above criticisms have been answered by those advocating this approach. According to Wolf, this approach has been treated unfairly, misapplied and misunderstood. He argues that the power of the judicial metaphor lies in that it should be used judiciously: "Oftentimes...the metaphor has been sufficiently bastardised so as to produce less than desirable results."[159] For Wolf the JEM should not be seen as an adversarial debate. He blames this confusion on users who take the judicial metaphor too literally; focusing attention on winning the judicial encounter, instead of clarifying and understanding the issues facing the programme or policy under examination.

Wolf has a point: The object of the JEM should not be for one team to defeat the other. Those involved in the evaluation of the MCT described in 5.4.3 above, recognised the danger of choosing a "winner" at the end of the JEM process. However, to blame the pre-occupation of finding a "winner" on the misuse of the judicial metaphor would be:

* To fail to understand the personal and organisational dynamics involved in competition; and
* To fail to grasp the role of metaphors in the formation of ideas.

House argues that

> Embracing a particular set of metaphors not only expresses certain values but also promotes them. It is in the nature of metaphor that certain things are emphasized and others de-emphasized....Conceptions of evaluation are not value-neutral, and much of this inherent evaluation is embedded within the metaphoric structure. Different conceptions emphasize different values or weight the same values differently. Also the more common the metaphors employed to structure evaluation, the more persuasive and invisible the metaphors will be.[160]

The "judicial" metaphor is more than a descriptive term; it establishes a way of conceptualising the JEM process both in

---

159 Wolf, *op. cit.*, p.193.

160 House, E.R. "How We Think About Evaluation", in E.R. House (ed.) *New Directions in Educational Evaluation*, London: The Falmer Press, 1986, pp.43-44.

practical execution and final expectation. Thus the JEM process is operationalised according to the popular idea of how a court proceeding takes place. This happens in spite of Wolf's arguments regarding the intentions of the JEM process.

This approach has the potential to be rigorous in allowing the most detailed analysis to occur, and through this the best decisions can be made. But the potential costs and the technical difficulties involved in the approach militate against its successful use.

5.5 Consumer-oriented Studies - The Consumer-oriented Approach

Scriven's approach towards evaluation underwent a major change in 1971. Previously he saw evaluation as the "...gathering and combining of performance data with a weighted set of goal scales, to yield either comparative or numerical ratings..."[161] There was no room for the notion of process studies, which he felt lay outside the mainstream of evaluation.

He confounded the American evaluation community by turning his own concepts on their head and introducing "goal-free evaluation".[162] Scriven argued that the Tylerian tradition is fundamentally flawed in that it is value-free. For him evaluations based on this approach are invalid because the evaluator's goals may not be "...representative of the assessed needs of the consumers, or too narrow to foreshadow possibly crucial side effects."[163] For Scriven an evaluator needs to study a programme's intended and unintended effects and that contact with the programme developers' propaganda will contaminate an evaluator's analysis. Scriven says the evaluator must be free of the

---

161 Scriven, M.S. "The Methodology of Evaluation", in R.W Tyler, R. Gangne & M. Scriven (eds.) *Perspectives of Curriculum Evaluation; AERA Monograph Series on Curriculum Evaluation*, No.1, Chicago: Rand McNally, 1967, p.39.

162 Scriven, M.S. "Goal-free Evaluation", in D. Hamilton, *et al*, (eds.) *Beyond the Numbers Game: a reader in educational evaluation*, London: Macmillan Education, 1977, pp.134-138.

163 Stufflebeam & Shinkfield, *op. cit.*, p.314.

constraints imposed by programme goals. In conjunction with his 13 point checklist an evaluator is able to judge a programme. The evaluator's role is that of "...enlightened surrogate consumer, serving as informed social conscience..."[164] For Scriven evaluation is comparative in that it looks at comparative costs as well as benefits. This comparison is directed towards the needs of the consumers of a programme. Thus for Scriven evaluation is an activity involving independent evaluators who attempt to be as objective as possible in arriving at judgements and recommendations.[165]

5.5.1 Methodology of the Consumer-oriented Approach

Scriven's approach to evaluation is governed by his concept of a "multimodel". For Scriven his approach is a "multimodel" because:[166]

* Evaluation is a *multi-field* applicable to programmes, proposals, policies and the like;
* It is a *multi-disciplinary* field. This means it relies on specialist knowledge of economic analysis, ethnographic analysis, statistical analysis, and so on;
* Evaluation is a *multi-dimensional* activity, because specific conclusions can only be drawn through the synthesis of several dimensions involving needs assessment, information assessment and so on;
* *Multiple perspectives* are used to draw differing points of view on the same programme; and
* The process is a *multi-level enterprise*. In view of the need for credibility, comprehensiveness, validity and so on, there is a need for many levels of analysis in coming to understand the nature of the evaluation.

---

164 *ibid.*, p.312.

165 *ibid.*, p.314.

166 Scriven, M.S. "Evaluation Ideologies", in G.F. Madaus, D.L. Stufflebeam and M.S. Scriven (eds.) *Evaluation Models: viewpoints on educational and human services evaluation*, Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff Publishing, 1983, pp.256-257.

In addition to this umbrella concept of "multimodel" which guides the evaluation process, the evaluator also uses the following concepts: The roles of formative and summative evaluation, the key evaluation checklist and the goal-free approach to the evaluation.

With respect to the roles of formative and summative evaluation Scriven says that the role of formative evaluation is "...to assist in developing programs and other objects..."[167] while that of summative evaluation is "...to assess the value of the object once it has been developed and placed on the market."[168] Formative evaluation is an integral part of the development process of a programme. It provides programme developers with continual feedback about the planning and implementation of a programme. It examines issues like efficiency, staffing levels, budget control, adequacy of materials in use, and so on. The intent is "...to help staff to improve whatever they are operating or developing."[169] Summative evaluation looks for all the effects of the programme once it is fully implemented. This evaluation has to be carried out by an external evaluator in order to enhance objectivity, and its findings should be made public. This form of evaluation can be comparative - comparing costs and effects of the programme against similar programmes. This is intended to serve the consumer by providing an independent assessment of the programme's merits, costs and worth.

Using participant observation, background information, interviewing participants, and so on, the evaluator works through the Key Evaluation Checklist.[170] The rationale for the list is that evaluation is a data-reduction process, where large amounts of data are obtained, assessed and synthesised into an overall judgement of

---

167 Stufflebeam & Shinkfield, *op. cit.*, p.314.

168 *ibid.*, p.314.

169 *ibid.*, p.315.

170 The 18 points of the Key Evaluation Checklist will not be discussed here. For more detail of these points see: Stufflebeam & Shinkfield, *op. cit.*, pp.318-321.

value. For Scriven the checklist has an *a priori* rationale so that a coherent argument can be devised. Failure to pass any one of the checkpoints would mean that the programme would be in doubt as to its merits for consumers.

For Scriven the distinction between unintended and intended effects of a programme, is a false one. He argues that an evaluator's task is not to evaluate goals. The evaluation of goals is important in evaluating a proposal, but it is not important in evaluating a product or programme. Goal free evaluation (GFE) achieves this. As Scriven explains

> ...consideration and evaluation of goals was an unnecessary but also a possibly contaminating step. I began to work on an alternative approach - simply, the evaluation of *actual* effects against (typically) a profile of *demonstrated* needs...[171]

For the GFE evaluator the intention is to ignore the stated goals of a programme; knowledge of the goals would bias the evaluator's view of what actually happened in the programme. Thus the evaluator has no interest in the intentions of the programme. The focus of activity is on discerning its achievements. The notion of being blind to prejudicial information is central to this approach: "You can't do an evaluation without knowing what it is you're supposed to evaluate - the treatment - but you do not need or want to know what it's supposed to do."[172]

The roles of formative and summative evaluation, the key evaluation checklist and the goal-free approach to the evaluation are related in the following ways:

* GFE is an appropriate methodological strategy to use in the comprehensive checking of programme consequences; that is to be used in summative evaluation; and

---

171 Scriven, M.S. "Intended and Unintended Effects - why distinguish?", in D. Hamilton, *et al*, (eds.) *Beyond the Numbers Game: a reader in educational evaluation*, London: Macmillan Education, 1977, pp.130-131.

172 Scriven, M.S. "Goal-free Evaluation", *op. cit.*, 1977, p.136.

* The checkpoints in the checklist are both formative and summative, and relate especially to formative evaluation.

In summary, the roles of formative and summative evaluation, the key evaluation checklist and GFE are all tools of this approach. The intention is to use these tools to evaluate products in terms of consumers' needs.

5.5.2 Advantages of the Consumer-oriented Approach

Scriven's consumer-orientated approach has several advantages. Firstly, the notion of the evaluator as surrogate consumer focuses an evaluation report on the consumers of a programme. This has the potential to empower consumers. For development programmes, this is especially important, because the empowerment of programme users and participants is an important goal. Secondly by shifting the focus of an evaluation away from the stated goals of a programme, the evaluator has a greater chance to discern the actual consequences of a programme. This is important for politically orientated programmes, where there is pressure to reach specific goals. Finally, the Key Evaluation Checklist helps the evaluator to construct a thorough evaluation which will not miss crucial aspects. Also if the structure of a number of evaluations is similar then it is possible to compare different evaluations.

5.5.3 Disadvantages of the Consumer-oriented Approach

There are several disadvantages to this approach. Firstly, the concept of "Goal-free" implies that the evaluator is objective. The methodology of GFE implies that evaluators do not impute their values into discerning the actual consequences of the programme. The only time that there is acknowledgement that the evaluator has values, is when the issue of the judgement of the programme arises. The failure to take account of the evaluator's values results in the false notion of "objectivity". The evaluator has values, be they conscious or subconscious, and he/she applies them when discovering outcomes. The evaluator deceives the consumers when passing "judgement", in not

making his/her values know, or by failing to acknowledge the role values play in discerning programme outcomes. Secondly, the evaluator's role as "surrogate consumer" can empower consumers by representing their interests. However this role can be viewed as being paternalistic, since it involves the evaluator deciding what the consumer needs or wants. Where there are cultural, social and class differences between the evaluator and the consumer group, the likelihood of this happening are increased. Scriven's answer to this would be that it is not the evaluator's perceptions of what the consumers need that is used, but rather the assessed needs which are considered. Thirdly, Scriven's evaluation approach, especially GFE, relies on external evaluators. This means that organisations with limited funding would not be able to conduct their own evaluations. Finally, the evaluator needs to rely on programme documentation in the form of records, programme tools, letters and so on, in an effort to avoid "contamination" by programme staff. The danger is that the evaluator may fall into the trap of over-reliance on the documentation, to the expense of other data-gathering methods.

5.5.4 Discussing the Consumer-oriented Approach

The overriding question about the goal-free aspect of this approach is whether it can work or not. Sixten Marklund has called Scriven's approach "aimless evaluation".[173] Part of the critique of GFE revolves around the issue of how to assign "value" to the findings, and what "goal-free" really means. The approach argues that outcomes can be identified without regard for what the programme is trying to accomplish. If this is so, then how is it possible to sort out desirable from undesirable consequences? For Scriven this comparison should be made in terms of the assessed needs of the consumers. However, this raises the question of what constitutes an assessed need. Scriven would argue that an assessed need is not a discrepancy between something real and something ideal. A need is "...anything essential for a satisfactory mode of existence, anything without which that mode of existence or level of performance would fall below

---

173 Stake, *op. cit.*, 1983, p.290.

a satisfactory level."[174] Thus, for Scriven, needs assessment is a process of discovering what would happen if certain services were not provided, or were withdrawn, and whether this would result in negative consequences for consumers. This notion of an assessed need is flawed. For instance, whose needs are important in this context; the state's or the individual's? What happens to a programme which does not aim to meet consumer's most pressing needs; even if the programme is effective, does it fail? In short, Scriven's notion of needs assessment has to be more thoroughly considered before it can be used.

Scriven's approach assumes an advanced degree of sensitivity and intelligence which will allow an evaluator to make accurate judgements about a programme. Commenting on this, Stake says

> Personally, I fault Scriven for expecting us evaluators to be as sensitive, rational, and alert as his designs for evaluation require. I sometimes think that Mike Scriven designs evaluation studies that perhaps only Mike Scriven is capable of carrying out.[175]

Scriven's approach is the only consumer-centred approach discussed here. It is important in that it focuses on the needs of consumers by linking evaluation to community needs assessment. The GFE component of the approach is a radical departure from other research methodologies and should be viewed with caution. However, Key Evaluation Checklist gives the approach structural and methodological strength, and is a favourable aspect of this approach.

5.6 Client-centered Studies - An Illuminative Approach

December 1972 saw a group of American and European evaluators meet at a conference at Churchill College, Cambridge. The aim of the conference was to explore "non-traditional modes of curriculum

---

174 Stufflebeam & Shinkfield, *op. cit.*, p.318.

175 Stake, *op. cit.*, 1983, p.290.

evaluation"[176] and to set out guidelines for future developments in this field. This group argued that the Tylerian, or objectives, approach "...falls short of its own tacit claims to be controlled, exact and unambiguous."[177] This conference led the development of the concepts which were to become the illuminative approach to evaluation.

The illuminative approach has its original home in the evaluation of education programmes. It draws on the disciplines of social anthropology, psychiatry and sociology. The approach is not a standard methodological package; rather it is a general research strategy. No single research design is used exclusively in this research strategy; different designs and methods are combined to illuminate an issue.

The illuminative evaluation endeavour is organised around the concepts of "instructional system" (what is planned to happen) and "learning milieu" (what actually happens). Quantitative and qualitative research designs are used to explore issues raised by these concepts.

The principal objective of illuminative evaluation is to contribute to decision-making. Its aim is not to make decisions, but to gather data and process it into information so that decisions can be made by decision-makers. The decision-makers are identified as programme sponsors, programme participants, programme directors, concerned or interested outsiders, and so on.

---

176 Hamilton, D., *et al*, "Preface" in D. Hamilton, *et al*, (eds.) *Beyond the Numbers Game: a reader in educational evaluation*, London: Macmillan Education Ltd, 1977, p.vii.

177 Parlett, M., Dearden, G. & Hamilton, D. "Evaluation as Illumination", in M. Parlett & G. Dearden (eds.) *Introduction to Illuminative Evaluation: studies in higher education*, Cardiff-by-the-Sea: Pacific Soundings Press, 1977, p.13.

5.6.1 Methodology of Illuminative Evaluation

Illuminative evaluation[178] is not a standard methodological package; it is a general research strategy. Its aims, size and methods of evaluation depend on factors such as the level of co-operation and degree of access to relevant information, the time available for data collection, the extent of the evaluator's previous experience, the size of the evaluation budget, and so on. Thus the evaluator has to consider all these factors in choosing the research design: no single design (with all its built in limitations) is used exclusively or in isolation in this research strategy. Thus the "...choice of research tactics follows not from research doctrine but from decisions in each case as to the best available techniques: the problem defines the methods used not *vice-versa*."[179] The research methods used to yield the final analysis are eclectic in nature, borrowing from quantitative and qualitative research traditions: thus there is an implicit recognition of Patton's "paradigm of choices".[180]

At the heart of the approach is the dialectical notion of progressive focusing and the distillation of observations and interpretations. This process is identified by the following features:

* The identification of critical issues and the progressive focusing on these issues;
* The ongoing and progressive distillation of observations and interpretations;

---

178 This discussion on illuminative evaluation is an amalgamation of the following sources:
a) Parlett, Dearden & Hamilton, *op. cit.*, pp.1-155.
b) Parlett, M. "A Study of Two Experimental Programmes at MIT", in D. Hamilton *et al*, (eds.) *Beyond the Numbers Game; a reader in educational evaluation*, London: Macmillan Education Ltd, 1977, pp.331-355.
c) Stufflebeam & Shinkfield, *op. cit.*, 1985, pp.285-310..
d) Meston A, *Evaluation: thoughts, problems, and considerations for the evaluator*. Unpublished Paper, presented for SWK 509F Field Practice Seminar I, UCT, 1988.

179 Parlett, Dearden & Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p.17.

180 Patton, M.Q. *Qualitative Evaluation Methods*, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1980, pp.17-20.

* The updating and refining of the research design and investigation to make sure that it matches and assists the particular stage of focusing and progressive distillation which has been reached;
* The continual monitoring of research resources such as time, assistance, materials, offers of help, and so on, so that all research can be done as efficiently as possible, and within budget; and
* Continual reference and responsiveness to the specific needs of the audience for whom the study is being undertaken.

The first of these three features need further discussion; the organisation of observations and the attribution of significance constitute part of the evaluator's interpretative work.

Which observations will be made, what questions are to be asked, which issues will be focused upon, and so on, are influenced by the evaluator's world-view, ideology, theoretical models and experience. However, as the evaluator proceeds with the study, so the evaluator's conceptions change through being tested and modified in the light of experience. As Parlett and Dearden explain "...there is an important dialectic between ideas and interpretative work: the former *stem from* the latter (ideas grow from doing studies) but also *help to determine* the latter (ideas are applied in the doing of studies)."[181] Thus in a dialectical way the issues which are first noted in a study impact on the examination. These help focus theoretical notions and this in turn helps to turn the focus on to the issues of the study, and so on. As this process continues, so it interacts with the identification of critical issues, the focusing of these issues, and the related distillation of the observations and interpretations and the adjustment of the original research design. The dialectical notion of progressive focusing also relates to the external framework of the approach: The process of identifying and presenting broad arguments and issues is focused, like a funnel, towards specific

---

181 Parlett, M. & Dearden, G. "Rethinking Motivation", in M. Parlett and G. Dearden (eds.) *Introduction to Illuminative Evaluation: studies in higher education*, Cardiff-by-the-Sea: Pacific Soundings Press, 1977b, p.147.

details of this discourse, so that nuances may be presented and explored.

The structure of illuminative evaluation is guided and anchored by two concepts of "instructional system" and "learning milieu". The contradiction between the instructional system and the learning milieu stands at the hub of the resultant analysis:

* The "instructional system" represents the formalised objectives, goals, ideas, methods, techniques, and so on of a particular programme. Thus the instructional system is the blue-print of how a programme is meant to happen. It is rare for, a programme to be executed in precisely the way it was conceived, or for it to produce the exact results that were intended. Thus there is a transition from what was planned to happen to what actually happens; and
* The learning milieu "...represents the network, or nexus, of cultural, social, institutional and psychological variables. These interact in complicated ways to produce... a unique pattern of circumstances, pressures, customs, opinions and work styles..."[182] Thus the learning milieu represents the "reality" in which a programme with its instructional system has been placed. The creation and functioning of a programme sets off a chain of reactions throughout the learning milieu. In turn these intended and unintended consequences affect the programme itself, changing its form and impact.

Illuminative evaluation aims to be eclectic. This means that its form, size, aim and research methodology depend on factors such as:

* The sponsors needs;
* The nature and size of the programme;
* The level of co-operation and ease of access to all information; and
* The needs and agendas of the evaluator.

---

182 Parlett, Dearden & Hamilton, *op. cit.*, pp.15-16.

The exact mix of methods depends on how all of these factors are prioritised and mediated within the desired research design.

The three stages which characterise illuminative research should be seen as three stages which flow into each other with significant overlap between stages. The relationship between the stages is dialectical, in that each "activity" informs the current stage, the previous stage, and the forthcoming stage:

* Stage 1. *Observance by the evaluator*: At the outset, the researcher is concerned to familiarise him/herself with the day-to-day reality of the programme. The aim here is to unravel all the complexities so that the significant features may be picked out. This will take the form of both the observation and the interviewing of participants in the programme;
* Stage 2. *Further enquiry*: Trends, tendencies and occurrences are isolated for more sustained and intensive enquiry. The evaluator begins to focus so that observation and enquiry will be more directed and selective of issues; and
* Stage 3. *Seeking to explain*: The evaluator picks out patterns where cause and effect relate and places individual findings within broader contexts which seek to explain. Interpretations are developed and expanded and related back to the information already collected.

This framework relies on the information collected in four areas for an information profile:

* *Observation*: This is the most important phase in the illuminative evaluation scheme. The evaluator builds up a continuous record of ongoing events. At the same time impressions and observations are recorded and organised so that interpretive comments may be made;
* *Interviews*: These help to establish participants' views in assessing the impact of the programme. Interviews are also used to check information, build stores of data and to define contexts of programmes;

* *Questionnaires and test data*: While observation and interviews are important, illuminative evaluation does not throw out other methods of data-gathering. These are used when dealing with large scale illuminative studies. Also survey-type questionnaires may be used to support or throw more light on earlier tentative findings; and
* *Documentary and background information*: The evaluator gains a clear understanding of the background to a project. Old correspondence, old reports, notes, minutes of meetings, and so on are considered. This provides the background to a project.

The objective of illuminative evaluation is to contribute to decisions. Thus its aim is to gather data and process it into information so that others can make decisions. The approach identifies three separate groups of decision-makers:

* Programme participants;
* Programme sponsors, boards of management or programme director; and
* Concerned or interested outsiders.

Each group demands a different type of report to assist them in making their particular decisions. This role of assisting the decision-makers in making their decisions places pressure on the evaluator, since it is up to the evaluator to gather the correct data and conduct an analysis that will present the right information to the decision-makers. This responsibility, along with the particular methodology of illuminative evaluation, means that important questions about the evaluator's ethics, values and the validity of the research should be raised.

Ethics, values and validity are important parts of the illuminative approach. The illuminative approach recognises that illuminative evaluation research cannot be "value-free" or capable of total "objectivity". In response, the approach emphasises the importance of attempting to represent different values, ideologies and opinions fairly. The approach stresses that the evaluator's position must be made clear, so that those considering the final report can understand the evaluator's own position. In the light of this they can make

their own judgements. This is especially important for report writing, where the narrative style of reporting illuminative evaluation places a premium on sensitivity, clarity, and accuracy. This process is especially difficult in the light of the fact that much of the data is qualitative; consisting of interview notes, field descriptions, recorded opinions, policy documents, site analysis, and so on. This aspect is further complicated by the need to assist the decision-makers to make decisions, without the evaluator making the decisions for them.

Illuminative research is characterised by intervention, in that it promotes changes in the way a programme is viewed. Also, ideas held by the evaluator at the start of an evaluation may be different to those held at the completion of the research, because of particular experiences during research. This intervention raises many ethical questions for the evaluator.

The illuminative evaluator's role is a difficult one. Parlett and Dearden explain that

> Like historians and anthropologists, illuminative evaluators have to be accurate. However, they also need to arrange and interpret a complicated, factually based picture and to attribute significance. It is not a question of reciting facts, but of organizing them to increase awareness and understanding of educational processes and phenomena.[183]

In achieving this task illuminative evaluators argue that they have to maintain a high degree of authenticity through the successful mediation of the issues of reliability and validity. The starting point of their defence is to recognise that the illuminative evaluator's work is more "...like that of an historian or anthropologist than a survey researcher or psychometrician".[184] They

---

183 Parlett, M. & Dearden, G. "The Recognition of Authenticity", in M. Parlett and G. Dearden (eds.) *Introduction to Illuminative Evaluation: studies in higher education*, Cardiff-by-the-Sea: Pacific Soundings Press, 1977a, p.37.

184 *ibid.*, 1977a, p.37.

are intensely aware that "traditional" quantitative researchers view their work as tending to be "novelistic" and impressionistic, full of the investigators' "biases" and "prejudices". Illuminative evaluators provide three counter arguments against these assertions:

* Firstly, with respect to reliability, they argue that dealing with numbers, *per se*, is no defence against bias on the part of the researcher. Often the researcher needs to exercise personal judgements about which tests ought to be used, which factors should be analysed, and how the tests should be presented and summarised in a report;
* Secondly, reliability, in the sense of gaining data from quantitative, statistical studies is usually higher than data gained from descriptive-interpretative studies, because statistically based studies are designed specifically to achieve high reliability. A multiple choice test at a university is an example of this, where inter-grade reliability is superior to that supplied through the assessment of individual projects and essays. However, a university would not abandon the latter mode of student assessment, low reliability or not, because this form of assessment tests far more complex skills than do multiple choice questions. Thus the reliability itself is not always a sufficient reason for choosing quantitative-statistical studies over descriptive-interpretative studies; and
* Finally, the illuminative evaluators argue that "...the myth of an entirely neutral researcher has probably seen its day."[185] They argue that, interpretative and descriptive studies are more honest because researchers can make clear where they stand. They are able to express their private views and state them as such, without clouding them in "scientific" rhetoric. This allows the evaluation audience the opportunity to recognise opinion as such and to respond to it according to their own criteria and concepts.

The illuminative approaches' arguments relating to "authenticity" go beyond defending it against the prejudices of those persuaded by the

---

185 *ibid.*, 1977a, p.39.

In summary, illuminative evaluation assists in decision-making. The concepts of instructional system and learning milieu are the key points around which the analysis is developed. The researcher uses both quantitative and qualitative research designs to yield the information for the final report.

5.6.2 Advantages of the Illuminative Approach

There are several advantages to this approach. Firstly, illuminative evaluation it is not a "standard methodological package". Rather it is a general research strategy which aims to be eclectic; the choice of research tactics follows not from research doctrine, but from decisions as to what are the best available methods for each particular programme. This freedom allows the evaluator to produce evaluations which are rigorous and responsive to the questions being asked. Secondly, the approach empowers decision-makers by aiding them to make decisions. This is achieved in two ways:

* The approach does not encourage the evaluator to make decisions for the evaluation audience. Rather, the evaluation report is meant to provide a comprehensive account of the complex realities of a programme. This account should sharpen discussion and lead to decision-makers being able to disentangle arguments and isolate the trivial from the significant; and
* The concept of "decision-maker" is defined in broad terms. It extents beyond managers, directors and administrators, and includes programme participants, programme sponsors and concerned outsiders. This view of decision-makers means that many different constituencies are drawn into the participative process of controlling a programme. This is an important process in development-orientated programmes.

Thirdly, the main concern of illuminative evaluation is with description and interpretation rather than measurement or prediction. The approach focuses on presenting a picture of a programme, illuminating both its intended and unintended outcomes. This places all outcomes within the context of an entire programme and facilitates clearer judgement by the decision-makers. Fourthly, the

reference to specific criteria. He says that

> They aspire to 'tell it like it is', and they often write as if they allow for some distortion due to their own values. But there is no telling it as it is. There is only a creation of meaning through the use of criteria and conceptual frameworks. The task of briefing decision makers in language they readily understand can too easily lead to the casual importation of unexamined assumptions and criteria.[189]

In this way the evaluator is able to purposely, or unwittingly, lead the evaluation audience away from important insights and into poor decision-making. For Stenhause a way through this problem is to incorporate a philosophical critique. The object of such a critique would be to disclose the meaning of the programme. The discussion of the programme's meaning would invite an assessment of its worth. This process would then strip away the evaluator's cloak of political privacy and allow the evaluation audience to understand the forces affecting the evaluator's report.

An area of contention is around the issue of "subjectivity". The collection, analysis and reporting of data in this approach is reliant on the evaluator's subjective view. Critics argue that this "subjectivity" undermines the reliability and validity of the research. Parlett *et al* respond in three ways:

* It is false to assume that "...forms of research exist which are immune to prejudice, experimenter bias and human error."[190] Any research study needs skilled judgements to chose samples, construct tests, select statistical tests, and so on;
* The illuminative evaluator can counter these issues by using methods associated with "triangulation"[191] where different methods for probing particular questions from different points of view are used. These include the use of different research methods to cross-check findings, outsiders' coding and checking open-ended

---

189 Stenhause quoted in Stufflebeam & Shinkfield, *op. cit.*, p.298.

190 Parlett, Dearden & Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p.21.

191 Parlett, M. & Dearden, G. "The Recognition of Authenticity", in M. Parlett and G. Dearden (eds.) *Introduction to Illuminative Evaluation: studies in higher education*, Cardiff-by-the-Sea: Pacific Soundings Press, 1977a, p.39.

questionnaires, members of a research team playing devil's advocate, and so on; and

* The researchers can explain to the evaluation audience how data and observations gathered so that they can better understand how certain conclusions were reached.

Another way of achieving validity and reliability is to use the concepts of "circumstantial evidence" and "referential adequacy" developed by Eisner.[192] The illuminative report should rely on circumstantial evidence, or structural corroboration to test the credibility of the report. The report should provide conclusions which are supported by evidence within the report which relates to events that have occurred. A second test of a report's reliability is its "referential adequacy". This means that the report should illuminate the topic to which it is addressed. A report which is reliable and valid will enable the evaluation audience (who have experience of the programme) to understand the issue and insights highlighted by the illuminative evaluator.

Despite its basis in the close-up study of individual learning milieux, illuminative evaluation can be applied on a wider scale. In the case of extensively applied programmes Parlett *et al*[193] suggest that one way of increasing the reliability of illuminative studies, is to study only a few programmes. Eventually certain characteristics of the learning milieu will be found to be common or uncommon to the programme type. This can be used to create a conceptual template around which similar programmes can be considered. Using this template, researchers would then have to spend only short periods at each programme. In this way, the template would gain reliability as a tool and as a concept.

Research methods used in illuminative research promote changes in the way people view a programme. Also, the evaluator experiences changes;

---

192 Eisner, *op. cit.*, p.184.

193 Parlett, Dearden & Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p.23.

ideas held, by the evaluator, at the start of an evaluation may be different to those held on completion of the research because of the particular experiences during research. This is a function of the way the evaluator intervenes in a programme. However, this raises many ethical questions for evaluators. For instance, what should researchers do to protect the privacy of individuals and institutions? The evaluator has to invade some privacy to conduct the study, but at the same time has to be sensitive about how far he or she goes. This is further complicated by the public's right to know and the individual's and/or organisation's right to choose what the public should know. It is difficult for an evaluator in such situations to avoid questions relating to ethics and validity. This is further underscored by quantitative research methods like participant observation which are notorious for the ethical difficulties they can create. Clearly there is more than one answer to each of these dilemmas.

5.7 Summary

This chapter has identified five evaluation study types. With each study type a related evaluation approach has been specified. These are summarised in Table IX.[194] Together with the implied reference to the history of evaluation (discussed in previous chapters) this chapter has critically discussed the evaluation approaches identified. Each approach is more suited to specific situations than to others. This specificity is related to a combination of factors like the planned intended use of the approach, its strengths and weaknesses, where it is used, and so on.

