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PROGRAM MANAGERS AND EVALUATION: A
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THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

PROGRAM MANAGERS AND EVALUATION

A Conceptual Model for Conducting
Managerial Evaluation of Social Programs

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

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degree of

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BY

RICHARD M. GORTON

Norman, Oklahoma

1974

PROGRAM MANAGERS AND EVALUATION:
A CONCEPTUAL MODEL FOR CONDUCTING
MANAGERIAL EVALUATION OF SOCIAL PROGRAMS

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DISSERTATION COMMITTEE

TO THURMAN WHITE

who has done so much to make it possible
for me--and others like me--to enter
the world of higher education
in mid-career

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CHAPTER I

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

A. Introduction

This study addresses the subject of federal social program evaluation as a function of federal social program managers. The primary objective of the study is to develop a conceptual approach to social program evaluation as a tool of management. Its secondary objective is to assess the potential for practical application of this approach. Ancillary objectives are (1) to produce recommendations for content material to be included in future public administration courses in evaluation; (2) to produce practical recommendations for the guidance of program managers; and (3) to produce recommendations for further research in the field of social program evaluation.

Motivation for this study came from the fact that the evaluation of federal social programs is generally considered to be far from satisfactory, and that for this reason there is great uncertainty--and disagreement--about their overall effectiveness. This is recognized as a growing national problem, in view of the fact that these programs constituted some

43 per cent of the FY-1973 federal budget--up from 27 per cent a decade ago.¹ Social programs have achieved top place in the federal budget during the 1970s, pulling ahead of the combined defense-space-foreign affairs sector, which dropped from 53 per cent in FY-1963 to 34 per cent in FY-1973.² In actual dollars the social programs grew from \$30.1 billion in FY-1963 to \$110.6 billion in FY-1973, reflecting the fact that their increased share is of a vastly increased total budget (\$111.5 B in FY-63; \$256.3 B in FY-73).³ With this kind of money at stake, it is not surprising that we find mounting pressure from the Congress, the press, the academic world, and the general public to (1) find out which of these programs are working, and which are not; (2) determine the relative effectiveness and efficiency of those which are working; and (3) increase the effectiveness of those which are to continue to receive funding.

Two general kinds of program evaluation are needed to meet the three demands just noted. The first is policy-oriented evaluation, to assist in high-level decision making about which programs to expand, which to decrease, which to redirect, and

¹Charles L. Schultze, et al., Setting National Priorities: The 1973 Budget (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1972), pp. 10-11.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

when and how to initiate new ones. The second is management-oriented evaluation, to assist program managers in making existing programs more effective. The first relates to public policy making, while the second is a matter of public administration. As already indicated, this study deals with the public administration aspect of the problem, i.e., management-oriented evaluation.

For purposes of this study it is assumed that program managers do not normally establish the policies that give rise to their programs; they are seen simply as professional public administrators who desire to manage their programs as effectively as possible in pursuit of Congressional mandates and basic goals. It is further assumed that these managers can, indeed, act in a managerial capacity--that they can control their programs in meaningful ways, utilizing received information to make decisions which will influence program strategies, tactics, and outcomes. In short, it is assumed that federal program managers are in a position to make effective utilization of evaluation results.

In developing a conceptual approach to evaluation as a management instrument, programs have been viewed as "systems." Local projects have been seen as "subsystems," as have general communication networks, evaluation activities, and the

management process itself. The conceptual approach takes the form of a "model," developed by synthesizing concepts extracted from several different fields and disciplines. Major contributing fields include general systems theory, cybernetics, operations research and systems analysis, management theory, organization theory, and evaluation research. The end product is a diagram supported by a series of explanatory statements.

To investigate the potential for making practical application of the model, a questionnaire and interview survey has been made of program and project managers in Washington, several regional locations, and the central Oklahoma area. Since it was considered impractical to attempt to describe the model itself to these managers, they have been asked a series of questions designed to assess their knowledge of--and attitudes toward--program evaluation in general and several components of the model in particular. Their answers have led to tentative conclusions regarding the potential practical application of this type of conceptual approach, as well as to recommendations for incorporating it in future public administration courses, publications, and special seminars for working program and project managers.

The remainder of this Chapter will describe the general climate surrounding program evaluation and some of the ways in

which this affects the program manager. First, it will review the mounting national demand for assessment and improvement of public social program effectiveness. Next, it will discuss the difficult position of the program manager within the Congress-to-client program chain. Third, it will note the apparent paucity of public administration literature addressed to program evaluation, and will comment on some of the types of literature which are available. Finally, it will describe the tendency toward conflict which exists in many manager-evaluator relationships, and which has colored the largest available body of literature on social program evaluation. The Chapter closes with a number of general definitions of pertinent terms.

B. Demands for Program Assessment

As more and more of the federal government's resources are channeled into social programs, questions about the effectiveness of such programs are being raised in many quarters. As stated in the Brookings Institution's report on the 1973 budget:

. . . the public is asking harder questions about federal programs, both new and old. It is asking whether they work. It is no longer enough for politicians and federal officials to show that they spent the taxpayers' money for approved purposes; they are

now being asked to give evidence that the programs are producing results.⁴

Some of the reason for this is given by Thomas Morehouse, who describes:

. . . the pervasive mood of discouragement that followed within a few years after the outpouring of federal "great society" programs in the mid-1960s-- those programs established to organize the poor and fight poverty, plan and develop regional economies, train the jobless and underemployed, strengthen the public educational system, improve health services, create "model cities," and so on. Unfortunately, most of these efforts have come nowhere near fulfilling expectations, and the signs of failure and political backfire appeared all too soon.⁵

Faced with "signs of failure and political backfire," the prudent thing is often to fall back and regroup. Allen Schick, writing in early 1971, declared this to be the case:

The current period seems to be one of pause and stock-taking, with few major social initiatives on the drawing boards. Evaluation, together with management improvement generally, has become a keynote of the Nixon Administration, and the focus has shifted to a reckoning of the costs and effects of existing programs and to an examination of what works and what doesn't in our vast sociopolitical enterprises.⁶

Howard Freeman and Clarence Sherwood agree with Schick:

⁴Ibid., p. 449.

⁵Thomas A. Morehouse, "Program Evaluation: Social Research Versus Public Policy," Public Administration Review, Vol. XXXII, No. 6, Nov/Dec 1972, p. 869.

⁶Allen Schick, "From Analysis to Evaluation," The Annals, Vol. 394, March 1971, p. 58.

The multi-billion dollar "War on Poverty" has intensified the demand for a concerted attempt to undertake broadscale action-research demonstrations, and to engage in knowledge-seeking efforts evaluated in terms of effect--rather than merely in terms of whether or not the program proves workable administratively or whether or not so-called "experts" approve of it. Certainly, without efforts in this direction, literally billions of dollars may be spent without anyone knowing what works and, what is perhaps more frightening, without our being any better equipped to contribute to the next round of mass change efforts.⁷

The opinions of such people as Morehouse, Schick, Freeman and Sherwood, buried as they are in scholarly books and journals, could perhaps be ignored in the hurly-burly of American politics. But the citizens at large--the voters--are getting the same message via the nation's press. For example, there is this recent staff article in Business Week:

A decade of pell-mell, hodgepodge welfare legislation has turned the conservative cliché of 1963 into the objective reality of 1973: Welfare is a genuine career choice for many who would fare worse if they worked. This is the message of a study made public last week by Representative Martha Griffiths (D. Mich.), chairman of the Joint Economic Committee's subcommittee on fiscal policy. Undertaken with the aid of the General Accounting Office, the study of benefit records of sample households in six poverty areas documents for the first time the widely suspected fact that some families can get more out of the \$100-billion non-system of federal, state, and local benefit programs than they could possibly earn--and more than many of their neighbors do earn. In one Eastern city, the

⁷Howard E. Freeman and Clarence C. Sherwood, "Research in Large-Scale Intervention Programs," in Readings in Evaluation Research, ed. by Francis G. Caro (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1971), p. 263.

study found that a family headed by a woman, benefit-
ting from five or more programs, can collect taxfree
benefits worth \$426 a month--vs. \$371 earned by the
average employed woman in the same neighborhood.⁸

This Business Week item can be matched by hundreds of similar
articles from newspapers and magazines, and one can suspect
that like sentiment has been evident in Congressional mail.

The publications of influential quasi-official organi-
zations have also given much attention to the effectiveness of
our social programs, and in these there is a definite call for
program evaluation. The Committee for Economic Development
provides illustration of this:

Improving the process by which federal programs are
developed, financed, and managed is a challenging task.
The complex nature of our political system and the
stubborn resistance to change inherent in a giant
governmental bureaucracy pose formidable obstacles.
Nevertheless, the magnitude of federal spending for
public programs--totalling an estimated \$230 B or
about 22% of gross national product in the current
fiscal year--makes such improvement essential for
defining the optimum level of those expenditures and
for getting the most out of the money spent.

.

The federal government lacks adequate means for estab-
lishing and executing programs and for evaluating the
contributions they make relative to their cost
. . . improvement can be achieved through better per-
formance of the following five basic steps: 1. Formu-
lating Program Goals and Objectives 2. Choos-
ing Among Alternatives 3. Translating Program

⁸"How Welfare Keeps Women From Working," Business Week,
April 7, 1973, p. 51.

Decisions into a Plan for Action 4. Executing the Program 5. Monitoring Program Execution.⁹

This attitude is paralleled by statements emanating from the Urban Institute, of which the following is a sample:

How well do federal programs for treating urban problems succeed in their aim? This question constantly recurs to city officials, Congress, and specialists in urban affairs. It is raised most keenly, perhaps, by just those federal agencies that conduct the programs. To learn the answer to that question, one needs a system for measuring what is working and what is not. Without the ability to gauge performance, criticisms are uninformed, solutions largely guesswork. The men who are charged with making and executing policy know this. At the same time, many of them have the uncomfortable feeling that the art of evaluating programs and managerial practices is a neglected one.¹⁰

Thus we have the scholars, the popular press, and the prestigious organizations all questioning the efficacy of our burgeoning social programs--and the government is beginning to respond. This is the "climate" for program evaluation, which is nicely summarized in this paragraph:

To some extent, all programs of planned social change, whether educational, economic, medical, political, or

⁹Research and Policy Committee of the Committee for Economic Development, Improving Federal Program Performance (New York: Committee for Economic Development, 1971), pp. 7-10.

¹⁰Joseph S. Wholey, John W. Scanlon, Hugh G. Duffy, James S. Fukumoto, and Leona M. Vogt, Federal Evaluation Policy: Analyzing the Effects of Public Programs (Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute, 1970), p. 5.

religious, are required to provide "proof" of their legitimacy and effectiveness in order to justify public support. The demands for "proofs of work" will vary depending on such factors as degree of faith in authority and competition between opposing programs or objectives. The current proliferation of new types of social intervention which challenge traditional approaches to health, education and welfare and which compete for both public and financial support are under constant pressure to show that they are better than established programs and deserve a larger proportion of available resources. There probably comes a time in the development of any new approach to a social problem when, after an initial outburst of enthusiastic activity, a breathing period of evaluation sets in.¹¹

In brief, a review of a rather broad spectrum of literature suggests that our propensity to launch social programs has far outstripped our ability to assess their effectiveness. And because of this deficiency in evaluational competence, our ability to manage these programs and to make policy decisions about them is impaired.

C. Program Managers and Program Assessment

The program manager stands squarely in the middle of the evaluation problem. In the first place, he would like to be able to provide positive responses to questions from his agency chiefs and other concerned parties about the

¹¹Edward A. Suchman, "Evaluation for What? A Critique of Evaluative Research," in The Organization, Management and Tactics of Social Research, ed. by Richard O'Toole (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Schenkman Publishing Company, Inc., 1971), p. 99.

effectiveness of his program. If he cannot do so his funding may be reduced, his career threatened, his ability to serve his clients curtailed. Second, he is a professional in his field and would like personal assurance that his program is accomplishing what it is supposed to accomplish. But as things stand, few managers of social action programs are in a position to assure anyone that their programs are achieving substantial results.

In many cases, the manager's problem begins with the fact that the goals of his program have never been clearly stated:

The most clear-cut evidence of the primitive state of federal self-evaluation lies in the widespread failure of agencies even to spell out program objectives . . . there is no standard against which to measure whether the direction of a program or its rate of progress are satisfactory.¹²

In some instances this dearth of specified objectives is the fault of the manager himself, because--as will be argued later in this study--one of the manager's basic responsibilities is to translate his Congressional/agency mandate into measurable goals and objectives. In other cases, however, this is an all but impossible task; whatever the manager does, he is apt to be wrong. In these programs, of which there are many, the original

¹²Wholey, et al., Federal Evaluation Policy, p. 15.

mandates are so broad and complex as to defy systematic implementation. This rather bitter description of the Teacher Corps program will serve as illustration:

The Teacher Corps program is an archetypical model for all federal programs. First, it is global in scope, its reach being no smaller than the totality of all possible goals of education. Second, though it pretends to a special target--the improvement of education of disadvantaged children--it prefaces, surrounds, and supports that target with so many ancillary ones that it ends up as a multipurpose, diffuse complex of targets. Third, while it specifies a group with special needs to serve, it invokes the need for total reform of all connected agencies and institutions if those needs are to be met. Finally, while it is phrased in the ennobling, rolling rhetoric of the modern language of "identity" theory, there are frequent reassuring references to more traditional goals of education.¹³

In programs as broadly aimed as Teacher Corps, the manager also has to contend with conflicting pressures from a variety of constituent groups, and may spread his resources too thin while trying to please everyone.

One problem for many program managers is that their activities were launched before evaluation came into vogue, and adding it at this point becomes a matter of major modification. Evaluation at its best is not a very well developed science, and to get the most from it one should build it into the

¹³From an introduction by Melvin M. Tumin in Ronald G. Corwin's Reform and Organizational Survival: The Teacher Corps as an Instrument of Educational Change (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1973), p. ix.

original program plan. As noted by Harry Hatry and colleagues:

"Evaluation must be planned before program implementation.

One reason is so evaluation data collection can be made

routine."¹⁴ Related to this problem of late-start evaluation

is the fact that within operating programs, many of the clas-

sic techniques of evaluation cannot be applied at all:

Only rarely if ever, for example, will it be possible in the evaluation of ongoing social action programs to arrange for the random assignment of subjects to experimental and control groups; and time pressures will often make it necessary to forego longitudinal measurements. Of course, such compromises involve risks and the greater the compromises the more likely it is that results will be in error.¹⁵

In view of these difficulties, and considering that in most

programs the evaluation facet will be "grossly underfunded,"¹⁶

it is not surprising that so few program managers have been

able to show impressive evaluation results.

The foregoing discussion has related mainly to the manager's problems if he tries to do his own evaluation. He

¹⁴Harry P. Hatry, Richard E. Winnie, and Donald M. Fisk, Practical Program Evaluation for State and Local Government Officials (Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute, 1973), p. 72.

¹⁵Edward L. McDill, Mary S. McDill, and J. Timothy Sprehe, "Evaluation in Practice: Compensatory Education," in Evaluating Social Programs, ed. by Peter H. Rossi and Walter Williams (New York: Seminar Press, 1972), p. 182.

¹⁶Committee for Economic Development, Improving Federal Program Performance, p. 56.

has other problems, of course, if the evaluation is to be conducted by outsiders:

Program and project managers in general do not like to be graded. It is a bit disconcerting to find out that one's program has a benefit-cost ratio of .3, and this is hardly the kind of information the aspiring manager wants brought to public attention (unless, perhaps, he inherited his job from someone whose last score was minus .3). Nor are program people likely to stand in awe of an evaluation statistic, but instead may well do battle either to thwart a proposed evaluation or to call into question the validity of a completed study.¹⁷

A complete reading of Rossi and Williams (authors of the above) suggests that--as professional research specialists--they do not feel any great amount of kinship for program administrators, but their summary of this particular attitude is probably close to the mark. Additional reason for this lack of enthusiasm on the part of managers for "outside" evaluation is provided by Hatry, Winnie, and Fisk:

Poor program performance according to an evaluation should not, in itself, imply poor performance by the program manager. A program manager who alters his program or suggests its reduction or termination when evaluation shows ineffectiveness should be rewarded. This is, of course, idealistic and current "reward" systems generally do not operate this way. Realistically, it will be difficult to avoid the idea that program evaluation is a threat to program personnel, particularly when the study is conducted by persons outside the agency.¹⁸

¹⁷Peter H. Rossi and Walter Williams, Evaluating Social Programs: Theory, Practice, and Politics (New York: Seminar Press, 1972), p. xv.

¹⁸Hatry, et al., Practical Program Evaluation, p. 113.

In other words, while program managers are certainly professionals, they are also human and are subject to the pleasure-pain principle. Further, they are politically astute, as this comment by Donald Campbell indicates:

It is one of the most characteristic aspects of the present situation that specific reforms are advocated as though they were certain to be successful. For this reason, knowing outcomes has immediate political implications. Given the inherent difficulty of making significant improvements by the means usually provided and given the discrepancy between promise and possibility, most administrators wisely prefer to limit evaluations to those the outcomes of which they can control, particularly in so far as published outcomes or press releases are concerned.¹⁹

This has, indeed, been the stance of most program managers--and probably still is. But as demands for "proofs" keep mounting, the managers are being drawn into the evaluation arena whether they like it or not. And the position taken in this study is that they should learn to "like it" well enough to assume the focal point in it.

D. The Literature of Evaluation

Professional people in all walks of life are apt to turn to books and other literature when faced with a need to expand their skills, and it is fair to assume that program and project managers are not exceptions. This section of this study

¹⁹Donald T. Campbell, "Reforms as Experiments," in Readings in Evaluation Research, ed. by Caro, p. 234.

therefore comments on three general fields of literature which are considered to be pertinent to the subject of managerial evaluation. The first is the literature of public administration, which logic suggests should have a natural concern with every aspect of public programs. Next is the literature of evaluation research, written mainly by social scientists who specialize in social program evaluation. Finally there is the literature of management, which--while historically oriented toward the business sector--is now increasingly concerned with any managerial milieu.

The status of evaluation in the literature of public administration can be summarized in a few words: it hardly has one. This is unfortunate, because if the writers/researchers/teachers in this field had devoted more of their attention to social program evaluation over the past five years, the state of that art might be further advanced. Their general lack of interest is suggested by a survey of the Public Administration Review from January 1968 through May/June 1973, which reveals only five articles and three reviews dealing with the subject. Of the five articles, only two actually delve into program evaluation itself;²⁰ a third is a tongue-in-cheek

²⁰Morehouse, "Program Evaluation," (previously cited), and David C. Caputo, "Evaluating Urban Public Policy," Public Administration Review, Vol. XXXIII, No. 2, Mar/Apr 1973, pp. 113-119.

discussion of why evaluation studies aren't used very much;²¹ a fourth simply argues that more evaluation should be done in all organizations;²² and the fifth is addressed completely to why public administration ignores evaluation.²³ This last article--by Orville Poland, of the Graduate School of Public Affairs, State University of New York at Albany--first offers evidence that evaluation is being neglected, then suggests reasons for this neglect. In reviewing the shortcomings of PPBS, he says ". . . one of the most serious problems was program evaluation--a process critical to the implementation of PPBS. The focus upon evaluation has called attention to its neglect by the field of public administration."²⁴ He goes on to say:

The difficulty with program evaluation so evident in the PPBS experiments focuses attention on a major process of administration not adequately covered by the field of public administration. For while the economists assumed the problem easier to deal with than it

²¹Fred Baldwin, "Evaluating Evaluators: The LIAR Model." Public Administration Review, Vol. XXXII, No. 1, Jan/Feb 1972. pp. 122-134.

²²Aaron Wildavsky, "The Self-Evaluating Organization," Public Administration Review, Vol. XXXII, No. 5, Sep/Oct 1972. pp. 509-520.

²³Orville F. Poland, "Why Does Public Administration Ignore Evaluation?" Public Administration Review, Vol. XXXI, No. 2, Mar/Apr 1971, pp. 201-202.

²⁴Ibid., p. 201.

is, the public administration field has largely ignored it.²⁵

An examination of four widely used textbooks in public administration indicates that none includes a chapter on evaluation. Only two have references to evaluation in the index and in both cases this refers to personnel evaluation.²⁶

. . . the blunt fact is that public administration has expressed very little interest in evaluation.²⁷

The political science discipline, which has been so influential in public administration, tends to focus on politics and political influences rather than policy objectives. These and other concerns have tended to downgrade a concern with outputs and hence with policy evaluation.²⁸

This writer has followed Poland's lead and examined books, journals, dissertation abstracts, major indexes, etc., and can confirm that his findings are still generally valid. One objective of this study, therefore, is to produce a modest contribution to public administration literature in an area perceived to be relatively lacking in depth.²⁹

The paucity of public administration literature dealing with evaluation is in marked contrast with the very considerable

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid., p. 202.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹A significant literature on evaluation has been produced by school administrators and other personnel who might technically be thought of as "public administrators," but in this paper "public administration literature" refers to that produced within the field itself.

body of publications to be found under the general heading of evaluation research. Quite a great amount of these writings have come into being as a result of the steps taken by Congress and federal agency chiefs in response to the aforementioned demands for objective assessments of social program effectiveness. In some instances, the Congress now writes requirements for periodic evaluation into its enabling legislation.³⁰ In other cases, top agency personnel have established their own evaluation policies.³¹ Under either circumstance, evaluation frequently takes the form of a one-time major study by a team from a research institute or a university,³² conducted after a program has been in operation for a few years and directed toward the measurement of program impact on its target clientele(s).

Many sociologists, social psychologists, psychometrists and the like have participated in these "scorecard" evaluation research studies. In doing so, they have encountered common problems (and occasionally, common successes) involving research designs, data collection, relations with program administrators, relations with client groups, and so forth. From these experiences there has emerged a growing stream of

³⁰Wholey, et al., Federal Evaluation Policy, p. 54.

³¹Ibid., p. 62.

³²Ibid., p. 42.

literature addressed to social program evaluation. Unfortunately, at least from the viewpoint of the working administrator/manager, the great bulk of this literary effort is addressed to other evaluators.

Although administrators are frequently perplexed by decision-making problems concerning evaluation, most books on evaluation are written for evaluators. These are concerned with logical and practical procedures in the conduct of evaluation studies. Often they include sections pertaining to the administrative context in which evaluation takes place, and discussions of potential barriers to evaluation which emanate from conflict between program and evaluation personnel. But, typically, little attention is devoted to the problems of administrators or program directors in deciding when and what kind of evaluation is needed and how to utilize the results for making programmatic decisions. Consequently, the administrator who searches the literature is likely to find that it is of little use to him in making the kinds of evaluation decisions he has to make.³³

In short, most of the available literature on social program evaluation is definitely not "program manager oriented." Further, as indicated just above, this literature consistently reflects a seemingly inherent conflict between the administrator/manager and the professional evaluator. A fundamental reason for this, of course, is that the research designs of evaluators are best satisfied when there are no changes in program procedures, while program managers logically feel that

³³Tony Tripodi, Phillip Fellin and Irwin Epstein, Social Program Evaluation (Itasca, Illinois: F. E. Peacock Publishers, Inc., 1971), pp. 4-5.

evaluative research findings should be immediately utilized to effect program improvements. Beyond this basic technical incompatibility there are a number of other potential sources of conflict, and Francis Caro has described some that apply especially to "inside" evaluators:

Social scientists often demand preferential treatment, creating resentment among other employees. Social scientists often want direct access to top decision makers, thereby threatening by-passed bureaucrats. Furthermore, the extra-curricular involvements of social scientists, such as writing, teaching, and lecturing are also resented. At the same time, administrators interested in evaluative research have often found it difficult to recruit and hold qualified behavioral scientists. Like other scientists, behavioral scientists often prefer to be oriented toward the general scientific community rather than the needs and goals of the organization that employs them. Scientists typically wish to do research that will contribute to a scientific body of knowledge. Administrators, on the other hand, typically expect that scientists on their payroll will do research that contributes directly to the goals of their organization.³⁴

Another example of what program people find when they examine evaluation literature is provided by this excerpt from an article by William H. Form:

The researcher faces the most difficult problems when his host is a single organization, such as a bureaucracy.

³⁴In this paragraph, Caro uses the terms "scientist" and "scientific" ten times and the term "bureaucrat" once. This may be an example of the perceptual gap that can exist between evaluative researchers and program personnel. Francis G. Caro, ed., Readings in Evaluation Research (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1971), p. 10.

Here a great deal of daily communication occurs among the members of the constituent units, and the units stand in a clear power relationship to one another. The research, irrespective of its content, will be perceived as having some effect on the internal relations of the organization. Therefore the researcher will experience more difficulty in gaining access to do the study and he will be blocked from studying important problems of power.³⁵

Carol Weiss offers what is perhaps a more understanding view of the administrator's position vis-a-vis the evaluation research specialist:

Interpersonal frictions are not uncommon between evaluators and practitioners. The practitioners' roles and the norms of their service professions tend to make them unresponsive to research requests and promises. As they see it, the imperative is service; evaluation research is not likely to make such contributions to the improvement of program service that it is worth disruptions and delays. Often, they believe strongly in the worth of the program they are providing, and see little need for evaluation at all. Furthermore, the judgemental quality of evaluation research means that the merit of their activities is being weighed. In a sense, as they see it, they are on trial. If the results of the evaluation are negative, if it is found that the program is not accomplishing the purposes for which it was established, then the program--and possibly their jobs--are in jeopardy. The possibilities for friction are obvious.³⁶

The natural tendency toward conflict between administrator and evaluator should not be overstated, but it is nevertheless

³⁵William H. Form, "The Sociology of Social Research," in The Organization, Management, and Tactics of Social Research, ed. by O'Toole, p. 10.

³⁶Carol H. Weiss, Evaluation Research: Methods of Assessing Program Effectiveness (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1972), p. 7.

there and must be reckoned with. It must be dealt with because program managers need the services which evaluative researchers can provide, and because they need to access and understand more of the available literature on evaluation. But while this literature is studded with thinly-veiled warnings about not revealing early findings to the administrators, because they will want to use them to initiate program changes and thereby upset research designs, some of it may irritate the managers more than it enlightens them.

Program and project managers can, of course, employ this literature to learn useful concepts about evaluation in general and the assessment of social impact in particular. In fact, it is recommended here that they do so. But they are warned in advance that (1) they may not like the implied attitudes of some of the authors; (2) in sorting out the things they can use, they will sift through a lot of material on experimental designs and research designs and the like which they cannot use; and (3) most of what they read will be oriented toward the assessment of client impact, and they will find little to guide them in the evaluation of inputs and processes.

The third field of literature to be mentioned in this section is that of management theory. This field is analyzed

in some depth in Chapter IV of this study, along with general systems theory and a few other fields deemed potentially useful to program managers, so attention to it here will be brief. At this point it is sufficient to note that under such rubrics as "management by objectives," "management information systems," and "organizational concepts," much work has been done that can be of value to the manager in understanding and performing his role in evaluation. As noted by Orville Poland, while the field of public administration may have ignored evaluation, the field of management has not:

The O and M analyst and organizational consultant are increasingly concerned with evaluation. From systems theory they have begun to incorporate feedback systems into organizational procedures. These consist of institutionalized procedures to feed information from the output of an agency back to a control function. At that point the information must be evaluated so that subsequent changes in input or the operations can be made. On more routine operations this can even be automated into the control system, through devices such as management by exception.³⁷

This literature increasingly reflects the results of practical applications in business and government, and program and project managers are encouraged to peruse it assiduously.

³⁷Poland, "Why Does Public Administration Ignore Evaluation?" p. 202.

E. Explanation of Terms

A review of publications addressed to federal program evaluation makes it clear that many of their more commonly used terms have different meanings as employed by different authors. Additionally, the literatures of general systems theory, cybernetics, operations research, and management and organization theory--all of which are cited frequently in this study--utilize a number of terms which have special meaning in these contexts. So, for several such terms that are used frequently in this study and for some others that are considered especially interesting, the following descriptions are offered:

1. "Programs" and "Projects"

In the literature, "social program," "public program," and even "program" are often used interchangeably. Whatever form used, the reference is to the kinds of programs conducted by HEW, HUD, OEO, LEAA, DOL, NEH³⁸ and other agencies engaged in "social" activities. Major examples of "programs" are Headstart, JOBS, Threshold, Community Action, Job Corps, Teacher Corps, Model Cities, WIN, and Medicare. One way or

³⁸Department of Health, Education and Welfare; Department of Housing and Urban Development; Office of Economic Opportunity; Law Enforcement Assistance Administration; Department of Labor; and National Endowment for the Humanities.

another, these programs aim at the betterment of some sector of our society. Ordinarily, as used in this study, "program" does not refer to such materialistic activities as highway construction programs, soil reclamation programs, or programs for the acquisition of hardware. (Some social programs do involve construction, as in welfare housing. But evaluation as discussed herein still would not be as concerned with the construction itself as with the effects of the construction.)

"Program" normally refers to an activity of the federal government, which--at the state and local level--may include many "projects." In fact, the grass-roots implementation of most federal programs is done by "project" offices operated by people who are not federal employees. They may be employed by a state, a city, a county, a university, a permanently established non-profit agency, a non-profit agency established solely for purposes of the project, or even by a company or corporation. The project office normally operates on federal funds, although "matching" funds may be required.

2. "Program Manager" and "Project Manager"

In this context, "program manager" refers to a line-management employee of the federal government. He will have been assigned to manage a program already outlined by Congress and/or the agency (or department) for which he works. While

he is not at the "policy" level, it is assumed that he has a fair amount of leeway in establishing specific goals and objectives, selecting strategies, and providing direction to subsidiary project offices.

Similarly, "project manager" refers to the line-management chief of a field project office--usually but not necessarily the employee of some entity other than the federal government. Project managers operate within guidelines established by program managers, and most of them are also responsible to different employing/sponsoring agencies, e.g., a university or a city government. It is assumed that they exercise significant prerogatives in the area of local strategies and tactics. And they, not program managers, have ongoing contact with clients and with other field operating groups.

3. "Effort," "Inputs," "Process," and "Impact"

"Effort," "inputs," and "process" usually refer to things within the program, while "impact" refers to the effects of the program on its clientele(s). Funding allocations, the assignment of staff, and legal authorization are all "inputs." Contacting clients, conducting training programs, and issuing welfare checks would be called "effort." The whole business of operating the program and its projects is frequently subsumed

by the term "process"--used by many writers as the obverse of "effects." For example, we have "process-oriented evaluation techniques," aimed at evaluating activities within programs, and we have "effects-oriented evaluation techniques" which treat the program as a "black box" and look only at its "impacts" or "effects."

4. "Effectiveness" and "Efficiency"

To some writers on evaluation, "effectiveness" applies only to how successfully a program impacts its clients. To others, program effectiveness also involves how well the program operates internally, i.e., whether or not it is well managed, its people competent, and so on. In this study (except in cases where a specific author is quoted, who may have his own more limited meaning), program "effectiveness" will refer to both the internal operation and the success of its impact on clients. This study is oriented toward the functions of program and project managers, who--to do the best job possible--must evaluate both internal activities and external impacts.

This study will not directly concern itself with program "efficiency," but the term may be seen in some of the quotations it incorporates. "Efficiency," as used by many writers, refers to the ratio between program inputs and desirable

program effects. When a dollar value can be assigned to both, and some writers try to do this, the term can become quite useful; unfortunately, many "effects" do not lend themselves to the assignment of monetary values. By way of clarification, it is readily possible for a program to be quite "effective" while being extremely "inefficient," in terms of resources expended for results achieved.

5. "Benefits"

In connection with public programs, use of the term "benefits" is normally a reference to whatever their clients receive that is deemed to be of value. Morehouse says that federal social and economic programs may be classified as either "maintenance programs" or "opportunity programs" and that their "benefits" may be described as follows: Maintenance programs provide tangible goods or services--e.g., money or food--to a particular population, and the commodity itself would be the "benefit." Opportunity programs, in contrast, are intended to increase a group's capabilities or opportunities to acquire goods or services (or even status and power) for themselves, in which case increases in opportunities/capabilities become the "benefits."³⁹

³⁹Morehouse, "Program Evaluation," p. 872.

6. "Mandates," "Goals," "Proxy Goals," and "Objectives"

For purposes of this study, a "mandate" is defined as whatever official authorization stands behind a federal program. In most cases this will take the form of Congressional legislation and/or federal agency directives, and will be quite broad and indefinite. Mandates almost never exist in quantitative terms, and must be translated into something more specific by program managers. In the past, "mandate" has not been a commonly used term, because most writers have used the word "goal" so freely and imprecisely in describing intent at this and all other levels. Now, however, it is coming into wider usage as the evaluation field gains in sophistication.

One dictionary definition of goal is: "a point toward which effort or movement is directed; the objective point or terminus that one is striving to reach; the end aimed at: the goal of one's ambition."⁴⁰ This is about as good a definition of "goal" as one could hope to find for use in connection with the evaluation of public programs. For instance, there is strong implication here that one would know when he had reached a goal--that a goal is something finite, and thus describable in factual terms. This is what really

⁴⁰"Goal," The Britannica World Language Dictionary (Chicago, Illinois: Enclopedia Britannica, Inc., 1964), Vol. 1, p. 541.

differentiates a goal from a mandate, i.e., mandates are most apt to ordain a level of effort and a direction of thrust, and do not usually specify a point at which the effort will be considered completed. Ideally, specific and measurable program goals should be formulated on the basis of the mandate, and progress toward these goals should then be reportable in quantitative terms. Unfortunately, however, stating the basic goals of many social programs in measurable terms--even though technically possible--would be an exercise in futility. This is because their full achievement is so far in the future that the amount of progress toward them in any one year would be a meaningless measurement. (For example, the elimination of poverty for several million people, or the life-time employment of one person.) Two tactics are commonly used to cope with this problem. In the first one, some arbitrary time frame is brought in--e.g., one year--and a "short-term" goal is established for that period only. This is often done even when it is expected that the program will continue for many years and has a much more extensive basic goal. An example might be a short-term goal of providing eyeglasses to a specific number of disadvantaged children in one year. The second tactic is employed when the basic goals of a program cannot actually be directly attacked, as in the case of trying to move

unemployable persons permanently into the work force. In this case the manager might adopt the "proxy goals" of providing measurable amounts of vocational training and job placement services, while relying on causal processes to take care of the real goal of long-term employment.

Returning to the dictionary, one is forced to go well down the list of definitions of "objective" before finding one that can explain the way the term is frequently used in the literature of program evaluation. A good dictionary will note that "objective" has a special meaning in military parlance, wherein it refers to a result or a point to be reached in a military action. It appears that program people (and their evaluators) have borrowed heavily from the military definition and then added something of their own, because they regularly use "objective" in two ways: (1) in reference to some milestone point or step enroute to a goal, or (2) as a direct synonym for goal. In this study it is also used in both of these ways.

7. "System"

Older usages of the term "system" (except perhaps in physiology) have tended to imply any orderly arrangement of parts into a whole. Since about the time of World War II, however, in certain contexts the term has taken on a rather

special meaning, with overtones of control, or of management. The "control" orientation grew out of World War II electro-mechanical systems for positioning such things as radar antennas and guns, and has given rise to the new science of cybernetics. The "management" orientation is essentially an extension of the control orientation, and has its most specific applications in such things as the U.S. Navy's "Polaris" system and NASA's "Gemini" and "Apollo" systems. When the word "system" is used in reference to highly sophisticated radars, nuclear submarines, or space vehicles, there is always a strong suggestion of purpose; these systems are goal-oriented. Further, there is implication of a high degree of built-in self-regulation, based on feedback principle, and of an associated susceptibility to precise control by human managers. This study proposes that federal programs be approached as "systems," with the term to have all the special connotations just described.

8. "Black Box"

This term appears frequently--and often without explanation--in several of the fields of literature incorporated in this study. The first "black box" was very real and contained unspecified electronic circuitry, but the black boxes of today are purely conceptual. The original was used to train technicians and engineers, who were required to deduce the content

of the box by applying various electronic signals to its input terminals and then measuring what appeared at its output terminals. Or conversely, it was used as a short-cut in training on complex equipments, in that students were permitted to bypass the study of certain complex components, i.e., to treat them as "black boxes," and to judge their performance solely on the basis of their outputs. The term has come to have widespread usage in the social sciences, and has application in program evaluation to the extent that many evaluators treat the program itself as a "black box."

9. "Sensor" and "Effector"

Both these terms are now being used regularly in modern management texts, and have long been used in cybernetics and operations research. And originally, of course, they came from physiology and the physical sciences. As used in management, and for purposes of this study, the term "sensor" refers to any procedure or device for monitoring particular organizational (or program) activities or outputs. Whenever this term is used, there is an implication that the monitoring is more or less "automatic." There is a further implication that data picked up by the sensor will enter a feedback information channel, to be used in self-regulatory processes and/or managerial control activities. An "effector" is the counterpart

of a sensor, with the term applying to any instrument or procedure whereby corrective orders are issued fairly automatically in response to irregularities detected by a sensor. "Effector" is also--but less frequently--used in reference to the instruments or procedures whereby managers implement innovative organizational/program change. Both of these terms have applications in management-oriented program evaluation, because this type of evaluation is based on the feedback principle, and feedback can be said to derive from sensors and to be used to actuate effectors.

CHAPTER II

PERSPECTIVES ON PROGRAM EVALUATION

A. Introduction

Before trying to come directly to grips with the task of formulating a conceptual approach to evaluation as a tool for program managers, it is deemed advisable to consider some of the semantic and situational difficulties associated with current usage of the term. Program evaluation is still a relatively new field of activity, and no real consensus has yet developed about what it should encompass. In fact, strong disagreement about this is evident in the publications of government agencies, prestigious organizations (e.g., the Urban Institute and the Committee for Economic Development), and individual practitioners and theorists. This disagreement carries over into the area of assigning responsibilities for evaluation, and has further impact on the question of how and by whom evaluation should actually be performed.

A wide-ranging review of evaluation literature suggests that approaches to the subject are beginning to coalesce into two general groupings. The first sees evaluation as concerned

almost exclusively with the effects a program has on its clients, while the second would extend evaluation to include virtually every facet of program activity. The "effects only" approach is oriented toward the making of policy decisions; that is, decisions related to increasing or decreasing program funding, or perhaps to the actual elimination or survival of a program. It appears that professional social researchers generally prefer to participate in this type of evaluative activity, because (1) it lends itself to stable research designs, and (2) it permits them to retain a posture of "scientific detachment" toward the internal administration of the program itself. It is not surprising, therefore, that the great bulk of publications by research specialists falls into the "effects only" category. A much smaller group of writers supports the view that it is just as important to evaluate the processes by which effects are achieved as it is to evaluate the effects themselves. This group recognizes that (1) while a program remains in existence, evaluation results can be used to improve it, and (2) some programs are, for all intents and purposes, "immune" to policy evaluation--they are so entrenched that their continued funding is guaranteed.

Since the basic thrust of the conceptual model presented in Chapter IV of this dissertation reflects an endorsement of

one of these conflicting views and rejection of the other, this Chapter will provide representative examples of both approaches in an attempt to explain the choice. First, it will present some of the divergent definitions of evaluation--and of its targets--that are now in use, and will draw these into a broad dichotomy based on "processes" and "effects." Next, it will illustrate the existing disagreement about where certain types of evaluation responsibilities should lie. Finally, it will set forth and endeavor to justify a description of evaluation as it should be used by program managers--that is, as a multi-purpose tool of management.

B. Some Problems of Definition

Much of the disagreement over a definition of "evaluation" derives from the considerable semantic perplexities associated with the defining of goals and objectives. Some writers--and some administrators--think in terms of a "hierarchy" of objectives, with each succeeding level dependent upon achievement of the one below it. For example, an early (low level) objective of a health services program might be to recruit a competent field staff, a higher level objective might be to bring this staff into contact with clients, then a still higher objective could be to deliver a particular service, and so on up to one or more ultimate objectives related to

increased feelings of physical well-being and increased longevity for a broad clientele group. To these people, the "hierarchists," there is a logical need for evaluation at every level. But to other authorities, the only truly evaluable objectives in this program would be those at the highest level, i.e., those involving the physical well-being and longevity of clients. And to yet another authoritative group, evaluation would focus on a level of objectives just below the ultimate, where the program's services are actually delivered to its target clientele. Edward Suchman sums up the situation:

Much of the difficulty in communication about evaluation has occurred because of confusion among these different levels of objectives. Some evaluators have felt it sufficient to evaluate a training program by noting that the student has learned his lesson well. Others insist it must first be proven that this learning has actually resulted in the trainee doing a better job. . . . both approaches are right, even though one may be more desirable than the other; they merely evaluate objectives at different levels.¹

Much--but not all--of the conflict apparent in the definitions cited in the remainder of this Chapter can be explained by this difference of attitude toward objectives.

