

HALL, CHRISTOPHER M. Ph.D. Addressing Privilege Not Marginalization: Analysis of White Evaluators' Perspectives on Privilege. (2022)
Directed by Dr. Ayesha Boyce & Dr. Devdass Sunnasee. 398 pp.

This study uses a phenomenological qualitative approach to interviewing privileged White evaluators to construct an operational definition for privilege, and investigates methods of evaluators addressing marginalization, leveraging positional privilege, and considerations of the roles and responsibilities of White evaluators to directly address racism and other forms of oppression.

There is not, within evaluation scholarship previous to this study, an operational or working definition of "privilege", nor direct investigation into methods of addressing privileged stakeholders. Examples of interrogating privilege that are explored in this study include understanding how individuals and groups with positional privilege may dominate the evaluation, cause conditions that perpetuate marginalization, and potential organized responses to privilege within evaluation contexts and settings.

Several implications from this study include the ability to investigate privilege using the operational definition provided, examination of leveraging positional privilege both within evaluation contexts and beyond, and places where evaluation practice may benefit from understanding and using the concept of kyriarchy to better engage multiple layers of privileged and marginalized identities.

ADDRESSING PRIVILEGE NOT MARGINALIZATION: ANALYSIS OF WHITE
EVALUATORS' PERSPECTIVES ON PRIVILEGE

by

Christopher M. Hall

A Dissertation
Submitted to
the Faculty of The Graduate School at
The University of North Carolina at Greensboro
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

Greensboro

2022

Approved by

Dr. Ayesha Boyce
Committee Co-Chair

Dr. Devdass Sunnassee
Committee Co-Chair

DEDICATION

Dedicated to Dr. Christine Hall and her support of me throughout the years of my academic work and philosophical meandering. Also, to Apollo, Channon, Mischa, and Miyah - all of whom consider themselves to be my feline co-workers. In addition, great gratitude goes out to Dr. Ayesha Boyce for showing me that humanizing yourself as a part of both teaching and conducting evaluation is critical as a part of remaining grounded and allowing for the ability to humanize others, Dr. Tiffany L. S. Tovey for her convincing me to go over to the “dark side of evaluation”, Dr. Deborah Cohan for our now over twenty years of friendship, conversations, and work in the intimate partner violence intervention field, Dr. Aileen Reid for demonstrating an ability to provide real and direct feedback, Dr. Devdass Sunassee for his willingness and ability to think beyond the obvious when teaching quantitative methodologies, and to all my fellow students and friends who kept all these dialogues going over the years.

APPROVAL PAGE

This dissertation written by Christopher M. Hall has been approved by the following committee of the Faculty of The Graduate School at The University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

Committee Co-Chair

Dr. Ayesha Boyce

Committee Co-Chair

Dr. Devdass Sunnassee

Committee Members

Dr. Deborah Cohan

Dr. Aileen Reid

Dr. Tiffany L.S. Tovey

October 29, 2022
Date of Acceptance by Committee

September 7, 2022
Date of Final Oral Examination

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION.....	1
Introduction	1
Researcher Positionality and Background.....	2
Background, Context, and Theoretical Framework	6
Problem Statement & Purpose of the Study	8
Rationale, Relevance, and Significance of the Study.....	11
Rationale for the Study	11
Relevance of the Study	12
Significance of the Study.....	13
Research Questions	13
Nature of the Study.....	14
Summary and Organization of the Remainder of the Study.....	15
CHAPTER II: TERMS AND DEFINITIONS.....	17
Introduction	17
Definition of Terms	18
Ableism.....	18
Accomplice	19
Ageism	20
Agency	21
Ally	22
Assimilation	23
Binary (Gender)	23
Cisgender	24
Cisgenderism.....	24
Classism	25
Cultural Appropriation.....	25
Cultural Capital.....	26
Cultural Humility	26
Disconnect.....	27
Dominant Group	27

Entitlement.....	27
Epistemic Exploitation.....	28
Epistemic Oppression / Injustice	29
Equality.....	29
Equity.....	30
Ethnocentrism	30
Faultline Theory.....	31
Gender Identity	31
Heterosexism.....	32
Implicit Bias.....	32
Internalized Oppression	33
Intersectionality / Intersectional Oppression Theory	33
Kyriarchy	34
Lateral Oppression / Horizontal Hostility.....	34
Leveraging / Leveraging Privilege.....	35
Linguicism	35
Lookism	36
Marginalization.....	37
Microaggressions	37
Oppression	38
Patriarchy	39
Power	40
Prejudice	41
Privilege (see study derived operational definition p. 278)	41
Social Capital.....	42
Spillover Effects.....	42
Standpoint Epistemology	43
SWERF.....	44
TERF.....	44
White Privilege / Supremacy	45
Willful Hermeneutic Ignorance	45
CHAPTER III: LITERATURE REVIEW	47

Introduction to the Literature Review	47
Reflective Practice, Intersectionality, and Research Considerations	48
Literature Investigating and Discussing Privilege.....	52
Literature Focused on Privilege Outside of Evaluation Scholarship.....	52
Evaluation-based Literature on Privilege	57
Conceptual Framework of Marginalization.....	60
Theoretical Frameworks of Intersectional Oppression Theory	64
Theoretical Frameworks of Leveraging Power and Privilege of Dominant Groups	69
Understanding and Leveraging Epistemic Privilege from Marginalized Stakeholders in Evaluation	74
Review of Evaluation Literature Focusing on Marginalization	77
Marginalization Focus Within Participatory Evaluation Design	77
Marginalization Focus within Empowerment Evaluation Design	79
Marginalization Focus Within Transformative Evaluation Design	80
Marginalization Focus within Culturally Responsive Evaluation Design.....	81
Summary.....	82
CHAPTER IV: METHODOLOGY	84
Study Purpose and Research Question(s).....	84
Research Methodology	85
Population and Sample Selection	87
Description of the Sample	88
Qualitative Data on Participant Backgrounds	89
Position and Identification of Evaluation Focus.....	90
Evolution into Evaluation-Focused Work	91
Instrumentation.....	92
Establishing Qualitative Trustworthiness.....	93
Researcher Process of Confronting Personal Biases	94
Member Checking	95
Data Quality.....	95
Investigator Reflexivity on Interviews and Research Processes	95
Flow of Questioning.....	96
Challenges Observed for Participants and How Challenges were noticed	98

Feelings that Manifested for the Participant Including Discomfort.....	100
Feelings that Came Up for Me during Interviews.....	101
Components Leading to Questioning the Need to Reframe or Adjust Questioning	102
Points and Reflections from Participants that Stuck in Investigator’s Mind	103
How I Responded to Member Checking	104
Trustworthiness & Auditability	106
Credibility & Authenticity	106
Dependability & Integrity	108
Praxis / Social Change Transformational Validity	109
Procedure.....	110
Data Analysis Procedures.....	111
Ethical Considerations.....	112
Assumptions, Limitations, Delimitations	112
Assumptions.....	112
Limitations	114
Delimitations.....	115
Summary.....	116
CHAPTER V: FINDINGS.....	117
Introduction	117
Pseudonyms and Brief Information on Participants.....	117
Results	120
Research Question One.....	120
The Unearned Nature of Privilege	123
Privilege Features Access, Advantages, and Entitlement	124
Privilege Creates Shared Identities with Aligned Layers of Positionality	125
Privileged Identities are Ignorant to the Experiences and Perspectives of those they Marginalize.....	126
Privilege is Built Over Time	128
Privilege is Not Inherently Negative or Toxic	129
Recognizing Positive Media Influences, Reflective Practices, and Developing Empathy & Understanding Are Helpful for Identifying Personal Layers of Privilege.....	132
Privileged Positionalities Identified by Participants	139
Identifying Privileged Positionalities: Economic and Educational Privilege	139

Identifying Privileged Positionalities: English Language and Linguistic Privileges.....	140
Identifying Privileged Positionalities: Racial Privilege of White Identity	142
Identifying Privileged Positionalities: Social Based Privileges	144
Identifying Privileged Positionalities: Other Positional Privileges	146
Identifying Privileged Positionalities: Caveats of Privilege	147
Research Question Two	149
Complications Experiences within Layered Identities.....	153
Participants Were Often Reluctant and Seemed Uncomfortable in Describe Their Experiences of Marginalization and Oppression Using Those Words	153
Some Male Participants Shared Experiences of Feeling Discrimination Due to Their Identity as White Males.....	155
Participants Expressed the Ability to Use Experiences of Being Marginalized to Leverage Understanding of How Their Privilege May Harm Others.....	158
Identification of Marginalized & Oppressed Positionalities and Experiences.....	160
Women Participants Discussed Impacts of Sexism in Personal and Professional Life	161
Discussions of the Micro and Macro Impacts of Homophobia and Heterosexism.....	164
Perspectives of Marginalization for First-Generation College Students	166
Participants Experienced Being Misunderstood or Ignored Due to Ableism and Ageism	168
Discrimination Due to Having Less Money or Education is Often Elitist	171
Evaluators Need to Pay Attention to Systemic Components that Amplify Privilege and Further Marginalize Individuals and Groups Within Communities.....	174
Academia and Research in General Have Control in Framing Knowledge and Ignoring Potential Harms in Doing So Has Consequences	174
History is More Than Looking into the Past, it Structures How Privilege is Amplified in Evaluation and Research	183
The English Language Serves to Dominate Communication Channels and Amplify Linguistic Privilege Within and Beyond the Evaluation Field.....	190
Considerations of What Projects Are Funded, Who is Nominated for and Receives Awards, and What is Perceived as Credible Are Necessary in Understanding How Privilege is Amplified.....	192
Politics are Intricately Involved in Evaluation, and Evaluators Can be Complicit in Enforcing, Amplifying, and Perpetuating Privilege as a Result	195

The Process of Determining Program Values in Evaluation May Result in Amplifications of Privilege, and Participants Expressed Concerns about the Process	197
Research Question Three	199
What is the Role of an Evaluator in Addressing Marginalization.....	201
Evaluators Must Pay Attention to Which Voices and Perspectives are Included and Excluded.....	202
Cultural Responsiveness is Not Just Knowing, But Practicing a Mindset of Humility	205
Foundationally, Evaluators Can Make Sure the Teaching of Evaluation Pays Attention to Marginalized Perspectives	210
Evaluators Need to be Attuned to Theories Behind Evaluation and Evaluation Methods and Approaches to Understand How They May Amplify or Inhibit Privilege	215
Methods and Discussion for Leveraging Evaluator Privilege.....	221
Evaluators Need to Leverage Their Positions to Contexts of Educating About Privilege and Making Concerted Efforts toward Equity.....	221
Understanding the Ability to Refusing to Evaluate is an Important Way to Leverage Evaluator Privilege.....	228
Directly Addressing Privilege and Oppressive Systems Can be a Role Evaluators Choose to Play.....	232
Components of Evaluator Privilege Include Access to Multiple Perspectives, Awareness of Systemic Inequities, and Influence with Funders and Decision Makers.....	232
Knowing How Certain Systems Can Inhibit Privilege Will be Useful in Recognizing How Systems Can Potentially Move toward Greater Equity	236
Research Question Four.....	242
Addressing Overt Systems of Oppression/Racism.....	244
Direct Responses to Overtly Oppressive Systems, Individuals, and Groups	244
Indirect Examples Included Listening to Marginalized Evaluators, Privileged Evaluators Need to Educate Themselves, Make Agreements Not to Participate in Segregated Works, Consider Ecological Viewpoints, and Consideration of Data Use.....	250
Addressing Covert Systems of Oppression/Racism.....	257
Evaluators Can Humanize Themselves and Others by Using Reflective Practices, Recognizing Internal Oppressive Thinking, and Understanding Knowing vs. Experiencing.....	258

Understanding Historical Contexts of Evaluation, Avoiding False Cultural Competency, and Ensuring Transparency are Key Strategies in Addressing Covert Systems of Racism and Oppression	261
Summary.....	264
CHAPTER VI: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS	265
Introduction and Summary of Study	265
Summary of Findings and Conclusion	269
Research Question One: Defining and Identifying Privilege	269
Creating an Operational / Working Definition of Privilege for Evaluation Scholarship	270
(1) Social Phenomenon with Identity Components	270
(2) Unearned Advantages and Access	271
(3) Historical Accumulation of Power	271
(4) Maintain Ignorance to Marginalized Experiences and Perspectives.....	272
(5) Contexts of the Power behind Privilege	272
Understanding Personal and Professional Privileged Positionalities	273
Reflections on White Privilege	273
Identifying and Understanding Privileged Positionalities	275
How Participants Gained Understanding of Privileged Statuses	278
Challenging Dynamics of Privilege	279
Research Question Two: Experiences of Marginalization & Systemic Amplifications ...	280
Analysis of Participant Discomfort in Discussing Marginalized Identities	281
Elements of Marginalization and Oppression Experienced by Participants	282
Status-Based Marginalization and Oppression	283
Knowledge-Based Marginalization and Oppression	287
Identity-Based Marginalization and Oppression	288
Marginalization and/or Discrimination Identification Challenges	292
Discussion of How Marginalized Experiences Impact Evaluation Work	295
Evaluators Noticing Amplification of Privilege.....	296
Examples of Amplifications of Privilege in Systems	296
Implications and Applications of Methods Used to Gain Understanding of Values	304
Research Question Three: Evaluator Roles in Leveraging Privilege	305

Roles of Evaluator in Addressing Marginalization	305
The Utility of Stakeholder Mapping	313
Leveraging Evaluator Personal and Professional Privilege	315
Research Question Four: White Evaluator Roles in Addressing Oppression.....	319
Responses to Overt & Covert Forms of Racism and Other Oppressions.....	319
Implications	322
Theoretical Implications	322
Practical Implications	323
Future Implications	324
Analysis of Benefits of Privilege	324
Investigations of Privileged Groups.....	324
Layering and Scaffolding of Privilege	325
Exclusion Practices of Privileged Positionalities	325
Strengths and limitations of the study.....	326
Strengths.....	326
Limitations	327
Recommendations	328
Recommendations or future research	328
Recommendations for future practice.....	329
REFERENCES	330
APPENDIX A: IRB APPROVAL LETTER	355
APPENDIX B: INFORMED CONSENT FORM	382
APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW PROTOCOL.....	385
APPENDIX D: QUALTRICS DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY	389
APPENDIX E: RECRUITMENT EMAIL	394
APPENDIX F: PERSONAL JOURNAL QUESTION FORM	395
APPENDIX G: MEMBER CHECKING FORM TEMPLATE.....	396

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Introduction

Fields such as sociology and social work often emphasize societal and cultural environmental analysis as major components of research into social justice topics. Through the practice of program evaluation, social justice issues become inexorably entangled as a part of analysis, whether investigating a science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM) educational program, evaluating the impact of a public policy, or researching the process of a social service program providing services for their community.

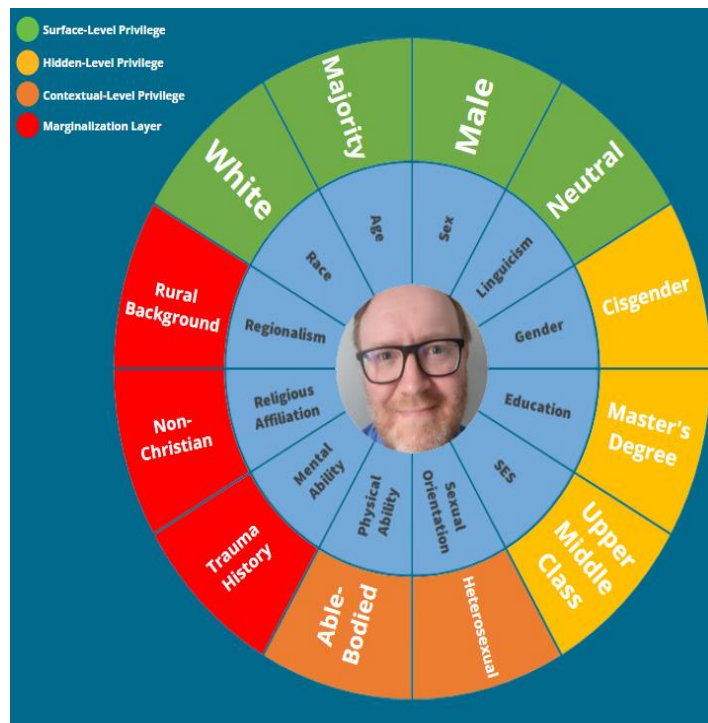
Despite this overlap, program evaluation as a professional field has few concrete working definitions or analysis of privilege, particularly as applied to how evaluators reflect upon their privilege and its impact upon stakeholders, decision makers, and the evaluand. In addition, when stakeholder perspectives are considered, there is typically an emphasis on identifying, amplifying, and empowering marginalized stakeholders' perspectives and less attention paid to methods of eliciting privileged stakeholders to investigate their layers of privilege and how that may create social structures that limit the ability of programs to ultimately serve the entire community in favor of meeting status quos.

The purpose of this study is to expand understanding of how evaluators define privilege by asking them direct questions about their personal and professional experiences in positionalities where they have privileged identities. In addition, this insight into the experiences and perceptions of privileged evaluators could assist in locating methods of using program evaluation to create empowerment of marginalized groups by leveraging the advantages their personal and professional privilege provides. This chapter outlines the problem by discussing historical and current process within program evaluation and where there are gaps both in

addressing privilege of stakeholders, and in how evaluators conduct reflective practice in their work and personal analysis.

This chapter overviews the components for analysis of evaluator privilege, questions that will focus the investigation, methods used to conduct the investigation, and considerations of the ethical boundaries on a topic that draws on both personal and professional experiences to humanize the concept of privilege and how it can be leveraged toward greater empowerment and liberation of self and others as a part of professional program evaluation.

Figure 1. Christopher Hall positionality chart demonstrating layers of identity and privilege



Researcher Positionality and Background

Due to the complicated nature of exploring intersectionality from a positionality of privilege (Reed, 2011, McCall, 2005, Thomas et al., 2021) , it seems important to root the foundations of this study within my own life and personal details. By doing so, it may better represent and ground this scholarship in personal perspectives, professional experiences, and

educational growth that undergird biases and constructs of thought that form the basis for the work itself.

