Unpacking the Participatory Process

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Introduction

Interest in collaborative forms of inquiry has increased dramatically in recent years in evaluation and social science research. One consequence of such interest has been the emergence of many different forms or genres of collaborative inquiry, such as stakeholder-based evaluation, deliberative democratic evaluation, practical participatory evaluation, transformative participatory evaluation, empowerment evaluation, and the like. In order to ensure clarity of purpose and application, it is necessary to differentiate among such approaches. One such framework—originally proposed by Cousins, Donohue and Bloom (1996) and later developed by Cousins and Whitmore (1998)—applies not only to collaborative and participatory forms of evaluation but to forms of applied social research in a broader sense. Within the framework consideration is given to both the goals and interests of collaborative inquiry (i.e., pragmatic, political, 

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epistemological) as well as to dimensions of process (i.e., control of technical
decision making, stakeholder selection, depth of participation).

This paper questions the adequacy of the process dimensions of the earlier version
or our framework. Our ongoing analysis of process dimensions reveals that one of
the dimensions—stakeholder selection—is problematic and requires
reconsideration. In this paper we re-present the framework and describe
enhancements to the process dimension component. By way of illustration, we then
apply the framework to two separate case examples of practical participatory
evaluation. This work is relevant to the study and practice of evaluation because it
helps clarify differences among versions of collaborative inquiry and thereby helps
reduce confusion that may arise in discussions about, or applications of, such
approaches. The enhanced process component of the framework allows interested
parties to graphically depict the continua for a given inquiry project in order to
portray differences in collaborative evaluation approaches. It also provides the
basis for the development of research tools that could be used for empirical inquiry
into participatory processes in social inquiry and their effects.

Goals and Interests of Collaborative Inquiry

We identified three primary goals and interests associated with collaborative social
inquiry, derived in the first instance, from Levin (1993), but found them to
resonate with other conceptions such as Mark and Shotland (1985) and Garaway
(1995). Any given collaborative research project, we suggest, would be
characterized by a primary emphasis on one or some combination of the three
goals and interests. First is the pragmatic justification. Collaborative inquiry is
purported to lead to instrumental consequences and to increase the usefulness of
the knowledge that is created. In this sense, collaborative inquiry takes on a
problem-solving orientation. Members of the community of practice engage with researchers or evaluators to produce knowledge that bears upon identifiable practical problems. To the extent that the research is grounded in the context for use and thereby rendered meaningful to those responsible for problem solving, decision making or policy making, the knowledge produced will be of greater use.

A second justification is political and is ideologically rooted in normative conceptions of social justice and the democratic process. The primary interest of collaborative inquiry that subscribes to such political aims is to promote fairness through the involvement of individuals associated with all groups with a stake in the research (e.g., applied study, evaluation) or the focus for research (e.g., programme, policy). Through direct involvement and participation in the research process, persons from oppressed groups or marginalized sectors that do not normally have a voice in policy or programme decision making are now provided with such opportunities. The focus for politically-oriented collaborative inquiry is very much emancipatory or concerned with the amelioration of social inequities inherent in the societal structures of the status quo.

The third and final justification for collaborative inquiry is epistemological, the primary aim being the production of valid knowledge or representations of underlying social phenomena. Recent challenges to the dominant paradigm for research in the social sciences—logical empiricism—have been many and varied and stem from fundamental distinctions made in conceptions of reality and of knowledge. In his comprehensive review and integration of constructivist conceptions of research in the social sciences Schwandt (1997) epitomizes the concept of the ‘localness’ of knowledge and the importance of context as the essence of constructivism. While constructivist conceptions of research are undeniably rooted in relativist epistemologies, others have argued from different
footing and similarly placed a premium on context. Huberman (1994), for example, proposes a perspective regarding knowledge production, utilization and dissemination that might be termed ‘revisionist-traditionalist.’ He argues that knowledge can indeed be transported from one context or setting to another but that its reception, interpretation and integration into the local context determines its impact and sustainability. His construct ‘sustained interactivity’ suggests that reciprocal effects on knowledge user and producer communities will arise from enhanced contacts between the two. The argument is aligned with a justification for collaborative inquiry that aims to enhance the validity of the produced knowledge.