Preceding chapters have developed the concept of evaluation through defining it, and have focused on the American history of evaluation and its philosophy. It has also been argued that the best way through

---

194 These descriptions summarise the approaches. The grid has been simplified to show differences between evaluation approaches and activities. The approaches do overlap. Each developer recognises that one approach is not ideal for all purposes.

the quantitative as opposed to the qualitative research approach is to recognise the paradigm of choices: the appropriateness of each design is dependent on the specific research questions being asked. The discussion has provided the reader with a theoretical and conceptual package with which to view programme evaluation as an activity.

The discussion in this chapter relates directly to Chapter seven where these five approaches are brought into the context of meeting the evaluation needs of Operation Hunger (Western Cape). In this context, one of these approaches is chosen as the most appropriate to meet the needs of Operation Hunger. However, before this process can be discussed, programme evaluation has to be placed in the context of social research and evaluation in South Africa. This is the focus of Chapter six.

TABLE X: FIVE APPROACHES TO EVALUATION

STUDY TYPE	Decision-orientated Study	Connoisseur-based Study
APPROACH	Decision-oriented Approach - CIPP	Connoisseurship Approach
KEY DEVELOPERS	Cronbach, Stufflebeam	Eisner
PURPOSE	To provide knowledge & a value-base for making & defending decisions. Quality & effectivness control.	To critically describe, appraise & illuminate an object. To improve standards. Judgement of programmes.
MAJOR AUDIENCE	Managers, administrators.	Connoisseurs, authorities & consumers.
ASSUMES CONSENSUS	General goals, criteria.	Critics, standards.
MAIN QUESTIONS	How should organisational activities be planned & executed so that organisational & programme growth can be fostered at reasonable cost?	Would a critic approve of this programme? Are consumers getting all they can from the programme & how is it effecting them?
TYPICAL METHODS	Surveys, needs assessments, questionnaires, interviews, participant observation, external observation, quasi & experimental research.	Use of perceptual sensitivity & various ways of conveying meaning & feelings, background information, observations, critical review.
ADVANTAGES	Feedback for decision-making and management systems, improved accountability, acknowledges political role of evaluation.	Captures subtlety, can evaluate more than process & outcomes. Helps audience with decision-making to improve standards.
DIS-ADVANTAGES	Over-values efficiency, relies on structured management system, ignores non-decision-making groups.	Doubts about validity & reliability, art criticism is elitist, conclusions cannot be generalised.

TABLE X: FIVE APPROACHES TO EVALUATION cont.

STUDY TYPE	Policy Study	Consumer-oriented Study
APPROACH	Judicial Evaluation Method Approach	Consumer-oriented Approach
KEY DEVELOPERS	Owens, Levine, Wolf	Scriven
PURPOSE	To assess potential costs & benefits of policies or programmes for a given institution or society	To judge the relative merits of services, goods & programmes. To assess programme affects.
MAJOR AUDIENCE	Jury (stake-holders), policy makers.	Consumers, society at large.
ASSUMES CONSENSUS	Procedures, jury, judges.	Consequences, criteria.
MAIN QUESTIONS	What are arguments for & against a programme or policy? Which programmes or policies will achieve desired outcomes at reasonable cost?	Which of several consumable objects is the best buy - given their costs, needs of consumers & values of society? Find all affects?
TYPICAL METHODS	Quasi-legal procedures, cross examination, witnesses testament, delphi technique, quasi- & experimental designs, naturalistic research, opposing advocates.	Ignore proponents' claims, goal-free evaluation, follow checklist, needs assessment, experimental designs, cost analysis.
ADVANTAGES	Information impact good, claims put to test, encourages understanding of all issues, empowers stake-holders.	Empowers consumers, finds actual consequences, checklist creates arguments & structure, comparison of evaluation.
DIS-ADVANTAGES	Personalistic, superficial, lacks subtlety, time-bound, expensive, conflictual.	Over-values documentation & records, ignores evaluator's own bias & values

TABLE X: FIVE APPROACHES TO EVALUATION cont.

STUDY TYPE	Client-centred Studies
APPROACH	Illuminative Approach
KEY DEVELOPERS	MacDonald, Parlett, Hamilton
PURPOSE	To provide understanding of activities and values and help with decision-making.
MAJOR AUDIENCE	Clients, decision-makers, community groups.
ASSUMES CONSENSUS	Negotiations, activities.
MAIN QUESTIONS	What is the history of a programme & how is it judged by experts & those involved in the programme? What does the programme do? What does a programme look like to other people?
TYPICAL METHODS	Case studies, interviews, observation, surveys, participant observation, background information, document analysis.
ADVANTAGES	Highlights conflict of values, broad picture of programme, empowers decision-makers, responsive to clients' needs.
DIS-ADVANTAGES	Over relies on subjective perceptions, difficult to generalise to other studies, open to "political" interpretation.

CHAPTER SIX

EVALUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

Chapters four and five explored the historical conditions under which programme evaluation developed. However, one cannot simply transpose from one context to another without firstly, understanding the historical specificity within which programme evaluation developed and secondly, understanding the historical context in which it is to be applied. This chapter will locate programme evaluation in a South African context that is defined by the emergence of racial capitalism. To this end this chapter will focus on the development of the field of social welfare and social work in South Africa, and highlight certain features which impact on programme evaluation and research in the field of welfare. In particular it will be argued that the nature of important features found in "modern" welfare provision and research (from the 1930s to the present) may be traced back to the previous two centuries.

The field of welfare can be periodised in the following way:

(1) The Early Period: Pre-1909
(2) The Development of the Politics and Ideology of the Welfare System: 1910-1947
(3) The Rise of the Apartheid State: 1948-1975
(4) The Period of Resistance: 1976-1985
(5) The Period of Low Intensity Warfare: 1986-1989
(6) The Period of Transformation: 1990-present

6.1 The Early Period: Pre-1909

When Vasco da Gama came to the Cape in 1497 he found two groups:

* The Khoikhoi who had been in the area for centuries and who kept cattle and sheep; and

* The San who had been in the region for millennia and were hunter-gatherers.

As he sailed north to Delgoa Bay he encountered black people who had occupied the eastern seaboard and its hinterland south of the Pongola River since the Middle Iron Age. At almost the same time as da Gama passed by people moved to the upland areas of Natal, into the grasslands of the Transkei and Ciskei hinterland and the eastern Transvaal escarpment area. Thus by the time Jan Van Riebeek reached the Cape "...most of the fertile regions in the eastern half of southern Africa had come to be occupied by Iron Age farmers."[195]

The Dutch East India Company established a trading factory at the Cape of Good Hope in 1652. The first white settlers were employees of the company. Initially the relationship between the settlers and the local populace was symbiotic. However this degenerated as conflict around land and cattle ownership increased. The pattern of this formative relationship between black and white has continued through to the present day. McKendrick explains that "...within the first 10 years of the Company's occupation, the Cape experienced three events that are still relevant to the present day: race conflict, racial intermingling, and poverty."[196]

A frontier was established in an effort to stem and prevent economic conflict between (white) settlers and the Khoikhoi/San. These conflicts were primarily economic and revolved around land and (private) property ownership. Thus *separation* became one of the characteristics of economic and social relationships between black and white people. However, there was also interaction. One form of this interaction was racial inter-mingling which resulted in the growth of a "mixed-race group". This group was expanded the by introduction of slaves from West Africa and the East Indies.

---

195 Maylam, P.A. *History of the African People of South Africa: from the Early Iron Age to the 1970s*, Cape Town: David Philip, 1986, p.10.

196 McKendrick, B.W. "The Development of Social Welfare and Social Work in South Africa" in B.W. McKendrick (ed.) *Introduction to Social Work in South Africa*, Pinetown: Owen Burgess Publishers, 1987a, p.6.

The release of some of the company's employees to become *Free Burghers* meant that the frontier changed from a frontier of trade with political initiatives associated with trade, to a frontier of agrarian settlement.[197] The release of the Free Burghers had two consequences:

* First, it led to the First and Second Khoikhoi-Dutch Wars (1659 and 1673-77). This resulted in the defeat of the Khoikhoi and their subordination to direct and indirect Dutch rule. By the mid-1690s the Khoikhoi had begun to give up their own means of production in favour of employment on settler farms;[198] and
* Secondly, it resulted in the first institutionalised intervention in the provision of welfare in 1657. This happened when Free Burghers experienced crop failure and became indigent. The Company took partial responsibility for their welfare and raised money for the relief of the poor through the *Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk* (NGK) in Holland.[199] This is also the first crude example of the embryonic partnership in welfare between "state" and "private" organisations.

In 1665 the Church became established in South Africa as the Company's agent for the distribution of poor relief. The scope of the church's intervention was limited to assisting the indigent in and around Cape Town and its environs.

On the frontier the white farmers relied on their families to meet their primary human needs. Across the frontier, Khoikhoi lived in clan groupings. Their social and political practices included measures to care for individuals affected by the uncertainties of life: food and cattle were the wealth of the clan and consequently it fed all its members. A combination of plunder of Khoikhoi cattle by

---

197 Elphick, R. & Malherbe, V.C. "The Khoisan to 1828" in R. Elphick & H. Giliomee (eds.) *The Shaping of South African Society*, Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, 1989, pp.7-11.

198 *ibid.*, pp.11-18.

199 McKendrick, 1987a, *op. cit.*, pp.6-7.

Free Burghers after 1700, excessive demands by the Company for cattle, smallpox epidemics (1713-15 and 1755), stock diseases and miscegenation all played a role in the decimation of the Khoikhoi.[200]

The Gamtoos river had become the official eastern boundary of the Cape in 1770. In 1779 the boundary was advanced to the Fish River. This was followed almost immediately by the first frontier war between the Boers and the Xhosas. The issues of this war, along with all the others which followed it, were land, cattle and economic power. Within a century the "Europeans" had by-passed the Transkeian frontier, conquered the Sotho, Pedi and Zulu tribes and penetrated into southern Natal. Pondoland, the last independent territory was annexed in 1894. The Bambata Rebellion of 1905-1906 was the last war of resistance.[201] Conquest was complete.

The advent of mining and a crisis within agriculture changed the face of South Africa.

The discovery of diamonds in 1867 and gold in 1886 led to a radical transformation of South Africa's political economy from agrarian to a "marriage of maize and gold".[202] The meteoric growth of the mining industry drew immigrants from all around the world. Within South Africa black and white migrated towards the towns, off the land, in search of work. The low average ore grade, the fixed international gold price and the high development and overhead costs on the mines had profound implications for black and white workers.

The end of the Anglo-Boer war coincided with a crisis in white agriculture. There were three aspects to this crisis:

---

200 Elphick & Malherbe, *op. cit.*, pp.18-28.

201 Roux, E. *Time Longer Than Rope: a history of the black man's struggle for freedom in South Africa*, Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1978, pp.10-11.

202 Callinicos, A. *South Africa Between Reform and Revolution*, London: Bookmarks, 1988, p.11.

* *The disruption of white agriculture*. This occurred as a result of the burning of farms and the system of internment of Boers in concentration camps;
* *A severe shortage of new land*. This happened even though the Roman-Dutch law of inheritance had been removed from the statute books of the Colonies and Boer republics between 1863 and 1902. However the philosophy of the law continued to be accepted. This led to land being sub-divided amongst family members until, in combination with poor farming methods, the land was unable to support Boer families;[203] and
* *Tenant farmers forced off the land*. White tenant farmers (*bywoners*) were squeezed off the land through the rationalisation of capitalist agriculture.

These factors forced whites to look for work in the towns. They found that they could not compete with either the skilled immigrants or with the unskilled and lower paid African workers on the labour market. This led to the "poor white problem". These "poor whites" found a home in the Afrikaans community with women's groupings and the NGK supplying relief to ease white poverty.[204]

Africans experienced different problems. The expropriation of land by the British colonists and Afrikaner settlers during the nineteenth century undermined the communal mode of production. Peasants, no longer able to support themselves through their own production, and forced by the imposition of hut and poll taxes to earn cash, went to work on the mines. They were recruited as short-term contract labourers. They were paid low wages, reflecting the notion that production in the reserves took part of the burden of reproducing labour power. The Native Land Act (Act 27 of 1913) completed this process of expropriation by allocating 13% of the land for use by Africans in designated areas. This was too little to reproduce the population, and thus the pressure on Africans to work on farms and mines was sustained. Of equal importance was the fact that the Act

---

203 McKendrick, 1987a, *op. cit.*, p.10

204 *ibid.*, p.10.

also barred Africans from land ownership and squatting outside the Reserves. This effectively ended share-cropping. The emergence of a self-supporting and commercially competitive peasantry was effectively halted when families were forced off the land they occupied. In this way competition with white farmers was eliminated. The establishment of capitalism in agriculture led to similar repressive forms of labour control by white farmers, with labour tenancy providing a bridge between the old feudal arrangements and fully fledged wage labour.[205]

Religious organisations, especially the NGK, continued to organise and supply welfare services continued into the nineteenth century. This pattern was characterised by an increase in welfare services and a growth in institutional welfare resources. For instance, the first orphanage was established in 1814 by the NGK. Throughout the century the organisation of welfare provision and the promulgation of related legislation revealed that there was "...an emphasis on the three areas of care of children, care of the physically handicapped, and the relief of indigence; and in all instances, the emphasis was upon white people."[206] McKendrick says that between 1864 and 1899 seventeen institutions for children were established. Of these only one, a reformatory, was for a "non-white" group. It is worth noting that this institution is be associated with control and punishment.

6.2 The Development of the Politics and Ideology of the Welfare System: 1910-1947

The current face of welfare in South Africa is a function of a series of important events during this period. These events shaped the content, format and ideology of subsequent welfare policy. With

---

205 Callinicos, *op. cit.*, p.11.

206 McKendrick, 1987a, *op. cit.*, p.9.

respect to the development of social policy, McKendrick says that

> Any country's social policy concerning the well-being of its citizens, and particularly the state's role in this, is reflected in its welfare system. A welfare system is thus a political statement, and both its formation and making changes to it are *political* processes.[207]

The present South African welfare system and the changes which have occurred within it, are a political statement rooted in this period.

This period saw increased intervention by the state in the field of welfare and a concomitant growth in the number of welfare organisations. The 1920s saw the state pass legislation which impacted on the welfare of children and the handicapped. State policy also helped to create community sponsored welfare organisations and in this way began to develop the partnership between state and private welfare organisations. At the same time local welfare organisations grouped themselves together in national councils with the intention of influencing state welfare policy and promoting co-operation amongst affiliated organisations. Thus the South African National Councils for Child Welfare and for the Blind were created in 1924, with a National Council for the Deaf following in 1929.[208]

The political character of both the increased involvement by the state in welfare provision and the development of the private welfare sector was shaped by a combination of the 1922 Rand Revolt and the solution to the "poor white problem".

The 1922 Rand Revolt was caused by the Chamber of Mines cutting labour costs ending the white monopoly of skilled jobs and replacing expensive white labour with cheaper black labour. The revolt was crushed by Smuts, but the white miners succeeded in keeping their skilled jobs. In 1924 the "Pact" government was formed; a coalition of Afrikaner Nationalists and the white Labour Party. The government initiated policies aimed at incorporating the white working class

---

207 McKendrick, B.W. "The Future of Social Work in South Africa", *Maatskaplike Werk/Social Work*, Vol.26, No.1, 1990, p.11.

208 McKendrick, 1987a, *op. cit.*, p.12.

into structures which would prevent a repeat of 1922. These policies included:

* The Industrial Conciliation Act of 1924 (Act 11 of 1924) which emasculated white trade unions by co-opting them into state-sponsored industry wide bargaining machinery. This removed white labour's most effective weapon; strike action. Pass-bearing "natives" were excluded from belonging to registered unions in terms of the provisions of the Act;[209]
* Several Acts were passed which entrenched the colour bar, reserving skilled jobs for whites; and
* State policy towards poor whites moved away from the reactive *ad hoc* provisional schemes of relief to help poor whites, towards a more proactive role. To this end the Department of Labour was established with the specific aim of finding work for indigent whites. State programmes were devised to create work opportunities; thus "protected" employment was created in the army, railways, local government, and so on.[210]

In this way the policies of the "Pact" government made explicit the implicit link between official state activity and the racist planning and delivery of social services. In effect these policies meant that the Rand Revolt and the "Pact" government's response to it, had placed white destitution on society's agenda as both a social and a political issue. However, in spite of this activity "...ready solutions to white destitution were elusive, and poverty increased."[211]

The NGK recognised that this issue involved both political and social aspects, and that these could be used by it to pursue political aims. Thus during the 1920s white indigence was identified as a "problem" which needed a "solution"[212], while black poverty was not seen as a

---

209 Callinicos, *op. cit.*, p.11.

210 McKendrick, 1987a, *op. cit.*, p.11.

211 *ibid.*, p.11.

212 Ashford in his analysis of commissions makes a similar point. Ashford, A. *The Politics of Official Discourse in Twentieth-Century South Africa*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990, p.5.

"problem". In 1928 the NGK convinced the Carnegie Corporation to fund a "...scientific investigation into the causes of white poverty, its extent, and the means by which it could be reduced."[213] The report indicated that white people were poor because of changes in society's economic and social structure. It was also critical of state policy towards poor relief, citing the lack of social workers, the demoralising effects of injudicious relief, and so on.[214] The report also pursued its political agenda by warning of the dangers of state paternalism, and instead praised the virtues of "...private initiative and toil."[215] The release of the enquiry's report in 1932, as well as the conference on the "Poor White Problem" in 1934, led directly to the establishment of the Department of Social Welfare (attached to the Department of Labour) in 1935 and the creation of university courses in social work. A separate Department of Social Welfare was established in 1937. In the longer term this activity stimulated the development of social work as a profession.

The NGK's campaign for a "solution" to the poor white "problem" and the role of the Carnegie enquiry in this campaign established the link between research with specific political objectives and policy with related objectives. The political objectives were those associated with a mix of racist ideology, capitalism and the "work ethic". The policy objectives were to establish a state welfare system which would represent the culmination of social policy begun in the previous decade, based on racism and the "work ethic".[216]

---

213 McKendrick, 1987a, *op. cit.*, pp.11-12.

214 Albertyn, J.R. "Part V. Sociological Report" in Report of the Carnegie Commission (eds.) *The Poor White Problem in South Africa*, Stellenbosch: Pro Ecclesia-Drukkery, 1932, pp.77-89.

215 *ibid.*, pp.89-102.

216 For an example of this see the policy statement made by the architect of apartheid H.F. Verwoerd at the Volkskongress of 1934. Joubert, D. "Prof. H.F. Verwoerd op die Volkskongress van 1934: Die Bestryding van Armoede en die Herorganisasie van Wevaartswerk" in Joubert, D., (ed.) *Toe Witmense Arm Was: uit die Carnegie verslag 1932*, Stellenbosch: Tafelberg, 1972, pp.54-64.

Another influence on the ideology and politics surrounding welfare during this period was the liberal paternalism of philanthropy. The age of philanthropy had begun in Europe in the wake of industrialisation with its concomitant social dislocation. It reached the United States of America during the depression creating the naïve, yet popular, perception of welfare provision as humanitarian activity. This activity, of "doing something to help", was seen as being "above" politics, an "a political" under-taking, free from the planning and social agenda of the state and capital. During the 1920s and 1930s this perception became integrated into the ideology surrounding welfare provision in South Africa. In spite of evidence to the contrary, this popular notion has remained part of the current accepted perception of welfare.

The activities of the Department of Welfare laid bare the fallacy of the "a political" nature of welfare provision. The state's political agenda with respect to welfare was described as "The desire...to solve the problem of poverty and consequent retardation amongst a large section of the European population, which at the time transcended in importance and gravity all other social questions."[217]

The pursuit of this political agenda meant that racist policies became the norm with respect to welfare provision. For example with respect to the subsidy scheme for social workers introduced in 1938 a full 32 posts for whites were covered. The majority of South Africans who were not white were not as fortunate. As Martine points

---

217 Report of the Departmental Committee of Inquiry into the Training and Employing of Social Workers, 1950, quoted in McKendrick, 1987a, *op. cit.*, p.13.

out, the

> ...first subsidies for other race groups were granted as follows: to Coloureds 6; and to Africans 12. Subsidies for Indians were granted much later. The subsidy consisted of 75% of the salaries of social workers in the employ of private agencies and local authorities. However there were differences, and Blacks in the employ of municipalities were subsidised only to the extent of 50% of their salaries.[218]

Private welfare organisations also pursued racist practices in the provision of services.[219] For instance 75% of all private welfare organisation in the early 1940s worked exclusively in the white community. Also, certain legislation which was racially blind was interpreted in a racist way. For example "...the *Children's Act, 1937*, which provided for children living in unsatisfactory or undesirable circumstances to be declared 'children in need of care', was generally not implemented in the case of African children."[220]

The end of the second world war saw demands for a national contributory programme of social security in the light of similar policies adopted by the Labour government in England and elsewhere in the commonwealth.[221] Parliament rejected this call on the basis of expense. In the process it reaffirmed its commitment to an anti-socialist stance towards welfare, through accepting the residual approach to welfare provision.[222]

This anti-socialist stance towards welfare provision was also reflected in the partnership between the state and community in

---

218 Martine, L. "Subsidies for Social Work in South Africa; progress and potential", *Maatskaplike Werk/Social Work*, Vol.25, No.2, 1989, pp.124-125.

219 McKendrick, 1987a, *op. cit.*, p.13.

220 *ibid.*, p.13.

221 See for example; Sullivan, J.R. *The People's Charter; a social security act for South Africa*, Durban: The Knox Publishing Company, 1943.

222 McKendrick, B.W. "The South African Social Welfare System" in B.W. McKendrick (ed.) *Introduction to Social Work in South Africa*, Pinetown: Owen Burgess Publishers, 1987b, p.22.

welfare service provision. This relationship had begun in 1657 when the NGK acted as the company's agent in welfare provision. It grew with the church playing a greater role in service provision. The relationship matured with the growth of private welfare organisations during this century. This partnership was cemented after 1938 when the state subsidised posts in private welfare organisations.

A final aspect of welfare provision which began to emerge during this period was a therapeutic orientation towards service delivery away from purely palliative measures. Activity was directed at helping those in need to adapt better to society, instead of changing those parts of society which negatively affected people's well-being.

The position for Africans continued to deteriorate during this period. The agricultural base in the reserves was inadequate to meet the needs of the population; it began to deteriorate in the face of overcrowding and land degradation. African workers on the white farms earned enough to survive on a land tenancy basis. In the towns African workers were being paid a "bachelor wage" which was not enough to support themselves and their families in the reserves. At the same time, in the context of the deterioration of the land in the reserves, more and more women made their way to the cities in an effort to survive. As this occurred so the women became part of the social survival mechanism in townships by becoming involved in and taking control of, key aspects of the informal sector, such as the illegal brewing and sale of beer.

6.3 The Rise of the Apartheid State: 1948-1975

The economic boom from 1834 to 1945, and the expansion of secondary industry caused by import substitution and the war, led to a growth in the urban black proletariat. This rapid urbanisation put pressure on the existing housing stock and the supply of welfare services. The state's approach to these problems was informed by the implementation of apartheid. Appendix A illustrates the rise and fall of the

policies associated with apartheid. The policies of the Nationalist government proceeded along two lines:

* Afrikaner domination of the state was secured through the expansion of the bureaucracy and the promotion of Afrikaner financial interest; and
* The expansion and refinement of the migrant labour system in order to break the African working class.

In line with the latter set of policies, the state set about separating and controlling people. The Population Registration Act of 1950 (Act 30 of 1950) and other related "pass laws" in conjunction with a network of labour bureaux were used to regulate the movement of African people between the cities and the reserves. The Department of Bantu Administration and Development (DBAD) was responsible for the control of African people. By 1971 DBAD controlled most aspects of African people's lives through its control of townships and the housing within these townships. At the ideological level the state justified the enforcement of apartheid and the denial of political rights by granting African people citizenship in the Bantustans. These Bantustans, the state said, would become independent states through the policy of self-determination. This policy was meant to meet the political and social aspirations of African people. To this end the destruction of black trade union and political organisations was both an objective and condition of apartheid's success. This process began with the Suppression of Communism Act in 1950 (Act 44 of 1950), and gained final "success" in 1964 with the Rivonia Trial.

Social welfare policies did not escape these trends. In the early 1950s DBAD and the Department of Coloured Affairs took over the functions of the Department of Social Welfare with respect to coloured and African people.[223] The 1951 Committee of Inquiry into the Financing of Voluntary Organisations continued the state's political agenda, by re-affirming "private endeavor" with respect to

---

223 McKendrick, 1987a, *op. cit.*, pp.15-16.

welfare provision and endorsing the anti-socialist principle of partnership between the state and private welfare organisations.[224] The state subsidy scheme, begun in the 1930s, was simplified in 1964. It was based on a fixed, amount depending on how long the post had been filled and whether it was full or part time. Subsidies were increased by a set amount each year and not according to the salary level the social worker was on at the time. The Department of Social Welfare and Pensions was responsible for these subsidies, except in the case of Africans, where the DBAD was responsible.

This period also saw the extent and scope of welfare expand; for instance the

> ...number of community sponsored welfare enterprises [increased] so that by 1976, 1908 such organisations were registered in terms of the *National Welfare Act*, 1965, and a further 2034 organisations were registered in terms of letters of delegated authority from these registered welfare organisations.[225]

The change by state and private welfare organisations from the use of palliative measures to rehabilitative practice was completed during this period. This "therapeutic" orientation assisted the control aspect of apartheid by focusing on "reforming" the client instead of challenging and changing the social circumstances which could lead to the client's predicament.

The 1960s saw apartheid take on its complete form under Verwoerd. The declaration of a Republic (1960), the Urban Bantu Councils Act (Act 79 of 1961) and the General Law Amendment Act (Act 37 of 1963)[226] embodied the concepts of separation and control inherent within it. The structure of welfare services was integral to this scheme. At this stage private welfare organisations had not yet been pressurised by the state into dividing their services along racial lines; some

---

224 Martine, *op. cit.*, p.125.

225 McKendrick, 1987a, *op. cit.*, p.15.

226 Section 17 of this Act allowed for detention for the purposes of interogation for a period of 90 days. For more detail on detention without trial see: Matthews, A. F. *Law, Order and Liberty in South Africa*, Cape Town: Juta and Co., 1971, pp.133-163.

organisations had traditionally been racist in their service provision while others had not. However in 1966, the Department of Social Welfare and Pensions issued a directive to all registered welfare organisations saying that it was "...opposed to multi-racial bodies and that separate welfare organisations should be established for African, Coloured, Indian and White persons."[227] The state also "suggested" that white dominated organisations use their superior resources and experience to sponsor these new organisations and guide them to independence. In this way welfare organisations could do the state's dirty work for it. Most organisations complied with this policy.

This series of events and their outcomes represent the relationship between the state and private welfare organisations. This illustrates that while in theory an equal partnership existed between private welfare organisations and the state, in fact this relationship was unequal because the state controlled funding through the subsidy system. This considerable financial muscle could be used by the state to make welfare organisations do its bidding on key issues. This power, in conjunction with the notion held by private welfare organisations that welfare provision is "a political" was effective in neutralising an effective response from private welfare organisations towards the state's political policies. The policies of segregation which resulted in forced removals can illustrate this point. A forced removal has a detrimental effect on community and family life. This would be an issue of interest to welfare organisations concerned with community, family and child welfare. An adequate response for these organisations would be to abandon the therapeutic orientation to intervention and to challenge this policy. Instead, organisations who did not favour of government policy were caught in a position of having to treat the symptoms of this and other apartheid policies. Little wonder that a potentially proactive activity like social research, which might enter into the forbidden realm of questioning state policy, was not pursued.

---

227 McKendrick, 1987a, *op. cit.*, p.16.

The poor state of social research was not limited to private welfare agencies. State departments directly involved in social welfare displayed a similar attitude. This is expressed by the state's evaluation of private welfare agencies for the purposes of continue or extended financial support through the subsidy system. This evaluation of the organisations and their services/programmes depended on a combination of the following:

* Consolidated Circular number 25 of 1966 issued by the Department of Social Welfare formed the basis of subsidies for social workers and other areas of welfare work. The criteria for subsidies for social workers was a caseload of 60 and a points tally of 225, based on the nature of cases and intensity of problems. Only the Department of Coloured Affairs deviated from this system. In 1973 Special Circular number nine used details of casework, group work, community work and field instruction of students, as an assessment of work done;[228]
* The monitoring of financial audits of welfare agencies; and
* Annual inspections by state officials of agencies.

This evaluation system had many deficiencies. Firstly, it did not take adequate account of the differences in intervention between casework, group work and community work. The system used by the Department of Coloured Affairs after 1973 was a partial attempt to address this particular deficiency. Secondly, this evaluation system did not identify the agencies' interventions as individual programmes. This meant that the evaluation could not consider the nature of the agencies' programmes, their intended and unintended outcomes, the process which occurred during the programmes and the nature and appropriateness of the agencies' intervention. Finally, it did not recognise evaluation as a total package. An adequate evaluation of an organisation's programmes should include an evaluation of:

* The social policies the organisation is responding to;
* The organisation's community needs analysis;

---

228 Martine, *op. cit.*, p.126.

* Effectiveness of an organisation's fund-raising strategy;
* The organisation's personnel appraisal system;
* The organisation's structure; and
* The organisation's programmes.

The implications behind recognising evaluation as a total package would mean that state policy would be subject to evaluation. Apartheid would not stand up to an evaluation where social welfare concepts like human development are used as criteria in an evaluation. The political implications of this were untenable for the state.

The form and format of the subsidy system had a deleterious impact on both practice-orientated research and programme evaluation. For instance, the stress on subsidies relying on a fixed caseload volume meant that:

* Many agencies focused their attention on the quantity of cases dealt with instead of on the quality of the service provided. Thus there was often no consistent attempt to evaluate the success of interventions; and
* Agencies were not encouraged to constantly evaluate the extent or existence of the need for a specific service.

The use of the points system meant that agencies were not motivated to conduct community needs assessments. The points system encouraged agencies to intervene in certain areas at the expense of others, because of the points weighting, and not because of the specific needs of an area. Thus the state subsidy system did not foster the need for programme evaluation and practice-orientated research. Rather the focus of state funding was on maintaining an unquestioning welfare system which relied on casework as its major therapeutic intervention. This in turn helped the state's social control policy directives.