To accomplish this task, I have implemented a graphic display of my layers of positionality (Figure 1), and structured it based on the four positions of (1) surface-level privilege, (2) hidden-level privilege, (3) contextual-level privilege, and (4) marginalization layer:

1. Surface-level privilege, which represents various characteristics and traits which are easily experienced by others visually, audibly, and experientially. I am White, male, of the age of majority (older than 25 and younger than 65 years of age) and have a neutral-sounding accent that does not distinguish me as representing a specific region, class, or culture within the United States.
2. Hidden-level privilege, encompassing certain things that may not be as obvious as surface-level traits, and may only be discovered if I directly disclose them. People often may make assumptions based on certain cues that are given through interactions, but, if necessary, I can hide these things or rely upon stereotypes that fit into dominant culture. For me, being cis-gendered may be a trait people assume of me, as I am surface-level male, however there are many transgender individuals who also appear to be surface-level cisgender even when they are not. While a transgender individual may face oppression if this identity is discovered or revealed, I would not face such an experience due to my positionality being one that is shared within the dominant culture as a status quo. Similarly, my educational status may be guessed at by others depending on

how I engage with them but revealing that I have accomplished a master's degree and am finishing up a doctoral degree will not expose me to classist oppression that may be experienced by those with a lower level of education. My socioeconomic status as upper-middle-class also prevents me from experiencing discrimination or classist oppression in a similar fashion, although my childhood experiences, being of a lower socioeconomic status, might lead to certain discriminatory behavior from individuals and/or groups who have historical access to and experiences from childhood higher socioeconomic status.

3. Contextual-level privilege is only apparent within certain contexts of questioning, situations, or dynamics wherein that position is revealed. As in previous examples, other than some cues of my interactions, it is not necessarily readily obvious that I am heterosexual. Historically, prior to granting the human right of marriage to non-heterosexual couples, wearing a wedding ring might have been enough to gain an assumption of heterosexuality, however with this change in public policy in the United States, this cue is less revealing or relevant than it once was. This means that if I reveal that I am heterosexual, as this is a part of a societal "norm" I will not face oppression or discrimination that may be levied toward anyone who is not heterosexual, however unless I speak to my relationship status this layer of positionality will not be obvious. My positional status of being able-bodied also is easily assumed as I can physically perform without any assistive tools or devices, but for many people who are not

able-bodied, such things may only become apparent when tasks require certain bodily functioning. If I were placed into such a situation, my able-bodied status would become obvious whereas someone who was not able-bodied in that way could potentially face discrimination or oppressive responses from others within the status quo.

4. Marginalized layers are those categories in which I recognize that my status is not within the societal status quos of the United States. While the topic of neurodiversity and neurotypical experiences have a vast continuum in which to discuss, I recognize that my history of trauma has caused me certain disadvantages within my professional and personal life, and while my identification of being someone with Attention-Deficit Disorder (ADD) is also a debatable area of neurodiversity, this experience has also caused disadvantages and harm within personal and professional settings. As mentioned previously, one's historical access to certain categories of positionality may allow for understanding of and ability to navigate certain status quos. My childhood position of being engaged in Christian-based cultural traditions and rituals keeps me from experiencing direct oppressive or discriminatory responses, however, my actual lived positionality of being non-Christian could lead to such experiences were it to be revealed within certain contexts of personal or professional circumstances. My rural upbringing also allows me access to certain experiences and understandings that receive oppressive or discriminatory responses in settings where urban access is a part of a status quo or norm.

In all of these layers or marginalization, however, these positions are contextual, and my surface-level privileges will tend to overshadow those places where I might experience harm. Individuals with positionalities that are marginalized within surface-level arenas may face direct discrimination and oppression regardless of the situation or context.

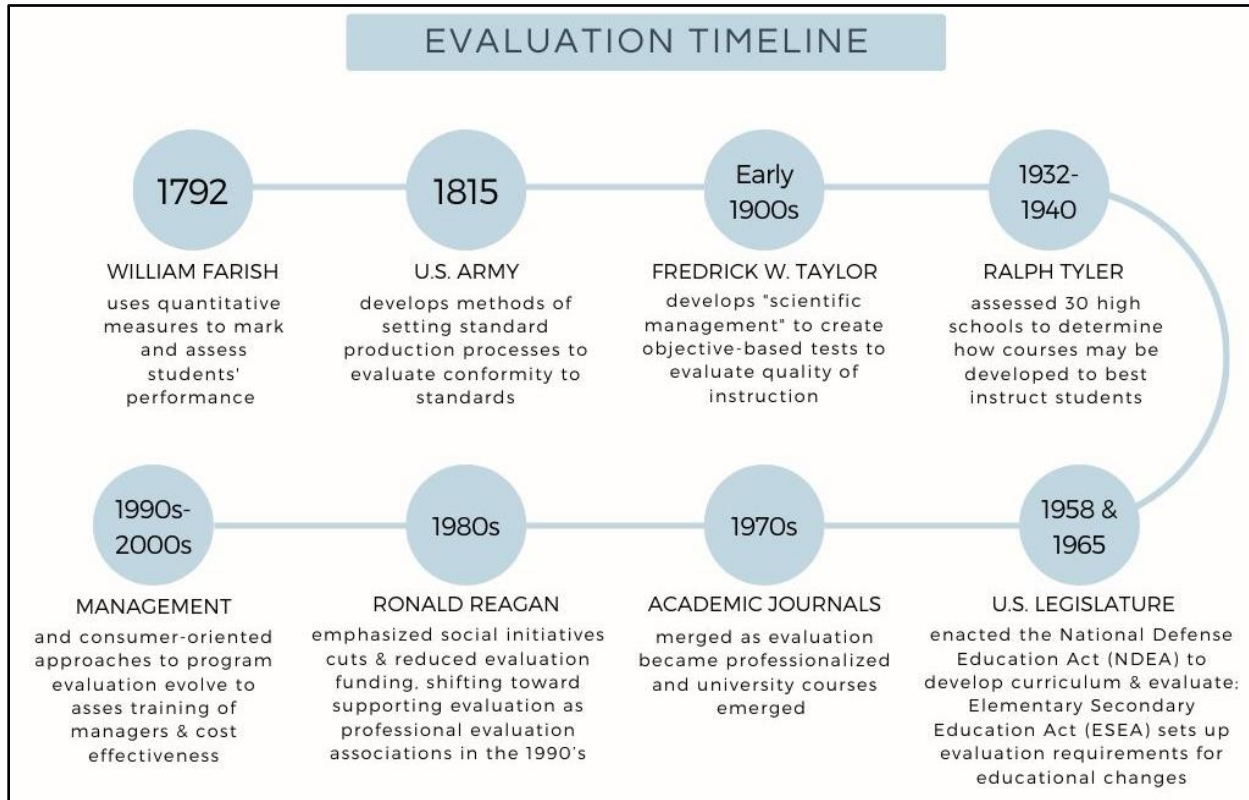
While these examples only cover twelve layers of positionality, there are many more to draw from and examine and understanding that it is important to practice passionate humility to keep in mind the possibility that my perspective may be flawed (Yanow & Willmott, 1999). I offer these examples to demonstrate the places in which I reflect upon and work to understand my own potential biases, but also how I work to maintain awareness and a critical lens in situations where my privilege may shadow the experiences of others. These experiences and reflections also frame my personal operational definitions for many of the concepts I will be interviewing others about, and while I journaled my experiences within this study I included where my personal experiences and perspectives fit within participants' responses and used my reflections within the overall analysis. This conceptual framework is one for which I personally construct my thinking and understanding of my own identity and does not represent a specific researched or previously constructed framework.

Background, Context, and Theoretical Framework

The field of program evaluation originates from several sources, despite its professional origin coming from the burgeoning desire to determine the impacts and efficacy of various public policies. In exploring some of these historical events that gave rise to evaluation, Hogan (2007) discusses several historical links to the development of program evaluation (Figure 2). All these points of interest in evaluation, and development of various layers of importance in

conducting evaluation of certain approaches, effectiveness, and impacts inform how current advances in program evaluation are situated within a broader context (see chapter three for more historical background).

Figure 2. Evaluation Timeline Hogan, 2007, pp. 4-8



Part of this context necessarily includes examination of the patterns of the major contributing authors, academics, and theorists within the field of evaluation, as these nuances help inform why there have been an increased emphasis on culturally responsive approaches to evaluation, as well as work to create empowerment and social justice-oriented content within program evaluations.

Hall (2019) describes the history of the evaluation profession as an “authoritative knowledge generating enterprise, where evaluators are assumed to have methodological expertise and, as a result, may not even be questioned about their capacity to conduct an

evaluation” (p. 2). These assumptions and the lack of critical questioning of evaluators contribute to the privileges provided to evaluators, as well as how they may experience power within the evaluation context.

Several evaluation methodologies, investigated in chapter two, work to address marginalized stakeholders to provide empowerment and identify perspectives that may be predominantly invisible to evaluation approaches and program experiences. The histories of these approaches and how they address marginalization and oppression present within an evaluand are important foundations for understanding how to further develop responses to change social environments and reduce damaging status quos that may be present within a given context.

Problem Statement & Purpose of the Study

Research on marginalized groups has focused on people who are oppressed in one or multiple layers of identity, and there is less emphasis on investigating privileged experiences that serve to create oppressive environments and marginalization within stakeholder groups. Several investigative studies focus on evaluation methods of addressing racism (Dhaliwal et al., 2020, Caldwell & Bledsoe, 2019, Dean-Coffey, 2018, Hall, 2018, Thomas et al., 2018, House, 2017, Torres-Harding & Turner, 2015, Patton, 1999) and focus on the experiences of nonwhite evaluators (Reid et al., 2020, Gaotlhobogwe et al., 2018, Hopson, 2018, Hood, 2001) to determine their experiences and how they might inform methods of working with marginalized racial groups.

This research instead focuses on White evaluators, as there is an ongoing need for people within privileged positionalities and identities to examine their personal and professional roles to prevent that privilege from becoming toxic and oppressive. This study creates a working and

operational definition of privilege, based on exploring how these evaluators understand and experience their privilege, and methods in which they have leveraged their privilege within an evaluation setting. Results from this research can potentially redirect research and evaluation emphasis toward privileged stakeholders who may be directly or indirectly, intentionally or unintentionally, causing conditions within an evaluand that lead to increased marginalization and oppression of individuals, groups, and communities. With this focus on privilege, this study works to create a more unified approach to empower, build agency, and work with marginalized individuals and groups who are a part of an evaluand.

Another advantage to this research is the potential for identifying and acting to address construct irrelevant components of evaluation research. Privileged groups and their interactions with marginalized groups can be the source of construct irrelevance due to the way that privileged positionalities often are ignorant to the experiences and perspectives of marginalized groups. This ignorance creates a multitude of circumstances where evaluation may miss contexts for certain outcomes and responses of marginalized groups and individuals.

In any evaluation research that investigates marginalization within an evaluand, establishing content-oriented validity can be a useful part of an overall validity argument. Lambie et al. (2017) discuss, “evidence for content-oriented validity is challenging to establish for assessments designed to appraise personal qualities such as values, beliefs, or dispositions due to the multifaceted characteristics underlying these constructs” (p. 210). The implications for investigating various dynamics within a marginalized group may be that research questions, approaches, or assumptions are rooted within status quos of an overall evaluand, which may negatively implicate marginalized experiences and fail to highlight reasoning behind responses to an evaluation context that may be potentially damaging to these individuals, groups, and

communities. This is amplified if construct irrelevant components of evaluation research exist due to ignorance to the dynamics of privileged individuals and groups who are a part of the evaluand who create or amplify marginalized conditions for groups and individuals.

When specifically addressing the challenges of construct irrelevance and construct underrepresentation within research, Spurgeon (2017) notes that as assessment overlaps research and theoretical observations, researchers need to minimize threats by attending to variables such as “linguistics, cognitions, culture, or characteristics vital to human development” (p. 280), and while many of these are assumed under cultural status quos, and the “other” under investigation is often assumed to be a marginalized group, there is need to specifically and concretely outline the perspectives and experiences of the dominant group culture that infiltrate evaluation research perspectives. Where there may be elements of linguistic privilege, particularly within English speaking dominant contexts like those that exist within the USA, it again is important to investigate if the privilege of English-speaking stakeholders is causing conditions that amplify the marginalization of non-English speaking groups and individuals in an evaluand.

However, to fully investigate privilege there needs to be a shared understanding of the definition of the concept, and how it operates within an evaluand. Having a series of working definitions for this work provides the potential for broader thinking about methodologies that can respond to oppressive elements involved in systems and institutions that are the focus of evaluation. Lambie et al. (2017) support careful construction of definitions using qualitative measures, stating,

A vital part of developing an assessment with content-oriented validity is the construction of a definition that is accurate, clear, and concise. Defining and operationalizing the domains measured by an assessment requires a

comprehensive understanding of the construct, which necessitates an awareness of related topics, prior research examining the construct, and existing measures of the construct. Researchers are encouraged to enhance their knowledge of the construct before starting the assessment development process to assure they have a comprehensive awareness of the theoretical framework. If there is an extreme absence of research on a specific topic, it might behoove researchers to first conduct qualitative investigations (p. 214).

Within the arena of “privilege,” there are not currently a series of definitions or literature within evaluation research that the concept, particularly within the domain of dominant group status quos and their impact upon marginalized groups. In addition, without a working definition of “privilege” we are left with the inability to consider methods of identifying and utilizing “privilege” to empower marginalized groups, or to dismantle oppressive systems that create marginalization within an evaluand. As current methods focus on experiences of marginalized groups for broader understanding rather than interrogating the experiences of privileged groups for targeted interventions, this study offers the opportunity to shift some of the focus in evaluation research toward updated approaches and goals.

Rationale, Relevance, and Significance of the Study

Rationale for the Study

Human experiences of oppressive systems and privileged conditions are enmeshed within value judgements (Mark & Shotland, 1985), moral reasoning (Beerthuisen & Brugman, 2013), and unconscious experiences (Ruys & Stapel, 2009) and due to the complexities involved in navigating individual experiences and perspectives tied to these constructs, a qualitative interview methodology is justified in exploring how individual White evaluators reflect upon,

develop, and think about personal and professional practice that relates to the interactional dynamics between evaluation and stakeholders.

Discussing the experiences and conceptual frameworks held by experienced evaluators, as well as offering opportunities for reflection on personal and professional positionalities of privilege during the interview process will all offer intimate insight into a phenomenon that has not been widely researched.

While quantitative demographic data will be collected and presented within this study, the emphasis will be on the qualitative themes and their analysis. The focus on White evaluators, as opposed to non-White evaluators or a mix of both is justified by the opportunity to maintain the discussion within the boundaries of privileged positionalities, to include conversations about white supremacy and its influence within and outside of evaluation practice. This framing served to provide unique insight into how White evaluators may view their privilege within their racial and other privileged identities as an element that can be leveraged to empower and offer agency to non-White stakeholder groups.

Relevance of the Study

Marginalization is present in all evaluation contexts, although in different configurations of privilege and power dynamics. This study offers concrete insight into these dynamics from the viewpoints of individuals have some identities that fit into privileged positionalities, and therefore offer perspectives that may contribute to the ability to focus evaluation work on individuals, groups, and communities that may be greatly contributing to marginalized and oppressed individuals, groups, and communities.

The advantages of paying attention to the perspectives and experiences of positionally privileged individuals is to gain insight into the reasoning and lived understanding of existing

within certain cultural contexts where immediate and real advantages may be experienced on several layers. Participants in this study are, by sharing their privileged viewpoints, providing insight into how and in what ways their privilege can lead to marginalized perspectives being ignored, discounted, or missed in the evaluation field, and potentially methods of addressing and correcting these oversights.

Significance of the Study

As evaluation literature does not contain operational definitions of marginalization or terms more frequently referenced within sociological, psychological, and social work-based studies, this study contributes to building a body of literature that can offer concrete methods of addressing and eliminating oppressive environments. Further, the research design offers a reflective opportunity to individual White evaluators to expound upon their experiences in ways that may not have been previously explored or articulated. Findings and conclusions from this study can be utilized in developing future interventions within evaluation settings, allow for greater evaluator reflexivity about their role and responsibilities to communities, and several avenues of future evaluation work on privileged groups and components within communities.

Research Questions

To navigate qualitative research that explores the nature of privilege and how it may be leveraged, the following research questions assisted in forming interview protocols that address the topics discussed throughout this first chapter.

RQ1: How and in what ways do experienced White evaluators define and understand the concept of “privilege”?

- RQ2: How and in what ways have White evaluators experienced oppressive conditions within their personal and professional lives, and how have such experiences contributed to their work as evaluators?
- a. Within professional evaluation experience, how do participants notice conditions that amplify oppressive conditions within an evaluand (e.g., administrative practices, funding, program process, representation, and program values)?
- RQ3: How and in what ways do experienced White evaluators identify the role of evaluation in addressing the marginalization of stakeholders, and how do they leverage privilege in evaluation practice (if at all)?
- a. How and in what ways do participants address oppressive systems, individuals, and groups within evaluation contexts?
- RQ4: What is the role of the White evaluator in addressing oppressive systems, individuals, and groups in practice?

Nature of the Study

This study is a phenomenological investigation focused on qualitative interviews of experienced White evaluators. To do this, interview protocols were developed through inspiration of the DATA model for reflective practice (Peters, 1991, Smith et al., 2015) to allow individual evaluators to describe their experiences and understanding, analyze their work and work environments, theorize the rationales behind their decision-making process as evaluators, and consider action steps, both personally and professionally, in directly addressing racism and other oppressions.

The target sample for this study are White evaluators with more than ten years of experience. This allows for several years of navigating interconnected systems, stakeholder groups, politics of evaluation settings, and reflection on personal practice necessary to best explore the research questions. These evaluators were chosen from a purposive selection of White academics, researchers, and practitioners who have some understanding of culturally responsive evaluation and were identified as authors of material that focuses on social justice-oriented topics, marginalization issues, intersectional oppression theory, or anti-racism themed content. This selection included 16 individual interviews, with the average interview being approximately 80 minutes in length (range 49-105 minutes, total of 1251 minutes of interviews recorded).

Summary and Organization of the Remainder of the Study

Evaluation literature and scholarship lacks in depth working definitions, conceptual frameworks, or philosophical parameters on social justice issues which are present in several other fields of study. Specifically, research on privilege and how it exists within evaluation work, how it operates within individual evaluators, and how evaluation might be developed in ways that further human rights are the structured purposes of this study.

This study addresses a gap in evaluation literature on investigating privilege as a component and context within an evaluand. Within the body of this study, I highlight the qualitative research conducted with experienced White evaluators to discover how this sample defines and operationalizes their privilege within an evaluation context.

The next chapter investigates literature that discusses methods used within evaluation to investigate marginalization, privilege, and when such scholarship is minimal, the chapter includes interdisciplinary research to fill some of these gaps. Chapter three outlines the

methodology of this study, chapter four provides detailed findings, and chapter five provides analysis of the findings and the study as a whole.

CHAPTER II: TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

Introduction

This study focuses on privilege and marginalization within the evaluation field, however, there are many social justice terms that are undefined within evaluation literature, and the following chapter highlights definitions behind these terms and concepts that are either referenced within or tangential to the findings from interview participants.