An additional percentage of this definitional conflict can be explained by lack of consensus about the meaning of the

¹Edward A. Suchman, Evaluative Research: Principles and Practice in Public Service and Social Action Programs (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1967), p. 53.

two terms: "goal" and "objective." Many writers use these terms interchangeably, while to others they have distinctly different connotations. Harley Hinrichs and Graeme Taylor, for example, offer this set of definitions:

Aims: A generic term for all words used to describe the end purposes of government. Goals and objectives are individual kinds of aims.

Goals: The broadest aims of government, relatively timeless, normally not quantifiable, usually associated with the top level of a program budget structure.

Objectives: The specific aims of programs, similar to goals but not timeless or broad, capable of quantification; usually associated with lower levels of a program structure.²

Conflict with these definitions is immediately apparent in the demands by other authorities that program "goals" be stated in "measurable terms." Incidentally, Hinrichs and Taylor are among the few writers who offer any definition of goals and objectives. Most simply add to the confusion by assuming that their readers will understand what they mean--when they may or may not have even defined these terms for themselves.

Tony Tripodi, Phillip Fellin and Irwin Epstein, who tend to be oriented toward the needs of program and agency administrators, offer this description of evaluation:

²Harley E. Hinrichs and Graeme H. Taylor, A Primer on Benefit-Cost Analysis and Program Evaluation (Pacific Palisades, California: Goodyear Publishing Company, Inc., 1972), p. 150.

. . . the systematic accumulation of facts for providing information about the achievement of program requisites and goals relative to efforts, effectiveness, and efficiency within any stage of program development. The facts of evaluation may be obtained through a variety of relatively systematic techniques, and they are incorporated into some designed system of values for making decisions about social programs.³

These writers evidently espouse Suchman's notion of a hierarchy of objectives, to which they add the dimension of "efficiency"--which will be taken up later in this section.

The Urban Institute, in the persons of Joseph Wholey and colleagues, takes a somewhat different view in this operational description of evaluation:

Evaluation (1) assesses the effectiveness of an on-going program in achieving its objectives, (2) relies on the principles of research design to distinguish a program's effects from those of other forces working in a situation, and (3) aims at program improvement through a modification of current operations.⁴

The Institute goes on to distinguish four major types of evaluation: program impact evaluation, program strategy evaluation, project evaluation, and project rating. (By "program" they mean something like the national Head Start program, which is

³Tony Tripodi, Phillip Fellin and Irwin Epstein, Social Program Evaluation (Itasca, Illinois: F. E. Peacock Publishers, Inc., 1971), p. 12.

⁴Joseph S. Wholey, John W. Scanlon, Hugh G. Duffy, James S. Fukumoto and Leona M. Vogt, Federal Evaluation Policy (Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute, 1971), p. 23.

composed of many local Head Start "projects.") They describe these four types:

Program impact evaluation is assessment of the overall effectiveness of a national program in meeting its objectives, or assessment of the relative effectiveness of two or more programs in meeting common objectives. The usual objective of program impact evaluation is to assist policy makers in reaching decisions on program funding levels or on possible redirection of a program.

Program strategy evaluation is the assessment of the relative effectiveness of different techniques used in a national program. The usual objective of program strategy evaluation is to inform program managers of the relative effectiveness of the different strategies or methods used by projects in the national program.

Project evaluation is assessment of the effectiveness of an individual project in achieving its stated objectives.

Project rating is assessment of the relative effectiveness of different local projects in achieving program objectives.⁵

The Institute then declares that managerial "monitoring, reporting systems and cost analysis are three evaluation-related activities that all have one thing in common, differentiating them from evaluation: They focus on program inputs."⁶ These are described thusly:

Monitoring is the assessment of managerial and operational efficiency of programs through periodic site visits and other management techniques. The usual objective of monitoring is to give program managers impressionistic data about how their projects are

⁵Ibid., p. 25.

⁶Ibid., p. 27.

going, to see if they are being run efficiently, if they are following program guidelines, if they have competent staffs--in general, to do a management assessment of the soundness of individual projects.

Reporting systems, which provide routine reporting from state and local level, are not evaluation but may furnish useful data on services provided, populations served and costs of providing services.

Cost analysis is a means of obtaining information for program managers on the cost of providing services through a program.⁷

Obviously, to the Institute, evaluation is end-goal oriented and does not involve looking at program "inputs " although inputs--or "effort"--are considered to be related. Tripodi, Fellin and Epstein see this differently, and would have program effort considered as a major subject of evaluation:

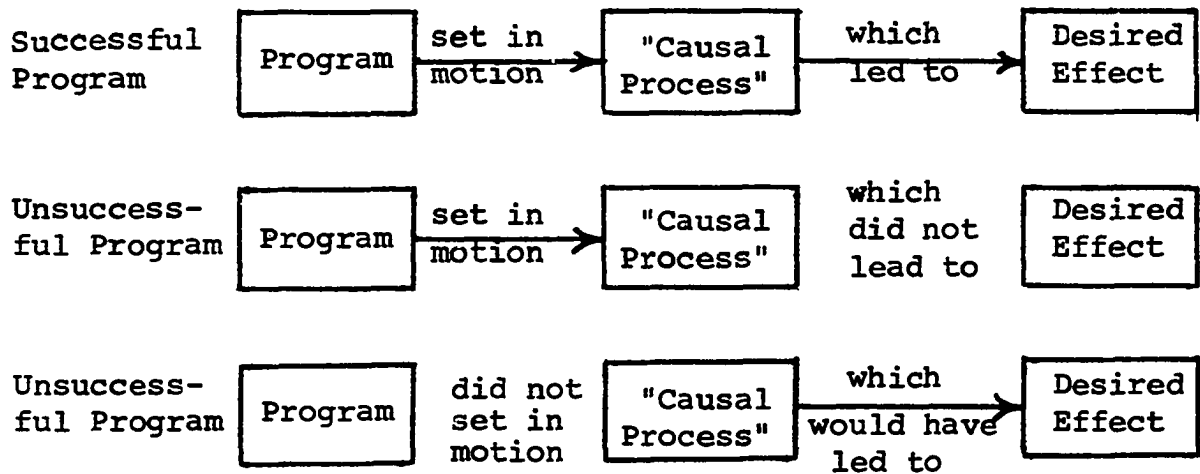
Essentially, then, there are three basic objectives of program evaluation: 1. To provide descriptive information about the type and quantity of program activities (program effort). 2. To provide information about the achievement of the goals of the current stage of program development (program effectiveness). 3. To provide information about program effectiveness relative to program effort (program efficiency).

Program effort can be documented in any development stage. Essentially, this quantitative, descriptive information is an indication of the extent to which staff and program are active. Obviously, this says nothing about how well the tasks are being done, or, more importantly, whether or not the program's overall goals are obtained.⁸

⁷Ibid.

⁸Tripodi, et al., Social Program Evaluation, p. 44.

Tripodi and his colleagues are oriented toward on-going program management as much as toward the one-point-in-time scorecard of program impact, or end results. Their assumption appears to be that end-result program failure can be caused as readily by poor implementation of a good theory as by a fallacious basic conceptual approach. From the program manager's viewpoint this seems axiomatic; it doesn't really help him to learn merely that his program isn't effecting its desired impacts--he needs to know why. Carol Weiss handles this by envisioning a causal process⁹ that intervenes between the program manager and long-term program impact, and which can include management processes along with other near-term program activities. (Among these other activities she includes "proxy"



⁹Carol H. Weiss, Evaluation Research: Methods of Assessing Program Effectiveness (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1972), p. 38.

objectives, used because the real changes that a program wants to produce may lie far in the future.) She has developed the diagram above to illustrate this concept.¹⁰ In sum, the manager needs to know at which point in the chain his "unsuccessful" program went astray, and by use of good intermediate-stage evaluation techniques he may be able to learn whether his problem is organizational or conceptual.

We noted earlier that "efficiency" is sometimes considered to be a proper subject for evaluation; to Tripodi, for example, it is one of the three things which are always evaluated. The Urban Institute, on the other hand, regards cost analysis--the method by which efficiency is measured--as only "related" to evaluation. This writer is inclined to adapt Suchman's comment about what objectives should be included in evaluation, and to declare that either approach to efficiency is correct: it can be included in the evaluation plan or not, depending upon needs. If the evaluator is concerned with comparing alternative ways of achieving a goal, as in choosing between two programs or in rating two field projects within the same program, he may very well desire to evaluate their respective efficiencies. If he does, he will need to engage in "cost-effectiveness analysis" and/or "cost-benefit analysis,"

¹⁰Ibid.

both of which have been described by Hinrichs and Taylor as follows:

A cost-effectiveness analysis attempts to provide answers to the following sort of question: For a fixed level of achievement of an objective, what are the costs of each alternative method of achieving that level ("equal-effectiveness" analysis)? For a fixed cost, what level of achievement of the objective can each alternative produce ("equal-cost" analysis)? A cost-benefit analysis goes one step further. It attempts to answer this question: How much benefit to the people of the state will be produced by a certain expenditure on each of a number of alternatives? (Either: How much benefit for a given cost? or How much will it cost to produce a given benefit?)¹¹

To accomplish the former, he obviously needs to be able to accurately measure program output, or effects. In some cases this is readily possible, as for example in measuring trainee achievement based on test results. In other cases this can be quite difficult, as when program objectives involve attitude changes. But in any case, cost-effectiveness is probably easier to compute than is cost-benefit, which demands that the evaluator assign a dollar value to the program's effects. The position adopted in this study is that while some definitions of evaluation call for the assessment of program efficiency and while others do not, there is no "best" definition in this regard. Individual evaluators should consider their own

¹¹Hinrichs and Taylor, A Primer, p. 146.

particular purposes when deciding whether or not to include efficiency in their evaluation plans.

C. "Processes" Versus "Effects"

As indicated earlier, it is possible to group most of the current approaches to program evaluation into two broad schools. Both schools declare that evaluation must address end-product program effects, but one school would stop there while the other insists that evaluation should also be applied to program processes. (By "processes," we mean "inputs," "effort," "efficiency," "means," and so forth. By "effects," we mean the impact of the program on the citizens toward whom it is directed.) Establishment of this dichotomy entails some risk, because there is overlap between the schools as well as divergence from them. But to study the dichotomy is heuristic, so the risk is considered to be acceptable.

For one thing, it is interesting to examine both sides of the dichotomy to discern some of the assumptions that are evidently being made. For example, many members of the "effects only" school appear to take it for granted that alternative programs are indeed available (or can be made available) for achieving certain aims, and see their own function as that of aiding policy makers in a selection process. This outlook seems to ignore the fact that many social programs, once

established, develop political constituencies which virtually assure their continued competition-free existence. This approach may be a logical outgrowth of the Program Planning Budgeting System (PPBS) movement, which has traditionally been concerned more with choices between programs than with changes within them. Supporting evidence for this notion is seen in the work of the economists, who employed cost-benefit analysis as a "forecasting" tool for PPBS and who are now applying it in after-the-fact fashion for evaluative purposes.

Another assumption of the "effects only" faction would logically have to be that all social programs actually do have definite goals and objectives. But this assumption, although it would seem to be axiomatic, has been questioned. Regarding the innovative "great society" programs, into which have gone the largest increases in government spending of the past decade, Thomas Morehouse offers this insightful observation:

These programs generally are not finished products ready to be "tested" by measuring specified effects in terms of clear-cut objectives. Instead, they are explorations of problems, objectives, and means. They are, in this sense, at least as much process-oriented as they are results oriented. Thus, a more broadly conceived approach to evaluation research may well be essential at this time, since so many recent programs are efforts to develop new administrative processes directed to newly defined problems, rather than full-scale commitments of resources designed to achieve

maximum impacts on clearly targeted problem areas and groups.¹²

According to Robert Weiss and Martin Rein, these broad-aim programs are particularly incompatible with the classic "experimental design" approach to impact-oriented evaluation.¹³

The "processes" school also appears to have several assumptions, the primary one of which seems to be that all programs can and should be improved. In other words, this school is oriented toward change. But it advocates a particular kind of change, i.e., managed change, with management's decisions to be based on empirical evidence and logic. Aaron Wildavsky--while knowingly pushing the state of the art of objectivity--describes the proper use of evaluation by a program organization:

The ideal organization would be self-evaluating. It would constantly monitor its own activities so as to determine whether it was meeting its goals or even whether these goals should continue to prevail. When evaluation suggested that a change in goals or programs to achieve them was desirable, these proposals would be taken seriously by top decision makers. They would institute the necessary changes; they would have no vested interest in continuation of current

¹²Thomas A. Morehouse, "Program Evaluation: Social Research Versus Public Policy," Public Administration Review, Vol. XXXII, No. 6, Nov/Dec 1972, p. 872.

¹³Robert S. Weiss and Martin Rein, "The Evaluation of Broad-Aim Programs: Experimental Design, Its Difficulties, and an Alternative," Administrative Quarterly, Vol. 15, No. 1, March 1970, pp. 97-109.

activities. Instead they would steadily pursue new alternatives to better serve the latest desired outcomes.¹⁴

Wildavsky makes it clear that "process" evaluation is aimed at goal change as well as at change in strategies and tactics. This might at first appear to be presumptive, if one thinks of "goals" as being mandated to program managers by policy makers, but Wildavsky is really on firm ground. The mission assigned to a program manager is usually quite broad in nature, and one of the manager's fundamental tasks is to translate his mandate (this is sometimes called "mission") into discrete goals and objectives. Ergo, as his program gets underway and a learning process begins to take place, he may very well want to revise his objectives to better accomplish his mission.

Examples of the "process-effects" dichotomy are prevalent throughout the literature of evaluation, and several are offered here. On the "effects only" side of the argument we find:

- o Tom R. Houston, Jr.: "To evaluate a social action program is to collect evidence regarding its effectiveness. . . . effectiveness is defined as impact,

¹⁴Aaron Wildavsky, "The Self-Evaluating Organization," Public Administration Review, Vol. XXXII, No. 5, Sep/Oct 1972, pp. 509-510.

the capacity of a program to cause changes in those who are exposed to it."¹⁵

- John Mann: "Underlying the physical realities of evaluation studies is a clear scientific model. It is so simple that it can be stated in one sentence: In order to perform an evaluation study it is necessary to compare the amount of change experienced by members of two equivalent groups, only one of which is exposed to the behavior-change process."¹⁶
- Howard E. Freeman and Clarence C. Sherwood: "The multi-billion dollar 'War on Poverty' has intensified the demand for a concerted attempt to undertake broad-scale action-research demonstrations, and to engage in knowledge-seeking efforts evaluated in terms of effect--rather than merely in terms of whether or not the program proves workable administratively or whether or not so-called experts approve of it."¹⁷
- Harley H. Hinrichs and Graeme M. Taylor: "The purpose of any attempt at performing a program evaluation is to determine the degree to which the program has achieved its objectives. This requires a retrospective or historical audit of program accomplishments."¹⁸
- Harry Hatry, Richard Winnie and Donald Fisk: "Program evaluation is the systematic examination of

¹⁵Tom R. Houston, Jr., "The Behavioral Sciences Impact-Effectiveness Model," in Evaluating Social Programs, ed. by Peter H. Rossi and Walter Williams (New York: Seminar Press, 1972), p. 51.

¹⁶John Mann, "Technical and Social Difficulties in the Conduct of Evaluation Research," in Readings in Evaluation Research, ed. by Francis G. Caro (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1971), p. 175.

¹⁷Howard E. Freeman and Clarence C. Sherwood, "Research in Large-Scale Intervention Programs," ibid., p. 263.

¹⁸Hinrichs and Taylor, A Primer, p. 30.

specific government activities to provide information on the full range of the program's short and long term effects on citizens."¹⁹

In the camp that considers evaluation to include "inputs" and the processes within programs--in addition to "effects"--we find:

- Kenneth E. Eble: "The use of evaluation in improving individual performance of teachers is no less important [than in rating them]. Here the desired condition is to get away from pronouncing judgment and to use evaluation as we use criticism we respect: to provide both the drive and direction for improving upon what we do."²⁰
- Edward Suchman: "From an administrative point of view, evaluation becomes an ongoing process related to all stages of program planning, development, and operations. Each step has its own set of objectives and means for attaining these objectives which become subject to separate evaluations. These evaluations feed back information to the program administrator at each stage and permit him to determine when and how to proceed from one step to another."²¹
- George Shipman: ". . . rigorous, disciplined evaluation requires that the impact of the program be identified and measured against the objectives sought. The unanticipated consequences are equally in point. Then, in the framework of the objectives, the input of resources, the processes of action, and the consequences realized, both intended and

¹⁹ Harry P. Hatry, Richard E. Winnie and Donald M. Fisk, Practical Program Evaluation for State and Local Government Officials (Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute, 1973), p. 8.

²⁰ Kenneth E. Eble, The Recognition and Evaluation of Teaching (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Project to Improve College Teaching, 1970), p. 16.

²¹ Quoted by Caro in Readings in Evaluation Research, p. 47.

unanticipated, the question of effectiveness can be brought closer to disciplined judgement."²²

- o James R. Sanders: "Formative evaluation is the evaluation of a program, process, or product that is in its developmental stages and can be revised in form Formative evaluation at the school system level may include cross-school comparisons and the development and use of a management information system to provide useful feedback to school and classroom reading programs."²³

The effects of this split over what evaluation should encompass are widespread. For example, since the federal government has not adopted any standard approach to program evaluation, each agency--and sometimes even each program--is permitted to select its own. It follows that since individual administrators are influenced by different aspects of the literature, and by different authorities in the field, that the various evaluations they sponsor and/or perform are often difficult to compare. This detracts from the usefulness of evaluation results to policy makers, and contributes to the general aura of doubt about the utility of even performing evaluation. From the viewpoint of the program manager, the problem can become intense: if he proposes to emphasize evaluation, what should

²²George A. Shipman, "The Evaluation of Social Innovation," (a review), Public Administration Review, Vol. XXXI, No. 2, Mar/Apr 1971, p. 198.

²³James R. Sanders, "Considerations in Evaluating School Reading Programs," Viewpoints, Vol. 48, No. 5, Sep 1970, p. 18.

he evaluate? Which "authorities" should he believe? What kinds of consultants should he hire? Section E. of this Chapter will address this question, and will postulate that he should opt for the "processes plus effects" evaluation philosophy.

D. Responsibility for Evaluation

Disagreement about what evaluation should include is accompanied by divergent opinions concerning where responsibility for various facets of evaluation should lie. Controversy in this area tends to be expressed in two overlapping formats: in the first, arguments are based on the question of whether "insiders" or "outsiders" can best perform the task, while in the second format the debate revolves around questions of control.

Problems of semantics seem to plague the evaluation field at every turn. The "insiders vs. outsiders" discussion is yet another example of this, in that the writers who take it up have no consensus about just who should be included in either category. To some, an "insider" is anyone who works for the agency whose programs are being evaluated. To others an "insider" is someone actually on the program staff, and an evaluator working at a higher level of the program's own agency is considered to be an "outsider." The only clear area

of agreement seems to be that representatives of research institutes, universities and the like, working on a definite contract basis, are seen as "outsiders." This particular semantic difficulty is not so critical as some that have been noted earlier, but program managers who go to the literature for guidance should at least be aware that it exists.

Francis Caro--who sees any agency employee as an "insider"--presents this summary of both sides of the question:

The following are some of the arguments that have been presented in favor of outsiders: (1) they tend to be better able to maintain their objectivity; (2) they are more likely to be able to include evaluative criteria that question basic organizational premises; (3) they may be able to mediate more effectively where there is extensive external conflict; (4) they usually are better protected from problems of marginality and status incongruity; and (5) they are better able to avoid nonresearch tasks.

It has been suggested that insiders have the following advantages: (1) they are usually able to develop a more detailed knowledge of the organization and its programs; (2) they are in a better position to do continuing research.²⁴

(It is interesting to note that to Caro, "research" and "evaluation" are practically synonymous terms--which is a reflection of his academic training and background.) Caro goes on to point out that outsiders aren't automatically more objective than insiders, in that they have been known to

²⁴Francis G. Caro, "Introduction," in Readings in Evaluation Research, p. 17.

"slant their interpretations to accommodate their client's interests."²⁵

This passing comment about the possible biasing of evaluation results by sponsors is worthy of emphasis. If this possibility exists, the question of who should be responsible for what types of evaluation becomes doubly important. William H. Form declares flatly that the possibility does exist, and implies that it is presently influencing the thrust of evaluative efforts:

The financial sponsor can influence the research social system not only by exerting financial pressure, but also by influencing the research design, general methodology, field operations, and publication and dissemination of data. In short, there is an increasing amount of formal and informal bargaining between sponsor and researcher on what research will be done, how it shall be done, and how its results shall be presented.²⁶

These comments of both Caro and Form are taken as supportive of the notion that program managers should install and operate their own evaluation subsystems, not only to improve program effectiveness but also to build a defense against possibly biased outside evaluations.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶William H. Form, "The Sociology of Social Research," in The Organization, Management and Tactics of Social Research, ed. by Richard O'Toole (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Schenkman Publishing Company, Inc., 1971), p. 6.

Returning to the "insider-outsider" question, we can turn to Edward Suchman for a summary of the pros and cons when an "insider" is seen as a member of the operating program itself:

On the positive side, an inside evaluator is more informed about the program and is in a better position to know which aspects require evaluation. He is also more readily accepted by the program staff, especially if the staff view the study as a self-evaluation for their own good. Such a self-evaluation is also more likely to result in an application of the results of the study toward program improvement. On the negative side, it is extremely difficult for an insider in a self-evaluation to maintain objectivity. There is an almost irresistible tendency to focus upon the successful aspects of the program and to overlook the "minor" weaknesses or failures. Certain procedures which have a time-honored validity will rarely be brought into question. From a technical point of view it is also much less likely that the program staff will possess the required research knowledge and skills to conduct a professional evaluation study.²⁷

From the viewpoint of the program manager, whose goal is increased program effectiveness, one of Suchman's most telling points must be that "self-evaluation is also more likely to result in an application of the results of the study toward program improvement." What Suchman did not say, in this particular paragraph, is that outside evaluation often has very little chance of contributing to program improvement: its conclusions are apt to pertain only to effects, providing few

²⁷Suchman, Evaluative Research, pp. 157-158.

clues as to where internal deficiencies may lie; its results are apt to be published all too belatedly to help the manager in managing; and, as suggested by Caro and Form, its thrust may even have been biased to accommodate the interests of its sponsors.

It was noted above that the question of who should be responsible for evaluation is also debated on the basis of where the control of evaluation should lie. One approach to this topic is provided by the Urban Institute, which recommends that the "OEO model" should become the pattern for all federal agencies. Development of this model--within the Office of Economic Opportunity--is described as follows:

First, evaluation studies were formally classified into three distinct types:

Type I - Program Impact Evaluation: an assessment of overall program impact and effectiveness. The emphasis is on determining the extent to which programs are successful in achieving basic objectives and on the comparative evaluation of national programs.

Type II - Program Strategy Evaluation: an assessment of the relative effectiveness of different program strategies and variables. The emphasis is on determining which program strategies are most productive.

Type III - Project Monitoring: assessment of individual projects through site visits and other activities with the emphasis on managerial and operational efficiency.

Second, there was a reallocation of responsibility for the different types of evaluation. [Type I to the Office of Research, Plans, Programs and Evaluation (RPP&E). Types II and III to the individual program offices.]

Finally, one percent of OEO's total budget was earmarked for evaluation; one-sixth of one percent going to RPP&E for Type I evaluation (approximately \$3 million in fiscal year 1969) and five-sixths of one percent remaining in the program offices for Types II and III evaluation.²⁸

The Institute likes this model for several cogent reasons: 1) it establishes a common set of definitions for use within the agency, 2) it assigns definite responsibilities, and 3) it provides funding. (The assignment of responsibility without a corresponding allocation of resources usually is, one can agree, an exercise in futility.) In simplified form, the OEO model is this:²⁹

<u>Evaluation Task</u>	<u>Level of Responsibility</u>
Developing evaluation work plans (overall responsibility)	Agency level
Program impact evaluation	Agency level
Program strategy evaluation	Program level
Project rating	Program level
Monitoring	Program level
Disseminating significant results	All levels
Developing methodology	Agency level

²⁸Wholey, et al., Federal Evaluation Policy, p. 62.

²⁹Ibid., p. 70.

Drawing upon the OEO model, the Institute develops this recommendation regarding evaluation responsibility and control at the program level:

Major responsibility for evaluating projects and alternative strategies within programs should rest with the operating bureau chiefs and program managers who know the program and can have some control over input and process variables. On the other hand, operating-level plans for experiments and evaluations should be reviewed and approved at agency level to determine whether they give adequate attention to gathering the kinds of data needed for higher-level decisions.³⁰

They would evidently have program managers concentrate on things internal to their programs, while "impact" evaluations would be controlled by the agency's central evaluation staff.

The foregoing recommendations of the Urban Institute seem to be at odds with the approach taken by the Committee for Economic Development:

Two basically different kinds of evaluation are needed. First, the measurement of program results against the objectives for which the program was established and funded should become a regular responsibility of program managers. Second, more intensive evaluations of program performance and goals are required occasionally to support major decisions about initiating new programs, reorienting existing programs, or renewing the authorizations of a particularly important program. To support both kinds of evaluation, operating plans

³⁰Ibid., p. 72.

should include a plan for collecting data and other information.³¹

The Committee suggests that program managers should monitor (evaluate) every variable of their programs which might assist them in increasing program effectiveness, and to see impact as simply one of those variables. The Committee's two kinds of evaluation appear to differ more in intensity than in direction.

Beyond the Urban Institute and the Committee for Economic Development, a very few of the publications reviewed for this dissertation even considered the question of where--within an agency--specific evaluation responsibilities should lie. In retrospect this seems logical, because most of the other writers were writing for other evaluators, as noted earlier. At best, therefore, they consider the degree to which program managers should become involved with evaluation--which may, of course, be another way of looking at the question. (There may be a subtle psychological orientation to be noted here: perhaps the professional evaluators see themselves as responsible for evaluation, with one or more elements of the agency simply serving as sponsor.) In any event, the program manager must

³¹Research and Policy Committee of the Committee for Economic Development, Improving Federal Program Performance (New York: Committee for Economic Development, 1971), p. 72.

determine where his evaluative responsibilities begin and end, and there is little in the current literature to guide him.

E. Evaluation as a Tool of Management

Before discussing the "proper" relationship between program managers and program evaluation, one should specify what types of programs are being addressed. Under one taxonomy, for example, we can identify "demonstration programs" as something quite different from "operational programs." Demonstration programs will presumably be organized in accordance with rigorous research designs, with random selection of clients, the designation of control groups, and so forth. Operational programs must usually forego such scientific niceties. Given these differences, plus the fundamental differences in the scope and purpose of these two types of programs, it seems fair to expect significant differences between the two regarding manager-evaluation relationships. Assuming these differences to exist, this paper is addressed to operating programs only.

Another assumption being made is that the life expectancy of most of our operating social programs will be based not upon the results of evaluation, but upon political and economic considerations. This being the case, it is postulated that the most desirable evaluation model is one that

feeds a constant stream of evaluation data back into the on-going program, where it can be used to improve program performance. This attitude is supported by Otto Klineberg, who defines evaluation as "a process which enables the administrator to define the effects of his programs, and thereby to make progressive adjustments in order to reach his goals more effectively."³² Stanley Bigman carries this further, stating six main uses of evaluation results:

1. To discover whether and how well objectives are being fulfilled.
2. To determine the reasons for specific successes and failure.
3. To uncover the principles underlying a successful program [or project].
4. To direct the course of experiments with techniques for increasing effectiveness.
5. To lay the basis for future research on the reasons for the relative success of alternative techniques.
6. To redefine the means to be used for attaining objectives, and even to redefine subgoals, in the light of research findings.³³

While it is noted that Bigman appears to equate evaluation with research, and this writer would have preferred the substitution of "evaluation" in place of "research" in statements five and

³²Otto Klineberg, "The Problem of Evaluation," International Social Science Bulletin, Vol. 7, No. 3, 1955, p. 347.

³³Stanley K. Bigman, "Evaluating the Effectiveness of Religious Programs," Review of Religious Research, Vol. 2, Winter 1961, p. 99.

six, it is still evident that only a program manager could take maximum advantage of evaluation findings for the purposes specified. An example of this is provided by Suchman:

. . . administrative factors such as personnel, funds, and facilities will often dictate how a program may be divided into subgoals corresponding to available resources and the assignment of separate administrative responsibility. That which is indicated on the basis of existing knowledge may have to give way to what is administratively feasible or even traditionally acceptable to both professionals and the public.³⁴

This is just as true, of course, when "existing knowledge" derives from evaluation findings as it is when a program is being initially established.

One of the difficulties in getting program managers to see evaluation as a "tool" is that they are more inclined to see it as a threat. Ernest House recognizes this fact, and argues against it:

Many administrators see evaluation as potentially valuable but too dangerous for them to try. Nonetheless, pressures for evaluation are building up and already much is done covertly. It is to the administrator's advantage that he be at the center of such activities so that he can reap the benefits and prevent the disasters. Different evaluation approaches can lead in quite different directions.³⁵

³⁴Suchman, Evaluative Research, p. 54.

³⁵Ernest R. House, ed., School Evaluation: The Politics and Process (Berkeley, California: McCutchan Publishing Corporation, 1973), p. 5.

Tripodi, Fellin and Epstein provide additional reasons for the reluctance of many managers to initiate serious evaluation efforts:

Despite the increasing demand for evaluation from outside sources, administrators are often sceptical about the merits of program evaluation. Frequently they are confused by the claims and counter-claims of evaluation consultants representing different schools of organizational analysis. Moreover, some program directors view evaluation cynically, as simply a device which is used by agency supporters to justify current operations.³⁶

It is contended in this paper that in spite of all these well-founded trepidations, managers must get into the evaluation act--and they must control it. As noted by both House and Tripodi, there is a growing demand for more and better evaluation, and the manager who does not take the initiative will find himself increasingly on the defensive. David Erlandson expresses this sentiment in no uncertain terms:

If the administrator expects to maintain a central role in the . . . organization, he must maintain a central role in the evaluative process. He cannot let himself be frightened or intimidated. This does not mean that he must be a technical expert or get involved in all the details of evaluation; it does mean that he cannot totally delegate evaluation either to subordinates or to experts. Many administrative and technical features of evaluation he will have to delegate, but he must retain real control of the process.³⁷

³⁶Tripodi, et al., Social Program Evaluation, p. 4.

³⁷David A. Erlandson, "Evaluation and an Administrator's Autonomy," in School Evaluation, ed. by House, pp. 21-22.

If the foregoing is correct, and this writer considers it to be so, the program manager must think of evaluation as a tool in the same way that he thinks of a good personnel system or an information system as a tool.

Up to this point it has been argued that evaluation should be viewed as a tool of management because (1) the manager is in the best position to make use of program evaluation, and (2) if he does not employ it as a tool for his own benefit, it may well be employed to his detriment by others. A third argument can also be advanced, i.e., that evaluation is an inherent facet of the manager's job:

Evaluation is an important component of administration, whether such evaluation be formal or informal. If we view the administrative process as a "cycle" which includes the following special activities: (a) decision-making, (b) programming, (c) communicating, (d) controlling, (e) reappraising, it becomes apparent that evaluation is an essential tool of management. Since the major focus of administration is the organization of resources and activities so as to achieve some desired objective, and since we have defined evaluative research as the study of the relationship of planned activities to desired objectives, we place evaluative research at the heart of the administrative process From this point of view, evaluation becomes programmatic research whose major function is to aid administrators or program operators to plan and adjust their activities in an attempt to increase the probability of achieving the desired action or service goals.³⁸

³⁸Edward A. Suchman, "Action for What? A Critique of Evaluative Research," in The Organization, Management and Tactics of Social Research, ed. by O'Toole, p. 102.

David Caputo says that when used in this fashion, evaluation should "encourage mid-course corrections and adjustments."³⁹ Caputo says that evaluation must involve the timely feedback of information for this purpose, and argues that with any other approach, "suggestions for change will come too late to provide benefits for an existing program"⁴⁰ He adds that "this may result in reduced effectiveness and little or no positive change on the part of the personnel involved," and that "scarce resources may be wasted or underutilized."⁴¹ Caputo concludes that "policy evaluation [as opposed to managerial evaluation] may be quite useful, but it is very limited as to its immediate effects on the real world."⁴²

As strong as their arguments are, both Suchman and Caputo failed to mention one important utilization of the evaluation tool, i.e., to modify objectives. Since managers are usually given only the broad aims or long-term goals of their programs, and must specify objectives and short-term goals for themselves, they can never be certain that they have specified the best ones. Wildavsky suggests that they turn to evaluation for reassurance:

³⁹David C. Caputo, "Evaluating Urban Public Policy," Public Administration Review, Vol. XXXIII, No. 2, Mar/Apr 1973, p. 113.

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²Ibid.

Evaluation should not only lead to the discovery of better policy programs to accomplish existing objectives but to alteration of the objectives themselves. Analysis of the effectiveness of existing policies leads to consideration of alternatives that juxtapose means and ends embodied in alternative policies. The objectives as well as the means for attaining them may be deemed inappropriate.⁴³

No "scorecard" evaluation conducted by outsiders can do this for the manager, at least not in time to do him any good.

Another compelling reason for having the program manager deeply involved in evaluation is advanced by Edgar Borgatta. Borgatta is concerned with the task of collecting evaluation data, which he sees as being monumental if the manager is not involved:

. . . the effective design of research requires an intimate relationship between data collection and the management of the program itself. If the right kinds of records are kept in the agency or program, the basic descriptive research . . . could be automatic. It would appear that a fantastic amount of generalizable information is lost because research is not built into agency and program data collection. In fact, to the contrary, one has to marvel at the amount of relatively irrelevant information that is collected and accumulated.⁴⁴

Since the manager controls his own information system, he has the capability of using it to support an evaluation effort.

⁴³Wildavsky, "The Self-Evaluating Organization," p. 510.

⁴⁴Edgar P. Borgatta, "The Management and Tactics of Research," in The Organization, Management and Tactics of Social Research, ed. by O'Toole, p. 187.

Conversely, as Borgatta suggests, professional consideration of evaluation needs could probably eliminate some of the extraneous data that otherwise tends to clog the system. There is a clear invitation here to the manager to harness evaluation for his own purposes.

Once a program manager espouses the notion that evaluation is one of his natural functions, he may logically raise the question of how he should approach it. Specific answers to this question will, of course, depend upon the nature and circumstances of his particular program, but it can at least be suggested that it will help him to think in terms of levels of evaluation. These levels are based on the levels of activity to be found in any program, and correspond to the program's hierarchy of objectives. Several writers have addressed the subject of evaluation by level,⁴⁵ and a summary by Suchman is presented here because it is clearer and more concise than most:

Objectives are commonly classified according to three different levels of generality ranging from immediate to intermediate to ultimate. In principle one may visualize an unlimited universe of possible objectives and sub-objectives corresponding to the various levels that make up a total program and arranged according to some organizational hierarchy. On the bottom of this

⁴⁵For example see Tripodi, et al., Social Program Evaluation, pp. 52-59; Weiss, Evaluation Research, pp. 45-47; and David A. Anderson and Thomas R. Flores, "Implementing Systematic Evaluation Within an Ongoing Educational Program," Educational Technology, Vol. XIII, No. 6, June 1973, pp. 43-48.

hierarchy, we usually find the field personnel whose objectives are largely those of delivery of services and whose success or failure is measured against the immediate criteria of effort expended and quantity and quality of services delivered. On the next higher level, we may find the supervisory or administrative personnel whose objectives are those of program direction where effectiveness is evaluated on an intermediate level according to the accomplishments or results of the efforts of the service personnel. At the top of the hierarchy is the central staff whose major function is that of program planning and development and whose policy decisions guide the performance goals of the field personnel and are evaluated on the ultimate level of success in meeting the social problem under attack.⁴⁶

This suggests that the program manager will establish at least three evaluation sub-programs. One will address the effort of the field service personnel; another will address the managerial capabilities of the field supervisors (e.g., local project managers); while a third will assess the actual effects of the program on its clients. With the third sub-program the manager will to some degree be evaluating his own personal effectiveness, but this will be blurred by such factors as (1) the extent of the resources available to his program, (2) the performance capabilities of his field staff, over which he may have inadequate control, and (3) environmental factors which may be working for or against the program. He will be handicapped in coping with factor three by the fact that in an

⁴⁶Suchman, "Action for What?," pp. 113-114.

on-going service-oriented program there is usually no possibility of establishing suitable control groups or of making meaningful before and after measures.⁴⁷

The foregoing, while heuristic, is certainly over-simplified and incomplete. In actual practice, evaluation is like any other sophisticated tool in that it can only be mastered by study, practice, and experience. To encourage program managers to assume this task, we have this list of contributions which evaluation may perform for program operation:

1. Determine the extent to which program activities are achieving the desired objectives. Measure the degree of progress toward ultimate goals and indicate level of attainment.
2. Point out specific strong and weak points of program operation and suggest changes and modifications of procedures and objectives. Increase effectiveness by maximizing strengths and minimizing weaknesses.
3. Examine efficiency and adequacy of programs [and projects] compared to other methods and total needs. Improve program procedures and increase scope.
4. Provide quality controls. Set standards of performance and check on their continuous attainment.
5. Help to clarify program objectives by requiring operational definition in terms of measurable criteria. Challenge the "taken-for-granted" assumptions underlying programs. Point out inconsistencies in objectives or activities.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 105.

6. Develop new procedures and suggest new approaches for the program and for future programs.
7. Provide checks on possible "boomerang" or negative side effects. Alert staff to possible changes to the program.
8. Establish priorities among programs [or projects] in terms of best use of limited resources--funds, personnel, and time.
9. Indicate degree of transferability of program to other areas and populations. Suggest necessary modifications to fit changing times and places.
10. Advance scientific knowledge base of professional practice by testing effectiveness of proposed preventive and treatment programs. Suggest hypotheses for future research.
11. Advance administrative science by testing effectiveness of different organizational structures and modes of operation.
12. Provide public accountability. Justify program to public. Increase public support for successful programs and decrease demand for unnecessary or unsuccessful ones.
13. Build morale of staff by involving them in evaluation of their own efforts. Provide goals and standards against which to measure progress and achievement.
14. Develop a critical attitude among staff and field personnel. Increase communication and information among program staff resulting in better coordination of services.⁴⁸

Truly, a tool which offers the potential for these types of assistance is worthy of much consideration.

⁴⁸Suchman, Evaluation Research, pp. 140-141.

To summarize: the periodic "scorecard" evaluation-in-depth may well be needed by policy decision-makers, and probably is; someone must make decisions between programs, upon occasion, and about general increases or decreases in their financial support. They may even need to decide to eliminate a program, either because it was poorly conceived in the first place or simply because it is no longer needed. But while a program is in operation, and particularly while it is in its "exploratory" years--which is the case with most of our present social programs--it is incumbent upon the manager to make it as effective as he can. Some programs have better conceptual bases than others, whether derived from Congressional legislation or from agency interpretation thereof, and one can conjecture that at least a few of them have abysmally little chance of ever achieving their ultimate objectives. But one can also surmise that almost every federal program has the potential for accomplishing something, and it behooves the manager to maximize that potential. He is responsible for the expenditure of scarce resources, and can be presumed to want to obtain as much return for them as he can. Further, his program may become the target of one of the policy-oriented "scorecard" evaluations discussed above, and he will need to make as good a showing as possible. For all these reasons, the scope of

the manager's evaluation must be as wide as he can reasonably make it. It must begin during the program planning stage, continue through the development and implementation processes, then expand into the area of program impact. It must encompass all those things normally associated with the term "management," broadly defined, and it will also have to delve into such realms as sociology, social psychology, social welfare, and/or whatever other fields are appropriate to ultimate program aims. The fundamental thrust of the manager's evaluation program must be to provide a continuous flow of data pertinent to his managerial prerogatives and responsibilities. In brief, it must significantly enhance his ability to make decisions about program operations, strategies, and directions.