**Process Dimensions of Collaborative Inquiry**

Quite apart from considerations of the aims of collaborative inquiry, we identified dimensions of form as being important and suggested them to be fundamental in characterizing various collaborative approaches to systematic inquiry (Cousins & Whitmore, 1998). Each may be thought of as a Likert-type rating scale along which any given application of collaborative inquiry may be described. Initially, we identified three such dimensions—control of technical decision making, stakeholder selection, depth of participation—but through ongoing analysis came to the view that one of these dimensions was confounded and therefore conceptually inadequate. We ultimately teased apart the dimension ‘stakeholder selection’ into three distinct dimensions of form or inquiry process. The resulting framework consists of five dimensions of form.
Taken together, a given collaborative inquiry might be represented diagrammatically in the form of a ‘radargram,’ shown in Figure 1. In the figure we represent hypothetical examples of three distinct forms of collaborative evaluation. We now turn to a discussion of each in terms of its justification and depiction according to our process dimensions.
Figure 1: Five dimensions of form in collaborative inquiry

*Practical-participatory evaluation (P-PE):* Our prior work (Cousins & Whitmore, 1998) differentiated between two streams of participatory evaluation on the basis of the primary aims of the inquiry. The first we called Practical Participatory Evaluation (P-PE) an approach that is very much concerned with practical problem solving and providing support for ongoing programme and/or organizational decision making (see, e.g., Cousins & Earl, 1995). In P-PE, members of the evaluation community work in partnership with members of the programme community to implement evaluations typically seeking to inform programme improvement initiatives. Instrumental (support for discrete decisions) and conceptual (educative function) uses of evaluation findings and process use, are likely to be observed as a benefit of P-PE. Figure 1 shows that technical decision making in P-PE is typically shared between the evaluator and non-evaluator stakeholders. Diversity in participation is likely to be limited as non-evaluator stakeholders are typically primary users, those with vested interest in the programme who are in a position to enact change. Power relations among non-evaluator stakeholders are likely to be neutral since the interests of programme
managers and implementers are usually those most often represented. This, however, is not necessarily the case. Since only a limited number of non-evaluator stakeholders participate in the inquiry, the process would be logistically manageable and feasible. Finally, in P-PE participants are normally involved extensively in a wide variety of the inquiry tasks, including data analysis and reporting.

Transformative Participatory Evaluation (T-PE): Brunner and Guzman (1989) describe an approach to participatory evaluation that has been implemented in evaluations of programmes in developing countries for some considerable time. The approach has decided links with other forms of collaborative inquiry such as participatory action research (PAR) and participatory rural appraisal (PRA) which are normative in intent and seek to ameliorate identified social inequities. Through participation, non-evaluator stakeholders develop their capacity for self-determination and develop rich understandings of the often oppressive forces operating in the local context. This stream of inquiry, which is ideologically grounded and political in intent, we labelled transformative participatory evaluation (T-PE) (Cousins & Whitmore, 1998). In T-PE control of technical decision making is also likely to be balanced between trained evaluators and non-evaluator stakeholders. While evaluators wish to adopt the role of facilitator, there is a need for them to teach participants inquiry methods and the logic of evaluation. Participants would include programme practitioners but in most cases would also involve intended programme beneficiaries as members of the evaluation team. Other interested parties including government officials, NGO personnel, and representatives of donor agencies are equally likely to be involved. Participation, then, would be highly diverse, and given the range of value perspectives having legitimate input a degree of conflict in interests is to be expected. The diverse
nature of participation would naturally lead to logistical challenges and raise into question the feasibility of the inquiry. Finally, as was the case with P-PE, non-evaluator stakeholders would be involved in a wide range of technical inquiry tasks and activities; this being an important element of the capacity building and empowering force of T-PE.

**Stakeholder-based evaluation (SBE):** Many years ago the concept of stakeholder-based evaluation was introduced through a collection of papers by such renowned contributors as Weiss, Stake and Murray (Bryk, 1983). It was portrayed as being a recommended evaluation strategy when values conflict among stakeholder groups regarding programme purpose or goals was evident. Evaluators would seek to understand evaluation issues from multiple perspectives and the evaluation would be responsive to the exigencies of the local context. In SBE, the evaluator would remain firmly in control of the evaluation and its implementation. Normally a range of stakeholder perspectives would be systematically taken into account and therefore a significant degree of diversity in perspective was to be expected. Best suited to circumstances where programme goals and means are contentious, SBE processes are normally witness to significant differentials in power relations and conflicts of interest. However, with the evaluator firmly in control of the evaluation implementation, the project could be expected to be manageable. Finally, evaluators would most often involve non-evaluator stakeholders in deliberations about the evaluation issues to be addressed and then later, in helping to interpret evaluation findings. Therefore depth of participation would be limited to a consultative role on behalf of non-evaluator stakeholders.