While this chapter provides some helpful context to the responses from participants in the study as well as my analysis of the qualitative data, there are three options for how readers may use this chapter:

1. You may skip this chapter entirely, as it is not critical to the remainder of this study.
2. This chapter may be read in entirety to gain an understanding of certain terms and definitions that appear during the rest of the study in various contexts.
3. As a reference, you may consult this chapter if you encounter terms that you would like additional information about. The terms and definitions are alphabetized for easier reference, if you choose this option.

This study adheres to APA format guidelines regarding the use of capital letters when referencing racial identity, however, there have been shifts in grammatical standpoints on the topic over the decades that need to be acknowledged, as some quotes within cited works either capitalize or lowercase the racial designation of White.

The Associated Press took a stance in capitalizing “Black” (Daniszewski, 2020a), and then spelling white with a lowercase (Daniszewski, 2020b) to create a shared sense of history for Black people and stating fears that capitalizing White legitimizes white supremacy. This

approach was mirrored by some organizations (The Seattle Times Staff, 2019), and disputed by others (Moore, 2022, Flanagan et al., 2021, Zorn, 2020).

Decisions made by various authors are reflected in this study, and dialogue surrounding this topic will continue to be revisited both in journalism and science. I personally struggled to determine which convention to use in this study, and while I ended up going with the standard APA guidelines, I tend to agree with Appiah (2021) stating,

only the arguments that win the day will determine what usages become standard, and it's hard to say in advance which ones that will be. Informal deliberations among a larger community of users will produce a new consensus, and create new facts of language. Words are public property; so are capital letters. As those deliberations continue, though, let's try to remember that black and white are both historically created racial identities—and avoid conventions that encourage us to forget this (para 24).

Definition of Terms

The following terms are referenced throughout this study during parts of the chapter three literature review, in quotes from participants in chapter five findings, and within analysis and conclusions in chapter six. Throughout this section, citations to relevant evaluation-related texts are used, and when not available, sources linked to other fields of study are used as references.

Ableism

Ableism is a form of oppression that minimizes the human rights of individuals who experience adjustments to mental or physical health which exist beyond societal status quos which dictate understanding of what “normal” health is within physical or mental realms.

Commonly referred to as “disability” the term is problematic as individuals with various physical

or mental health challenges may not lack ability but rather experience ability in different manners than the general populace.

Campbell (2000) describes the connections between ableism and eugenics, and defines ableism as, “a network of beliefs, processes and practices that produce a particular kind of self and body (the corporeal standard) that is projected as the perfect, species-typical and therefore essential and fully human. Disability then becomes a diminished state of being human” (p. 56).

Some examples of how ableism exists include infrastructure which limits access to physical destinations, within educational systems which limit neurodivergent learning structures from processing and integrating information within a learning environment, and within work environments which limit access to mental and emotional support systems necessary for harm-free social integration and which minimizes the impact of mental health upon physical well-being.

Accomplice

A challenging dynamic within social justice work is that much of the material used within activist social connections are not academic in nature. While critical Indigenous theory offers several academic-based insights into intersectionality, human rights-based political organizing groups maintain online resources, non-academic writing, and direct experiential accounts about their efforts in fighting against oppressive systems. One such resource, Indigenous Action (2014), states, “where struggle is commodity, allyship is currency. Ally has also become an identity, disembodied from any real mutual understanding of support. The term ally has been rendered ineffective and meaningless... the risks of an ally who provides support or solidarity (usually on a temporary basis) in a fight are much different than that of an accomplice. When we

fight back or forward, together, becoming complicit in a struggle towards liberation, we are accomplices” (para. 2-5).

In essence, an accomplice is an individual who is a member of a dominant group who chooses to directly join with individuals and groups who are marginalized, while the concept of “ally” seems similar in nature, the status of being an accomplice poses direct and actionable risk to the accomplice in ways that “allies” can avoid by only participating in struggles when it is convenient or lacks personal risk.

Ageism

For individuals and groups who are younger than 25 years old, or older than 65 years old, there are societal dynamics that are oppressive through the invalidation of agency, opinion, and general human rights. For younger individuals, the term “adultism” is also used to describe the treatment of children by adults that is oppressive by eliminating their ability to voice their opinions, describe impacts of adult behavior on them, may be directly abusive and violent toward them, and dominate their decision-making process overall. For older individuals, healthcare engagement, personal decision making, competency findings, and direct abuse and violence may be factors that are involved in their experiences of oppression.

The complexities of ageism are vast as they encompass varying contexts within industries, legal arguments, social situations, and many other areas where age might become a factor in discrimination. Bytheway (1995) provides the following working definition that details this complexity:

1. Ageism is a set of beliefs originating in the biological variation between people and relating to the ageing process.

2. It is in the actions of corporate bodies, what is said and done by their representatives, and the resulting views that are held by ordinary ageing people, that ageism is made manifest.

In consequence of this, it follows that:

- (a) Ageism generates and reinforces a fear and denigration of the ageing process, and stereotyping presumptions regarding competence and the need for protection.
- (b) Ageism legitimates the use of chronological age to mark out classes of people who are systematically denied resources and opportunities that others enjoy, and who suffer the consequences of such denigration, ranging from well-meaning patronage to unambiguous vilification (p. 14)

Agency

Alderson (2017) takes the following definition as a starting point to addressing how the presence of implicit bias involves a long-term buildup of thinking and valuing that alter one's decision-making process: "the ability to reflectively, deliberately direct one's actions" (Doris, 2009 as cited by Alderson, 2017, p. 645). She uses this argument to instead think about agency as "the ability to act in line with reflectively endorsed goals, whether by a deliberative or automatic processes" (p. 646).

Within marginalized groups, a major component of experienced oppression involves the reduction or elimination of agency, particularly as compared to dominant groups. Agency is both useful to analyze within the context of marginalization, as well as within the context of privilege to understand where dominant groups have agency in ways that marginalized groups do not.

Ally

For community organizing anti-oppression work, the term “ally”, while historically used to describe an individual who works to help marginalized individuals and/or groups, has been met with challenges due to the nature of its definition and use. An ally is an individual who works to align themselves with marginalized individuals and/or groups in supportive and demonstrative ways. With this definition, and others like it, people who are identified as “allies” can easily use this term as a temporary status, for various personal advantages, and not as an ongoing active status. This can lead to this status being used in microaggressive or oppressive ways or can complicate interactions between dominant groups and marginalized individuals due to “allies” taking action in ways that may have worked well in one context but end up being detrimental in others. This is contrasted with the term “accomplice” (see p. 19 for discussion on accomplices) which is less about having a status and more about ongoing connection and working with marginalized groups, individuals, and communities.

Gaffney (2016) describes the role of an ally to have several challenging dynamics when an individual is actively working on maintaining connection to marginalized groups and individuals:

One important factor: Acknowledging personal privilege isn't enough. ‘When trying to become a better ally, self-education should come first,’ says Michael. There is always more to learn about different identity groups and about how others experience oppression; without this knowledge, expressions of allyship can ring hollow. Michael adds that it's also up to allies to break institutional silences about poverty, race, sexual orientation, or religion, for example, and begin professional discussions about language, pedagogy, diversity, and bias. It can be

uncomfortable, but discomfort is a necessary part of the work. Unfortunately, discomfort isn't the only barrier to being a long-term ally. Experienced teacher allies understand that the goal of ending oppression requires incremental change that can feel exhausting and overwhelming - especially if an ally also experiences oppression (p. 45).

Assimilation

Intergenerational adaptation to new cultures after immigrating from one country to another involves the process of assimilation by integrating societal norms into one's prior cultural knowledge and understanding. When considering methods of evaluating assimilation within cultural groups, Cohen (2012) identified an example of assimilation contributed by a Hmong advisory member who stated, "in her community, it was the extent to which fathers in households participated in domestic chores like shopping, cooking, and cleaning, and the extent to which they were involved in caring for their young children including bathing, feeding, and changing" (p. 53). Within the context of evaluation, marginalized stakeholders may be assimilating to dominant cultural norms, and understanding why and how such adaptation may be occurring can assist in structuring interview questions, community involvement, and empowerment of individuals and groups.

Binary (Gender)

Within societal status quos, gender is often conflated with biological sex where male and female are two of several biologically determined genetic identities. Gender is an identity that is not inherently linked to biology, and instead is an identification of where an individual experiences the cultural and social determinants of gender expression and internal situation. A gender binary is a belief that there are only two genders, male or female. This eliminates any

identification of gender beyond these two and marginalizes any individuals or groups who may identify outside of that binary designation. Nicholas (2019) elaborates that, “Social psychology and sociology have argued that these negative social responses cannot be understood as stemming only from overt prejudice in the form of transphobia but, rather, from more insipid biases that either invisibilise them as impossible or conceptualize them as not natural or ‘normal’” (p. 170).

Cisgender

In describing cisgender, Aultman (2014) writes, “the term cisgender (from the Latin cis-, meaning “on the same side as”) can be used to describe individuals who possess, from birth and into adulthood, the male or female reproductive organs (sex) typical of the social category of man or woman (gender) to which that individual was assigned at birth. Hence a cisgender person's gender is on the same side as their birth-assigned sex, in contrast to which a transgender person's gender is on the other side (trans-) of their birth-assigned sex” (p. 61).

Cisgenderism

As cisgender is the dominant group within worldwide cultural norms, cisgenderism is a form of oppression where people are marginalized by their gender identity and expression that exists beyond a gender binary or is not matched to their biological sex. This often manifests where cisgender individuals or groups work to enforce gender binaries, and while statistical demographic forms have been changing in recent years, cissexism has historically existed through survey and demographics by only allowing participants to answer either male or female to questions about sex or gender. This form of oppression is described by Nicholas (2019) in stating that, “in queer activism and queer theory, the idea of ‘respectability politics’ is argued to

leave the heteronormativity at the root of homophobia and cisgenderism intact, and does not demand affirmation of queerness, merely quiet tolerance” (p. 174).

Classism

Within society and culture, there are distinguishing features that differentiate groups and individuals between each other. Social class is a large dividing factor that exists between several layers of identity and consists of education and monetary resources. Mahabir et al. (2021) discuss social class within the contexts of “power-based social relation” to include ownership and non-ownership of productive assets, working-class (nonprofessional), and nonworking-class (professional) occupations (p. 351).

Mahabir et al. (2021) explore social class as a phenomena that both overlaps and is independent of racism, and within evaluation efforts patterns of these overlaps are often integrated into quantitative data on socioeconomic class, but attention to ways that classism exist within an evaluation context that may judge individuals and groups based on their education level or economic resources can more adequately incorporate empowerment-based responses and reporting structures that amplify marginalized voices.

Cultural Appropriation

Cross-cultural evaluation efforts focus on how evaluators may work with cultural circumstances which are different from their own personal backgrounds and cultural understandings. While such work is critical to navigate environments where evaluators may have limited exposure to the nuances of the culture they may be working within, as a part of the process of gathering data (whether quantitative or qualitative) evaluators need to be sensitive to and conscious of giving full and proper credit to individuals and groups that respect the original meanings and values derived from the culture itself.

Cultural appropriation is the process of taking credit for strategies, insights, evolutions, and/or experiences that originated from culturally specific sources and may involve providing interpretations to cultural norms that reinforce prejudices, stereotypes, or in other ways contribute to marginalization or oppressive practices against a cultural group. Matthes (2016) contends, “when the abstract schemas... are filled in with details from actual events, we often find misrepresentation, misuse, and theft of the stories, styles, and material heritage of people who have been historically dominated and remain socially marginalized” (p. 343).

Cultural Capital

Cultural capital is the concept of having exposure and access to various societal status quo knowledge of literature, art, media, and information that provides advantages over those who lack this knowledge.

Dumais & Ward (2009) describe cultural capital as “highbrow arts participation and strategic interactions” (p. 246), and as they describe the impact of lacking cultural capital on first-generation college students, they discuss objectified cultural capital that involves knowledge of art and paintings, and institutionalized cultural capital as understanding academic systems (p. 247).

Cultural Humility

In contrast to cultural competency, which emphasizes attaining certain standards of understanding of a culture and cultural dynamics, cultural humility as described and defined by Crath and Rangel (2020) as an ethical engagement in context specific, dynamic practices that are sensitive to the impacts on outcomes, opportunities, and capacities on marginalized cultures and groups (p. 555). Such evaluation work requires ongoing critical reflection on self as evaluator, to

include personal experiences, education, and self-identities and how they interface with layers of cultural experience that are different from one's own culture.

Disconnect

Gresse and Linde (2021) explore dynamics of entitlement and its link to disconnect between what management graduate students expect from an employment setting versus what they experience. This is a complicated phenomenon within intersectional oppression theory where dominant group entitlement and societal status quos create a multitude of stereotypes about marginalized groups, and these beliefs and attitudes are typically disconnected from individuals within marginalized groups. Disconnect is how an individual removes their ability to experience or perceive another person or group as a human being with individual characteristics. Disconnect is a distancing from having a sense of empathy or understanding for other's experiences, perspectives, knowledge, skills, or value.

Dominant Group

Layers of privilege within society tend to organize around status quo interests and are offered as "normal" categories within a specific layer of identity. When Swiercz and Skipper (1982) worked to detail physician's privileged position within the American healthcare system, they used the term "dominant structural interest" to indicate a group who does not have to reorganize itself, its members, its practices, or its overall culture to protect its privileged position (p. 249). This contrasts with marginalized groups who must constantly adjust to oppressive elements in society that minimize and/or endanger their human rights.

Entitlement

Walker (2013) discusses dominant group privilege through the lens of entitlement, stating, "because of our associations with these groups we can express entitlement for access to

resources and expressions [of] power, and we can find social approval for our domination of others' access to resources and expressions of power" (p. 246). This importantly identifies entitlement as a phenomenon wherein a dominant group believes their access to certain advantages is a right, and guards against marginalized groups having the same access. Entitlement, in essence, is where an individual or group believes they are more valuable than other individuals or groups, that others are less valuable, or that dominant groups and/or individuals deserve certain resources or treatment from others.

Epistemic Exploitation

Within the process of creating interpretations of perspectives and experiences, epistemic exploitation directly or indirectly seeks to coerce marginalized individuals and/or groups to educate dominant groups about their culture. Evaluation may seek to amplify voices within marginalized groups, and offer empowerment to improve oppressive environments, or may use evaluation research strategies to engage in epistemic exploitation of these groups and/or individuals that perpetuate status quos and institutional/systemic privileges.

Berenstain (2016) describes the impact of epistemic exploitation on marginalized groups by stating, "the coercive and exploitative aspects of the phenomenon are exemplified by the unpaid nature of the educational labor and its associated opportunity costs, the double bind that marginalized persons must navigate when faced with the demand to educate, and the need for additional labor created by the default skepticism of the privileged" (p. 569).

She further explains that epistemic exploitation, "maintains structures of oppression by centering the needs and desires of dominant groups and exploiting the emotional and cognitive labor of members of marginalized groups who are required to do the unpaid and often unacknowledged work of providing information, resources, and evidence of oppression to

privileged persons who demand it—and who benefit from those very oppressive systems about which they demand to be educated” (p. 570).

Epistemic Oppression / Injustice

While epistemological analysis is frequently featured as a part of research considerations in understanding how an evaluation develops knowledge within or about an evaluand, concepts of epistemic oppression and injustice are easily missed as a part of evaluation involving marginalized groups. Thomas et al. (2020) outline how testimonial epistemic injustice favors the perspectives of a dominant group while directly and indirectly ignoring experiences and perspectives of marginalized groups and describes hermeneutic injustice as dominant groups defining and interpreting information as well as conceptual resources without consulting or sharing with marginalized groups or individuals (p. 410). Both injustices occur within the realm of knowledge generation and the hierarchies of value, which serve to oppress individuals and groups and heightening experiences of injustice.

Equality

For the purposes of this study, equality is investigated and discussed through the access, availability, and opportunities as they relate to resources and benefits. Where these are at similarly distributed levels for given individuals and/or groups with little or no investigation into the individuals and/or groups themselves, the context and situation are described as being equal.

Within the context of education, Lundy (2020) describes that, “equality means that we strive to teach everyone exactly the same curriculum in exactly the same way. However, this approach cannot work when we know that we have to help those students who did not come into our classrooms from the same starting point” (pp. 32-33).

Equity

For the purposes of this study, equity is investigated and discussed through how various needs of individuals and/or groups are addressed to create outcomes that are comparable to other individuals and/or groups. Where allocation of access, availability, and opportunities are uniquely distributed to given individuals and/or groups based on their needs, the context and situation are described as being equitable.

In evaluation literature, equity is defined as “the absence of avoidable or remediable differences among groups of people, whether those groups are defined socially, economically, demographically, or geographically” (World Health Organization, 2018, as cited by Dean-Coffey, 2018, p. 538).

Ethnocentrism

For evaluation, it becomes complicated to analyze necessary structures to ensure that the process and analysis of an evaluand does not exist through a frame of reference based on the evaluator’s own cultural experiences. Ethnocentrism is the concept that one’s own perspectives and experiences are used to judge and evaluate other cultures, individuals, and/or groups rather than through a lens either co-created or defined by the target and stakeholders within the evaluand.

Hammond & Axelrod (2006) discuss the evolution of ethnocentrism and claim, “the attitudes include seeing one’s own group (the in-group) as virtuous and superior, one’s own standards of value as universal, and out-groups as contemptible and inferior” (p. 926).

Faultline Theory

Management theories have useful components that can be utilized within analysis of intersectional oppression theory. One of these theories is “faultline theory” that describes a process in which groups may divide over different aligned characteristics.

“Faultline Theory” was originally established by Lau and Murnighan (1998) which they describe as “depend[ing] on the compositional dynamics of the multiple demographic attributes that can potentially subdivide a group. Faultlines divide a group’s members on the basis of one or more attributes. For instance, gender faultlines divide groups into male and female subgroups” (p. 325).

Gender Identity

While biological sex is complicated by genetic factors and circumstances, gender identity is unique to an individual and how they experience their body and themselves within it and may fit within societal norms (male, female) or beyond (non-binary, transgender). Identities of all form are determined by individual agency, and various behavior by individuals and/or groups or within systems and/or institutions may serve to limit or remove this agency. It is important for evaluators to understand how various quantitative or qualitative data collection might serve a part in limiting or removing an individual’s ability to identify themselves and their life.

In her work on investigating educational research and gender identity, Rasmussen (2009) postulates, “educational research can continue to benefit from an interrogation of gender identity, in all its particularity. I would also argue that calls to move beyond gender identity are untimely and inequitable, given that feminist theory in education has only recently begun to seriously grapple with issues pertinent to subjects whose lives are profoundly and often injuriously impacted by the instability of gender identity... research on gender equity may be diminished if

it fails to seriously interrogate gender identity; these two lines of inquiry should continue to fruitfully inform one another” (p. 434).