CHAPTER III

MODEL DEVELOPMENT, PART 1

A. Introduction

As stated in Chapter I, a major purpose of this dissertation is to produce a conceptual approach to social program evaluation as a tool of management. This chapter and the following chapter develop such an approach, in the form of a model drawn from the current literature of general systems theory, cybernetics, operations research and systems analysis, management theory, organization theory, and evaluation research. Each field is canvassed for its potential contributions, which are then synthesized to produce a single diagram and a series of descriptive statements. The end product--the model--is intended to be of heuristic value to program managers, project managers, and academicians in the field of public administration. This chapter will present inputs from the inherently systems-based fields of general systems theory, cybernetics, and operations research and systems analysis. Chapter IV will present inputs from management theory, organization theory, and evaluation research, plus the model itself.

The model development that follows is predicated on the belief that a "systems" approach to public social programs

constitutes the best possible meeting ground for managers and theorists in their mutual effort to conceptualize the workings of such programs. A corollary belief is that the systems approach, with its notions of "inputs," "processes," "outputs" and "feedback," offers the best angle of attack on the evaluation problem. Part of the basis for these beliefs lies in the assumption that program managers, professors of public administration--and indeed, all who aspire to understand purposeful organizations--formulate, make use of, and are influenced by mental models. The particular mental model employed will, it follows, direct thinking toward certain types of phenomena and away from others, thereby influencing problem formulation and decisions.¹

Depending upon who does the categorizing, some four or five major types of organizational models are commonly identified. The earliest of these is the "traditional" model, exemplified by the works of Frederick W. Taylor, Luther Gulick, and Max Weber. Another is the "human relations" model, advanced by such writers as Elton Mayo and Douglas McGregor. A third is the "structuralist" model, personified by Amitai Etzioni. There are also "management science" models, general "behavioral"

¹Daniel N. Duncan, "Training Business Managers in General Systems Concepts," in Man in Systems, ed. by Milton D. Rubin (New York: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers, 1971), p. 272.

models, and even "social responsibility" models. (Daniel Duncan suggests that the industrial organization is variously seen as "an instrument of personal power, an economic amplifier, a mechanistic object, a social psychological phenomena, or as a neighbor in the societal context.")²

The "system" model--sometimes called the "organic system" model--is perhaps the most pervasive conceptual orientation in organization and management theory today. According to its proponents, with whom this writer agrees, it inherently retains the more productive aspects of all previous models while avoiding their limitations and pitfalls. Walter Buckley, sociologist, has outlined some of the features of the modern systems approach which make it attractive in his field:

1. A common vocabulary unifying the several behavioral disciplines;
2. A technique for treating large, complex organizations;
3. A synthetic approach where piecemeal analysis is not possible due to the intricate interrelationships of parts that cannot be treated out of the context of the whole;
4. A viewpoint that gets at the heart of sociology because it sees the sociocultural system in terms of information and communication nets;
5. The study of relations other than "entities," with an emphasis on the process and transition

²Ibid., pp. 278-279.

probabilities as the basis of flexible structure with many degrees of freedom;

6. An operationally definable, objective, non-anthropomorphic study of purposiveness, goal-seeking system behavior, symbiotic cognitive processes, consciousness and self-awareness, and sociocultural emergence and dynamics in general.³

Other sociologists have echoed (and even quoted) Buckley's statements, while writers in other disciplines have made similar assertions. This is a tribute to the success of the systems movement in partially reversing the trend toward ever-increasing specialization, and in producing truly isomorphic models, principles, and vocabularies.

The systems approach, or model, does not derive from any single "theory," "field," or "discipline." In fact, it is recommended that any new student of the subject might view it at first as simply a way of thinking, or in terms of a "systems movement." Glenn Immegart and Francis Pilecki espouse this view in writing that:

Although there are theoretical aspects of systems thinking--and there is much that approaches theory in the systems movement--there is, in fact, no single, all-inclusive, universally accepted, and well-enunciated body of knowledge that can be accurately called

³Walter Buckley, Sociology and Modern Systems Theory (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967), p. 39.

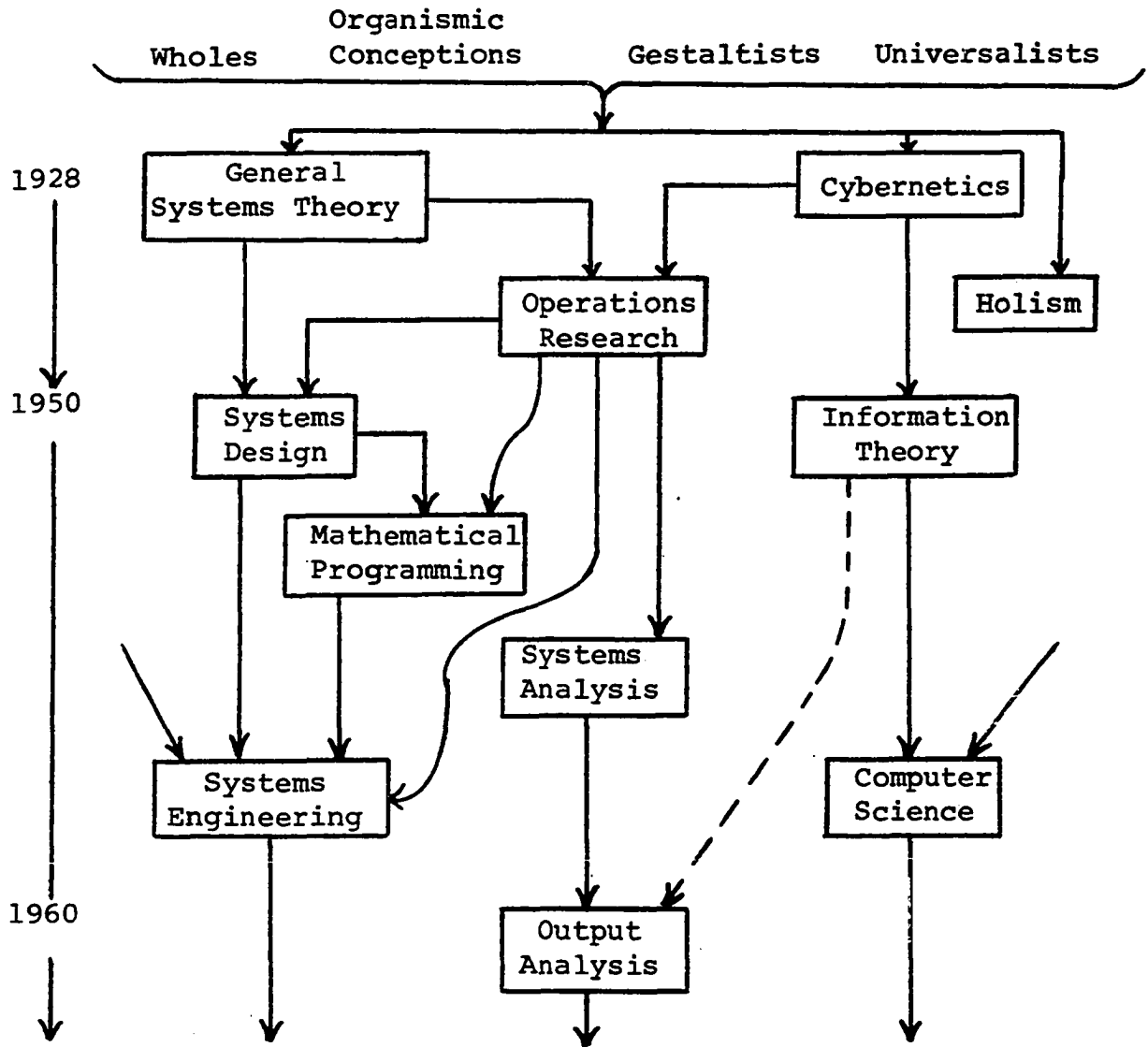
systems theory--even though the theory label is often attached to systems thought and processes.⁴

These authors add that among the major approaches to systems thinking are (1) general system theory, (2) cybernetics, (3) holism, (4) operations research, (5) systems design, (6) information theory, (7) systems analysis, (8) systems engineering, (9) output analysis, (10) mathematical programming, and (11) computer science.⁵ The present writer would not suggest that this list is all-inclusive, or even that it constitutes the best possible choice of terminology, but because Immegart and Pilecki used it to develop an informative diagram of the evolution of "systems approaches and emphasis," it is included here to illustrate some of the relationships in the model to be developed in this study. The Immegart and Pilecki diagram, which is presented at the top of the following page, depicts some of the linkages between the approaches they have listed and provides a rough chronology of the systems movement since the 1920s:⁶

⁴Glenn L. Immegart and Francis J. Pilecki, An Introduction to Systems for the Educational Administrator (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1973), pp. 4-5.

⁵Ibid., p. 9.

⁶Ibid., p. 11. .



It is felt that a more complete diagram might have included communication theory, game and decision theory, and--most importantly--system-oriented management theory and organization theory. Had it done so, it would have also incorporated lines and arrows to indicate the generic relationships between general systems theory, cybernetics, operations research, organization theory and management theory. These relationships are at the heart of the model developed later in this chapter.

B General Systems Theory

According to Kenneth Boulding, general systems theory is "a name which has come into use to describe a level of theoretical model-building which lies somewhere between the highly generalized constructions of pure mathematics and the specific theories of the specialized disciplines."⁷ Ludwig Von Bertalanffy introduced general systems theory as a new discipline some 25 years ago in an effort to reverse the trend toward ever-increasing disciplinary specialization, and, as he puts it, to "(1) investigate the isomorphy of concepts, laws and models in various fields, and to help in useful transfers from one field to another; (2) encourage the development of adequate theoretical models in the fields which lack them; (3) minimize the duplication of theoretical effort in different fields; (4) promote the unity of science through improving communication among specialists."⁸ Von Bertalanffy goes on to state that the major aims of general systems theory are indicated by the following statements:

⁷Kenneth Boulding, "General Systems Theory--The Skeleton of a Science," in Readings in Management Strategy and Tactics, ed. by John G. Hutchinson (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1971), p. 46.

⁸Ludwig Von Bertalanffy, General System Theory (2d ed; New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1968), p. 15.

1. There is a general tendency toward integration in the various sciences, natural and social.
2. Such integration seems to be centered in a general theory of systems.
3. Such theory may be an important means for aiming at exact theory in the non-physical fields of science.
4. Developing unifying principles running "vertically" through the universe of the individual sciences, this theory brings us nearer to the goal of the unity of science.
5. This can lead to a much-needed integration in scientific education.⁹

General systems theory has clearly achieved several of the goals Von Bertalanffy set for it, and especially in the area of providing common terminologies and concepts. Writers from such diverse fields as education, political science, sociology, biology, business management, economics, psychology, physics, and forensics regularly make use of such terms as "steady state," "subsystem," "entropy," "inputs," "outputs," "processing," "homeostasis," "equilibrium," "equifinality," and "boundary." Further, references to the works of Von Bertalanffy, Rapoport, Boulding, and other pioneer proponents of general systems theory can be found in the literature of all these fields--and others. And nowhere is the debt to general systems theory more evident than in modern organization theory

⁹Ibid., p. 38.

and management theory, which are key to the evaluation model to be developed in this study.

As Von Bertalanffy's comments would indicate, general systems theory has evolved in response to a felt need for a body of concepts which would enable scientists in all fields to hold intelligent discourse across their disciplinary boundaries. In this regard, one of the most important concepts developed to date is that of wholeness. The importance of this to program management--and therefore to managerial evaluation--has been succinctly expressed thusly:

Initially and throughout the solution process, any problem of administrative situation is to be seen in its broadest light. Once focused on the broad mass of the problem, the manager must resist the temptation to boil the problem down to an over-simplified cause and effect. Considerations of wholeness alert the manager to the fact that the five "best" solutions to five apparently separate problems may congeal to produce unsatisfactory results.¹⁰

Comparable sentiments have been expressed at a broader, more theoretical level, by sociologist Alvin Bertrand. Bertrand uses the term "totality" in place of "wholeness," but he is arguing the same case when he presents this systems view of an organization:

. . . this unit of social structure is a complete entity in and of itself. True, it is made up of parts, but it has distinctive properties which are more than

¹⁰Duncan, "Training Business Managers," pp. 300-301.

the sum of its constituent elements. In fact . . . if we look at the parts of systems as separate and distinct phenomena, the system concept is destroyed. This point is emphasized by the observation that an actor-centered approach to the analysis of social organization is distinct from a social system approach. In other words, the system model (with the notion of subsystems) is not only appropriate but perhaps the most useful approach to the study of types of social organization as complete entities.¹¹

This concept of "wholeness," or "totality," will be fundamental to the evaluation model developed herein. Each public program manager must be constantly aware that the effectiveness of his program hinges on the aggregate performance of all its projects, the weak ones as well as the strong ones; that budget management is as important as personnel management, and that the two are interrelated; that client satisfaction is as necessary as agency satisfaction; that long-term goals cannot be slighted to achieve short-term objectives, and so on.

Another general systems concept of basic importance to the evaluation model is that of hierarchy. As expressed by Bernard Brock, "every system is a subsystem of some larger system and is itself made up of a hierarchy, each of which is a system in its own right."¹² In the context of public social

¹¹Alvin L. Bertrand, Social Organization: A General Systems and Role Theory Perspective (Philadelphia: F. A. Davis Company, 1972), pp. 103-104.

¹²Bernard L. Brock, Public Policy Decision-Making: Systems Analysis and Comparative Advantages Debate (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), p. 43.

programs, this notion of a hierarchy of systems and subsystems has two immediate applications: (1) In terms of rank, or perhaps of power, there is the agency-program-project chain in which--if the program is seen as the "system"--each project becomes a "subsystem" and the agency assumes a "suprasystem" role. The chain can be extended both upward and downward, of course, by considering the Congress, the Presidency, the Office of Management and Budget, umbrella agencies such as the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and--at the bottom level--subprojects carried out at the state and local level.

(2) In terms of function, if we again regard the program as the "system," we can identify a "management subsystem," a "personnel subsystem," a "financial subsystem," an "information subsystem," and--hopefully--an "evaluation subsystem," among others. (To Fremont Kast and James Rosenzweig,¹³ organizational goals and values also constitute an important subsystem, but to this writer this seems to inject unnecessary confusion. An alternative viewpoint is to see goals as something to be pursued by a purposive system.)

Ervin Laszlo undoubtedly had in mind a systemic hierarchy based on rank when he wrote that:

¹³Fremont E. Kast and James E. Rosenzweig, Contingency Views of Organization and Management (Chicago: Science Research Associates, Inc., 1973), p. 13.

If any given thing is to maintain itself in proper running condition, it must act as a subsystem within the total system which defines its energy supplies. It must be so organized that it draws energies from its environment, and burns them up in running itself.¹⁴

This statement provides sharp warning to program and project managers that they must keep their goals aligned with those of the larger system, and that if evaluation shows them to be ineffective, their "energy supplies" may be cut off.

The next major contribution of general systems theory to the evaluation model involves a whole family of concepts deriving from its dichotomy of "open" vs. "closed" systems. Anatol Rapoport defines these in terms of boundary differences: "A system isolated from its environment is called a closed system. One that receives inputs from the environment and/or acts on the environment through outputs is called an open system."¹⁵ This, of course, calls for a definition of "boundary," one of which is supplied by F. Kenneth Berrien: "The boundary of a system is the screen or filter through which inputs must pass to enter the system and outputs must pass to

¹⁴Ervin Laszlo, The Systems View of the World (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1972), p. 37.

¹⁵Anatol Rapoport, "Modern Systems Theory--An Outlook For Coping With Change," in General Systems, ed. by Ludwig Von Bertalanffy and Anatol Rapoport (Washington, D.C.: Society for General Systems Research, 1970), p. 17.

be discharged."¹⁶ (If the boundary constitutes a totally opaque screen, obviously the system is "closed.") Another definition of boundary is offered by Immegart and Pilecki, who write that:

. . . all systems have boundaries which are more or less arbitrary demarcations of that which is included within the system and that which is excluded from it. The boundary of a system can also be viewed as that point, or those points, beyond which the unique aspects of the system are no longer distinguishable . . .¹⁷

"Boundary" is most often depicted as existing between a system and its general environment, e.g., between the Roman Catholic Church and the remainder of the world. To keep strictly to systems terminology, a boundary can be seen as the frontier between a particular system and all other systems--which in a societal context, constitute the total environment of that system. An example of this would be the boundary between the educational system of a society and the society's governmental system, economic system, religious system, etc. A special case of this involves the concept of boundary between the several levels of a hierarchy of systems (suprasystem-system-subsystem), as illustrated by the boundary between a government program and its sponsoring agency. Very important inputs, both

¹⁶F. K. Berrien, "A General Systems Approach to Human Groups," in Man in Systems, ed. by Rubin, p. 121.

¹⁷Immegart and Pilecki, An Introduction to Systems, p. 35.

informational and energizing, must cross this boundary to reach the program level system. (These are outputs, one notes, as seen from the agency-level system, as will be further discussed below.)

Rapoport and Berrien have mentioned "inputs" and "outputs," both of which will be prominent in the evaluation model, and Berrien goes on to discuss these:

I should like to make a distinction between two kinds of inputs; maintenance and signal.¹⁸

Signal inputs to a system are those messages or stimuli which trigger the internal processes of the system to perform those functions of which it is capable. This definition requires us to make explicit an assumption, . . . namely that the structure of a system, the attributes of its materials and components are determiners of its functions. A telephone system will not do the work of a cake mixer.¹⁹

The outputs of a system like the inputs may be divided into two kinds: (a) the outputs for which the system was designed, and (b) wastes or entropy.^{20,21}

¹⁸Berrien, "A General Systems Approach to Human Groups," p. 122.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 123.

²⁰Ibid., p. 124.

²¹"Entropy," a term widely used by system theorists, has been defined exceptionally well by Alvin Bertrand: "The process of entropy is one whereby all forms of organization move toward less efficiency and death. It is inalterable in closed systems, but open systems have mechanisms to slow down or arrest this process, and thus have a characteristic of negative entropy. Some open systems with strong negative entropic mechanisms seem capable of fending against the deterioration process almost indefinitely, while others succumb to entropy and cease to exist in a relatively short period of time." See Bertrand, Social Organization, p. 99.

. . . the outputs [of] one system may in some cases be useful to another. Those not used by any system add to entropy. It is by this process of producing and selecting appropriate outputs that small systems collaborate to form larger systems . . .²²

Alvin Bertrand agrees with Berrien's notion of two kinds of inputs, i.e., maintenance and signal, and uses the term "throughput" in describing what happens to them within the system. (In the literature of systems, "throughput," "conversion," "processing," and several similar terms are often used interchangeably.) Bertrand writes:

Open systems transform, convert, create, process, or train in the interest of a goal. In other words, they perform work that results in the reorganization of some type of input. An example would be the education of students in a school system. The throughput process is often referred to as the transfer function of the system.²³

Bertrand's comments about outputs are especially appropriate to federal programs, and to their evaluation:

Open systems export some product to the outside environment, and that product can be detected and related to the system. Outputs represent the functions which systems perform, and justify their existence Outputs, like inputs, are measurable and provide an empirical referent for the system.²⁴

²²Berrien, "A General Systems Approach to Human Groups," p. 124.

²³Bertrand, Social Organization, p. 98.

²⁴Ibid., p. 99.

There is one basic characteristic of output which is largely responsible for the continued existence of the system. The system's product must be acceptable to the suprasystem or larger social unit of which it is a part. In this regard, it is of interest to note that the output of a subsystem may be the input of a suprasystem. This is one reason why a system's output must be acceptable to its outside environment. If a system can find no takers for its output, it has but two alternatives--to change its nature and as a consequence its output, or to be phased out of existence.²⁵

This is a warning that each federal program can survive only so long as its output--as measured by formal or informal evaluation--is seen as valuable by the suprasystem. As an item of note, most system theorists tend to assume that open systems will try to survive, and some of them even see this as a duty: "Open systems have, therefore, a dual role: to maintain themselves and to serve their environment . . ."²⁶

A final point to be made about open systems is that they are held to be adaptive; they are capable of intentional internal change in order to cope with uncontrollable changes beyond their boundaries--or within them. As Brock puts it, "open systems undergo constant change, because they adapt to their environments. All social systems are open."²⁷ Immegart and Pilecki spell this out in more detail:

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Kast and Rosenzweig, Contingency Views, p. 39.

²⁷Brock, Public Policy Decision-Making, p. 37.

The key to the existence of an open system is growth and development of the system from a primitive or embryonic or initial state to a state of mature functionality, of increasing order, differentiation, variation, and complexity. As the open system evolves and draws on resources, itself, and its environment, the system's dynamic existence and contribution to itself and the environment are increased. Such an evolution, through system activity, ensures openness.²⁸

Thus, system activity is rational and purposive as opposed to random or accidental. It seeks, in the open system, to maximize the system itself and the system's function in the larger environment of which it is a part. Important to the system and its activity are rationality (purpose), the dynamic exchange relationship existing between the system and its environment (the steady or life state of the system), and the evaluation or assessment of system activity (feedback). Only as the system engages in energy transformation or activity which is purposive, dynamic, and feedback-governed does it counteract entropy and move to a more open and dynamic state typified by functional variation, order, differentiation, and complexity.^{29, 30}

It is this ability (one might say necessity) of open systems to adapt which makes them susceptible to management and creates the basic requirement for evaluation of their activities and outputs.

The next important concept of general system theory to be associated with the evaluation model is that of "state."

²⁸Immegart and Pilecki, An Introduction to Systems, p. 32.

²⁹F. K. Berrien, General and Social Systems (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1968), cited by Immegart and Pilecki, ibid.

³⁰The term "feedback" has now become widely used in system-oriented literature. In this study it will be treated most completely in connection with cybernetics, the field wherein it was originally developed.

While the "state" of a system might be viewed as constantly varying, standard practice is to "stop the movie" and study the system while it is in a "steady state" condition. One author's description of "steady state" is this:

The processes previously described [throughput, entropy, boundary maintenance, etc.] function in such a way as to allow an open system to achieve some constancy in input-output exchanges. When such a balance is reached the system is said to be in a steady state. This is not to imply that the system is static--there is a continual dynamics in the exchange of inputs and outputs between a system and its environment, but the relation between the system's parts remain at or near a particular balance. In other words, variations in output are reconcilable with variations in input. Katz and Kahn refer to this phenomenon as dynamic homeostasis.³¹

To some theorists, there is an inherent tendency for open systems to maintain themselves in a steady state. Others would dispute this notion, as being contrary to the laws of entropy. As a compromise, it might be agreed that the managers of an open system will tend to try to keep it in a steady state. One opinion on this subject is as follows:

The second characteristic of open systems is that the open system tends to maintain itself in a steady state. This means that open systems maintain themselves at a higher level of integration as typified by a dynamic ratio of system components and properties. Dynamic ratio here refers to a life or evolutionary state--an existence that seeks increasing order, differentiation, variation and complexity rather than tendencies toward the randomness and chaos that surround it. Systems do

³¹Bertrand, Social Organization, p. 100.

this through controlled, adaptive, and synergistic activity . . . ³²

To Ervin Laszlo, this is the meaning of "steady state":

The particular configuration of parts and relationships which is maintained in a self-maintaining and repairing system is called a "steady-state." It is a state in which energies are continually used to maintain the relationship of the parts and keep them from collapsing in decay. This is a dynamic state, not a dead and inert one.³³

The concept of steady state can thus be seen to involve structure, function, process--and some notion of equilibrium or balance. In evident fear that their readers will settle on some "too simple" understanding of steady state, system theorists frequently wrestle with semantic aspects of the concept. (And since an understanding of steady state is vital to the understanding of federal programs as systems, we will momentarily wrestle with it here.) Buckley, for example, writes that "one of the central insights . . . is that a system, as a continuous, boundary-maintaining, variously related assembly of parts, is not to be confused with the structure or organization its components may take on at any particular time."³⁴

Buckley then considers the applicability of the term

³²Immegart and Pilecki, An Introduction to Systems, p. 40.

³³Laszlo, The Systems View of the World, p. 37.

³⁴Buckley, Sociology and Modern Systems Theory, p. 5.

"homeostasis," originally coined by Walter Cannon and prevalent in systems literature. As Cannon put it, in discussing the stability of our physiological processes:

The constant conditions which are maintained in the body might be termed equilibria. That word, however, has come to have fairly exact meaning as applied to relatively simple physico-chemical states, enclosed systems, where known forces are balanced. The coordinated physiological processes which maintain most of the steady states in the organism are so complex and so peculiar to living beings . . . that I have suggested a special designation for these states, homeostasis. The word does not imply something set and immobile, a stagnation. It means a condition--a condition which may vary, but which is relatively constant.³⁵

A few theorists appear to equate homeostasis to steady state, and one sees the concept illustrated by references to the thermostatically controlled furnace. While the point can be argued from both sides, this writer prefers to reserve the term homeostasis for systems which are less open and adaptive than the typical social system--including federal programs. Karl Deutsch's argument on this point seems convincing:

. . . homeostasis is not a broad enough concept to describe either the internal restructuring of learning systems or the combinatorial findings of the solutions. It is too narrow a concept because it is change rather than stability which we must account for.³⁶

³⁵Walter B. Cannon, The Wisdom of the Body (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1939), p. 24.

³⁶Karl W. Deutsch, "Autonomy and Boundaries According to Communication Theory," in Towards a Unified Theory of Human Behavior, ed. by Roy Grinker (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1956), pp. 161-162.

We are left, then, with a concept of "steady state" which-- while it may not lend itself to perfect definition--can at least be seen as something subtly more than mere "equilibrium," "balance," or even "homeostasis." Applying it to a federal program, we might say that the program is in a particular steady state when it involves a fairly constant number of projects; receives a reasonably consistent annual appropriation; pursues an ongoing set of goals and/or objectives; serves a fairly regular category of clientele; and experiences no major, irregular changes in its output. A "transformation" (or "shift") to a new steady state, then, might be engendered by the assumption of important new goals, or by a sharp variation in program funding, or even by drastic innovation in internal program processes and procedures. How much variation is required before a new state (or steady state) can be said to obtain is at best an arbitrary matter, but we can at least expect that it will be reflected in almost every program parameter. Perhaps the most important point to be made here is that the systems-oriented program manager will not see a "change of state" as something to be avoided; in fact, he will see it as inevitable, and concentrate on assuring that each new steady state involves increased program effectiveness--as measured by his evaluation subsystem. The point is well made by Duncan:

Traditionally, managers have worked to achieve satisfactory balance between organizational ingredients. When a balance point was found, the manager attempted to lock all variables and thus hold the organization in that balanced state. With a machine (excluding frictional losses) such can be done. Organizations are not machines; they do not achieve a machine-like balance, but rather they move toward or away from an organic form of homeostasis or steady state.³⁷

The final component of general systems theory to be specifically acknowledged as providing background for the evaluation model is the principle of "equifinality." This is a deceptively simple concept, but a vital one. One of the better definitions of it is this:

Another characteristic of open systems is an adherence to the principle of equifinality. According to this principle, two or more organizational systems can achieve the same final state or function, even though they begin with different conditions and follow different paths. This is similar to the notion of independent invention or to the fact that there are more ways than one to achieve a given outcome.³⁸ An example is the various teaching methods adopted by different medical schools, all of which share the goal of graduating competent physicians.³⁹

Perhaps the important thing to remember about equifinality is that it is peculiar to open systems. Managers who attempt to operate their organizations as "mechanistic" (closed) systems

³⁷Duncan, "Training Business Managers," p. 301.

³⁸Or in the vernacular, "there's more than one way to skin a cat."

³⁹Bertrand, Social Organization, p. 102.

are therefore forfeiting valuable flexibility. Kast and Rosenzweig make this point:

In mechanistic systems there is a direct cause-and-effect relationship between the initial conditions and the final state. Biological and social systems operate differently. Equifinality suggests that certain results may be achieved with different initial conditions and in different ways. This view suggests that social organizations can accomplish their objectives with diverse inputs and with varying internal activities (conversion processes).⁴⁰

The "traditional" management theory of Taylor, Weber, Gulick and Urwick were closed system views and lacked a concept comparable to equifinality, while modern management theory certainly has it. It is postulated that this plays an important part in the increased effectiveness of today's managers.

In summary, general systems theory presents us with an integrative approach to federal program management--and hence to program evaluation. As stated by Kast and Rosenzweig:

Systems theory provides one major conceptual scheme of significance to organization theory and management: an approach to analysis and synthesis in a complex and dynamic environment. It considers parts as subsystems and their interrelationships in a suprasystem and also provides a means of concentrating on the synergistic aspects of the whole system. This conceptual scheme allows a consideration of individuals, small-group dynamics, and large-group phenomena--all within the constraints of an external environmental system.⁴¹

⁴⁰Kast and Rosenzweig, Contingency Views, p. 41.

⁴¹Fremont E. Kast and James E. Rosenzweig, Organization and Management: A Systems Approach (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1970), p. 22.

As a point of view, system theory describes a formal organization--such as a program--in the following terms:

1. A man-resource system in space and time,
2. open, with various transactions between it and its environment,
3. characterized by internal relations of conflict as well as cooperation,
4. a system for developing and using power, with varying degrees of authority and responsibility, both within the organization and in the external environment.
5. a "feedback" system, with information on the results of past performance activities feeding back through multiple channels to influence future performance.⁴²
6. changing, with static concepts derived from dynamic concepts rather than serving as a preliminary to them.
7. complex, that is containing many subsystems, being contained in larger systems, and being criss-crossed by overlapping systems.
8. loose, with many components that may be imperfectly coordinated, partially autonomous, and only partially controllable,
9. only partially knowable, with many areas of uncertainty, with "black regions" as well as "black boxes" and with many variables that cannot be clearly defined and must be described in qualitative terms, and

⁴²Technically, this item (5) refers only to "cybernetic systems" and not to "general systems," and will be explored in more depth in the next section of this study.

10. subject to considerable uncertainty with respect to current information, future environmental conditions, and the consequences of its own actions.⁴³

This, then, is the "mental model" of a federal program for which the evaluation model will be designed.

C. Cybernetics

The relationship between general systems theory and cybernetics is often a source of confusion, so it may be advisable at this point to endeavor to differentiate between them. Ludwig Von Bertalanffy contributes this:

Systems theory . . . is frequently identified with cybernetics and control theory. This . . . is incorrect. Cybernetics, as the theory of control mechanisms in technology and nature and founded on the concepts of information and feedback, is but a part of a general theory of systems; cybernetic systems are a special case, however important, of systems showing self-regulation.⁴⁴

George J. Klir provides additional insight with this comment:

As far as general systems are concerned, two classes of problems can be clearly distinguished. (i) Problems that are irrelevant to the information content of quantities involved; these problems are treated by general systems theory. (ii) Problems in which the information content of the quantities involved is relevant; these are problems in which the application of general systems theory is combined with various aspects of

⁴³Bertram M. Gross, "What Are Your Organization's Objectives?," Human Relations, August 1965, p. 197.

⁴⁴Von Bertalanffy, General System Theory, p. 17.

information theory. This combination constitutes cybernetics as a discipline.⁴⁵

The interesting--but perhaps inconsequential--argument might be advanced that "open" systems are regularly treated as pertinent to general systems theory, and that all open systems are inherently cybernetic, but this will be ignored for the moment. It is sufficient here to establish that cybernetics, "the science of control and communication in the animal and the machine,"⁴⁶ is always system-oriented in both theoretical and applied form. To emphasize this point, and to expand our understanding of cybernetics, there is this excerpt from an article by F. H. George:

Cybernetics is now traditionally the science of control and communication in animals, men and machines, and is especially concerned with systems that are adaptive, capable of feedback, and are also in evolution. The basic idea is that cybernetics is concerned with artificial intelligence, and is concerned with providing models of cognitive systems. The methods it uses involve mathematics, statistics, probability, logic, and natural language. The principle subdivisions of cybernetics are, so it is being suggested, (1) behavioral cybernetics, (2) biocybernetics, (3) mathematical cybernetics, (4) management cybernetics, (5) educational cybernetics and (6) social cybernetics.⁴⁷

⁴⁵George J. Klir, "On the Relation Between Cybernetics and General Systems Theory," in Progress of Cybernetics, ed. by J. Rose (3 vols., London: Gordon and Breach, Science Publishers, 1969), p. 162.

⁴⁶A short definition advanced by Norbert Wiener in 1948.

⁴⁷F. H. George, "Cybernetics and Industry," in Progress of Cybernetics, ed. by J. Rose, p. 113.

In actual practice, the six subdivisions which George outlines have a tendency to overlap one another, as when mathematical and/or educational cybernetics are applied to management problems. And if these can be called "vertical" subdivisions, it can be said that the field also has major "horizontal" specialties, such as the study of information or of control.

In sum, as stated by Michael Apter:

Cybernetics, as it has developed, has no one central part, but consists rather of a number of strands which overlap each other in different ways. These include computer and communication engineering, the mathematics of decision procedures, logic, biology, and psychology, and secondarily a list of numerous relevant areas including semantics, linguistics, psychology, psychiatry, medicine, education, industry, management, economics, physiology, and so on. While it is this very broadness which lends to cybernetics its peculiar excitement, it also contributes an aura of differing emphases which at times seems irreconcilable.⁴⁸

To some readers, mention of cybernetics immediately conjures up thoughts of "artificial brains," "man-machine interface," "intelligence amplifiers" and so forth. To others it evokes notions of statistics, or perhaps of probabilistic approaches to human organizations. All of these reactions are technically correct, as cybernetics is a very broad field. But within the context of this paper, it is intended that the first thought to be engendered in connection with cybernetics will be

⁴⁸Michael J. Apter, Cybernetics and Development (Oxford, England: Pergamon Press, 1966), p. 2.

about feedback. Toward this end, one of Norbert Wiener's classic illustrations is offered just below. Wiener coined the word "cybernetics" in 1948, adapting it from the Greek word "kubernetes," meaning "steersman." (We derive our word "governor" from this same Greek source.) Wiener sees control and communication as essential tools in the fight against entropy, and he sees feedback as the central factor in their use. One of his many illustrations of "feedback in action" is this:

. . . a gun-pointer takes information from his instruments of observation, and conveys it to the gun, so the latter will point in such a direction that the missile will pass through the moving target at a certain time. Now, the gun itself must be used under all conditions of weather. In some of these the grease is warm, and the gun swings easily and rapidly. Under other conditions the grease is frozen or mixed with sand, and the gun is slow to answer orders given to it. If these orders are reinforced by an extra push given when the gun fails to respond easily to the orders and lags behind them, then the error of the gun-pointer will be decreased. To obtain a performance as uniform as possible, it is customary to put into the gun a control feedback element which reads the lag of the gun behind the position it should have according to the orders given it, and which uses this difference to give the gun an extra push. It is true that precautions must be taken so that the push is not too hard, for if it is, the gun will swing past its proper position, and will have to be pulled back in a series of oscillations, which may well become wider and wider, and lead to a disastrous instability. If the feedback system is itself controlled--if, in other words, its own entropic tendencies are checked by still other controlling mechanisms--and kept within limits sufficiently stringent, this will not occur, and the existence of the feedback will increase the performance of the gun. In other words, the performance will become less dependent

on the frictional load; or what is the same thing, on the drag created by the stiffness of the grease.⁴⁹

Weiner provides a host of other examples of the uses of feedback, drawn from areas of physiological, social, electrical, and mechanical activity. This one was selected partly because it brings up the possibility of applying too much feedback, producing a "series of oscillations" and perhaps leading to "a disastrous instability." In the terms of electro-mechanical technology, a system in these circumstances is said to be "hunting," and the problem is usually resolved by repairs or adjustments of the feedback circuitry. And there are system-oriented economists in the United States today who would use the language of cybernetics to describe the oscillation of key economic indicators in response to adjustments made in fiscal and monetary policies.

This brings us logically to the fact that feedback-controlled systems are essentially error-controlled systems, because informational feedback always involves the difference between what should be and what is. No feedback system known to this writer is quite capable of predicting what will be; the mere thought of doing so would be contrary to the "real facts" basis of the feedback principle. Ross Ashby provides a simple example:

⁴⁹Norbert Wiener, The Human Use of Human Beings: Cybernetics and Society (New York: Avon Books, 1950), p. 36.

A well-known regulator that cannot react directly to the original disturbance (D) is the thermostat-controlled water-bath, which is unable to say "I see someone coming with a cold flask that is to be immersed in me--I must act now." On the contrary, the regulator gets no information about the disturbance until the temperature of the water (E) actually begins to drop. And the same limitation applies to the other possible disturbances, such as the approach of a patch of sunlight that will warm it, or the leaving open of a door that will bring a draught to cool it.⁵⁰

Ashby goes on to state that "a fundamental property of the error-controlled regulator is that it cannot be perfect,"⁵¹ but that this is of little moment.

To Stafford Beer, this unemotional acknowledgement of the ubiquity of error is one of the most useful outlooks cybernetics presents to the manager. He writes that "cybernetics has accepted that mistakes, breakdowns and random interferences occur in any system, and has shown how these things may be taken care of in the design" of the system.⁵² He adds that:

Real life, in contrast with theories about it, whether in the field of natural or social science, whether in economics or industry, is likely to reveal error. Real machinery, in contrast with the blueprints of machinery, from the typewriter to the blast furnace to the finite automaton, is likely to go wrong. Orthodox scientific

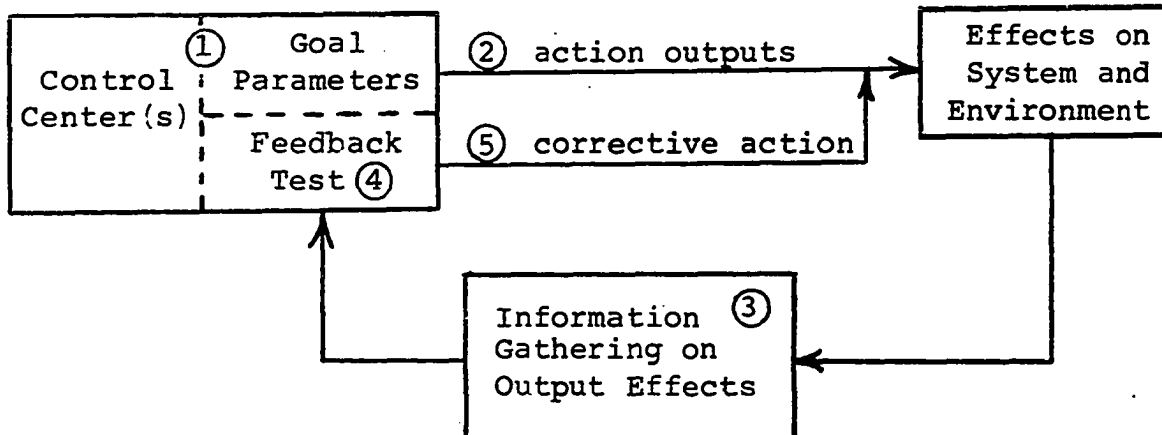
⁵⁰W. Ross Ashby, An Introduction to Cybernetics (London: Chapman and Hall Ltd., 1956), p. 222.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 223.