The 1960s also saw Verwoerd's dream of the "independent homelands" begin to take shape with the creation of administrative structures within the Bantustans and the application of the pass laws by DBAD

officials and the police. At the same time, the agricultural base within the Bantustans had all but collapsed. This meant that the informal safety net for the "reserve army of labour" could no longer sustain the population. The South African state was faced with a problem; the lack of resources within the Bantustans would eventually force people to migrate towards the cities to find work. The state saw that this process would result in a serious challenge to the ideology and policies of apartheid and in answer to this it developed a strategy for making the Bantustans economically viable.
To this end:

* The state pursued policies which were meant to develop the industrial base of these rural economies. The Physical Planning and Utilisation of Resources Act of 1967 (Act 74 of 1967) was the precursor of industrial decentralisation policies designed to encourage investment in and near the Bantustans;[229]
* The political and administrative framework was created so that the concept of "homelands" could be realised. This included the choice of "chief ministers", the expropriation of land, the development of a bureaucracy, and so on. This process was based on the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act of 1970 (Act 26 of 1970) which made almost every African a citizen of a "homeland"; and
* Policies were implemented to push African people into the Bantustans. These included an increase in forced removals during the 1970s and the adoption of formal welfare functions by the Bantustan administrations. The latter policies meant that "homeland citizens" could only receive services like pensions and disability grants in the Bantustans, thus making it impossible for grant recipients to stay in the cities. The fact that some Bantustans (like Bophuthatswana) used this opportunity to develop new and innovative welfare policies does not detract from the actual function of the Bantustans.

---

229 de Clercq, F. *Education and Development in Boputhatswana: potential and limitations*, Mmabatho: University of Boputhatswana, 1984, pp.6-8.

In response to the policies of apartheid the African working class developed ways of coping. Strategies included economic, social and cultural aspects. For instance, the illegal brewing of beer and its sale in shebeens provided employment and helped build social relationships in socially fractured environments. Music like Mbanqanga, Kwela, and later township jive and jazz, took on the social expression of township life and became part of the social and cultural fabric. Voluntary associations like *stokvels* and burial societies were ways of bringing people together and circulating money. Women became more involved in informal sector activities, expanding from beer brewing to the sale of food and the establishment child-care facilities in the form of crèches. All these activities helped people to survive township life.

6.4 The Period of Resistance: 1976-1985

This period was characterised by increased conflict between the state and various organisations and communities. Social welfare and social research was drawn into this conflict. In general this period marked the beginning of the demise of apartheid.

The granting of independence to the Transkei in October 1976 represented the zenith of apartheid. The "Homeland" policies were beginning to reach completion. In 1978 Connie Mulder explained that "If our policy is taken to its logical conclusion...there will not be one black man with South African citizenship."[230]

Just as his dream was reaching fruition, so a series of economic and political events occurred to push the state into crisis. The economic crisis grew out of the boom of the 1960s. This period had seen the growth of manufacturing industries based on the importation of capital goods. This led to a balance of payments (BoP) crisis with capital goods representing more than 40% of the total annual import bill. Thus foreign investment and exports were needed to finance the

---

230 Callinicos, *op. cit.*, p.15.

BoP so that continued industrial growth could occur. However on international markets exports were not competitive because of poor productivity, a small internal market, low skill levels within the labour force, and the limited access in Africa to South Africa's markets.[231] As the economy began to slow down so other crises began to develop. Throughout this period the ratio of capital to workers had been increasing so that even as industry expanded, it could not keep pace with the growing unemployed labour force. Thus as the economic crisis intensified so the issue of unemployment became acute. The failure of the subsistence base of the reserves and the rise in unemployment led people to move from rural to urban areas to find work. The state tried to stem this flow by increasing forced removals, combatting squatting and directing resources towards industrial decentralisation.

The economic crisis interacted with growing political dissatisfaction within the black community. At the work-place this took the form of the union movement expanding rapidly after the strikes in 1973. In black communities resistance politics took hold after 1976. In response, in 1977 the Department of Defence issued a white paper outlining "total strategy". PW Botha, Minister of Defence, defined it in the following terms "Total strategy co-ordinates all aspects of national life - the military, economic, political, sociological, technological, ideological, psychological and cultural - in an integrated defence of the nation."[232] This strategy, which was adopted by the state, relied on repression and incorporation.

With respect to labour the period up to 1980 saw extensive repression of unions and the growth of "wild-cat strikes". Following the Wiehahn and Riekert reports the state attempted to incorporate the union

---

231 *ibid.*, pp.16-17.

232 Hansson, D. "Warfare Through Welfare: the new state strategy of low intensity warfare and some of its implications for progressive social services in South Africa" in G. Eagle, G. Hayes & A. Bhana (eds.) *Mental Health - Struggle and Transformation: proceedings of the third national OASSSA conference*, Durban: Organisation for Appropriate Social Services in South Africa, 1988, pp.97-98.

movement into formalised structures, as it had done with white workers in 1924. In response the unions used this legal and political space to build their membership and structures so that by 1989 they had become a major force in society.

"Total strategy" was also used to contain black protest. The pattern was set in 1977 with Steve Biko's death in detention, the banning of 18 organisations, and the promulgation of the Indemnity Act (Act 13 of 1977). In the early 1980s the state embarked on a process of incorporation through the granting of limited political rights in the form of the tricameral system. Pro-democracy organisations under the banner of the United Democratic Front (UDF) led a mass "don't vote" campaign which discredited the new parliamentary system and the constitution upon which it was based. In the face of widespread resistance within townships during 1984-85, the repressive aspect of "total strategy" once again became more apparent.

The field of social service delivery was shaped by the contest between the state and extra-parliamentary organisations, in the form of the Mass Democratic Movement, for the political terrain.
It has been argued above that the state had achieved political compliance from the "private" welfare sector during the previous period. However during 1978 the state consolidated and extended its control of the formal welfare arena by reformulating social welfare legislation in the form of:

* The Social Work Act (Act 110 of 1978);
* The National Welfare Act (Act 100 of 1978); and
* The Fund-raising Act (Act 107 of 1978)

These Acts allowed the state to better control welfare provision so that the welfare system could be used to further "total strategy's" aim of incorporation. It did this by enhancing the state's control of welfare in three ways. Firstly, through being able to determine priority welfare needs and being able to specify "appropriate" welfare programmes to be carried out by private welfare agencies[233].

---

233 Comaroff, I. "The South African Welfare Structure", *Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk*, Vol.15, No.3, 1978, p.133.

Secondly, the Fund-raising Act was used to control, monitor and prevent fund-raising activities of fund-raising organisations.[234] The power of this latter provision was illustrated in 1976 when the state used the Suppression of Communism Act (Act 44 of 1950) to declare the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) an "affected" organisation. This ended all foreign funding to NUSAS, resulting in a dramatic decrease in the organisation's funding and consequently its anti-apartheid activities. In a similar way the Fund-raising Act was used in 1978 and 1979 to control the funding of defence teams in politically linked trials by the South African Council of Churches. The Act was also used during 1988 and 1989 to restrict the funding of organisations like the UDF and the End Conscription Campaign (ECC). Thirdly, the state created the impression of consultation through the creation of advisory bodies like the South African Welfare Council. In practice, such bodies were emasculated because they were not granted resources consistent with the ability to inform policy. Such resources would have included those needed for research purposes like an adequate budget, research staff, suitable premises, and so on.

The process of formulating these Acts and their content illustrated three aspects of the state's approach to social welfare. Firstly private welfare organisations and social welfare in general had an important role to play in the success of "total strategy". In the light of this it was important for the state to have maximum control of the welfare field. Secondly, commissions of inquiry were only used to inform policy if they agreed with state policy. In other words, social research was used to justify policy. Thus the report of the Committee of Inquiry into Separate Legislation for the Social Work Profession was ignored in the legislation largely because aspects of it contradicted state policy.[235] Finally, the state ignored the views of the "private" welfare organisations as expressed to the commission

---

234 *ibid.*, p.137.

235 *ibid.*, p.134.

of enquiry, once again illustrating the political impotence of these organisations.

The late 1970s and early 1980s saw the growth of extra-parliamentary organisations, like the independent trade unions, civic associations, other community-based organisations and non-government service organisations[236] (NGSOs). These organisations began to challenge the state on the political terrain. From the earliest period social research became involved in this conflict, with NGSOs at the forefront of this struggle. The state recognised this challenge and used its own security and media services to counter this challenge. In this way specific areas of social research became a site of struggle between the state and anti-apartheid organisations. An example of this is the case of the Surplus People Project (SPP). SPP is à non-government service organisation which during the 1980s worked in the field of forced removals, especially in the rural areas. Its work included campaigning against the policies of forced removals, research in this and related fields and providing legal and other resources to communities under threat of removal. In this context the organisation released a five volume report in June 1983 entitled *Forced Removals in South Africa*.[237] The report documented the implementation of the policy of forced removals and took a hostile stance *vis-á-vis* the policy. The report was so well received that several of the volumes were reprinted. The state recognised this political challenge. In response, researchers were detained and field-workers were harassed by security forces.[238] After the release of the report a cabinet minister used the television service to lambaste and discredit the organisation and the report.

---

236 A non-government service organisation may be defined as an organisation which does not receive financial aid from the South African state, is formally structured, is aligned to general democratic and developmental principles and whose clients are mainly from historically disadvantaged communities.

237 Surplus People Project, *Forced Removals in South Africa*, Cape Town: Surplus People Project, 1983.

238 Platzky, L. & Walker, C. *The Surplus People; forced removals in South Africa*, Johannesburg; Ravan Press, 1985, p.xxiii.

Organisations like SPP and the services it provided were typical of the NGSOs which emerged with extra-parliamentary political organisations during this period. The services offered by these NGSOs were radically different from those offered by "private" welfare organisations, although they had in common that they were not government sponsored and provided services which were not supplied by the private state subsidised welfare organisations. Also these services could be described as being "anti-apartheid" in orientation although the degree of this varied. For instance, the feeding of 1.2 million people a day by Operation Hunger was, in some respects, as much a political act as were services offered by the ECC's Conscription Advice Service (CAS), the support services provided by the Detainees' Parents Support Committee (DPSC) and the Detention Treatment Team (DTT). The services offered by these organisations varied greatly although the theme of development was common. Some NGSOs like DPSC, DTT, CAS, and SPP had specific political agendas aimed at confronting the state directly at the political level in the fields of conscription, detention without trial, human rights, and so on. Other organisations, like Operation Hunger and World Vision, maintained an "a-political" stance, in spite of the political implications of their activities. According to Smit[239] the structure of these organisations tended to lean towards the "organic model" with a high degree of decentralised authority, a flat organisational structure, a mixed pattern of mainly bilateral communication, and a low level of job specialisation. Ultimately this "organic" structure reflected the political and social values of organisation concepts like self-sustainable development, accountability, national democracy, empowerment, and so on.

The development of more politically orientated, NGSOs had important political implications for private welfare organisations. These NGSOs occupied the political space associated with socialist and social

---

239 Smit, A. De V. "Traditional vs Progressive Welfare Organisations - Diverging Trends", *Social Work Practice*, July, 1992, pp.24-26.

democratic political groupings. As such they laid claim to the political history and traditions associated with such groupings. In terms of welfare provision, this meant the championing of issues like; the use of the welfare system as a means of income redistribution, a national health system, the development of a national insurance system, a radical approach to social work, the development of alternative approaches to welfare and welfare systems, and so on. In taking on this mantle these organisations placed themselves in a position which was diametrically opposed to that of the state. As a defence against the state and as a means of political and organisational survival, these organisations kept control of their political space by excluding as many organisations associated with the state as possible from access to this political and organisational environment. This included private welfare organisations which were recognised as being politically impotent with regard to the state and thus a potential threat to progressive organisations. This marginalisation of private welfare organisations meant that they were excluded from more than the political environment; they were excluded from the research environment which these NGSOs had developed. This meant they were denied entrance to research resources, access to the latest research methods and developments, political entry to communities and participation in the debates and discussion around a post-apartheid welfare system.

With respect to private welfare organisations and state social welfare services there was a further reason for the poverty of research. Thomas called it the "practioner-researcher strain". Thomas[240] argued that "...within the social work profession...an erroneous view has been perpetuated, *viz*, that the same person cannot be both a good researcher and a good practitioner."[241] This "practitioner-researcher strain" Thomas says, has been induced by several factors interacting with one another. For the practitioner

---

240 Thomas, A. "Research and Practice in Social Work: a source of strain", *Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk*, Vol.22, no.2, 1986, pp.96-98.

241 *ibid.*, p.96.

the following played a role in hindering the incorporation of research into practice and in guiding practice:

* Practitioners sense a clash between their humanitarian values and the controlled "scientific" experimental type designs;
* Abstract theory is viewed as being just as valid a way of knowing something as verified empirical knowledge. Thus practitioners tend not to operationalise concepts and use them as quantifiable elements;
* Evaluative research, particularly programme evaluation, is viewed as threatening to the organisation and the individual practitioner. This is compounded by a perception that evaluations only happen when the organisation is in "trouble";
* Practice at many agencies is characterised by large case loads. This results in the social/field-worker not having enough time to either conduct their own research, such as evaluation of their practice, or even to read the most recent literature relating to their practice; and
* Training of those practitioners who have been through undergraduate programmes in the social sciences, is not sufficient to furnish them with the confidence and skills to carry out research. Also, after graduation practitioners become less literate with respect to the assessment of technical research papers.

Thomas argued further that the "professional" researcher compounded the above problems through the following:

* Universities and research institutions may have research priorities which differ from those perceived by people working in the field;
* Since researchers tend not to be involved in the direct delivery of services, they are open to misunderstanding the obstacles presented by clients, the environment, logistics, the agency, and so on. This strains the relationship between the researcher and the practitioner;
* Research reports are not always presented so that they are accessible to non-academic readers. This is compounded by the presentation of sophisticated statistical tables and the liberal use of jargon; and

* Research carried out by people at a distance from the field, runs the risk of being out of date, either because the researcher is out of touch with current debates or because of the time taken for the research results to reach those in the field.

The failure of private welfare organisations, state research institutions and universities, to address this issue, argues Thomas, has played a part in the underdevelopment and underutilisation of social research in private welfare organisations. NGSOs were aware of this strain and its negative implications. They thus consciously addressed this "practioner-researcher strain" by making the researcher and practioner the same person; encouraging NGSO workers to use their practice as a basis for research.

The following period saw the advent of low intensity warfare which increased the distance between the NGSOs and the state sponsored social service system.

6.5 The Period of Low Intensity Warfare: 1986-1989.

During this period South Africa experienced unprecedented turmoil. A period of civil unrest, extreme state repression, a faltering political reform programme, and the intensification of the economic and political crisis. The state's approach to this was distinguished by low intensity warfare; a "violent" peace.

The economic and political crisis intensified after Botha's well known "Rubicon" speech. Continuing repression within the country drove the international community to intensify economic sanctions against the country. At the same time Chase Manhattan Bank refused to "roll-over" part of South Africa's foreign debt. In effect, this cut off all foreign investment. This exacerbated the short- and long-term ballance of payment crisis which prevented the country achieving a real growth rate in the economy, which in turn led to greater unemployment. This in combination with disinvestment by foreign and South African firms placed enormous pressure on the economy.

The state also experienced a fiscal crisis: The increasing use of the army in the townships as well as an escalation in the war in Namibia meant that the armed forces were making greater demands on the budget. The state was finding it more difficult to finance these expenses in the face of a growing demand for increases in welfare and education spending. At the same time the electorate was becoming more resistant to tax increases in the declining economic climate.

The political crisis was also becoming acute. The legitimacy of the tricameral parliamentary system had become so dubious that the leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, resigned from parliament and the PFP on the basis that parliament had become irrelevant to the political process within the country. At the same time extra-parliamentary organisations on the left continued to develop during the early and mid-1980s. Similarly the NGSOs which had begun during the previous period grew in size, number, scope and sophistication of operation. The practice of the NGSO's was directed towards the destruction of the apartheid system through; engaging in political campaigns, conducting research with which to challenge the state, supplying support services to other anti-apartheid organisations and investigating alternative post-apartheid social service systems. Several examples serve to illustrate this trend:

* The National Medical and Dental Association (NAMDA) developed from a group of "concerned doctors" meeting on a voluntary basis, to an organisation with branches in every region of the country, employing full-time administrators in the biggest regions and spear-heading the campaign for a national health system;
* The Organisation For Appropriate Social Services in South Africa (OASSSA) grew from a group of psychologists treating victims of repression to a national organisation, advising trade unions, conducting research within communities, developing new research techniques, setting social service priorities and conducting political campaigns around the issue of human rights; and

* Professional planning organisations like Planact and the Centre for Development Studies were established during this period to begin to answer the planning and policy needs of a post-apartheid era.

Together these organisations represented the emergence of a coherent and radical alternative to the state's social service system.

The mixture of the activities of the NGSOs, civic associations, extra-parliamentary political organisations and trade unions as well as the economic, fiscal and political crises all represented a potent threat to the very existence of apartheid. By mid-1986, in an effort to meet this crisis, the state developed a counter-revolutionary strategy based on the principles of low intensity warfare i.e. selective repression of the resistance-leadership by the security forces and the carefully controlled social reform of material conditions.

Key to this strategy was the use of the social service system - local government services, health and welfare services, education, and so on - to meet specific political and military objectives. Hansson explains that

> ...the state is now realising the potential of social service workers as counter-revolutionary agents. Low intensity warfare works to defuse national liberation movements by ameliorating the social problems around which people are politicised and mobilised. And what better people to do this welfare-job than social service workers?[242]

This strategy was directed by the State Security Council. Its members consisted of senior persons in the armed services as well as cabinet members involved in education, health and welfare. A system of Joint Management Committees (JMCs) working from the provincial level down to the local and neighbourhood levels ensured implementation of the strategy. Participants in the JMCs included local school officials, local government officials, social workers, health workers and so on. The role played by the social service system in this strategy was three-fold:

---

242 Hansson, *op. cit.*, pp.96-97.

* Helping the military and political authorities in identifying communities where anti-apartheid activity was happening, or was likely to happen;
* Identifying issues and grievances within specific communities; and
* Acting as a conduit through which the military and political authorities could covertly direct resources towards these identified communities in order to frustrate or defuse anti-apartheid activity.

The security forces also operated a parallel structure to the JMCs; the National Security Management System (NSMS). Using the JMCs and the security forces intelligence services the NSMS was able to provide "...detailed intelligence about grassroots activity, making highly selective and rapid counter-revolutionary manoeuvres a reality."[243] This relationship between the JMCs and the NSMS underlined the malevolent aspect of JMCs. The secrecy of the JMC's membership and activities amplified its sinister objectives. Writing in 1988, Hansson illustrates the JMC's *modus operandi*, extent of operation and interest.

> The overall objective of JMC's is to monitor the implementation of state plans at local levels and to propose solutions to social problems. For example, the recent state investigation of street children in Durban, and the Cape Town Junior Chamber of Commerce's study of the crime problem in Cape Town, are the kinds of projects likely to be hatched by JMC's. Other JMC tactics have included, impeding the work of progressive organisations by spreading disinformation and warning security forces of impeding meetings; as well as providing welfare handouts such as food parcels and community facilities.[244]

Extra-parliamentary political organisations and NGSOs became aware of the activities of the JMCs and what they meant to their political and organisational survival. An OASSSA member explained that "The plight of progressive social service workers now hangs in the balance. For the first time in the history of the South African liberation struggle, we are being targeted as state counter-revolutionary

---

243 *ibid.*, p.101.

244 *ibid.*, p.104.

agents."[245] NGSO's devised counter-manoeuvres in response to the state's strategy. These included:

* Countering the political naïvety of social service workers by publicising the activities of the JMCs through the publication and distribution of pamphlets;
* Maintaining an informal "black list" of organisations and individuals believed to be involved in JMC activity;
* Using screening procedures in assessing requests for progressive social services and participation in community research projects; and
* The re-assessment by NGSOs of their working relationships with state and state sponsored organisations and individuals within these organisations.

These, and other measures, compounded the distance between private welfare organisations and NGSOs which had begun during the previous period.

Despite, and because of the iron grip which the state had on society through the JMCs and the State of Emergency, a contradiction began to appear with respect to the political complaisance of private welfare organisations; certain private welfare organisations and individual academic social workers realised that they could no longer ignore, on a practical level, what was happening around them. In other words, they began to recognise that change was in the air, that apartheid's days were numbered and that the social work profession and private welfare agencies would need to make a contribution to a post-apartheid society. At a political level, private welfare organisations such as NICRO and Cape Mental Health Society began to challenge the state on the issue of apartheid through the provision of non-racial services and by taking an active role in pressure groups like the Free The Children Alliance.

Another way for social workers to make this contribution was through social research. Writing in 1986 McKendrick made this connection

---

245 *ibid.*, p.107.

clear - "...social work research is doing little to aid South Africans to meet and constructively resolve the demands of living in a rapidly changing, conflictual and sometimes turbulent society."[246] In examining this issue McKendrick[247] argues that over the past twenty years most social work research has been carried out by academics studying for higher degrees. Thomas[248] and Collins express similar views. Collins summarises the position, arguing that

> Despite the universal trend towards integrating research and practice, research remains primarily an academic activity with its separate place in the universities and institutions established solely for research purposes. This underutilization of research theory...amounts to a resistance to the practice of research...[249]

With respect to the private welfare organisations these sentiments are true. However, with reference to the NGSOs, as has been argued above, this is not the case. The reasons for this have been discussed already: NGSOs had a political prerequisite to prioritise and conduct social research while private welfare organisations had a political and financial imperative not to conduct social research. The "practitioner-researcher strain" confounded the issue of social research for private welfare organisations.

During this period social workers and social work academics began to move from merely talking about the lack of practice-orientated research to beginning to explore how this research could be done. There was a tendency towards the scientific model and its quasi-experimental and experimental research designs. Collins said that "A chief goal of social work, namely to assist individuals, groups and

---

246 McKendrick, B.W. "Social Work Research During Troubled Times", *Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk*, Vol.22, No.1, 1986, p.2.

247 McKendrick, *op. cit.*, 1986, p.2.

248 Thomas has written extensively on this issue, see for instance:
a) Thomas, A. "Research and Practice in Social Work: a source of strain", *Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk*, Vol.22, no.2, 1986, pp.96-98.
b) Thomas, A. "Evaluative Research in Social Work", *Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk*, Vol.21, no.2, 1985, pp.105-111.

249 Collins, K.J. "Social Work Research", in B.W. McKendrick (ed.) *Introduction to Social Work in South Africa*, Pinetown: Owen Burgess Publishers, 1987, p.250.

This meant that social workers and private welfare agencies found themselves in a difficult position when using qualitative approaches:

* Firstly, scientific research has a certain aura and those who don't want to use this methodology often feel insecure about their decision; and
* Secondly, there is a dearth of theoretical and practical methods for conducting this type of research in South African conditions.

The effect of these factors is that the researcher has to engage in a difficult and time-consuming process of discovering how to use qualitative research methods and designs. The spectre of this task goes some way in preventing those wanting to conduct this type of research from doing so.

The field of programme evaluation also began to develop during this period, albeit at different rates in different sectors. In 1984 the Department of Health and Welfare published the report of the Committee to Establish a Norm for Social Work Posts. Its counsel included a structured approach to programme planning and criteria for programmes in terms of relevance and effectiveness:[257] A radical departure from previous approaches to the subsidy of welfare services, with important implications for programme evaluation in private welfare agencies. Both McKendrick[258] and de Vos[259] anticipated the structure and implications of the reformulated subsidy system. Writing in 1986 de Vos stressed that

> *In die lig van die feit dat die gedagte al hoe meer dikwils uitgespreek word dat subsideering van maatskaplikewerk poste in die nabye toekoms op die diensprogramme wat welsynsorganasies aanbied, eerder as op die normstelsel gebaseer gaan word, is dit logies dat ons as maatskpalike werkers vir die nuwe bedeling voorberei.*[260]

---

257 McKendrick sees "relevance" in this context as how much service is needed compared to programmes meeting other needs. "Effectiveness" is seen as the effectiveness in achieving desired ends. McKendrick, *op. cit.*, 1985, p.157.

258 *ibid*, pp.157-174.

259 De Vos, *op. cit.*, 1986a, pp.66-71; De Vos, *op. cit.*, 1986b, pp.136-143; De Vos, *op. cit.*, 1986c, pp.201-208.

260 *ibid.*, 1986a, p.66.

An indication of the obstacles faced by social workers in preparing for the proposed programme-based welfare subsidy system is given by de Vos when she said "*Program-evaluering as konsep is feitlik onbekend in die RSA.*"[261] The first draft proposals for the programme based system appeared in late 1987 and led to intense debate[262]. With debate in the air and many questions unanswered, the new system was implemented in April 1989, with the first evaluations occurring a year later.

This period saw a change in NGSOs approaches with respect to programme evaluation. During the previous period, from the late 1970s onwards, NGSOs were developing a new field. Most of the funding for these organisations came through church-based groups based in Northern Europe and the Benelux countries. The management, accounting and planning activities of these new organisations was crude; most staff of these organisations were trained as university researchers or political activists; often they were not trained as social workers, accountants or social planners. Thus programme evaluation was an activity which was beyond many staff's experience. At the same time, the funders were naïve with respect to controlling funding; and often all that was necessary was a financial audit.

Local funding sources (e.g. the public) which supported the private welfare organisations and the "a-political" NGSOs, (e.g. Operation Hunger) were (and continue to be) remarkably unsophisticated and naïve with respect to accountability. The donating public did not demand financial and programme accountability because of a naïvety with respect to the concept of accountability and a general acceptance of the "bleeding hearts" ethos, which encourages an uncritical view of agency interventions. For example, during this period the Community Chest did not demand programme evaluations, only

---

261 de Vos, *op. cit.*, 1986a, p.68.

262 Concerned Social Workers, *Behind the new Welfare Policy; a guide for social workers produced by social workers*, Cape Town: Concerned Social Workers, 1988.

an audit of funds spent. If the "Chest" had doubts about a recipient agency's programmes it would request a detailed report of the agency's activities, and conduct investigation of its own. However this activity was more the exception to the rule.

By mid-1986, this had changed substantially. Apartheid had become an international issue attracting attention from international donor organisations, especially American philanthropic organisations. Related to this was the passage of the U.S Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act in October 1986, which led to an increase in direct involvement in funding NGSOs and other anti-apartheid groups by American government agencies. At the same time, many NGSOs were making the transition from informal groupings to formalised structures with offices, full-time personnel, and programmes of action. In this climate programme evaluation began to become a feature of foreign funding because:

* As has been described in previous chapters, American social service organisations had extensive experience of sophisticated social planning methods, including programme evaluation. As a condition of their funding they thus expected South African NGSOs to demonstrate similar competence in management and programme evaluation. Sinclare and Weinstein explain that

> ...few funders feel comfortable about supporting initiatives that cannot be monitored and evaluated in the same way as programs in the United States. A representative of a major foundation explained that "on-site evaluating and monitoring of grants is absolutely fundamental to the way grantmakers operate."[263]

* The combination of increasing numbers of NGSOs and a crisis in the South African economy and hence increasing shortage of local funds, meant that the international funding agencies were being faced by an expanding client base. This resulted in donor organisations using evaluations as a way of aiding the process of consideration for funding. One example of this is the process of "expenditure

---

[263] Sinclare, M. & Weinstein, J. *American Philanthropy: a guide for South Africans*, Washington: Investor Responsibility Research Centre, 1988, p.28.

responsibility" which:

> ...requires funders to make a pre-grant assessment of the prospective grantee by means of a site visit (in South Africa) aimed at assessing the capacity of the organisation to carry out the activities proposed for funding and to administer the funds properly.[264]

For NGSOs this new approach to programme evaluation was not always welcome. Sinclare as Weinstein explain that

> Several funders remarked that South Africans tend to be very lax about the systematic evaluation of programs and sometimes see "the intrusion of an outside evaluator as an affront", as one funder put it.[265]

There are two reasons for this. Firstly, as has been argued, most NGSOs were comparatively new, less than ten years old, and were staffed by people who were not trained as social service professionals. Thus from the point of view of the NGSOs, the notion of programme evaluation seemed to be unduly intrusive into the organisation's activities. Secondly, NGSOs and their personnel were under tremendous pressure from the state; organisations and their staff were harassed by the security forces. In the light of this, programme evaluations could be suicidal for organisations and their personnel because of the real possibility of the state security services using this information to destroy organisations. Thus programme evaluations, while desirable, would be irresponsible.

The funders themselves were sympathetic to the position in which NGSOs found themselves.

> One program officer said, "We adopt a pretty flexible attitude towards our South African grantees because of the uncertain circumstances under which they operate." Another program officer recounted the difficulties encountered by his foundation in attempting to recoup funds from a South African grantee after all the organisation's executive personnel were detained for more than a year.[266]

However there is a limit to how much donor organisations, especially American ones, can accommodate the specific needs of NGSOs; "Nobody

---

264 *ibid.*, p.29.

265 *ibid.*, p.47.

266 *ibid.*, p.33.

can afford to flout the IRS [Inland Revenue Service] rules."[267] At the same time, the South African state had recognised that the draconian powers of the Fund-raising Act were not enough to stop funds reaching anti-apartheid organisations be they NGSOs or political organisations like the restricted UDF. The Disclosure of Foreign Funding Act (Act 26 of 1989) was designed to regulate the disclosure of the receipt of money from outside the country to such anti-apartheid organisations by declaring these organisations "reporting organisations". Amongst the Act's measures were the appointment of inspectors to organisations, reporting organisations having to furnish details of money received and the purpose for which it would be used, the confiscation of money, disposal of a reporting organisation's assets and fines of up to R40000.00.

By late 1989 the combined use of the State of Emergency, death squads and vigilante groups, the JMCs and so on, meant that community-based organisations were in complete disarray. However, at the same time, the state's political "reform" programme had come to a halt because it lacked legitimacy within most communities and because the state itself was unable to advance the reform process any further. The political log-jam was broken by a change in the National Party leadership and the unbanning of political organisations in February 1990.