With these three hypothetical examples we can see that the approaches discussed differed considerably in both goals and interests as well as the operational form taken. The framework described above provides a useful means of capturing such
variation among the different collaborative approaches. We now turn from the hypothetical to the actual case in order to demonstrate the utility of the framework in more concrete terms.

**Actual Case Applications**

The case examples we selected are independent projects on which we worked separately in the capacity of evaluators. The first case (reported by Weaver) is in the domain of hospice/palliative care in the Canadian context: a P-PE of the Volunteer Resources to determine how to improve the programme and to prepare for downsizing of the palliative care unit. The second case (reported by Cousins) is a cross-cultural P-PE of an educational leadership training programme in India. We independently completed the analyses and reports on each case in order to test out the conceptual framework by applying it to actual evaluation cases and to see how the cases might compare, given that they fall within the P-PE stream.

*Evaluation of Canadian Hospice/Palliative Care Unit:* The sole chronic care hospital in Ottawa, Canada houses a palliative care inpatient unit with 45 beds—the largest unit in Canada. It is staffed with a comprehensive interdisciplinary team, including nurses, doctors, volunteers and many allied health professionals such as a physiotherapist, occupational therapist, chaplain, pharmacist, recreation therapist, psychologist, and Volunteer Coordinator. The team strives to work in harmony to provide specialized symptom management to maximize the quality of life for terminally ill patients and their families. The Director of Patient Care oversees the nurses and allied health professionals, and a Medical Director oversees the physicians.

The part-time Volunteer Coordinator has the responsibility of training and supervising the compliment of volunteers. At the time of the evaluation, there were
approximately 60 volunteers on the roster. Each volunteer comes to the unit weekly for a four-hour shift anytime from 0700h to 2300h any day of the week. Usually, three volunteers are scheduled at the same time to cover the entire unit.

The need to evaluate the volunteer resources arose from the proposed restructuring of the unit 12 to 18 months in the future. As part of the overall preparations to downsize the number of beds and allocated resources, management made plans to obtain feedback from the team members about the future unit. Attention was focused on the volunteer resources because they had not been evaluated formally for many years, and they are an integral, essential part of patient and family care. A commitment was therefore made by senior and middle management to conduct a formative evaluation for two purposes: (1) to evaluate the current volunteer resources and (2) to plan for the restructured, downsized unit. Senior management made the decision to conduct the evaluation. A working committee, of which Weaver was a member, was created and a work plan was drawn up.

The major reason behind choosing to be participatory in this evaluation was to be pragmatic. The working committee could make decisions quickly if the stakeholders were sitting together at the table, and the content of the questionnaires would be exhaustive with all stakeholder groups’ input. The political rationale was an important consideration because if management had not included volunteers and nurses in the process, they would not be as likely to accept the recommendations for change to the volunteers’ working conditions and policies. Lastly, the philosophy of collaboration in the evaluation reflected the nature of the interdisciplinary and holistic care rendered on the palliative unit. The collaborative evaluation effort would inform management of volunteers’ issues, and the volunteers would feel integral to decision making that affects their working
conditions. In summary, while the primary justification for the evaluation was practical, political concerns most certainly factored in.

Having described the evaluation in terms of its background and motivation, we now turn to an analysis of its implementation in operational terms. Weaver rated the inquiry project in terms of its process dimensions using the five dimensions described above. The results appear in Figure 2. These we describe below.

![Figure 2: Comparison of Canadian and Indian P-PE cases](image)

1. **Control of technical decision making (2.5):** Control of technical decisions was shared equally by all committee members. This dimension was actually one that caused strain among group members. At first, questions about technical aspects of the evaluation from the volunteers, Volunteer Manager and nurse were handled quickly by the evaluator and/or the Director of Patient Care (DPC). Resentment was expressed by one of the volunteer committee members. She stated she felt like her purpose was to be a rubber stamp for decisions “already made”. The conflict stemmed from trying to follow evaluation rigour without
enough explanation or without consideration for the non-evaluators’ ideas. By consciously realizing the problem associated with this dimension of participatory evaluation, the group overcame the friction.