⁵²Stafford Beer, Cybernetics and Management (2d ed.; (London: The English Universities Press Ltd., 1967), p. 89.

research is prone to regard these errors as lapses from its own concept of the ideal. Operational research [to Beer, a working tool of cybernetics], through its tools of statistics, has displayed a more valuable approach: it sees "error" as something quite natural, something endemic to real-life behaviour. An atypical response is not so much a lapse (the word "error" itself has ethical overtones), but a member of a statistical population of approximations to a norm. It is this approach which informs cybernetic thinking on the issues of imperfection, miscalculation, malfunction and breakdown in the multifarious machines which it studies.⁵³

Conceptually, the cybernetics approach to dealing with error (miscalculation, malfunction, imperfection, breakdown) is frequently depicted by a "feedback-loop" diagram. The one presented below is drawn by Walter Buckley, who supports it with an explanatory paragraph:



In the general cybernetic model of the error-regulating feedback system, we may distinguish--though more or less arbitrarily--five stages: 1) A control center establishes certain desired goal parameters and the means by

⁵³Ibid., p. 98.

which they may be attained; 2) these goal decisions are transformed by administrative bodies into action outputs, which result in certain effects on the state of the system and its environment; 3) information about these effects are recorded and fed back into the control center; 4) the latter tests this new state of the system against the desired goal parameters to measure the error or deviation of the initial output response; 5) if the error leaves the system outside the limits set by the goal parameters, corrective output action is taken by the control center.⁵⁴

Buckley might have added that ideally, feedback is an on-going process, rather than an occasional thing. He might also have noted that if effects are found to be more than intended, the feedback will be termed negative, and that it will be called positive feedback if effects are less than desired. An interesting point here is that most good feedback subsystems are designed to operate in the negative realm; in an effective system, negative feedback will limit output as the desired effect is approached, and the system will not "over-shoot." If over-shooting does occur, severe fluctuations in feedback will occur and "hunting" may result, with waste of energy a certainty and with damage to the system a distinct possibility.

As management theory is reviewed later in this study, it will be seen that its basic control concepts are derived from the feedback loop diagram of cybernetics. The same can be said for important segments of organization theory, and finally,

⁵⁴Buckley, Sociology and Modern Systems Theory, p. 173.

the evaluation model of this paper will be built around the concept of the feedback loop. In short, feedback is the key concept of this study, and--in some respects--"feedback" will appear almost as a synonym for "evaluation."

Feedback is communicated information which is basically judgemental in nature. With it a system is able to adjust future action and behavior by reviewing its past performance in terms of goals or objectives, or in terms of system functionality or contribution. In other words, by reviewing its output (activities, achievements, and outcomes) as perceived both internally and externally, a system is in a position to decide whether or not its processing of future inputs needs adjustment or modification. This is system evaluation.⁵⁵

In view of the central role feedback plays in this study, it seems advisable at this point to draw upon the literature of cybernetics for additional comments on it. For example, we need to know that in complex systems--and all social systems are complex--there is no single feedback loop.

In the human body, the motion of a hand or finger involves a system with a large number of joints. The output is an additive vectorial combination of the outputs of all these joints. We have seen that, in general, a complex additive system like this cannot be stabilized by a single feedback. Correspondingly, the voluntary feedback by which we regulate the performance of a task through the observation of the amount by which it is not yet accomplished needs the backing up of other feedbacks.⁵⁶

⁵⁵Immegart and Pilecki, An Introduction to Systems, p. 56.

⁵⁶Norbert Wiener, Cybernetics (2d ed.; Cambridge, Massachusetts: The M.I.T. Press, 1961), p. 107.

This is an important fact to remember when establishing a federal program evaluative subsystem. For one thing, if evaluation procedures are to involve process as well as effects-- means as well as ends--it will at least be necessary to build feedback circuits from points within the program as well as from the points where program outputs impact its clients. Kast and Rosenzweig (in an essay on information flow) mention that feedback should be obtained from points throughout the operating system--from system outputs all the way back to system inputs:

Feedback is obtained on the output of the system in terms of quality, quantity, cost, etc. The operating system is monitored in order to maintain process control, and input inspection provides feedback at the earliest stage in the operating system. Information flow is an integral part of the control system because it provides the means of comparing results with plans.⁵⁷

They emphasize the point by adding that "feedback is usually obtained with reference to both ends sought and the means designed to achieve them."⁵⁸ Which prompts this writer to note that the entire science of cybernetics--and especially its well-developed concept of feedback--inherently suggests that program evaluation should definitely be process oriented rather than

⁵⁷Kast and Rosenzweig, Organization and Management, pp. 359-360.

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 469.

being concerned only with program impacts (outputs). This puts it at odds with the stand taken by the Urban Institute, and puts it on the side of Edward Suchman, Carol Weiss, and the viewpoint adopted in this paper.

Another characteristic of feedback which is of importance to program evaluation is that it often requires a statistical approach. This might not be the case if one were dealing with a deterministic mechanical system, but animal (in this case, human) behavior is always "probabilistic" and must be approached accordingly. Within complex systems, Ross Ashby relates probabilism to "random coupling"--a term that in itself suggests something about social systems. Ashby writes:

Suppose now that the observer faces a system that, for him, is very large. How is he to proceed? . . . By definition, the observer can specify it only incompletely. This is synonymous with saying that he must specify it "statistically," for statistics is the art of saying things that refer only to some aspect or portion of the whole, the whole truth being too bulky for direct use.⁵⁹

Accepting this description of complex systems, cyberneticians have made extensive use of mathematical--and especially statistical--tools in their attempts to comprehend them. They have developed sophisticated measures of performance for use in most areas of activity, and--taking advantage of the availability of

⁵⁹Ashby, An Introduction to Cybernetics, p. 63.

computers capable of analyzing masses of raw data--they have designed computer programs to synthesize, reduce, and summarize the data presented to management. As an example of one approach to the problem of data reduction, we have this statement by Kast and Rosenzweig:

While all data could conceivably be considered part of an organizational information base, it is obvious that for any fairly large and complex organization such an approach would be impossible. Therefore, most systems include exception reporting wherein pertinent information from the various internal data-processing activities becomes part of the organizational information base when it is brought to the attention of appropriate decision makers.⁶⁰

The implication for the federal program manager is that in developing evaluative feedback information channels, he will be compelled to resort to a scientific sampling and related statistical techniques. The whole of his program's activities, and of its outputs, will be too complex for him to grasp.

While the foregoing suggests a need to reduce the amount of feedback in the system, another system characteristic demands that we increase it. This characteristic resides in the communication subsystem, and involves "noise," "interference," "distortion" and the like. Efforts to deal with these problems have given rise to a whole sub-field of cybernetics called "information theory." It is founded on the notion that the very

⁶⁰Kast and Rosenzweig, Contingency Views, p. 335.

existence of a complex system hinges on its ability to maintain adequate information flow, and that information inherently tends to become degraded.

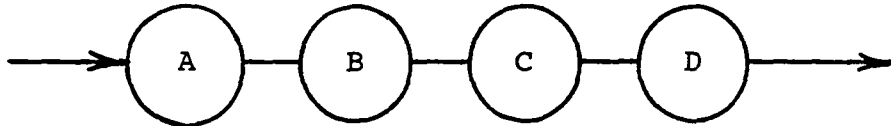
Information . . . cannot be conserved . . . easily, for as we have already seen, the amount of information communicated is related to the non-additive quantity known as entropy and differs from it by its algebraic sign and a possible numerical factor. Just as entropy tends to increase spontaneously in a closed system, so information tends to decrease; just as entropy is a measure of disorder, so information is a measure of order.⁶¹

To the working program manager, who may not have spent very much time worrying about an enemy called "entropy," Wiener's remarks may seem somewhat abstruse. In ordinary language, they mean simply that there is a powerful natural tendency for information to go astray--to diminish in quantity and quality, to garble, even to become erroneous. This tendency can almost be called a law, and the program manager must anticipate and compensate for it. And one way he can compensate is to build in what is called "channel redundancy." This means just what one might guess it would mean: the provision of more than one path for the same information, so that if one path fails, the information may still get through. In precise applications of this, the actual number of channels to be provided is determined by mathematical processes--tempered, of course, by a trade-off

⁶¹Wiener, The Human Use of Human Beings, p. 158.

between the degree of certainty desired and what one is willing to pay to get it. In the following illustration of this process, the reader can mentally substitute the words "communication link" for the word "component":

Single Channel (S_1):



Suppose that a component of type A has a probability of functioning correctly of 0.9, type B functions correctly with a probability of 0.7, type C with a probability of 0.8, and type D with a probability of 0.6. Since each component is independent, we may determine the probability that the total system will function correctly from the following equation:

$$P(S_1) = P(A) \cdot P(B) \cdot P(C) \cdot P(D)$$

$$P(S_1) = (0.9) (0.7) (0.8) (0.6) = 0.3024$$

Two-Channel System (S_2):

We could increase the overall system reliability or improve the probability that the entire system will function properly by creating another system identical to, but independent of, S_1 and placing the two systems in parallel as shown in Figure 14-3. Thus, the overall system S_2 will function properly if either of the two sub-systems S_1 function properly.⁶²

⁶²Rocco Carzo, Jr. and John N. Yanouzas, Formal Organization: A Systems Approach (Homewood, Illinois: Richard D. Irwin, Inc. and The Dorsey Press, 1967), p. 444.

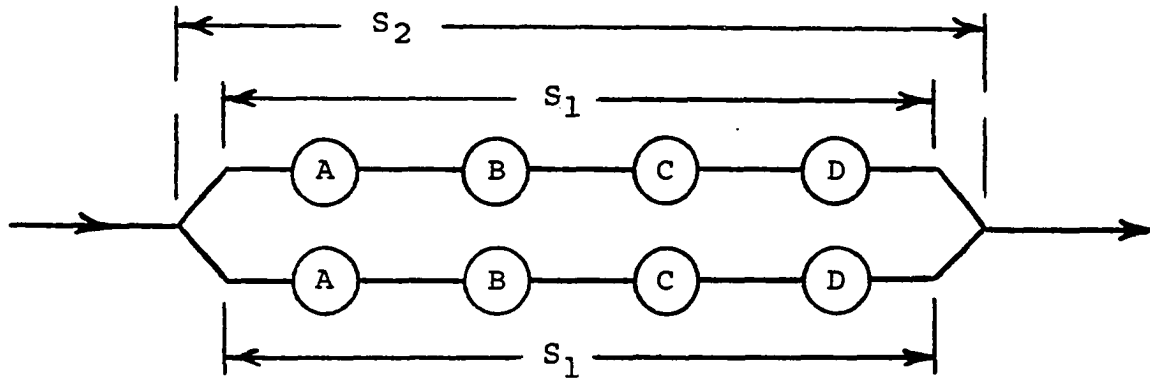


Figure 14-3.

The example just given is more appropriate to electronic systems than to social systems, although it is technically correct in either milieu. Within a federal program, a simple but effective example of redundancy might be the mailing of a confirmation copy of a teletype message. At more sophisticated levels, it is apt to take the form of a request for similar information from two or more sources.

Mention was made earlier of "noise," "interference," and "distortion." These are useful concepts for the program manager, because he must allow for their presence in his evaluative feedback system. (Channel redundancy will cure some-- but by no means all--of this problem.) A. G. Donald provides useful insight:

At the collecting and measuring point, frequently more information than can be used is obtained, but probably not all the relevant information; or due perhaps to lack of proper sifting, the relevant information once collected may not be well transmitted and may not reach the proper persons. "Noise," as in a bad radio receiver,

may be present in the system so that information may be distorted; important information may be lost and excess unimportant information may come through. What is important is the "signal to noise" ratio, ensuring that for important information, the signal is sufficiently strong or goes on sufficiently long to overcome the interruption. Information is seldom either as accurate or as perfectly transmitted as we would like, but sufficient must be available before control is possible.⁶³

Stafford Beer views "noise" in terms of "variety" and "uncertainty," both of which are inimical to control:

A machine⁶⁴ in its pristine state is . . . full of uncertainty; its content is chaos. Once the machine begins to operate, however, a degree of order is introduced; and this ordering begins to eliminate the ruling uncertainty. This is what enables us to handle cybernetic systems: it is information. Information kills variety; and the reduction of variety is one of the main techniques of regulation--not indeed because it simplifies the system to be controlled, but because it makes it more predictable. "Noise" in the system increases the variety (and therefore the uncertainty) without increasing the information.⁶⁵

These few comments by Ashby will complete our investigation of information degradation within systems:

It must be noticed that noise is in no intrinsic way distinguishable from any other form of variety. Only when some recipient is given, who shall state which

⁶³A. G. Donald, Management, Information, and Systems (Oxford, England: Pergamon Press, 1967), p. 34.

⁶⁴Beer uses "machine" and "system" quite interchangeably.

⁶⁵Beer, Cybernetics and Management, p. 44.

of the two is important to him, is a distinction between message and noise possible.⁶⁶

It should be noticed that falsification of a message is not necessarily identical with the effect of noise. If a particular transmitted signal always produces the same received signal, i.e., the received signal is a definite function of the transmitted signal, then the effect may be called distortion.⁶⁷

We now come to Shannon's fundamental theorem on the transmission of information in the presence of noise (i.e., when other, irrelevant, inputs are active). It might be thought that when messages are sent through a channel that subjects each message to a definite chance of being altered at random, then the possibility of receiving a message that is correct would certainly be impossible. Shannon however has shown conclusively that this view, however plausible, is mistaken. Reliable messages can be transmitted over an unreliable channel.⁶⁸

In the cybernetic view, information--and its effective communication--is the heart and soul of complex system organization. Further, its effective use in an evaluative feedback sub-system is seen as the key factor in system management and control. But the cyberneticians also know that "nature" works against the probability of effective communication, and expend massive effort in trying to understand and combat this problem. The

⁶⁶Ashby, An Introduction to Cybernetics, p. 186.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 188.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 190. Also see Claude E. Shannon and Warren Weaver, The Mathematical Theory of Communication (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1963) and Colin Cherry, On Human Communication (New York: Science Editions, 1961).

program manager--as well as the scholar in public administration--is well advised to acknowledge the problem, attempt to identify its manifestations within his program, and take all possible steps to solve it.

The literature of cybernetics abounds with paragraphs about the part played by feedback in maintaining homeostasis (or a steady state). For example, Beer states that "the approach to the cybernetic characteristic of self-regulation is through feedback to homeostasis."⁶⁹ Ashby says that "small errors are allowed to occur; then, by giving their information . . . they make possible a regulation against great errors. This is the basic theory . . . of the simple feedback regulator."⁷⁰ Kast and Rosenzweig remark that "the concept of feedback is important in understanding how a system maintains a steady state."⁷¹ All these comments are correct, but one must guard against tying the notion of feedback too closely to that of maintaining the status quo. As used in the program evaluation model, feedback is to be associated with system change. An assumption will be made that no program manager will be

⁶⁹Beer, Cybernetics and Management, p. 49.

⁷⁰Ashby, An Introduction to Cybernetics, p. 224.

⁷¹Kast and Rosenzweig, Contingency Views, p. 40.

entirely satisfied with the operation of his program, and that he will want to employ evaluation results (feedback) to make it more effective. For this reason, attention will now be directed toward the use of feedback in the guidance and control of change--even to the extent of establishing new objectives.

Immegart and Pilecki introduce this topic:

Feedback . . . is an obvious and basic determinant of system change. Just as evaluative information is essential to system regulation and control, so it is essential to system modification. As systems receive feedback regarding their activities, products, structures, processes, components, and effects, they are able to ascertain their relevance and utility. Positive information (feedback) supports systemic activity; negative information (feedback) challenges system activity and direction.⁷²

Amplification of this statement may be needed: within the federal program context, levels of activity may be already established by law, so the positive or negative characteristics of feedback will be used mainly as guides to program direction. And it is important to note the use of the term "guides;" human systems usually make less use of "automatic" controls than do physical systems, relying instead on their own management subsystems. Immegart and Pilecki also make an illuminating comment on this point:

The system processes of learning and memory also are determinants of system change. Evaluative information,

⁷²Immegart and Pilecki, An Introduction to Systems, p. 65.

although it contributes to system change, is not in and of itself enough to cause dynamic system growth or adaptation. Systems must also develop memory and learning capabilities in order to be able to profit maximally from, and use appropriately, such information for system good.⁷³

These "memory and learning capabilities" and the ability to use them are, of course, embodied in the overall management subsystem. A direct managerial illustration of this point is provided by Kast and Rosenzweig:

Summary and exception reports are generated by the control system and become a part of higher-level control in terms of adaptation or innovation of goals. Subsequent planning activity reflects such feedback, and the entire process is repeated. Over time, an organization "learns" through the process of planning, implementation, and feedback.⁷⁴

A. G. Donald, who considers feedback to be an essential ingredient of any control system, states plainly that such control implies balance and that this can be either of two types:

(i) Homeostasis. This includes short-term control adjustments which are part of the programme of the system. These may cause the system to revert exactly to its original position, or may permit certain developments in the system, provided these changes remain within programmed capacity.

(ii) Innovation. Controls may also permit developments which are outside the present capacity of the system, but within the information capacity of the persons responsible for directing the undertaking, and

⁷³Ibid.

⁷⁴Kast and Rosenzweig, Organization and Management, p. 360.

originating developments of this kind. Such changes may be called controlled innovation.⁷⁵

The implication for the program manager is straightforward enough: he is to use feedback in maintaining the quality of those program processes and outputs which are judged to be effective, and he is to use feedback in planning and directing efforts to improve other program processes and outputs.

Working toward a conclusion to this investigation of the potential contributions of feedback--and of cybernetics--to the evaluation model, a few comments are in order about the several different general categories of feedback. For example, Karl Deutsch has suggested that for a social system to achieve effective self-direction, it needs three distinct types of information, to be acquired through three separate kinds of feedback. The three types of information are 1) about the outside world, 2) about the past, and 3) about itself. The three kinds of feedback involve 1) goal-seeking, 2) learning, and 3) consciousness.⁷⁶ Within a federal program, "goal-seeking" feedback would evidently involve the use of externally-derived data to vary program aims, but without major change to program

⁷⁵Donald, Management, Information, and Systems, p. 28.

⁷⁶Karl Deutsch, "Mechanism, Teleology, and Mind," Philosophy and Phenomenological Research, XII (September 1951-June 1952), pp. 197-205.

structure or process. "Learning" feedback, according to Deutsch, would mainly involve the use of externally-derived data to effect internal changes, i.e., in process and/or structure. "Consciousness" feedback, he implies, would involve the use of internally-derived data to keep the manager aware of any changes in the state or components of the program structure itself.

One writer, expressing himself in terms of "process," develops a quite different set of feedback categories:

1. Continuous feedback. In this type of feedback a controlled quantity of evaluative information is continuously monitored. More appropriate in electronic or mechanical systems as opposed to social systems, this type of feedback requires a mechanism designed to receive and review constantly all incoming information . . .
2. Intermittant feedback. In this type, evaluative information is channeled at certain times which are usually, though not necessarily, defined.
3. Proportional feedback. In this type of feedback, the quantity of evaluative information is controlled proportionate to system needs. In other words, an adjusting mechanism compensates for the desirability and utility of the feedback in terms of the actual needs of the system at a given time . . .
4. Relay feedback. Here evaluative information is either solicited or not. The system channel and processing is either "on" or "off." For example, until the principal asks for feedback, and indeed, unless he asks, no feedback is desired or processed . . . ⁷⁷

⁷⁷G. Hearn, Theory Building and Social Work (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1958), pp. 47-48, cited in Immegart and Pilecki, An Introduction to Systems, pp. 57-58.

The program manager may very well find needs for all four of these feedback categories. From the viewpoint of the model developer, it is desirable that he at least be made aware of their existence--as concepts--so that he can consciously make decisions about them.

The final excerpt to be drawn from the literature of cybernetic systems pertains to the fact that an important family of system control theory has been developed around the concept of feedback. Since the model to be presented in this Chapter owes much to this body of theory, the following rather lengthy statement is quoted in its entirety:

Feedback theories, emanating from the science of cybernetics, are premised on the thesis that all systems can best be understood through their communication and control activities. These theories posit that system activity, life state, and adaptation are all monitored and evaluated by information about the system and its effects, all of which may be generated either internally or externally. Through feedback, or "evaluative information," the system is able to plan and project future action more wisely as a result of the review and analysis of past effects. Theories of this kind are concerned with the quantitative and qualitative aspects of information, information flow, and its value and affect on the system and system functioning. The perspective of feedback theory for analyzing a system is helpful in determining the control dynamics of the system and the regulation and development of processes used by the system to maintain its relevance. Such analytic frameworks can be used for the surveillance of both the monitoring and evaluative processes of a system or used for survival and service. The focus of feedback theory

is on the system's future on the basis of a rigorous assessment of the system's past.⁷⁸

The last sentence of the above might be adapted to read: "The focus of program evaluation--as a tool of management--is on the program's future on the basis of a rigorous assessment of the program's past."

D. Operations Research (OR) and Systems Analysis

Within what has been called the systems movement, operations research might be thought of as the "applied science" element. In the industrial environment, where it is sometimes also called "management science" or "mathematical management," it is most frequently employed to help cope with special types of problems outside the normal competencies of management. To many writers--but not to all--the use of operations research is roughly equated to the use of mathematical techniques to solve managerial problems. Arthur Toan is representative of this school:

Operations research . . . is a discipline, skill, or body of knowledge and experience that believes that it is both possible and valuable to use the techniques and approaches of the scientific method in order to represent most business functions as mathematical models or formulas. It believes it is practical to obtain useful and realistic values for those formulas and to produce answers that will be helpful to executives in

⁷⁸Immegart and Pilecki, An Introduction to Systems, p. 46.

planning, in controlling, and, above all, in making decisions about their business. It relies heavily on probability, statistics, algebra, calculus, and other forms of mathematics. Its practitioners rely heavily on the investigations, analyses, and solution-testing approaches of the scientific method.⁷⁹

Toan's definitive statement is presented here because it exemplifies the major thrust of operations research literature today. While some writers would put less emphasis on the mathematical aspects, almost all would agree with Toan's reference to models. For example:

At the very heart of operations research is the concept of the model. Very simply, a model is defined to be a representation of some phenomenon, system, or subsystem. It is an abstraction of its real-world counterpart. The models most commonly used by management scientists are conceptual models, mathematical models, and computer models.⁸⁰

To expand upon this, operations research uses two general categories of models: probabilistic and deterministic. Examples of the deterministic type are inventory control models, linear programming models, and PERT. A model of all or part of a federal social program would fall into the opposite category,

⁷⁹Arthur B. Toan, Using Information to Manage (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1968), p. 121.

⁸⁰Donald R. Plane and Gary A. Kochenberger, Operations Research for Managerial Decisions (Homewood, Illinois: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1972), p. 4.

because it would be designed to deal with probability, statistics, and future uncertainties.⁸¹

Operations research is an outgrowth of general systems theory and cybernetics, and it looks to the latter for the majority of its models. And since the evaluation model to be presented in this paper is basically a cybernetic system model, this particular relationship between cybernetics and operations research is pointed out to suggest that our model will readily lend itself to the application of OR techniques. Another reason for pointing out this relationship is that it provides an opportunity to present an especially insightful statement by Stafford Beer, who emphasizes the even broader ties between cybernetics, operations research, and management:

. . . the science of cybernetics . . . offers the OR scientist who understands it a source of models. If a model is required of a control process in conditions of high complexity and high probabilism, it is natural enough to look for one in the discoveries of a science which studies these very matters. And yet this science stands in a special if not unique relation to the management task. For cybernetics is the science of control, and management is the profession of control. It follows that models drawn by the OR scientist from cybernetics have a direct bearing, an immediacy, which models drawn from other sciences lack.⁸²

⁸¹See Robert J. Thierauf and Richard A. Grosse, Decision Making Through Operations Research (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1970), p. 17.

⁸²Stafford Beer, Decision and Control: The Meaning of Operational Research and Management Cybernetics (London: John Wiley & Sons, 1966), p. 254.

In summary, operations research emerges as a specialized tool of management which employs cybernetic models--and, commonly, mathematics and even computers--and uses scientific method in the solution of complex management problems.

Unlike the other fields (e.g., general systems theory, management theory) reviewed in this study, operations research is not presented as a contributor to the structure of the evaluation model. Instead, the model itself is designed to be receptive to operations research activities, much as a wood-screw might be designed to receive a particular screwdriver. The reasoning behind this can perhaps be communicated by this series of assumptions: 1) A major federal program is a complex operation, and regardless of the model followed in designing its evaluation system (or subsystem), it will probably not immediately perform as planned. 2) When this is the case, the manager will be faced with difficult troubleshooting tasks. 3) In many cases, he will not even be able to identify the exact source(s) of his problems, which may derive from within the original program structure, from the new feedback channels--or at their points of origin, or from his data-handling processes. 4) He may desire to enlist the assistance of problem-solving specialists, and this can be a problem in itself if he is in doubt about what type of specialists he needs.

5) The manager's overall problem can be simplified by the original use of an evaluation model designed for the application of operations research techniques, because competent OR specialists are readily available.⁸³

For several reasons, problems in the control and evaluation of federal social programs are felt to be especially susceptible to solution by OR approaches. For one, these programs frequently serve large numbers of citizens, which immediately suggests a need for statistical handling of "output" measurements. For another, because they usually operate through a diversity of state and/or local agencies, internal communication links tend to be very complex. And for a third, federal agencies are often well equipped with computers, so computerized methods and procedures developed by OR specialists can be continued by program personnel.

As an item of note, the development of a program evaluation subsystem based on the model presented in this paper may engender two separate and distinct potential requirements for

⁸³Thierauf and Grosse, in their Decision Making Through Operations Research, published in 1970, wrote (on page 7) that "today, many of Fortune's 500 largest corporations are using operations research. Several societies have been formed here and abroad to bring OR people together. The number of persons engaged in operations research in the United States has increased from a handful in the early 1940s to approximately 6000 today."

operations research. The first, as mentioned above, may be in troubleshooting and perfecting the evaluation subsystem itself. The second may be in the adjustment of program operations to correct deficiencies pointed out by successful evaluation. Therefore, in view of the potential importance of operations research to the program manager/evaluator, a few excerpts are offered below from Patrick Rivett's An Introduction to Operations Research. The first is a listing of the steps in a typical OR project:

1. The observation of the operation.
2. Understanding the technology of the operation.
3. The collection of basic quantitative data.
4. Sorting and analysis of data.
5. Derivation of a hypothesis.
6. Decision for change.
7. Forecasting the results of change in a quantitative manner.
8. Careful implementation and the check on the validity of the hypothesis.⁸⁴

The second is Rivett's comment on the reason for OR:

The reason for the existence of O.R. is that in decision making, difficulty arises for the decision maker when either the range of choice is overwhelming, or the consequences of a particular decision are obscure or,

⁸⁴Patrick Rivett, An Introduction to Operations Research (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1968), p. 12.

finally, there is a lack of knowledge about the objectives, or, more likely, there are many objectives and they cannot be stated on a common scale of values.⁸⁵

The last is Rivett's account of how the OR specialist approaches a management problem:

. . . on starting to study a management situation one is overwhelmed by complexity, either the complexity of the industry, or of the technological factors, or by the whole of the "noise" of the situation. Gradually, however, by probing, by discussion, by gaining understanding of what is going on one sees emerge from out of this surface flesh of complexity, a skeleton of cause and effect. This is the formal structure of the model The other intriguing point is that a number of types of structure of problem occur very frequently and that seven main structures account for many of the problems with which one is faced in operational research.⁸⁶

Rivett describes these seven common structures as "queuing," "inventory," "allocation," "sequencing," "search," "replacement and maintenance," and "competition." He adds that in practice, these structures usually overlap and/or appear in combination.⁸⁷

The federal program (system) evaluator may also desire to familiarize himself with yet another sub-field of the systems movement, i.e., "systems analysis." This sub-field has grown out of operations research, partly because of a need to evaluate aspects of systems which do not readily lend themselves to quantitative--i.e., totally objective--treatment. Aaron

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 34.

⁸⁶Ibid., p. 45.

⁸⁷Ibid., pp. 45-55.

Wildavsky says that "the less that is known about objectives, the more they conflict, the larger the number of elements to be considered, the more uncertain the environment, the more likely the approach will be called systems analysis."⁸⁸ He says that systems analysis leans toward judgement and even intuition, while the hallmark of operations research is quantitative methodology. Supporting this view, H. J. Hartley declares that systems analysis tends to be "heuristic," while operations research is "algorithmic" (based on calculation).⁸⁹

There are a number of fairly standard approaches to systems analysis, only one of which will be presented here. This one, developed by Bernard Brock in the form of a model, is selected because Brock expects it to be used by the system manager himself.

⁸⁸Aaron Wildavsky, "The Political Economy of Efficiency: Cost-Benefit Analysis, Systems Analysis, and Program Budgeting," Public Administration Review, Vol. XXVI, No. 4 (December 1966), p. 229.

⁸⁹H. J. Hartley, Educational Planning-Programming-Budgeting (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968), pp. 36-37.

Function	Terms	Definitions
Description	Components	The discrete, unique, or constituent parts that compose a system.
	Relationships	The identity that exists between two or more components; the action of a system, that is, the nature or characteristics of the activity that exists between two or more things taken together.
Evaluation	Goals	The stated or operational objectives, designs, aims, or intentions of the men interacting with their environment; the critical decision-making process is designed to maximize or achieve these goals.
	Effects	The assessment, fulfillment, accomplishment, impression, or outcome of a system as a result of certain components interacting in relationships toward certain goals; an evaluation of the elements of the system as measured against the goals of the system.

Figure 2. A Systems Model⁹⁰

Brock provides some explanation of his model, then offers this important caveat:

As with any model for analysis, the insights and meanings which can be derived from its use depend upon the creativity of the critic. We have viewed a system made up of components, relationships, goals, and effects.

⁹⁰ Bernard L. Brock, Public Policy Decision-Making, p. 50.

It is our belief that human interactions can be described and evaluated fairly completely by using these four terms. However, the critic's creativity is the decisive factor. If a critic begins an analysis by looking for things called components, relationships, goals or effects, his analysis will undoubtedly be mundane. If, on the other hand, the critic perceives the four terms as points of view that he might employ in creative ways, then novel, often insightful, analysis will emerge.⁹¹

Brock recommends the use of functional analysis, on the assumption that certain activities must occur in any open system. He believes that this approach will automatically tie together his four terms. He illustrates his point by listing eight functions which the public policy decision-maker (his intended reader) might look for. These are the production function, the input function, the output function, the monitoring function, the adaptive function, the maintenance function, the public relations function, and the management function. Brock notes that each function may involve the participation of more than one component, and that each component may assist in the performance of more than one function. He also notes that his functions may best be handled by thinking of them as "functional subsystems," and that some of them break down into "geographic subsystems."⁹² Brock's model--and his functional subsystems--seem appropriate to the typical federal program.

⁹¹Ibid., p. 52.

⁹²See ibid., pp. 62-67.

The evaluation model produced in this dissertation, while not directly incorporating inputs from systems analysis, has at least been influenced by the writer's knowledge of the subject. Also, systems analysis (like operations research) has been discussed here in an effort to suggest that the potential utility of any cybernetic system model--including this evaluation model--is inherently enhanced by the existence of systems analysis as a well-developed management tool. For example, while it has been stated in Chapters I and II that the program manager will find little to guide him in the typical literature of evaluation research, it is now claimed that he can find assistance in the literature of systems analysis and operations research. For this reason, before moving on to discussion of organization theory and management theory, one final instrument from the systems movement tool-box will be briefly introduced. This is "output analysis," which exists as a relatively new body of theoretical concepts and approaches developing out of operations research and systems analysis.

Immegart and Pilecki offer a description of output analysis:

Output analysis, though a highly specialized branch of systems analysis, bears some mentioning since this form of system activity has been clearly developed and effectively applied in the past few years. This form of analysis holds that a system (organization) can best be studied in terms of the results of its actions

(activity). The focus is, therefore, on (1) outcomes or output, (2) the evaluation of output in terms of system goals, and (3) subsequent feedback to the system as to how its operations and processes can be altered or restructured to better achieve system goals. Implicitly, output analysis is premised on the notion that feedback is the controlling force of systems activity--and since feedback is derived from outputs, the way a system operates can most satisfactorily be assessed in terms of its output.⁹³

Contrasting most descriptions of output analysis with those of systems analysis, a reader might be reminded of the dichotomy found in the literatures of program evaluation and evaluation research. There we found a faction declaring that program evaluation should be concerned only with program effects, while other writers claimed that it should also be applied to program processes. At first glance, it might appear that the aims of output analysis would coincide with those of the "effects only" faction, while systems analysis would be more compatible with those who would include "process" in the evaluation scheme. There is some truth in this, perhaps, but one salient difference should be pointed out: while most of the "effects only" evaluation literature is oriented toward policy decisions, e.g., decisions between programs, both systems analysis and output analysis are management oriented. Suggesting this parallel and then knocking it down may smack

⁹³Immegart and Pilecki, An Introduction to Systems, p. 11.

of demolishing straw men, but it has been done to draw emphasis to the fact that the entire systems movement is management oriented, as illustrated by its pervasive concern with communication and control. (Note: without effective management, the open system will--by definition--succumb to entropy.)

According to Immegart and Pilecki, output analysis has several important implications for the student of open systems--and hence for their managers. Some of these are of considerable heuristic value in planning for evaluation, and are therefore included here:

The first implication, and possibly the most important, is that organizations as open systems must engage in conscious, long-range planning.⁹⁴

If they do not, of course, goals may tend to be hazy and evaluation will be of less than maximum value.

Another implication that can be drawn from this analytic approach is that social organizations like schools, which are open systems, must pursue real goals and objectives.⁹⁵

Goals, and objectives, as has been emphasized, are the point of departure for any evaluation of program effects.

Relatedly, the organization heeding the relevance of the concept of output multidimensionality must be concerned with waste reduction and generally adequate allocation and use of all resources and energy.⁹⁶

⁹⁴Ibid., p. 111.

⁹⁵Ibid.

⁹⁶Ibid.

An often-overlooked dimension of evaluation pertains to impact side effects, some of which may be detrimental and thereby cause a drain on scarce program resources.

Further, it is implicit in the output analysis mode of thought that organizations must continually monitor or evaluate the results of their work. This continuing assessment and processing of "feedback" is essential if the organization is to be cognizant of its outputs and contributions as well as trends in its effects. Certainly such assessment must go beyond products and effects on clients, and include the totality inherent in a global output conceptualization. Unless systematic monitoring occurs, only conjecture can be made as to the real utility, viability, status, and value of an organization.⁹⁷

Output analysis, obviously, is compatible with the notion argued in this paper that evaluation must be a continuous process--not the "occasional" or "one-shot" effort suggested by much of the evaluation literature.

Finally, the outcome analysis logic suggests that organizations should be change-oriented . . .⁹⁸

This statement has a very subtle--and critically important--implication for the designers of a program evaluation subsystem: it reminds them that the entire evaluation process itself can be expected to experience constant change. As evaluative feedback information is used by the manager to effect desired changes in program processes and short-term objectives, and as environmental factors impose still other program changes,

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 113.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

the evaluation subsystem will require compensatory modification. The old dictum that "you can't step in the same river twice" will be in effect, and as time goes by, the manager will no longer be evaluating the program with which he started.

To summarize this section: operations research, systems analysis, and output analysis should be thought of as the main maintenance tools associated with the evaluation model developed in this paper. They have been presented here because their existence has influenced the design of the model, and to suggest that their availability can enhance its potential usefulness.

CHAPTER IV

MODEL DEVELOPMENT, PART 2

A. Management Theory

Theoretical approaches to management are myriad, ranging from the almost purely economic to the behavioral and humanistic. Some are oriented exclusively toward the business sector, while others have broader application. The task here has been to select an approach which would best lend itself to the task of federal program evaluation, and the first part of this section will set forth the background of how this has been done. First, then, this comment by John Beckett to provide a philosophical setting:

In earlier years the study of management was the principal, almost exclusive concern of the private or economic sector of society--that is, to business practitioners and to those who studied the process in that environment. Now, however, the scope of the study of management has been extended far beyond the confines of industrial organizations. While interest in the study of management of that area continues unabated, the activities of all organizations are now well within the embrace of management studies. The reasons are several. In the first place, the influence of non-economic organizations in the life of man and his society has grown in recent years and must be included in the scope of management studies. More important still is the fact that while general organizational objectives

differ, the essence of the management process is now seen to be the same, no matter what organizations are involved.¹

Beckett's statement is included here partly to make it plain that within this paper there is no intentional semantic differentiation between "management" (traditionally used in the business sector) and "administration" (traditionally used in the public sector); "business management" and "public administration" are arbitrarily merged for the purpose of discussing the "management" of federal social programs.

In their most recent (1973) book on organization and management theory, Kast and Rosenzweig review some of the forces that have been working to modify traditional theory, and explain why this has led to conflict. Since theoretical approaches to federal programs--and to their evaluation--are caught squarely in the middle of this conflict, their summary is included here:

Many forces, both within organizations and in the external environment, have stimulated change in theory and practice. The growth in size and complexity of organizations has been unparalleled. Technological change and improvement have forced many adaptations. Specialization has increased and the generally higher level of education has provided people with more advanced intellectual skills. Participants usually have diverse objectives and more refined inducements have been designed in order to ensure loyalty to the organization.

¹John A. Beckett, Management Dynamics: The New Synthesis (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1971), p. 5.

The rising aspiration levels for satisfaction of economic and other needs have been important factors in creating change.²

Truly, this describes the federal program milieu--its raisons d'être, its staff, its clients, and its social environment,

Kast and Rosenzweig continue:

Over the past several decades these and other environmental and internal changes have caused major modification in traditional theories. It is difficult to review all of them; however, two broad categories emerge as being fundamental influences: (1) the behavioral sciences, which emphasize the psychosocial system and the human aspects of administration; and (2) the quantitative sciences which emphasize quantification, mathematical models, and the application of computer technology.³

The authors go on to explain why these two approaches to management theory have been difficult to synthesize, and why divergence has ensued:

Behavioral and quantitative science endeavors have done much to modify traditional organization theory and management practice. Ideally, these two approaches would be integrated with traditional views to provide a unified and clearly delineated modern theory. This has not happened for many reasons. There are basic differences in values and ideologies; diverse academic disciplines are involved; differential emphasis on descriptive and normative points of view are evident. As many disciplines have become interested in organization and management, researchers have brought into consideration their own traditional preoccupations with

²Fremont E. Kast and James E. Rosenzweig, Contingency Views of Organization and Management (Chicago: Science Research Associates, Inc., 1973), p. 6.

³Ibid., p. 7.

certain selected subject matters which necessarily restricts their perspective. Rather than developing a simplified, less complex organization theory, the tendency has been in quite the opposite direction--toward greater complexity and the inclusion of more variables. Thus the development of a simplified "general theory" is becoming increasingly more difficult.⁴

After examining the problem in some depth, Kast and Rosenzweig eventually conclude that there is one fairly new theoretical approach which is tending to reverse the trend toward divergence and conflict:

. . . in recent years there has emerged an approach which does offer an opportunity for some convergence in organization and management theory. The systems approach provides a basis for integration, by giving us a way to view the total organization in interaction with its environment and for conceptualizing the relationships between internal components or subsystems.⁵

In summation, Kast and Rosenzweig are telling us that systems theories of management do exist, that they are fairly new, and that they offer the possibility of bridging several types of gaps. One of these gaps has existed between theoretical approaches to the business sector and to the public sector. Another has existed between "authoritarian" concepts of management and the newer behavioral and humanistic concepts. And a third gap has involved the difficulty of marrying recently developed quantitative methods to any of the major families of management theory.

⁴Ibid., p. 9.

⁵Ibid.

Systems approaches to organizations and their management do, indeed, appear capable of retaining and integrating the best parts of the older theories. Max Weber's concepts of hierarchy and division of labor are not completely ignored, as they have tended to be in certain humanistic theories, but are modified and integrated into the concept of a "managerial subsystem," "production subsystems," and a "communication subsystem." Conversely, while such things as Maslow's "needs hierarchy" and McGregor's "Theory X" and "Theory Y" do not dominate this approach, they can readily be accommodated in the structure of any "personnel subsystem." Finally, opportunity for the employment of quantitative methods is measurably enhanced when the organization is seen as a system of information flow and decision-making. Peter Drucker has advocated this viewpoint:

. . . authority and responsibility may well be the wrong principles of organization. It may well be that we will have to learn to organize not a system of authority and responsibility--a system of command--but an information and decision system--a system of judgment, knowledge, and expectations.⁶

Since Drucker wrote the foregoing (in the late 1950s), an impressive body of management theory has developed around his

⁶Peter Drucker, "Managing the Educated," in Management's Mission in a New Society, ed. by Dan H. Fenn (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1959), p. 174.

notion of "an information and decision system--a system of judgement, knowledge, and expectations." And it is this body of management theory which has been selected as a basis for the evaluation model of this paper.