6.6 The Period of Transformation; 1990-present

The latter half of 1989 was marked by the implementation of the new welfare subsidy system, the election of FW de Klerk as State President by the National Party, the disbanding of the State Security Council and the JMCs and the lifting of the national State of Emergency. These events, as well as the unbanning of political organisations early in 1990 and the release of Nelson Mandela, all marked the beginning of the period of transition. This was a period

---

267 *ibid.*, p.33.

of negotiation; enabling the destruction of apartheid and the creation of a national democracy.

In terms of social welfare provision the most important event during this period was the implementation of the new state subsidy for private welfare organisations. The new subsidy system had come into being because the previous system was in crisis. The welfare subsidy system was in crisis because of:

* The growing perception by private social welfare agencies that the state subsidy system was no more than a mechanism with which to control them. At the political and planning levels these agencies were finding this intolerable;
* The obvious deficiencies of the subsidy system as an evaluative tool both from the point of view of the state and the agencies. From the state's point of view the old subsidy system gave no indication of the relevance and effectiveness of an agency's intervention. For the agencies, the old system was seen as a waste of valuable time because it had no role in the planning function of the organisation;
* The state's fiscal crisis, as well as the prioritising of "social spending" meant a demand for "value for money" by the state in terms of its investment into private welfare agencies; and
* The growing demand for political and financial accountability by society of state spending. This meant that the state had to develop systems which would facilitate accountability.

The new subsidy system began to be implemented in April of 1989. Programme evaluation is one of the cornerstones of this programme-based subsidy system. Agencies are expected to submit plans of all subsidised services and are expected to evaluate programmes. The circular on the *Formulation, Evaluation and Financing of Social Welfare Programmes*[268] maintains that evaluation must determine whether the programme has achieved its stated objective. To this end

---

268 Department of Health Services and Welfare, Western Cape Region, *The Formulation, Evaluation and Financing of Social Welfare Programmes: Administration; House of Assembly*, Circular no.6 of 1987.

"Organisations will have to build research methods for evaluation into new and existing programmes in order to determine the relevance and effectiveness of the programme in terms of the identified need/problem."[269]

Personnel from the Department stress that ideally programme evaluation should be a continuous process, a management tool, and not an annual occurrence for the purposes of the subsidy and that quantitative and qualitative research designs should be used.[270] In terms of evaluation criteria it is argued that

> ...it is not only a matter of only how many clients used how many services, but the result that was achieved, the progress that was made. An objective is formulated for a programme and evaluative data will substantiate the extent to which staff, methods and funds have been employed successfully or not.[271]

In terms of evaluation, personnel at the Western Cape regional offices of the Department[272] argue that in spite of several problems, the new system is successful. Areas of success, according to the Department, are:

* Agencies are encouraged to focus beyond case-work, on group and community work;
* Agencies have to re-examine traditional areas of intervention in the light of evaluation studies as well as to see whether they were ever successful;
* Agencies have to engage in a process of planning specific services and thus use resources more effectively;

---

269 *ibid.*, p.18.

270 Interview with Mrs L Visser, Department of Health Services and Welfare, House of Assembly, Western Cape Region, 15/02/1991

271 Department of Health Services and Welfare, Western Cape Region, *op. cit.*, pp.18-19.

272 This section is based on an interview with Mrs L Visser, Department of Health Services and Welfare, House of Assembly, Western Cape Region, 15/02/1991

* The Department has a clearer idea about what individual agencies are doing, and thus is able to identify areas in which services overlap. This helps to avoid duplication; and
* Finally, this new approach is widely regarded as a step in the right direction towards encouraging more efficient, effective and cost-effective programmes and services.

The new system has been criticised in spite of these advantages for the following reasons:

* The new system is still based on racism. The subsidies are granted and administered on the basis of the race of the recipients. For agencies providing a non-racial service this is distasteful and impractical. It is impractical because there is no parity between "Houses" with respect to budgets and subsidy criteria. Thus agencies are expected to present programmes and evaluations which have been racially divided for the purposes of the subsidy even though the programmes are non-racial. Agencies argue that this is unrealistic in both administrative and planning terms. By way of solution, some agencies have planned non-racial programmes and sent each "house" copies of the entire plan;
* The evaluations are funder-focused. Agencies cannot conduct fair or credible evaluations when evaluation will be used to decrease or increase the organisation's subsidy. Programme evaluations are stressful for those who are being evaluated because of the serious financial consequences associated with "failure" of an evaluation. For instance, initially some agencies drew up seemingly sophisticated programmes, using complex planning and evaluation methods in order to impress the subsidy personnel. In some cases personnel at the regional office had previous experience of the programmes and realised that when these programmes were evaluated, they would not stand up to their earlier promise. Thus the staff at the regional office argue that their own knowledge ensures that agencies maintain an "objective" stance. However, this knowledge is not enough to prevent evaluation reports from being biased towards more funding. The use of planning tools such as measuring

instruments, objectives, time frames and so on, are all based on the judgement of the agencies. Thus planning and evaluation tools can be used in certain ways to throw particular light on a programme evaluation;

* The Department's evaluation documentation does not refer to the evaluation of unintended outcomes of programmes. In other words the focus of evaluation is on product evaluation and not *process and product evaluation*. The weaknesses and problems associated with product evaluation have been discussed in previous chapters; and
* The Department's evaluation documentation mentions the concept of "cost effectiveness".[273] However this potentially useful concept has not been operationally defined, and no criteria have been devised for its use. Thus as a practical evaluative tool it is inoperable.

In summary, the new subsidy scheme has the potential to encourage practice-orientated research and is a step towards encouraging and rewarding programmes on the basis of service and programme effectiveness and efficiency. However the weaknesses highlighted in the above critique might be enough to compromise the intentions of this new approach to subsidies.

The beginning of this period of transition has seen the NGSOs attitudes towards programme evaluation change. This change in attitude can be attributed to; NGSOs understanding their funders needs, NGSO's increasingly using planning tools, the increasing professionalism of NGSO staff, the greater sophistication of NGSO activities, and a more relaxed political climate.

---

273 Department of Health Services and Welfare, Western Cape Region, *op. cit.*, Annexure A, p.7.
More recently the importance of this and related issues has been noted and addressed by members of the profession and academic community. See for example; Smit, A. De V. "Managing for Effective Welfare Service Delivery: Concepts and Issues", *Welfare Focus*, 1992, pp.4-8.

The positive side to this increased awareness of the need for programme evaluation is that it is being used as a planning tool to help face the changing environment. For example Kagiso Trust have used the process of evaluation to change their funding policies, moving away from funding programmes that focus on ameliorating the impact of apartheid on its victims, to programmes "judged upon their community base and their capacity to empower such communities".[274] For Kagiso Trust, this process was formalised in 1990 by an "evaluation conference" which committed the agency to becoming a "development agent".

On the negative side, some programme evaluation is being used solely to assess whether the funding agencies should continue to support NGSOs or not. The problem with this is that evaluations become funder-directed, as opposed to programme-directed, and the focus is on attracting funding as opposed to improving programmes.

6.7. Summary

It has been argued that the field of welfare can be periodised.

The early period was characterised by conflict between black and white people over access to land and private property. Through this conflict the issues of race, class and poverty took on their historic characteristics. This period also saw the church make the first intervention into welfare provision forming the basis of later institutionalized welfare provision by the church and the state. The feature of this intervention was its racial bias. The latter part of this period saw the beginning of the transition from an agrarian economy to a full capitalist economy based on the mining of gold and diamonds. The social dislocation caused by the Anglo-Boer War and the labour needs of this new industry informed the pattern for welfare provision in the following period.

---

274 Kagiso Trust, *Kagiso Trust in a Changing South Africa: from 'amelioration' to 'development'*, unpublished paper; Kagiso Trust, 1990, p.1.

The second period saw the development of the politics and ideology of the welfare system. A new aspect of this was the emerging of the partnership between the state and private welfare organisations. At the same time the racial bias towards whites in welfare provision was enhanced by the policies of the 1924 "pact" government. The late 1930s saw the creation of the Department of Welfare and further institutionalization of racist welfare provision. A final aspect of welfare provision which began to emerge during this period was a therapeutic orientation towards service delivery.

The third period saw the rise of the apartheid state; designed to separate and control people along racial lines. The control of social welfare provision became integrated into this project and was crucial to its success. For private welfare organisations this process prevented social research and exposed the political impotence of these organisations with respect to state policy.

The fourth period was characterised by resistance and the state facing a political and economic crisis. In response to this the state used "total strategy" to contain this challenge. Ultimately this strategy failed. The latter part of this period also saw the emergence of the NGSO as a new force in the field of social welfare provision.

The fifth period saw the advent of low intensity warfare as the state continued to attempt to contain the deepening political and economic crisis. Simultaneously the number and sophistication of the NGSOs continued throughout this period. Also the private welfare organisations began to engage in social research and to reassess their political role.

The final period has been characterised by the negotiation process in the transformation to a post-apartheid society. During this period, as society has changed, so the field of practice orientated-research and evaluation began to emerge and develop.

An objective of this chapter has been to contextualise evaluation and research in South Africa. It should be viewed with the previous two chapters in mind. These three chapters form the contextual base upon which the forthcoming chapter will rest.

The next chapter will discuss the identification and implementation of the illuminative approach at Operation Hunger in the Western Cape.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE PROGRAMME EVALUATION

This chapter draws upon previous chapters, particularly chapters five, and six, and describes how an evaluation approach was chosen for Operation Hunger, and how aspects of this approach were implemented in the organisation.

7.1 The Organisation and Evaluation

Appendix B describes the organisation and structure in terms of the work it has carried out, human resources management and management control. The analysis focuses on aspects of the organisation which have directly influenced programme evaluation. While all aspects of the organisation have impacted on programme evaluation in some way, the object here is to focus on the most important aspects which impacted directly on programme evaluation.

7.1.1 A Sense of "Crisis"

Operation Hunger was established in direct response to the crisis caused by the drought of the early 1980s. Poverty and the related unequal distribution of land in South Africa, meant that the initial crisis still persists. At the time of this research a sense of crisis pervaded all aspects of the organisation. This was expressed in several ways:

* *The ethos of "doing something"*: This is a familiar refrain (discussed in 6.2) with its roots and history in philanthropy and the "traditional" welfare organisations. Operation Hunger was imbued with a sense that "something" has to be done to address the issue of hunger. Traditionally the response has been the supply of soup to feeding schemes. This focus of activity continued with most

of the organisation's financial and human resources being channelled in this direction;

* *Crisis management style*: In essence this management style is reactive, in the sense that Operation Hunger tended to react to whatever problems faced it. There was little planning aimed at making activity proactive. The poor state of staff and programme evaluation and the lack of staff development programmes were indicative of this problem. This form of crisis management was thus inefficient and wasteful of both human and financial resources;
* *The over-extension of the Director*: This was a function of the "ethos of doing something" and the related crisis style of management. The Regional Director's role as fund-raiser, head of the organisation, field-worker, field-work trainer and supervisor, meant that she became "over-extended" in the sense that she never had enough time address all her tasks adequately. This led to the organisation being drawn into a state of frenetic, and at times directionless, activity, as there were too few staff to meet all the Director's demands; and
* *Budgetary crisis*: With its feeding schemes, Operation Hunger took on an enormous financial burden. Most of the annual budget was spent on feeding schemes. Yet the organisation never had the necessary funds and was faced with the Herculean task of raising these funds annually. This crisis was a matter of routine for the organisation. Each year raising funds became more difficult as a consequences of inflation, economic recession, and the fact that the organisation continues to support an increasing number of feeding schemes. This meant that the Regional Director and the Assistant to the Director both came under great pressure to raise funds.

This crisis in the organisation meant that planning, administrative problems and evaluation were all subject to an incremental approach to planning and problem solving; i.e. the "squeaking wheel" was identified and oiled, instead of being changed.

7.1.2 Evaluation in the Organisation

Staff appraisal, organisation evaluation and programme evaluation cannot be separated from each other. Each impacts on the other. For instance, in the case of Operation Hunger the performance of both the staff and the organisation had an impact on programmes. For the sake of clarity, each is discussed separately.

7.1.2.1 Staff Appraisal. The Regional Director relied on regular contact staff to keep track of the status of the staff's work, how they were coping and what their needs were. The staff for their part, unless they were explicitly told so by the Director, were often not aware that they were being "evaluated" by her. To describe the "evaluation" of staff performance as either judgmental or participative would be misleading because:

* There was no systematic appraisal of the type which usually happens annually or semi-annually. There were no documented procedures or structures of how this type of evaluation occurred and it was difficult to categorise this activity; and
* Evaluation tended to be of the informal appraisal type. In observing this type of evaluation in action, there were elements of both the developmental and judgmental approaches. The dominance of one style over another depended on the Director's mood, her relationship with the particular staff member at the time and the context in which the process occurred.

Ultimately it is a moot point as to whether such an unstructured and haphazard activity be considered staff appraisal. However for the Director and her staff these encounters served the function of performance appraisal.

7.1.2.2 Organisational Evaluation. This took the form of submitting reports to the head office and the Regional Committee. These reports were coordinated and produced by the Assistant to the Director and the Regional Director. Other members of staff played a marginal role in compiling these reports. Such reports focused on accountability to the head office and the Regional Committee. Accountability in this

context meant the presentation of a financial report and a description of the activities of the organisation. This process was not seen as part of a wider planning function for the region.

7.1.2.3 Programme Evaluation. This was *ad hoc*. It focused on both the process and product of the programmes. The following activities and sources of data formed the basis of this evaluation:

* *Feeding reports*. These were completed by the person/group responsible for recording; the number of people fed, how much soup was used and when the feeding had occurred. This was recorded on a standard form. The function of recording this information was to audit soup consumption and not to evaluate the programme. The forms were gathered at the regional office and forwarded to the head office. This made it difficult to "back-check" on previous reports from the same projects. Also, some projects sent their reports directly to head office, there by denying the regional office access to them. However, in spite of the nature of these reports and the difficulties in gaining access to them, they were used as a source of verification in the programme evaluation process;
* *Field workers' reports*. They were to be used by two audiences: The field workers and the director. The reports fulfilled the function of reminding the field workers of what they had done and what still had to be done. For the Director (the supervisor) these reports represented a control mechanism. The reports were descriptive with little analysis, and explained what was happening at a project, without offering any insights. These reports also took the form of unstructured narrative text, making it difficult to compare reports;
* *Director's reports*. These were unlike the reports completed by the field workers. Directed at two audiences - the Director herself and the Assistant to the Director - the reports were intended to present observations and notes of activities to be carried out as a follow up to the project visited. These observations had varying degrees of analysis, however the reports were so abbreviated that unless the readers had been to a site themselves they could not

hope to gain more than a thumb-nail sketch of the project described. Thus the reports had most meaning for the director herself. The reports also served the function of informing the Assistant to the Director of what resources had to be directed towards a project; and

* *Day-to-day experiences of the projects*. These included visits and field-work at projects, telephone conversations, letters, and so on. These experiences were part of the "memories" of the field workers and the director. Clearly, the content and nature of each of these "memories" was coloured by the perceptions of the observers; i.e. the field workers and the director.

These four areas constituted the elements upon which the organisation's programmes were evaluated. These elements were drawn together by the decision-maker, (usually the regional director) and used, in some unknown way to make decisions about the future of a project.

This style of evaluation is problematic for the following reasons:

* The field reports which recorded the daily experiences of the field workers were not compiled with the express intention of evaluation. Rather they were gathered either for the purpose of recording activity, or as reminders of actions to be taken;
* The evaluation "system" was not structured in terms of format, content or time. Furthermore, the results, along with the reasoning which informed the evaluation decisions, were often not recorded. Thus the evaluations were not systematic and lacked procedure. This meant that in similar projects, the same aspects were not always considered, and thus each evaluation was not comparable. This resulted in inconsistencies between evaluations and meant that conflicting judgements were made by the field-workers and the Regional Director about the fate of various programmes;
* The lack of a format for programme evaluation meant that evaluations could not be replicated at the same site, either by a different person or even by the same person;

* An unstructured written report tends to reflect the faults of the writer, in the sense that the writer may have a poor memory or/and be a poor observer; a person tends to recall that which they found pleasing or non-threatening;
* The "recency of event phenomenon" complicates analysis. This refers to a process whereby a person records and attributes different weight to an observed event, depending on the length of time between observing the event and noting it down;
* A document cannot indicate more than what the author of the document thought. Documents such as unstructured written reports are refracted through the mind of the writer and the reader. In other words, writers impute what they want to the document, and no more. The reader, in turn, extracts information from the document up to the limits of his/her own comprehension. Thus the medium itself (the unstructured report) was a limitation in this form of evaluation;
* The abbreviated format of the Director's reports limited their potential to present useful information. By the same token, the field workers' reports lacked sophistication and analysis; and
* Documentation was not stored or presented to facilitate easy data analysis and evaluation:
  - The filing system was crude and some parts of it were chaotic;
  - Documentation related to the day-to-day activities of the organisation and there was little indication of long-term research or planning;
  - Categories used by the organisation in its documentation were not appropriate for evaluation purposes; and
  - With respect to the field reports, completely different styles in writing and presentation meant that it was difficult to compare documents, even documents viewing the same sites.

Thus with respect to the evaluation "system" - there was no structure in the presentation of data; the data was incoherent, there were no apparent criteria for gathering data or for saying why such data was important or not. In understanding this problem, there must be a

distinction between data or raw "facts", and information which is data that has been organised in a way that facilitates informed decisions.

Finally, the way programme evaluation occurred (such as it was) in the organisation was a problem, because programmes were judged intuitively according to what made sense to a decision-maker at Operation Hunger. As has been noted earlier, the written evaluations consisted of notes taken at sites. This meant that a process occurred where the decision-maker's experience and intuitive "feel" were used to judge a project. Thus, it was not obviously clear how decisions were arrived at with respect to:

* Which factors were seen as important;
* What criteria were used;
* How those criteria were used;
* Where the criteria were derived from;
* The mood of the decision-maker; or
* The personalities within the project, and so on.

Furthermore it is debatable whether, another member of the organisation would be able to arrive at the same decision when considering the same project.

The way programme evaluation occurred tended to reflect the unsophisticated nature of management and administration in the organisation. It was unstructured, lacked procedure and relied on individual unchecked perceptions and judgements.

7.2 Research Brief

The research brief is of primary importance in identifying the correct research methods and evaluation approaches. The brief establishes the limits and expectations of the research.

As has been discussed in 7.1, Operation Hunger was experiencing very serious problems when the research was commissioned. The Regional Director had recognised aspects of this crisis.

Given the crisis in the organisation, the researcher's brief was aimed at helping to remedy one part of this crisis, namely the programme evaluation system. The Director expected that implementing the system, in conjunction with other measures, would help to resolve another aspect of the organisational crisis, *viz a viz* the financial crisis. For instance, the Regional Director realised that the organisation could not continue pouring an endless quantity of soup into a bottomless pit. Thus "self-help development" projects were identified as desirable from a developmental point of view (they help reduce the physical and psychological dependence that communities can develop through hand-outs) as well as a financial point of view (they result in a reduction in soup consumption and thus lessen the financial burden on the organisation).

In the light of this, the brief from Operation Hunger was to design and implement an evaluation system which the organisation could use to better evaluate its projects, especially its feeding schemes, so that it could be more effective in the field with respect to resource allocation.

7.3 Choosing Approaches and Methods

The choice of evaluation approach and research method is an issue of strategy. The optimum strategy is the one which best matches research methods to the evaluation questions asked. As has been discussed in 4.5 the challenge facing the evaluator is to decide which evaluation approach and which research methods are most appropriate to a given situation.

7.3.1 Where to Begin in Approaches and Methods Choices?

Choosing the best evaluation approach and research methods is a chicken and egg situation: Which should be chosen first, the evaluation approach or the research methods? Some evaluation approaches, like Eisner's connoisseurship approach make this choice easier by limiting the applicable research methods. Others, like the illuminative approach, make choices more difficult by expanding the range of applicable research methods. The model described in 4.5 helps with this choice. However this does not resolve this basic dilemma of where to begin.

In this context, the particular nature of Operation Hunger - its sense of crisis, the management style, the evaluation system and needs - had a determining impact on both evaluation approach and research methods. Allied to this, the identification of research priorities helped to resolve this dilemma. The following research priorities were identified:

* The need for an evaluation system which would help the field personnel make decisions about projects;
* The empowerment of both field personnel and programme participants; and
* An evaluation system easy to use.

The first priority was identified as the need to develop an evaluation system which would help the field personnel make decisions about projects. In the light of this priority it was decided that the evaluation approach would be chosen first; i.e. an evaluation approach which would aid decision-making. However, it was not only the research priorities which impacted on the choice of evaluation approach. The research context of limited resources, research constraints and prior knowledge, as defined in 4.5 earlier, imposed their own limitations on the development and adoption of the evaluation approach. More specifically this refers to:

* The short time available in which to identify the evaluation needs of the organisation, devise an appropriate evaluation system, pilot

it, adjust it in the light of the pilot scheme and train the staff to use it correctly;

* Severe limits of the budget which prevented the use of extra staff during the implementation process. It was not even possible to use external consultants to advise on critical issues in the evaluation process;
* The limited personnel resources exacerbated by the staff shortages in certain crucial areas, and exaggerated by the sense of crisis within the organisation;
* The internal political limitations in the form of the political control of the regional office by powerful individuals at the head office;
* External political constraints induced by the two differing sides of the organisation, that is service provision *versus* fund raising; and
* Constraints imposed by the narrow briefing of the project. In other words, examining only the organisation's projects and not its entire structure and staffing at both regional and national level.

These limitations, far from making the methods and evaluation choice more difficult, made this choice easier. As Patton explains "Blessed are the poor in choices, for they will have no trouble making up their minds."[275] However, ultimately the discussion of each approach will be guided by the concepts of mixed paradigms, identifying question types, blurring the fit between question and method types and recognising the strengths and limits of the context of the evaluation.

7.3.2 Choosing the Evaluation Approach

Five evaluation study types have been identified in Chapter five. Within each study type, one evaluation approach has been identified and discussed. Briefly, the study types and related evaluation approaches are:

---

275 Patton, M.Q. *Qualitative Evaluation Methods*, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1980, p.17.

* Decision-oriented Studies - Decision-orientated Approach/CIPP
* Connoisseur-based Studies - Connoisseurship Approach
* Policy Studies - Judicial Evaluation Method Approach (JEM)
* Consumer-oriented Studies - Consumer-oriented Approach
* Client-centered Studies - Illuminative Approach

These approaches will be discussed with respect to Operation Hunger and research brief expressed above.

7.3.2.1 Decision-orientated Approach/CIPP. The advantage of this approach is that it is directed towards decision-making. The systems orientation of this approach would have made it perfect for applying order to the disorder in the organisation; especially since the evaluation was centred in the administrative process of the organisation. There are two other advantages of this approach which are pertinent. The first is that the emphasis on producing evaluations defensible against political attack would have helped to shore up an area where the organisation (especially at a national level) was vulnerable to pressure. Secondly, the systems structure of this approach allows it to be used to empower programme participants by clearly demarcating where each type of evaluation fits into the activities of the programme.

There are two disadvantages to this approach. Firstly, for this approach to work properly, it needs an evaluation team backed by a sophisticated administrative process, which the organisation did not have. Allied to this Operation Hunger was not in a position to create, let alone support, an appropriate evaluation team. Secondly, the researcher's position in the organisation, in terms of organisational politics, was such that there would have been resistance from key personnel to any attempts to introduce the systems orientation to administration that this approach requires.

Thus, even though this approach appealed to the researcher, the researcher's power in the organisation relied on the support of key personnel in the organisation. Although it was possible to change

certain administrative and programme evaluation behaviour, it was not possible to challenge many years of entrenched administrative experience and in the process change the entire administrative structure of the organisation at the regional, and ultimately, national level. The brief for the research and implementation of the evaluation system placed an extra limitation on the proposed evaluation system, in the sense that the organisation interpreted the research brief in its narrowest sense; thus the researcher could only concentrate directly on the evaluation system for the programmes themselves and not on areas perceived as "beyond the programmes".

7.3.2.2 The Connoisseurship Approach. The particular strength of this approach is that it encourages a close understanding of a programme; the subtleties and undercurrents of a project are important in this approach. Added to this, Operation Hunger could have benefited from an experienced and correctly trained connoisseur who could be effective in presenting insightful and decisive judgements which assist decision-making.

However, the approach was not suitable for four reasons. Firstly, it relies on the connoisseur/critic having a combination of considerable experience in the field and the correct training in the art of being a "sensitised critic". A person with such qualities is very difficult to find. Secondly, this approach demands a great deal of the evaluator in terms of experience, perceptive ability, fairness and honesty. Since the evaluation was to be carried out by the employees of the organisation, it would have been difficult to meet these criteria; the evaluators would have been faced with too great a temptation to let their own position in the organisation dictate their perceptions. Thirdly, the role of "art critic" is an insular one. There is no place for "non-connoisseurs" to participate in the process. The "connoisseur" cannot be contaminated by participation. This takes the decision-making process away from the programme participants and would, in the view of Operation Hunger, have frustrated the process of empowerment of programme participants.

Finally, the connoisseurship approach is designed to aid decision-making. However, its success depends on it being conducted by an evaluator who is not directly involved in the organisation under evaluation. Since the budget was one of the constraints for Operation Hunger, the organisation did not consider employing an external evaluator.

7.3.2.3 Judicial Evaluation Method Approach. The Judicial Evaluation Method (JEM) facilitates the presentation and understanding of the issues under examination; many differing points of view can be presented. Furthermore empowerment is facilitated through enabling participation in decision- and policy-making processes. All of these aspects made this approach desirable from the point of view of Operation Hunger.

However, there are four disadvantages to the JEM which had to be considered. Firstly, the JEM needs a large staff to play various roles, such as forum moderator, case presenter, and so on. Such staff were not readily available at Operation Hunger. Secondly, the JEM is an expensive approach compared to other evaluation approaches. The budget of the organisation would not allow such expense. Thirdly, the issues around the role of the clarification panel, forum moderator, case presenters and the possible divisive aspects of this process would have been difficult to resolve in the context of the organisation. Finally, the approach implies the use of an evaluation team. As has been intimated above, the creation of such a team would have been out of the question both "politically" and financially.

The JEM is participatory in method and responsive to the needs of the stakeholders, who in this case were the programme participants. It places value on clear and informed decision-making by stakeholders. This has a positive impact on the issue of empowerment of programme participants. However, the technical difficulties associated with this approach are considerable and could not be resolved in this

context. The issues of cost and the use of "external" evaluators were enough to scuttle choosing this method.

7.3.2.4 Consumer-oriented Approach. The concept of the "multi-model" in conjunction with the Key Evaluation Checklist are useful tools in this approach. The latter facilitates the structuring of the process of evaluation so that it is rigorous. Also, the focus on the clients' needs and the way this related back to needs analysis, means that evaluation can be directed towards the organisation better meeting the needs of the programme participants.

In the context of Operation Hunger this approach has two weaknesses. The first is that the focus of the approach is on the evaluator who plays the role of surrogate consumer, serving as an informed social conscience. This makes the evaluation comparative. However, the organisation did not want to compare each of its programmes to the other. Rather, it wanted to consider each programme in its own right. Secondly, the goal-free aspect of the approach would have been problematic for evaluation staff involved in implementing and supporting programmes; it would have been difficult for staff members to divorce themselves from activities to the extent that they could have used the goal-free technique as a tool. The only way round this problem would have been for the organisation to use an "external" evaluator. This was not considered feasible.

Theoretically this approach is useful in finding intended and unintended outcomes. The discussion in 5.5 raises serious doubts about its methods, particularly the concept of a "goal-free" evaluation. Practically, this approach needs an "external" evaluator, which as already mentioned, Operation Hunger would not allow. Furthermore it would have been divisive to compare the projects, as well as at odds with the organisation's approach of considering each project according to its own merits.

7.3.2.5 Illuminative Approach. The concepts and research methods associated with the illuminative approach to programme evaluation suited the organisation's programme evaluation needs. It also provided strategies for overcoming the research and programme evaluation implementation problems of the organisation (discussed in 7.1).

The illuminative approach was considered attractive for five reasons. Firstly, like the decision-orientated approach the illuminative approach aims to contribute to decision-making. However, unlike the decision-orientated approach its aim is not to make decisions, but to gather data and process it into information so that decisions can be made by decision-makers. Thus the principle of the approach is to illuminate a site and to empower decision-makers to make decisions. This style of decision-making and its associated definition of decision makers suited Operation Hunger. Secondly, this approach is case-intensive and focuses on both the product and process of a project. This was in line with Operation Hunger's needs which demanded the evaluation of both the goal and the process of a project. For the organisation, a project was not seen as successful just because certain objectives and goals have been met: A project could be considered a failure if the process in reaching the goals was incorrect: The concepts of "instructional system" and "learning milieu" would help to direct attention to these facets. Thirdly, the issue of using the field personnel to evaluate the programmes instead of "external" consultants to conduct this task has been discussed already. Unlike several of the approaches discussed above, this approach has the advantage of being used by either "internal" or "external" evaluators. Fourthly, this approach recognises the use of both quantitative and qualitative research methods in pursuit of the most suitable research strategy for the programme evaluation. This means that it is consistent with the notion of "mixed methods" discussed in 4.5 and enhances the evaluation's methodological rigor. Finally, an important part of Operation Hunger's programme evaluations was the notion that individual projects should be

considered on their own merits. The case-intensive nature of this approach meant that this need could be met. At the same time, the structured analysis of individual projects means that in the longer term, cross-case analysis between projects is possible.

The weaknesses and difficulties to this approach are both theoretical and practical. However, this will not be dealt with now. Rather it will be raised and discussed in more detail in subsequent sections in this chapter.

In summary, the illuminative approach's focus on assisting decision-making, makes empowerment and development possible. The opportunity to use an "internal" evaluator and the attention to both the process and product of a project are also major advantages. These advantages made it superior to the other approaches on offer here, in answering the organisation's programme evaluation needs. The weaknesses of this approach and solutions to these are discussed in 7.4 below.

7.4 Structure, Methods and Process Informed by Illuminative Evaluation

7.4.1 Summary Overview

This overview sketches the **Operation Hunger Evaluation Model** in broad terms. It aims to introduce the reader to the key aspects of the model. As has been discussed in the introduction this discussion of the Operation Hunger evaluation model is not a step-by-step instruction manual on how to use the model. Instead this dissertation is about how the theory of illuminative evaluation was translated into the practice of the Operation Hunger evaluation model. The considerations which lead to this particular interpretation of the illuminative approach are described in 7.4.2.