Heterosexism

Whereas sexism is an oppressive construct that provides privileged advantages to men over women, and men’s experiences and perspectives are deemed to be “normal” and a part of the societal status quo, heterosexism is a series of oppressive assumptions as well as direct and indirect behavior that stems from those assumptions that individuals or groups are heterosexual. This may be presented through imaging, language used in various forms of reporting and communication, contexts of certain evaluation focus (such as within a parenting program evaluation if parents are assumed to be a male and female partnership), or through attitudes of a dominant group or commissioner of an evaluation toward LGBTQ+ stakeholders.

Neisen (1990) posits that “heterosexism is the continued promotion by the major institutions of society of a heterosexual lifestyle while simultaneously subordinating any other lifestyles (i.e., gay / lesbian / bisexual). Heterosexism is based on unfounded prejudices just as racism, sexism, etc. are based on unfounded prejudices. When out institutions knowingly or unknowingly perpetuate these prejudices and intentionally or unintentionally act on them, heterosexism is at work” (p. 25).

Implicit Bias

Also known as “implicit stereotypes,” Quinn (2020) investigates teacher’s evaluations of students to determine where racial stereotypes might exist in ways that influence these evaluations (p. 377). In this, Quinn identifies implicit bias as beliefs, attitudes, and/or preconceived notions that may exist in ways that are not identifiable through personal reflection or introspection. Within many counseling and therapeutic fields, clinical supervision is partially

used to work past implicit bias by having someone who is trained in observation to provide feedback on ways that these implicit biases might manifest during therapeutic interactions. Within evaluation, this same willingness to receive feedback on unidentified and unconscious bias can assist in understanding how to best work with, listen to, and learn from marginalized individuals and/or groups.

Within evaluation literature, a “key terms” definition states implicit bias “refers to the attitudes or stereotypes that affect our understanding, actions, and decisions in an unconscious manner. These biases, which encompass both favorable and unfavorable assessments, are activated involuntarily and without an individual’s awareness or intentional control” (Staats, Capatosto, Wright, & Contractor, 2015, p. 62, as cited by Dean-Coffey, 2018, p. 538).

Internalized Oppression

Individuals and/or groups who experience marginalization may develop perspectives that coincide with discriminatory, oppressive, and/or cultural stereotypes that exist within the dominant privileged cultural group. The internalized oppression may manifest in several ways to include negative perspectives about self and/or others within a marginalized group, attitudes that perceive dominant group privilege as “natural” or superior to one’s own marginalized group, or within social expressions about and within a marginalized group itself. In assessing the Internalized Homophobia Scale (IHP), Huynh et al. (2020) reported that internalized homophobia may result in “devaluation of the self, internal conflicts, poor self-concept” (p. 238) which may lead to various negative outcomes for individuals.

Intersectionality / Intersectional Oppression Theory

Originally coined by Crenshaw (1989), intersectionality is the convergence of layers of marginalized identity that form an individual’s experiences and perspectives. Within

intersectional oppression theory, these layers of identity are explored to determine how they may interact with other's layered identities.

Kyriarchy

Kyriarchy analyzes the interactions between layers of privilege that dictate which layer is most powerful in a given context. The origin of the term comes from Schüssler (1989), a religious scholar, who created the word to discuss a “master” or “lord” centric hierarchy that typically existed within a patriarchal structure (male-ruled), but when men were not involved in a given situation, rule/power would shift to another structure/position (often class or race). Her initial definition was proposed to address patriarchy beyond a sex-gender system, to instead investigate the “interlocking structures of domination” that exist within hierarchies (pp. 7-8).

Lateral Oppression / Horizontal Hostility

As with internalized oppression, lateral oppression (also known as horizontal hostility or lateral violence) is the phenomena wherein an individual within a marginalized group uses oppressive strategies or alignment with dominant groups to attack or minimize the human rights of other individuals within their shared marginalized group. Wingard (2010) described the phenomena as “refer[ing] to the abuse and undermining practices that people in subjugated and marginalized groups engage with in relation to each other” (p. 14).

While focused on the experiences of nurses, Embree & White (2010) outline that lateral violence “arises from several origins, including role issues, oppression, strict hierarchy, disenfranchising work practices, low self-esteem, perception of powerlessness, anger, and circuits of power” (p. 172).

Leveraging / Leveraging Privilege

The act of leveraging involves the process of utilizing resources to better their situation, solve a challenging issue, or protect self and/or others. Within the context of leveraging privilege, an individual who is a part of a dominant grouping, is willing and able to reflect upon their advantages and find methods of accessing those resources to empower those who are marginalized by those privileges. Leveraging privilege also involves using the influence afforded by privilege to engage individuals and groups who share these same advantages to enact changes in systems and institutions to work toward eliminating oppressive environments and structures.

In a phenomenological study interviewing social justice practicum students, Hoover (2016) discovered a theme of leveraging privilege where, “participants with academic, supervisory, and administrative positions held statuses with social and economic privilege and spoke about the importance of leveraging status privilege to bring about systemic change” (p. 386). She also describes “leveraging privilege” as working on macro-level changes, using status positions to empower others, and developing empowerment in interpersonal relationships with marginalized people (p. 387).

Linguicism

While linguicism is typically focused on discrimination and oppression of individuals and groups who speak a different language to the dominant societal language or dialect/accent, it can also become a modifier for other forms of oppression where the more an individual sounds like an oppressed group, the more oppression they may experience. For example, if an individual speaks in a way that seems less educated, they may face oppression from individuals or groups who have more educational accomplishments.

Ghanbarpour et al. (2020) suggest that within evaluation work, there are great benefits for practicing language justice and dismantling linguisticism by “listen[ing] to the life experiences, struggles, and hopes of others coming from vastly different contexts; and to engage in respectful dialog, build solidarity, and set the foundation for effective multilingual, multicultural, and multiracial work” (pp. 41-24).

Lookism

Within all layers of oppression, lookism modifies the experiences of marginalized groups by amplifying oppression toward individuals who more obviously represent a layer of marginalization. A commonly referenced form of lookism, colorism, specifically considers how individuals with darker skin tones tend to experience more forms of racist oppression than those individuals with lighter skin tones. The context of lookism varies by the specific layer of marginalization under examination, and the term “passing” is often used in tandem with lookism in certain forms of oppression such as how transgender individuals who look more like their gender identity tend to receive less experiences of oppression than individuals who do not.

Mason (2021) describes the impact of lookism by stating, “Those who don’t comply with the relevant norms, irrespective of whether they endorse them, are subject to disapproval of a kind that is not merely aesthetic but takes the form of ethical or moral criticism” (p. 316). Further, lookism “can fail to give recognition respect to some or all of its victims because it does not give appropriate weight to their standing as persons, in particular the value that they each have in virtue of their possession of the capacity (to some adequate level) to live their lives in their own way” (pp. 317-318).

Marginalization

Marginalization is the phenomena of a group or individual experiencing exclusion from and/or minimized access to social, economic, or political advantages that are commonly available to groups or individuals within societally dominant groups and status quos.

When working to define marginalization within the development field, Alakhunova et al. (2015) states, “marginalization is both a condition and a process that prevents individuals and groups from full participation in social, economic, and political life enjoyed by the wider society” (p. 10).

Microaggressions

Pierce (1970) coined the term “microaggression” to detail conscious and unconscious racist behavior that contained a certain level of plausible deniability despite the impact upon marginalized groups and individuals. Sue (2010) furthered Pierce’s work by outlining:

- **Microassaults:** Often conscious and deliberate acts that are directly oppressive toward a marginalized group or individual when these acts are believed to be anonymous, are chosen within the presence of others who are believed to share oppressive beliefs or are within contexts where conscious concealment and judgement break down (pp. 29-30).
- **Microinsults:** Behavior which is often unconscious to the individual who expresses disdain for, stereotypes about, or rudeness/insensitivity toward a marginalized group and/or individual (p. 31).
- **Microinvalidations:** Communications by a dominant group member toward marginalized groups and/or individuals which directly diminish,

ignore, negate, or argue against their lived experience and perspectives (p. 37).

All these forms of oppression can easily exist within evaluation practice either through direct action by evaluators, or within silent support of stakeholders who engage in such behavior which can create less likelihood of marginalized groups or individuals participating fully within an evaluation process.

Oppression

Broadly speaking, oppression is an imposition of power onto a marginalized person(s) that is based in societal/cultural identities that possess advantages provided within status quos. Imposition of power over marginalized people tends to operate out of a prejudgment of individuals or groups that is separated from knowing intimate details of individual's lives and circumstances that may not operate out of societal stereotypes that may exist.

Taylor (2016) notes that oppression “occurs when a particular social group is unjustly subordinated, and where that subordination is not necessarily deliberate but instead results from a complex network of social restrictions, ranging from laws and institutions to implicit biases and stereotypes” (p. 520). She articulates that “the target of oppression is a group, the entities privileged by oppression are also groups, and individuals are marked or picked out for the oppressive treatment in virtue of their group memberships” (p. 521).

Oppression is behavior or attitude that is unwelcome, threatening, demanding, removes agency, creates resistance, and can be explicit or implicit, subtle or obvious, direct or indirect. While individuals may be oppressive toward others, privileges granted by historical, political, structural, institutional, and systematic means necessitate greater emphasis on systems and institutions instead of anti-oppressive interventions with individuals.

Patriarchy

The systemic passing on of authority, advantage, decision making, hierarchy, status, and historical value to men. This support of male dominance, assumptions of superiority and increased value, perceptions of knowledge and wisdom, and structural placement of men into advantageous positions over women within kyriarchal frameworks is endemic throughout the world and its history. Patriarchy is a male-centric, male-dominated, and male-value oriented foundation that exists in foundational contexts that presume such organization is natural and objectively righteous. Patriarchy is a deeper systematic process than sexism yet is often a culturally accepted form of sexism that interfaces with all other layers of oppression.

Walby (1989) accounts for six separate component structures within patriarchy:

1. The patriarchal mode of production, where women's labor is expropriated within intimate partner relationships with men (pp. 221-222),
2. Patriarchal relations in waged labor where women's access is closed off to women, excluding women from paid work, and devaluation of women's work along with low wages for women (pp. 222-223),
3. The patriarchal state, where women are excluded from the state and have a lack of power within gendered political forces, and the shaping of laws that disadvantage and harm women (p. 224),
4. Male violence towards women as a social structural component that allows men to use violence as a form of power over women (pp. 224-225),
5. Patriarchal sexuality where there is a compulsory nature to women's sexual availability to men, along with double standards when comparing men's and women's sexualities (pp. 225-227), and,

6. Patriarchal culture where structures from religious, educational, media, and overall social life that are institutionally rooted and create social norms for gender roles of both men and of women (p. 227).

Power

In defining power, Smith (2010) breaks down representations of power as being connected to the capacity to realize change, influence outcomes, the ability to create social order and discipline, an external force operating on and within human interactions, and a as a part of group dynamics as an outcome of social relations (p. 39). He also describes the modes of power as being connected to personal (ability to exercise control over others) (p. 40), positional power (authority and legitimacy as granted through certain roles) (p. 40), and relational power (competing belief systems that must be resolved between individuals and/or groups) (pp. 40-41).

Despite its use fitting into analysis of oppression, power in and of itself is not inherently oppressive. Power, simply defined, is the ability to make decisions for self and/or others. This agency can be compared to the powerless, who have limited or no ability to make choices either for themselves, or over other individuals or groups. Power is contextual and fits into certain situations that may vary based on circumstance, and it also exists on several layers so that an individual may have power in one aspect of their life yet limited or no power in another. The ability to recognize one's personal power, and access to it, allows for more potential to use that power to uplift the powerless, make changes in systems to allow greater equity, and potentially to counter the power of those of a similar status who use their power oppressively. Power when used in ways that cause harm, when exercised without consent, or when operating out of assumptions and entitlement can all be situations in which power becomes oppressive.

Prejudice

During interpersonal communication and interactional dynamics, assumptions or judgements made about others without knowing the individual constitute prejudicial behavior or attitude. Prejudice in and of itself is a part of the human experience, where shortcuts in the form of stereotypes offer immediate insight into various groups and contexts. However, where prejudice exists in an intractable manner, and where it exists alongside dominant group power, and where it imposes upon marginalized individual or group identities, prejudice contributes directly to oppression.

Berg (1984) collects three elements of prejudice to include “(1) negative attitudes, feelings, or judgments; (2) a yardstick, point of reference, or factual base from which to evaluate these attitudes and judgments; and (3) the necessary precondition of existing relationships between groups” (p. 389). He continues by analyzing how functions of prejudice are less about the origin of negative characteristics of othered groups, but rather originates from internal dynamics of small groups with shared prejudices against others (p. 390-391).

Privilege (see study derived operational definition p. 278)

Historical access to resources, assumed superior positionality, and resistance to other’s influence are predominant features of privilege. Privilege is associated with dominant group power and is not necessarily an identity that an individual chooses but rather is one for which societal and cultural factors exist that define the identity itself and offer unearned and unconscious advantages over anyone outside of that dominant grouping. When an individual is conscious of the privilege they possess on various levels of identity, these advantages can be leveraged to empower marginalized individuals and groups and potentially call out and intervene in oppressive use of privilege and power.

Within evaluation literature, privilege is a “key term” and a “right that only some people have access or availability to because of their social group memberships (dominants). Because hierarchies of privilege exist, even within the same group, people who are part of the group in power (White/Caucasian people with respect to people of color, men with respect to women, heterosexuals with respect to homosexuals, adults with respect to children, and rich people with respect to poor people) often deny they have privilege even when evidence of differential benefit is obvious” (Medicine Crow, 2016, p. 16, as cited by Dean-Coffey, 2018, p. 538).

Social Capital

Social capital is a collection of advantages, resources, and connections within social networks that provide access for an individual to gain privilege and advantage within certain contexts and settings.

Bourdieu (1986) discussed the power of social capital as “the network of relationships [which] is the product of investment strategies, individual or collective, consciously or unconsciously aimed at establishing or reproducing social relationships that are directly usable in the short or long term” (p. 248). Coleman (1994) identified social capital as creating situations wherein people offer support for others with similar characteristics in way that create opportunities for collective action. He offers an example that “a group whose members manifest trustworthiness and place extensive trust in one another will be able to accomplish much more than a comparable group lacking that trustworthiness and trust” (p. 304).

Spillover Effects

To consider the ways in which largescale media attention to social justice issues impact individual groups and communities, the concept of “spillover effects” help to think through a

process of the spread of discussion and information that may lead to tensions and conflict that build from well-publicized events.

Spillover effects, as defined by Angelucci and Di Maro (2015), include elements of intentional and unintentional effects, which they define as, “externalities... operate from the treated subjects to the untreated population” (p. 4), “social interactions [are where] the local nontarget population may also be indirectly affected by the treatment through social and economic interaction with the treated” (p. 5), and “context equilibrium effects... stem from an intervention that affects the behavioral or social norms within the contexts... in which these interactions are relevant” (p 5).

Bor, et al. (2018) speak to spillover impacts, stating, “our results point to the importance of structural racism as a driver of population health disparities. The striking specificity of the findings – i.e., that no spillover effects were observed among White respondents, nor among respondents of either race in response to police killings of unarmed Whites or of armed Black Americans – suggest that the meaning ascribed to police killings of unarmed Black Americans, in light of the historical and institutional context in which they occur, probably mediates the adverse mental health effects of these events on Black Americans” (p. 308).

Standpoint Epistemology

A construct of Critical Feminist Theory (CFT) that seeks to explore the dynamics behind knowledge generation as viewed through status quo dominant groups, or through marginalized perspectives. Toole (2019) provides the definition that “standpoint epistemology is committed to a cluster of views that pays special attention to the role of social identity in knowledge-acquisition” (p. 598). There are several layers of analysis through identifying an individual’s

standpoint in each context, and how knowledge may be prioritized or generated based on interactions between those standpoints.

SWERF

Sex-Worker Exclusionary Radical Feminism (SWERF) is a form of oppressive attitudes, behavior, and beliefs held by individuals and groups who often self-identify as feminists, and as a part of this identify exclude women who engage in forms of sex work by choice. These individuals and groups believe most sex workers are victims of trafficking, violence, or coercion and do not consider such individuals to have agency in their decisions about sex work.

Toone (2018) describes SWERFs as engaging in “whorephobia” and states, “feminists, particularly many sitting in academia, have denied us our voice, mocked us and used us as a talking point... [while] many publications continue to exclude sex workers from academic debate about them” (p. 112).

TERF

Trans-Exclusionary Radical Feminism (TERF) is a form of oppressive attitudes, behavior, and beliefs held by individuals and groups who often self-identify as feminists, and as a part of this identity exclude transgender women and do not consider them to be female or women. This often overlaps directly with lookism and audism where transgender women who are androgynous, do not visually look like women, or do not have voices that sound female receive heightened forms of oppression, exclusion, and marginalization.

Hines (2017) centers the issue of TERF beliefs as, “questions about gendered authenticity, or ‘realness’ [remaining] at the hub of feminist debates around transgender” (p. 146), and within current discourse “hostility to the self-determination of gender identity appears to strengthen as trans people gain increased citizenship rights” (p. 149). In describing biological

reductionism behind TERF attacks on male to female trans women, Hines reflects on deeper feminist perspectives of body autonomy for all women by stating, “long inscribed feminist treatises of bodily autonomy are forsaken as feminists query other women’s genitals and rebuff their hormonal and chromosomal make-up in the policing of feminist space” (p. 154).

White Privilege / Supremacy

In discussing the presence of white privilege and how to support Indigenous sovereignty, McKegg (2019) states, “All white people in Western colonized countries have white privilege. Not all are racist, but all benefit from the privilege of whiteness in a system that assumes whiteness is normal. Mostly, whiteness isn’t really talked about. White people in Western nations don’t even think of themselves as white; they are just people. Everyone else is an “other”” (p. 359).

This privilege that becomes reflected within societal status quos leads to systemic support of white supremacy. DiAngelo (2018) defines the term as, “describ[ing] a sociopolitical economic system of domination based on racial categories that benefits those defined and perceived as white. This system of structural power privileges, centralizes, and elevates white people as a group” (p. 30).

Willful Hermeneutic Ignorance

When a marginalized group or individual shares their experience, and a dominant group or individual dismisses that experience, ignores it, or fails to access resources that are readily available to validate those experiences, that dominant individual or group engages in willful hermeneutic ignorance. Toole (2019) provides the example that it, “occurs after marginally situated knowers have developed their own conceptual resources and when two conditions are met. First, marginally situated knowers have developed conceptual resources such that they are

able both to understand and communicate their experience to others. And second, these conceptual resources are dismissed by dominantly situated knowers, thus rendering unintelligible the claims made by marginally situated knowers” (p. 610).