The new systems-based management theory is oriented toward control, exercised by means of information subsystems and placing strong emphasis on that category of information known as "feedback." In other words, it draws heavily on the science of cybernetics for its models of structure and process. Two of its proponents offer this cybernetically-oriented description of "control" within the management context:

Control is an important means of coordinating diverse activity toward objective accomplishment. The control function regulates system output by measuring actual with expected performance. The control function is also concerned with means as well as ends. Continual feedback concerning how organizational activity is carried out is important for long-run stability. Both effectiveness and efficiency are important. That is, we are concerned with whether the system works at all--output; and with how well resources are employed--input utilization.⁷

It would be an error to equate the type of control described here to that traditionally associated with Weberian bureaucracy, wherein orders from the top are supposed to be carried out with machine-like efficiency. Quite to the contrary, this concept

⁷Fremont E. Kast and James E. Rosenzweig, Organization and Management: A Systems Approach (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1970), p. 468.

of control is premised on the understanding that organizational elements all down the line enjoy great latitude in how they carry out the policies of top management. If they had less latitude, top management presumably would not need so much feedback to keep informed. Stanley Young argues this point:

The control mechanism should prove highly acceptable to submanagers because it is essentially noncoercive. The mechanism of self-regulation enables the problem-solver to correct himself while he devises a solution, thereby eliminating top management's intervention in his problem solving activities and reducing management's pressure upon the middle manager. Submanagers will not be confronted with the problem of close, daily, personal supervision of their activities by their superiors.⁸

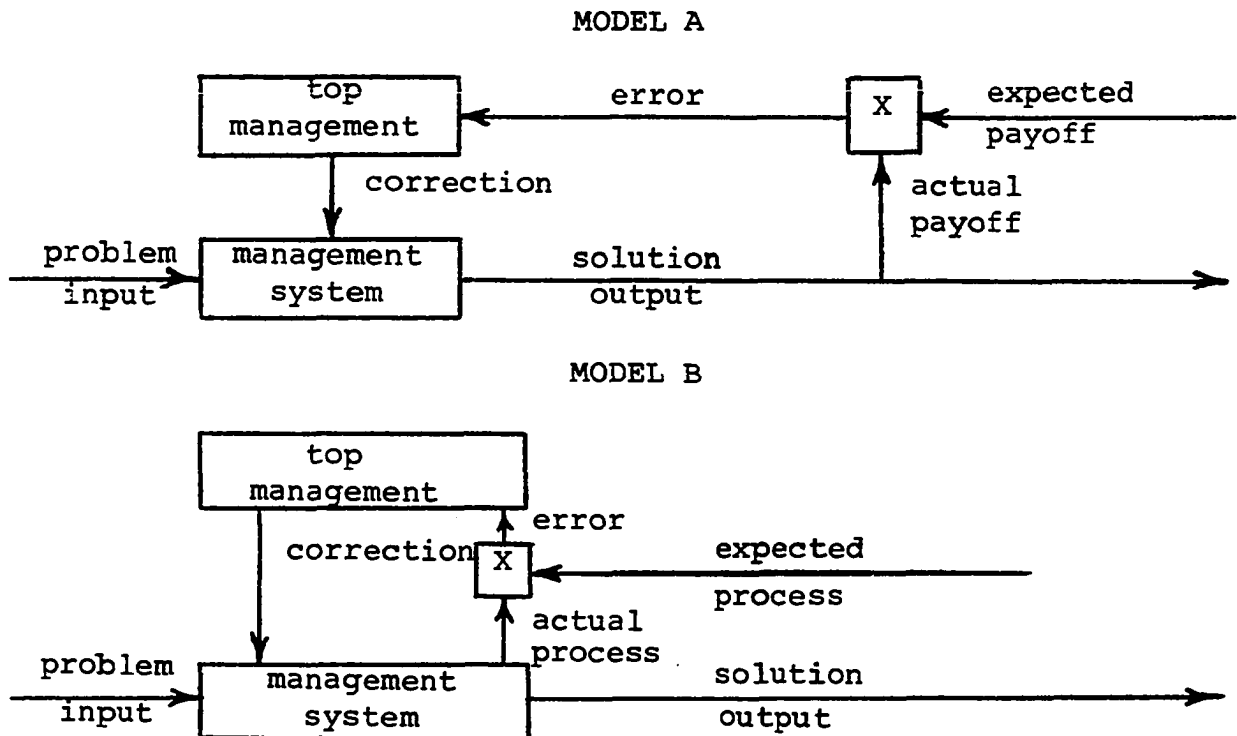
This approach to control is especially appropriate to federal programs, wherein the "middle managers" are apt to be state or local employees and therefore not even susceptible to "close, daily, personal supervision" by program managers. Thus the fact begins to emerge that the total thrust of systems-based management theory is toward a sort of controlled "looseness," with plenty of delegation and with decentralization of decision-making points.

Young is a strong proponent of the use of management control models, and he draws them directly from cybernetics. As therefore might be expected, he says this about their structure:

⁸Stanley Young, Management: A System Analysis (Glenview, Illinois: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1966), p. 286.

There are four control elements: the output to be measured (1), a sensory device (2) that will measure this output and feed this information back (3) to a control unit, (x), which will compare the actual and the expected (or standard) output; if the deviation is too wide, an activating mechanism (4) will change the operating system.⁹

Young provides two general models based on this structure, both of which are patterned after the standard cybernetic control model. The first, "Model A," furnishes management with information about the organization's product and is used in its regulation. "Model B" works in similar fashion, but is concerned with the internal processes of the organization itself. Here are the two models:¹⁰



⁹Ibid., p. 27.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 268.

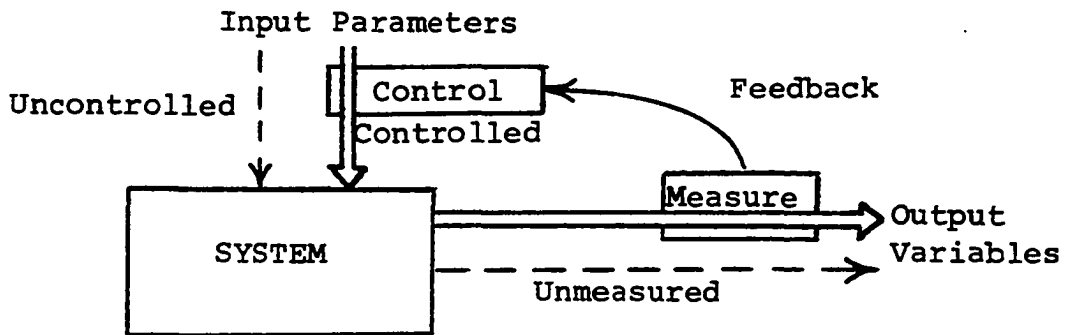
Incidentally, the fact that Young speaks of "problem input" and "solution output" is not of particular importance. He could have substituted "decision" for "problem," or he could have used simply "input" and "output." That Young himself might agree with this comment is suggested by his definition of a management system:

A management system can be defined as that subsystem of the organization whose duties are to receive certain organizational problems (inputs) and thereupon to execute a set of activities (process) which will produce organizational solution (output) for either increasing the value or return of the total organizational activity (satisficing) or for optimizing some function of the total organizational inputs and outputs.¹¹

This definition is one of the best this writer has seen, and-- along with Young's two control models--is implicitly incorporated in the evaluation model.

The control concepts of British theoretician A. G. Donald closely parallel those of Stanley Young, and some of Donald's work is now presented (1) to enlarge upon what we have taken from Young, and (2) to consider a few problems which Donald presents. First, here is the diagram of his control model, which goes beyond Young's by noting that there will always be system inputs which management cannot control, and outputs which it cannot measure:

¹¹Ibid., p. 15.

Figure 4.3¹²

Donald's writings express more concern than do Young's with the difficulties inherent in applying models to real-world situations. One of the problems he discusses is of paramount concern to the managerial evaluation of social programs, and involves the question of just what should be picked up at the output of the program and put into the feedback circuit to the manager/evaluator. Many management theoreticians ignore this problem completely, possibly because they are chiefly concerned with outputs which are already in quantified form. For example, if one is dealing with a manufacturing firm, he will be readily able to measure production and inventory in some kind of units, sales in dollars, and so forth. But not all organizations have this advantage, which Donald recognizes:

For control, measurement of output and subsequent alteration of input parameters is required (Fig. 4.3). The measuring device, known as a sensor, will require a

¹²A. G. Donald, Management, Information, and Systems (Oxford, England: Pergamon Press, 1967), p. 31.

unit of measurement in which to work. This in itself may pose a problem; often a reason for leaving part of a system uncontrolled is that there is no suitable and accepted unit of measurement. Other parts of the system may not be measured because we do not consider it worthwhile, or because it would be too costly to do so. Having obtained a unit of measure, the operation of the sensor itself requires consideration. Is it to measure output as it occurs, or is some element of lead or lag to be built into the sensor? Is it to measure continuously or at intervals? The sensor must be checked in action, it may be defective, and have a bias in its readings, or in some other way be recording false information . . . ¹³

This problem of sensors, and what they are to measure and feed back, is perhaps the most difficult aspect of social program evaluation. Were this not the case, we would hardly need to consult the literature of evaluation research to complete the evaluation model--management theory alone might suffice. But the real outputs and effects of social programs are extremely hard to quantify, so we will need the advice and assistance of the evaluation research specialists in designing and placing output measurement sensors. (This will be discussed in more depth in Section C of this Chapter.)

As has been indicated, there is a close relationship between effective management control and the existence of a good information system. In fact, according to Arthur Toan:

Information is clearly inseparable from the management process. One can, in fact, contend that it is the

¹³Ibid., p. 30.

life blood of management, for none of the significant elements of running a business--planning, organizing, operating, or controlling--can exist in a practical sense without it. Information helps provide the answers to two basic questions--"How am I doing?" and "Where am I going?"--and a number of significant secondary questions with which every executive must be concerned.¹⁴

Toan apparently would not, however, rely very much on fully-automated feedback-controlled decision systems, because he adds that "it is equally obvious that information is not and cannot be a substitute for management itself."¹⁵

The program evaluation model to be presented here is wholly reliant on the existence of a good information subsystem within the program, so we must now consider how such subsystems are developed. A. E. Amstutz suggests some ground rules, while noting that the task will not be a simple one:

The initial objective of system development is to establish a management perspective on the decision environment and to insure that subsequent analysis focuses on processes influenced by management controlled variables. The continuing goal is to model, refine, and validate or reject management understanding of the decision environment and to relate relevant measures of behavior and response to management action alternatives.

It is seldom possible to implement a pre-packaged management information system. There are no generalized management systems. Each company's management has unique information requirements; a unique perspective

¹⁴Arthur B. Toan, Using Information to Manage (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1968), p. iii.

¹⁵Ibid.

on the environment within and outside of its firm; unique priorities; and a style of management which is the unique product of the particular personalities making up the management group. Successful system development is a matter of evolution.¹⁶

Given these warnings, the program manager may elect to seek outside assistance early in the game--perhaps from operations research specialists. But before he does anything, he may want to reflect upon the fact that information systems are not totally shrouded in mystery (as systems jargon sometimes implies to the newcomer), but consist of some fairly mundane building blocks. Immegart and Pilecki are reassuring on this point:

An information support system consists of a number of components. It has people (administrators, clerks, technicians), machines (typewriters, telephones, card sorters, computers), materials (files, filing supplies, data cards, memo forms), procedures (keypunching, recording, collating) and data (about staff, students, buildings, and finances).¹⁷

These writers also point out some available options, while underscoring the basic design goals:

The complete, modern information system, cutting the pie another way, may be in part automated, partially automated, and nonautomated (hand operation as opposed

¹⁶A. E. Amstutz, "The Evolution of Management Information Systems," in Readings in Management, ed. by John G. Hutchinson (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1971), p. 257.

¹⁷Glenn L. Immegart and Francis J. Pilecki, An Introduction to Systems for the Educational Administrator (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1973), p. 137.

to machine.) But regardless of the arrangement, extent, or range (automated vs. nonautomated) of its components, the information support system ideally serves three basic functions: 1. Transactions. 2. Control. 3. Planning.¹⁸

Arthur Toan has formulated a series of questions designed to assist the manager in evaluating his information system, and it is evident that these questions can also serve as guides in original design. Because Toan's queries are seen as readily applicable to federal programs, and because his associated answers are eminently practical, both are quoted here:

Q Does the information fit in well with the responsibilities of management? Does it satisfy the needs of the management process?

A Management interest in information is largely utilitarian and pragmatic. Will the information help in carrying out the functions management is called upon to perform? Will it, more specifically, help in reaching the decisions and taking the actions that are their responsibility--in planning, organizing, executing, and controlling operations and in the successive recycling of the management process as replanning, reorganizing, reexecuting, and recontrolling occur on the basis of the feedback of results?

Q Does the information system embody a broad view of what information is, or is the orientation excessively narrow?

A There is a limited yet widely held view which, unconsciously or not, seems to contend that information is essentially internal (about the company itself), historical (about the past) or financial. It is not that other types of information--external, present- and future-oriented, and non-financial--do not exist;

¹⁸Ibid., p. 138.

but there is a severe imbalance in favor of the former stemming from its availability, its accuracy, and other advantages.

- Q Does the information system make use of the various means of communication available to it or is its approach excessively formal?
- A An excessive reliance on formality can sharply reduce the value of information; informality should be accorded its legitimate place.
- Q Does the information system use appropriate bases of comparison?
- A The difficulties of properly understanding and appropriately using naked data soon lead most users of information to insist upon the introduction of one or more bases of comparison. The selection of the most appropriate basis or bases is the first half or perhaps the first quarter of the problem. The remainder is whether the bases have the relationships for comparison that the user of the information believes they do, and therefore whether or not the actual comparison made by him is valid.
- Q Is the form of presentation appropriate?
- A For information to have value it must be used. To be used it must be conveyed: it must be heard or seen, and understood by the individual executive in a way that has meaning. The form and method of presenting information to management bears importantly upon whether it will be understood and used. Several alternative forms of possible presentation (alone or in combination) are listed below:
1. Written--tabulations of figures, charts or graphs, narratives, in-depth analyses.
 2. Oral--scheduled presentations, chart-room discussions, face-to-face reports, telephone or audio inquiry devices.
 3. Visual--personal inspection, and visual display devices.

In some situations, written reports are best suited for conveying information, making it understood, and obtaining a reaction. The particular form of written report that is most useful depends upon the purposes of the particular information. Narrative reports, for example, are useful for conveying qualitative information that is difficult to quantify. Bar charts or pie charts are frequently more useful than tabulations of figures where comparative relationships are important.

Q Does the information system take into account management's capacity to use information?

A The great variations in management's ability to use information properly in running a business are based on a variety of factors--education, training, occupational experience, the size and complexity of the enterprise, among others. As a consequence, it is quite possible to overproduce or to underproduce information for management, as well as to mismatch information with management's needs in the same situation.¹⁹

This rather lengthy excerpt has been included for several reasons. For one, it helps to bridge the gap between management theory and practice; systems theory is intended to be used. And as a particularly important aspect of this, it is pointed out that feedback is one of the kinds of information Toan is talking about, so his questions and answers may give the manager/evaluator a better understanding of just what feedback can be.

Toan's last point is worthy of expansion. One of the commonest pitfalls known to the designers of information

¹⁹Arthur Toan, Using Information to Manage, pp. 133-139.

systems involves the generation of too much data for management use. It must then be winnowed, condensed, and otherwise reduced, as is stated by Young:

Because management resources are limited and expensive, a series of screening devices is necessary for ensuring that managers work on problems that have a significant potential organizational payoff; nor should managers have the burden of searching through a vast amount of data or suggested problems before they can determine what they should work upon. The intelligence unit therefore screens data and ascertains problem areas, and the manager avoids the time-consuming task of reviewing reports, records, and bulletins. Various screening devices can be incorporated into the control unit to achieve this result.²⁰

By "intelligence unit," Young refers to the information system itself--which of course includes people who act in a decision-making capacity. In discussing it, Young makes another point which should be noted by the federal program manager, i.e., that not all feedback loops should return to him. Project managers, for example, also need feedback information, and the system should provide it:

. . . an effective intelligence unit will pick up factors which will guide the problem-solver in reaching appropriate adjustments in his operations via new solutions. Not only do loops exist within the submanagement system itself, and between the submanagement system and the operating systems, but also between the organization and its environment; and all will have self-correcting features.²¹

²⁰Young, Management, p. 54.

²¹Ibid., p. 284.

This notion of multiple feedback loops is directly incorporated in the evaluation model to be presented here.

Kast and Rosenzweig warn that information system design is too critical to be delegated to technical specialists, and that managers--at all levels--must be involved throughout the process. They assert that only management can identify what will be key decision factors, and what types of information should be given advance priority in the system. Conversely, they recognize the importance of certain types of technicians in the design task, and therefore recommend a team approach.²² The "technicians" to which they refer include operations research specialists, computer programmers, communications engineers, data processing personnel, and so forth. In the case of federal programs, it is submitted that the "technician" list should be expanded to include--for example--sociologists, social psychologists, and psychometrists. These kinds of people will frequently be needed to help determine just what information should be collected about the program's impact on its clients, and in what form to feed it into the information system.

²²Kast and Rosenzweig, Organization and Management, p. 363 and p. 370.

One parameter of management information systems that sometimes leads to confusion relates to how soon a manager can get needed information. This confusion, when it exists, derives from the important difference between management access time and information recency. Data management specialists are never confused by this difference, but ordinary managers may be.

"Information recency" is not a misleading phrase; it pertains to the elapsed time between when an event occurs in the system and the time at which information about it is being reviewed by interested persons. "Management access time" is altogether different: this pertains to how quickly a manager can receive information after he requests it, whether the information itself has just entered the system or has been in the system for months. Knowledge of this difference can be important to the program manager when he is setting up his information system (which almost equates to setting up his evaluation system) because it can help determine whether or not--and/or to what degree--he will desire to computerize the system.²³

Kast and Rosenzweig offer this conceptual diagram of information flow in an organization:

²³For additional discussion, see Amstutz, "The Evolution of Management Information Systems," p. 264, and Kast and Rosenzweig, Organization and Management, pp. 368-369.

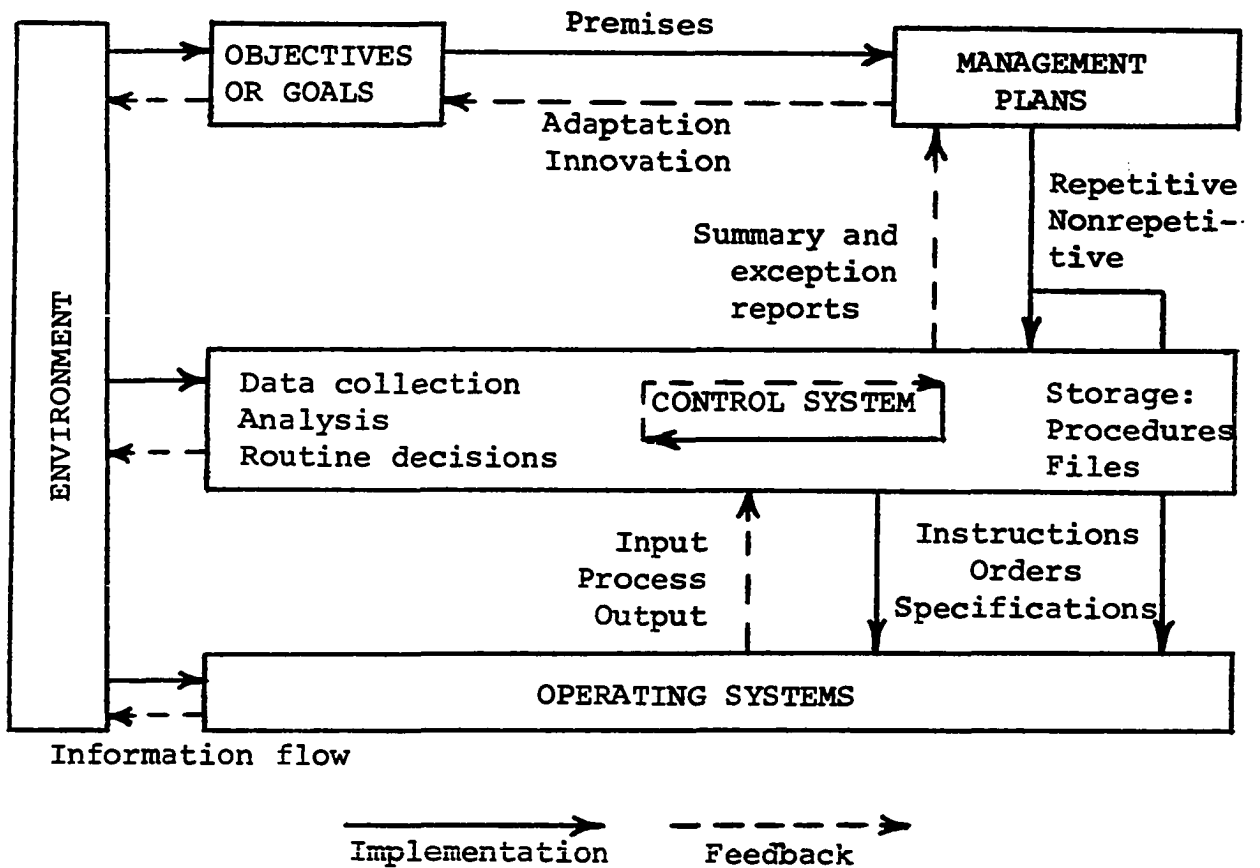


Figure 12-5 Information flow in an organization.²⁴

The fact that this diagram associates the information system with such things as the environment, goals, and plans gives it considerable heuristic value.

We have just associated two important elements of systems-based management theory with our evaluation model: its concepts of control and of management information systems. It is now proposed that we pick up one more--management by

²⁴Kast and Rosenzweig, Organization and Management, p. 360.

objectives (MBO). While MBO is not an exclusive product of systems-oriented theory it is completely compatible with it, and is also able to contribute to the evaluation model. The common denominator of evaluation and MBO is the notion of measurable goals, which is the keystone of both.

Management by objectives, as a theoretical concept and as a well-developed body of literature, has several applications to federal programs and their managerial evaluation. One of underlying importance is that MBO has traditionally espoused the notion of coordinated decentralization,²⁵ which is, of course, the inherent pattern of any federal program which is carried out through state and local projects. Accepting "decentralization" as a fact of life in the large, modern organization, MBO practitioners approach the "coordination" part by concentrating on the development and pursuit of a structure of interlocking, mutually-supportive, managerial objectives. They adopt a series of formal procedures for setting and periodically updating these objectives, and also for the regular assessment of their success in achieving them. This assessment process, incidentally, does not normally

²⁵See Paul Mali, Managing by Objectives-An Operating Guide to Faster and More Profitable Results (New York: Wiley-Interscience, a Division of John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1972), p. 3.

involve the participation of special evaluation personnel--it is done by the managers themselves.

Paul Mali, textbook writer and management consultant, defines MBO thusly:

Managing by objectives (M.B.O.) is a strategy of planning and getting results in the direction that management wishes and needs to take while meeting the goals and satisfaction of its participants. In its simplest form, it is blending individual plans and needs of managers toward a large-scale accomplishment within a specific period of time. The primary purpose of such a strategy is to simplify and clarify the managerial processes operating within the firm. There are four basic ingredients to the M.B.O. concept: objectives, time strategy, total management, and individual motivation.²⁶

Mali goes on to explain his "ingredients." Objectives are defined as "events or accomplishments planned and expected to happen," and as "job or organizational results to be arrived at."²⁷ Objectives, Mali declares, must be unambiguous, actually attainable, and--above all--measurable. Time strategy, he writes, "is the timetable for blending the activities and operations of individual managers to achieve long-and short-range sets of results."²⁸ Wording it another way, he says time strategy is "a deliberate coordination of resources with the calendar for signalling individual managers to propose, act, and accomplish at designated periods of time."²⁹ Total

²⁶Ibid., p. 1.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Ibid.

management, according to Mali, "refers to a formalized effort to involve and coordinate the contributions of each individual manager toward a common goal,"³⁰ a task which Mali assigns to "the management system." Individual motivation "refers to the personal involvement and participation in the objective-setting process."³¹ Mali feels that this involvement is a tremendous source of motivation.

Mali declares that his four ingredients in turn form four basic ideas which are the foundation of management by objectives. These are:

1. Unity of managerial action is more likely to occur when there is pursuit of a common objective.
2. The greater the focus and concentration on results one wants to achieve on a time scale, the greater the likelihood of achieving them.
3. The greater participation in setting meaningful work with an accountability for a result, the greater the motivation for completing it.
4. Progress can only be measured in terms of what one is trying to make progress toward.³²

Other writers define MBO much as Mali does, although they sometimes place particular emphasis on different aspects of it. Jack Fuller's description is now offered, to illustrate both these points and to pick up on the emphasis he gives to evaluation:

³⁰Ibid., p. 2.

³¹Ibid.

³²Ibid., p. 3.

MBO is a systematic and continual process whereby the members of a given management team pursue mutually agreed upon goals of and for their organization. Enroute to manifesting this definition, MBO typically proceeds through the following steps:

1. Institutional goals are established.
2. Individual (managerial) goals are set and pursued.
3. Performance reviews are held periodically to evaluate progress in achieving goals.
4. Appraisal sessions are held at the end of the year to assess and reward accomplishment.³³

Fuller's "performance reviews" are not the usual reviews of personnel effectiveness; the manager's personal performance is assessed, but even more attention is given to program performance. The fact that an individual manager is not achieving his milestone objectives may not be his fault at all, and performance review may lead--for example--to changes in some other organizational element. Stephen Carroll draws attention to some of the complexities of this type of evaluation:

It is evident that evaluation and measurement require consideration of the means of achieving, as well as the ends sought. Thus, concern must be given to both the objective (number, type, difficulty, and so on) and the manner in which it is achieved (cost, cooperation, time consumed, and the like). Unless this is done, an important opportunity to communicate expectations, to give precise feedback on performance results, and to set effective goals may be lost. It must be fully

³³Jack W. Fuller, "MBO Revisited," Adult Leadership, September 1973, pp. 112-113.

understood that evaluation has obvious links to action plans as well as to desired end states.³⁴

Upon encountering the above statement in Carroll's book, this writer experienced a sensation of déjà vu: it echoes the arguments of Carol Weiss and Edward Suchman that federal program evaluation must encompass inputs and process as well as outputs. From this example, and from the general thrust of the MBO approach, one can acquire a strong suspicion that many of the problems of federal program evaluation have already been covered in the literature and concepts of management by objectives. (And if they have, they also may well have been worked out in practice, because so many large organizations actually employ MBO.) If this suspicion is well founded, as this writer believes, then it seems unfortunate that so few of the authors in the program evaluation field evince any knowledge of MBO. In the rather extensive list of publications on federal program evaluation which was reviewed for this dissertation, not a single reference to MBO was encountered.

Almost every book and article on program evaluation draws attention to the fact that programs must have well defined goals before they can be evaluated, but these publications offer

³⁴Stephen J. Carroll, Jr., Management By Objectives; Applications and Research (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1973), p. 83.

few suggestions to the program manager for defining his goals and/or objectives. The MBO writers, on the other hand, offer many suggestions. This example is from Paul Mali:

Formulating meaningful statements of objectives takes careful thought and analysis. The intention of the objective must be clear and its focus well understood. The formal statement should not only specify the action to be taken but also stimulate it. The following are guidelines to assure careful formulation of objectives:

- 1. Defined in terms of results or conditions to be achieved rather than in terms of activities to be performed.
- 2. Written so that they can be analyzed and reviewed from time to time.
- 3. Limited in time so as to provide milestones of achievement.
- 4. Written forcefully, starting out with such terms as achieve, complete by, and replace, which suggest results or performance stretches.
-
- 7. Stated in positive terms, that is, in terms of what is to be done rather than in terms of what is to be avoided.
- 8. Stated concisely and briefly without complex and elaborate descriptions.
- 9. Designed to cover a single end result and not a number of commitments.
-
- 16. Assigned a risk factor to indicate the confidence level of completion.
-

18. Written in quantifiable terms that are easily measurable and hence easily reportable.³⁵

Mali expands upon many of these, as in this excerpt addressed to the quantification of objectives:

The following guidelines may be useful in eliminating motherhoods in statements of objectives.

AVOID. Over-simplifications; sensational terms; understated or overstated words; opinions subject to change; exaggerations; inexactness; idealistic terms; terms that can take a range of meanings.

USE. Words that indicate how much; terms that can be proved or demonstrated; precise terms designating actions that can be controlled and measured; terms that lend themselves to clarification by percentages, ratios, numbers, averages, index numbers, correlations, and standard deviations.³⁶

It might be unfair to state that most program goals, as described by Congress, fall into Mali's "AVOID" category--but it is not unfair to declare that few of them are expressed in terms such as Mali lists under "USE." One task of the program and project managers, therefore, is to restate program goals into "evaluatable" form, and it is recommended that they access the literature of MBO for assistance in this task.

To summarize this section of this study, it can be said that our evaluation model is indebted to the literature of

³⁵Mali, Managing By Objectives, pp. 111-112.

³⁶Ibid., p. 114.

management theory for that theory's well developed concepts of management control, management information systems, and management by objectives. As an aside, it can be suggested that the theory and practice of MBO, if applied effectively to the management of federal social programs, would go more than half way toward solving the overall problem of federal program evaluation.

B. Organization Theory

Organization theory, as a field of study, has contributed more to the evaluation model of this paper than either the model or this section will suggest. A primary reason for this is that much of the work of the organization theorists has already been incorporated into management theory, and made its way into our model via that route. Examples of this would be work in communications, decision making, organizational structure (e.g., centralization vs. decentralization), motivation, and institutional memory. A secondary reason is that this writer acknowledges a special personal debt to the field for whetting his interest in conceptual approaches to organizational processes, including the evaluation task. The field of organization theory is much too rich, however, to have been exhausted by the contributions just noted, and in this section it will be tapped again for its work in three sub-areas of direct

concern to the evaluation model. These are goals and goal conflict, organizational effectiveness, and institutionalization.

As an introduction to a book chapter entitled "Organizational Goals," editors Fremont Lyden, George Shipman and Morton Kroll make a rather fine distinction between "goal" and "mandate." Specifically, they wrote:

When an organization receives a mandate (i.e., a law, ordinance, policy, directive, etc.) from its governing legislative body, it must translate this communication into a form appropriate for mobilizing its resources for action. This process is referred to as defining the organization's goals.³⁷

This observation has instant applicability to federal programs, where there has been an unfortunate tendency for managers to simply accept their Congressional/agency "mandates" as their program goals. This is a common complaint of evaluation researchers, who write that they frequently have to assume certain program goals in order to have something to evaluate. While Lyden and colleagues use the term "mandate," other theorists make the same point while using such terms as "mission," "policies," and "general goals." In any case, regardless of what he chooses to call his authorizing directives, the manager/

³⁷Fremont Lyden, George Shipman, and Morton Kroll, eds., Policies, Decisions, and Organization (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1969), p. 135.

evaluator is admonished to give careful attention to translating them into a structure of clear and specific goals.

Even if the foregoing is done (and the problem will be even more serious if it is not done); another type of pitfall can also readily trap the unwary program manager: the possibility of discrepancy between "official" (stated) and "operative" goals. Charles Perrow describes this problem:

Official goals are the general purposes of the organization as put forth in the charter, annual reports, public statements by key executives, and other authoritative pronouncements This level of analysis is inadequate in itself for full understanding of organizational behavior. Official goals . . . do not indicate two major factors which influence organizational behavior: the host of decisions that must be made among alternative ways of achieving official goals and the priority of multiple goals, and the many unofficial goals pursued by groups within the organization. The concept of "operative goals" will be used to cover these aspects. Operative goals designate the ends sought through the actual operating policies of the organization; they tell us what the organization is really trying to do, regardless of what the official goals say are the aims.³⁸

Perrow's notion of operative goals as something distinct from official goals was so insightful that it is now permanently ensconced in the literature and regularly recognized in practice. Implications for the program manager are manifold, and are found at both the program and project levels. He may find,

³⁸Charles Perrow, "Relation of Goals to Technology, Task Areas, and Power Structure," *ibid.*, pp. 140-141.

for example, that while the stated goals of a particular state or local project imply one thing, the policies and/or actions of its managers are making its operative goals something quite different. Or, if he is sufficiently objective, the program manager may even find that he and his immediate staff are doing the same thing. This is an easy trap to fall into, and it probably occurs to some extent in all organizations. (A highly publicized example, taken directly from the federal program sector, involves the "citizen participation" project managers who were widely accused of using their program as a base for mounting political attacks against elected city governments.) The most obvious problem that all this can create for the manager/evaluator, of course, is that if an evaluation subsystem is built to assess progress toward official goals, it will be badly subverted if serious discrepancies exist between official goals and operative goals.

A wide array of organization theorists have recognized the basic ambiguities in most definitions of goals, and most of them have employed individual terminologies in reaching some sort of compromise with the problem. A composite of all their writings might be something like this:

1. Every organization must have one or more basic goals, which generally acknowledge the reason-for-being of the

organization. These goals, though subject to gradual change, are relatively permanent.

2. Every organization will also have another complete set of goals, which--even if not published--can be perceived by an astute observer. These goals will vary widely in specificity and time range, and will in some cases conflict with each other and with the basic goals mentioned above.

3. There is no sharp line of demarcation between the goals described in (1) and (2) above. Furthermore, those described in (2) will tend to blend and blur with yet another set of "organizational goals" pursued by formal subgroups within the organization, e.g., project staffs and/or functional staffs, such as evaluation specialists.

Federal programs are seen as organizations for purposes of this discussion, so the import for the manager is that he should at least be aware that these ambiguities exist. If he cannot totally eliminate them in his program, he can at least try to minimize their possible negative effects. Kast and Rosenzweig suggest one approach he can take:

Amid the clamor for clarity in organizational goals, it might be wise to consider the possible virtues of vagueness. Clear-cut goals and mechanistic programs for achieving them may discount the human element and lead to a sterile environment which stifles individual initiative and results in under-utilization of human resources In an environment of multiple objectives it is impossible to focus on more than a few at

a time. When concentrating on one particular objective, other goals in the system must of necessity be relatively vague. The same is true for different periods of time. Short-range goals may be rather explicit, while medium- and long-range goals are more vague If goals are stated in general terms, there is room for organizational participants to fill in details according to their own perception and to modify the pattern to their own liking Vagueness makes it possible to work toward goals by many different means Unclear objectives facilitate compromise on the part of the participants with diverse value systems.³⁹

This may appear as a head-on rebuttal of "management by objectives," but is not intended as that by either the authors or this writer. Rather, it is a warning to the manager that MBO, like all other approaches to management, is not something he can use mechanically; he must use judgement, and frequently--to borrow Herbert Simon's word--accept objectives which merely "satisfice." It is also a warning to the manager that because total program aims can probably never be expressed completely in terms of specific, measurable objectives, neither can his evaluation subsystem ever be made entirely "automatic." It, too, will always require judgemental interpretations.

Early studies of organizations tended to view them as "closed" entities, with all control levers operated from the top. To the extent that goals were considered at all, they

³⁹Kast and Rosenzweig, Organization and Management, pp. 441-442.

were commonly pictured as being formulated by top managers almost as though the organization existed in a vacuum. More recent studies of organizations as social organisms, or as systems, tend more toward simultaneous consideration of the organization and its environment. The systems movement, in particular, with its notions of such things as interface points and feedback loops, has almost forced consideration of the environment of any organization (system) being examined. From this point, it has been equally logical to consider the impact of the organization's environment on the organization's goals.

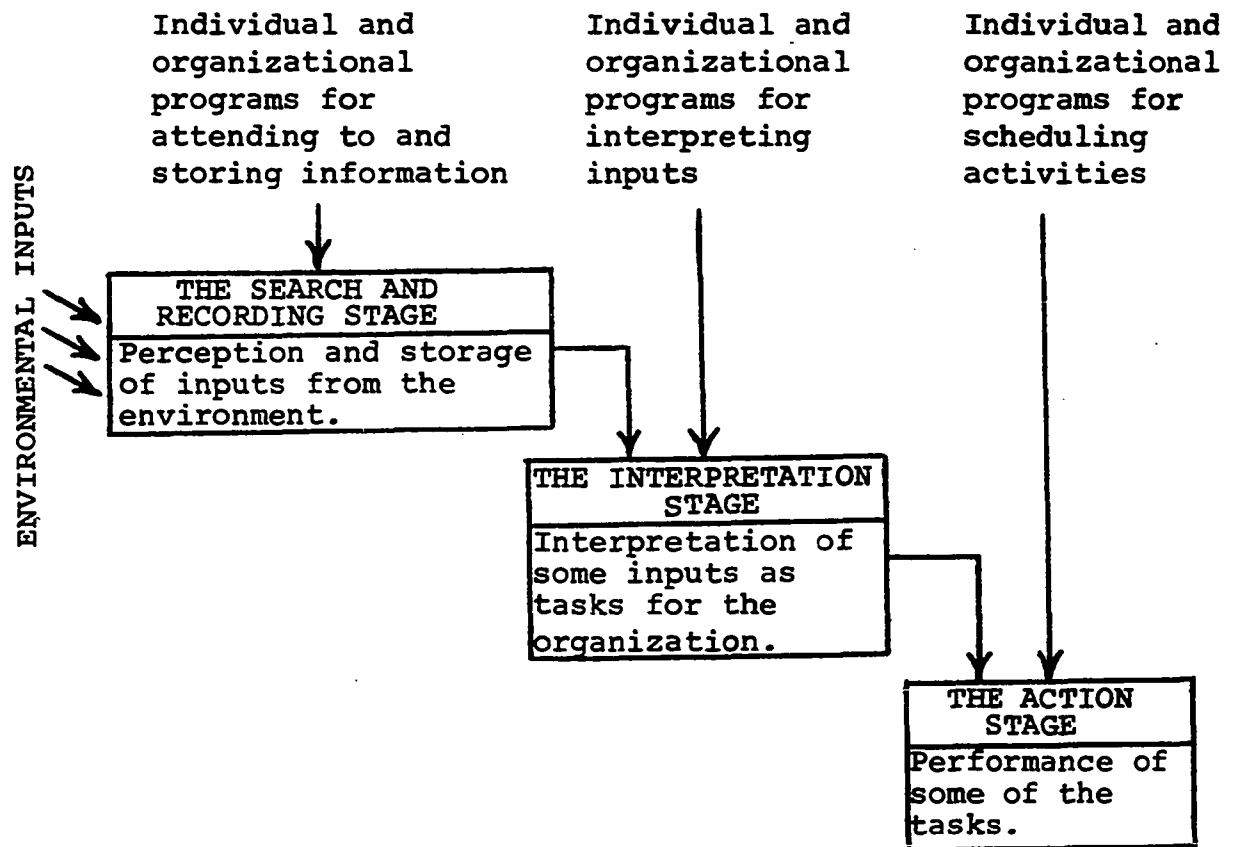
The environment can impact an organization's goals at several levels, e.g., at the levels of the total organization (we can read "program"), its sub-units (to us, "projects"), and its individual members. And wherever it impacts, the environment is likely to evoke changes in goals and/or approaches to goals, for the simple reason that the environment itself is in a constant state of change. This is one of the main reasons why organizations are frequently described as "adaptive," and why they must always be capable of accommodating to outside influences. An exceptionally complete analysis of this subject has been done by William R. Dill of the Carnegie Institute of Technology, who suggests that insight into

organization/environment interaction can be gained by conceptualizing the organization as an information processing system. In relating this to organizational goals he writes:

Once information from the environment has entered the organization's communication system, the next step is usually to ascribe meaning or relevance to it. Few environmental inputs provide clearly defined prescriptions for organizational action. Instead, they provide cues which members of the organization can interpret in many different ways. A major organizational function, which has so far received relatively little attention in organizational research, involves evaluating, interpreting, and combining inputs into formulations of tasks for the organization to perform. Tasks are the organization's own statements of the goals that it wants to achieve and of the means by which it hopes to achieve them.⁴⁰

The literature of management information systems has already told the program manager that he must have links to the environment. Professor Dill is now adding that it is not enough simply to react to received inputs on a piecemeal basis--the manager must synthesize them to form coherent goals. Dill offers a diagrammed approach to doing this, at least on a short-term basis:

⁴⁰William R. Dill, "The Impact of Environment on Organizational Development," in Concepts and Issues in Administrative Behavior, ed. by Sidney Mailick and Edward Van Ness (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1962), p. 98.