7.4.1.1 Research Strategy. As has been already discussed, the illuminative approach provided the theoretical basis for the evaluation process used here. Unlike the evaluation approaches

discussed above, illuminative evaluation is not a standard methodological package. Rather it is a research strategy which aims to be eclectic. Thus it chooses what appear to be the best research methods from many different sources and systems. The choice of research tactics follows not from research doctrine, but from decisions in each case as to the best available methods. This fundamental understanding of the illuminative approach governs the interpretation of the approach and the workings of the Operation Hunger Evaluation Model.

7.4.1.2 Contribution to Decision-making. One of the basic premises of this approach is that "The principle purpose of evaluation studies is to *contribute* to decision-making."[276] Because of this, the evaluation approach tends to concentrate on the data-gathering process rather than the decision-making component of evaluation. Through this bias the approach ensures a comprehensive interpretation of the complex reality surrounding a programme. From this understanding the ultimate decisions made by the evaluators impact on the quantity, type and nature of the resources which Operation Hunger directs towards the projects it supports.

7.4.1.3 Internal Evaluators. The illuminative approach recognises the use of either "internal" or "external" evaluators. In this case the Operation Hunger Evaluation Model uses "internal" evaluators in the form of the field staff of the organisation, that is, the Director, and the field workers.

7.4.1.4 Three-stage Framework. The work of the illuminative evaluator is characterised by a three-stage framework; initial observation, further enquiry and seeking to explain. For reasons discussed later, these stages were used by the Operation Hunger Evaluation Model as conceptual constructs and were recognised and used as conceptual

---

276 Emphasis added. Parlett, M., Dearden, G. & Hamilton, D. "Evaluation as Illumination", in M. Parlett & G. Dearden (eds.) *Introduction to Illuminative Evaluation: studies in higher education*, Cardiff-by-the-Sea: Pacific Soundings Press, 1977, p.23.

tools. They were not operationally defined in the form of documented procedure.

7.4.1.5 Information Profile. Within this conceptual three-stage framework an information profile was assembled by the Operation Hunger field staff using data collected from four areas: observation, interviews, questionnaires and tests and documentary and background sources. These four areas are similar to those identified by the illuminative approach. These were:

* *Observation*. This entailed the field staff building up a continuous record of ongoing events they observed;
* *Interviews*. This was part of the field staff's routine activity at the site with respect to their interaction with programme participants;
* *Questionnaires and tests*. This area of the information profile helped identify and gather specific and pre-identified data; and
* *Documentary and background sources*. This area identified data which could highlight the history of a particular project.

7.4.1.6 Research Methods. The research methods used to inform the information profile included: participant observation, structured and unstructured interviews, the time-ordered matrix and document analysis. Together these research methods furnished the data for the information profile of the programmes. The elements within the information profile played two parts; those of presenting data upon which analysis and decisions are based, and as part of a process of (self) authenticating data and conclusions. These roles, with respect to data analysis and authentication, are discussed below.

7.4.1.7 Process, Product, Leaning Milieu and Instructional System. Part of the developmental ethos of Operation Hunger was the recognition that every project is unique and that decisions relating to each project needed to be made in the light of as complete a "total" picture of a project as possible. The intention of the data was to provide this complex "picture" of a project, representing many

of its facets, so that decisions about it could be based on a holistic view of the project.

The data making up this information profile is analysed to highlight the process, product, intended and unintended outcomes of the project in relation to the learning milieu and instructional system. Thus this analysis is based on the illuminative concepts of learning milieu and instructional system where the dialectical relationship between elements exposed by these concepts forms the hub around which analysis occurs; it is the critical point at which process, product, intended and unintended outcomes of a programme are understood. In the light of these aspects a decision could be made about the nature, form and content of continued future Operation Hunger involvement in a project.

7.4.1.8. Authentication. The process of authenticating the data, observations and conclusions is vital to the evaluation process because without it the entire evaluation endeavour is undermined. Authenticity is achieved through triangulation, referential adequacy, past experience and presenting a recognisable reality. These different aspects of achieving authenticity are described below.

7.4.1.9 Making the Decision. While the final product of the illuminative evaluation process is the creation of information conditions which facilitate the making of a decision, this is not the end of the evaluation process. The actual implementation of a decision closes this process. The decision-making theory used in this model relies on intuitive decision-making processes. The decision itself is judgmental in nature, consisting of a combination of group discussion guided by the regional director, past experience of other projects and the "picture" presented by the illuminative approach described earlier.

7.4.2 Illuminative Evaluation Contributes to Decision-making

Illuminative evaluation is not a decision-making process in its own right. Illuminative evaluation assists in identifying and carrying out processes which contribute to decision-making; it empowers decision makers by providing them with information. As such, its research designs and methods focus on data-gathering and information creation and dissemination with little time for the examination of the actual decision-making process. The Operation Hunger evaluation model examined here is the interpretation of the theory of illuminative evaluation and, as such, it reflects the same focus and bias inherent in the theory from which it is derived.

7.4.3 The Programme Evaluators

The Operation Hunger programme evaluation model is designed around the organisation's field staff; it relies on these staff for its successful implementation. At the time of designing this system, this involved the field workers and the Director directly in the field and the assistant to the director in a support role. While the system was being designed it became clear that more field workers would be employed. Thus the programme evaluation design assumed this increase in field-workers and that it would be capable of absorbing this increase.

The decision to use Operation Hunger field staff to conduct the evaluation process is controversial. As discussed in 7.1 above, the financial and political pressure within the organisation meant that the programme evaluation system was forced to rely on the Operation Hunger field staff to be both data gatherers and programme evaluators. One of the reasons for choosing this approach was that the methodology of illuminative evaluation allowed the use of either external or internal evaluators.

In defining the "internal evaluator" in the best way possible it is useful to use the game theory concepts of "minimax" and "maximin" discussed in 4.5.3. The desired state achieved through the use of

internal evaluators is minimax: the minimisation of the maximum disadvantage of internal evaluators.

There is no straight-forward answer to the debate about whether evaluators should be "outside" or "inside" the organisation/situation they are evaluating. Part of the answer lies in understanding the relative merits of each evaluator type[277]; external *versus* internal type. The other part of the answer lies in the particular role which the evaluator is expected to play with respect to the research methods, research questions and research process, and the implications this has on minimax.

The negative aspects of the external evaluator type include the following:

* Who decides who is invited to carry out the evaluation? Problems arise if there are differing ideological and theoretical frameworks between the evaluators and the programme participants. This difference could be expressed in many ways. For example, there may be differences over research design in a context where a quantitative evaluation design might yield different judgements to a qualitative evaluation design. Such differences could affect the evaluators' legitimacy in carrying out the task; and
* The task of evaluation becomes difficult for the evaluators in that they must try to be sensitive to the internal conditions of an organisation. Otherwise, for example, the evaluators and the evaluation process could be used by different factions in an organisation to their own ends.

Positive aspects of the external evaluator type include:

* External evaluators, are free from past and present relationships within an organisation. This means they can provide an external perspective and approach to issues. This perspective can be

---

277 The term *evaluator type* is a generic term for either the external (outside) evaluator or the internal (inside) evaluator.

decisive in addressing issues both within an organisation and its projects; and

* External evaluators, and the evaluation process, can be used as a catalyst for positive processes within an organisation. For instance, the evaluators could act as facilitators in an organisation, providing the tools for a process of internal evaluation.

Negative aspects of the internal evaluator type include:

* Evaluators are faced with the problem of not being able to rise above their own involvement in a programme. This can create a limited and interest-based perspective on the evaluation;
* Relating to the above, the evaluators may find that they are constrained by organisational dynamics and relationships and cannot pursue a thorough evaluation. For instance an evaluator may find it difficult to critically evaluate the project of a superior; and
* There is a danger that the evaluation process could degenerate into a mud-slinging exercise between personalities or factions within an organisation.

Positive aspects of the internal evaluator type:

* It encourages an organisation to reconsider what has been done in, and by, an organisation;
* An insider has an intimate knowledge of an organisation and its circumstances. This means that more subtle aspects of a programme may be revealed and considered during an evaluation process;
* This tends to be cheaper in the sense that hour-for-hour external evaluators, employed on a consultancy basis, cost more than in-house staff used for the same purpose; and
* This form of evaluation is consistent with action research, and is a valuable aspect of it in the context of the process of ongoing input from those who are the focus of the research.

Achieving minimax, in the face of the enforced choice mentioned earlier, involves more that just weighing up the relative merits of

the negative and positive aspects of the two evaluator types. The achievement of minimax is decisively determined by the evaluators' role[278] in the face of the evaluator type. Ideally, the decision about the role the evaluator plays will lead to the choice of the evaluator type. In this situation, the choice of evaluation type led to a decision about evaluators' roles, in a less than ideal decision-making process.

Minimax was achieved by countering the disadvantages of the internal evaluator type while simultaneously recognising its merits. The evaluator's role was adjusted in the light of this. Thus the following strategies were used:

* To counter the problem of the internal evaluators being too intensely involved in a programme and being constrained by either their own biases or by specific interpersonal/organisational dynamics a two pronged procedure was used:
  - The data for each evaluation was collected by an evaluation team in conjunction with the programme participants; and
  - The final decision about a programme, was based on the data collected and presented by the evaluation team. This decision team was headed up by the regional director and consisted of a combination of staff from within and external to the evaluation team.

  This aimed to deflect any organisational pressure and bias away from individuals involved in the evaluation process, and to direct these pressures onto a group. In addition, because the composition of the evaluation team was not the same as the decision-making, team it meant that the decision-making team were insulated from the pressures which the evaluation team felt. Related to this, the decision-making team could act as a check on the evaluation team by asking them to account for specific observations and assertions.

---

278 Evaluator role refers to the particular role which the evaluator plays with respect to the research methods, research questions and research process in the light of the particular evaluation approach used. Thus, by way of example, illuminative evaluation casts the evaluator in a different role to that in the connoisseurship approach.

Finally, having the Regional Director co-ordinate the decision-making team introduced a measure of consistency between individual decisions across programmes;

* Three routines were used to prevent the evaluation team from ignoring particular data and observations:
  - Firstly, the time-ordered matrix with its preset questions meant that certain questions and issues could not be ignored;
  - Secondly, the intention of the illuminative approach is to present a coherent "picture" of a particular site. Thus any omissions by the evaluation team would be reflected in a clouded and confused "picture"; and
  - Thirdly, part of the decision-making process of the decision-making team was to use its own experiences and insights to verify the evaluation team's assertions.

  These routines placed the onus of collecting and corroborating data and observations in the hands of the evaluation team. Thus if there were any omissions these would affect the credibility of the members of the evaluation team and seriously harm their position in the organisation;
* Questions of validity implied in the critique of the internal evaluator type were addressed through processes of authentication consistent with the illuminative approach. These procedures are discussed in 7.4.8 below; and
* Finally, the disadvantages of the internal evaluator type were countered by the fact that the Operation Hunger evaluation model was conceptualised and implemented by an "outsider". This meant the outsider designed the evaluation system and its research methods, created the necessary tools of evaluation and identified the specific questions which the evaluation process would identify and examine. This process prevented the internal evaluators from imputing their own biases into the model's research methodology.

These were the strategies used to counter the disadvantages of the internal evaluator type.

The recognition of the merits of the internal evaluator type completes the process of securing "minimax". Two aspects of the internal evaluator type were of value to the evaluation process. Firstly, the epistemology of the Operation Hunger evaluation model is consistent with action research and its allied concepts of empowerment. The internal evaluator type is more suitable for this epistemology. Secondly, one of the most important parts of illuminative approach is the value it places on experiential observation and knowledge. This is because of its central role in revealing subtle aspects of a programme, thus "illuminating" and enlightening more of a programme and in this way strengthening the conclusions derived from both observation and the evaluation process. The insider evaluator is ideally suited to facilitate this process.

In this way the achievement of "minimax" created the interpretation of the evaluator type which in itself impacted on the evaluator role. How the evaluator role was interpreted and enacted is the subject of most of the rest of this chapter.

7.4.4 Three Stage Framework

The illuminative evaluator follows a three-stage framework:

* *Initial observation*. At the outset, the evaluation team is concerned with familiarisation of the day-to-day reality of the programme. The aim here is to identify the significant features of a programme so that further, and more focused enquiry can occur;
* *Further enquiry*. Trends, tendencies and occurrences are isolated and unpacked so that more sustained and intensive enquiry can occur. The evaluation team begins to focus so that observation and enquiry will be more directed and selective of issues; and
* *Seeking to explain*. The evaluation team picks out patterns where cause and effect may relate, and places individual findings within broader contexts which seek to explain. Interpretations are developed and expanded and related back to the information already collected.

This framework was used as a *conceptual tool* to help the evaluators at Operation Hunger in their data-gathering and analysis tasks. To make this framework into a useful conceptual tool, it was conceived of in the following way:

* Each stage leads into the other. There is no disjuncture between stages, rather there is a period of transition where one or more stages is in operation; and
* These stages do not necessarily follow one another in order. For instance, during the process of "seeking to explain" other issues may be raised which may entail further "initial observation" by the investigator.

In this way, this framework was used as a tool to focus attention on different aspects of the research process.

Figure X: Stage Discrimination of Profiles and Methods.

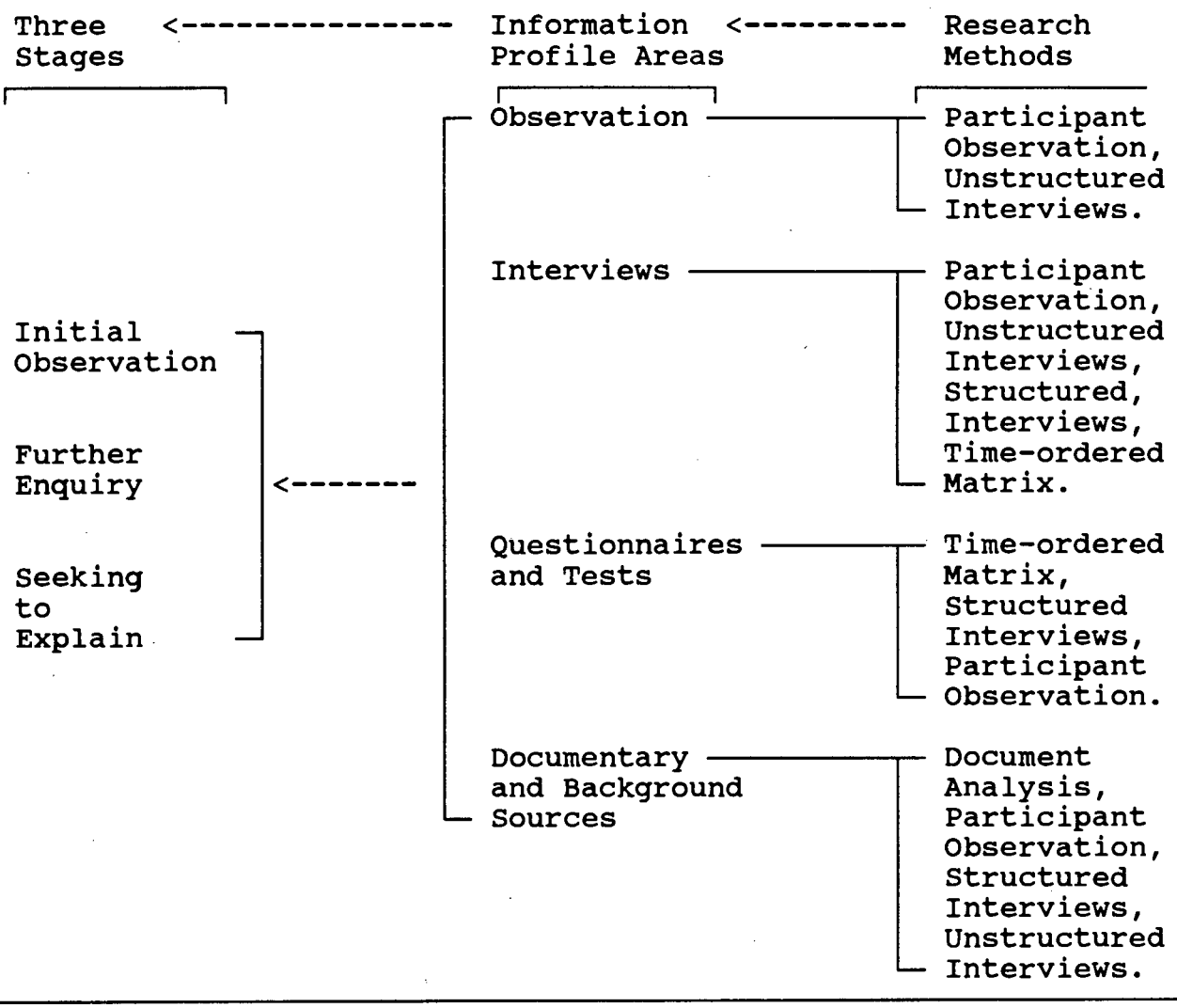


Figure X illustrates the relationship between the three-stage framework, the information profile and the research methods which yield the data for the information profile.

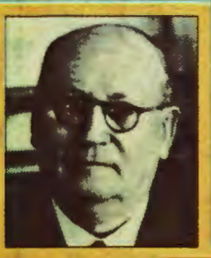
7.4.5. The Information Profiles

This three-stage process is supported by an information profile consisting of data gathered in four areas. These are:

* *Observation*. This area is one of the most important parts of the illuminative approach. It entails the field staff establishing a progressive record of events and informal remarks observed at a site. Simultaneously this data is recorded and organised with interpretative remarks in internal organisational reports. This on-site interpretation will include both inherent and apparent features at a site. The recording and organisation of the data happens in a way which aids the interpretation of the data. The research methods typically used in this area are those associated with participant observation and unstructured interviews;
* *Interviews*. Discovering the views of participants in a programme is central in assessing the impact of the programme upon its participants. Often this process occurs during the daily routine of the field staff at the various projects. The major data-gathering methods which impact on this area are participant observation, structured and unstructured interviews and the time-ordered matrix;
* *Questionnaires and tests*. These are especially important in large scale illuminative studies where many sites are under consideration and it is critical that certain data is recorded consistently across sites. The dominant research method in this area is the administration of the time-ordered matrix with its combination of free and fixed response formats designed to focus observation and interview data into a specific format engineered to facilitate qualitative data analysis. Other research methods which impact on this area of the information profile are participant observation and structured interviews; and
* *Documentary and background sources*. No project happens in a vacuum. Often their is an initial enquiry or contact is made by from key

How apartheid was put together; how it is being taken apart: A chronology 1948 — 1990

DF Malan



Dr DF Malan becomes first Nationalist Prime Minister

Population Registration Act passed

Immorality Act toughened to ban inter-racial sex

Group Areas Bill introduced

Suppression of Communism Act passed

Communist MPs removed from House

Native Laws Amendment Act passed

Natives (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act passed. (Introduces 'reference books' for all Africans)

UN condemns apartheid

General election: NP increased majority

Acts passed:
- Reservation of Separate Amenities.
- Public Safety.
- Criminal Law Amendment.
- Bantu Authorities.
- Bantu Education.

JG Strijdom

State Aided Institutions Act bars blacks from public-funded institutions

'Die Stem' official, and only, anthem

HF Verwoerd

Macmillan: 'Winds of change' speech in Cape Town

Sharpeville massacre

ANC and PAC banned

State of Emergency declared

SA declared a republic after referendum

Hostile UN resolutions

Verwoerd assassination attempt fails

'12 day' Detention Law passed under Vorster

House arrest added to banning and 'listing' powers

Nelson Mandela arrested

UN urges member states to break diplomatic ties with SA

'90 day' Detention Law passed

Rivonia raid

Wide powers to Publications Control Board

UN moots arms embargo

1948

1949

Prohibition of Mixed Marriages passed

1950

Native Representative Council abolished

Separate Representation of Voters Bill tabled. (To remove Coloureds from roll)

1951

1952

1953

1954

Malan (80) resigns

Verwoerd articulates apartheid theory

Native Resettlement Act passed

Group Areas Development Board established

1955

Verwoerd: 'Total separation of white and black'

Tomlinson Commission on homelands published

Coloured franchise removed through courts

Sophiatown rezoned white

USSR Consulate closed. (Promoting 'subversion')

1956

1967

18-year old whites enfranchised

Government refuses to attend first Conference of Independant African States in Accra

Strijdom dies in office

1958

1959

Extension of University Education Act passed

Homeland 'independence' mooted

Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Bill tabled

1960

Defence Act amended and toughened

Urban Bantu Authorities Act passed

SA forced out of WHO and FAO

Umkhonto we Sizwe - first act of sabotage

1961

Prevention of Political Interference Act passed. (No multi-racial parties)

Coloured Persons' Representative Council enacted

Pressure on English churches, newspapers, universities

Hertzog dismissed from Cabinet

1962

1963

Rivonia trail begins

'180 day' Detention Law passed

1964

General Election: Increased NP majority

Defence budget - R230m

Verwoerd assassinated

1965

1966

BJ Vorster

PW Botha

Botha talks of a confederation of states again and 'continuing reform'

Dr A Treurnicht launches Conservative Party

Botha: 'Power-sharing' and 'co-responsibility' in SA

General election: Swing to right

Tricameral parliament mooted

President's Council sits for first time

Defence white paper outlines 'total onslaught' and 'total strategy'

Steve Biko dies in detention

Kruger bans 18 organisations, The World newspaper

Removals stepped up

Criminal Procedures Act amended

Indemnity Act indemnifies security forces

Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act. Shelters demolished without warning or apeal

Soweto uprising

MPLA in power in Angola. Setback for Vorster's 'detente' in Africa

Cabinet committee for possible constitutional changes affecting Coloureds and Indians

Early general election called and easily won

Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act passed. ('Homeland' citizenship for every African in SA)

1981

Botha meets Pres. Kaunda in Zambia

Internal Security Act toughened

1980

1979

1978

1977

1976

1975

Affected Organisations Bill introduced

1974

1973

1972

Forced removals begin in earnest

1971

1970

1969

Hertzog forms HNP

Bureau for State Security (BOSS) formed - responsible to Vorster

1968

1967

1982

Referendum won for tricameral constitution amid much resistance

Concepts of 'own' and 'general' affairs introduced

'Securocrats' influence rises

'Petty apartheid' questioned

Botha moots 'Constellation of southern States'

Wiehahn and Riekert labour proposals accepted in principle

Botha visits Soweto

Vorster resigns as president

State Security Council in central role

Tensions rise between NP 'verlig' and 'verkramp' factions

Eschel Rhoodie, Hendrik van den Bergh

General election: NP gains

Information Scandal

Vorster retires, becomes ceremonial State President

1983

Nkomati Accord signed with Mozambique

Tricameral parliament comes into being

Botha - Executive State President

Botha visits Europe

Civil unrest at new peak

Outdoor meetings banned

1984

State of Emergency declared

Congress of SA Students banned

Businessmen, liberals visit ANC in Lusaka

Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, 1949 and part of Immorality Act, 1957 repealed

March - State of Emergency lifted

June - National State of Emergency declared

SA troops raid Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Freehold rights in townships for urban Africans

General election: NP returned, CP official opposition

Government rejects 'Natal Indaba', but Joint Executive Authority launched

State of Emergency renewed

17 anti-apartheid groups (UDF, Cosatu, Azapo) severely restricted

Changes to Group Areas Act mooted. Proclamation of 'Free Settlement Areas' allowed

Mandela (70) treated for TB in hospital

FW de Klerk

General Election: Whites, coloureds, Indians on same day. NP reduced majority

Mandela to Tuynhuys for tea

Many senior political prisoners released

Untag supervises transition to independent Namibia

1991 may see all apartheid laws but one (Population Registration Act) abolished

1985

Political representation for Africans promised

First city cinemas opened to all races

Suspension of all forced removals

Botha's 'Rubicon' speech causes confidence crisis

Chase Manhatten Bank refuses to roll over loan to SA

JSE trading suspended for 3 days

Reagan imposes limited sanctions, disinvestment campaign grows

SADF in townships to quell unrest

SADF troops raid Gaborone

Botha offers to release Mandela conditionally - refused

1986

Pass Laws (Abolition of Influx Control Act) abolished, arrests suspended

Common ID book introduced, SA citizenship restored to 'homeland' citizens

Some CBDs opened to all races

Full property rights for township residents

Barclays Bank and estimated 48 US-companies disinvest

US Congress passes Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act

1987

Botha blames 'interference' for holding up reform

Heunis: Reform process is 'irreversible'

Rev A Hendrickse leaves Cabinet after clash with Botha

Afrikaners visit ANC in Dakar

Thabo Mbeki, Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, Breytan Breytenbach

Govan Mbeki released, later restricted under Emergency regulations

1988

State of Emergency renewed

Educational desegregation begins

ANC in exile publishes its Constitutional Guidelines

Botha appeals to CP for Afrikaner unity. He is rebuffed

Promotion of Constitutional Development Act passed. (For still-born multi-racial 'National Council')

PAC President Zeph Mothopeng and ANC veteran Harry Gwala released from prison

Mandela moves to prison warder's house

First all-race local government elections held. (Separate polls) Bitter opposition

1989

State of Emergency renewed

'Purple dye' machines break up protest march in Cape Town

SA Law Commission calls for bill of rights and repeal of discriminatory legislation

Botha has stroke. FW de Klerk is NP leader

Botha resigns. After elections De Klerk is State President

De Klerk: 'New South Africa'

Protesters allowed new latitude

ANC President Oliver Tambo has stroke

De Klerk visits African and European countries

Malan: USSR no longer a threat

1990

De Klerk unbans political parties

GrooteSchuur and Pretoria Minutes signed

State of Emergency, many restrictive laws, lifted

ANC suspends armed struggle

Mandela freed

Hundreds killed in township battles

Inkatha calls for negotiations

PAC and Azapo refuse to take part

NP opens its ranks to all races

Tambo returns to SA

De Klerk and Mandela remain committed to negotiations. Deep divisions over interim government, constituent assembly

Research: SHAUN JOHNSON
Graphic: GAIL IRWIN ©

THE ARGUS 24 JANUARY 1991

people or groups from a community. Other primary sources of data like newspaper articles, social histories of an area, organisational records and so on, all contribute to the history of a project. This history can reveal further areas of enquiry, highlight certain trends, and so on. In essence, this provides substance to the evaluator's understanding of the programme under examination. Research methods include document analysis, participant observation and structured and unstructured interviews.

The data gathered in the four areas of the information profile must form an interlinking matrix of information. This matrix presents a clear "picture" of the particular project under consideration.

There is a close relationship between the four areas which constitute the information profile and the research methods used to generate the data for the information profile. The information profile is constituted through the amassing, analysis and ordering of data gathered, using the research methods of participant observation, structured and unstructured interviews, the time-ordered matrix and document analysis. The research methods which yield the data for the information profile are discussed below.

7.4.6 Research Methods

The illuminative approach encourages the use of many research methods encapsulating both quantitative and qualitative approaches. In this case four research methods were developed to gather data and feed the various categories of the information profile. These methods are: participant observation, structured and unstructured interviews, the time-ordered matrix and document analysis. The following discussion outlines each of these research methods as used in the Operation Hunger evaluation model.

7.4.6.1 Participant Observation. According to the illuminative approach, two of the most significant areas for collecting data are through interviews and observation. These two processes, although

discussed separately, are inextricably linked. The coming together of observation and interviewing is not, however, an act of chance, but rather a direct function of the methods of participant observation. Not only is participant observation an important area of data collection, but the research method of observation is integral to the effective use of the time-ordered matrix and the processes of interviews, authentification and triangulation. As illustrated by Figure X, the research process of participant observation is continuous throughout the evaluation procedure and involves the entire evaluation team.

Participant observation is especially effective in case-study situations where the focus is not necessarily on the larger social whole, but where the perspective of group members is important. Its strength lies in that it is useful in exploring a particular situation in depth and in so doing gaining a descriptive account of the working of a programme and the attitudes of participants from an insider's perspective. These strengths make it especially useful in discerning the learning milieu of a particular programme under study.

Participant observation is governed by the assumption that in order to understand the programme under study, the researcher needs to be as close to the programme as possible. This closeness allows the evaluation team to gather data relating to how programme participants view themselves, their activities, the programme's purpose, and so on. This closeness is governed by the type of participant observer role used by members of the evaluation team.

The role used by members of the evaluation team at Operation Hunger was that of "participant-as-observer".[279] This meant that the field workers revealed their research identity but still participated fully in the life and activities of the programme. The reasons for adopting this role were:

---

279 Kurtz, D.E. "The Use of Participant Observation in Evaluation Research", *Evaluation and Program Planning*, Vol.6, 1984, p.97.

* This role was consistent with the day-to-day activities of the field staff;
* This was an easy and non-disruptive role; and
* Project members had no reason to change their behavior, as they didn't realise they are being observed.

The observation aspect of the research method of participant observation was both structured and unstructured in format in the case of Operation Hunger:

* *Structured observation*. This was observation which had been structured through a combination of common practice within the organisation and the use of specific research instruments like the time-ordered matrix. This form of observation happened at specific and prearranged times and was used to collect specific pre-sought data. By way of example, such observation happened when field workers first visited a site or when specific data for the time-ordered matrix was collected; and
* *Unstructured observation*. This occurred at a more "unconscious" level during the day-to-day field-work activities of the field staff. The data gathered in this way tended to be experiential in nature and included enthusiasm, mood, group dynamics, and so on. Because of the nature of this particular data and the way it was gathered, most of it was recorded in experiences of the evaluation team, while only some of it was recorded in the form of "hard copy" such as the field worker's reports.

Finally, the data gathered through recording ongoing events, transactions and informal remarks was arranged into the illuminative areas of interviews, questionnaires and tests and documentary and background data. The organisation, interpretation and analysis of this data happened according to these four areas of the information profile. This relied as much on variables being derived through inductive analysis as on deductive analysis.

7.4.6.2 Interviews. According to the illuminative approach interviews aim to seek out particular views and comments relating to specific questions. The interviews are both structured and unstructured, and gather data for all four areas of the information profile.