2. **Diversity among stakeholders selected for participation (4.5):** Diversity was achieved on the working committee by recruiting representatives from four groups of stakeholders. Management was represented by the DPC, the Palliative Care Volunteer Coordinator (PCVC) and the hospital’s Director of Volunteer Resources. Three volunteers were asked to participate, each one with a different length of service on the unit (range from one year to over 10 years). A nurse brought the care team’s perspective. Weaver, the evaluation consultant from the Institute of Palliative Care made up the eighth member. Diversity was about as complete as it could have been save for non participation by patients and/or family members whom had not been asked to join the group.

3. **Power relations among participating stakeholders (2):** The intent of the group was to ensure a balance of power among all committee members. In reality, this balance took time to achieve since it was first necessary to overcome the more customary hierarchy in the work setting where management has power over others. Having three volunteers helped them feel more powerful as a group, then as individuals. The conflict mentioned above concerning ‘control of decision making’ also skewed the power structure at first. In the end, the group was cohesive and respectful of each other and conflict seemed to dissipate.

4. **Manageability of evaluation implementation (3.5):** Resources and timing for the evaluation project impacted directly on this dimension. The committee was capped at eight members to balance diversity with functionality. Initially, the data collection was to be limited to a literature search and a mailed volunteer
survey. An outspoken nurse suggested that an evaluation would not be complete without the nurses’ opinions since they work so closely with volunteers. A brief survey was, therefore, also administered to the nurses on the unit. Some logistical challenges were experienced, with the amount of data collected in the two surveys being fairly voluminous.

5. **Depth of participation (5):** Each member of the working committee participated extensively in the evaluation process. As a group they determined the necessary information required to answer the evaluation goals, edited the questionnaires drafted by Weaver, assisted with qualitative data content analysis, and interpreted the findings. As a group, they will put forth recommendations to the Programme Management Committee in terms of how volunteers will function in the restructured unit. The only jobs that were conducted by Weaver alone were the analysis of the quantitative data and the creation of the presentation material. Participation in all aspects of the evaluation was evident.

**Evaluation of Indian Educational Leadership Programme:** The Educational Leadership Programme (ELP), centred in New Delhi and in existence since 1996, is grounded in an ethos of effective leadership for equity and excellence in education, reflective practice, organizational change and collaboration. Principal foci are the development of personal educational awareness and philosophy, instructional leadership and systemic organizational management. The programme was developed on the basis of mostly American principal training programmes such as Harvard and Danforth.

The impetus for the evaluation came from ELP’s creators, developers and implementers, specifically administration and staff of the Centre for Educational Management and Development (CEMD) in New Delhi. The Centre, a non-
governmental organization (NGO) somewhat dependent on external donor funding, has a staff of over 25. The ELP represents an important Centre activity, but one of several. Interest in evaluation stemmed from a desire to understand, through systematic inquiry: (i) the programme’s strengths and limitations; (ii) its comparability to other leadership programmes, particularly those in western cultures; and (iii) considerations for ongoing development and improvement. The evaluation was coordinated by Evaluation and Assessment Group at Queen’s University (Kingston, Canada) and was contracted by the Aga Khan Foundation, a donor agency providing significant resources to CEMD.

For the initial formative phase of the evaluation, we adopted a participatory approach with external evaluation team members from Canada working in partnership with CEMD staff, the programme developers and implementers. Cousins was contracted as the evaluation team leader. Advisory input was provided by a variety of interested stakeholder groups including ELP alumni, educational consultants and university professors, and representatives of funding agencies.

On the first of two planned site visits, we developed collaboratively a set of guiding evaluation questions and a programme logic model and then proceeded to systematically examine programme implementation and effects using a mix of quantitative and qualitative methods. Methods employed were an extensive document review of archival information, a questionnaire survey of ELP alumni and a comparison group of non-alumni counterparts, focus groups of alumni and instructional staff, case studies in schools at which ELP alumni were currently located, a cost-effectiveness analysis of financial records, and a comparative analysis of structure and content of the ELP against five other educational leadership programmes, mostly situated in western cultural jurisdictions.
Once planning was complete, data collection, analysis and reporting responsibilities were assigned, with members of the Canadian and Indian teams both contributing. Reports were sent to Cousins electronically by Indian team members and he subsequently developed a complete draft of the report. This draft served as the basis for the second site visit, where a series of meetings over a four-day period were used to develop the draft report, correct inaccuracies, identify and fill omissions and most importantly, to develop a draft set of recommendations for programme improvement.