Short-Run Patterns of Environmental Influence⁴¹

Internal activities can also lead to goal changes, as the organization learns. These changes can be short-range and tactical, or long-range and strategic, or both. Ernest Dale (whose primary concern is the business sector) says that organization growth is probably the biggest single (internal) cause of goal change, partly because it leads to successive reorganizations.⁴² Factors involved in growth may include new

⁴¹Ibid., p. 100.

⁴²Ernest Dale, Organization (n.p.: American Management Association, 1967), p. 189.

products, new technologies, new clients, diversification, and so forth. In the case of federal programs, of course, growth is often tied directly to funding levels, so the distinction between "internal" and "external" causes becomes ambiguous.

Dale points out that goal change is perfectly alright, and is, in fact, to be expected, but that it should always be consciously done. It should result from the formal decision process, not from drift. His following comment on this is aimed at the business firm, but is equally appropriate to the federal realm:

Fundamentally, . . . the decision to change should be based on evidence of organizational shortcomings, which may be due to growth or other changes, internal or external. For example, there may be evidence that the fundamental objectives of the company are no longer clear to many of the executives, either because the objectives have changed over the years or because growth has produced so much distance between the top and the lower executives that the latter have become confused about just what they should be trying to do. Or, although the general company objectives are clear to everyone, many executives may be confused about the objectives of their own work or the extent of their responsibility and authority.⁴³

An immediate application of this to federal programs might involve the case where the Washington-based (or regional headquarters-based) manager has accepted new mandates which modify his perception of the overall program goals, but where these

⁴³Ibid., p. 192.

changed perceptions have not been fully communicated to the field project staffs. A situation like this can drastically skew the results of an on-going evaluation effort.

Organization theorists have done much work in the area of goal conflict, from which program managers can profit generally and from which they can gain new insights into the evaluation problem. Goal conflict, in one form or another, exists in a variety of places within any organization: between the organization and its formal sub-groups (or subsystems), between the sub-groups themselves, between individuals and the organization and/or its sub-groups, between the formal authority structure and what is known as the informal authority structure, and so forth. A. K. Collins draws on Cyert and March to formulate a comment on this:

Cyert and March have proposed a different conception of organizational goals which recognizes that conflict of goals is never fully resolved within organizations. In their model the organization is viewed as a coalition made up of a number of sub-coalitions. Goals arise from a process of bargaining among members of the sub-coalitions.⁴⁴

This conception obviously disregards any imposed "official" goals the organization may have and deals directly with what Perrow has labeled "operative" goals. The federal program

⁴⁴A. K. Collins, The Dynamics of Organization (Melbourne, Australia: Sun Books Pty Ltd., 1968), p. 39.

manager/evaluator is thus warned--again--that he cannot effectively evaluate field projects simply on the basis of what his policy directives say they should be doing.

A final input from the goal-theorists relates to categories of goals. If the program manager thinks of evaluation in terms of progress toward goals--which, in part, he should--it may be helpful for him to realize that they are sometimes grouped into taxonomies. The International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences suggests one form of grouping:

To provide some order in this subject area and to illustrate the work on goals that has been done, we shall distinguish six categories of goals, recognizing that the number could be smaller or larger. Three have external referents--society, the public in contact with the organization, the investors--and will be referred to, respectively, as societal goals, output goals, and investor goals. The other three have internal referents, that is, to the organization and its members. They are system goals (survival, growth, etc.), product goals (the defining characteristics of the product such as quality, availability, styling), and the somewhat residual category of derived goals (those which make use of the power the organization generates in the pursuit of the other goals.)⁴⁵

Relating these to our previous declaration that program evaluation should relate to process as well as effects, most of them will be recognized as process goals. It is questionable that

⁴⁵Charles Perrow, "Organizational Goals," in International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, ed. by David L. Sills (Vol. 10, n.p.: The Macmillan Company and the Free Press, 1968), p. 306.

all these types of goals can be expressed in "measurable" terms, but this may be acceptable to the manager if he first realizes that he cannot possibly evaluate everything--that the resources he can devote to evaluation will certainly limit its scope. On the other hand, knowledge of these theoretical categories of goals may help him to make better choices of what he does evaluate, which can lead to more productive use of whatever resources he has.

The work of the organization theorists on goals is closely related to their work on organizational effectiveness, to which we now turn. And as we do, a now familiar dichotomy emerges once again, in that the writers on this subject can readily be categorized into those who are goal oriented and those who are process oriented. This being the case, one might now make a quantum leap and expect to find almost total duplication here of the work of the evaluation specialists--and one would be in error. There is quite a bit of overlap between the two fields, but there is also a great amount of difference. For example, we will find the organization theorists concerned with such things as organizational morale, but while program staffs must certainly have high morale, program evaluation writers do not normally concern themselves with this.

Amitai Etzioni opens the argument against a limited goals achievement standard by which to measure organizational effectiveness:

Another reason for the invariant discrepancy between goals and social units . . . is that all social units, including organizations, are multifunctional units. Therefore, while devoting part of their means directly to goal activities, social units have to devote another part to other functions, such as the recruitment of further means to the goal and the maintenance of units performing goal activities and service activities.⁴⁶

This statement might have been in a book on program evaluation, because it is directly pertinent to the manager's evaluation task, but it is not; it is in a book addressed to organizational effectiveness. The literature of evaluation almost never mentions this sort of thing, possibly because its authors are chiefly interested in social problems and/or social research, and are not oriented toward either organization or management. But to return to Etzioni and his cause, we have this additional argument against limiting performance assessment to looking at progress toward goals:

Some organizations are found gradually to increase their effectiveness by improving their structure and their relations with the environment. In other organizations effectiveness is slowly or rapidly declining.

⁴⁶Amitai Etzioni, "Two Approaches to Organizational Analysis: A Critique and a Suggestion," in Assessment of Organizational Effectiveness, ed. by Jaisingh Ghorpade (Pacific Palisades, California: Goodyear Publishing Company, Inc., 1971), p. 34.

Still others are highly effective at the initial period, when commitments to goals are strong, and less effective when the commitment level declines to what is "normal" for this organization. These few examples suffice to show that the goal model may not supply the best possible frame of reference for effectiveness. It compares the ideal with the real, as a result of which most levels of performance look alike--quite low.⁴⁷

The "outside" evaluator, concerned with producing a recommendation for some policy-making body, might find little to interest him in Etzioni's foregoing comments. To him, goals were either achieved or they were not achieved. But to the manager/evaluator, Etzioni's words have import: they tell him to watch for trends in what his feedback is telling him about the impact his program is having, and they suggest things for him to consider when he spots one.

Having satisfactorily demolished what he calls the "goal model" of organizational effectiveness, Etzioni offers a presumably better one: a "system model." He says that it will be a model of a multifunctional unit, and that it will assume the allocation of means to such non-goal functions as service and custodial activities, "including means employed for the maintenance of the unit itself."⁴⁸ As one of his arguments for the system model, he sets forth a paradox:

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 35.

⁴⁸Ibid.

Paradox of Ineffectiveness: An advantage of the system model is that it enables us to conceive of a basic form of ineffectiveness which is hard to imagine and impossible to explain from the viewpoint of the goal model. The goal approach sees assignment of means to goal activities as functional. The more means assigned to goal activities, the more effective the organization is expected to be. In terms of the goal model, the fact that an organization can become more effective by allocating less means to goal activities is a paradox.⁴⁹

Etzioni goes on to explain that the system model will frequently point out a need to allocate higher percentages of available resources to supportive functions within the organization, which will make it more effective, and which will--in the final analysis--improve its goal-achievement performance.

Etzioni's overall argument supports the position taken in this paper, i.e., that from the manager's viewpoint, program evaluation must look at all the things that go into producing the program's ultimate product--client impact. It also implies that while designing his evaluation subsystem, the manager should try to build in sources of feedback about factors which affect the health and welfare of his program as an organization. Other scholars in the field of organization effectiveness say similar things, as evidenced by this comment on the establishment of criteria for effectiveness:

Clearly, effectiveness criteria must take into account the profitability of the organization, the degree to

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 41.

which it satisfies its members, and the degree to which it is of value to the larger society of which it is a part. These three perspectives include system maintenance and growth, sub-system fulfillment, and environmental fulfillment. Each is obviously composed of several related components, and each component is hypothetically related to each other.⁵⁰

Relating this to the design of a program evaluation subsystem might entail this sequence: (1) Taking as a criterion of effectiveness the statement that an organization must satisfy its members, the manager can (2) endeavor to identify (or create) suitable indicators of member satisfaction (morale), and then (3) place "sensors" where they will provide him with feedback on this subject. Feedback of this type can be continuous, but is more apt to be of the "exception" variety, since the manager may only have time to deal with serious morale problems. Also, such feedback may have to be mainly subjective in nature, since quantifiable data in this area is difficult to obtain except perhaps in very large organizations.

Unfortunately, there is a large gap between recognizing the need for criteria of organizational effectiveness and the actual establishment of same. Here, most organization theorists have been long on philosophy but short on workable applications,

⁵⁰Frank Friedlander and Hall Pickle, "Components of Effectiveness in Small Organizations," in Assessment of Organizational Effectiveness, ed. by Jaisingh Ghorpade, p. 192.

as is spelled out in this discouraging comment by Daniel Katz and Robert Kahn:

There is no lack of material on criteria of organizational success. The literature is studded with references to efficiency, productivity, absence, turnover and profitability--all of these offered implicitly or explicitly, separately or in combination, as definitions of organizational effectiveness. Most of what has been written on the meaning of these criteria and on their interrelatedness, however, is judgemental and open to question. What is worse, it is filled with advice that seems sagacious but is tautological and contradictory.⁵¹

Acknowledging part of this problem, but desiring to take advantage of some of the useful work that has been done in the area, James Price has attempted a form of consolidation. He has established a group of standards, expressed as propositions, and endeavored to test them against an inventory of fifty studies done by other scholars. Price is basically a "goals" man, in that he says "effectiveness, the dependent variable of this inventory, may be defined as the degree of goal achievement,"⁵² but he believes five other "sub-variables" should also be considered. These are productivity, morale, conformity,

⁵¹Daniel Katz and Robert L. Kahn, "The Concept of Organizational Effectiveness," in Assessment of Organizational Effectiveness, ed. by Jaisingh Ghorpade, p. 52.

⁵²James L. Price, Organizational Effectiveness: An Inventory of Propositions (Homewood, Illinois: Richard D. Irwin, Inc.), pp. 2-3.

adaptiveness, and institutionalization.⁵³ Here are three examples from the extensive list of propositions which Price feels are verified by the fifty studies:

Proposition 3.4. Organizations which have the maximum degree of centralization with respect to strategic decisions are more likely to have a high degree of effectiveness than organizations which do not have the maximum degree of centralization with respect to strategic decisions.⁵⁴

Proposition 5.1. Organizations which have a high degree of sanctions are more likely to have a high degree of effectiveness than organizations which have a low degree of sanctions.⁵⁵

Proposition 6.1. Organizations which have a high degree of communication are more likely to have high degrees of effectiveness than organizations which have a low degree of communication.⁵⁶

Price's "verified" propositions, in toto, are instructive about where a manager/evaluator might profitably look while evaluating the overall configuration, operating rules, and "style" of his program.

Another writer whose work has been similar to that of Price is Wolf Heydebrand, who has made direct empirical studies of many organizations in an attempt to learn more about what most influences their effectiveness. Heydebrand's point of departure is this:

⁵³Ibid., p. 5.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 138.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 60.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 163.

Organizational effectiveness will be defined here in terms of quality, volume, and efficiency of goal attainment, as well as in terms of adaptability. All of these elements of effectiveness are closely tied to the specificity and complexity of the goals, objectives, and tasks of an organization. Effectiveness in performing a series of tasks as defined by certain objectives involves the consideration of the means relative to the ends, the "realistic" assessment of "operational goals," and the definition of the quality of problem solving in terms of optimal, "satisficing solutions, rather than maximizing ones."⁵⁷

Heydebrand, also, is goal-oriented, but--like Price--he wants to examine a variety of organizational factors which influence the extent of goal achievement. Price and Heydebrand are both mentioned here to illustrate that organizational effectiveness, as a field of literature, has considerable depth and is a potentially fruitful area of study for the student of program evaluation.

The final facet of organization theory to be touched on in this section is its concept of institutionalization. Phillip Selznick is generally credited with having first conceptualized institutionalization and with developing its basic outlines,⁵⁸ but many writers have now built on that foundation. The subject can be approached by visualizing a continuum, with

⁵⁷Wolf V. Heydebrand, ed., Comparative Organizations: The Results of Empirical Research (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973), p. 19.

⁵⁸See Phillip Selznick, Leadership in Administration (Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson, 1957).

"mere organization" on one end and with "institution" on the other. One task of leadership is to move the organization toward "institution" status. Selznick sets up four tests to identify the "institutionalized" organization:

- a) Institutions have duration, or permanence. They are stable. Mere organizations may be temporary and/or unstable.
- b) An institution has characteristics which distinguish it from other organizations of its type. It has uniqueness.
- c) An institution is infused with values, both for its membership and for outsiders.
- d) Institutions are seen as being less expendable than organizations.⁵⁹

As an organization goes through the process of institutionalization it becomes more predictable, and this in turn enhances the feelings of security held by its members, its clients, and its sponsors. Another byproduct of the institutionalization process is that organizational components become more nearly interchangable--a notion that applies mainly but not solely to staff. Institutionalization also facilitates the task of new-member socialization, which is always a drain on organizational resources.

⁵⁹Paraphrased from a lecture given by Professor Hugh MacNiven at the University of Oklahoma on March 9, 1971.

The concept of institutionalization can suggest new objectives for the federal program manager which may enhance the viability of his programs, and if he adopts any of these, he of course assumes new evaluative tasks. In any event, it is suggested that both practitioners and theorists in the field of program evaluation can add to their understanding of their subject by accessing the work that has been done by organization theorists in the sub-area of institutionalization. The evaluation model presented in this Chapter has been influenced by that work.

C. Evaluation Research

In this paper, the literature of social program evaluation research has been used mainly to describe what program evaluation is, why it is done, problems associated with doing it, and so forth. No attempt has been made to include technical descriptions of the research itself, in part because this writer claims no expertise in the field, but more especially because it is held that the program manager/evaluator needs no such expertise. While it is deemed reasonable to expect program managers to understand management by objectives, management information systems, and other common tools of their trade, in evaluation research--as in operations research--they should be permitted/expected to employ the assistance of specialists.

On the other hand, just as managers must know something about accounting in order to know when and why they may need the help of accountants, program managers must know something about the technicalities of evaluation research. In this section, therefore, we will touch at least briefly upon some of the techniques in the tool kits of the researchers. Also, we will return to the evaluation literature to expand upon a topic already mentioned, i.e., the concept of causality, which lies behind Carol Weiss' notion of "proxy goals." Finally, we will look more closely than we have at the problems of side effects and of multiple causality, two more areas where the research literature may be able to make a unique contribution.

At this juncture it seems expedient to clarify the anticipated role of the research specialist (or specialists) in the development and implementation of any actual evaluation program to be based on the model presented herein. First, it is assumed that he will be employed directly by the program manager, in either a consultative or a salaried status, and that he will be available to the manager on a "permanent" basis. Next, it is expected that he will work closely with the manager in all phases of evaluation subsystem planning, and that this will include the identification of measurable output goals. It is assumed that he will design instruments, methods, and the like--

i.e., "sensors"--for assessing the program's ongoing impact on clients, and that he will indoctrinate field project personnel in their use. Related to this, he will help to develop suitable reporting procedures--i.e., feedback loops--for routing needed information about impacts back to the program (and project) manager. Also related to this, he will help to develop procedures for aggregating feedback information and preparing it for managerial review in the form of graphs, charts, tables, print-outs and whatever. And he will assist the manager in interpreting this feedback, and in planning any program changes that may be deemed necessary in response to it. In addition to all this, he will be expected to produce occasional short-term "research designs" with and for the managers, to answer special questions about program effects.

Some of the things to be specifically excluded from his role are also important. For example, he will have to understand that he has no special privileges regarding what he can publish about the program--he will be expected to behave with the same discretion as any other program (or project) staff member. Additionally, he will have to understand that his efforts are not oriented toward policy decisions, but toward management decisions; if he can think only in terms of grand research designs which demand protracted periods of program

stability for their fulfillment, he should seek other employment.

Carol Weiss describes the role that most evaluation research specialists might like to play, then offers an alternative:

Evaluators generally come out of the academic research tradition. In school they were subjected to the socialization processes and the initiation rites of science. By far the majority still take what Kathleen Archibald has described as an "academic orientation" to their work. They value their autonomy from the sponsor's interference in their research, and once they have completed their study, they do not seek involvement in the agency's decision-making conflicts Many evaluators are therefore more interested in doing work that will be of interest to their professional colleagues than in answering the administrators' practical questions.⁶⁰

There are, however, minority traditions in applied research that place greater value on influencing the decision process. One of the best known is "action research." Derived principally from the work of Kurt Lewin, action research involves self-study procedures; the people who are to take action participate in the research process. The action-research group diagnoses its difficulties, collects information to help make necessary changes, and after the changes have been effected, evaluates their effectiveness. The research aspect is clearly subordinated to bringing about needed modifications in the structure and functioning of the group.⁶¹

⁶⁰Carol Weiss, Evaluation Research: Methods of Assessing Program Effectiveness (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1972), p. 111.

⁶¹Ibid., p. 113.

Weiss fairly describes the desired role of the evaluation researcher in a program evaluation effort based on the model presented in this paper.

As indicated above, it is desirable that the evaluation research specialist be involved in the task of developing program objectives. This is not because the program manager is inherently incapable of doing this alone, or with his other staff personnel--it is because the manner in which objectives are expressed will have a great influence on how progress toward them can be measured. To assist in the formulation of objectives which will be optimally susceptible to evaluative techniques, Edward Suchman offers the following six questions:

1. What is the nature of the content of the objective? Are we interested in changing knowledge, attitudes, and/or behavior? Are we concerned with producing exposure, awareness, interest, and/or action?
2. Who is the target of the program? At which groups in the population is the program aimed? Are we seeking to change individuals, groups, or whole communities?
3. When is the desired change to take place? Are we seeking an immediate effect or are we gradually building toward some postponed effect?
4. Are the objectives unitary or multiple? Is the program aimed at a single change or a series of changes? Are these changes the same for all people or do they vary for different groups of people?
5. What is the desired magnitude of effect? Are we seeking widespread or concentrated results? Do we have to attain any particular proportion of

effectiveness before the program can be considered a success? Are there any specified standards of accomplishment that we have to meet?

6. How is the objective to be attained? What means are to be used to put the program across? Will one depend primarily on voluntary cooperation or will an attempt be made to secure legal sanctions? Will personal or impersonal, formal or informal appeals be made?⁶²

Suchman justifies these questions thusly:

These six questions deal with basic questions that need to be answered in formulating the objectives of a program for the sake of evaluation. While some of these questions may be irrelevant for operational purposes, they play a crucial role in determining which objectives one selects for evaluation and how one designs the evaluation study. Such methodological problems as sampling, selection of controls, preparation of measuring instruments, method of field administration, and techniques of analysis are strongly affected by the kinds of answers one gives to the questions specified above⁶³

These questions and explanatory comment by Suchman are presented here as illustrative of the way in which evaluation research specialists approach the task of setting objectives. It was stated earlier that program managers must have some understanding of the evaluators' craft in order to know when and how to use them, and this might be called "lesson one."

⁶²Edward A. Suchman, Evaluative Research: Principles and Practice in Public Service and Social Action Programs (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1967), pp. 39-41.

⁶³Ibid., p. 41.

After objectives have been set but before the program can get underway, the program staff must develop an output evaluation plan.⁶⁴ In a case of classic evaluation research this would probably have taken the form of an "experimental model," with carefully selected control groups, but within the program context some other approach will most likely be selected. (This is because program personnel would probably find it difficult to identify and maintain close contact with a randomly selected group of people who--while being ideally suited to participate in the program--are kept from doing so.) As an alternative, the evaluation specialist may suggest the use of case studies, post-program surveys, time series, correlational studies, etc., alone or in combination. One such approach involves the use of a "panel," as is described by Suchman:

"Before" measures are made of an unexposed target population. The program is initiated and "after" measures of the desired effect are made to compare changes that have taken place in those who became exposed with those who did not. If the program is an on-going one, these measures can be repeated periodically in a "during-during-during" design. Information can be fed

⁶⁴Discussion here is limited to the evaluation of client impact factors, i.e., program outputs. Planning for the evaluation of input and process variables will also be done by the manager, but it is expected that in doing so he will get more help from the literature of management and organization theory than from that of evaluation research.

back to the program which can then undergo a series of revisions with the effects of various changes being measured at different points in time.⁶⁵

This approach has well developed methodologies, as do the others listed above, and it is expected that the evaluation specialist will be able to communicate these to the manager while justifying his recommendations.

In pursuing an evaluation plan, skilled researchers can--as Weiss explains--measure all sorts of things:

They can use the whole arsenal of research techniques-- observation, content analysis of documents, testing, search of existing records, interviews, questionnaires, sociometric choices, laboratory experiments, game playing, physical examinations, measurement of physical evidence, and so on. With attitude tests and opinion polls, they can even measure such relatively "soft" goals as improvements in self-esteem or self-reliance.⁶⁶

But it is emphasized that the researchers must be skilled; here, the literature can only tell the typical manager what is possible, and he must depend upon his research specialist to get it done. As Freeman and Sherwood remark: "At first glance, developing yardsticks for measuring social behavior and community conditions may appear simple. It is not; moreover,

⁶⁵Edward A. Suchman, "Action for What? A Critique of Evaluative Research," in The Organization, Management and Tactics of Social Research, ed. by Richard O'Toole (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Schenkman Publishing Company, Inc., 1971), p. 112.

⁶⁶Weiss, Evaluation Research, p. 26.

the success of program planning depends upon the selection of relevant measures."⁶⁷

In addition to being "relevant," these yardsticks must be accurate. This sounds like a truism, but it is an unfortunate fact that the results of a great number of social research projects have been negated when it was determined--after the fact--that their measuring sticks had been non-linear, or otherwise biased. To illustrate the point, we can consider a situation wherein an evaluator goes directly to a program's clients in search of information. He may be doing this on either a statistical sampling basis or via a total census approach, but in either case he will be using some sort of survey instrument--a questionnaire, a structured interview format, a test, etc. After he gets his information, he will compile it into some sort of report format and communicate it to his sponsor. In this total process, he will encounter the possibility of at least three major classes of error, as described by Howard Ehrlich:

A. Response errors

1. deliberate error (e.g., lying, evasiveness).
2. reporting error (e.g., errors of knowledge, recall).

⁶⁷Howard E. Freeman and Clarence C. Sherwood, Social Research and Social Policy (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970), p. 39.

3. stylistic error (e.g., acquiescence, indecisiveness).

B. Instrument errors

1. commitment error (e.g., inadequate alternatives, meaningless options).
2. errors of order (e.g., primacy effects, effects of repetition).
3. errors of structure (e.g., ambiguity, difficulty level).
4. errors of measurement (instrument-generated changes).

C. Researcher errors

1. errors derived from the communication of expected results.
2. errors of non-standard research operations.
3. errors of deceptive/manipulative designs.
4. errors of sponsorship.⁶⁸

Ehrlich's taxonomy includes more than just instrument errors, but his entire list is applicable to our discussion because there is little ultimate difference between errors resulting from a poorly-designed instrument and those from a good instrument improperly employed and/or interpreted. The important factor here is that program managers must know something about the types and sources of possible errors in measurement, to enable them to work intelligently with social research specialists.

⁶⁸Howard Ehrlich, "The Sociology of Social Research: A Discussion," in The Organization, Management and Tactics of Social Research, ed. by Richard O'Toole, p. 48.

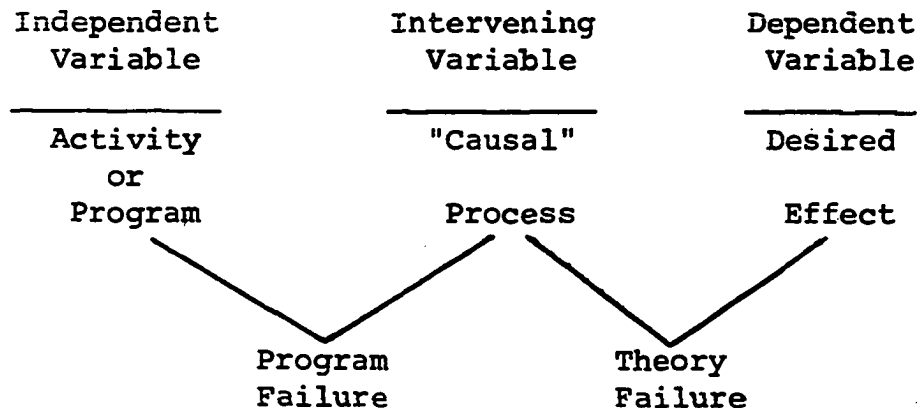
At this point, having at least introduced some of the techniques--and some of the technical problems--of the social researchers, we will examine their writings to pick up a few of their comments about causality. The concept of causality is of prime importance in the planning, management, and evaluation of social programs because in a majority of cases a program cannot aim directly at its ultimate, basic objectives. For example, if the basic goal of a manpower development program is to move certain unskilled people into the ranks of the permanently employed, it may put most of its effort into training them--relying upon the concept of causality to take over from there. To express this more precisely: job training will be seen as a necessary cause of subsequent employment (although not as sufficient cause), and will therefore serve as the "proxy" goal of the program. Another example of causality would be a public health program with the basic goal of eradicating smallpox in a given locale, when the program devotes all of its efforts to a vaccination campaign. In this case, the proxy goal--vaccination--even constitutes sufficient cause, because the program operators can be sure that the causal process will definitely work.

In both of the foregoing examples there is little doubt that the indicated proxy goals are valid. If they can be

attained, the possibility of achieving the basic goals are certainly enhanced, if not assured. Progress toward the proxy goals is therefore a meaningful subject for evaluation. Unfortunately, not all proxy goals meet this standard, as is noted here:

. . . a project Head Start may succeed in increasing the curiosity of culturally deprived pre-schoolers, but whether increased curiosity leads to higher educational aspirations is a matter of theory and non-evaluation research. This is probably the reason why so few evaluations can show any direct effect of a program upon ultimate objectives.⁶⁹

Edward Suchman illustrates this statement with a diagram wherein he tries to show the relationship between program, causal process, and desired (ultimate) effect:⁷⁰



⁶⁹Edward A. Suchman, "Evaluating Educational Programs," in Readings in Evaluation Research, ed. by Francis G. Caro (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1971), p. 47.

⁷⁰Ibid.

He is saying, in brief, that any inability to trigger the selected causal process (to achieve the proxy goal) is a matter of program failure, while any inability of the causal process to lead to desired ultimate effects is a matter of unsound theory. Relating this to our model, we can say that program evaluation will normally be limited to assessing progress toward (or achievement of) the intervening variable, and therefore may or may not be acceptable as indicative of progress toward ultimate (or basic) objectives.

B. G. Greenberg draws from his experience in public health programs to offer an example of their reliance on the concept of causality. He first says that "ultimate goals may be specific, such as lowered mortality, or they may be vague and refer to such concepts as increased levels of well-being or healthful living."⁷¹ He then presents a table showing--on a time scale--the typical relationships between inputs and outputs in a public health program. The portion of that table dealing with time-phased outputs looks like this:⁷²

⁷¹B. G. Greenberg, "Evaluation of Social Programs," in Readings in Evaluation Research, ed. by Caro, pp. 160-161.

⁷²Ibid., p. 161.

Output
(True evaluation)

<u>Immediate Goals</u>	<u>Intermediate Goals</u>	<u>Long-Range Goals</u>
Increase in knowledge, improved attitudes and practices.	More positive health and improved status.	Reduction in morbidity and mortality.
<u>Reduced dissatisfaction</u>	<u>Reduced disease</u>	<u>Reduction in death</u>
<u>Reduced disinterest</u>	<u>Reduced discomfort and deprivation</u>	<u>Reduced disability</u>

Greenberg says that in public health programs, it is not uncommon to find a three to five year interval between the time of program impact--when it achieves its immediate goals--and the time when intermediate goals are reached. He adds that the interval between program and long-range goal attainment is frequently about ten years.⁷³

Recognition of the widespread reliance on causal processes constitutes, in itself, a powerful argument against the one-shot, "pass-fail" program evaluations by outside agencies. In very few programs, it appears, is it realistic to assess achievement of basic goals until several years after implementation of a program, and by that time it is much too late to make correctional changes. Alternatively, if the evaluators

⁷³Ibid., p. 162.

unquestioningly accept the program's proxy goals as their basis for evaluation, their results will be--at best--only as valid as the applied causal theory behind the establishment of the proxy goals. Program reliance on causal processes seems to demand some sort of process model of evaluation, as described here by Weiss:

The process model makes clear what intermediate effects the evaluation has to look for, and directs attention to the essentials. Tracking the progress of the program input along its putative path allows a test of the theoretical linkages and enables the evaluation to say useful things about the stage where things go awry and adjustment is needed.⁷⁴

The evaluation model of this paper is a process model, in that it demands evaluation of every step in the program from planning and inputs through effort to outputs, and because it is ongoing. Anyone studying it, teaching it, or implementing it is expected to incorporate all the subject matter of this Chapter into it, including, of course, the concept of causality. And in specific regard to causal theory, they are expected to apply this to the best of their ability when first establishing their immediate (or proxy) objectives, and again while reexamining the validity of those objectives as the program moves along.

⁷⁴Carol Weiss, "Utilization of Evaluation," in Readings in Evaluation Research, ed. by Caro, p. 140.

The final topics to be taken up here (from the evaluation literature) and thereby associated with the evaluation model are the related problems of side effects and multiple causality. "Side effects" may be defined as those inadvertent impacts of a program on its clients, its environment, or even on its own personnel and processes. "Multiple causality" refers to the fact that "effects" are usually caused by more than one thing; that a federal program, for example, because it cannot operate in isolation, must never be taken as the sole cause of effects associated with it. One way to discern a relationship between side effects and multiple causality is to consider the logical reverse of the latter, i.e., the notion that every single "cause" will have multiple effects.

The proper attitude of evaluators toward side effects is made clear by Hyman and Wright, who state: "Evaluation aims to provide objective, systematic, and comprehensive evidence on the degree to which a program achieves its intended objectives plus the degree to which it produces unanticipated consequences which when recognized would also be regarded as relevant to the social-action agency."⁷⁵ These unanticipated consequences can, of course, turn out to be either desirable

⁷⁵Herbert H. Hyman and Charles R. Wright, "Evaluating Social Action Programs," in Readings in Evaluation Research, ed. by Caro, p. 202.

or undesirable. Greenberg tells of a family planning program based upon the insertion of intra-uterine devices, where physical examination of the women led to the discovery of uterine abnormalities.⁷⁶ In the opposite direction, we have this example from Hyman and Wright:

. . . a public health mass-information campaign . . . failed to increase the amount of information about venereal disease among certain publics or the rate at which they volunteered for treatment; nevertheless, the campaign ultimately led to a reduction in the amount of untreated disease in the area because it boosted the morale of local health workers and stimulated them to more vigorous efforts on their job once the campaign had attracted public attention to their professional problem.⁷⁷

A classical example of program side effects can be found in the famous Western Electric Company studies of the 1930s, as reported by Roethlisberger and Dickson.⁷⁸ In this case, the mere existence of the study group and its experimental activities produced effects which were initially quite difficult to explain, and which would certainly have taxed the abilities of any "evaluator" on the scene. This particular program spin-off is commonly called "Hawthorne Effect," and it is still very

⁷⁶Greenberg, "Evaluation of Social Programs," p. 162.

⁷⁷Hyman and Wright, "Evaluating Social Action Programs," p. 203.

⁷⁸See F. J. Roethlisberger and William J. Dickson, Management and the Worker (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1939).

much with us. For example, Freeman and Sherwood write that it has been suggested that "the supposed efficacy of tranquilizers in curtailing symptoms of mental illness is not due to the drugs themselves but to the phenomenon of nurses, physicians, and ward attendants feeling that the patients are going to do better and thus behaving differently toward them."⁷⁹

The program manager is not expected to become expert at recognizing or measuring side effects, but he should know enough about the phenomenon to be able to work with his evaluation specialist in assuring that their probable existence will be anticipated by his evaluation subsystem. The design of the evaluation model of this paper is predicated on the assumption that both manager and staff research specialist will make systematic efforts to identify and evaluate program side effects.

Multiple causality is also a two-edged sword, in that any external "causes" which may mix with program "causes" to form a combined "effect" on clients can be either positive or negative, i.e., they may either reinforce the program or work against it. T. K. Glennan tells of a comprehensive youth program wherein it was noted that successful labor market

⁷⁹Freeman and Sherwood, Social Research and Social Policy, p. 124.

performance had an inverse relationship to length of stay in the program.⁸⁰ As an evaluation result this might have been enough to scuttle the program, but a check for multiple causality provided an explanation: youths with more severe problems tended to stay in the program longer and also to have poorer labor market performance after leaving it. The opposite type of problem might occur if some new employer moved into the neighborhood of a similar program, on such a scale as to positively impact the availability of jobs for program participants. An on-going evaluative feedback under these circumstances might indicate that the program itself had suddenly become more effective, when such would not be the case.

Edward Suchman notes that no events have single causes and that all events have multiple effects. Also, that all events are interrelated via a complex causal network which is open to purposeful intervention.⁸¹ He is impressed by the wide implications which this open-system approach to causality has for program evaluation:

Evaluations of success must be made in terms of conditional probabilities involving attacks upon causal

⁸⁰T. K. Glennan, Jr., "Evaluating Federal Manpower Programs," in Evaluating Social Programs, ed. by Peter H. Rossi and Walter Williams (New York: Seminar Press, 1972), p. 205.

⁸¹Suchman, Evaluative Research, p. 84.

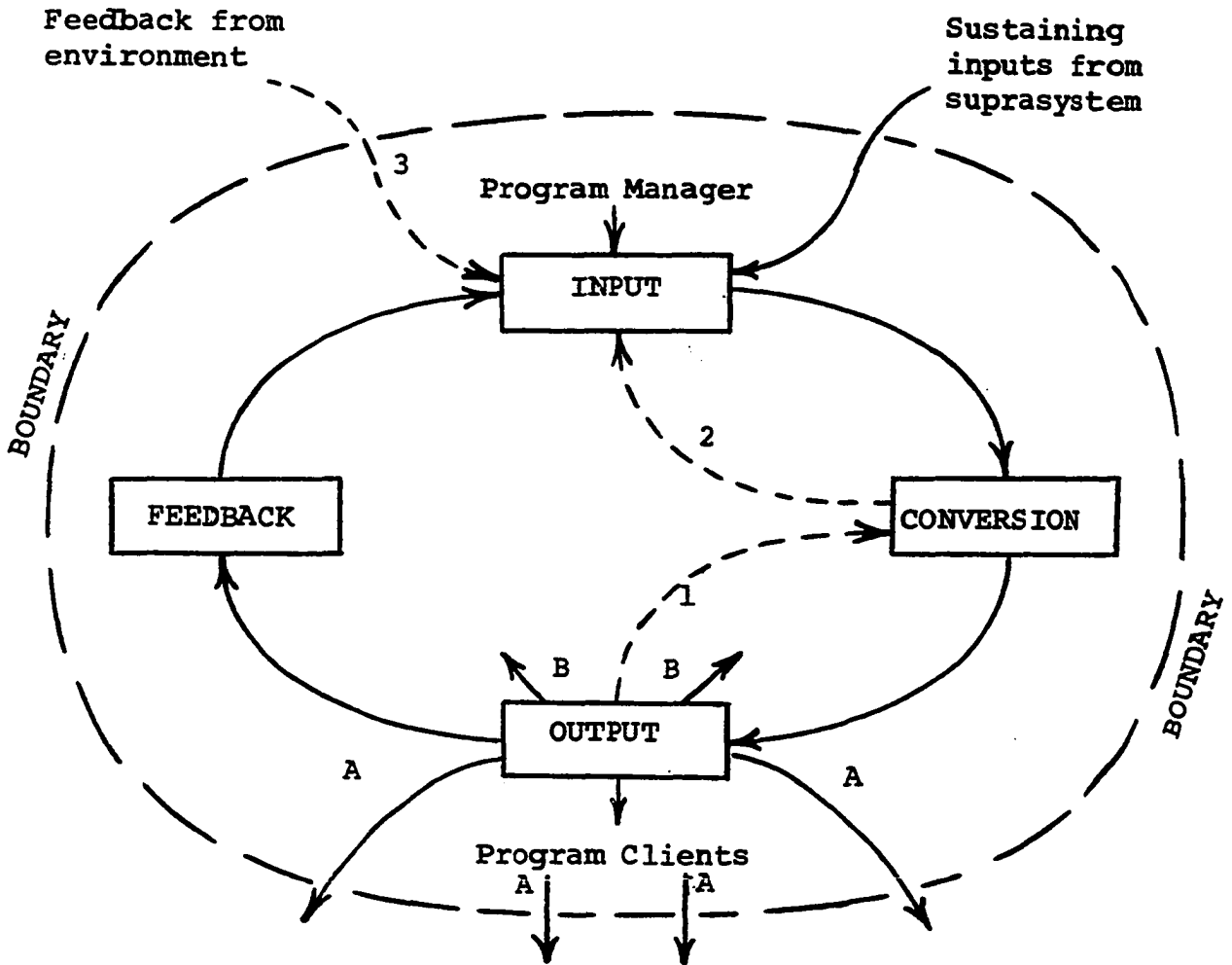
factors which are only disposing, contributory, or precipitating rather than determining. The effect of any single factor will depend upon other circumstances also being present and will itself reflect a host of antecedent events. These surrounding circumstances become an essential part of the "explanation" of the success or failure of attempts to influence any particular causal factor and combine to increase or decrease the probability but not the certainty of effective action.⁸²

Many evaluations have gutted themselves on the rocks and shoals of multiple causality and side effects. These subjects have been introduced here to associate them--by inference--with the evaluation model, and to suggest to the program manager that he might profit from additional study of the concept and theories of causality.

D. Evaluation Model

This section (D) of this Chapter sets forth a conceptual approach to federal social program evaluation as seen from the viewpoint of the program manager. It incorporates, either explicitly or implicitly, all the concepts set forth in the preceding sections of this Chapter and in Chapter III. Its orientation is toward control, based on evaluative feedback information about the program's inputs, efforts, and outputs. In ideographic form, this is the basic model:

⁸²Ibid., pp. 84-85.



LEGEND

INPUT The main control point of the program, where sustaining resources, authorizations, and mandates are synthesized to produce plans, goals, directives, and support for the program's central staff and field projects. Also, the point where feedback information is compared with established (goal-based) standards to produce changes in the plans, goals, and directives provided to the central staff

and field projects. These activities are carried out under the direction of the program manager.

- CONVERSION** The program's field projects, where directives and support are translated into activities which will impact clients.
- OUTPUT** The main point of client impact, where services and/or products are actually delivered. Also, the point where program side effects impact both the environment and the program itself.
- FEEDBACK** The primary feedback loop, which carries information about the program's outputs--and the effects of these upon clients--back to the program manager and his staff.
- BOUNDARY** The conceptual line of demarcation between everything considered to be part of the program and the environment of the program. Clients, while acting as clients, are considered to be part of the program.
- (Secondary Feedback Loops)
- (1) Carries information similar to that in the primary feedback loop, but is directed toward the field project manager and his staff.
 - (2) Carries information about the field project itself back to the program manager and his staff.

- (3) Carries information about the environment--
and about program effects on the environment--
back to the program manager and his staff.
- (Secondary Outputs) (A) Unintentional program outputs which impact
the environment, either directly or via the
program's clients.
- (B) Unintentional program outputs which impact
within the program itself--on its personnel,
its procedures, or its efficiency/effective-
ness.