It has been argued that interviewing is part and parcel of the research process of participant observation. For the Operation Hunger Evaluation Model unstructured interviews occurred during the participant observation process, during normal discourse between programme participants and field staff. This form of data-gathering generated data (like that produced by participant observation) which was experiential in nature. This meant that it was recorded in similar ways to that of participant observation; that is, in the form of experience and as part of the field-workers' reports.

However, interviewing has another role in the Operation Hunger Evaluation Model data-gathering process. Structured interviews are also used in this process, especially in helping to establish the content of the instructional system and exploring specific changes through the learning milieu. Structured interviews happened at two points:

* *At the initial meeting between the Operation Hunger field staff and the programme applicants at the site of the proposed project.* The object of this initial meeting was for the Operation Hunger staff to visit the site in question and to determine whether or not Operation Hunger should support and become involved in a project or not. Even though this interview had no formal structure or an interview schedule, the interview tended to follow a set pattern. Specific questions were consistently asked. These required a certain range of responses. These interviews tended to happen with key members of the community, such as formal and informal leadership, whose involvement in a project (or proposed project) would be crucial to its success. Much of the data gathered during this process would come to form the instructional system through which the learning milieu would be understood; and

* *During the administration of the time-ordered matrix.* The data yielded by the matrix underscored aspects of the instructional system and provided pointers indicating where the project has varied from the instructional system, thus allowing for a further focus on specific aspects of the learning milieu. The time-ordered matrix combined a structured interview and a structured questionnaire. The categories into which the matrix was divided meant that it was administered in a way which was consistent with a structured interview. Furthermore the process of completing the matrix was non-judgmental and interactive, engaging both the field staff and the project participants. However, the way the data was arranged in the matrix, made it consistent with a structured questionnaire. This is discussed further in 7.4.6.3.

The interviews varied according to the type of information or comment sought. Thus the structured interviews tended to be brief in nature and are convenient for obtaining biographical, historical and factual information; i.e. putting flesh to the instructional system. On the other hand, the unstructured interviews tended to be open-ended and discursive in form, more suitable for less straightforward topics and consistent with the participant observation process; i.e. expanding the understanding of the learning milieu.

Though desirable, it is rarely possible to interview every participant, except in very small programmes. Interviewees were therefore usually selected by "purposeful" sampling. This mode required the seeking out informants who may have special insight or whose position makes their viewpoints significant.

7.4.6.3 Time-ordered Matrix. The time-ordered matrix may be defined as a survey-type questionnaire, presented in a matrix format with time as a constant. It uses open- and closed-ended questions to focus observation and interview data into a specific format. This is designed to facilitate both quantitative and qualitative data analysis. It consists of a matrix whose columns are arranged in a

sequential time period, so that the chronological occurrence of phenomena and events can be identified. Thus the principle of chronology indicates that a process has happened. The chronological order of recorded events may also indicate the nature of the process. Furthermore the matrix also helps to identify and a track product by identifying goals and indicating if goals have been achieved. An example of a time-ordered matrix may be found in Appendix C.

It has been argued that the time-ordered matrix is a combination of structured interview and questionnaire yielding data for both the instructional system and the learning milieu. For the purposes of the Operation Hunger Evaluation Model the matrix was considered a questionnaire. Even though its administration relied on a combination of participant observation and interviewing, the type of data it generated and the consistency of its questions (over time) meant it was treated in a fashion which was more consistent with questionnaires.

In developing this tool the time-ordered matrix had to meet the following criteria:

* The display had to present information in a compressed and ordered form to help the user draw conclusions and take appropriate action;
* Analysis needs displays which are as simultaneous as possible, are focused and are arranged as systematically as the questions at hand demand;
* The collection of data relating to sequence, process, flows and duration of events is an important variable. Thus time is an important variable because the existence and nature of a process can only be discovered over time. A major strength of qualitative data is that it can be collected over time, following a course of events; and
* The matrix has to be characterised by ease of use because it would be used in the field, under difficult conditions, by Operation Hunger field staff.

These criteria were the basis on which the matrix was designed and implemented.

In summary, the matrix is a tool which facilitates both data gathering and data analysis so that process and product can be understood through identifying the instructional system and adding factual flesh to the learning milieu.

7.4.6.4 Document Analysis. Programmes do not arise unheralded. They are proceeded by letters, newspaper articles, field workers' notes, and so on. Such data is useful because it provides background data to projects and facilitates the process of cross-checking and triangulation. Documentation which was presented for analysis included letters to and from the organisation, newspaper articles, internal organisational reports, travel itineraries and delivery and acceptance notes/receipts of goods delivered to projects.

The discussion of document analysis will be presented in the following way. Firstly, the advantages and disadvantages of document analysis will be outlined. Secondly, each type of documentation encountered will be described and finally, its role in the programme evaluation will be analysed.

In general document analysis is used to:

* *Collect background data on projects*. This data provides context and a history about a project; i.e. information against which analysis occurs; and
* *Analyses relationships and occurrences*. Firstly, the tone and content of documentation indicates the type of relationship between parties mentioned in the documentation. Is the relationship formal or informal? Relaxed or tense? Familiar or antagonistic? Secondly, the order of occurrence and the type of occurrences described, can indicate products and allude to processes.

The illuminative approach recognises the importance of document analysis in providing background information for programmes, as an alternative source of data with which to check other data and a source which can provide data not available from other sources. Finally, document analysis of certain types of documents is one of the best ways of identifying the instructional system and the learning milieu. This is because this form of analysis is based on the written form and represents concrete communication and instruction between parties.

Document analysis is controversial because of its distinct advantages and disadvantages relative to other data-collection or analysis methods. Since document analysis is an important form of data-gathering and analysis in Operation Hunger's programme evaluation, we should consider the relative advantages and disadvantages of document analysis over other forms of data-gathering:

* Document analysis is preferable to interviewing and observation for collecting certain kinds of retrospective data because:
  - Interviewing depends on the interviewer knowing the best questions to ask, so as to reveal the desired information. Analysis of documents can indicate these questions;
  - Gaining the most out of observing a particular site depends on the observer knowing what to look for. Documents can help reveal who the important actors are, what the issues may be, and so on;
  - Interviewing relies on the memory of the interviewee, while document analysis does not, thus document analysis tends to be more accurate; and
  - Documentary data is very reliable with respect to details relating to the chronology of events.
* Certain types of information, such as stated goals, are most efficiently collected by means of document analysis. For instance, over time the stated goals of a programme may vary with the programme participants' perceptions of what the recorded (stated) goals are. This distinction in itself becomes an area for analysis of the learning milieu;

* Information drawn from documents tends to be more credible than that derived from interviews because such information is recorded and is thus verifiable. Also, this type of data is more reliable because those recording it are less likely to falsify written testament than they are to falsify verbal evidence;
* Document analysis is a good way to collect background and historical data because it provides information on events that cannot be observed because they have already taken place. Furthermore this data is superior to interview and anecdotal data because it cannot be corrupted by intervening perceptions and events; and
* The analysis of trends and events over time is most easily facilitated by the examination of past records. Often this sort of data cannot be collected from any other reliable source.

However, document analysis in general, presents several disadvantages:

* Documents, like reports, unless otherwise verified can be written to place programmes and activities in a favourable light. This danger exists especially in reports which record events which occurred some time ago;
* A written report reflects the faults of the writer, such as a bad memory or poor observing skills. People tend to want to recall that which they found pleasing or non-threatening. This problem increases when the reports are not written to a fixed and structured format which normally force the writer to address "uncomfortable" issues;
* The needs of programme evaluation are often at variance with the original purpose and function of the documentary data. Thus the definitions and categories used by an organisation in its documentation may be inappropriate for evaluation purposes. This can place major limitations on the use of the data for programme evaluation;
* No document can indicate more than what the author of the document thought or intended to say, this is especially so of narrative

reports. This limitation is increased by the limitations of the reader, since the reader's understanding is dependent on the reader's level of comprehension; and

* Documentation is not interactive in nature. In an interview a skilled interviewer is able to probe the interviewee and extract data which the interviewee may not have felt to be important. Document analysis does not afford the reader this opportunity.

In the case of Operation Hunger the following documentation were subject to analysis:

* *Letters to and from the organisation*. Written communication between the organisation and other organisations, projects and communities often revealed important parts of the instructional system and the learning milieu. It is the organisation's policy never to become involved in a project/community unless it has been specially invited to participate. Often the first contact between the organisation and the project/community is in the form of a letter to the organisation. Typically the letter revealed a range of information, such as when the organisation was first contacted, what the writers of the letters perceptions and expectations of the organisation were, what they knew about the organisation, what they wanted, who the contact people were, and so on. Thus by way of an example, a letter which is word-processor-written, on letter-head paper indicates the writer's access to organisation and resources. Similarly style, grammar and contents may reveal other aspects such as the attitudes and expectations of the writer. Related to this, letters written in reply, give an indication of how long it took to respond to the initial enquiry, what the response was, what resources were to be directed towards the enquiry, and so forth; i.e the instructional system. A series of letters makes it possible to track events such as meetings, promises of aid, and so on. Also, the changes of tone in letters helps to give an impression of the relationship between the organisation and the correspondent; i.e. the learning milieu. For instance an initial letter to the organisation may be stilted and formal in style, while later

correspondence might reflect a more open, familiar and friendly style. This documentation was not produced with programme evaluation in mind. Rather, it represents inter-organisational communication. However, its use in programme evaluation is two-fold. Firstly, it can be used as a source in triangulation. Secondly, it expresses the instructional system and can intimate aspects of the learning milieu;

* *Newspaper articles*. Cuttings from newspapers formed an integral part of the documentation for specific projects. All articles relating to a project, be they about the project directly, or about the community as a whole were collected and placed in the relevant file. These are an important source of information about the learning milieu. They provide two types of information:
  - General background and historical information about the project or community; and
  - An indication of the project/community's public profile. For instance, what perception does the article create of the project or community? Does it attempt to draw a sympathetic response from the readers?
* *Internal organisational reports*. Two types of reports presented themselves for analysis: feeding reports and narrative reports. The latter expressed themselves in the form of field workers' reports and the Director's reports. These reports are remnants of the old programme evaluation which were revised so that their focus became more in keeping with the new evaluation approach:
  - As with the old system the *feeding reports* were completed by the person/committee/group who had taken on the responsibility of recording; how many people were fed; how much soup was used; and when feeding had occurred. This information was recorded on a standard form. It was designed for the purposes of stock and financial control by the head office in Johannesburg. Its programme evaluation objective was radically different, since it provided crucial data relating to the instructional system and the learning milieu by describing when and how often the process of feeding occurred. The reports were photocopied and filed

before they were forwarded to the head office. These reports could then be used to cross-check data in the time-ordered matrix and the Director's and field workers' reports. Any contradiction between these reports would then become the point of analysis in discerning the instructional system and the learning milieu; and

- Another source of product and process information was *narrative reports*. Narrative reports were generated by the staff in the field in the form of field workers' and Director's reports. However the nature of these reports was changed from the previous format, style and intention. Ultimately, in terms of programme evaluation, both of these reports should dove-tail the content of the time-ordered matrix, making reference to the contents of the matrices.

* Previously the *primary role* of the *field workers' reports* was to control the activities of the field workers. The reports tended to be descriptive, long-winded, poorly structured with respect to analysis, and organised according to daily activities as opposed to by project. The format of the field workers' reports was revised so that they could be more appropriate for their new primary and secondary roles. The three primary roles of the reports were:
  - To keep the director up to date on the activities and the progress of the projects, and through this to facilitate the supervision of the field workers;
  - To present data in a format that other field workers were able to understand and use; and
  - As a means of assisting the field workers with the process of analysis. Lofland explains that

> It seems, in fact, that one does not truly begin to think until one concretely attempts to render thought and analysis into successive sentences....For better or for worse, when one actually writes he begins to get *new* ideas, to see new connections, to remember material that he had not remembered before...One is never truly inside a topic - or on top of it - until he faces the hard task of explaining it to someone else.[280]

---

280 Lofland quoted in Miles, M.B & Huberman, A.M. *Qualitative Data Analysis: a source book of new methods*, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1984. p.91.

The *secondary role* is as alternative data source for programme evaluation which must dove-tail into other source of evaluation data like the time-ordered matrix and the feeding reports.
The field workers' reports were shortened with more emphasis on analytical thought. The report's intention was switched from control mechanism to a source of analysis. The narrative reports suggest what the field worker hopes to achieve through a specific course of action, and analyse of the particular sites with respect to group dynamics, the size and type of community, possible problem areas, possible solutions, and so on. In line with these new roles the reports were written, organised and categorised according to each project. The reports themselves were less detailed and thus shorter. Furthermore they were organised according to the following headings; description, analysis and action. This overall change in structure facilitated easier data analysis by reducing the volume of data and making it more accessible to the reader. Using the concepts described by Lofland above, it is clear that the process of "description" leads into and assists the process of "analysis", which in turn helps define appropriate "action". In terms of analysis and the distinction between instructional system and learning milieu, creating the headings description, analysis and action did more than just facilitate action. These terms were conceptual headings, with "action" making up the instructional system and the concepts "description" and "analysis" illuminating the learning milieu;

* Originally the *Director's reports* were unlike those completed by the field workers. Their primary role was to record what had been done, who had been met and what the assistant to the director had to do with respect to allocating resources to a project. Thus the reports consisted of abbreviated notes taken down in the field which had then been typed out, verbatim, by the organisation's secretary. They did not have the detail of the field workers' reports and tended to have meaning only to the Director and the Assistant to the Director. The Director's reports needed to be more complete; to be written in a way which was more accessible to other

staff. The Director's thoughts needed to be clearly described so that they could easily be understood by outsiders to a programme. In line with this, the format of the Director's reports were revised so that they were similar to the field workers' reports in structure. This made it possible for the reports to become more appropriate for their new primary and secondary roles - which are the same as those of the field workers' reports except that they do not fulfil a supervisory function. Other than this difference the reports were the same as the field workers' in length, content, structure and format;

* *Travel itineraries*. Visits to areas beyond the immediate Cape Town metropolitan area involved the careful planning of itineraries. Detailed itineraries enhance efficiency with respect to projects and communities visited. This list of dates, places and times of meetings is useful in corroborating the chronological list of action gained from other documentation; and
* *Delivery and acceptance notes/receipts of goods delivered to projects*. These are used in tracing deviations between the instructional system and the learning milieu. Furthermore, this data can be used to cross-check data gathered from other data sources like the time-ordered matrix. Thus these documents play an important part in verifying data gathered from other sources.

At Operation Hunger the greatest strength of document analysis was that it presented data which could be used to check other data. In this context, document analysis had two major disadvantages. Firstly the documentation's primary role was not dedicated to programme evaluation; rather its role was to either communicate information to others in the organisation (e.g. through field workers' reports) or to communicate information between organisations (e.g. correspondence and delivery notes). Thus the definition's, categories and structure of the documentation were not suited to the programme evaluation system. Secondly, the documentation could not be "interrogated", in the sense that it could only say what its author and structure

intended it to say. There was no interactive process between the reader and the writer of the documentation.

Background information and the attainment of authenticity through the process of triangulation are two important aspects of the illuminative approach. The documentation used for document analysis was suited to these two roles. Thus the accuracy inherent within the documentation's information, administrative and control functions was used to gather background data. Furthermore it was used to backup and validate other sources of data through the process of triangulation. This aspect is explored further in 7.4.8.

In summation the role of documentation in the new evaluation system (relative to the old evaluation system) changed profoundly with the introduction of the concept of document analysis, its related concepts and other data gathering methods.

7.4.7 Learning Milieu, Instructional System and Analysis

Each project in which Operation Hunger becomes involved is considered unique; and as such it is considered in terms of its own set of specific circumstances. The information profile is intended to help generate a unique understanding of a project by gathering and presenting data, which through analysis can create a holistic picture of the project. The evaluation team's decision was based upon this picture. This analysis had to consider the project in terms of process, product, intended and unintended outcomes, and relate these to the analytical concepts of learning milieu and instructional system.

One of the notions which influenced the design of the evaluation model was the idea that the process of a project is as important as the product of the project. An effective programme evaluation had to help understand and analyse how a project happened; the process of a project had to be discerned. The fact that a specific product goal had been reached did not mean that the decision-making team would

judge the project successful; the success of a project would, in part, be determined by the process which occurred during the project. The decision about how successful the process of a project was, all depended on how closely the project's process had fitted into the pattern of community development used by the organisation.

This, however, was not the only aspect which the analysis had to reveal; the evaluation had to be sensitive to both the intended and unintended product of a project. The latter aspect, the unintended product, is especially important because a project, particularly in a small town, could ultimately have very far reaching consequences which may negate or enhance what has been achieved in terms of the process and intended product of a project.

Central to this analysis are the concepts of instructional system and learning milieu. The instructional system represents the stated and implied methods, objectives and goals of a particular programme that was set out by the Operation Hunger field staff and the programme participants. In other words, the instructional system is the blue-print of how a programme is planned. The learning milieu represents the way in which the programme actually happens in the context of the instructional system. The concepts of instructional system and learning milieu concretise analysis and provide a pivot around which a programme can be understood. Thus the dialectical relationship between these elements uncovered by these concepts forms the analytic centre around which critical analysis occurs: This is the point at which process, product, intended and unintended outcomes of a programme are understood. Furthermore, it is on this understanding that the ultimate success or failure of a programme is judged. This means that each piece of data in the information profile is considered in terms of these two concepts. Thus the question which is always asked is, how does this data relate to the instructional system and learning milieu of the project under study?

7.4.8 Issues of Authenticity

Illuminative evaluation recognises the tensions between the advantages and disadvantages of the various forms of data-gathering and analysis. For instance, the extensive use of open-ended data-gathering methods, qualitative data analysis and the reliance on the collective experience of the evaluation team means that this evaluation model is open to gross partiality on the part of both individual and collective field staff. In an effort to mediate these tensions, systems of cross-checking data through the use of alternative data-gathering methods and alternative data sources are encouraged. In other words countering this potential problem, depends on the use of strategies associated with authenticity. These strategies fall into three groups:

* Strategies which make sure all the relevant data has been collected;
* Strategies which ensure that the data is accurate and reliable; and
* The use of game theory, particularly "minimax", to identify and counter weaknesses in various sources of data.

Each of these types of strategy is discussed below. It is assumed that these strategies interact in a way that allows subtle aspects of each strategy to impact on other strategies and therefore to further enhance authenticity.

7.4.8.1 Collecting Relevant Data. Ensuring that all the relevant data is identified and collected is based on the interaction of four strategies:

* The first relies on the information profile discussed in 7.2 above. The information profile and its associated research methods guides the evaluation team in identifying where data may be found;
* The second is drawn out of two of the research methods which specifically identify areas where appropriate data can be found. These are the time-ordered matrix and document analysis. The structure of the time-ordered matrix ensures that specific data is collected through answering pre-determined questions. The process of document analysis also facilitates the identification of data by

---

the researcher intends to measure: This can be achieved by checking

281 Parlett, Dearden & Hamilton, *op. cit*, p.23.

on what has been measured. This form of accuracy and validity is achieved through structural corroboration, referential adequacy, triangulation and by presenting a recognisable reality. Each of these forms is described below.

* Circumstantial evidence, or what Eisner terms "structural corroboration", helps achieve accuracy and validity. This means that when the evaluation team presents its data and opinion it must provide conclusions supported by evidence embodied within its presentation. These must relate to past events. Thus, there has to be symmetry between what is reported by the evaluation team and the contents of its recorded data;
* A second way of enhancing reliability is to check the referential adequacy of the presentation. This means that the evaluation team's presentation should illuminate the programme to such a degree that some other person who has not seen the programme will be able to understand what is being described and what the pertinent issues are;
* No single research method ever adequately solves the problem of rival causal factors. Each research method reveals different aspects of empirical reality; therefore many different research methods must be employed to take account of this. This is termed triangulation. Three types of triangulation were used in the Operation Hunger Evaluation Model:
  - *Data triangulation*. The use of a variety of data sources in a study. For example, both soup delivery/acceptance notes and the time-ordered matrix were used to check when soup arrived at a project;
  - *Investigator triangulation*. The use of more than one evaluator or researcher to investigate a project. Usually when a project or programme was visited by field staff for evaluation, more than one member of staff would be on hand for this purpose;
  - *Methodological triangulation*. Using many research methods to study a single problem or programme. For instance, the time-ordered matrix was used in the case of Operation Hunger to check

data and opinion gathered through observation and recorded in field workers' reports.

Wherever possible the field staff were encouraged to use as many of these forms of triangulation as possible for as much of the data and opinion as possible; and

* A fourth means of validity and accuracy testing is in the presentation of a "recognizable reality"[282]. This illuminative evaluation concept alludes to the notion that ultimately those for whom the research is being done, feel that what is being portrayed or described, is the same as the reality which they know and experience. In a sense, the concept refers to a process of audience assessment. For Operation Hunger this notion was used especially by the decision-making team in their discussion and negotiation with the project participants when the decision-making team was making its proposals to the project participants.

7.4.8.3 Game Theory. The game theory concept of "minimax" has been examined in 4.5.3. Once again this concept comes into play in linking these two aspects of authenticity in a way that reduces the maximum disadvantage of each form of data-gathering. For instance one of the weaknesses of the field workers' reports was that even in their more focused and abbreviated forms they still presented data that was cumbersome and difficult to analyse. Thus, a way of assisting the process of data analysis from the narrative reports was to use the time-ordered matrix to identify, verify and to scrutinise key issues in more detail.

---

282 Parlett, M., Dearden, G. & Hamilton, D. "The Recognition of Authenticity", in M. Parlett & G. Dearden (eds.) *Introduction to Illuminative Evaluation: studies in higher education*, Cardiff-by-the-Sea: Pacific Soundings Press, 1977, p.40.

7.4.9 Decision-making

The illuminative evaluation approach theory which informs this evaluation model helps create information conditions which facilitate the making of decisions. However, the implication of the illuminative evaluation process is that the decision-makers will use the data presented by the approach to inform their decisions. In this way, the illuminative approach leaves the decision-making process up in the air, leaving it to the decision-makers to use the data and analysis as they wish.

In a sense, the evaluation model at Operation Hunger discussed here does the same thing. Although it used an evaluation team to gather the data, and a decision-making team made decisions based upon the data and analysis presented, this model did not outline the specific criteria involved in reaching a decision. To understand decision-making here, it is better to grasp the components which impact on a decision. The first component is the implication that the best and correct decision will be reached by the decision-making team given they receive all relevant data and analysis. The second component relates to the first. It recognises that in essence the specific decisions are judgmental and are based on intuition which has been honed by the experiences of previous decisions. This implies that each decision is unique for each project, but that at the same time that there is a certain consistency between decisions with respect to similar projects. Thus the decision-making itself relied on the traditional approach used by Operation Hunger - the review of the data by several field-workers under the guidance of the Director. The third component of the decision-making process was to discuss and negotiate the content of a decision, as well as its rationale. This was done by field staff and programme participants. Thus the decisions were part of the interactive process between the organisation and the programmes it supports. This component introduces a review process because, for a decision to be effective it needs, at minimum, the compliance, and preferably the support of the programme participants. This means that the programme

participants have the chance to review the decision. The final point about this decision-making process is that the decision has to reflect a position which represents an accountability to a range of constituencies. These included the community, project participants, Operation Hunger staff, head office and funders. The decision had to balance the needs of all of these groups.

Ultimately this decision-making process relied on intuition born out of experience. This is consistent with the ethos of the illuminative approach which places a high premium on the intangible in the process where experience and world-view are important. The other side of this, is that the process introduces the unconscious bias of the decision-makers into decision-making. In a sense, this bias was addressed by the process of authenticity described earlier.

7.5 Summary

This chapter begins by describing the key organisational features of Operation Hunger which impact on, and inform, the implementation of the evaluation model. These features include the poor state of personnel, organisational and programme evaluation related to the sense of crisis in the organisation. Following this, the evaluation model at Operation Hunger is described. This description is not a "users' manual" of how the approach works. Rather, it is a description of how the theory of illuminative evaluation was interpreted and translated into practice. With this in mind, key features of the Operation Hunger evaluation model have been identified and "unpacked". These eight key features are: illuminative evaluation contributing to decision-making, the use of internal evaluators, the three-stage framework, the information profiles, the research methods, the learning milieu and instructional system, authenticity and decision-making.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

This thesis is linked by a series of themes. Some of these themes are located in specific chapters while others span many chapters. Each of these are identified below.

It explores an interactive relationship between praxis, rupture, and finding an evaluation approach which works. Praxis is expressed by giving voice and action to the concept of "rupture" through facilitating a dialogue between theory and practice. The vehicle for this dialogue has been the exploration of the field of programme evaluation and the operationalisation of the Operation Hunger evaluation model through the illuminative approach. In the process of giving this voice, and finding what "works", a range of interconnected subjects and themes have been explored. The following discussion identifies, highlights, entertains and concludes these ideas, notions and concepts.

8.1 Programme Evaluation is on the Agenda

This thesis begins with the notion that the issue of programme evaluation has been placed firmly on the agenda of human services organisations because of many factors. Four of these are:

* *Accountability to communities and clients*. Communities and clients receiving services are demanding that human service providers are more accountable. The recipients of services want to play a more active role in controlling programmes;
* *Accountability to the funders*. Firstly, the Department of Health and Welfare's new programme directed approach to subsidies means that "private" state-subsidised human services organisations now carry a greater responsibility in justifying continued

subsidisation for their programmes. Secondly, non-South African funders - international funding organisations such as multinational corporation social responsibility programme funders, national governments, and so on - are demanding that resources supplied by them, for programmes, are all accounted for in terms of their use and worth;

* *The economic crisis and the pervasive shortage of funds*. The crisis in the South African economy has meant that the services of human services organisations are being requested by an ever-expanding group of people in need. This is happening in the context of human service organisations finding that costs are escalating and new income is increasingly scarce. Therefore, only the "best" programmes are being considered for implementation; and
* *The use of more sophisticated management techniques*. Human service organisations are beginning to see the advantages of using more sophisticated management and administrative techniques. These techniques demand thorough and coherent evaluation of programmes.

These factors have ensured that programme evaluation has become more widely accepted. As a consequence it's use has increased dramatically, especially following the introduction of the new programme orientated subsidy system for welfare organisations. However, the use and acceptance of programme evaluation approaches in this context has been limited to those which measure intended outcomes. An encouraging aspect to this form of evaluation has been the readiness of these traditional welfare organisations to engage in the programme evaluation research methods which encompass quantitative and some qualitative methods. It is in this context that this thesis is written - a context where the emergent field of programme evaluation in South Africa is under consideration from all quarters involved in human services. This is why this thesis identifies and examines a range of alternative evaluation approaches in Chapter five; approaches which look at both intended and unintended outcomes and which have the potential for application in the current context.

However, it is one thing to recognise that evaluation is on the agenda of human service organisations, but to understand what programme evaluation is, is quite a different matter. In examining programme evaluation it becomes clear that the field of programme evaluation is racked with debate and is in a constant state of flux. The assessment of the field of programme evaluation deals with this "state of flux" and specific key concepts are taken as given. This is the focus of Chapter three where certain concepts, particularly the concept of evaluation, are explored and defined.

8.2 The Practical Application of Theory

In the introduction it is argued that the evaluator's role ought to be "active-reactive-adaptive" in working with decision makers and programme evaluation information users when focusing evaluation questions and making methods decisions. In playing this role, Patton argues, the evaluator must be able to use whatever research methods and evaluation approaches work under the circumstances. This "brass-tacks" approach to evaluation is well-illustrated in Chapter four where the programme evaluation carried out by Aspenaz and Daniel in the court of Nebuchadnezzar is discussed. On the surface, from the point of view of both internal and external validity, the experiment carried out by Aspenaz and Daniel was a complete failure. The small sample rules out satisfactory manipulation of statistics. The sample population was self selected and the possibility of contamination of the sample group through the Hawthorn effect cannot be ruled out. Also the belief system of the students could have played as much of a role as their diet did. Yet, in spite of these serious problems, this programme evaluation was very successful because it worked. The evaluation was a success because it achieved what it meant to achieve: It supplied the Assistant Director (Melzar) with the information needed to solve a specific problem. Furthermore, the well-developed lines of communication and good management control meant that the results of the evaluation were immediately translated

into action, with all the participants in the programme being placed on a vegetarian diet.

8.3 The Paradigm of Choices

One of the reasons why the social sciences are characterised by so many areas of debate is because of the almost complete lack of dominant paradigms. This characteristic carries itself into the field of programme evaluation. It can be argued that the arena of programme evaluation is set within the grey boundaries of what T.S. Kuhn might have called "Pre-paradigmatic research". This notion of pre-paradigmatic research means that no single programme evaluation approach has achieved hegemony over this field. However, the concept "pre-paradigmatic" carries a further implication; that is that there is a process in action which will lead towards the acceptance and dominance of a single paradigm. In one sense this will never occur, for the same reasons that the social sciences will never see a single pervasive paradigm dominating all of the social sciences. However, in another sense certain paradigms are beginning to take shape. One such paradigm is Patton's "paradigm of choices". As is discussed in 4.5, the paradigm of choices recognises that different methods (or approaches) are appropriate for different situations; no single approach is able to address all possible research and evaluation needs. Thus the evaluator must be aware of all possible choices, and be in a position to make an informed decision with regard to choosing the most appropriate research design and evaluation methods. This theme of "choice" is explored in a substantial way, by identifying areas where the paradigm of choices can be applied. The first such area is in relation to the engineering of a research design. A research design is a way of gathering coherent and comparative information so that results can be placed within a context for the judgement of the programme being evaluated - its use and worth. Designs can profoundly affect the conclusions the evaluator and other decision-makers draw with respect to problem identification, planning, goal-setting, efficiency and so on. In short, an evaluation

is only as rigorous as the limitations of its design. The implications of this notion are explored in chapters two, five and seven. In Chapter two there is a description of the research design which yielded this thesis. In Chapters five and seven the research methods of the illuminative approach are explained in theory and interpreted in practice, through the development of the Operation Hunger evaluation model. The second instance where the paradigm of choices is explored is in the debate between quantitative versus qualitative based research designs described in Chapter four. In a sense this thesis uses the concept "paradigm of choices" to get round the "either/or" nature of this debate and to explore and to use research designs which speak to both qualitative and quantitative designs, giving equal weight to the value of each. Thus the criteria yielded by the paradigm of choices is that particular research methods and evaluation approaches are used because they are appropriate to the particular situation. Finally, the paradigm of choices comes into play by identifying a range of appropriate evaluation approaches and research methods, and then focusing on the identification and use of one evaluation approach and set of research methods.