CHAPTER III: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction to the Literature Review

Definitions of terms used throughout evaluation research are often oriented toward concepts that explicitly relate to ontologies of the evaluation field. Interdisciplinary terms, such as those used within social work, psychology, sociology, or other social sciences are not typically identified or defined, but rather used without a grounded framework. For this reason, the focus of this literature review is on exploring the use of social justice focused terminology in evaluation, and how this dissertation contributes to creating more grounded and actionable definitions of terms.

In addition, as this study specifically focuses on a privileged status framework, and how evaluation research can put emphasis on methods of using privilege in either toxic or healthy and supportive ways, I have explicitly focused on subjects that outline positions of power and privilege, and how these intersect with marginalized groups. I have also focused on methods used within evaluation research to explore intersectional oppression by various philosophical paradigms and evaluation theories.

This chapter begins by reviewing literature focused on privilege, both through evaluation and other scholarship, conceptual frameworks that explore marginalization within the literature, theoretical frameworks within investigations of intersectional oppression theory, reflective practice and overlaps with intersectionality, theoretical frameworks on leveraging power and privilege of dominant groups and individuals, the leveraging of epistemic privilege within marginalized stakeholders, and concludes by investigating how evaluation approaches and models investigate and approach research and evaluation with marginalized individuals, groups, and stakeholders overall.

Reflective Practice, Intersectionality, and Research Considerations

Tovey and Skolits (2022) conceptualize reflective practice as “a process of (1) thinking and questioning and (2) self and contextual awareness, that works toward (3) facilitating learning and improvement... the salient point is that RP is a process, with each constituent element integrally related to the others, acknowledging the ability to go back and forward in the diagram in a not necessarily linear, but indeed cyclical manner” (p. 11). Reflections on privilege can be challenging for several reasons, and understanding the power and privilege afforded to evaluators can be critical to learning the best ways to interact with an evaluand. As a specific lens that can potentially aid evaluators in reflection, Toole (2019) works to identify the value in considering the dynamics of standpoint epistemology, particularly as it fits with epistemic oppression. She notes that the primary concern within understanding standpoint epistemology is, “the relationship between one’s position of marginalization or dominance in a social system and what one can know (or fail to know) given that social positioning” (p. 599).

Within standpoint epistemology, there is understanding that people who are oppressed develop a standpoint that provides them with a privileged view of the world that “brings the true character of social relations into view... described as epistemically privileged in relation to other standpoints” (Fricker, 1999, p. 192). Epistemic privilege provides knowledge that is only accessible from a position of powerlessness, while marginalized groups also have access to knowledge from dominant groups through the presence of dominant status quos.

Consciousness-raising is the process which “functions to help members of a socially oppressed group critically examine the relationship between one’s social situatedness and one’s oppression (or oppressive role) within a social system” (Ruth, 1973, MacKinnon, 1991 as cited in Toole, 2019, p. 600). Evaluators often seek to gain perspectives from marginalized

stakeholders, which is important given that when evaluation practice “is uninformed by the experience of people in a given social position, [evaluators are] collectively... [neither] understand... the experiences in question, nor any other areas of the social world to which they have interpretive relevance” (Fricker, 1999, p. 208).

Conceptual resources to describe and name oppressive social experiences are needed by marginalized groups to be able to confront and resist these oppressive behaviors. The lack of such conceptual resources to identify and respond to injustices is a “hermeneutical injustice” in which marginalized people’s social experiences are confusing both to them and others, leading to their interpretation of experience to “appear irrational or outrageous” (Fricker, 1999, p. 208) to a dominant group who do not have such experiences due to positionality of power that is not victimized or oppressed in such ways. Examples of hermeneutical injustice include the onset of the use of the term “sexual harassment” or “marital rape” to identify the sexual harms perpetuated by men towards women, or “colorism” to assist in understanding how Black people may be judged by how light or dark their skin is in comparison to others. Having those terms allow women and Black people to put words to their experiences in ways that allow for more direct resistance against oppressive behavior of privileged positionalities.

Toole shares that “Dominantly situated knowers, who do not have these [oppressive] experiences, will not need these resources... marginalized knowers and dominantly situated knowers, because they have different social experiences, will develop a different body of conceptual resources. If epistemic agents do not have particular conceptual resources, it will be difficult for them to notice or attend to the facts picked out by those resources” (Toole, 2019, p. 606).

This necessitates that evaluators develop conceptual frameworks to attend to ways in which the layers of privilege in their own lives might impact the ability to participate in empowering marginalized stakeholders. But it also necessitates that evaluators be careful to avoid “willful hermeneutical ignorance” where “a dominantly situated knower refuses to acknowledge or use the conceptual tools developed by marginalized knowers and, as such, fails to understand or misinterprets” (Pohlhaus, 2011, as cited by Toole, 2019, pp. 608-609).

A further complication, for which intersectional analysis-oriented reflection can offer tools for evaluators to understand and avoid, is the potential for “epistemic exploitation” where “privileged persons compel marginalized persons to produce an education or explanation about the nature of the exploitation they face... and [leads to] unrecognized, uncompensated, emotionally taxing, coerced epistemic labor” (Berenstain, 2016, as cited by Toole, 2019, p. 609). This is not to say that working to involve marginalized perspectives and involvement within an evaluation is exploitive, but rather that considerations of how the environment and the constructs used within the evaluation context need to be examined to consider if there are elements of epistemic exploitation at work within the evaluand, and if so, what methods evaluators may employ to attend to that social injustice.

For evaluators who have layers of privilege beyond their positionality as an evaluator (such as White, male, highly educated, etc.), additional components to reflective practice can be enhanced by intersectional analysis. Culver (2017), states,

principal to [the] discussion of white privilege are the *perceived* innocence of white ignorance, with the more fitting description being an unconscious habit, and the stark revelation that this habit can only be changed indirectly... white privilege does not arise simply from ‘lack of knowledge about the cultures and

lives of people of color,’ which would make the privilege almost accidental or unintentional” (Sullivan, 2006, as quoted by Culver, 2017, p. 52).

This would mean that evaluators do not need to simply enhance their knowledge of culture, but rather need to be able to identify, reflect upon, and change habits and patterns of behavior that are hurtful or oppressive to marginalized individuals or groups, even if they are personally unaware of the harms they may be causing.

Ignorance to the experiences and lives of marginalized groups is a feature of privilege and easily applied as justification for failing to engage, asking insensitive or ineffective questions, or maintaining status quos of only engaging with privileged decision-makers within an evaluation setting. Culver (2017) continues by adding,

in my experience, it is easy for the non-dominant culture to fall prey to this naïve view and its resolution to white-privileged ignorance. [The] categorical shift from innocent ignorance to unconscious habit is arguably more settling in an already unpleasant space... Because of this integration between whiteness and white privilege, the ‘privilege operates as unseen, invisible, even seemingly nonexistent’ (Sullivan, 2006, as quoted by Culver, 2017, p. 52)... On the other hand, if this privilege is invisible, then white people ‘have little sense of what that means for [their] lives, and [they] are not particularly interested in finding out. It doesn’t seem relevant (Kendall, 2013, as quoted by Culver, 2017, p. 53).

As privilege makes the lives, knowledge, and experiences of marginalized groups difficult to understand or experience by the people who have it, reflection on these “unconscious” habits is important to prevent perpetuating oppressive elements, and as Culver (2017) suggests, more importantly, to also work actively to change environments that support

marginalization: “By altering environmental feeders [to racism], a white person will be more successful at changing race-related habits than by trying to use willpower to directly change how he or she thinks about people who are non-white” (pp. 53-54).

Literature Investigating and Discussing Privilege

Privilege, as a concept, has several layers of definition and application within the evaluation field and beyond. However, there is a dearth of discussions of privilege within evaluation scholarship. As this study focuses on ways that experienced evaluators conceptualize, define, and operationalize privilege, in the following section I review the literature discussing privilege both outside and within evaluation scholarship.

Literature Focused on Privilege Outside of Evaluation Scholarship

While not specifically a part of evaluation scholarship, Knaus (2019) details out global educational patterns that are built on a foundation of Western-based systems, which includes elements of white privilege. He discusses educational assessment by stating,

Western assessments essentially dismiss the commitment to local knowledge, local schools, and local educators because they are designed to measure adherence to Western schooling systems. This commitment to whiteness privileges a white-frame of effectiveness and utilizes a standards-based framework to limit access to only a small few elite educated individuals, thereby structurally excluding multiple language and knowledge systems (p. 9).

In efforts to expose white power and white privilege, Dei et al. (2004) are careful to outline several intersecting components of privilege, and in defining the power of societal norms describe, “it is important to recognize that oppressor and oppressed alike are impacted by their positionings in these hierarchies. For example, a White middle-class man’s societal placement,

his experiences and his opportunities are fully understandable only in relation to the social conditions and oppressions of those located outside that locus of privilege” (p. 83).

While focusing on the specific privileges afforded to whiteness, the authors continue to state that whiteness, “is defined by a privilege that goes unseen: an invisibility that in many ways places our oppressor outside the racial sphere, vested with a power and social advantage which they themselves need not consider – ‘that’s just the way it is.’” Importantly, libertarian claims to color-blindness arise in these moments precisely because as Whiteness is taken up as normal, our world-view becomes framed through the ‘racelessness of White skin.’ In de-constructing these engagements with skin color, it becomes clear how power and privilege function to shape the social sphere with deleterious effects for some and beneficial effects for others” (p. 84).

Finnegan (2022) also contextualizes privilege within larger economic system components (capitalism) and how drive for profit often leads to privilege going toward groups who profit, while marginalized those who the profit is coming from. “The alienation of an individualist, capitalist society that disassociates people from one another and from rich cultural and faith traditions has, perhaps, left privileged folks divorced of deeper meaning and connection” (p. 5).

Magnet (2006) takes an autoethnographic approach to discussing privilege and interrogates her own growing awareness of the impacts of failing to discuss and acknowledge privilege. “In attempting to shield ourselves behind minority identities and in failing to interrogate how our privilege is implicated in the subordination of others, we succeed only in relegating the possibility of working across difference to an impossibility” (p. 746).

Working to understand privilege not only requires self-interrogation, however, it requires a critical understanding of history and how privilege has existed in various forms throughout human existence. Cadigan (2013) attempted to highlight some of these foundations as being

mired in advantages given to individuals and groups with power, noting that, “consideration of the agency of working people revealed that the actions of the powerful and the privileged were less causes of change and more consequences of the struggles of the exploited” (p. 188).

Cadigan’s analysis pointed to the idea that historical researchers need to be careful about imposing their privileged perspectives upon historical accounts stating, “any attempt to divine a way forward in one particular context through ideas derived from other contexts was an imposition of will rather than history” (p. 190), which while examining privilege from a different context, maintains the idea that privilege, in part, operates out of a certain thrust of “will” upon those who lack it.

Community psychology, in pursuing interests in social justice, speaks to identifying and addressing privilege. In identifying ways White people manage the presence of privilege in their lives, Knowles et al. (2014) discuss strategies of “denial (rejecting the notion that Whites are privileged), distancing (separating the subjective self from whiteness), and dismantling (committing to ingroup-costly policies that militate against the ingroup’s privileges)” (p. 605).

The authors further note that “whites react to the threat posed by membership in the dominant group by seeking out ways to relinquish their advantages, thus promoting racial equality” (p. 605), however as these advantages are provided through societal mechanisms, relinquishing this privilege may not be a simple process of denying its existence.

In thinking through specific actions community psychologists can take to interrogate privilege, Coleman et al. (2021) postulated that “those engaged in program development and evaluation could do well to consider the ways in which the interventions they design or evaluate either contest or reinforce White supremacy, institutional racism, and White privilege, even if their work is not explicitly about race” (p. 498). Furthermore, “although community

psychologists have long attended to ways that subordinated groups may gain power, they have yet to examine how dominant groups (i.e., White people) can undermine their own power toward liberatory goals” (p. 499).

The challenge of identifying and addressing privilege is in part due to the use of status quo societal norms to compare individuals and groups who are not a part of those norms. Within educational leadership Fitzgerald (2003) directly discusses the origin of deficit-focused approaches by stating, “if whiteness is taken as the standpoint for our theorising, then accounts of difference suggest an ‘adding-on’ to these narratives and that difference to/from the norm of whiteness creates what can be termed ‘discourses of deficit’; difference is therefore located as a binary opposite and determined by the dominant group” (p. 433).

These constructs of comparisons between privileged norms and marginalized deficits further complicate the ability to dismantle privilege by creating distinct opportunities for privileged individuals and groups to manifest their entitled positionalities to “rescue” those who are deemed worthy of rescue. Russo (2018) writes about the need to resist the “savior” complex, “the impulse toward “saving,” I would argue, depends on an ignorance of how we ourselves are implicated in the systemic roots of the oppression and violence being addressed, and an ignorance about how these systems are embedded within relationships, institutions, and structures that interconnect our lives. Moreover, I would argue that it is precisely these projects of “saving” that actually strengthen and solidify the very roots of oppression and violence that they are supposedly set up to solve” (p. 3).

Evaluation that focuses on marginalized groups can lead to errors, as discussed by Askew et al. (2012) stating, “while collaborative evaluation offers clear guidelines to systematically engage stakeholders and foster mutually beneficial evaluator–stakeholder partnerships, it lacks

the explicit directive to investigate issues of race, power, and privilege that affect program administration and outcomes” (p.552), and cautioning that, “without explicit attention to considerations raised by the culturally responsive framework, the voices and concerns of underrepresented populations may be acknowledged but not explicitly or adequately addressed” (p. 556).

Lalik & Hinchman (2001) provide warnings of how research that focuses on marginalized racial groups can become oppressive in four distinct ways:

1. Focus on marginalized racial groups can lead to blaming the victim by focusing on deficiencies, biological justifications for experiencing oppressive conditions, and using cultural dynamics as reasoning for reduced motivation to succeed (pp. 536-538);
2. Considering whiteness as an “unraced standard” where binary categories of White and nonwhite lead to White people being a normative grounding to consider the behavior of nonwhite others (pp. 538-540);
3. Silence in discussing racial and cultural identity that influence knowledge, experience, and lived reality (pp. 540-543); and,
4. Unwillingness to implicate White people’s privilege that causes unequal and oppressive environments for nonwhite people, and ignorance to complicity that reinforces privileged benefits and experiences (pp. 543-545).

Another dynamic Russo mentions is how individualizing supports an ideology of “saving” oppressed peoples. “Because their focus is on individual victimization and individual empowerment, they obscure the structural and geopolitical roots of oppression and the social

movements seeking to address them” (p. 5). This resonates with Knowles et al. in how people with privileged positionalities distance themselves from those who lack that privilege, and by doing so end up amplifying the structures supporting privileged status quos.

Finnegan (2022) speaks to the bridge between wanting to be a “savior” while neglecting the ability to dismantle privileged status quos. “[T]he necessary and important step for white folk with privilege is to turn outward and invest energy and time in groups of people who are suffering is hopeful yet also evading a responsibility to examine their role in upholding the systems that cause harm in the first place. Essentially, it eschews the systemic analysis of how root causes – including white supremacy and racial capitalism that are particularly created, fostered, and upheld by white people – have shaped the wounding situations in which we find ourselves and in which we seek to change today” (p. 7).

Evaluation-based Literature on Privilege

Counseling education includes some focus on identifying and quantifying privilege using psychometric instruments. Hays et al. (2007) developed the Privilege and Oppression Inventory (POI) to assess educator/counselor awareness white privilege, heterosexism, Christian privilege, and sexism and allow for more targeted multicultural training. The POI is theorized to potentially evaluate the effectiveness of clinical decision making in the interface between culture and diagnosis (Hays et al., 2010, pp. 118-119).

Black et al. (2007) created the Social Privilege Measure (SPM) to create a conceptual and theoretical foundation for the construct of privilege and designed the instrument for use in evaluating counselors within a counseling and training setting. As a part the development of the SPM, the authors accessed a variety of resources to define privilege as having five core components:

1. Privilege is a special advantage; it is neither common nor universal.
2. Privilege is granted, not earned or brought into being by one's individual effort or talents.
3. Privilege is a right or entitlement that is related to a preferred status or rank.
4. Privilege is exercised for the benefit of the recipient and to the exclusion or detriment of others.
5. A privileged status is often outside of the awareness of the person possessing it (Black & Stone, 2005; Lucal, 1996; McIntosh, 1992; Robinson, 1999; Robinson & Howard-Hamilton, 2000 as cited by Black et al., 2007, p. 17).

Hall (2020) discusses evaluation as a privileged profession, and the need for individual evaluators to examine privilege. She uses standpoint theories to link the need for evaluators to understand the social components of science, the “outsiders within” location of marginalized groups in their relation to dominant groups, the need for evaluators to decenter their privilege, and to continually develop awareness of their privilege as a component of their work. Hall describes specific practices evaluators may engage in to address privilege to include:

1. Recognizing the role strong feelings play as a motivating factor for involvement in social justice efforts.
2. Practicing reflexivity by making consciousness-raising efforts to look for biases in their assumptions and question dominant methodological practices.

3. Advancing values engagement by explicating and addressing the beliefs, issues, and queries of the marginalized group being served.
4. Resisting tendencies to investigate marginalized communities independent of the larger socioeconomic context.
5. Providing opportunities for marginalized groups to express who they are and how they wish to be identified.
6. Presenting evaluation stories with a more personalized voice.
7. Establishing supportive relationships with marginalized communities
(Hall, 2020, pp. 29-31).

McKegg (2019) stresses the need for evaluators to consider their relationships with Indigenous peoples in colonized countries, particularly through a lens of understanding the privileges afforded to non-Indigenous White settler identities. As part of this consideration, she discusses the need for reflection on white privilege by stating, “all [white people] benefit from the privilege of whiteness in a system that assumes whiteness is normal. Mostly, whiteness isn’t really talked about. White people in Western nations don’t even think of themselves as white; they are just people. Everyone else is an ‘other’” (McKegg, 2019, p. 359).

McKegg (2019) further implicates that the field of evaluation has “consistently failed to recognize and acknowledge, however well intentioned they are... that they are largely conceived and controlled by non-Indigenous commissioners and evaluators” (p. 360), and evaluators have the responsibility of “revealing, acknowledging, and dismantling the hidden, unseen, and colossal power that is held firmly in place by those with white privilege” (p. 361).

Symonette et al. (2020) work to integrate the 2019 American Evaluation Association (AEA) Evaluator Competencies to reflect on power, privilege, and social justice, although they

acknowledge that “an essential point of departure for self-reflection is whether evaluators accept AEA’s long-time and explicit value commitment to social justice” (p. 123).