Following the site visit, Cousins revised the report and presented a list of 25 recommendations for ongoing development of the ELP. Through distance the list was finalized and the report completed and printed and bound. The plan was for CEMD to work with these recommendations for approximately one year, at which time an external team from Canada would conduct a site visit to examine and report on the extent to which recommendation implementation has been achieved. This final summative component would bring a close to the evaluation. Cousins rated this evaluation process according to the dimensions of the framework. As with the prior case, ratings on each dimension appear in Figure 2 and are described in the text to follow.

1. Control of technical decision making (3): Control was shared and balanced. The evaluation began with a site visit and three days of planning. Cousins acted as facilitator in the analysis of stakeholder groups, their interests, and the implications for evaluation issues and questions to be addressed. He also provided input about the participatory model and expectations for shared decision making. Throughout the project, Indian evaluation team members relied on their knowledge of context and the program itself to inform evaluation
decision making. The resulting evaluation was quite sophisticated involving several sources of data, methods of inquiry and bases for comparison.

2. **Diversity among stakeholders selected for participation (3):** Non-evaluator stakeholders participating directly in the evaluation were predominantly members of the CEMD staff and included the Director. The organization was very collaborative and the Director supportive of her staff. The five or so staff members participating directly on the evaluation had extensive professional backgrounds and skills in program development and implementation. They had prior training in business, education and other applied social science fields. In addition, several members of the leadership programme alumni were occasional participants in evaluation team meetings. They served in an advisory capacity as did a few other individuals, including a university professor and an American who had participated in the development of the programme in the mid 90’s.

3. **Power relations among participating stakeholders (2.5):** Among the Indian team members, occasional differences of opinion surfaced but the process was, for the most part, conflict-free and highly cooperative. Considerable support was provided to the Canadian members of the team. Indian team members felt comfortable in voicing their opinion and challenging proposals for planned action. They routinely questioned assumptions and raised concerns. One such concern had to do with the overarching goal of comparing the ELP with western educational leadership programmes. The Director of the NGO, and original architect of the ELP, remained intent on her resolve that the evaluation would yield such a comparison but not without extended dialogue about the merits of this strategy. Why, for example, could the programme not be considered more directly in terms of its relevance to education in the South Asian context? Another related conflict emerged over a recommendation concerning expected
contact hours for the ELP participants. The exchange was between Canadian and Indian team members, Cousins successfully arguing from the point of view of western standards, as had been agreed by the entire team.

4. Manageability of evaluation implementation (3.5): The process, by and large, was manageable although complications arose as a function of the scope of the project relative to allocated resources and limits on communication due to geographic separation between Canadian and Indian counterparts. Telephone communications were highly impractical. Initial spotty use of e-mail exchanges became more streamlined and useful as the project unfolded. One Indian team member was identified as the project contact person and all communications went through her. Ultimately, large quantities of data and draft reports were transferred electronically in condensed format, a system that proved to be very reliable and efficient. Other challenges to manageability were grounded in competing demands especially on Cousins, but also on members of the Indian evaluation team. At times, evaluation tasks were difficult to get to in the face of more immediate and pressing demands. The preparation of the final polished and formatted version of the report was delayed for several months, for example.

5. Depth of participation (5): Without question Indian team members participated in all phases of the evaluation process. Planning was done collaboratively during the first site visit. The program practitioners drafted initial versions of questionnaires and interview schedules and reacted to drafts of focus group questions. They implemented the questionnaire survey of alumni and a comparison group of practising principals and helped to interpret statistical summaries provide by Cousins. They carried out several focus groups and case school data collection site visits. Through exchanges with the Canadian
counterparts, they acted on recommendations for data analysis and reporting. Ultimately, the second site visit was a protracted and intensive cross-method interpretation session. Once the final report was compiled as a complete whole by Cousins, the Indian team members provided extensive constructive feedback and suggestions for change.