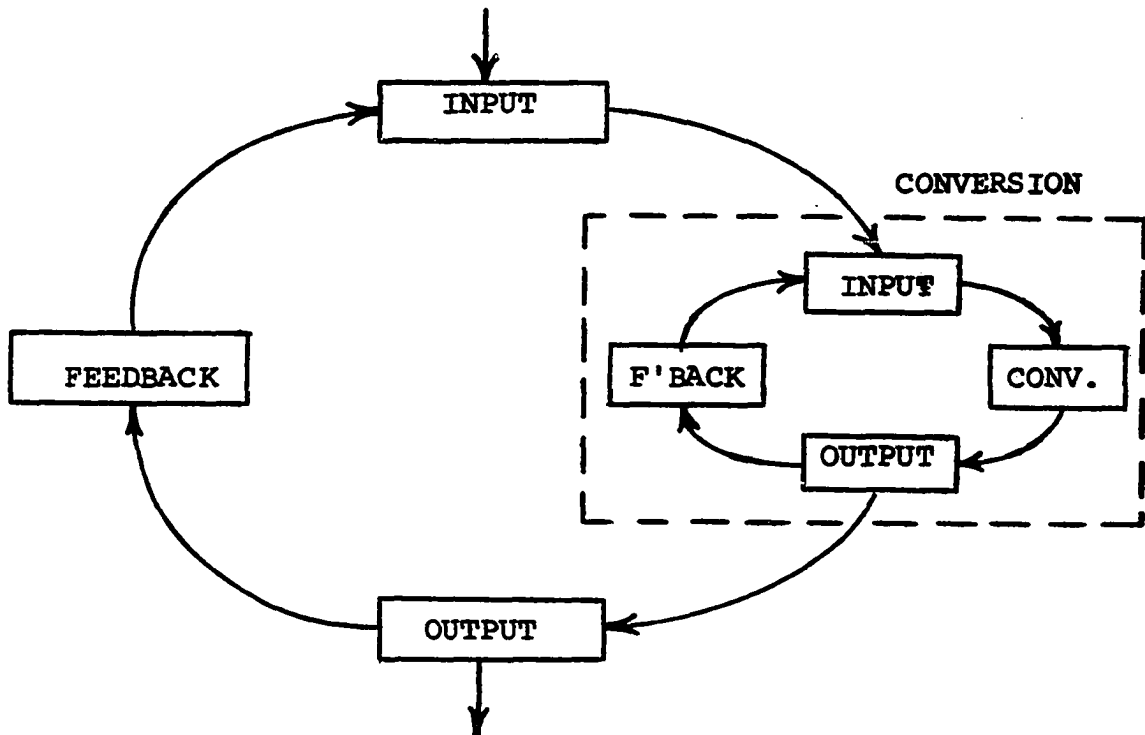
GENERAL STATEMENTS

1. The program is perceived as an open cybernetic system. It is error-regulated, through feedback; it is adaptive; it possesses memory, and is capable of learning; it is purposive, as in the pursuit of goals; it is boundary-maintaining; it is in evolution; it resists entropy; it encompasses several subsystems; it is part of a suprasystem; its organizing principle is information; and it is designed to be controlled.
2. The suprasystem of which the program is a part is the federal agency which established it. Its environment is made up of all the other systems/subsystems in society, including its own suprasystem. Among its more important

subsystems are an information subsystem, an evaluation subsystem, field project subsystems, and a management subsystem, all of which are linked at many interface points.

3. The system (program) exists to pursue goals and objectives--within specific time frames--which are developed by its managers from mandates furnished by higher levels of government. The system's primary goals will involve impacting its clients in one or more ways, and some of its secondary goals will relate to the internal effectiveness and security of itself and its subsystems. To the extent possible, all its goals/objectives will be expressed in measurable form--with dimensions of time as well as of activity--so that progress toward them can be measured. Ultimate primary goals will, in many cases, be very long-term, and in these cases valid proxy goals will be developed.
4. The evaluation subsystem will be activated during the planning stages of the program and will remain active throughout its life. It will contribute to the initial establishment of goals and proxy goals, and to modification of these over time. It will develop sensors for monitoring/measuring the achievement of both primary and secondary goals on a continuous basis, and will feed resultant information into the information subsystem. When this

- information is received at management control points, the evaluation subsystem will compare it with established standards and provide the management subsystem with the results of its comparisons.
5. The information subsystem makes two main contributions to the evaluation effort. It transmits evaluative information to management via special feedback channels, and it provides management with control channels for reaching the field with the results of decisions based on evaluative feedback.
 6. The management subsystem utilizes the evaluation subsystem and the information subsystem to effect two related but distinct types of control:
 - a. Homeostatic control, to maintain system equilibrium between acceptable limits and thereby assure continued progress toward certain goals and objectives.
 - b. Innovative control, to make changes in system inputs, processes, and goals in planned attempts to enhance system effectiveness.
 7. Field project subsystems can be treated as full systems for certain evaluative purposes, and this is diagrammed thusly:



When this approach is taken, field project outputs simply become a part of the total system's output.

8. The utility of this model will be enhanced to the extent that the program manager makes use of--at appropriate times--the techniques of management by objectives and operations research. It will also be enhanced to the extent that the manager familiarizes himself with the concepts and applications of the other fields of study reviewed in this paper.

CHAPTER V

SURVEY OF PROGRAM AND PROJECT MANAGERS

A. Introduction

Development of a conceptual model leads naturally to the question of its potential applicability to "real life" situations. A fundamental factor affecting this question, of course, is the extent to which pressures for evaluation have worked their way down to the program and project manager levels; if evaluation is not very high on a manager's priority list, he will have little incentive to learn either conceptual or practical approaches to it. Another important influential factor relates to the direction or directions that evaluation is actually taking within the myriad federal agencies and other project milieus; since the model is at least as concerned with processes as with effects, it may not have appeal within projects/programs where client impact is the only concern of evaluation. Potential applicability of the model is also influenced by such things as program/project managers' current understanding of management theory, their familiarity with the techniques of social research, their grasp of the "feedback" concept, and their attitudes concerning the

relevance of all these to the evaluation process. (In the literature reviewed for this dissertation, not a single indication was found of any research effort to determine what program managers know about program evaluation, or their attitudes toward evaluation and/or evaluation research personnel.) To gain some insight into these factors--and through them, into the potential utility of the model--a modest field survey has been conducted.

As there are many thousands of public program and project managers, a complete sampling of their knowledge and attitudes was considered to be beyond the aspirations--and needs--of this research effort. Instead, the following more limited investigation has been performed: (1) Some 30 national social programs are represented by project activity carried on by personnel of this University, and 30 managerial-level people associated with 27 of these projects have been personally interviewed and asked to complete a "Project Manager Questionnaire." A copy of this questionnaire is contained in Appendix A of this study, and a list of the projects surveyed is provided in Appendix B. (2) A comparable number (28) of people associated with 27 non-university projects in the central Oklahoma area were contacted, interviewed, and asked to complete and return the same questionnaire. About 70 per cent

of the projects represented by this second group are similar to ones within the University with respect to funding sources and sources of evaluation policies; a complete match of projects in this regard was attempted, but was found to be impractical. A list of these non-university projects is also provided in Appendix B. (3) Each of the 58 aforementioned project people were asked to provide the name, title, and business address of one or more federal-employee program management persons associated with their projects. Sixty names were obtained, and a letter was sent to each of these managers requesting that they complete and return an enclosed "Program Manager Questionnaire." A copy of this form is also included in Appendix A.

As indicated in Chapter I, the purpose of this survey was to assess the desirability of incorporating the conceptual model into future public administration course work at this University, and/or into special seminars for working managers, and perhaps into publications on the subject of managerial evaluation. Because of this limited objective, no effort was made to "randomize" the survey with respect to the total array of national social programs, and it is recognized that no authoritative generalizing about that larger universe is possible from the survey results. On the other hand, since the projects which were surveyed represent a fairly wide range of

program areas (e.g., health services, education, aid to the aged, law enforcement, civil defense, rehabilitation, etc.), the survey inherently contains a high degree of diversity. Further, since the physical proximity of the project managers permitted 100 per cent interview coverage, and because the rate of return of both types of questionnaire was very satisfactory, it is felt that the survey accomplished its purpose. Incidentally, it may be worth noting at this point that in the original survey plan, only about 15 interviews were contemplated and the 118 questionnaires were to have been the major survey vehicle. But the results of early interviews were so interesting--in part because they revealed so many situational variations which this investigator had not anticipated--that the plan was expanded to include interviews with all the project managers on the survey list. Now that both have been completed, the interviews are seen as having contributed somewhat more to the survey than have the questionnaires, and considerable attention is given to analyzing them.

B. Survey Interviews

As just noted, this part of the survey is now considered to have been at least as enlightening as the questionnaire part, if not more so, and will therefore be reported here in some depth. First, the approach to the interviews will be

described and standard questions enumerated. Second, generalizations drawn from the interviews will be set forth. Finally, reports will be given on certain specific interviews which produced interesting facts not covered by the generalizations.

The 58 interviews with project personnel, while not formally structured, at least followed a consistent pattern. Respondents were first asked for the name of their project, a general description of its activities, and the source of its federal funds. They were then asked to describe the form or forms of evaluation that have been requested and/or practiced by their sponsors, and to comment on any trends in this activity area. Next, they were asked to discuss what evaluative efforts they were making on their own, and to contrast these with those requested/practiced by the sponsor. Finally, they were invited to describe their project goals and objectives. From this point forward, all interviews took off on various tangents, the directions of which were prompted mainly by responses to the standard questions and by the respondents' varying interests in the evaluation problem. At the end of each interview the respondent was given a copy of the Project Manager Questionnaire and asked to return it by faculty exchange or regular mail. In cases where the respondent was involved with more than one project, he was asked to identify

with a particular one of them for purposes of completing this form. Incidentally, some 12 of the University respondents and 13 of the non-university respondents were currently associated with more than one project and/or source of evaluation policy, and these interviews tended to become rather wide-ranging.

Results of the interviews were not definitive enough to present in tabular or graphic form, but several generalizations did emerge and can be stated. First and foremost, 45 of the 58 (about 78 per cent) declared that evaluation was receiving increased emphasis in their project areas. This percentage might have been even higher, if the survey had not included 10 people who were fairly new to their positions and who had little or no previous experience in project-type activity. A very few of the projects were quite obviously immune to serious evaluation effort, for such reasons as newness, small size, or--as in the case of the State-Based Program of the National Endowment for the Humanities--because they are still declaredly experimental and innovative.

The question about the forms evaluation is taking produced less agreement. Possibly the commonest response, which came in various versions from at least 30 people, was that evaluation was based mainly on whatever had been said in the pre-project proposal. For example--and this is typical--if the

proposal had stated that (1) 6 staff members would be employed; (2) 20 classes would be conducted, and (3) \$125,000 would be spent, the evaluation simply checked on these points in milestone fashion. And this brings up one of the most interesting things that this writer learned from the survey: federal social programs, unlike military and space programs, are not usually very monolithic or single-minded. Perhaps this fact should have been obvious from the outset, but the writer has an extensive background in federal technical programs and was evidently trapped by preconceived and erroneous notions. At any rate, the contrast is interesting and has tremendous impact on the evaluation milieu, so some discussion here seems warranted. Point one: In a federal military program, the central manager usually has a specific end result to achieve, frequently within a stated time frame. An example might be to update a complete global communication system. The social program manager, in contrast, frequently has only a mandate to try to effect some sort of general change, and may be aware that total success is manifestly impossible. Point two: In the military program, the manager will develop tight specifications for contributive projects, and prospective project people will submit competitive proposals addressed to those specifications. The social program manager is more likely

to publish a set of proposal "guidelines," inviting prospective project people to submit imaginative plans for activities falling under the general mandate. Point three: Evaluative liaison between the military manager and his projects will be done by someone who is intimately familiar with the program and will focus on the original project specifications, with all parties being very knowledgeable about what is to be done. But evaluative liaison in the social program is quite apt to be performed by someone from a federal regional office who performs liaison between many programs and many projects, and who is not intimately familiar with project objectives and the nuances of their relationship to program goals. In these cases, a logical approach for the liaison man is to scan the original proposal for stated objectives, if any, or at least for an activity plan, and to "evaluate" on this basis. At least 20 of the project people interviewed in this survey stated that they had been "evaluated" by regional visitors on this basis. In these cases and in an additional ten, written reports from the projects also addressed evaluation in terms of original proposal statements.

This leads up to another common interview response, which created a communication problem for this investigator until he came to understand the professional background and

mental set of the respondents who made it. This response tended to equate evaluation to proposal evaluation, and to use some other term in referring to later phases of performance assessment. A variation of this response put primary evaluative emphasis on the proposal, but allowed for various forms of performance evaluation as well. All these respondents had a planning or coordinative orientation, which could be traced back to the functions of their employing organizations. Examples came from the Association of Central Oklahoma Governments, two city staff offices, the Minority Business Program, the Area Wide Health Planning Organization, the Business Development Organization, Child Welfare Projects (CAP), Economic Development Projects (CAP), the Oklahoma Crime Commission, the Oklahoma Regional Medical Program, Progress Association for Economic Development, and the State-Based Humanities Program. These organizations--all of which meet the definition of "project" as set forth in this study--are all oriented toward yet another level of projects with which they must deal in various ways. In effect, some of their organizations are attempting to compensate for the "looseness" in the federal structure described in the foregoing paragraph, by ascertaining that federal funds expended in a particular geographical area do not support overlapping activities and that--ideally--the

whole may become greater than the sum of the parts. For project people so engaged, an important component of evaluation takes the "form" of examining proposals for other projects to see if they are compatible with--and, hopefully, supportive of--other program and project activity in the area. In some cases this constitutes the extent of their involvement with second-tier projects, but in others they carry through with performance assessment and their comments on this are included in other paragraphs of this report. In four or five instances, respondents representing these project organizations were asked how their own projects were evaluated, but no definitive replies were received. Each seemed to feel generally that the future of his own organization was tied to that of some particular federal agency, and/or to the political climate in the local area, but not to any prospective formal evaluation of its performance.

Only about 25-30 per cent of those interviewed, perhaps 15 in all, mentioned any serious evaluative interest in "proof of effects," i.e., ultimate client impact. And even in these cases, reference was most generally to a recognized need for this sort of evaluation, rather than to any formalized activity. A larger number of respondents evinced an awareness that competition for social program funds is becoming keener, and

that successful programs will have to prove that they are indeed achieving their basic goals, but no more than 15 or 16 seemed to be very knowledgeable of just how complex such an evaluation would really be. Officials of the Community Action Program in Oklahoma City are in that smaller percentage, and are developing a computerized data base which they hope will eventually provide them with evidence of the long-range effectiveness of certain projects.

Regarding shifts in emphasis from one evaluative approach to another, the most pervasive trend to be identified was away from a preoccupation with "sheer numbers" and toward the establishment and measurement of formalized project objectives. By "sheer numbers," we refer to the enumeration of such things as "people contacted," "clients placed," "cases closed," "dollars spent," "test scores achieved"--usually without the benefit of any previously established targets against which progress can be rated. By "project objectives," we refer to limited objectives to be achieved within prescribed time frames and involving inputs, processes/activities, and outcomes--usually of the "proxy" type. A good example of this is provided by the Talent Search, Upward Bound, and Threshold projects, which have a common sponsor within the U.S. Office of Education. This sponsor has been conducting regional

seminars for project directors on the subject of "management by objectives," and has stated that this will be the basis of an increasingly sophisticated evaluation effort. The Central State Hospital Alcoholism Project is another example, where the directors are practicing MBO and are also concentrating on development of a good management information system to provide them with--among other things--evaluative feedback. A slightly different illustration is furnished by the Head Start Policy Manual of the Office of Child Development, DHEW, which sets forth detailed "performance standards" around which project people are to develop specific objectives related to all aspects of their project. According to Oklahoma City CAP Office personnel, the evaluation of projects developed in accordance with this Manual becomes just as straightforward as anything in the field of federal military or space project evaluation, and their records seem to bear this out. Yet another example is provided by the Oklahoma Crime Commission's project application form, which contains a calendarized "steps and tasks" section to be used in the quarterly measurement of the extent to which formal objectives are achieved. In toto, at least 40 per cent of those interviewed described movement toward what can be called a "management by objectives" basis for project evaluation, and in some eight instances, this was the exact term used.

A few approaches to evaluation which are quite common in the literature were conspicuous by their absence in the overall interview series. For example, only one of the respondents mentioned either "efficiency" or "cost effectiveness," and it is assumed that neither of these terms are prominent in current evaluation forms. For another, there was no mention of "cost-benefit analysis" except by a few respondents who had started to work with the Oklahoma Crime Commission's new project application form. These few, incidentally, were thoroughly confused by the subject. A subsequent check at the Crime Commission revealed that it was introduced mainly for heuristic purposes, and that no effort will be made to use it in any of its more sophisticated forms.

The third standard question asked of all respondents related to what they were doing on their own in the evaluation field, i.e., what they were doing that was not requested/required by a sponsor. Only about six or eight were found to be doing anything significant of this nature, but those few were quite impressive. (It should be noted at this point, by the way, that almost every funding agency has put word out that more attention should be given to evaluation, but for purposes of this paragraph this is deemed to be different from requir-
ing specific things.) A good first example is the Oklahoma

Regional Medical Program, which is trying to establish a data-based model which will provide real measures of patient impact from several continuing medical education and cooperative hospital buying projects. They are now writing new contracts with all their second-tier projects, and hope to build in a data collection system which will permit evaluation of both activities and impact. A second example is the Oklahoma City Urban League, which wants to have good, dependable (and presumably re-fundable) projects regardless of any perceived deficiencies in sponsor-directed evaluation procedures. The League therefore directs its own evaluative reporting program, aimed to point up the accomplishment of "reachable" objectives, and levers these reports into sponsor-furnished forms by might, main, and the appending of many extra pages. A third example is the Norman Alcohol Information Center, which--possibly because of its modest grant--has been given no evaluation requirements. Its manager gratuitously formulated and forwarded a set of measurable objectives, compiles and forwards evaluative data, and provides summary evaluation reports. Another example of broader scope is the Oklahoma Crime Commission, which has held seminars to introduce its own project evaluation procedures and is trying to double its evaluation budget. The Crime Commission, as indicated earlier, is

oriented toward a "management by objectives" approach and is endeavoring to develop a computer-based data collection system. A fifth example is the Central State Hospital Alcoholics Program which has, as noted above, a full MBO system and its own management information system. But what was not mentioned is that these systems were developed on the initiative of the Hospital, not their sponsor. The Hospital's only formal evaluation function is to collect and forward data for Stanford Research Institute, which has an ongoing contract to evaluate the program. Toward this end, the Hospital has three full-time professionals who collect data from clients entering the program, and at 30, 90 and 180-day intervals thereafter. Feedback from this reporting is provided by SRI, but the project managers consider this to be inadequate because (1) feedback is always a few months after the fact, and (2) it doesn't include many of the types of things they want to know--e.g., about project processes and activities. A sixth example of locally-initiated special evaluation effort is the Oklahoma City Community Action Program, which has probably done more than any other project surveyed to promote the establishment of clear-cut objectives and to collect data regarding their achievement.

These efforts by the Oklahoma Regional Medical Program, the Oklahoma Crime Commission, the Community Action Program, and the Urban League bring up a very interesting finding of the overall interview series. And once again, it is a finding which disabused this writer of a conception he had gained from some of the literature reviewed for this study. In brief, while much of the literature on federal program evaluation suggests that each program has one central source of evaluation policy, this is simply not the case. In the first place, the literature tends to ignore the fact that a whole lot of program decentralization has indeed taken place, and that a whole host of state and non-federal regional agencies (some of which are "projects" in their own right) are just as concerned with local projects--and their evaluation--as any federal manager in Washington or in a federal regional office. In fact, among those surveyed projects which were using standardized evaluation forms or procedures, at least half had been developed by one of these intermediate agencies. By way of possible explanation, it may be that since the writers of the literature are mostly research specialists, and since most research contracts have been let at the program or agency level, the writers are simply unaware of the considerable evaluation effort which goes on at the state and local levels.

One interesting sidelight on this is the fact that if evaluation at the national level is research-oriented, which it seems to be, it is oriented toward management at the state and local levels. None of the intermediate-level agencies interviewed had either budget or staff for significant research activity, but all were interested in and able to talk intelligently about evaluation as a management tool.

The final standard question asked of all respondents was whether or not their projects have clearly established goals and objectives, and whether these are measurable. About 20 respondees were able to answer this question with complete precision, making it evident that they speak some of the language of goal theory and/or of management theory. All of these people were able to state what their project goals were, although in some cases they were less certain of how to measure them. Some 6 or 8 noted the difficulty of measuring attitudinal change, and a similar number mentioned the problem of longitudinal measurement. Ability to respond positively to this question seemed to hinge on the respondent's background and training, by the way, rather than on the type of program or its agency affiliation. Among the remaining 40 or so respondents, initial answers to this question were so varied as to defy generalization. Some thought of goals in terms of the Congressional mandate behind the national program, while

others saw goals only in terms of short-term program tasks. Most were somewhere in between these extremes, but it seems fair to state that for at least 50 per cent of the whole respondent group, the subject of "goals" has been a hazy one.

One interesting result of this part of the interviews was the alacrity with which many respondents picked up the term "proxy goal" and made it their own. A few were already familiar with the term, but even among the most knowledgeable 20 there was an evident need for a word that meant less than "long-term" but more than "short-term," and "proxy" seemed to fill this requirement. This is reflected in one of the questionnaire items, which, it will be recalled, was normally completed after the interview. According to returned project manager questionnaires, some 91 per cent of those with long-term goals have "clearly defined proxy goals"--which is in contrast with the initial interview stages where only 2 or 3 respondents mentioned such a thing. The proper conclusion, it is believed, is that the projects so reporting have had these "stand-in" goals all along and that "proxy goal" is simply a new name for them.

The foregoing concludes the "generalizations" which have been drawn from the interviews, except for certain conclusions to be reported in the final chapter of this study. A

few "one of a kind" situations will now be described, to bring out items which are considered to be of general interest to the student of evaluation and of particular interest to anyone who will be developing course work or seminars. As a group, these reports are intended to suggest that the real world of program and project evaluation cannot be fully anticipated by reviewing the literature.

- o Mid-Del Youth and Family Center: This LEAA-funded project was established some three years ago to work with delinquent and potentially delinquent children, in a stated effort to keep them from becoming court cases. Funding was channeled through the Oklahoma Crime Commission, with ACOG serving in a coordinative capacity and with the Midwest City - Del City school district providing matching funds. The Center accepts referrals from the police departments and the schools, as well as "walk-ins." The Midwest City Police report that they have made an average of three referrals per month, and receive no feedback on what happens to them. The schools report few referrals, and also complain of little feedback. The Center claims to be busy, and this interviewer personally saw three clients there

during his one-hour visit. Center personnel stated that communications with the police are both infrequent and somewhat difficult, and this was confirmed by the MWC City Manager's Office. First and second year evaluations were done by paid (from the Center) outside consultants on a one-shot basis, and are said to have been largely descriptive. Under initial funding arrangements, i.e., 75 per cent LEAA and 25 per cent school district, these evaluations were evidently acceptable to all. Now, however, LEAA funding is scheduled to go to zero and the cities are expected to provide total financial support, and the MWC City Council wants more definitive evaluation reports before making such a commitment. As reported to this interviewer, the Council: (1) Doesn't receive favorable reports from the police and schools, which it would like if it is going to provide serious funding; (2) does receive small but vocal delegations of citizens who want the Center continued; and (3) doesn't like the evaluation reports it has, which some members reportedly will not read because they are "too glossy." Meanwhile, at the Center, two pertinent

things have happened: (1) Some of the staff members have been released and others are on reduced time, pending receipt of certain funds from the City, and (2) their evaluation specialist has produced a very practical-looking "management by objectives" type of evaluation plan, which he has not had an opportunity to discuss with either the police or the schools.

The Mid-Del Family Center problem is particularly important, in that it typifies the situation of many projects which, from their inception, were scheduled to lose their federal funding support over a multi-year period. With this shift of sponsorship there can be--as there was in this case--significant changes in evaluation criteria. Further, this case points up the ubiquitous inability of sponsors to totally separate political inputs from formal evaluation inputs, and it is conjectured that in this instance the latter will not be the determining factor in the Center's future.

- WIN Employment Training Project, Oklahoma City:
This Department of Labor/Social Security Commission project provides training and job placement services

to a specific clientele referred to it by the State Welfare Department. By Congressional statute, a percentage of WIN operating funds are set aside for use by DOL in operating a data collection and evaluation system. The local project forwards a great variety of data through a state and regional hierarchy to DOL in Washington, and eventually gets back an "evaluative sheet." The data pertain to numbers of clients referred, amount and types of training given, numbers placed, dollars expended and so forth. The return evaluation sheets, while presumably based on local data, are described as being incomprehensible in some areas and obviously erroneous in others. No "code sheet" is furnished to assist in their interpretation, and no opportunity is afforded for local reviews before evaluative summaries are finalized and published. As described by the project managers, no adequate channel exists for reporting project implementation problems, or their solutions, and what is learned in the field does not feed back to influence succeeding year contracts. Further, according to the managers, the project has "never had a good audit

from anywhere," and receives "minimal" supervision from all levels of the hierarchy. In their words, they don't know--from the evaluation reports they receive--whether they are doing poorly or well in comparison to other WIN projects.

This WIN project personifies the often-described situation wherein managers see evaluation as a definite threat and certainly not as a "tool of management." Within the project, there exists a healthy suspicion that evaluation data are being purposely manipulated for political purposes, and most probably for the purpose of justifying "adjustments" in state funding levels.

- o Opportunity Workshop and Training Center, Inc., Chickasha, Oklahoma: This Center provides vocational training to mentally and physically handicapped persons and then tries to provide them with gainful employment, either through outside job placement or by bringing "sub-contract" business activities into the Center. Federal funding derives from the U.S. Office of Education and is channelled through the State of Oklahoma Vocational and Technical Education Office. Formal evaluation

procedures related to this project may stand as some sort of an ultimate in bureaucratic simplicity and efficiency. Once annually, a representative of the State Office visits the Center and completes a check-list form entitled "A Project Evaluation Report." The project is identified in six spaces at the top of the form, and then 34 items are rated as being either "Good," "Satisfactory," or "Needs Improvement." The first eight items, by way of example, are: (1) "Instructional Program;" (1) (a) "Proper Lesson Planning;" (1) (b) "Teaching Effectively;" (1) (b) (1) "Classroom;" (1) (b) (2) "Training Station;" (2) "Classroom;" (2) (a) "Arrangement and Suitability;" (2) (b) "Cleanliness and Comfort." Item 33 is "Community Acceptance" and item 34 is "Budget Management," neither of which has any sub-categories. A completed copy of this form was given to this interviewer, and every item on it is rated "Satisfactory." Evidently none were considered really "Good," but on the other hand none "Needs Improvement." The Opportunity Workshop and Training Center evaluation story is included here to illustrate the fact that anomalies

do exist in the trend toward more effective evaluation. In particular, it points up--by exception--the importance of good evaluation as a source of information for improvement-minded project managers. It happens that the present director of this Center has no previous management experience, and could be aided materially by an objective, constructive, informative evaluation by outside specialists.

- o Water Pollution Control Project, Norman, Oklahoma: This project is technical in nature and most of its funds go for plant and equipment, so perhaps it should not have been included in this survey. But on the other hand, the fundamental reasons for its existence--and for the existence of the Environmental Protection Agency which funds it--are rooted in social factors. Further, it does involve a public educational activity, in that service station operators and other businessmen must be convinced of the necessity of keeping certain contaminants out of the City sewage system. The project manager is responsible to the Oklahoma Department of Health and to the EPA, and both have evaluation requirements. Some of these, especially from the State,

require the daily analysis of plant effluents.

Others relate to construction, preparation of manuals, personnel training, and so forth. None, so far as is known, relate to the social aspects of the project.

This project is included here as an example of a great number of projects which have a technical as well as a social side, and in which some balance in evaluation emphasis needs to be struck. In this one, it appears, the technical side is dominating the evaluation scene. But this does not have to be the case, because there are other public health projects where a high percentage of funds goes for technical materials, but in which evaluation still addresses social factors. In the Norman project, for example, one might ask "evaluative" questions about the impact of the project on the quality of life in Norman, or on whatever other groups of people are affected by the project. And, if this impact is significant, one might then ask how its objectives were calendarized, noting that it will be almost two more years before contamination is reduced to "standard" levels. The intent here is

not to raise questions about the Norman project, but simply to point out that in any project situation there is always the danger that evaluation may be "captured" by participants interested in only one facet of the project.

C. Survey Questionnaires

The two survey questionnaire forms (see Appendix A) are quite similar in coverage, and were designed to be used together in seeking answers to several general questions, as follows:

1. In the programs to be surveyed, do the managers see their basic goals as long-term or short-term, and is there any difference here between the program and project levels?
2. In these programs, are goals perceived to be clearly defined and set in measurable terms?
3. In cases where basic goals are perceived as long-term, have intermediate--i.e., "proxy"--objectives been established in measurable terms?
4. At the federal level, when the measurement of goal attainment has involved the assessment of "hard to measure" social impacts, have social research

scientists been made available to help in the development of measuring devices for use by the managers?

5. In the programs being surveyed, do special feedback channels exist--in addition to normal operating reports--to provide federal-level managers with evaluative information?
6. Are all these managers, at whatever level, satisfied with the evaluative feedback they get regarding the actual impact of their programs/projects on clients?
7. Are the federal-level managers satisfied with the evaluative feedback they get regarding the internal activities and processes of their field projects?
8. Are all these managers familiar with the principles --and with the literature--of program evaluation research?
9. Are they familiar with the principles--and the literature--of modern management theory as it relates to management information systems and management by objectives?

10. Have these managers had experience in dealing with evaluation research specialists? Have their programs/projects been evaluated by such people? If so, how were they impressed by their ability to actually assess "program effectiveness"?
11. How do these managers rate the potential ability of social research scientists to help them in developing a better evaluation sub-system?
12. Are these managers in favor of more evaluation activity by echelons above--or agencies outside--their programs? Within their programs?
13. How do these managers perceive their needs for training and consultative assistance in the area of management information systems?

It is felt that answers to these questions, even considering the small size of the survey group, give significant insight into the potential utility of the conceptual model within public administration credit courses and continuing education seminars. Further, it is believed that these answers can help determine the actual need for such offerings, and that they can be helpful in determining content.

Thirty questionnaires were left with University-based project personnel at the end of interview sessions, and 24

(80 per cent) of these have been returned. Twenty-eight were left with non-University project people, and 23 (82 per cent) of these have been returned. Sixty were mailed to federal-level program personnel, and 38 (63 per cent) of these have been returned. These returns represent one-round solicitation only; no follow-up action was taken to try to increase the rate of return. The 22 federal employees who did not return the questionnaire are not personally known by this investigator, so no conjectures can be made about their reasons for not doing so. The 11 project people who did not return the form are personally known, and it can at least be stated that no known pattern exists in their attitudes toward project evaluation.

A small amount of demographic data was collected via the questionnaires, and is presented in tabular form on the following page as Table 1. No conclusions have been drawn from this data, nor were any attempted; it is presented only to provide some insight into the educational and experiential backgrounds of the respondents. The three respondent groups are presented separately, to depict such contrasts/similarities as may be evident.

Following Table 1, the general questions set forth on pages 237-239 will be examined sequentially in terms of

questionnaire response. Illustrative tables are provided where applicable, and in these--for the same reason as in Table 1--the three respondent groups are presented separately.

TABLE 1
Respondent Background Data, by Respondent Group

Background Item	24 Univ. Proj. Mgrs.		23 Non-Univ. Proj. Mgrs.		38 Federal Prog. Mgrs.	
1. Average Age	44.6		35.9		45	
2. Average GS Grade	--		--		13.5	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
3. Sex:						
Male	23	96	20	87	31	84
Female	1	4	3	13	6	16
4. Years of M'gerial Experience						
Less than 5	4	17	10	43	6	17
5 to 10	8	33	8	35	7	20
More than 10	12	50	5	22	22	63
5. Formal Training in Managerial Skills						
Coll/Univ	18	75	13	56	30	86
Other	8	33	9	40	15	43
None	3	12	4	17	1	2
6. Highest Academic Degree Earned						
Bachelors	4	17	9	40	7	19
Masters	9	37	13	56	16	44
Doctorate	10	42	1	4	10	28
None	1	4	0	0	3	8

1. As shown in Table 2 below, a great majority of the managers in all three groups saw their basic program goals as being long-term in nature. And in fact, 7 of the 8 project managers who reported "short-term goals only" are known to have done so because their projects are scheduled for phase-out; during their interviews, all 7 discussed the "long-term goals" of the programs of which their projects are a part. (We have here a typical problem of survey semantics: while this paper--and the federal government--may define a "project" as part of a "program," its staff may not be so differentiating while filling out survey forms.)

TABLE 2
Managers' Perceptions of the Long-Term and/or
Short-Term Nature of Their Program Goals,
by Respondent Group

Goal Range	University Proj. Mgrs.		Non-Univ. Proj. Mgrs.		Federal Prog. Mgrs.	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Long-Term Only	19	79	17	74	32	84
Short-Term Only	5	21	3	13	3	8
Both L-T and S-T	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>8</u>
Totals	24	100	23	100	38	100

2 and 3. On the question of measurability of goals, the federal managers appear to be somewhat more confident than the project managers (66 per cent against a composite 49 per cent) that their long-term goals are expressed in measurable

terms. This is moderately surprising, in that these federal managers were nominated by the project managers, and should therefore be talking about the same programs but from different viewpoints. Some of this difference, of course, may be accounted for by unreturned questionnaires and/or the fact that a few project people nominated more than one federal counterpart. But some of it may also derive from inadequate communication within programs, which was mentioned as a problem by at least 25 per cent of the project managers interviewed. It is recognized that we can only conjecture about possible communication deficiencies, but additional evidence for this may be available in the fact that 68 per cent of the federal respondents stated that they receive inadequate feedback regarding project-level management processes.

Federal-level confidence in the measurability of existing proxy goals appears to be about the same as at the project level, i.e., 73 per cent against a composite 78 per cent. Both groups also evince considerable faith that their short-term goals are stated in quantitative terms: 57 per cent and 73 per cent respectively.

Numerical summaries of survey responses to this question are as follows:

TABLE 3

Managers' Perceptions of Goal Statements,
by Respondent Group

Goal Statements	University Proj. Mgrs.		Non-Univ. Proj. Mgrs.		Federal Prog. Mgrs.	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Long-Term Goals						
In meas. terms	11	58	8	40	22	67
Not in meas. terms	<u>8</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>60</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>33</u>
Totals	19	100	20	100	33	100
Proxy Goals						
In meas. terms	15	83	13	72	24	73
Not in meas. terms	<u>3</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>27</u>
Totals	18	100	18	100	33	100
Short-Term Goals						
In meas. terms	3	60	5	83	4	57
Not in meas. terms	<u>2</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>43</u>
Totals	5	100	6	100	7	100

In toto, Table 3 contains at least one solid bit of encouragement for the future of social program evaluation: of the 74 managers who have long-term goals, 60 have established proxy goals and 52 of these believe them to be measurable. This is considered encouraging because it is generally agreed that effective evaluation can never take place in the absence of measurable goals, and this writer would argue that in most

social programs with long-term aims, only proxy goals can be measurable. In fact, according to all the literature reviewed for this dissertation, the chief reason for even having proxy goals is the general impracticality of trying to measure basic long-term goals. This line of reasoning obviously takes issue with the 41 managers who believe their long-term goals to be directly measurable, but it is suspected that this discrepancy could be generally eliminated through a face-to-face discussion of definitions with those managers. The chief point being made here is that proxy goals are being established, in measurable terms--several interviews confirmed this--and that this trend should lay the groundwork for better management-oriented evaluation. This trend, incidentally, is seen as being closely related to the movement toward a management by objectives approach to evaluation that was described earlier in this chapter.

4. Only federal employees were asked if they had had the help of social research scientists in developing yardsticks for their "hard" goals, but all the managers were asked if their goals are easy or hard to measure. Their answers are depicted in Table 4:

TABLE 4

Managers' Perceptions of Difficulty of Goal
Assessment, by Respondent Group

Ease of Measurement	University Proj. Mgrs.		Non-Univ. Proj. Mgrs.		Federal Prog. Mgrs.	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Long-Term Goals						
Easy	5	28	2	10	6	17
Hard	<u>13</u>	<u>72</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>90</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>83</u>
Totals	18	100	20	100	35	100
Proxy Goals						
Easy	10	59	7	39	11	37
Hard	<u>7</u>	<u>41</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>61</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>63</u>
Totals	17	100	18	100	30	100
Short-Term Goals						
Easy	1	20	1	17	1	14
Hard	<u>4</u>	<u>80</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>83</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>86</u>
Totals	5	100	6	100	7	100

It is interesting to note that while 67 per cent of the federal managers believe their long-term goals to be stated in measurable terms, a thumping 83 per cent of them see these goals as being "hard to measure." A suspicious man might wonder if they voted "the law" (which states that all managers should set measurable goals) on the earlier question and voted "their conscience" on this one. If this is true, and the interviews suggest that it is, then the law needs to be

changed. This writer sees no reason why managers should be under pressure to write long-term goal statements in quantitative form, since this is frequently an exercise in futility. From the manager's viewpoint, at least, the place for measurable terms is in the proxy and short-term areas.

This writer is too lacking in practical experience to make any judgemental statements about the ease of measurement of proxy goals, but tends to believe that in most instances managers could and should set proxy goals which are fairly easily measurable. Several of the interviewed project managers expressed this viewpoint, and their questionnaire responses indicate that about half of them feel they have succeeded. Further, the percentage of federal managers indicating "easy to measure" proxy goals is about twice as great as the percentage indicating "easy to measure" long-term goals.

Taking the table as a whole, about 80 per cent of the responding managers indicate "hard to measure" long-term goals, almost 60 per cent of those with proxy goals describe these as "hard to measure," and even short-term goals are seen as being hard to measure in 80 per cent of the cases. "Hard to measure" was described in the questionnaires as pertaining to the assessment of social factors, e.g., attitudinal change, which would logically be in the province of social research people.

Logic might suggest, therefore, that managers should have the assistance of social research scientists in developing sensors and measuring sticks with which to measure progress toward these goals, but evidently this is not always the case. According to questionnaire responses, such assistance has been available to slightly more than half of the federal-level managers who reported "hard to measure" goals.

Investigations of this type are supposed to raise new questions as well as answer old ones, and one seems to be emerging here. To wit: is it possible that one of the best forms of assistance which social scientists could provide to managers would be in the area of establishing proxy goals? As discussed earlier in this study, proxy goals should be designed to take advantage of natural causal processes, and these are certainly "social" in nature and might therefore be better understood by a social psychologist or a sociologist than by an expert in management by objectives. One of the federal-level respondents, in discussing the analysis of evaluative data on the Job Corps, commented that: "Perhaps we haven't yet properly wedded the social scientist and the manager." His comment is well taken, and the establishment of proxy goals which are based on valid causal processes may offer a new basis for matrimony.

5, 6 and 7. General question number five asked if special feedback channels exist for providing federal-level managers with evaluative information, and slightly more than 50 per cent reported that they do. Question six asked all the managers if they are satisfied with the feedback they get regarding the actual impact of their programs/projects on clients, and some 72 per cent reported that they are not. Question seven asked if the federal-level managers are satisfied with the feedback they get regarding the internal processes and activities of their field projects, and--with the exception of financial affairs--they are not satisfied. These three questions are interrelated and can be examined together, because the existence of special feedback channels should be a factor in the adequacy of all kinds of evaluative feedback.

Responses to the question about the adequacy of feedback regarding program/project impact on clients were as follows:

TABLE 5
Managers' Ratings of Feedback About
Program Impact on Clients, by Respondent Group

Adequacy of Feedback	University Proj. Mgrs.		Non-Univ. Proj. Mgrs.		Federal Prog. Mgrs.	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Adequate	10	42	5	22	8	21
Inadequate	<u>14</u>	<u>58</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>78</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>79</u>
Totals	24	100	23	100	38	100

The federal managers appear to be less satisfied with their feedback than are the field people, although none are very happy. Much of this problem, of course, goes back to the difficulty of measuring such impact in the first place. Some of the rest of the problem may relate to the existence--or lack of existence--of special evaluation feedback channels, which is examined in Table 6.