Conceptual Framework of Marginalization

To explore a conceptual framework of foundational definitions within evaluation research, in this section, I consider how marginalization is discussed and addressed currently while lacking a working/operational definition in the field. Using work within the development field, I explain how having an operational/working definition of marginalization can lead to expanded exploration of ways to create empowerment, legitimacy, and participation within marginalized groups.

Marginalized group experience is an important focus within program evaluation, as objectivist philosophies which were a large factor in the history of evaluation, lead to dehumanizing individuals in favor of attempting to create neutral, unbiased research methodologies that support status quos and ignore the experiences of groups that might represent a minority in some contexts, or simply be missed due to the prioritization of decision makers who benefit from results that support power structures in place.

In exploring evaluator responsiveness to power structures within stakeholder groups, Azzam (2010) conducted a simulation study to examine how evaluators respond to stakeholders based on layers of status including decision maker, implementer, or recipient. When a stakeholder group provided feedback either endorsing or rejecting an evaluation design, evaluators were given the opportunity to incorporate this feedback and the simulation demonstrated that changes were more likely to be made if the group consisted of decision-making stakeholders. In his study, Azzam discusses how design decisions are influenced by logistics, evaluator characteristics, and political contexts (p. 46) that manifested in the ways that

evaluators interpreted resistance from stakeholders. Conditional interpretations of stakeholder groups rejecting a proposal were mostly negative judgments (assumptions that resistance was due to a stakeholder group not wanting to be more involved), but for decision makers conditional interpretation was based on methodological disagreement (p. 55). When deciding to change components of the proposed evaluation, evaluators were more likely to be responsive to decision makers, and were more likely to either favor their feedback, or to investigate further when stakeholders with less decision-making capacity were to reject the evaluation design (p.59).

Azzam's research speaks to the challenge of evaluators potentially being more apt to incorporate feedback and listen to stakeholder groups with power and to investigate stakeholder groups who have less decision-making capability rather than simply respond to feedback and requests to incorporate changes regardless of the stakeholder's status. The ability of evaluators to perceive less powerful groups within a negative framework also complicates the ability to gain greater understanding of individual and group perspectives and motivations.

Beyond the privileges afforded by catering to status quos, the act of defining marginalization is lacking within evaluation literature. While the term is mentioned within evaluation journal articles, it is referenced without defining the word or concept itself.

Greenfield (2005) addresses the lack of definitional unity in social science by stating, "the logical problems created by the tautological character of these definitions were exacerbated by the previously mentioned teleological nature of the entire argument" (p. 103). Namely, that within an example used in her critique, the author she addressed had made logical assumptions based on rhetorical definitions that served his argument but the definitions that were created did not in any way address or describe the cause or origin of the phenomena itself. This same challenge presents itself within discussions of marginalization, where lack of definition and

assumed understanding of the concept serve the purpose of argumentation alone without directly creating common understanding of the origin or characteristics of the phenomena of marginalization itself.

Working definitions of concepts that are investigated and used for analysis are critical to maintain shared understanding and ongoing unified investigation. For an example of creating unified definitions and conceptual frameworks within evaluation, efforts described by Stockdill et al. (2002) on the process of defining Evaluation Capacity Building (ECB). The authors discuss the need to place a definition of ECB at the start of their work that is concrete, workable, and operational so there can be better engagement with other evaluators on the subject. They state, “we want to:

- Make our understanding of ECB explicit
- Make the distinction between ECB and evaluation clear
- Encourage reflections by practitioners about how ECB relates to and informs their work and how it does not
- Stimulate discussions about differences between ECB and mainstreaming
- Stimulate thinking about relevant theoretical literature from other disciplines” (pp. 7-8).

Stockdill et al. (2002) then, in pursuit of their conceptual definition, articulate several terms and how they specifically relate to ECB, elaborate on concepts that guide ECB practices, provide examples, then create a “practical, usable, and flexible working definition: ECB is the intentional work to continuously create and sustain overall organizational processes that make quality evaluation and its uses routine” (p. 14).

The process used to engage in discussion and critical practice of ECB can be used for other evaluation practices or for concepts that are frequently referenced. To define marginalization for operational use within the development field, Alakhunova et al. (2015) interviewed experienced workers within the development profession, conducted extensive literature reviews, and analyzed the experiences of stakeholders – which led to the following working definition: “marginalization is both a condition and a process that prevents individuals and groups from full participation in social, economic, and political life enjoyed by the wider society” (p. 10).

Using this working definition allows several points of potential analysis. Using the components named in the definition (condition of marginalization, process of marginalization) and combining with the targets (individuals and groups) with participation areas of society (social, economic, and political), several potential areas to investigate manifest, including:

- Investigating conditions that prevent participation in societal, economic, or political benefits
- Considering process that systemically prevents participation in societal, economic, or political benefits
- Determining individual layers wherein there are conditions or process that prevent participation in societal, economic, or political benefits
- Identifying groups which are met with conditions or process that prevent their members from participating in societal, economic, or political benefits

- Analyzing the societal, economic, or political benefits enjoyed by “wider society” as a part of conditions or process that exclude individuals or groups
- Identifying groups which make and enforce conditions or process that exclude groups and individuals from participating in wider societal, economic, or political benefits
- Determining individual layers wherein there are conditions or process that encourage and enforce wider societal, economic, or political benefits that exclude certain groups and individuals
- Considering process that uses systems to exclude individual and group participation in societal, economic, or political benefits
- Investigate conditions that perpetuate wider societal exclusion of groups and individuals from societal, economic, or political benefits.

This working definition enables us to identify potential ways of investigating marginalization not only through a focus on individuals and groups who are ignored, are unseen, unheard, or dismissed, but also allows for opportunities to explore dynamics that allow marginalization to occur and perpetuate within societal, economic, and political spheres. As evaluation operates within societal, economic, and political spheres, it is important that both the marginalized and privileged are investigated to determine their roles in how programs are assessed, measured, and evaluated.

Theoretical Frameworks of Intersectional Oppression Theory

Navigation of anti-oppression theories and human rights efforts involve reviewing historical work that crosses several fields of discipline and several contexts of operation.

Individuals who have worked to confront racist, heterosexist, homophobic, classist, and other oppressive components of culture and society can include artists (James Baldwin, Bob Dylan, Frida Kahlo), political activists (Martin Luther King, Jr., Mahatma Gandhi, Malala Yousadzai), academics and educators (Paulo Freire, Paul Kivel, bell hooks), and historical figures of various backgrounds (Harvey Milk, Sojourner Truth, Greta Thunberg). The strategies employed by these figures are significant, but also highly variable within a shared purpose of enhancing human rights and attention to emancipation and empowerment of people who have been marginalized and harmed by societal status quos and systemic abuses. In creating a unifying conceptualization of the manners in which oppressions interact with each other, intersectionality theory cumulates and synthesizes these efforts into a conceptual framework that allows for a more comprehensive understanding of experiences of marginalization, subordination, and the hierarchical positioning of oppressed groups.

The term “intersectionality” is attributed to Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw (1989) who first referenced the term within the context of her experience as a lawyer on legal proceedings related to race and sex discrimination. She discussed how the single-axis framework of analysis for anti-racist and feminist theory limited inquiry to otherwise-privileged members of a group; sex- or class-privileged Black people, or race- or class-privileged women. Black women’s experiences are ignored in cases that examine race discrimination (focus on Black men), and in sex discrimination (focus on White women) (pp. 139-140). She described the exclusion of Black women within this analytical structure to be an intersection of race and gender, leading to the concept of intersectionality (p.140).

In furthering her theory of intersectionality, Crenshaw (1991) elaborated in an article where she focused on the experiences of Black women who were victimized by intimate partner

violence. Scaffolding upon her previous work, she discussed structural intersectionality (societal and systemic factors that combine to create more barriers for individuals who are marginalized on several layers, pp. 1245-1251), political intersectionality (each layer of privilege contains different and often conflicting political agendas that lead to individuals in multiple disadvantaged groups to be subordinated regardless of privilege they may hold in one of those layers, pp. 1251-1252), and representational intersectionality (where and how marginalized people are portrayed through images, narratives that reinforce social hierarchies, p. 1282-1283).

When mapping out the history and evolution of intersectionality since Crenshaw's foundational work, Carbado et al. (2013) reflected on the significance of those two articles, stating, "she exposed and sought to dismantle the instantiations of marginalization that operated within an institutionalized discourse that legitimized existing power relations (e.g., law); and at the same time, she placed into sharp relief how discourses of resistance (e.g., feminism and antiracism) could themselves function as sites that produced and legitimized marginalization" (p. 304).

Since Crenshaw's articles in 1989 and 1991, Carbado et al. (2013) have outlined how intersectionality as a concept grew to incorporate other forms of oppression (sexuality, ability, nationality, etc., pp. 305-306), began to be processed within scholarly fields and research methodologies (p. 307), touched on international contexts (pp. 307-308), has worked to engage with and understand experiences unique to Black women (pp. 309-310) and Black men (pp. 310-311), and how it has interfaced with and enriched Critical Race Theory (pp. 311-312).

Crenshaw's work was not created in a vacuum, and several aspects of her analysis were based on critical race theorists. Austin and Leeke (1973) reflected on the work of educational psychologist Patricia Bidol who spoke to the dynamics of "structural racism" which she

discussed as the presence of power within institutions that favored White perspectives, cultural experiences, and decision making. She described by stating, “racism is racial prejudice (the belief that one’s race is superior to another race) combined with the power to enforce this bias throughout the institutions and culture of a society” (Bidol, 1972, as cited by Austin & Leek, 1973, p. 9). Following her framework, the concept of “RACISM = PREJUDICE + POWER” became an educational tool within anti-racist movements.

To consider the framework behind intersectional oppression theory and how it might be utilized within CRE, the components of power and prejudice are important to define and discuss along with the concept of “privilege” as it applies to intersectional analysis, and “kyriarchy” to analyze the hierarchies of privileged statuses. Through combining kyriarchy with intersectionality analysis, there is an opportunity to have a concrete and direct development of strategies and improvements to CRE approaches which are similarly situated to engage in analysis of culture and marginalization. For example, investigating a grouping of stakeholders who all share one layer of marginalized positionality, kyriarchy may be used to then analyze the various other layers of positional privilege individuals and groups within these stakeholders may use for various hierarchical positioning amongst each other. If an evaluator can understand these positionings, there is more of an opportunity to access greater dialogue and understanding of how individuals navigate within this marginalized identity.

When analyzing the positionality, power, and privilege of evaluators, consideration of the work of Young (1990) in describing the “five faces of oppression” can assist in understanding why evaluators have need to discuss the dynamics of privilege. She labels the five faces of oppression as (1) exploitation, (2) marginalization, (3) powerlessness, (4) cultural imperialism, and (5) violence.

According to Young, nonwhite people are (1) exploited by White people (pp. 48-53). When discussing African American evaluators, Thomas et al. (2018) describe how evaluators of color are often asked to work with a particular ethnic or racial group, not involved in framing or working to design an evaluation, and “rather than confront the principal investigators (generally from the dominant racial group), junior faculty and evaluators of color oftentimes, wittingly or unwittingly, allowed themselves to be exploited” (p. 522).

In addition, nonwhite people are (2) marginalized (pp. 53-55). Within evaluation work Hood (2001) detailed several ignored African American evaluators who “incorporated a number of the major premises articulated in responsive evaluation, notably, the vital importance of qualitative data, of shared lived experiences, and of responsiveness to critical concerns and issues of the members of the setting being evaluated... There [are] not simple answers to questions about why the work of these ‘leaders’ has gone unnoticed, or similarly, why people of color do not sit in the seats of power in educational evaluation today” (p. 40).

Within evaluation work, nonwhite evaluators fit Young’s definition of (3) powerlessness as having “less authority, status, and sense of self” (p. 57) when compared to White evaluators. Hood (2001) notes, “race is the foremost social issue of our generation and has been since the inception of our nation. For the matter at hand, I aver that race influences who is awarded evaluation contracts, who is awarded professorial positions, and who is listened to by evaluation clients” (p. 35).

White identity is considered the default position within evaluation, where racial marginalization involves investigation of nonwhite individuals and groups leading to a certain (4) cultural imperialism (Young, 1990, pp. 58-61). Hilliard (1997) critiques standardized testing as used for educational evaluation by stating, “since the ‘right children’ – upper class, wealthy –

tend to get the top scores, it is assumed that the I.Q., reading, speech, language acquisition, and other tests are valid. Test makers have no way of taking the achievement results of a privileged child and separating that part of the scores which is due to the student's special skill and that part which is due simply to growing up in the common white American culture" (p. 235).

Finally, while the evaluation may not perpetuate direct forms of (4) violence against individuals, groups, or communities, Young points out that "what makes violence a face of oppression is less the particular acts themselves, though these are often utterly horrible, than the social context surrounding them, which makes them possible and even acceptable" (pp. 61-62). Within some contexts of evaluation, it is possible that outcomes of an evaluation report may lead to defund projects for struggling communities, and in these contexts evaluation may have a role in ignoring social and economic conditions that overlap with community-based violence.

Theoretical Frameworks of Leveraging Power and Privilege of Dominant Groups

A challenging component of intersectional oppression theory is that critical consciousness can lead individuals with power and privilege to feel a sense of guilt over identities they hold yet did not inherently choose (e.g., White guilt). This leads to barriers in guiding and supporting individuals with privilege to develop greater awareness of the experiences of marginalized groups. Part of the key to working with privileged people is understanding that power, in and of itself, is not inherently oppressive or destructive.

Allen (2017) analyzed the work of Michel Foucault to consider his ways of thinking through power and its role in knowledge and reality. He notes that Foucault's view is that power "works to constitute subjects and tie them to their identities... [and] how power is exercised by agents to constrain or act upon the actions of other agents" (p. 188). In essence, power is the

ability to make people do things, keep people from doing things, and have agency to choose one's actions.

While it is beyond the scope of this study to get more in-depth into Foucault's conceptions of power and authority, Allen (2017) also references Foucault's understanding of power "as spread throughout the social body through multiple forms of constraint and modes of interaction" (p. 189). Power is not constrained to only one layer but is infused within several layers of status quo and privilege that is held by a multitude of identities, positions, and status within greater culture and society. This makes intersectionality an ideal theory to use in evaluation contexts of working with multiple layers of power, privilege, and marginalization within individuals and groups.

Leveraging privilege to use inherent power to change environments that enforce oppression has the potential to change institutions in ways that people who lack it cannot. Byrne (2020) reflects on methods of using intersectional analysis within power-sharing theory to find ways to redistribute the power and access enjoyed by privileged groups. Byrne argues this by describing,

intersectionality, when theorized as a mode of analysis, maintains that categories like gender, nation, religion, sexuality, and so forth cannot be studied in isolation; they work together to construct experiences of social inequality. Constructing inclusive political institutions, therefore, requires that we pay attention to intersectional categories to develop robust equality provisions (p. 63).

Paying attention to intersectional categories can assist in considerations of how to work with individuals within dominant layers of identity. Wernick (2012) investigated the approaches of Resource Generation (RG), a social justice-oriented organization focusing on motivating and

guiding wealthy youth to leverage the power of their class-based power and privilege to empower marginalized communities. The model used by RG is “strongly informed by existing models that draw extensively from intersectional feminist, anti-oppression approaches to community organizing... the approach is influenced by the pedagogy of popular education, the development of critical consciousness, and a long-term vision of social transformation. (p. 331).

A part of RG’s model in working with privileged individuals and groups involves educational and discussion-based efforts to “help people with power and privilege address internalized presumption of superiority that develops as an inherent part of their positionalities” (Wernick, 2012, p. 326). Wernick (2012) describes essential components of engaging with and organizing a privileged group, which include (a) infusing values that emphasize accountability and transparency to marginalized communities, (b) focusing agendas on what will best support marginalized communities as opposed to what will maintain power and privilege status quos, (c) maintaining transparency to include intentionally creating cross-class spaces and being open about its agenda in the decision making process, and, (d) supporting privileged individuals and groups in being open about their privilege and not omitting facts about their life that could remove their privileged identities (p. 327). These steps are important due to the reality that

young adults who possess wealth cannot confront class power and privilege unless they recognize wealth’s intersecting relationships with and participation in such other institutions of domination as racism, sexism, and heterosexism... the role of people with power, privilege, and wealth is to support [social justice] movements, but this does not mean people with wealth do not engage as full participants in the movements (Wernick, 2012, p. 331).

Constituents of RG (wealthy young people) are tasked with organizing the institutions of power they have access to as,

constituents possess disproportionate amounts of power, [and] this process of outreach, leadership development, and action manifests itself differently than it does in disenfranchised communities... [and where] the goal of community organizing among disenfranchised communities is to build power, [the] goal of [RG constituents] is to share and redistribute power (Wernick, 2012, p. 333).

Within evaluation work, working to engage with dominant status quo stakeholders would be different than efforts to draw out voices of marginalized stakeholders, and both would need to be taking place concurrently within an evaluation context and process. Individual and stakeholder groups with privilege need to

come to understand how they can leverage their access, knowledge, and experience to support social justice movements without appropriating undue decision-making power or trying to control movement goals and strategies... critical consciousness development is operationalized to incorporate accountability, transparency, and knowledge both from disenfranchised and wealthy communities (Wernick, 2012, p. 334).

Following this approach can lead to specific obstacles, namely, privileged people can focus on their own emotions of guilt, and ignore how that can lead to forcing marginalized individuals and groups to either do all the work, or focus on trying to make a privileged person feel better (Wernick, 2012, pp. 334-335).

Wernick (2012) describes RG's response to this challenge by developing critical consciousness, having groups of privileged individuals share stories of internalized notions of

superiority and domination, being supportive in discussing difficult and complex issues related to confronting their privileged experiences with well-trained cross-class facilitation teams, and guide understanding and discussion toward larger political contexts (p. 335). This includes individuals holding each other accountable for recognizing replication of power and privilege dynamics within this space, such as ways privilege may exclude others from decision-making processes, can limit opportunities for capacity building, or that privileged people may assume roles of authority rather than supporting guidance from less privileged individuals and communities (p. 336).

For evaluation models to incorporate these approaches, it would require evaluators to be well trained in intersectional oppression theory, to constantly conduct reflective practice to develop critical consciousness within their work, and to organize community groups of stakeholders to create supportive and accountable learning environments as a part of the process. It is also important to note that critical consciousness is not designed to be an end goal, but rather as steps that are part of the process “because they assist constituents in becoming empowered actors, improving their capacities to create change, and [enables] them to take concrete action toward a just and democratic society” (p. 340).