8.4 The Dialogue Between the Present and the Past and the Impact on Theory and Practice.

An important theme, first raised in 1.1, has been a discussion between the present and the past. This discussion is premised on the notion that approaches, methods, models, key concepts, and so on, in the field of programme evaluation, are loaded (value-laden) in some way. If these concepts, methods, models, approaches and so on, are to be used to their full effect then it is necessary to determine how they are loaded. One way to explore programme evaluation is by unpacking and unpicking the history of, and the history behind, the development of programme evaluation.

To this end, the history of programme evaluation in the United States of America is examined in some detail in Chapter four. Only through an awareness and assessment of the interconnectedness of the rise of the liberal welfare state by way of the New Deal, the intense political and philosophical crisis precipitated by the failure of key war on poverty programmes, a simultaneous and related crisis in programme evaluation as programmes came under political and economic pressure to succeed, and the political programme expressed by Robert Kennedy and carried forward by Jimmy Carter, is it possible to begin to grasp the full import of the political and philosophical project which the developers of illuminative evaluation wished to address. Understanding this is central in comprehending the strengths and limits of illuminative evaluation. Thus if these and other unique circumstances had not happened in the way they did, then programme evaluation, would not have taken the form and content which they did. This is especially true of the models examined in chapters four and five.

8.5 Social Welfare and Social Research

In a similar vein to the above, this discourse between the present and the past is brought closer to home with the focus on the South African political economy. The intention of this chapter is to tease out specific trends and events with respect to the development of social welfare and social research. This is achieved through an examination of the manner in which capitalism developed in South Africa, the way political power is located and how interventions in the field of welfare happen.

A dominant theme identified in this chapter is how the events which have shaped South African welfare provision have coalesced in a way which give current welfare provision its current and unique shape and how this is reflected the great weakness of both practice orientated research and programme evaluation. This theme is explored in two ways:

* Firstly, by unraveling the profound affect the anti-socialist residual approach (with its racist flavour) to welfare provision has had on the conception and execution of welfare services from the 1930s to the current period. This conceptualisation of welfare provision is characterised by a "limited" social welfare net, the partnership between the state and "private" welfare organisations, an "a political" approach to welfare, a higher level of direct and indirect service to whites and a focus on a therapeutic orientation towards welfare provision. The power of this notion of welfare was demonstrated after the second world war when it was used to successfully posit "privatised" welfare as a viable and responsible alternative to socialised welfare which was being adopted by most of South Africa's war allies. More recently this approach to welfare has allowed the Minister of Finance to successfully continue with unequal pension allocations for the 1992/93 Budget in the face of the apparent "death of apartheid"; and
* Secondly, by probing the apparent failure of "traditional" welfare organisations in mounting an effective challenge to the apartheid state at either the political or research levels. The degree of the "traditional" welfare sector's weakness is best illustrated by the relative success the JMC structures achieved by using the welfare system as a whole, to further their counter-revolutionary strategy during the 1980s. Indeed it fell on the shoulders of over-burdened individual anti-apartheid activists, extra parliamentary organisations and the emergent NGSOs to launch the political challenge at the programmatic and research levels. The success which these forces, especially the NGSOs, achieved may be measured in the subject, quantity, sophistication and impact (academic, social and political) of the research which these individual researchers and organisations managed to generate. In the light of this, it is little wonder that the *concept*, let alone the practice, of programme evaluation is relatively new in South Africa.

8.6 Five Approaches to Programme Evaluation

The five evaluation approaches already identified share similar characteristics. Two of the most important similarities are the common focus on both intended and unintended outcomes and the recognition of the peculiar strengths of qualitative research methods. However, in spite of these similarities, each approach is radically different from the other in philosophy, emphasis, objectives and methods. The discussion of each of these approaches (in Chapter five) in conjunction with their histories (discussed in Chapter four) provides a general assessment of the relative strengths and weaknesses of each of these approaches. This discussion does not provide context specific ideas about when to use each approach and under what conditions each approach may be used. The reason for this is self-evident; in line with the concepts of utilisation-focused evaluation and the paradigm of choices, the decision to use one or another evaluation approach depends on specific conditions prevailing at the site of the evaluation. This raises the question: How does an evaluator decide which evaluation approach to use? In answer to this question, Chapter four outlines a strategy to aid this choice. The essence of this strategy is to develop and recognise specific criteria for the programme under study and to match these with the evaluation approaches under consideration. Chapter seven represents an interpretation of this strategy.

8.7 Critique of Illuminative Evaluation

Chapter seven begins by describing the selection of the illuminative evaluation approach out of a possible choice of five. There is then a description of the illuminative approach according to how it was put into practice. The intention of this discussion is not to present a detailed set of instructions, on how the Operation Hunger evaluation model works, but rather to explain how the illuminative approach became the Operation Hunger Evaluation Model. There is a focus on key elements of the illuminative approach and an exploration of these in

some detail. The discussion in this chapter represents the translation of theory into practice.

What does this translation of theory into practice mean for this particular theory and practice? More particularly what has this exercise taught about the illuminative approach? In general, it may said that the formation of this Operation Hunger Evaluation Model has exposed both positive and negative aspects of the approach.

On the positive side the theory of illuminative evaluation has developed through a tradition of praxis - where the theory has been modified in the light of practical experiences. This has meant that the theory carries informed and intelligent guidelines for operationalising theoretical concepts. Two examples serve to illustrate this point. Firstly, the concept of a "research strategy" was developed because the developers of the illuminative approach felt that given the constraints of the "real world" it was only possible to point to a range of research methods identified through wide-ranging criteria. Thus it was possible to develop a research design tailored specifically to the needs of the Operation Hunger Evaluation Model. Secondly, as is argued in 5.6.3, the illuminative approach is inappropriate in contexts where there are many projects, because it becomes difficult to identify all the necessary data. However, as discused in 7.4.8.1, Parlett *et al*, who were amongst the most vociferous proponents of illuminative evaluation, proposed a strategy, based on their own experience, to answer and deal with this issue. An indication of the usefulness of this strategy is that a variation of it is used in the Operation Hunger Evaluation Model. Other positive aspects of the approach are the notion of the equal use and the value of quantitative and qualitative research methods, the focus on contributions to decision-making, and the concepts of research strategy, information profile, learning milieu, instructional system and authentification. An important strength of these notions and concepts is that they are clear enough and wide ranging enough for each one to be interpreted in a way which works.

There are some negative aspects of the illuminative approach. Its short-comings are stated up-front in the literature written by its developers. At the same time, its proponents attempt to suggest possible solutions to the illuminative approach's apparent weaknesses. These solutions can address these weaknesses depending on particular conditions. However, the operationalisation of the Operation Hunger Evaluation Model exposed two weaknesses which need further examination.

Chapters four and five argue that the illuminative approach has developed following dissatisfaction with current evaluation approaches. This dissatisfaction was both methodological and philosophical. Proponents of the illuminative approach addressed both levels of dissatisfaction by integrating their methodological and philosophical critiques into their new approach.

In Chapter four it is argued that the illuminative approach is one of several evaluation approaches in the intuitionist/pluralist tradition within liberalism. This tradition leads to the formulation of an epistemology in which the intuitionist/pluralist rely on their specialist training and experience to find the truth. In a similar way both validity and utility are defined subjectively with the evaluator developing criteria by drawing judgements from participants in the programme. This means that an evaluation is context-defined and relies on interpretations which have meaning to the evaluation audience. According to the illuminative approach the evaluation audience is defined as the programme users, interested observers and the staff and director of an organisation. In this sense the evaluation is context bound and findings are interpreted within a specific context. The research methodology reflects this philosophy, through the use of both qualitative and quantitative data collection and interpretation methods.

At the political level the participation of disparate individuals and groups encouraged by the pluralistic principles of this approach has several implications. Illuminative evaluation with its links to the transaction approach relies on the evaluation audience to participate in the evaluation process and thus achieve its "populist" philosophy. This occurs through interviews, participant observation, co-data collection, negotiation and so on. This process implies the empowerment of the programme participants through a direct democracy, with respect to the management and control of the programme.

8.8 Operation Hunger and Illuminative Evaluation; a critique

Yet it is at this point - empowerment - that the illuminative approach breaks down. One of the central functions of management and control is decision-making. The degree and nature of empowerment is exposed by the relationship between decision-making and management, and control. In the illuminative approach it is assumed that the illuminative evaluator plays a mediating role. The evaluator collects data which will aid decision-making; collects insights of programme participants; negotiates, and so on. Somehow there is an idea that this will result in an equal consensus for all parties concerned and that this will be reflected in the final decision. It is this implicit acceptance of decision-making itself which prevents the developers from seeing empowerment and decision making in a more critical light.

There are two assumptions in the philosophy of illuminative evaluation which lead to this breakdown. Firstly, the illuminative approach, like pluralism, recognises that there are disparate groups with an interest in decision-making. The illuminative approach identifies these groups as programme users, field staff, trustees, and so on. However, what this philosophy misses is that not only are these groups disparate, but they are also *unequal* with respect to power. Issues like who is powerful and in what way they are powerful, are important when we examine the exercise of power in decision-

making and empowerment, for example. Thus it is only through understanding the locus and nature of power that the issue of empowerment can be addressed. Secondly, Stenhause is correct when he says that illuminative evaluators aspire to "tell it like it is".[283] There is an implication that the illuminative evaluator can reflect an absolute truth which will be recognised by all parties involved in the evaluation through the process of mediation, negotiation, and their own skill. Yet, as been argued in the introduction there is no absolute truth. As Stenhause explains "...there is no telling it as it is. There is only a creation of meaning through the use of criteria and conceptual frameworks."[284] In this sense, truth is absolute relative to the position of the observer.

These self-same issues are raised by and expressed in the Operation Hunger Evaluation Model. One of the aspects of development which Operation Hunger promotes is the issue of empowerment. The practice of intervention in communities is guided by the notion that Operation Hunger will help a community develop, and that part of this development entails the empowerment of the community. Yet from the point of view of programme evaluation this empowerment is uneven. As part of this process of empowering a community, Operation Hunger develops a partnership with programme participants. However, this "partnership" is profoundly affected by the relative nature of the power between the two groups. The nature of this power imbalance is reflected in three ways:

* Operation Hunger is a *de facto* funding organisation. It supplies all the materials and expertise to a group who are located in a community with very few resources. This control of the "purse strings" gives the organisation enormous power, in a context where a decision to withdraw, or re-allocate, resources could mean even greater hardship for those affected. The extent of this power is

---

283 See 5.6.4

284 Stenhause quoted in Stufflebeam, D.L. & Shinkfield, A.J. *Systematic Evaluation: a self-instructional guide to theory and practice*, Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff Publishing, 1985, p.298.

illustrated by the inability of well-resourced NGSOs to prevent international funding organisations from subtly impose their own development agendas;

* The field workers, even without their access to the distribution of resources, are very powerful. There are several aspects to this power. Firstly, the relative experience of the field workers means that they are able to devise well-constructed, and well-referenced arguments when persuading community or programme members to take a specific course of action. Secondly, the evaluation process itself, introduces a discourse and language which is alien to persons not familiar with it. This immediately gives an advantage to the field staff conducting an evaluation; and
* The use of a decision-making team increases this inequality, even though its intention was the opposite. The decision making process is meant to be an interactive negotiation process where the field staff and programme participants discuss the final decision. In reality what happens is that the Operation Hunger staff discuss the fate of the programme under question, using the data gained in the evaluation. They then present their one unified and unquestioning view to the programme participants. In this context the participants find it difficult to question the decision because of the "sheer weight" of the argument.

This critique of illuminative evaluation and its application in the case of Operation Hunger, contained in this thesis, has therefore raised important questions which will have to be answered by others who use this approach. Illuminative evaluation has both strengths and weaknesses which have been identified. The discussion has shown that these are a function of the approach itself and the context in which it is used. Hopefully other evaluators, using the illuminative approach, will be able to draw on these insights, minimise its weaknesses and maximise its strengths in their specific contexts. In this way the illuminative approach can be implemented and harnessed successfully.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Albertyn, J.R. "Part V. Sociological Report" in Report of the Carnegie Commission (eds.) *The Poor White Problem in South Africa*, Stellenbosch: Pro Ecclesia-Drukkery, 1932.

Anonymous, "Tasks of the Democratic Movement in the State of Emergency", *Isizwe: The Nation, Journal of the United Democratic Front*, Vol.1, No.1, 1985.

Ashford, A. *The Politics of Official Discourse in Twentieth-Century South Africa*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990.

Barber, B. *The Conquest of Politics: liberal philosophy in democratic times*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1988.

Barry, N.P. *The New Right*, London: Croom Helm, 1987.

Bloch, R. & Wilkinson, P. "Urban Control and Popular Struggle: a survey of state urban policy; 1920-1970", *Africa Perspective*, No.20, 1982.

Bloom, B.S., Englehart, M.D., Furst, E.J., Hill, W.H. & Krathwohl, D.R. (eds.) *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives, Handbook 1: the cognitive domain*, New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1956.

Braithwaite, R.L., Patton, J.M. & Fang, W.L. "Evaluating a Human Service Program: employing the judicial evaluation model", *Evaluation and Program Planning*, Vol.5, No.1, 1982.

Bramsted, E.K. & Melhuish, K.J. (eds.) *Western Liberalism: a history in documents from Locke to Croce*, London: Longman, 1978.

Callinicos, A. *South Africa Between Reform and Revolution*, London: Bookmarks, 1988.

Campbell, D.T. "Reforms as Experiments", *American Psychologist*, Vol.29, No.4, 1969.

Campbell, D.T. & Stanley, J.C. "Experimental and Quasi-Experimental Designs for Research on Teaching" in N.L. Gage (ed.), *Handbook of Research on Teaching*, Chicago: Rand McNally, 1963.

Carr, E.H. *What is History?*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1987

Chase. F, *Educational Quandaries and Opportunities*, Dallas: Urban Education Studies, 1980.

Collins, K.J. "Fundamentals in Social Work Research", *Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk*, Vol.21, No.1, 1985.

Collins, K.J. "Social Work Research", in B.W. McKendrick (ed.) *Introduction to Social Work in South Africa*, Pinetown: Owen Burgess Publishers, 1987.

Comaroff, I. "The South African Welfare Structure", *Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk*, Vol.15, No.3, 1978

Concerned Social Workers, *Behind the New Welfare Policy; a guide for social workers produced by social workers*, Cape Town: Concerned Social Workers, 1988.

Cronbach, L.J. "Course Improvement Through Evaluation", *Teacher's College Record*, 64, New York: Columbia University Press, 1963.

Cronbach, L.J. "Course Improvement Through Evaluation", in G.F. Madaus, D. Stufflebeam & M.S. Scriven (eds.) *Evaluation Models: viewpoints on educational and human services evaluation,* Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff Publishing, 1983.

de Clercq, F. *Education and Development in Boputhatswana: potential and limitations*, Mmabathoa: University of Boputhatswana, 1984

de Vos, A. "Programevaluering in Maatskaplike Werk: Deel I", *Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk*, Vol.22, No.1, 1986a.

de Vos, A. "Programevaluering in Maatskaplike Werk: Deel II", *Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk*, Vol.22, No.3, 1986b.

de Vos, A. "Programevaluering in Maatskaplike Werk: Deel III", *Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk*, Vol.22, No.4, 1986c.

de Vos, A. "Programme, Programontwikkeling en Programevaluering", *Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk*, Vol.25, No.2, 1989.

Department of Health Services and Welfare, Western Cape Region, *The Formulation, Evaluation and Financing of Social Welfare Programmes: Administration; House of Assembly*, Circular no.6 of 1987.

Deutcher, I. "Words and Deeds: social science and social research" in W.J. Filstead (ed) *Qualitative Methodology: firsthand involvement with the social world*, Chicago: Markham Publishing Company, 1970.

Dinwiddy, J.R. "The Classical Economists and the Utilitarians" in E.K. Bramsted & K.J. Melhuish (eds.) *Western Liberalism: a history in documents from Locke to Croce*, London: Longman, 1978.

Dugard, J. *Human Rights and the South African Legal Order*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978.

Eagle, G., Hayes G. & Bhana A. (eds.) *Mental Health - Struggle and Transformation: proceedings of the third national OASSSA conference*, Durban: Organisation for Appropriate Social Services in South Africa, 1988

Eberson, W. "The Headmen", *Leadership*, Vol.7, No.5, 1988.

Eisner, E.W. *The Art of Educational Evaluation: a personal view*, Barcombe: The Falmer Press, 1985.

Elphic, R. & Malherbe, V.C. "The Khoisan to 1828" in R. Elphic & H. Giliomee (eds.) *The Shaping of South African Society*, Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, 1989.

Epstein, I., Tripodi, T. & Fellin, P. "Community Development Programmes and their Evaluation", *Community Development Journal*, Vol.8, No.1, 1973.

Filstead W.J. "Introduction" in W.J. Filstead (ed) *Qualitative Methodology: firsthand involvement with the social world*, Chicago: Markham Publishing Company, 1970.

Franklin, J.L. & Thrasher, J.H. *An Introduction to Program Evaluation*, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1976.

Gibson, J.L., Ivancevich, J.M. & Donnelly, J.H., *Organizations: behavior, structure, process*, Plano: Business Publications Inc., 1985.

Giliomee, H. "The Implications of the Rural Crisis for the State and Business in South Africa" in H. Giliomee & L. Schlemmer (eds.) *Up Against the Fences: poverty, passes and privilege in South Africa*, New York: St Martin's Press, 1985.

Glaser, R. "Instructional Technology and the Measurement of Learning Outcomes: some questions", *American Psychologist*, 18, 1963.

Glass, G.V. "Primary, Secondary and Meta Analysis of Research" *Educational Researcher*, Vol.5, No.10, 1976.

Gold, R.L. "Roles in Sociological Field Observations", *Social Forces*, Vol.36, 1958.

Grinnell, R.M. (ed.) *Social Work Research and Evaluation*, Itacsa: F.E. Peacock Publishers, 1988.

Grotelueschen, A.D., *et al*, "An Evaluation Planner", Illinois: University of Illinois, 1976.

Guba, E.G. & Lincoln, Y.S. "Epistemological and Methodological Bases of Naturalistic Enquiry", in G.F. Madaus, D. Stufflebeam and M.S. Scriven (eds.) *Evaluation Models: viewpoints on educational and human services evaluation*, Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff Publishing, 1983.

Hacking, I. "Introduction", in I. Hacking (ed.) *Scientific Revolutions*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1981, pp.2-3.

Hamilton, D., *et al*, "Preface" in D. Hamilton, *et al*, (eds.) *Beyond the Numbers Game; a reader in educational evaluation*, London: Macmillan Education Ltd, 1977.

Herrick, V.E. "The Concept of Curriculum Design", in V.E. Herrick and R.W. Tyler (eds.) *Towards Improved Curriculum Theory*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950.

Hobbes, T. "The Sovereign State", in W.E. Ebenstein (ed.) *Modern Political Thought: the great issues*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960.

Holt. M, *Evaluating the Evaluators*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1981.

Hope, A. & Timmel, S. *Training for Transformation; a handbook for community workers, book 2*, Harare: Mambo Press, 1984.

House, E.R. "Assumptions Underlying Evaluation Models", in G.F. Madaus, D. Stufflebeam and M.S. Scriven (eds.) *Evaluation Models: viewpoints on educational and human services evaluation*, Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff Publishing, 1983.

House, E.R. "How We Think About Evaluation", in E.R. House (ed.) *New Directions in Educational Evaluation*, London: The Falmer Press, 1986.

Jerrell, S.L. & Jerrell, J.M. "Road Signs In Ethical Quicksand", *Evaluation and Program Planning*, Vol.8, 1985.

Joubert, D. "Prof. H.F. Verwoerd op die Volkskongress van 1934: Die Bestryding van Armoede en die Herorganisasie van Wevaartswerk" in Joubert, D., (ed.) *Toe Witmense Arm Was: uit die Carnegie verslag 1932*, Stellenbosch: Tafelberg, 1972.

Kagiso Trust, *Kagiso Trust in a Changing South africa: from `amelioration' to `development'*, unpublished paper, 1990.

Kellaghan, T., Madaus, G. & Airasian, P. *The Effects of Standardised Testing*, Hingham: Kluwer-Nijhof Publishing, 1982.

Kurtz, D.E. "The Use of Participant Observation in Evaluation Research", *Evaluation and Program Planning*, Vol.6, 1984

Kytle, J. & Millman, E.J. "Confessions of Two Applied Researchers in Search of Principles", *Evaluation and Program Planning*, Vol.9, 1986.

Leedy, P.D. *Practical Research: planning and design*, New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1989.

Lindiquist, E.F. *Design and Analysis of Experiments in Psychology and Education*, Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1953.

Lodge, T. *Black Politics in South Africa Since 1945*, Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1983.

Madaus, G.F. "The Clarification Hearing: a personal view of the process", in G.F. Madaus, D. Stufflebeam and M.S. Scriven (eds.) *Evaluation Models: viewpoints on educational and human services evaluation*, Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff Publishing, 1983.

Madaus, G.F., Stufflebeam, D. & Scriven, M.S. "Program Evaluation: a historical overview", in G.F. Madaus, D. Stufflebeam & M.S. Scriven (eds.) *Evaluation Models: viewpoints on educational and human services evaluation*, Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff Publishing, 1983.

Madaus, G.F., Stufflebeam, D. & Scriven, M.S. (eds.) *Evaluation Models: viewpoints on educational and human services evaluation*, Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff Publishing, 1983.

Martine, L.E.C. "Subsidies for Social Work in South Africa; progress and potential", *Maatskaplike Werk/Social Work*, Vol.25, No.2, 1989.

Martine, L.E.C. "The New Programmes and Partnership", *Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk*, Vol.24, No.2, 1988.

Matthews, A. F. *Law, Order and Liberty in South Africa*, Cape Town: Juta and Co., 1971.

Maylam, P.A. *History of the African People of South Africa: from the Early Iron Age to the 1970s*, Cape Town: David Philip, 1986

McKendrick, B.W. "Beyond Apartheid: an alphabet of challenges for social work education", *Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk*, Vol.26, No.3, 1990.

McKendrick, B.W. "Programme Proposals in South African Welfare Planning", *Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk*, Vol.21, No.3, 1985.

McKendrick, B.W. "Social Work Research During Troubled Times", *Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk*, Vol.22, No.1, 1986.

McKendrick, B.W. "The Development of Social Welfare and Social Work in South Africa", in B.W. McKendrick (ed.) *Introduction to Social Work in South Africa*, Pinetown: Owen Burgess Publishers, 1987a.

McKendrick, B.W. "The Future of Social Work in South Africa", *Maatskaplike Werk/Social Work*, Vol.26, No.1, 1990.

McKendrick, B.W. "The South African Welfare System", in B.W. McKendrick (ed.) *Introduction to Social Work in South Africa*, Pinetown: Owen Burgess Publishers, 1987b.

McKinstry Micou, A. *Canadian NGO's Providing Resources for Development and Social Justice in South Africa: a handbook*, New York: Institute of International Education, 1992.

Meld, M.B. "The Politics of Evaluation of Social Programs", *Social Work*, Vol.19, No.4, 1974.

Meston A, *Evaluation: thoughts, problems, and considerations for the evaluator*. Unpublished Paper, presented for SWK 509F Field Practice Seminar I, UCT, 1988.

Metfessel, N.S. & Michael, W.B. "A Paradigm Involving Multiple Criterion Measures for the Evaluation of the Effectiveness of School Programmes", *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 27, 1969.

Miles, M.B & Huberman, A.M. *Qualitative Data Analysis: a source book of new methods*, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1984.

Mileur, J.M. "Introduction", in J.M. Mileur (ed) *The Liberal Tradition in Crisis: American politics in the sixties*, Lexington: D.C. Heath and Co., 1974.

Mileur, J.M. "Liberal Politics From New Deal to Great Society" in J.M. Mileur, (ed) *The Liberal Tradition in Crisis: American politics in the sixties*, Lexington: D.C. Heath and Co., 1974.

Millar, C.J. "Educational Case Studies: an introduction to a research perspective", in M.B. Steinberg and S.E. Philcox (eds.) *Research Methods for Higher Degrees*, Cape Town: University of Cape Town, 1983.

Miller, P. & Wilson, M.J. *A Dictionary of Social Science Methods*, Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 1983

Morell, J.A. *Program Evaluation in Social Research*, New York: Pergamon Press, 1979.

Morphet, A.R. "Seminar on Research Methods: action-research", in M.B. Steinberg and S.E. Philcox (eds.) *Research Methods for Higher Degrees*, Cape Town: University of Cape Town, 1983.

Murry, L. "Scientific Method and the Adversary Method", *American Psychologist*, September 1974.

Newfield, J. & Greenfield J. "The Disrupted History of Populist Liberalism" in J.M. Mileur (ed) *The Liberal Tradition in Crisis: American politics in the sixties*, Lexington: D.C. Heath and Co. 1974.

Olson, R.G. *An Introduction To Existentialism*, New York: Dover Publications, 1962.

Oppenheim, F.E. "Equality: the concept of equality" in D.L. Sills (ed.) *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, New York: Crower Collier and Macmillan Inc., 1969.

Owens, T.L. "Educational Evaluation by Adversary Proceeding", in E. House (ed.) *School Evaluation: the politics and process*, Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing, 1973.

Parlett, M. "A Study of Two Experimental Programmes at MIT", in D. Hamilton *et al* (eds.) *Beyond the Numbers Game; a reader in educational evaluation*, London: Macmillan Education Ltd, 1977.

Parlett, M. & Dearden G. (eds.) *Introduction to Illuminative Evaluation: studies in higher education*, Cardiff-by-the-Sea: Pacific Soundings Press, 1977.

Parlett, M. & Dearden, G. "Rethinking Motivation", in M. Parlett and G. Dearden (eds.) *Introduction to Illuminative Evaluation: studies in higher education*, Cardiff-by-the-Sea: Pacific Soundings Press, 1977.

Parlett, M. & Hamilton, D. "Evaluation as Illumination: a new approach to the study of innovatory programmes" in D. Hamilton, *et al*, (eds.) *Beyond the Numbers Game; a reader in educational evaluation*, London: Macmillan Education Ltd, 1977.

Parlett, M., Dearden, G. & Hamilton, D. "Evaluation as Illumination", in M. Parlett & G. Dearden (eds.) *Introduction to Illuminative Evaluation: studies in higher education*, Cardiff-by-the-Sea: Pacific Soundings Press, 1977.

Patton, M.Q. "Making Methods Choices", *Evaluation and Program Planning*, Vol.3, 1980.

Patton, M.Q. *Qualitative Evaluation Methods*, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications: 1980.

Patton, M.Q. *Utilization Focussed Evaluation*, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1978.

Petrovic, G. "Praxis" in T. Bottomore (ed.) *A Dictionary of Marxist Thought*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell Publisher, 1983, p.384.

Platzky, L. & Walker, C. *The Surplus People; forced removals in South Africa*, Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1985

Popham, W.J. "Objectives and Instruction" in Stake R. (ed.) *Instructional Objectives; AERA Monograph Series on Curriculum Evaluation*, No.3, Chicago: Rand McNally, 1969.

Popham, W.J. & Carlson, D. "Deep Dark Deficits of the Adversary Evaluation Model", in G.F. Madaus, D. Stufflebeam and M.S. Scriven (eds.) *Evaluation Models: viewpoints on educational and human services evaluation*, Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff Publishing, 1983.

Provis, M. *Discrepancy Evaluation*, Berkeley: Mc Cutcheon Publishing Co., 1970.

Reichardt, C.S. & Cook, T.D. "`Paradigms Lost': some thoughts on choosing methods in evaluation research", *Evaluation and Program Planning*, Vol.3, 1980.

Reichardt, C.S. & Cook, T.D. "Beyond Qualitative Versus Quantitative Methods", in T.D. Cook & C.S. Reichardt (eds.) *Qualitative and Quantitative Methods in Evaluation Research*, New York: Sage, 1979.

Room, G. "Cross-National Innovation in Social Policy: European perspectives on the evaluation of action-research", London: The Macmillan Press, 1986.

Rossi, P.H. "Testing for Success and Failure in Social Action" in P.H. Rossi and W. Williams (eds.) *Evaluating Social Programs: theory, practice and politics*, New York: Seminar Press, 1972.

Rossi, P.H. & Williams, W. (eds.) *Evaluating Social Programs: theory, practice and politics*, New York: Seminar Press, 1972.

Roux, E. *Time Longer Than Rope: a history of the black man's struggle for freedom in South Africa*, Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1978.

Scriven, M.S "The Methodology of Evaluation", in R.W Tyler, R. Gangne & M. Scriven (eds.) *Perspectives of Curriculum Evaluation; AERA Monograph Series on Curriculum Evaluation*, No.1, Chicago: Rand McNally, 1967.

Scriven, M.S. "Evaluation Bias and its Control", in G.V. Glass (ed.) *Evaluation Studies Review Annual*, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1976.

Scriven, M.S. "Evaluation Ideologies", in G.F. Madaus, D.L. Stufflebeam and M.S. Scriven (eds.) *Evaluation Models: viewpoints on educational and human services evaluation*, Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff Publishing, 1983.

Scriven, M.S. "Goal-free Evaluation", in D. Hamilton, *et al*, (eds.) *Beyond the Numbers Game; a reader in educational evaluation*, London: Macmillan Education, 1977.

Scriven, M.S. "Intended and Unintended Effects - why distinguish?", in D. Hamilton, *et al*, (eds.) *Beyond the Numbers Game: a reader in educational evaluation*, London: Macmillan Education, 1977.

Scriven, M.S. "Pros and Cons about Goal-Free Evaluation", *Evaluation Comment*, 3, 1974.

Sinclair, M. & Weinstein, J. *American Philanthropy: a guide for South Africans*, Washington: Investor Responsibility Research Centre, 1988.

Slattery, M. *The ABC of Sociology*, London: MacMillan Education, 1985.

Smit, A. De V. "Managing for Effective Welfare Service Delivery: Concepts and Issues", *Welfare Focus*, August, 1992.

Smit, A. De V. "Traditional vs Progressive Welfare Organisations - Diverging Trends", *Social Work Practice*, July, 1992.