TABLE 6

Federal Managers' Perceptions of Adequacy
of Feedback About Program Impact,
by Existence of Special Feedback
Channels for Evaluation

Adequacy of Feedback	Special Channels Exist		Spec. Channels Do Not Exist	
	N	%	N	%
Adequate	7	35	1	6
Inadequate	<u>13</u>	<u>65</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>94</u>
Totals	20	100	18	100

If the numbers in the table cells were larger and had been derived from a scientifically designed sample, we could immediately make three important inferences at this point:

(1) The probability that feedback about impacts will be adequate is several times greater when special channels exist for it than when they do not. (2) The probability that this feedback will be adequate is still only about 35 per cent, even

when special channels exist. (3) The probability that this feedback will be inadequate becomes better than 90 per cent when special channels for it do not exist. In short, we do have some evidence here that--at least in these cases--the federal managers' problem of inadequate feedback about program impact is partially explained by lack of special channels for it.

Special evaluation channels are probably more important in some program areas than in others, and this question is examined in the next five tables. These tables will depict the influence of special evaluation channels on the adequacy of feedback in the following five areas of field project activity: (1) management processes, (2) staff competencies, (3) financial accounting, (4) staff morale, and (5) client-centered activities.

TABLE 7
Federal Managers' Perceptions of Adequacy of
Feedback about Field Management Processes,
by Existence of Special Feedback Channels
for Evaluation

Adequacy of Feedback	Special Channels Exist		Spec. Channels Do Not Exist	
	N	%	N	%
Adequate	9	45	3	18
Inadequate	<u>11</u>	<u>55</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>82</u>
Totals	20	100	17	100

In this activity area, while the adequacy of feedback is better in all cases than that of feedback about impacts, the existence of special feedback channels still appears to be a fairly important factor.

TABLE 8
Federal Managers' Perceptions of Adequacy of
Feedback About Field Staff Competencies,
by Existence of Special Feedback
Channels for Evaluation

Adequacy of Feedback	Special Channels Exist		Spec. Channels Do Not Exist	
	N	%	N	%
Adequate	8	40	10	59
Inadequate	<u>12</u>	<u>60</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>41</u>
Totals	20	100	17	100

To this writer, the inference here would be that federal managers rely very little upon formal evaluation reports in formulating opinions about the competencies of field personnel. They may form these opinions on the basis of personal acquaintance, their feelings about "how things are going" within the field project, and/or on normal operating reports.

TABLE 9

Federal Managers' Perceptions of Adequacy of
Feedback About Field Financial Accounting,
by Existence of Special Feedback Channels
for Evaluation

Adequacy of Feedback	Special Channels Exist		Spec. Channels Do Not Exist	
	N	%	N	%
Adequate	13	65	11	69
Inadequate	<u>7</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>31</u>
Totals	20	100	16	100

This table provides evidence in support of something this writer strongly anticipated: that federal program accounting practices have become quite effective, and that more managers would be satisfied with feedback in this area than in any other. Further, that these practices are pervasive, and exist fairly independently of any "formal evaluation channels." In fact, the writer is surprised that as many as one-third of the federal managers expressed dissatisfaction with their feedback about program financial activities.

TABLE 10

Federal Managers' Perceptions of Adequacy of
Feedback About Field Staff Morale, by
Existence of Special Feedback Channels for
Evaluation

Adequacy of Feedback	Special Channels Exist		Spec. Channels Do Not Exist	
	N	%	N	%
Adequate	5	26	3	19
Inadequate	<u>14</u>	<u>74</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>81</u>
Totals	19	100	16	100

Feedback in this area is generally inadequate, and is not remarkably improved by the existence of special evaluation channels. It may be that the federal managers have made little effort to keep informed about this subject, although this can only be a conjecture.

TABLE 11

Federal Managers' Perceptions of Adequacy of
Feedback About Client-Centered Activities in
the Field, by Existence of Special Feedback
Channels for Evaluation

Adequacy of Feedback	Special Channels Exist		Spec. Channels Do Not Exist	
	N	%	N	%
Adequate	7	35	3	19
Inadequate	<u>13</u>	<u>65</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>81</u>
Totals	20	100	16	100

Feedback here is also generally poor, even though somewhat improved where special channels exist. A possible explanation might be that in this case--and in the cases involving impact and staff morale--the root problem lies in inadequate sensors at the field level. This notion is compatible with the improvements indicated where special channels do exist, because a manager setting up special channels might be expected to make a special effort to install sensors.

8. General question number eight asked the familiarity of managers at all levels with the literature and the principles of evaluative research. This was posed as two separate questions in the questionnaires, and results are as follows:

TABLE 12
Managers' Ratings of Their Familiarity With
Evaluation Research, by Respondent Group

Familiarity	University Proj. Mgrs.		Non-Univ. Proj. Mgrs.		Federal Proj. Mgrs.	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
With the literature						
High	2	8	1	4	3	8
Medium	11	46	9	39	19	51
Low	<u>11</u>	<u>46</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>57</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>41</u>
Totals	24	100	23	100	37	100
With the methods						
High	7	29	7	30	10	27
Medium	16	67	13	57	18	49
Low	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>24</u>
Totals	24	100	23	100	37	100

No conclusions--nor even conjectures--are derived from this table. A non-tabulated check of the questionnaire forms indicated that managers with doctoral degrees generally tended to consider themselves fairly familiar with research methods, which could be anticipated. But apart from that, it can only be noted that about half of all the responding managers claimed some acquaintance with the literature of evaluation, and that a substantial majority claimed familiarity with the methods.

9. General question nine asked the familiarity of all the managers with modern management theory and practice as it relates to management information systems and to management by objectives. Questionnaire results are as follows:

TABLE 13
Managers' Ratings of Their Familiarity With the
Theory and Practices of Management Information Systems
and Management by Objectives, by Respondent Group

Familiarity	University Proj. Mgrs.		Non-Univ. Proj. Mgrs.		Federal Prog. Mgrs.	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
With MIS						
High	5	21	3	13	10	26
Medium	16	67	14	61	20	53
Low	<u>3</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>21</u>
Totals	24	100	23	100	38	100
With MBO						
High	7	29	7	30	17	46
Medium	13	54	12	52	12	32
Low	<u>4</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>22</u>
Totals	24	100	23	99	37	100

This table contains no startling revelations. The fact that around 80 per cent of a group of managers claim medium or high familiarity with MIS and MBO appears natural enough. Or, looking at it another way, the fact that some 70 per cent of them claim low or medium familiarity with MIS and MBO suggests that a sizable education/training need still exists--which is confirmed by the managers themselves (see Table 14 below).

10 and 11. General question ten asked about the experience of the managers in dealing with social research specialists, and--if they have seen them in action--how they were impressed by their ability to actually assess program effectiveness. Question eleven asked their assessment of the ability of such specialists to help them design better evaluative subsystems. Survey returns on these questions are presented in the following tables:

TABLE 14
Managers' Experience in Dealing With
Social Research Specialists, by Respondent
Group

Experience	University Proj. Mgrs.		Non-Univ. Proj. Mgrs.		Federal Prog. Mgrs.	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Significant Amount	15	62	9	39	17	45
Little or None	<u>9</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>61</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>55</u>
Totals	24	100	23	100	38	100

About all that can really be noted from this table is that social research scientists are making their presence felt in the world of federal social programs. About half of the responding managers have had "significant" dealings with them.

TABLE 15
Managers' Ratings of the Ability of Social
Research Specialists to Actually Assess
Program Effectiveness, by Respondent Group

Impressed With Ability to Assess	University Proj. Mgrs.		Non-Univ. Proj. Mgrs.		Federal Prog. Mgrs.	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Highly	1	6	1	6	3	10
Somewhat	11	65	8	50	17	55
Little	<u>5</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>44</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>35</u>
Totals	17	100	16	100	31	100

The first message here is that some 75 per cent of the responding managers have worked on programs/projects which have been evaluated by social researchers, and that they have seen the results of these evaluations, whether or not they had significant personal dealings with the researchers. The second message is that their ability to assess effectiveness is seen by the managers as being quite variable. This is somewhat evident from the table, and is underscored by remarks which were added to the questionnaire forms and made during the

interviews. As one GS-14 put it: "We use one group which impresses me highly with their ability. With the others I am somewhat, little, or negatively impressed." (Perhaps in frustration, he checked all available answer blanks on the questionnaire.) In summarized form, all the commentaries agreed that while one researcher (or group of researchers) is apt to be very capable, the next is apt to be useless. One can deduce from this that--in the opinion of a majority of these managers--social research skills can be useful to federal programs, but that the odds of finding those skills are not good.

TABLE 16
Managers' Ratings of the Potential Ability of Social
Research Specialists to Assist Them in
Developing Better Evaluation Subsystems,
By Respondent Group

Potential Ability	University Proj. Mgrs.		Non-Univ. Proj. Mgrs.		Federal Prog. Mgrs.	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Much	10	42	7	30	14	41
Some	11	46	13	57	16	47
Little	<u>3</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>12</u>
Totals	24	100	23	100	34	100

The questions on this subject were worded to make it clear that the manager would pick his own researchers, and that he could remove/replace them if they weren't satisfactory.

On these terms, it is evident that these managers generally believe that social research scientists have a place on the program management team.

12. This general question dealt with the managers' perceived requirement for more program evaluation, either within the program itself or of the one-shot type done by outsiders sponsored by echelons above the program. Responses to this question are presented here:

TABLE 17
Managers' Attitudes Toward More Evaluation
Activity, by Respondent Group

Attitude About More Evaluation Activity	University Proj. Mgrs.		Non-Univ. Proj. Mgrs.		Federal Prog. Mgrs.	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
By Outsiders						
For	6	26	6	27	13	41
Against	<u>17</u>	<u>74</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>73</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>59</u>
Totals	23	100	22	100	32	100
Within the Program						
For	23	96	21	91	30	83
Against	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>17</u>
Totals	24	100	23	100	36	100

The table doesn't show this, but only two managers (both federal) voted against both types of evaluation. Nineteen, on the other hand (from all groups) voted for more of both kinds of evaluation. The basic trend within all groups is in favor

of more evaluation within programs and against more "external" evaluation. The import here, it appears, is that if managers want to do more of their own evaluation, there may be a need for new training programs to support them.

13. General question 13 asked how these managers perceive their need for training and consultative assistance in the area of management information systems. In retrospect, it is wished that the question had been broadened to include more areas. But since hindsight cannot change reality, the responses to the question as asked are presented in the next table.

TABLE 18
Managers' Perceptions of Their Needs for
Training and Consultative Assistance in the
Area of Management Information Systems, by
Respondent Group

Perceived Need	University Proj. Mgrs.		Non-Univ. Proj. Mgrs.		Federal Prog. Mgrs.	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Training for Self						
Yes	19	79	20	87	27	79
No	<u>5</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>21</u>
Totals	24	100	23	100	34	100
Training for Staff						
Yes	18	78	19	83	27	79
No	<u>5</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>21</u>
Totals	23	100	23	100	34	100
For Consultative Assistance						
Yes	17	74	19	83	28	82
No	<u>6</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>18</u>
Totals	23	100	23	100	34	100

The message here is simple enough: a training need exists in the area of MIS and the managers acknowledge it.

Apart from the general questions just discussed, the questionnaires posed a matched pair of questions to the program and project-level managers on the general subject of program organizational structures and how these affect management effectiveness. The federal-level people were each asked if most of their field staff was employed by non-federal entities, and if so, whether this impaired their ability to manage the program. The project-level people were asked (a) if they were employed by an organization with goals not related to those of the project, and (b) if so, whether this resulted in goal-conflict for them. In brief, of the 35 federal managers who worked with non-federal field people, 5, or 14 per cent, felt that this impaired their ability to manage their programs. And of the 33 project managers who had employers with additional goals, 6 (18 per cent) said that this created frequent conflicts for them, and another 21 (67 per cent) said that it created occasional conflicts. What impact this situation may be having on the evaluation problem is not clear at this time, but there is indication that further investigation is needed.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A. Conclusions

One of the broadest, most fundamental conclusions which the writer has drawn from this study is that in the world of federal social programs, there already exist two fairly separate and distinct sub-worlds of program evaluation. (One would like to call these "subsystems" rather than "sub-worlds," but given the fairly precise definition of "system" that was set forth in Chapter I of this study, they simply do not qualify.) These two sub-worlds have overlapping purposes and even populations, but each has unique characteristics which make it worthy of study. This writer, incidentally, was essentially unaware of much of the activity taking place in one of those sub-worlds until he conducted the survey interviews, and prior to that would not have said that two sub-worlds even existed.

The first sub-world is policy-oriented. Its major actors include the Congressmen who make--and withhold--appropriations; top agency officials who recommend policy and who let evaluation contracts; Office of Management and Budget

executives who consolidate budget requests; prestigious organizations and commissions which study federal programs and submit reports which are read in high places; the press, and other popular critics of governmental activity; and finally, the research institutes, universities, and individual social scientists who perform "outside" evaluations of federal programs. The program and project managers also inhabit this world, but by and large they are not enfranchised citizens of it. The same can be said of program clientele, although a fair number of these are able to exert influence on the major actors.

The other sub-world is management-oriented. The major actors of this sub-world include the program and project managers themselves; a great number of state and regional coordinative and planning agencies; several kinds of federal agency field personnel; a few maverick social research specialists who are at least as concerned with the problems of managing programs as with grading them; and finally, a small but growing number of management theorists who--while previously concerned chiefly with business--are expanding their field of interest to include government. Top agency officials, the prestigious organizations, and a few of the other major actors in the first sub-world are automatically honorary citizens of

this one, but they exert little influence in it except to insure its active and continued existence. Program clientele occupy a position in this sub-world quite similar to the one they occupy in the other, except that their influence in this one is most apt to be through sub-world number one.

The policy-oriented sub-world has a rich and varied professional literature, which flows from the pens of its research specialists, the prestigious organizations, and even the upper echelons of the federal bureaucracy. It also has a considerable popular literature, to be found in the editorials and feature articles of newspapers and magazines. The management-oriented sub-world has hardly any literature at all. Its maverick social scientists produce useful--if not always directly applicable--chapters and paragraphs, but many of these are masked by research-related titles and are therefore unknown to the practitioners. The same statement can be made about the prestigious organizations. The real base of a professional literature for this sub-world should probably be the public administration faculties of the nation's universities, but these people seem generally unaware that such a need exists. In the face of this nearly bare cupboard, the practitioners of managerial program evaluation are--in increasing numbers--

turning to the voluminous literature of management theory and culling through it for parts they can call their own.

The second sub-world appears to have less sense of common purpose than the first, perhaps because it has no professional literature to tie it together. It is fragmented: what is learned in one program is not immediately known in another, so mistakes are duplicated and forward progress is slow.

A corollary conclusion to the one just stated is that these two sub-worlds have great need for closer cooperation, and that the widely perceived requirement for much better social program evaluation will not be met until such cooperation is effected. For example, as has been stated by some of those "maverick" social scientists, a good evaluation data collection system could serve both types of users. But in regard to this, while the second sub-world is in perhaps the best position to establish such collection systems, the first sub-world controls the required financial and manpower resources and has a propensity to reserve both for its own purposes. Paralleling this, the first sub-world needs to give the second one more of a voice in the development of its policies toward evaluation, which have tended to vary more in accordance with the dictates of politics than with those of

good management. Here is how this is expressed (on a survey questionnaire) by one GS-14 who works at the program level: "I feel that emphases on evaluation in the area in which I work are not consistent, are not provided for financially or in terms of manpower, and are not sufficiently recognized in terms of priority." Or as it was put by a feminine federal manager: "In my experience (of 10 years) in government service, planning and evaluation are given very low priorities. Generally speaking, we run programs 'by the seat of our pants'." These complaints by managers are common, but what they leave out is the fact that the federal agencies do expend goodly amounts of money and manpower in both planning and evaluation--it just doesn't involve the program level as much as the managers would like. In fact, there is some evidence that much of sub-world one--like this writer before he conducted his survey--is essentially unaware that sub-world two is actively in being.

A final example of the desirability of closer cooperation between the two sub-worlds is found in the area of "outside" evaluation, which is most frequently funded from sub-world one. As was noted in Chapter I, the literature of evaluation research reveals what is almost an adversary position on the part of some researchers vis-a-vis program

managers. The reciprocal of this is exemplified by a comment which a project manager added to his questionnaire: "My experience with formal outside evaluation has not been satisfactory. These evaluations have been conducted with a fault-finding attitude and results have not been communicated to me in a frank and helpful manner." On the other hand, interview conversations with a few project managers suggest that this situation does not have to exist, and that outside evaluation can be useful to both agency and program personnel.

The third general conclusion to be drawn from the study is that there is a real need for the universities to turn their attention to management-oriented social program evaluation. The survey portion of this study has tentatively identified some of the requirements of the managers for educational programs, related research, publications, and even advisory assistance. Its literature analysis has established, at least to this writer's satisfaction, that the universities already command a reservoir of knowledge and expertise with which the managers could be helped. Further, the study has outlined the general magnitude of social program activity as a percentage of total federal expenditures, and this magnitude is so great as to suggest the mandatory involvement of any set

of social institutions which might possibly contribute to social program effectiveness.

The fourth conclusion (or sub-group of conclusions) of the study relates directly to the conceptual model presented in Chapters III and IV. The obverse side of this conclusion, which is derived from the analysis of the six fields of literature incorporated into the model, is that all six fields have something to contribute to the problem of managerial evaluation. The reverse side, which derives from the survey, is that while almost all of the managers contacted could presently benefit from study in one or more of the model's fields, very few could benefit from all of them. The basic conclusion, therefore, is that the model--which inherently incorporates all six fields--has potential utility as an "organizing principle" around which to build a comprehensive shopping list of credit courses and/or continuing education seminars for present and future managers.

The synthesized core of the model, i.e., the diagram and its descriptive statements, appears to be suitable for use as an introduction to all courses/seminars which might appear in such a compendium. So used, it would underscore the point that program management and evaluation are intrinsically complementary system processes, and that any specialized courses

in these areas are ipso facto logically related. Apart from brief coverage in course introductions, however, it is concluded that further attention to this core should be reserved for advanced graduate-level seminars.

A conclusion related to the foregoing is that the most immediate needs for educational offerings are in the fields of (1) management by objectives (MBO), (2) management information systems (MIS), and (3) evaluation/evaluation research--all of which are included in the model. This three-part conclusion is explained as follows:

1. As described in Chapter V, within several program areas there is already a trend toward the use of management by objectives as a basis for management-oriented evaluation. Knowledgeable managers have stated that this approach is making a positive contribution, in that it is producing measurable objectives in programs where none have existed in the past. Further, these objectives relate to all facets of program/project operations, including inputs, activities, and--in some cases--even client impacts. And they are said to be generally realistic, partly because the MBO process automatically causes them to be worked out jointly by more than one level of management. In short, this study found a strong case for the increased use of MBO within projects and programs, but it also

found (particularly during interviews) that the managers need additional training in order to be able to make effective use of it.

2. Whereas MBO emphasizes the establishment of measurable objectives and logical approaches to achieving them, management information systems (as a field of study) addresses the problem of developing feedback channels whereby information about the achievement of objectives is carried upward within the organizational hierarchy. And this receiving of information about the degree of achievement of measurable objectives is the very heart of program evaluation. Regarding the actual need for training in this field, reference can be made to Chapter V of this study, which reported that some 80 per cent of all managers surveyed perceived a need for training in MIS for both themselves and their staffs.

3. The interviews conducted during this study confirmed something which had already been made quite plain by the literature analysis, i.e., that widespread semantical confusion--and even conflict--exists regarding just what program evaluation is. This confusion extends to include why evaluation is needed; who should accomplish what aspects of it; who will use its results, and for what purposes; what can be measured, and what cannot; and so forth. It is therefore

concluded that a need exists for both on-campus courses and for continuing education seminars addressed to all these questions. Some of these courses should be introductory in nature and mainly descriptive and informative in content. Others should be more advanced, and should delve into some of the techniques and processes of impact measurement.

One of the other four fields incorporated in the model is organization theory, and this is already included in the public administration curriculum of credit courses. In the light of this study, it is believed that organization theory as a credit course should immediately be considered a part of the compendium described above, and that it should be included as a second-priority subject in the development of any family of non-credit seminars on managerial evaluation.

It is concluded that the other three fields of the model--general systems theory, cybernetics, and operations research and systems analysis--deserve a third-priority place in any family of credit or non-credit courses on program evaluation. This suggested lower priority is not based on any question of their applicability or value; rather, it is based on the belief that the other fields have a broader current appeal, and that even the long-range market for courses in these fields is limited to a minority of the management population.

B. Recommendations

This study raised several new questions in the mind of this writer, and two of these are described here in the form of recommendations for research and study.

1. The business firm in a competitive environment is always subject to the ultimate evaluative test of whether or not it can continue to be economically viable. Ergo, its management-oriented evaluation processes cannot--for very long--be out of synchronization with its policy-oriented evaluation processes. In fact, the first is simply an extension of the second, and it is improbable that any observer of the firm would have any reason to even think in terms of two sets of processes. The federal social program, in contrast with the business firm but in common with most governmental entities, enjoys no comparable ultimate evaluative test. Of course, one can say that the federal program faces competition, i.e., for appropriations, and that if it fails to get these it will not be "economically viable." This is considered to be quite a different contest, however, in that survival in the political arena has not traditionally been closely associated with management effectiveness at the working levels. At any rate, the "ultimate" evaluation criteria for federal programs are radically different from those of most business firms, and because

they are, it is evidently possible for policy-oriented evaluation to become separated--to varying degrees--from management-oriented evaluation.

This study has concluded that such separation is very noticeable in the programs it surveyed, and has concluded further that this separation is impairing the effectiveness of overall program evaluation. It has not, however, provided any insight into why this is the case and what might be done to improve the situation. Logic suggests that partial explanation of this problem may be found in differences of outlook between the middle managers who operate the programs and the "super grades" and appointed officials who operate above the programs--but we have no solid evidence of this. Another possibility may exist in the fact that most of the field project activities are managed by non-federal personnel--but this too is only guesswork. A third possible source of explanation may lie in the state and regional planning and coordinative organizations--but if so, further study will be required before we understand their roles.

The recommendation, it follows, is that interested researchers investigate the causes of the hiatus which this investigator believes to exist between policy-oriented evaluation and management-oriented evaluation of federal programs.

2. It is presumed that most of the textbooks on management by objectives and management information systems have been developed with a "unitary" organization in mind. During the literature analysis portion of this study, a special (although admittedly limited) search was made for any publications --or even chapters or paragraphs--on how MBO and/or MIS theory or applications might have to be altered when top management is dealing mainly through "sub-contractors," and nothing was found. It can easily be suggested that alterations are needed in such circumstances, however, if for no other reason than that within the duration of sub-contract periods, top management faces limits on what it can do to vary inputs, processes, or objectives.

This question is seen as being pertinent to the problem of evaluating federal social programs for these two reasons:

- (1) Most of these programs are operated on a sub-contract basis, through a wide variety of types of project agencies.
- (2) There is a trend within several program areas toward the use of MBO as a basis for managerial evaluation, and MIS is a natural adjunct to MBO.

The recommendation, then, is that interested parties investigate if and/or how "normal" MBO and MIS theory and applications need to be altered for use in federal programs.

APPENDIX A
SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRES

PROJECT MANAGER QUESTIONNAIRE

Age _____ Sex: M _____ F _____

Type of employer (school, city, etc.) _____

Years of experience in managerial positions:

Less than 5 _____ 5 to 10 _____ More than 10 _____

Formal training/education in managerial skills:

Coll/Univ _____ Other _____ None _____

Highest academic degree earned:

Bachelors _____ Masters _____ Doctorate _____ None _____

INSTRUCTIONS: Please indicate your response to each question or sub-question by checking the appropriate blank. If you desire to make additional comment, please do so, either in the space available by the question and/or on the last page of the questionnaire.

1. Would you say that the basic goals of your program are long-term or short-term?

Long-term _____ Short-term _____

2. (TO BE ANSWERED ONLY IF YOU CHECKED "LONG-TERM" IN QUESTION 1.)

Both management and evaluation theorists state that program goals should be expressed in measurable terms. Therefore, since it is often difficult to do this with long-term goals (so as to be able to measure progress toward them), managers sometimes set up more immediate "proxy" goals. For example, if the future and continued employment of a clientele group is the long-term goal, getting a certain number of them through a vocational training program might be taken as a valid "proxy" goal.

- a) Do you feel that your long-term goals are expressed in measurable terms?

Yes _____ No _____

b) Does your program have clearly defined "proxy" goals?

Yes _____ No _____

c) If you have "proxy" goals, are these expressed in measurable terms?

Yes _____ No _____

The degree of achievement of some program goals is easy to measure; one can simply count the number of graduates of a training program, or the number of "talking books" delivered to blind persons. But the goals of some programs are harder to measure--for example, those that aim at changing attitudes.

d) Do you see the degree of achievement of your long-term goals as being easy to measure or hard to measure?

Easy _____ Hard _____

e) If you have "proxy" goals, do you see the degree of achievement of these goals as being easy to measure or hard to measure?

Easy _____ Hard _____

3. (TO BE ANSWERED ONLY IF YOU CHECKED SHORT-TERM IN QUESTION 1.)

Both management and evaluation theorists state that program goals should be expressed in measurable terms.

a) Do you feel that your program goals are expressed in measurable terms?

Yes _____ No _____

The degree of achievement of some program goals is easy to measure; one can simply count the number of graduates of a training program, or the number of "talking books" delivered to blind persons. But the goals of some programs are harder to measure--for example, those that aim at changing attitudes.

- b) Do you see the degree of achievement of your program goals as being easy or hard to measure?

Easy _____ Hard _____

4. Many social research scientists have participated in program evaluation activities, and a great number of books and articles have been written about the process. This literature discusses ways of assessing those "hard-to-measure" goals, as well as tactics and strategies for determining overall program effectiveness. How would you rate your familiarity with this body of books and articles?

High _____ Medium _____ Low _____

5. One can, of course, learn the methods of evaluative social research--the scientific assessment of program impact--from sources other than books and journals, i.e., by experience, or through special training programs. How would you rate your familiarity with these methods?

High _____ Medium _____ Low _____

6. How would you rate your familiarity with the literature and/or the principles of modern management theory as it relates to management information systems?

High _____ Medium _____ Low _____

As it relates to management by objectives?

High _____ Medium _____ Low _____

7. Within the context of management information and control systems, how would you rate your knowledge of the "feedback" concept, wherein information about program activities are constantly channeled back to the manager--in quantitative terms--for his use in making adjustments and corrections to the program?

High _____ Medium _____ Low _____

8. All programs probably have some amount of built-in feedback, specially planned or otherwise. But it may not be set up to give the manager just what information he needs; it may be too little, too much, or on the wrong subjects.

How would you rate the feedback you get regarding actual program impacts/effects on clientele(s)?

Adequate _____ Not good enough _____

9. Have you had significant experience in dealing with evaluation research specialists, i.e., social psychologists, sociologists, psychometrists and the like who specialize in social research aimed at the evaluation of program effectiveness?
- Yes _____ No _____
10. If social research specialists have evaluated any program with which you have been associated:
- a) How were you impressed with their ability to actually assess "program effectiveness"?
- Highly _____ Somewhat _____ Little _____
- b) Who sponsored their evaluation activities, i.e., to whom did they make their primary report?
- The program manager _____
- A higher echelon of government _____
- Other (specify) _____
11. Referring to formal evaluation, designed to provide empirical evidence about both the internal and external effectiveness of social programs:
- a) Do you favor more evaluation of the "external" type, where government echelons above the program bring in research institutes or university-based social scientists, under special contract, to perform major, one-shot assessments of program effectiveness?
- Yes _____ No _____
- b) Do you favor more evaluation within programs, with both evaluation activities and evaluation reporting to be under the general control of the program manager? (Assume additional funding for this, if it would otherwise put a strain on program/project resources.

Also assume that you would carry out much of the evaluation task, following the program manager's guidelines.) You favor more "internal" evaluation:

Yes _____ No _____

12. Do you feel that social research scientists could be of help to your federal program manager--and to you--in developing a better evaluation system within your program? (Assume that they would work directly for your program manager, not for some higher or outside agency.) They could be of:

Much help _____ Some help _____ Little help _____

13. According to many writers in the field of management, a properly designed and maintained management information system--including an evaluative feedback component--is a cornerstone of program control. Do you think you need assistance of any or all of the following types in improving the management information system of your project and that of the larger (national) program?

Training for yourself Yes _____ No _____

Training for your staff Yes _____ No _____

Assistance from the program manager Yes _____ No _____

Outside consultative assistance Yes _____ No _____

14. (For non-federal employees only.) Most field project managers are employed by organizations of one kind or another, and these organizations (universities, state agencies, cities, etc.) usually have interests and goals in addition to those represented by the national program in which the project manager plays a part.

- a) Are you an employee of an organization that has interests and goals in addition to those of your program/project?

Yes _____ No _____

- b) If so, do you feel that you sometimes have significant problems because your program/project goals are in conflict with your employer's goals?

Frequently _____ Occasionally _____ Never _____

USE THE REMAINING SPACE FOR ANY ADDITIONAL COMMENTS YOU MAY HAVE.

PROGRAM MANAGER QUESTIONNAIRE

Age _____ Sex: M _____ F _____ GS grade _____

Years of experience in managerial positions:

Less than 5 _____ 5 to 10 _____ More than 10 _____

Formal training/education in managerial skills:

Coll/Univ _____ Other _____ None _____

Highest academic degree earned:

Bachelor _____ Masters _____ Doctorate _____ None _____

INSTRUCTIONS: Please indicate your response to each question or sub-question by checking the appropriate blank. If you desire to make additional comment, please do so, either in the space available by the question and/or on the last page of the questionnaire.

1. a) Who employs the majority of the people who implement your program at the state and/or local level?

The federal government _____ Other entities _____

b) If your program is implemented at the field level by non-federal employees, do you feel that this impairs your ability to manage it effectively?

Yes _____ No _____

2. Would you say that the basic goals of your program are long-term or short-term?

Long-term _____ Short-term _____

3. (TO BE ANSWERED ONLY IF YOU CHECKED "LONG-TERM" IN QUESTION 2.)

Both management and evaluation theorists state that program goals should be expressed in measurable terms. Therefore, since it is often difficult to do this with long-term goals (so as to be able to measure current progress toward them),

managers sometimes set up more immediate "proxy" goals. For example, if the future and continued employment of a clientele group is the long-term goal, getting a certain number of them through a vocational training program might be taken as a valid "proxy" goal.

- a) Do you feel that your long-term goals are expressed in measurable terms?

Yes _____ No _____

- b) Does your program have clearly defined "proxy" goals?

Yes _____ No _____

- c) If you have "proxy" goals, are these expressed in measurable terms?

Yes _____ No _____

The degree of achievement of some program goals is easy to measure; one can simply count the number of graduates of a training program, or the number of "talking books" delivered to blind persons. But the goals of some programs are harder to measure--for example, those that aim at changing attitudes.

- d) Do you see the degree of achievement of your long-term goals as being easy to measure or hard to measure?

Easy _____ Hard _____

- e) If you have "proxy" goals, do you see the degree of achievement of these goals as being easy or hard to measure?

Easy _____ Hard _____

4. (TO BE ANSWERED ONLY IF YOU CHECKED "SHORT-TERM" IN QUESTION 2.)

Both management and evaluation theorists state that program goals should be expressed in measurable terms.

- a) Do you feel that your program goals are expressed in measurable terms?

Yes _____ No _____

The degree of achievement of some program goals is easy to measure; one can simply count the number of graduates of a training program, or the number of "talking books" delivered to blind persons. But the goals of some programs are harder to measure--for example, those that aim at changing attitudes.

- b) Do you see the degree of achievement of your program goals as being easy to measure or hard to measure?

Easy _____ Hard _____

5. (FOR THOSE WHO CHECKED THAT THEIR GOALS ARE "HARD" TO MEASURE.)

Have you had the assistance of professional social research people--sociologists, social psychologists, etc.--in developing "yardsticks" for use in measuring the extent to which your program is achieving its basic goals?

Yes _____ No _____

6. Many social research scientists have participated in program evaluation activities, and a great number of books and articles have been written about the process. This literature discusses ways of assessing those "hard to measure" goals, as well as tactics and strategies for determining overall program effectiveness. How would you rate your familiarity with this body of books and articles?

High _____ Medium _____ Low _____

7. One can, of course, learn the methods of evaluative social research--the scientific assessment of program impact--from sources other than books and journals, e.g., by experience, or through special training programs. How would you rate your familiarity with these methods?

High _____ Medium _____ Low _____

8. How would you rate your familiarity with the literature and/or the principles of modern management theory as it relates to management information systems?

High _____ Medium _____ Low _____

As it relates to management by objectives?

High _____ Medium _____ Low _____

9. Within the context of management information and control systems, how would you rate your knowledge of the "feedback" concept, wherein information about program activities are constantly channeled back to the manager--in quantitative terms--for his use in making adjustments and corrections to the program?

High _____ Medium _____ Low _____

10. All programs probably have some amount of built-in feedback, specially planned or otherwise. But it may or may not be set up to give the manager just what information he needs; it may be too little, too much, or on the wrong subjects. How would you rate the feedback you get regarding actual program impacts/effects on clientele?

Adequate _____ Not good enough _____

11. (Question 10 referred to the external effects of the program; this question refers to its internal activities.) How would you rate the feedback you get on the activities and internal processes of your field projects in each of the following areas:

	<u>Adequate</u>	<u>Not good enough</u>
a) Management processes	_____	_____
b) Staff competencies	_____	_____
c) Financial accounting	_____	_____
d) Staff morale	_____	_____
e) Client-centered activities	_____	_____

12. Evaluative information can sometimes be obtained from ordinary program operating reports, but better evaluative information can often be obtained if special channels are set up for this purpose. Does your program have special feedback channels for data pertinent only to program evaluation?

Yes _____ No _____

13. Have you had significant experience in dealing with evaluation research specialists, i.e., social psychologists, sociologists, psychometrists and the like who specialize in social research aimed at the evaluation of program effectiveness?

Yes _____ No _____

14. If social research specialists have evaluated any program with which you have been associated:

- a) How were you impressed with their ability to actually assess "program effectiveness"?

Highly _____ Somewhat _____ Little _____

- b) Who sponsored their evaluation activities, i.e., to whom did they make their primary report?

The program manager _____

A higher echelon of government _____

Other (specify) _____

15. Referring to formal evaluation, designed to provide empirical evidence about both the internal and external effectiveness of social programs:

- a) Do you favor more evaluation of the "external" type, where government echelons above the program bring in research institutes or university-based social scientists, under special contract, to perform major, one-shot assessments of program effectiveness?

Yes _____ No _____

- b) Do you favor conducting more evaluation within programs, with both evaluation activities and evaluation reporting to be under the general control of the program manager? (Assume additional funding for this, if it would otherwise put a strain on program resources.)

Yes _____ No _____

16. If they were to be selected by you, and either on your staff or regularly available to you as consultants, and removable/replaceable by you--in short, if they were to be your people--do you feel that social research scientists could help you in developing a better evaluation system within your program? They could be of:

Much help _____ Some help _____ Little help _____

17. According to many writers in the field of management, a properly designed and maintained management information system--including an evaluative feedback component--is a cornerstone of program control. Do you think you need assistance of any or all of the following types to improve your program's management information system?

Training for yourself Yes _____ No _____

Training for your staff Yes _____ No _____

Consultative assistance Yes _____ No _____

USE THE REMAINING SPACE FOR ANY ADDITIONAL COMMENTS YOU MAY HAVE.

APPENDIX B
LISTS OF PROJECTS SURVEYED

University-Based Projects by Name and Federal Funding Source

Note: Some of these 27 "projects" are actually project offices with more than one activity, and have therefore produced more than one interview. "Indian Education Projects" is one example.

Action Peace Corps Training Projects

U.S. Office of Education, DHEW

Civil Defense Training Projects

U.S. Department of Defense

Consultant Training Project

U.S. Employment Service, DOL

Consultative Center for Equal Educational Opportunity

Bureau of Equal Educational Opportunity, USOE, DHEW

Counselors Training Project

U.S. Employment Service, DOL

Health Services Surveyors Training Project

Community Health Service, DHEW

Indian Education Projects

Bureau of Indian Affairs, DOI;

U.S. Office of Education, DHEW

International Business Program

Language and Area Centers Section, USOE, DHEW

Management Institute for State Survey Program Supervisors

Public Health Service, DHEW

Minority Business Program

Office of Minority Business Enterprise, DOC

National Police Training Program

Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, DOJ

Nutrition Programs for the Elderly

Administration on Aging, DHEW

Police Assaults Study Project

Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, DOJ

Regional Rehabilitation Research Institute
Social and Rehabilitation Service, DHEW

Rehabilitation Management Training Program
Social and Rehabilitation Service, DHEW

Special Veterans Training Project
U.S. Office of Education, DHEW

Southwest Center for Human Relations Studies
Several sources within DHEW

Supervisory Training Project
National Institute for Occupational Safety and
Health, DOL

Talent Search Project
U.S. Office of Education, DHEW

Teacher Corps Project
U.S. Office of Education, DHEW

Threshold Project
U.S. Office of Education, DHEW

Title I (HEA) Community Relations Projects
U.S. Office of Education, DHEW

Upward Bound Project
U.S. Office of Education, DHEW

Urban Planning and Development Office
U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development

WIN Employment Training Project
U.S. Department of Labor;
U.S. Social Security Commission

WIN OJT Project
U.S. Environmental Protection Agency;
U.S. Department of Labor

Non-University Projects by Name, Location, and Federal
Funding Source

Note: Some of these 27 projects are multiple in nature and produced more than one interview.

American Indian Investment Opportunities, Inc. (Norman, OK)
Small Business Administration, DOC

Area Wide Health Planning Organization (Oklahoma City, OK)
Comprehensive Health Plan Service, DHEW

Association of Central Oklahoma Governments, Law Enforcement
Project Office (Oklahoma City, OK)
Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, DOJ

Business Development Organization (Norman, OK)
Office of Minority Business Enterprise, DOC

Central State Hospital Alcoholism Project (Norman, OK)
National Institute of Mental Health, DHEW

Child Welfare Projects, Community Action Program (Oklahoma
City, OK)
Office of Child Development, DHEW

Community Development Project (Moore, OK)
U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development

Economic Development Projects, Community Action Program
(Chickasha, OK)
Office of Economic Opportunity

Economic Development Projects, Community Action Program
(Oklahoma City, OK)
Office of Economic Opportunity

Education and Services Projects, Community Action Program
(Chickasha, OK)
Office of Economic Opportunity and DHEW

Follow Through Project (Chickasha, OK)
U.S. Office of Education, DHEW

Housing 235 Counseling Project, Urban League (Oklahoma City, OK)
U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development

Juvenile Delinquency Project (Midwest City, OK)
Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, DOJ

Manpower Development Project, City of Norman (Norman, OK)
U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development

Mid-Del Youth and Family Center (Midwest City, OK)
Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, DOJ

Norman Alcohol Information Center (Norman, OK)
National Institute of Mental Health, DHEW

Oklahoma Crime Commission, Police Assistance Projects
(Oklahoma City, OK)
Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, DOJ

Oklahoma Regional Medical Program (Oklahoma City, OK)
Health Resources Agency, DHEW

Opportunity Workshop and Training Center, Inc. (Chickasha, OK)
U.S. Office of Education, DHEW

Police Community Relations Project (Norman, OK)
Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, DOJ

Progress Association for Economic Development
(Oklahoma City, OK)
Small Business Administration, DOC

State-Based Humanities Program (Oklahoma City, OK)
National Endowment for the Humanities

Street Academy (Oklahoma City, OK)
Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, DOJ

Title I (ESEA) Special Education Projects (Norman, OK)
U.S. Office of Education, DHEW

Title III (ESEA) Special Education Projects (Norman, OK)
U.S. Office of Education, DHEW

Water Pollution Control Project (Norman, OK)
Environmental Protection Agency

WIN Employment Training Project (Oklahoma City, OK)
U.S. Department of Labor and U.S. Social Security Comm.

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