When the evaluand is a corporate or capitalistic structure, other challenges emerge to leverage hierarchies and privileged decision-makers. Within these contexts, there are often multiple hierarchies of power that can limit the ability to use intersectional analysis as a part of an evaluation design. Bless et al. (2017) conducted a capacity assessment of the transport sector in South Africa and identified several factors that could benefit from intersectional oppression theory analysis. They identified that the transport sector is “faced with socio-economic inequalities inherited from the apartheid era... manifested through severe skills shortages among

the black majority and women in particular, leading to racial- and gender-based economic exclusion” (p. 1). When the South Africa government established the Skills Development Act of 1998, the policy was intended to address these issues and implement skills development throughout all sectors of the economy.

Within this specific corporate context, an intersectional analysis could work to leverage the needs of industry to mitigate distrust, establish skills-based training and incentives, develop under-trained workers, assess cultural, racial, and gender-based issues that undermine efficiency and trust especially as “a recent study identifies lack of trust as one of the key factors impacting the effective use of evidence in South Africa” (Paine et al., 2015, as cited by Bless et al., 2019, p. 4). As within other contexts discussed in this study, within a corporate setting, part of leveraging privilege involves identifying benefits for privileged decision-makers in exploring and using intersectional analysis and consciousness-raising to best uplift and work to empower marginalized groups who play a role in overall success.

Understanding and Leveraging Epistemic Privilege from Marginalized Stakeholders in Evaluation

The incorporation of intersectional oppression theory approaches within evaluation efforts can offer direct and practical methods of engagement that reduce epistemic oppression, which Dotson (2014) defines as a persistent unwarranted infringement on the epistemic agency of knowers that hinders their ability to contribute to knowledge production (p. 115).

Park (2018) offers a case study investigation into the epistemic privilege of an immigrant youth whom he provided educational tutoring. While his emphasis is on an educational setting, the observations easily fit into evaluation contexts. Park argues that education needs to work better to “leverage the funds of knowledge and repertoires of practice that students already

possess” (p. 111), and notes that within current educational practices, there is a focus on “rule-governed activities” (p. 122) where specific norms lead to students being “constrained by certain values and ideologies, embedded in the [tasks], around what counts as knowledge, whose knowledge counts, and how to share knowledge” (p. 127). Within evaluation work to draw out the experiences of marginalized stakeholders, practices may mirror educational systems by making assumptions regarding what knowledge is important, and how knowledge should be shared.

Park (2018) instead focuses on the presence of epistemic privilege within marginalized and oppressed people, which is “an ‘epistemological standpoint which makes possible a view of the world that is more reliable and less distorted than that available to [privileged individuals and groups and contain] perspective that is not just different, but epistemologically advantageous” (Janack, 1997, as summarized by Park, 2018, p. 111).

Having epistemic privilege can involve a nuanced, complex, and critical understanding of the world that goes against the status quo, and “[understands] that experiences, knowledge, and beliefs are not universal or natural, but culturally, socially, and even ideologically constructed” (Park, 2018, p. 111).

Park (2018) discusses how he “uncovered” a student’s epistemic privilege which “was not always evident in his school writing” (p. 112) due to academic rules that constrained his voice and perspective. Park (2018) described his student as (a) feeling connected to academic texts by inserting his ideas and understandings into his reading (p. 114), (b) being aware of ideas he was taught and exposed to as social and ideological constructions which he shaped through his experience as an immigrant (p. 115), (c) wrestling with ideas of how relationships between individuals and institutions change people (p. 116), (d) understanding that historical events were

interpretations of the past that impacted the lives of ordinary people (p. 117), (e) positioning his peers as resources and co-constructors of knowledge as well as collaborators in understanding injustices and inequalities (p. 118), (f) questioning authority and advocating for those with less power when noticing, and then challenging injustices (p. 119), and, (g) developing an epistemic framework for understanding the intersectionality between social and economic issues (p. 124).

When analyzing educational constraints placed on marginalized groups, Park noted that “they may not be seen as having epistemic privilege because discourses, as well as assumptions about race, class, gender, and age, play an important role in constructing epistemic privilege” (summarizing Janack, 1997, Park, 2018, p. 128). He suggests moving toward a “resource orientation” framework where epistemic privilege in marginalized groups are honored and everyday linguistic, discursive, and cultural practices are valued (p. 128).

Park advocates for negotiation with students that involve balancing between resources and constraints, as well as audience and personal expectations. This approach also works to assist students in engaging in decision-making, as well as the development of meaning and identity for themselves (pp. 128-129).

All of this work means that when evaluators consider various strategies, they need to be sensitive to the strengths of the epistemically privileged experiences held by marginalized stakeholders, as well as utilizing methods of gaining that knowledge that do not favor the evaluator’s or institution’s ideas about how to collect information, but rather honor the methods stakeholders may have in participating in knowledge generation. Silence from certain groups is easily interpreted as individuals being uninterested, uninvolved, or non-invested, but in his work, Park (2018) illustrates how dominant genres and systems seek to frame all experiences within

status quos, and this serves to prevent marginalized groups from expressing their interests, positions, and knowledge (p. 131).

Review of Evaluation Literature Focusing on Marginalization

To explore evaluation literature and how it has addressed privilege and marginalization, the following discussion encapsulates how various evaluation approaches and designs contribute to understanding marginalization and intervening in privileged dynamics that contribute to marginalization of individuals and groups.

Marginalization Focus Within Participatory Evaluation Design

Participatory Evaluation was built off of Participatory Action Research (PAR), developed initially by Fals-Borda (1987) as an involved process of working within a community and group of people to structure liberatory systems and process via awareness building and collective building from within a community itself. The development out of PAR occurred through several sources, although Cousins and Whitmore (1998) attempted to frame Participatory Evaluation within two streams of operation – Practical Participatory Evaluation (P-PE) which was designed for program decision making to enhance the relevance of the evaluation itself, and therefore increase its use within programs, and Transformative Participatory Evaluation (T-PE) which instead focuses on democratizing social change within a program by leveraging individuals, groups, and communities involved with the program itself.

Coming from a background of utilization-focused evaluation approaches, on the surface, participatory evaluation seems like an approach that would provide opportunities for marginalized groups and individuals to become a part of the evaluation. This is demonstrated through Cousins and Earl's (1992) description of the model as “a powerful learning system designed to foster applied research and thereby enhance social discourse about relevant

organizational issues” (p. 401). In considering its emphasis on organizational management and creating designs that favor the overall operations of a program under evaluation as opposed to analyzing social hierarchies and marginalized voices, however, the approach is not necessarily conducive to empowering individuals or groups as much as it is useful for the overall program and program decision makers.

In working on explorations of the use of participatory action within an evaluation context, Cousins and Earl (1992) referenced the work of Greene, who analyzed holistic dynamics of stakeholder participation and “identified political benefits such as working through diverse views held by stakeholders and the provision of ‘voice’ to those with less power within the organization” (Greene, 1987, 1988, as cited by Cousins & Earl, 1992, p. 407). The descriptions provided throughout the initial article on participatory evaluation were centered around working within education contexts where the primary stakeholders were principals and teachers, not potentially invisible stakeholder interest groups such as students or other staff within the school settings, so Greene’s findings have a very narrow view of hierarchical marginalization instead of considering recipients of program activities and services.

While not directly addressing the concept of marginalization, Springett (2001) discusses how participatory evaluation has the potential to impact empowerment (specifically in health promotion evaluation) and address the foundational sources that cause disempowerment by working toward power sharing, valuing multiple perspectives, and respecting differing forms of knowledge, calling participatory evaluation, “the cone from which the tree of appropriateness grows” (pp. 148-149).

This indicates that participatory evaluation can be a strategy that focuses on empowering marginalized groups and individuals, even if the design and literature emphasize the utilization

focus and how to influence decision making stakeholders in learning about the benefits of program evaluation.

Marginalization Focus within Empowerment Evaluation Design

When first discussing the concept of empowerment evaluation, Fetterman (1993) stated, “empowerment evaluation can be used to help anyone with a desire for self-determination. It builds on evaluation’s advances in communication, collaboration, and advocacy, but it does not replace other forms of evaluation” (p. 117).

As he developed his evaluation model, Fetterman (1994) articulated components typically linked with marginalization by discussing self-determination. He described self-determination as

the ability to chart one’s own course in life, forms the theoretical foundation of empowerment evaluation... the ability to identify and express needs, establish goals or expectations and a plan of action to achieve them, identify resources, make rational choices from various alternative courses of action, take appropriate steps to pursue objectives, evaluate short and long-term results... and persist in the pursuit of those goals. It involves the total regulation of an individual’s own life (p. 2).

In his description, Fetterman focused on how the self-determination of individuals might be enhanced or diminished by focusing on personal characteristics that might be present, but then stated, “the absence of these supportive environmental features limits opportunities, creates obstacles, and fosters dependency and/or despondent behavior” (p. 2).

Fetterman (1994) also discusses the importance of advocacy within empowerment evaluation, again not using the term “marginalization” yet discussing how evaluators often feel

responsible to work toward the needs of groups with less power, and that there exists a certain moral responsibility while also stating that this responsibility should only exist after the end of an evaluation, and then only if there is a need discovered as a part of the evaluation itself (p. 6).

Like within participatory evaluation strategies, empowerment evaluation sets goals to work with, guide, and train stakeholders to conduct their own evaluations. However, within empowerment evaluation, there is specific mention of the need to work to serve participants of programs in addition to decision making stakeholders.

Marginalization Focus Within Transformative Evaluation Design

Mertens (1999) originated thinking and planning for a transformative evaluation design while working to frame the theory within the concept of “inclusive evaluation.” In her work, Mertens directly states that evaluators need to reach out to marginalized groups, not just within a communication framing, but through a conscious analysis of layers of power and powerlessness that may be contributing to issues of social inequality and injustice that may be present within the evaluand. While viewpoints may include the social realities of both privileged and marginalized groups, each of these perspectives need to be seen through the lens of political, cultural, and economic values as such a lens can assist in determining which perspective may need to be amplified. To conduct a transformative evaluation, it is necessary to recognize how certain voices and perspectives have been missing within overall evaluative analysis, and to work towards methods of inclusion and amplification as a part of the evaluation process (pp. 4-5).

Transformative evaluation design follows along with components of participatory and empowerment evaluation by including stakeholders as a part of the evaluation process, however, it explicitly names marginalized stakeholders as necessary participants that help with informing the process and values within the evaluand, particularly various power imbalances and inequities

Marginalization Focus within Culturally Responsive Evaluation Design

Culturally Responsive Evaluation (CRE) originated in Stafford Hood's presentation at a 1998 festschrift to honor Robert Stake's creation of "Responsive Evaluation" (Hood, et al., 2015, p. 285), where he related responsive evaluation and its links to culture by discussing the U.S. supreme court case, *United States v. The Amistad*, 40 U.S. 518 (1841).

In his presentation, Hood (1998) argued that the court battle involved issues where there was a lack of representation (no African Americans available as part of a legal defense team, or ability to do so at the time even if there were, p. 103), a lack of understanding (inattentiveness and ignorance to nonverbal communication behavior exhibited by African Americans, as well as language barriers and ignorance of Mende culture, pp. 105-108), and the presence and need for agitation against social status quos (referencing John Quincy Adams' open criticism of the system's readiness to have sympathy for White people yet antipathy to Black people, pp. 109-110).

Over time, several evaluators have contributed to the development of CRE approaches, and in summarizing those evolutions, Hood et al. (2015) describe that CRE (a) recognizes the importance of shared lived experience between observers and observed, (b) pays explicit attention to culture and race both substantively and politically, (c) considers the culture of the project or program as well as the culture of participants, (d) pays attention to power differentials among people and systems, (e) explicitly names white privilege, (f) positions CRE as a holistic framework in how an evaluation is planned and executed, (g) pays careful attention to assembling an evaluation team, and, (h) provides culturally specific examples of CRE for work with and benefit of specific cultures (emphasis placed on Afrocentric perspectives) (pp. 288-290).

When describing the process of CRE within the context of marginalization, Hood et al. (2015) directly state that CRE “gives particular attention to groups that have been historically marginalized, seeking to bring balance and equity into the evaluation process” (p. 283), and this attention is paid to voice through mapping inclusion and exclusion, language use and overall communication, time components such as scheduling within a program process, how evaluators return benefit to marginalized communities, methods of enacting responsiveness to feedback and concerns from marginalized groups and individuals, and how evaluation pays attention to reflexivity within the evaluation process (pp. 308-309).

Summary

When applying an operational definition of marginalization derived from the development field, evaluation research can be better situated to explore privileged dominant societal dynamics that perpetuate and increase marginalization of individuals and groups. An emphasis on privilege can potentially offer an innovative and humanistic focus on methods for evaluators to address and expand human rights within their work. This literature review serves to point out the limitations of evaluation research in attending to human rights and suggests ways in which this qualitative study may be used to begin an expand on opportunities for evaluators to use their influence and privilege to improve systemic inequalities.

While evaluation scholarship has given some small attention to addressing marginalization, and has mentioned privilege within some contexts, there is a need to further develop and expand this scholarship to better address the needs of entire communities that may have either missed certain perspectives or have amplified privileged and powerful perspectives without recognizing the potential impacts of such amplification.

An interdisciplinary approach to addressing privilege may be warranted, as scholarship from several other fields has developed methods of investigating, intervening in, and discussing privilege. Likewise, other disciplines have explored marginalization through intersectional oppression theories that provide a layered and complicated analysis that is not readily available within evaluation scholarship.

Overall, through this study, I seek to expand on evaluation approaches to both marginalization and privilege by directly addressing opportunities for evaluation scholarship to pay a more concentrated and direct attention to the makeup of groups and individuals on several layers of personal and professional identity, and in doing so be better able to navigate complicated interpersonal dynamics that can easily go unnoticed.

CHAPTER IV: METHODOLOGY

Study Purpose and Research Question(s)

In this study, I have explored the phenomenological components of privilege to develop a greater understanding of how privilege serves to enforce marginalization and may be leveraged to dismantle systems of oppression. I conducted a phenomenological qualitative design to explore the perspectives, experiences, and values of privileged evaluators. Due to the dearth of literature exploring privilege in the evaluation field, I sought to investigate individual evaluators with three shared positional layers of privilege to gain direct and detailed insight into the advantages these identities and positionalities provide both personally and professionally within the evaluation field.

Bowleg and Bauer (2016), when discussing improving methods for researching intersectionality to address concerns that there is not enough emphasis on privilege, they identified structural realities in sampling that can easily oversample, misrepresent, and compound privileged experiences while enforcing structures that marginalize individuals and groups (pp. 338-339). As such, in this study, I address these limitations by purposely sampling evaluators who are privileged by their race (White), position (professional evaluator), and experience (at least ten years of experience).

The following research questions guided this study.

RQ1: How and in what ways do experienced White evaluators define and understand the concept of “privilege”?

RQ2: How and in what ways have White evaluators experienced oppressive conditions within their personal and professional lives, and how have such experiences contributed to their work as evaluators?

- a. Within professional evaluation experience, how do participants notice conditions that amplify oppressive conditions within an evaluand (e.g., administrative practices, funding, program process, representation, and program values)?

RQ3: How and in what ways do experienced White evaluators identify the role of evaluation in addressing the marginalization of stakeholders, and how do they leverage privilege in evaluation practice (if at all)?

- a. How and in what ways do participants address oppressive systems, individuals, and groups within evaluation contexts?

RQ4: What is the role of the White evaluator in addressing oppressive systems, individuals, and groups in practice?

Research Methodology

In this study, I used a phenomenological qualitative methodology to interview individual White evaluators. A quantitative Qualtrics survey that gathered demographic data on participants was also used to ground the overall analysis in the foundations of those whose perspectives inform the conclusions of the study.

Boodhoo and Purmessur (2009) identified that the main reasons to use qualitative designs were to provide a more realistic feel of the world that goes beyond numerical data, involves flexible ways to collect, analyze, and interpret information, and allows for a more descriptive capability for unstructured data (p. 6).

Investigating elements of privilege and intersectionality necessitates a more thorough understanding of individual experiences and human perspective which are not easy to explore

through quantitative methods, or currently available without developing a completely new instrument of measurement.

I chose a phenomenological design for this study as the phenomenon of privilege is often personal in nature and can assist in creating a framework of understanding based on analyzing the connections between human lived experiences. Lester (1999) discusses the use of phenomenological designs by stating,

Phenomenology is concerned with the study of experience from the perspective of the individual, 'bracketing' taken-for-granted assumptions and usual ways of perceiving. Epistemologically, phenomenological approaches are based in a paradigm of personal knowledge and subjectivity, and emphasize the importance of personal perspective and interpretation. As such they are powerful for understanding subjective experience, gaining insights into people's motivations and actions, and cutting through the clutter of taken-for-granted assumptions and conventional wisdom. (p. 1)

Neubauer et al. (2019) note that phenomenology requires reflection as a part of the process as, "it is the researcher's education and knowledge base that leads him/her to consider a phenomenon or experience worthy of investigation" and rather than attempt to be bias-free in reporting and interpreting other's lived experiences researchers "should openly acknowledge their preconceptions, and reflect on how their subjectivity is part of the analysis process" (p. 95).

Within my personal and professional experience, I have been exploring intersectionality and elements of privilege for many years. As a result, it is essential that my personal bias be included as a part of my qualitative methodology, with a design that supports its inclusion within the process.

Table 1. Participant Demographics*

	Female Evaluators (n=9)	Male Evaluators (n=7)
Age Grouping		
25-34	1	0
35-44	3	3
45-54	1	1
55-64	2	2
65-74	2	0
75-84	0	1
Years of Experience		
<10 yrs.	3	1
10-15 yrs.	2	1
16-20 yrs.	0	1
21-25 yrs.	2	1
>25 yrs.	2	3

*All participants were White, non-Hispanic

Population and Sample Selection

To limit the layers of intersectional analysis, I recruited and interviewed White evaluators with a minimum of ten years of experience in an evaluator role. The sample is purposive, derived from a list I created along with suggestions from colleagues and committee members by identifying potential participants from professional connections and exposure to individual evaluators who met these criteria at the American Evaluation Association conference. There was a total of 30 potential participants, and 16 volunteered to participate in the study.

A focus on White, experienced evaluators allows me to emphasize the position of privilege and how those positionalities impact conducting evaluation with marginalized stakeholders. Studying White evaluators put a specific emphasis on privilege that is the status quo of the United States of America, and as such offered insight into how gaining awareness of

these “norms” may assist in dismantling and better understanding oppressive systems. Each of the participants was identified as an evaluator who had conducted professional work that addressed intersectionality, marginalization, or culturally responsive approaches within evaluation.