Smith, E.R. & Tyler, R.W. *Appraising and Recording Student Progress*, New York: Harper & Row, 1942.

Snyman, I. "Gaps in Field Research", *Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk*, Vol.23, No.4, 1987.

Stake, R.E "The Countenance of Educational Evaluation", *Teachers College Record*, 68, 1967.

Stake, R.E. "Programme Evaluation, Particularly Responsive Evaluation", in G.F. Madaus, D. Stufflebeam and M.S. Scriven (eds.) *Evaluation Models: viewpoints on educational and human services evaluation*, Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff Publishing, 1983.

Stake, R.E. & Gjerde, C. "An Evaluation of T-City, the Twin City Institute for Talented Youth", *AERA Monograph Series on Curriculum Evaluation*, No.7, Chicago: Rand McNally, 1974.

Strydom, H. & Ehlers, D.M.M. "Die Doel Met en Gebruik van Statistiese Tegnieke in Kwantitatiewe Maatskaplikewerk-Navorsing", *Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk*, Vol.24, No.2, 1988.

Stufflebeam D.L & Shinkfield A.J. *Systematic Evaluation: a self-instructional guide to theory and practice*, Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff Publishing, 1985.

Stufflebeam, D.L. "The CIPP Model for Programme Evaluation", in G.F. Madaus, D. Stufflebeam and M.S. Scriven (eds.) *Evaluation Models: viewpoints on educational and human services evaluation*, Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff Publishing,

Stufflebeam, D.L. "The Use and Abuse of Evaluation in Title III", *Theory into Practice*, Vol.6, 1967.

Stufflebeam, D.L. & Webster, W.J. "An Analysis of Alternative Approaches to Evaluation", in G.F. Madaus, D. Stufflebeam and M.S. Scriven (eds.) *Evaluation Models: viewpoints on educational and human services evaluation*, Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff Publishing, 1983.

Stufflebeam, D.L., *et al*, *Educational Evaluation and Decision Making*, Itacsa: Peacock Publishers, 1971.

Sullivan, J.R. *The Peoples Charter; a social security act for South Africa*, Durban: The Knox Publishing Company, 1943.

Surplus People Project, *Forced Removals in South Africa*, Cape Town: Surplus People Project, 1983.

Taylor, P. "Foreword", in E.W. Eisner, *The Art of Educational Evaluation: a personal view*, Barcombe: The Falmer Press, 1985.

The Argus, "MDM Latest Crest of Opposition", 5 August 1989.

The Argus, "The End of an Era....", 24 January 1991.

The Weekly Mail, "Gen Neethling Takes a Walk on the Wild Side", January 25 to January 31, 1991.

The Weekly Mail, "Harms Hamstrung by Inquiry Rules" January 25 to January 31, 1991.

The Weekly Mail, "MDM: What Lies Behind The Three Letters We're Seeing So Much Of?", Vol.5, No.31, 1989.

Thomas, A. "Evaluative Research in Social Work", *Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk*, Vol.21, no.2, 1985.

Thomas, A. "Research and Practice in Social Work: a source of strain", *Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk*, Vol.22, no.2, 1986.

Thompson, H.S. *The Great Shark Hunt: strange tales from a strange time*, London: Pan Books, 1980.

Thurston, P. "Revitalizing Adversarial Evaluation: deep dark deficits or muddled mistaken mussings", *Educational Researcher*, Vol.7, No.7, 1978.

Trice, H.M. "The `Outsider's' Role in Field Study", in W.J. Filstead, *Qualitative Methodology: firsthand involvement with the social world*, Chicago: Markham Publishing Co., 1970.

Tripodi, T., Fellin, P. & Epstein, I. *Differential Social Program Evaluation*, Itacsa: Peacock Publishers, 1978.

Trochim, W.M.K. *Research Design for Program Evaluation: the regression-discontinuity approach*, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1984.

Tyler R.W. "A Rational For Program Evaluation", in G.F. Madaus, D. Stufflebeam & M.S. Scriven (eds.) *Evaluation Models: Viewpoints on Educational and Human Services Evaluation,* Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff Publishing, 1983.

Tyler, R.W. "Changing Concepts of Educational Evaluation", in R.W. Tyler, R. Gagne & M.S. Scriven (eds.), *Perspectives of Curriculum Evaluation; AERA Monograph Series on Curriculum Evaluation*, No.1, Chicago: Rand McNally, 1967.

Tyler, R.W. *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950.

Tyler, R.W., Gagne R. & Scriven M.S. (eds.) *Perspectives of Curriculum Evaluation; AERA Monograph Series on Curriculum Evaluation*, No.1, Chicago: Rand McNally, 1967.

Walters, S. "Participatory Research - Issues and Questions: a working paper", in M.B. Steinberg and S.E. Philcox (eds.) *Research Methods for Higher Degrees*, Cape Town: University of Cape Town, 1983.

Weber, R.E. & Polansky, N.A. "Evaluation", in N.A. Polansky (ed.) *Social Work Research*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975,

Weekend Argus, "Judge Lashes Info Scandal Commission", September 30 1989, p.3.

Weiner, M.E. *Human Service Management: analysis and applications*, Homewood: The Dorsey Press, 1982.

Whithey, S.B. "Quality of Life Indicators and Program Evaluation", *Journal of Evaluation and Program Planning*, Vol.3, 1980.

Williams, W. & Evans, J.W. "The Politics of Evaluation: the case of head start", in P.H. Rossi & W. Williams (eds.) *Evaluating Social*

Programs: theory, practice and politics, New York: Seminar Press, 1972.

Wilson, F. & Ramphele, M. *Uprooting Poverty: the South African challenge*, Cape Town: David Philip, 1989.

Wolf, R.L. "The Use of Judicial Evaluation Methods in the Formulation of Educational Policy", in G.F. Madaus, D. Stufflebeam and M.S. Scriven (eds.) *Evaluation Models: viewpoints on educational and human services evaluation*, Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff Publishing, 1983.

APPENDIX A

HOW APARTHEID WAS PUT TOGETHER

APPENDIX B

DESCRIPTION OF THE ORGANISATION OF OPERATION HUNGER WESTERN CAPE REGION

This is a description of the Western Cape region of Operation Hunger. This is not an analysis or critique of the organisation. The aim of this appendix is to give the reader a "feel" of the organisation so that Chapter seven can be understood.

1. Historical Background

The Operation Hunger was started during 1980 in response to the drought in the Border region at the time. At first it consisted of a number of organisations, like the Methodist Food Relief Scheme, South African Institute of Race Relations, Union of Jewish Women, and so on, all coordinating their activities to combat rural hunger and poverty. This new structure soon expanded beyond its coordinating role, and began to carry out work to combat poverty and hunger, in its own right. By 1984 the organisation had become fully autonomous with the original grouping of organisations becoming its permanent trustees.

In 1984, the introduction of the Operation Hunger Gold Rush 1 fund raising effort raised a great deal of money; this allowed the organisation to expand its activities. The Gold Rush concept has since become the most important local source of revenue for the organisation.

Historically much of the income generated through fund raising goes towards the direct feeding schemes. It was assumed by the organisation that this will remain unchanged in the foreseeable future.

2. Objectives and Objects

The organisation has two main objectives:

* In the short term, to provide relief from hunger and prevent malnutrition, especially of the very young and the old; and
* Over the long term, the organisation helps to establish self-help income-generating groups.

The objects, as set out in Operation Hunger's constitution, indicate in broad terms how the objectives are to be met. These objects include:

* The establishment and maintenance of transport systems for the carriage of food from donors to organisations distributing food;
* The dissemination of information about starvation in Southern Africa;
* The improvement of facilities for the growing of food;
* Obtaining food from farmers or manufacturers;
* The promotion of self-help and community programmes for the growing of food, or financial assistance to acquire such programmes; and
* Co-operation with communities and organisation's in the alleviation of hunger generally.

3. Area of Operation

The organisation carries out its work within the borders of the Republic. This includes the "independent" Bantustans. The work of the organisation is carried by five chapters, four of which are regional, while the fifth covers Port Elizabeth and its broader hinterland. These chapters are:

* *Transvaal*. The area of operation also includes the Orange Free State. The regional and national head office is based in Johannesburg;
* *Natal*. The area of operation covers the province of Natal and includes Kwazulu. The regional office is in Durban;

* *Western Cape*. The area of operation includes the Northern Cape up to the Namibian and Southern Botswana borders. The regional head office is in Cape Town;
* *Border*. This serves the Ciskei and Transkei areas. The regional head office is in East London; and
* *Port Elizabeth*. The area of operation lies within the hinterland around Port Elizabeth.

Further discussion of the chapters follow under the heading "Structure" below.

4. Staff of the Organisation

4.1 Employed Staff

The Western Cape office is staffed by eleven part-time and full-time people. These are:

* Regional Director. Oversees all the community work and plays an important part in raising funds and conducting public relations for the organisation. This person is also responsible for the organisation in the region;
* Assistant to the Director. Is the administrative manager and organises fund raising projects;
* Secretary to the Director.
* Craft Shop Administrator. This person administers the craft shop and helps sell its goods;
* Fund Raising Clerk. This post is a part-time post for the duration of fund raising activities;
* Field Workers. These two people work in the Western Cape region, setting up projects and monitoring their activities;
* Farm Project Manager. This person is based in Namaqualand and works on a farming project based in Namaqualand;
* Office Clerk. Carries out *ad hoc* administrative duties in the organisation;
* Office Clerk. This person assists the office clerk; and
* Domestic Worker. This person is employed part-time to keep the office and shop clean, make tea, etc.

4.2 Volunteer Staff

The organisation and its projects rely on volunteer staff. These volunteers may be divided into two groups:

* Fund raising volunteers; these people sell competition tickets, help organise special charity events, and so on. They are usually involved for short periods of time, such as a few months. They are never involved in spending the organisation's funds; and
* The feeding scheme volunteers; these are people who run feeding schemes. They organise the feeding scheme, help supply fuel, person power, pots, and so on. Without them the projects would not take place. These volunteers tend to work for long periods on the projects. The organisation sees this group as core participants in its programmes. As such, it invests time, energy and resources into these participants to help ensure the success of a feeding project. Ultimately they may become the nucleus of a self-help development group.

5 Work Carried Out by the Organisation

Unlike the Community Chest, Operation Hunger spends all the funds it has raised on its own operations. Thus the organisation is both a fund raising and a fund spending organisation. This means that the organisation appears to be Janus faced. By this it is meant that much of its fund raising activity relies on a high public profile while most of its fund spending activity is low-key, where it is spent on feeding and self-help development projects, largely out of the view of the general public and the media at large.

5.1 Fund Raising

Fund raising is carried out at both the National and Regional level. All contributions are added to a national fund raising goal. At the regional level, fund raising is carried out by the Regional Director and the Assistant to the Director. The latter is in charge of the Western Cape part of a national Gold Rush competition. This

competition is a major source of funds for the organisation. During 1984 the competition raised a net surplus of R2,58 million. The rest of the regional fund raising is carried out by the Regional Director. This includes making presentations to businesses, organising film premiers, speaking to prospective donors, and so on.

5.2 Organisation Projects

The Organisation is involved in feeding schemes, self-help development and marketing.

5.2.1 Feeding Schemes

Providing food for the old and very young is one of the most important activities carried out by the organisation. Historically most of the income generated through fund raising has gone towards these feeding schemes.

Through the feeding schemes the organisation aims to meet two objectives. The first - over the short term - is to relieve hunger and malnutrition. The second - over the long term - is to stimulate self-help development projects. This second objective informs the organisation's method of work in the following ways:

* The organisation only enters a community on invitation; and
* The community runs and controls the feeding scheme; all the organisation does is supply the soup for soup kitchens. The project participants must supply cooking utensils, a venue, person power, and so on.

In other words, Operation Hunger relies on, and helps develop, grass-roots support for its projects. At the time of writing, the Cape Town office was responsible for feeding schemes in George, Namaqualand, Beauford West, Victoria West, De Aar, Mbeqweni, Walker Bay, Mamare, Guguletu, Langa, Nyanga and Khayelitsha.

The organisation also supplies emergency food and other material aid in areas where extreme social dislocation has occurred, as in a flood.

5.2.2 Self-Help Development

The ultimate aim of Operation Hunger is to become defunct, in other words it envisages all communities being able to sustain themselves through self-help projects. Practically, this will never occur because of the sheer enormity of the task this implies. None the less, this philosophy is important in understanding the development work of the organisation.

Operation Hunger, through its Regional Director, has a strong commitment to grassroots work. This is expressed in a number of ways:

* Not foisting "pet" ideas or projects upon a community;
* Believing that the members of the community know best what from a project should take, and how to carry out projects; and
* Allowing communities to make their own mistakes in the face of the organisation's judgement, and so on.

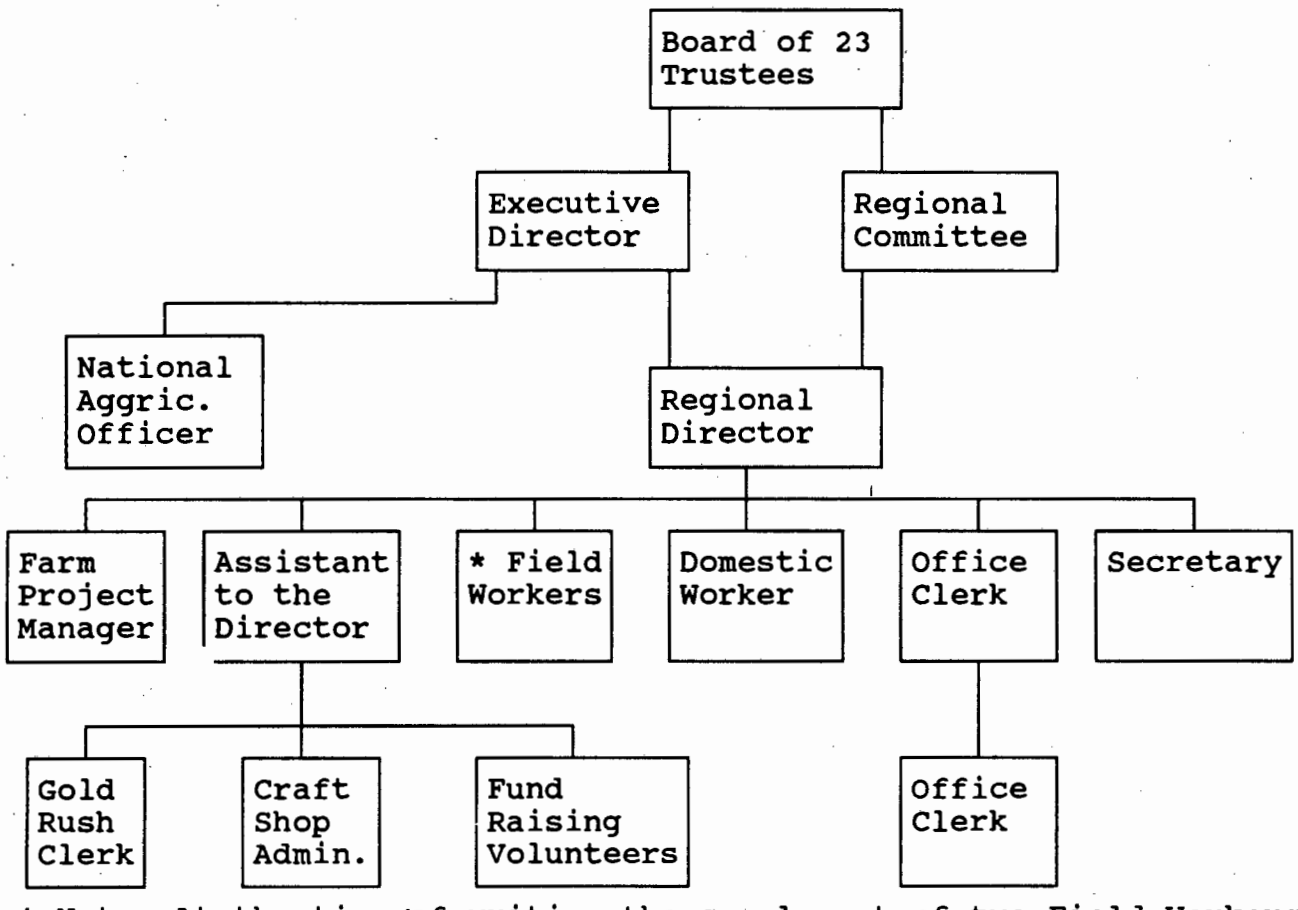
In the Western Cape (at the time of research) this aspect of the organisation's work was poorly developed. This is because:

* The Regional Director is over-extended with respect to her total work load and thus does not devote enough time to projects;
* The organisation's constant state of "crisis" means that immediate issues, such as applications for soup, are always addressed, ahead of community work. This problem is compounded by the prioritising of the supply of food-aid, over other community work; and
* The approach that the organisation uses to its community work is, by its nature, a slow process.

A number of projects are being supported by Operation Hunger. These are at Mbekweni, Philippi and in the Crossroads area. The projects include bead-work, carpentry, sewing groups, brick-making and weaving. The organisation never supplies cash grants to the projects it supports. Rather it supplies material aid, such as equipment (e.g. sewing machines) and raw materials (e.g. beads). The organisation also helps with expertise, in the form of workshops, and providing

The Regional Director takes ultimate responsibly for all that occurs through and at the Regional Office. This person's duties include; the hiring and firing of personnel attached to the office, drawing up the budget, coordinating fund raising and fund spending activities and supervising the community work. The Namaqualand Farm Project Manager is responsible to the Regional Director and also reports to the National Agricultural Officer, but is not responsible to him.
The Assistant to the Director takes responsibility for the organisation when the Director is away. This person co-ordinates the fund raising competition, administers the soup and other material distribution and is ultimately responsible for the Craft Shop.

Figure XI: Organisational Structure of Operation Hunger in the Western Cape Region



* Note; At the time of writing the complement of two Field Workers was expected to double.

7. Human Resources Management

7.1. Screening, Selection and Recruitment.

The Regional Director is responsible for this entire process. Posts are usually advertised in the press. All staff have a job description, although some of these, as in the case of the Assistant to the Director, are very broad. There has to be motivation for creating a post to the head office, before it may be advertised and filled.

7.2. Orientation, Training, and Staff Development

A new person to the organisation is placed on three months probation. There is no formal orientation or training programme at the office. Instead, the new person is taken in hand by a member of the organisation and shown what is to be done. Any other training with respect to fund raising and community work is carried out by the Regional Director. This training consists of on the job assessment and corrective advice. The training ends when the Regional Director is satisfied with the progress of the person being trained. There is no staff development programme.

7.3 Evaluation

Personnel evaluation, organisational evaluation and programme evaluation have been discussed in the main body of this study.

8. Management Control

8.1 Management Information Systems

A management information system should be seen as a method of making available accurate and current information which can enable planning, control and operational functions; that is to assist with management control.

At Operation Hunger this area is poorly developed. The computer system is used by the Director's Secretary for word-processing and

the storage of letters. The computer is underutilised in that it is not used to facilitate quick access to the organisation's files, nor is it used to process data into useful information.

One area where the MIS is better developed is in the monitoring and control of soup consumption in the feeding schemes. Each feeding scheme returns a monthly form which logs their consumption of soup. This allows the head office to make sure that enough soup is kept in stock while the regional offices are able to ensure that each scheme receives its quota of soup before it runs out.

8.2 The Budget

The drawing up of, and monitoring of the budget, is one of the most important components of management control.
The budget is administered and monitored centrally at the head office. This means that all receipts from all the regions are sent to the head office where they are processed. It is up to the regions to keep their expenditures within their estimates. In the Western Cape this means that the Regional Director and the Assistant monitor all expenditure in the region: only they may authorise expenditure and all receipts are returned to them. This has the advantage of making it easy to audit the entire organisation's national expenditure and to monitor expenditure within the whole organisation. This is especially important in view of the organisation's large national budget. In the 1988/89 financial year the annual budget was R18 million.

The budget is drawn up in a decentralised way, with each region making its estimates in a line item fashion; that is accounting reports of previous years are compared and annual adjustments are made. To this is added the estimated cost of possible new projects. Some of the budgeting is being carried out in a programme-oriented system such as the "Namaqualand Project". This is because the project is being conducted as a special project with its own specifically raised funds. Since this programme is so geographically isolated it

means that the Regional Director must rely on the written reports and accounts of expenditure to monitor and evaluate the project. Management control in this case cannot rely on the Director making frequent visits to the project to assess first hand what is occurring so that appropriate action may be taken. Hence the budget becomes an important tool to compensate for the lack of on-site monitoring by the regional management.

APPENDIX C

EXAMPLES OF TIME ORDERED MATRIX

The time-ordered matrix has been briefly discussed in the main text. For this evaluation system the time-ordered matrix took on the characteristics of an "evaluation form". Four different forms were used for this:

* Crèche evaluation form;
* T B clinic evaluation form;
* School evaluation form; and
* Community feeding evaluation forms.

Their are similarities and differences in the forms. Each of these forms is similar to the others, while in other ways they are quite different. The similarities and differences between each form is a function of the peculiar nature of the particular data which each needed to collect. As has been mentioned, the intention of including these forms in the Appendix is for the purposes of illustration and not for the purposes of explaining how these forms work. Thus with this in mind, only two examples of these forms have been included.

The two forms are the "Crèche Evaluation Form" and the "T B Clinic Evaluation Form".

==========

CRECHE : _____

AREA : _____

TEL NO : _____

STREET ADDRESS : _____

_____

_____

POSTAL ADDRESS : _____

_____

_____

---

7 VERY GOOD
6 FAIRLY GOOD
5 GOOD
4 FAIR
3 POOR
2 FAIRLY POOR
1 VERY POOR

CEF / 3 D A T E				
ASSESSMENT OF CHILDREN				
CLOTHING				
STUNTING				
MARASMUS %				
KWASHIORKO %				
ENERGY LEVEL				
CONDITION OF BEST				
CONDITION OF WORST				
OVERALL CONDITION				
COMMENTS	.....	.....	.....	.....
ACTION	.....	.....	.....	.....

CLP / 4 DATE				
TRAINING OF CHILD MINDERS				
ORGANISATION				
TYPE OF TRAINING				
DATE BEGIN				
DATE END				
OTHER TRAINING				
DETAIL	.....	.....	.....	.....
COMMENT	.....	.....	.....	.....
ACTION	.....	.....	.....	.....

FACILITIES				
BUILDING TYPE				
KITCHEN - COOKER				
- POTS				
- CUPS				
- UTENSILS				
OTHER COMMENT	.....	.....	.....	.....
TOYS : DETAIL	.....	.....	.....	.....
SOURCE	.....	.....	.....	.....
EDUCAT'L AIDS : DETAIL	.....	.....	.....	.....
SOURCE	.....	.....	.....	.....

INCOME				
1. FEES (f) R				
@ CHILDREN (c) R				
f x c = sub total R				
2. FEES (f) R				
@ CHILDREN (c) R				
f x c = sub total R				
3. FEES (f) R				
@ CHILDREN (c) R				
f x c = sub total R				
OTHER : DETAIL	.....	.....	.....	.....
sub total R				
TOTAL R				
COMMENTS	.....	.....	.....	.....

CEF / / DATE				
EXPENDITURE				
RENT R				
ELECTRICITY R				
WATER/RATES R				
NO. OF CHILD MINDERS R				
- SALARY EACH R				
DETAIL R	....	....	....	....
SUB TOTAL R				
OTHER SALARIED STAFF R				
- SALARY EACH R				
DETAIL R	....	....	....	....
SUB TOTAL R				
COST OF TOYS PER MTH R				
COST OF EDUCAT AIDS R				
SUB TOTAL R				
T O T A L R				
AMOUNT SPENT ON EACH CHILD FOR FOOD/DAY R				

CLP / 8 DATE				
EXPENDITURE CONT. COST OF FOOD R				
SUB TOTAL R				
TOTAL R				
AMOUNT SPENT ON EACH CHILD FOR FOOD/DAY				
COMMENTS	.....	.....	.....	.....
ACTION	.....	.....	.....	.....

FOOD RESOURCES				
VEGETABLES : VOLUME				
FREQUENCY				
SOURCE				
FRUIT : VOLUME				
FREQUENCY				
SOURCE				
BREAD : VOLUME				
FREQUENCY				
SOURCE				
SPREADS : VOLUME				
FREQUENCY				
SOURCE				
MONEY RAISED: AMOUNT				
FREQUENCY				
SOURCE				
USED FOR				
COMMENTS	.....	.....	.....	.....
ACTION	.....	.....	.....	.....

CEF /10 D A T E				
SOUP SUPPLY				
SOUP SENT : DATE				
NO. OF BAGS				
SOUP ARRIVED : DATE				
NO. OF BAGS				
NO. OF BAGS LEFT				
COMMENTS	.....	.....	.....	.....
ACTION	.....	.....	.....	.....

FEEDING FORMS				
COMPLETED CORRECTLY				
RETURNED				
REASON, IF NOT				
COMMENTS				
ACTION				

FEEDING SCHEME				
CRECHE : CONTACT PERSON				
NO. OF COOKS : TOTAL /DAY				
NO. OF FEEDING DAYS/WEEK				
NO. FED/WEEK (DETAILS)				
COMMENTS	.....	.....	.....	.....
ACTION	.....	.....	.....	.....

CEF /13 D A T E				
ASSESSMENT OF GROUP FOR FUTURE PROJECTS				
GROUP LEADER/S				
IDENTIFIED : NAMES				
GROUP RELATIONSHIP WITH OPERATION HUNGER				
COMMITMENT TO FEEDING				
DEGREE OF ORGANISATION				
CONFIDENCE OF GROUP				
GROUP COHESIVENESS				
MOTIVATION				
INTEREST IN OTHER NON-FEEDING ACTIVITY				
DETAIL	.....	.....	.....	.....
COMMENTS	.....	.....	.....	.....
ACTION	.....	.....	.....	.....

CEF /14 D A T E				
FEEDING DECISION				
NO. FED/DAY				
NO. FEEDING DAYS/WEEK				
DATE : BEGIN				
DATE : END				
FURTHER DETAIL ABOUT FEEDING				
NO. OF BAGS SENT				
- DATE				
TO LAST FROM (DATE)				
TO (DATE)				
DELIVERY ADDRESS				
COMMENTS				
ACTION				

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS				
ACTION				

T B CLINIC EVALUATION FORM

T B CLINIC :_____

AREA : _____

TEL NO : _____

STREET ADDRESS :_____

_____

_____

POSTAL ADDRESS :_____

_____

_____

---

7 VERY GOOD
6 FAIRLY GOOD
5 GOOD
4 FAIR
3 POOR
2 FAIRLY POOR
1 VERY POOR

FOOD RESOURCES				
VEGETABLES : VOLUME				
FREQUENCY				
SOURCE				
FRUIT : VOLUME				
FREQUENCY				
SOURCE				
BREAD : VOLUME				
FREQUENCY				
SOURCE				
SPREADS : VOLUME				
FREQUENCY				
SOURCE				
MONEY RAISED: AMOUNT				
FREQUENCY				
SOURCE				
USED FOR				
COMMENTS	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
ACTION	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .

TBEF / 4 D A T E				
SOUP SUPPLY SOUP SENT : DATE				
NO. OF BAGS				
SOUP ARRIVED : DATE				
NO. OF BAGS				
NO. OF BAGS LEFT				
COMMENTS	.....	.....	.....	.....
ACTION	.....	.....	.....	.....

TBEF/ 5 D A T E				
FEEDING FORMS COMPLETED CORRECTLY				
RETURNED				
REASON, IF NOT				
COMMENTS				
ACTION				

TBEF/ 6 D A T E				
FEEDING SCHEME IF PATIENTS PARTICIPATE				
CHAIR OF FEEDING C'TTEE				
SIZE OF COMMITTEE				
IF CLINIC COOKS				
COOKING DONE BY :				
REASON FOR THIS SYSTEM FURTHER DETAIL CLINIC CONTACT PERSON	.....	.....	.....	.....
NO. OF COOKS - TOTAL				
- PER DAY				
NO. OF FEEDING DAYS/WK				
NO. FED/WK - DETAILS COMMENTS	.....	.....	.....	.....
ACTION	.....	.....	.....	.....

TBEF/ 8 DATE				
ASSESSMENT OF GROUP FOR FUTURE PROJECTS				
GROUP LEADER/S				
IDENTIFIED : NAMES				
GROUP RELATIONSHIP WITH OPERATION HUNGER				
COMMITMENT TO FEEDING				
DEGREE OF ORGANISATION				
CONFIDENCE OF GROUP				
GROUP COHESIVENESS				
MOTIVATION				
INTEREST IN OTHER NON-FEEDING ACTIVITY				
DETAIL	.....	.....	.....	.....
COMMENTS	.....	.....	.....	.....
ACTION	.....	.....	.....	.....

TBEF / 9 DATE				
FEEDING DECISION FAMILY FEEDING				
NO. FAMILIES/WEEK				
NO. PEOPLE/WEEK				
CLINIC FEEDING				
NO. FED/DAY				
NO. FEEDING DAYS/WEEK				
DATE : BEGIN				
DATE : END				
FURTHER DETAIL ABOUT FEEDING				
NO. OF BAGS SENT				
- DATE				
TO LAST FROM (DATE)				
TO (DATE)				
DELIVERY ADDRESS				
COMMENTS	.....	.....	.....	.....
	.....	.....	.....	.....
	.....	.....	.....	.....
	.....	.....	.....	.....
	.....	.....	.....	.....
ACTION	.....	.....	.....	.....
	.....	.....	.....	.....
	.....	.....	.....	.....
	.....	.....	.....	.....
	.....	.....	.....	.....

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS				
ACTION				

TBEF / 7 D A T E				
FAMILY FEEDING SCHEME				
NO. FAMILIES FED/WK				
FAMILY SIZE - SMALLEST				
- LARGEST				
- AVERAGE				
AMOUNT OF FOOD GIVEN TO:				
- SMALLEST				
- LARGEST				
- AVERAGE				
NO. OF NEW APPLICATIONS PER MONTH				
AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL				
NO. OF FAMILIES NO LONGER FEEDING/MONTH				
AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL				
COMMENTS	.....	.....	.....	.....
ACTION	.....	.....	.....	.....