Discussion

Figure 2 shows the distribution of process dimension ratings for each of the two cases. Empirically, these ratings should be treated with caution since we did not endeavour to establish inter-rater agreement, and therefore inter-subject differences are likely to be inherent in the ratings. The point of the exercise was to test the application of the process framework to concrete collaborative projects.

We were successful in applying the ratings and showing similarities and differences between the two projects. Both projects had similar rationales with the main emphasis being practical. Conceptual, instrumental and symbolic consequences of the project were anticipated. The projects looked quite similar in terms of the five process dimensions that we identified. Control was balanced, a diverse group of participants were involved, and power relations were not a defining issue. The projects tended to be somewhat unwieldy and to involve non-evaluator stakeholders in a full range of evaluation tasks.

If the projects were to be framed as P-PE’s it is interesting to note some differences from the hypothetical example in Figure 1. The hypothetical example was developed by Cousins based on his experience over time with P-PE (e.g., Cousins & Earl, 1995). In the present cases more diversity was observed than would be expected. Also, probably for a related reason, the projects were somewhat difficult
to manage. Otherwise, the P-PE experiences were similar to previous reported experiences.

One interesting observation regarding the use of the process framework was that intra-project variability was in evidence. Ratings according to some process dimensions could be observed to shift over time as was the case with the ‘control of technical decision making’ dimension in the palliative care case. Also the nature of conflict among participants was seen to shift to a more neutral posture during the evaluation in over time in that case. In the ELP context, advisory structures were set up and informed the evaluation in various ways. These committees revealed diversity in participation at an aggregate level but such diversity was seen to be more limited at the evaluation team level. These observations may be construed as limitations in the current application because ratings were made on an aggregate or holistic basis. However, they speak to the dynamic nature of the participatory process. The implications of the aforementioned limitations for ongoing research using the framework would be to invoke longitudinal designs that capture varying units of analysis.

Despite the limitations of the present test of the framework, the reconceptualized version of process dimensions for collaborative inquiry shows promise for being a helpful way to think about collaboration. Potentially the framework could be used to guide research on collaborative, participatory and empowerment processes, conditions affecting them and their consequences and effects, preferably using longitudinal, multilevel designs as mentioned above. We have argued elsewhere that such research is badly needed (Cousins, 2003). Despite a good deal of reflective anecdotal reporting of practice (not unlike that reported in the present paper) more intensive empirical efforts such as indepth case study research, longitudinal qualitative and quantitative designs are few and far between. Yet
interest in participatory inquiry is on the rise. Further, some studies have shown that implementation can be extraordinarily challenging and may lead to blatantly unsuccessful outcomes. The present tool will help researchers to clarify important implementation issues perhaps as a way of linking these to antecedent conditions or even consequences, intended and unintended.

The tool can also be of use to evaluation practitioners, donor agencies and others interested in collaborative modes of inquiry. Much is written about such processes but evidence suggests that projects touted to be participatory are anything but. This was the clear conclusion of a recent study of alleged participatory studies in the education sector in sub-Saharan Africa (Meier, 1999). Some writers would argue that so called participatory models and approaches should be ‘problematic’ since they may become effective tools for maintaining the status quo (e.g., Gregory, 1998). Understanding more about participatory processes and how they relate to intended and unintended consequences could be useful for helping practitioners to operationalize participation and collaboration in ways likely to bring about the sorts of benefits anticipated in the first place.

**Author Biographies**

**Lynda Weaver**

For more than 2 decades, Lynda Weaver has worked in the area of health care services research, with a focus on program planning and evaluation. She completed a Masters of Health Administration from the University of Ottawa in 1994, and a Masters in Education for Health Professionals in 2001 from the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education/University of Toronto. Lynda has been with SCO Health Service’s Palliative Care Program since 1995 and is currently in the role of Coordinator Palliative Care Education and Quality Management. Her current
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Brad Cousins, Ph.D. (Toronto), is professor of educational administration at the Faculty of Education, University of Ottawa, Canada. His research interests are located broadly in the domain of evaluation and knowledge utilization with particular focus on collaborative and participatory modes on social inquiry. Professor Cousins is winner of the 1999 ‘Contributions to Evaluation in Canada Award’ sponsored by the Canadian Evaluation Society and is currently editor-in-chief of the Canadian Journal of Program Evaluation.

**References**