Table 2. Participant Survey: Source of Evaluation Training

Source of Evaluation Training	Number of participants selecting this source
“Professional experience within a workplace setting”	12
“Coursework within my academic studies”	9
“Post-graduate training specific to evaluation research”	7
“My academic degree was in program evaluation / evaluation research”	5
Other Responses to the Question (one each)	
“I took one program evaluation class within my MSW program, so my academic training was little to none. I mostly learned on the job.”	
“I don’t have much formal training as an evaluator, but have had experiences conducting and collaborating on evaluations as part of my professional work.”	

Description of the Sample

I gathered 16 individual participants from 30 recruitment emails (Appendix E) sent to a purposive sample of experienced White evaluators (acceptance rate of 53.34%). These thirty individuals were chosen for recruitment due to their work in identifying and addressing privilege, presenting or writing on intersectional oppression topics, and/or due to interactions and

involvement with AEA. As part of the recruitment email, I asked prospective participants to take a Qualtrics survey (Appendix D), and upon completion of the survey were asked to click on a link embedded in the survey to schedule an interview appointment. An informed consent form (Appendix B) was attached to the recruitment email as well as provided as an embedded link at the end of the Qualtrics survey.

All participants were self-identified White evaluators, and none were of Hispanic/Latino ethnicity. Participants were made up of nine women and eight men, fourteen had a doctorate-level degree (two had a master's level degree), and thirteen were working full-time (two retired, one self-employed). Table 1 lists the breakdown of age and years of experience by gender. While the goal was initially to recruit evaluators with a minimum of ten years of experience, of those participating in interviews, those with less than ten years of experience in evaluation had previous professional experience prior to starting their evaluation-focused work.

During the pre-interview survey, I asked participants to share how they were trained in evaluation. The majority of participants (12) identified that they had received training in their workplace, and nine identified they had taken coursework in their academic studies (Table 2).

Qualitative Data on Participant Backgrounds

At the start of participant interviews, each participant was asked to describe their position and years of experience, followed by discussing how their career evolution brought them to develop an interest in program evaluation. While navigation of these questions varied by participant, I identified the following background information before entering into interview protocol questions focused on answering the research questions.

Table 3. Reasons Participants Gave for their Interest in Evaluation

Gained interest through observing an external evaluator within my agency	Evaluation has compelling ways of determining questions and weighing arguments	Evaluation provides opportunities to change systems and push against them
There are specific ethical elements that are useful to consider	Evaluation allows for thinking of whose voices are represented or silenced	Evaluation involves self-determination and community rights
Evaluation works to make the world a better place	Evaluation helps people to think more critically	Evaluation pushes back against what systems require
Participatory approaches unique to evaluation	How evaluation can focus on power dynamics	Evaluation is constantly evolving
Intellectual challenge	It is enjoyable interviewing and listening to people	There is flexibility within evaluation frameworks
Evaluation was a good fit with personal skills and interests	Evaluation theory provides a guide for how to conduct work	Evaluation is an applied research practice with immediate practical utility
Evaluation provides ways of going beyond measurement	Evaluation's use of constructs and surveys	The value in capacity building components of evaluation
Evaluation can be an organic kind of work that comes from the community	Understanding what can and cannot be done within issues of agency and intersectionality	The philosophies behind program evaluation work are interesting
Evaluation can determine quality and success	Evaluation is much closer to community engaged work	Not limited to geography, content, or type of practice
Evaluation cuts across institutions and sectors		

Position and Identification of Evaluation Focus

Seven participants identified as associate or assistant professors, three as full professors, two as consultants, two as employees of evaluation firms, and one as a therapist. One participant identified as being retired. Not all participants who identified as professors or assistant/associate professors discussed their academic department, but those who did so each identified a different

focus, to include agricultural leadership communication, public policy, educational psychology, research methods and evaluation studies, school of education, and preventative medicine.

Some participants revealed multiple focal points for their evaluation work, and the sample included two participants with a focus on K-12 education, and the rest identifying work within non-governmental organizations and nonprofit agencies, capacity building, teaching evaluation and qualitative methodologies, advising, philanthropy, case work, public school assessments/support, field supervision, governmental, external evaluation, political activism, intimate partner violence, evaluation theory, and research on evaluation.

When discussing their background prior to entering into evaluation work, two participants discussed work with the Peace Corps, and the rest discussed their background within international evaluation, qualitative research, social work, community psychology, K-12 education, epidemiology, mediation, and restorative justice. Two participants when describing their backgrounds stressed that they learned about evaluation through their work requiring them to conduct evaluations of some sort.

Evolution into Evaluation-Focused Work

As participants discussed their backgrounds, many talked about their educational journey and referenced initial studies that led them to learn about evaluation. Examples included general psychology studies, science technology engineering and mathematics (STEM) education, K-12 teaching, youth development, children and families, AIDS/HIV, applied health psychology, and family engagement.

In reference to entering into the evaluation field, several participants referenced being an “accidental evaluator,” and described this as not intending to enter into the field but rather becoming an evaluator due to circumstance. Some of the circumstances described included: one

participant who was working in an academic department when an adjunct abruptly left, leading the participant to take over teaching an evaluation course, one participant who was asked to do an evaluation by an outside agency, one participant reflected that they were learning about research methodologies and discovered that evaluation approaches matched personal interests in research, and one merely described the path to evaluation as “circuitous.”

During the interviews, participants were also asked why the evaluation field was interesting to them. There were diverse and multiple answers to this question (Table 3).

Instrumentation

I conducted interviews using a semi-structured interview protocol (Appendix C), which was designed to organize participant responses and allow for narrowing of questioning when certain topics are brought forward within the interview.

To organize the flow of questions and reflection by participants, the protocol was inspired by the DATA model of reflective practice (Peters, 1991) which proposes four steps of reflection:

1. *Describe* the problem, task, or incident that represents some critical aspect of practice needing examination and possible change;
2. *Analyze* the nature of what is described, including the assumptions that support the actions taken to solve the problem, task, or incident;
3. *Theorize* about the alternative ways to approach the problem, task, or incident; and,
4. *Act* on the basis of the theory (p. 91).

This approach to interviewing guides the development of questioning that “[identifies] one’s assumptions and feelings associated with practice, [theorizes] about how these assumptions

and feelings are functionally or dysfunctionally associated with practice, and [acts] on the basis of the resulting theory of practice” (Peters, 1991, p. 89).

As this study asked participants to consider dynamics of social justice as they may apply within an evaluation context, inspiration from the DATA model, which “has at its primary focus surfacing assumptions, describing what exists, and then analyzing the situation in light of an objective description and acting based on reasoned judgement” (Smith, et al., 2015, p. 144), provided an avenue for engaging with discomfort or resistance to identifying personal and professional dynamics that may have negatively impacted marginalized individuals and groups.

The interview protocol started with questions that allowed participants to reflect on their backgrounds in the evaluation field, then questions that helped interviewees describe their conceptual definitions of privilege and experiences of marginalization. Next, protocol questions focused on having participants analyze the nature of program evaluation and research to discuss the presence of privilege within the field, theorize methods of using personal and professional privilege within their work, and finally, consider possible direct actions related to their positionality as a White evaluator in empowering and providing agency to marginalized groups and individuals. A total of ten questions were used, while probing questions were used to follow-up as participants shared their experiences or engaged with me in dialogue over the topics.

Establishing Qualitative Trustworthiness

Cho and Trent (2006) describe transformational validity by stating that qualitative researchers, “are encouraged to examine meanings that are taken for granted and to create ‘analytical practices’ in which meanings are both deconstructed and reconstructed in a way that makes initial connotations more fruitful” (p. 324). They suggest that a “praxis/social change”

approach involves, “member check as reflexive; critical reflexivity of self; and, redefinition of the status quo” (p. 326).

The goal of this study has been to learn and change along with interview participants by exploring and investigating concepts of human social interaction that are often invisible, taken for granted, and perceived as “normal” within societal environments. Interview protocols were semi-structured to allow for questioning that is more collaborative, dialogical, and focused on individuals’ lived experiences that may answer questions, but also go beyond the questions to consider links to topics that are important to the individual’s perspectives.

Researcher Process of Confronting Personal Biases

As I conducted interviews, audio was recorded via Otter.ai, along with detailed notes typed as participants spoke. I completed reflective journaling after each interview, and after completing adjustments from the member checking process to detail my thinking and interpretive process. This journal involved asking myself several questions (Appendix F) designed to reflect and think through potential biases and challenges I experienced as an interviewer.

I considered what I noticed about the flow of questioning, to think through if there may be needed adjustments to the ordering of questions, how and in what way I noticed challenges, emotional responses, and discomfort for participants, what emotions I experienced within the dialogue with participants, reflection on any changes I needed to make within future interviews, things within participant responses that stuck with me and why, and how I processed and felt emotionally with the member checking process.

In constructing a codebook, I conducted ongoing reflection on my process, from transferring individual participant data to a data analysis spreadsheet, to creating broad themes within each question grouping, then codes within each theme to organize the information.

Member Checking

To establish the credibility and authenticity of this study, research participants engaged in member checking by reading and providing feedback and additional clarification on a written bulleted summary of direct quotes and descriptions from their interview. I used participant member checks to make revisions to the data, and 15 of the 16 participants completed this process. Most participants provided little to no adjustments, while three participants made extensive adjustments. Some participants were more attentive to grammar concerns, others provided clarifications if I transcribed something incorrectly, others were concerned about properly citing certain references they had made during the dialogue, and still others were concerned about their confidentiality and excised certain components that may have readily identified them.

My responses to these member checks, as well as some of the negotiation conducted as a part of the process are detailed within the personal journal. I journaled my reflections on interviews immediately after they occurred, and after completing a member check, as “the researcher must be aware of the influence of the individual’s background and account for the influences they exert on the individual’s experience of being” (Neubauer et al., 2019, p. 94). This allowed for personal exploration of bias, dialogue within this study that is transparent about my own thoughts and perspectives about the data, and the struggles of analyzing some of the content through personal and professional lenses of my own.

Data Quality

Investigator Reflexivity on Interviews and Research Processes

I utilized a detailed journaling form (Appendix F) to write personal impressions and reflect on any biases during the process of interviewing participants about privilege,

marginalization, and overall intersectionality discussions. Before interviews began, I spent time writing out a positionality identification (pp. 2-5) to provide grounding to this study in the understanding of how I am situated in relation to the research itself.

Van Draanen (2017) provided an analysis of her reflexive process, where she journaled as a part of her phenomenological participatory research process. She noted at the end of the study, after reviewing her reflections, “culturally competent evaluation is fundamentally tied to social action and change because of its embedded values. Developing a fuller understanding of the assumptions, values, and prejudices that we as professionals hold and those that exist in the context we practice in is necessary to be an effective evaluator... this reflexive model can improve practice and professional development for evaluators by raising our consciousness of our positionality and encouraging us to create opportunities to change how these existing biases shape daily evaluative practice” (pp. 373-374).

I was able to, through the reflexive journaling process also work to reflect on positionality, biases, challenges, and overall process – all of which were valuable to increasing the quality of the study, but also in contributing to my own learning. The following analysis of the journal entries are by question asked. One thing to note about the journal is that the questions were altered later into the study, as once the member checking process started, I realized there were emotional and mental responses to receiving feedback and corrections that would be useful to include. One question was added to the end of the journal for each participant to address this issue.

Flow of Questioning

In this question, I reflected on how the interview process went, and also thought through anything that stood out about the process of questioning. This allowed for reflection on any

potential need to shift or change the interview protocol depending on responses from participants.

As a part of recruitment, each participant was sent a list of the questions to prepare for the interview, if they chose to do so. Some participants referenced this list and talked about having taken notes before the interview itself. I reflected on being unsure if offering the questions before the interview occurred was a good idea or not. Part of the reasoning on why it may have been a problem were that participants would answer later questions earlier, creating a logistical challenge with my note taking.

Reflections on the process included my noticing that many of the sub questions (typically used as reminders and notes for me to probe more directly if certain topics came up) were being answered without needing to be asked. A part of noticing this also led to a reflection that some of the participants seemed to have a very similar set of beliefs and experiences regarding intersectional oppression theory and direct service work, which seemed to help in establishing a natural rapport.

Several participants talked beyond the scope of evaluation, which added an interdisciplinary feel to several interviews, which I appreciated. As a part of this, some participants provided information on research and knowledge from different fields, and I asked questions beyond the interview protocol out of this curiosity. I also noted that when writing up findings, it would be necessary to investigate these topics more fully.

Some participants engaged in answering questions in more of a storytelling style, which were fascinating to me on one hand, and challenging on another, as these stories tended to meander into things that seemed irrelevant at the time. Some interviews were noted to be more

conversational, with more back and forth questioning, which also seemed to be a place of building rapport.

As some participants only allowed for one hour of interviewing (the recruitment asked for 90-minute interviews), in those cases, I reflected on struggling to determine which questions to prioritize, and which to rely on other participant responses. This also led to a reflection on my urge to rush participants, but also an intentional effort to remain patient and allow the responses to flow organically.

One participant seemed particularly guarded, and I noted that, and that this guardedness was experienced through very short, concise answers to questions. In noticing this early on in the interview, I leaned in to answers that I aligned with, which seemed to lead to the participant talking more in answering questions as the interview proceeded.

Challenges Observed for Participants and How Challenges were noticed

In reflecting on the process, one participant seemed to repeat answers provided to previous questions, which led to me intentionally asking some of the sub questions instead to draw out different information. I also mused that some participants may have been expressing discomfort through repeating questions, hesitating, or seeming to have difficulty answering certain questions.

I had a particular challenge in two areas with one participant, where I had to reflect on his biases. The first was when the participant mentioned being vegan as a form of discrimination. In the journaling, I noted that the participant seemed to mention that in a dismissive way, yet also seemed passionate about it. This participant also brought up facing discrimination due to his identity as a White male, and I reflected on my personal belief that a majority of numbers does not inherently indicate privilege. Both of those points of reflection caused me to think more fully

about the issues well before writing up findings or analysis, which was very useful for thinking through how to frame and understand those points.

I was able to notice when a participant was having a hard time keeping focused and, on each question, as it was asked, which I found amusing as I often struggle with the same challenge. As more participants were interviewed, this question led me to think about patterns, particularly where several participants would describe kyriarchy, yet had not heard of the concept.

Another bias that came up for this first question involved noticing that one participant seemed to exhibit responses that seemed aligned with “White feminism” that often exhibits a framing that is dismissive and marginalizing of nonwhite experiences and people. This reflection was tempered by recognizing that the participant had reflected upon personal histories of ignorance about various groups, which gave more of a context to those responses.

I noted that some participants made heavy sighs before answering some questions, particularly ones involving identifying privilege, which were potentially sources of discomfort, although also may have been points of deeper reflection for participants. One participant seemed to be particularly challenged by discussing white privilege, seeming possibly frustrated with White people as a whole. This participant ended up offering more detailed responses when asking about leveraging privilege and White roles and responsibilities to address marginalization and confront overt and covert racism.

When participants identified challenges I personally shared, this tended to lead to a more empathetic engagement. For example, when one participant brought up having ADHD, I also disclosed having ADHD, and when one participant mentioned the struggles of being a first-

generation graduate student, I had not fully reflected on that shared identity leading to a more supportive questioning dynamic.

Feelings that Manifested for the Participant Including Discomfort

Some of my reflections on potential discomfort were more speculative. For instance, when a participant backtracked when answering some questions, a seeming caution about responding, or what was noted as a “stilted response.” In one case, when a participant reporting having not experienced marginalization or oppression for being gay, in the journal, I noted being confused by that response, but intentionally not pressing as it seemed possible there was some discomfort in becoming vulnerable around that question.

When asking about the ways participants had experienced marginalization and oppression, I noticed that some participants were uncomfortable with the label yet responded to the question by reframing it. This was noted as something to include in the analysis and coding (which was done).

Some participants did not seem to feel uncomfortable at all, and simply told stories throughout, while others seemed more nostalgic when reflecting on their careers and experiences. Some seemed intrigued and rather engaged in the discussion, almost seeming excited to discuss some of the topics presented.

There were certain things that came up during interviews that I reflected on but were removed from analysis and findings due to the details being personally identifiable. Some of these things involved things of a political nature, and others had to do with the evaluation field specifically, so in reflection, I admitted not knowing how to respond to these intimate details other than to hold on to them for personal reflection.

One participant seemed to have self-esteem or self-confidence issues, which in the journaling form were reflected on as me offering validation and gratitude for certain stories, which seemed to increase rapport and reduce some of the self-confidence issues, but these may also have been reduced when I aligned over the topics the participant was self-conscious about.

In one interview, the participant directly challenged me over my positionality as a White male, which in reflection, I responded by validating the participant's challenge and verbalized appreciation for the challenge as a dynamic that we should be doing for each other as a part of interrogating ourselves and our privilege. This seemed to lead the participant to provide greater detail and analysis of concerns of White male evaluators.

Feelings that Came Up for Me during Interviews

Feelings of appreciation came out, particularly when participants responded in ways that I was interested in detailing and writing about, and when participants discussed the need for internal work and reflection as a part of the process.

When challenged by one participant, my reflection was on feeling conflicted – that there was a sense of acknowledging that the challenge is one that many people with positions of privilege become hostile or defensive over, and I could access and understand that response even though experience in self-interrogation tends to mitigate me having a hostile response. After that reflection, the emotional reflection was one of determination to continue to work on leveraging privilege as the challenge reinforced my perspectives on the importance of this work.

Anxiety over internet connection issues were noted in the journal, as well as respect for evaluators with decades of experience and their willingness to reflect on history and the development of the field. There was also a note of uncertainty with some of the responses from one participant, paired with concerns about elements that seemed tokenizing of nonwhite

people's roles and responsibilities. It made me reflect on confronting and intervening yet recognizing the inappropriateness of doing so in the context of the interview itself.

One reflection was on an initial lack of certainty for one participant that was recruited through seeing a presentation, mostly due to not remembering what the presentation was concerning, but then after the interview, I reflected on some small feelings of guilt for having doubted the participant as the information gleaned from the interview was quite illuminating.

Amusement was noted when participants had patterns and styles I could relate to, and notes indicated reflections on laughing during certain points of interviews due to this rapport. There was also mention of excitement over certain topics coming up, or in having aligned conversations with participants.

I noted some irritation over one participant I disagreed with during the interview, which led to self-reflection after the fact, and the utility of the information I disagreed with.

Components Leading to Questioning the Need to Reframe or Adjust Questioning

In reading through the journal responses to this question, the evolution of responses is more compelling than the answers themselves. Starting off with interviews, I noted the flow of questions seemed to lead to participants responding to some questions earlier than intended, but over time, I noted adjusting strategies to counter for this and other flow-based issues that came up. This seemed to assist with future interviews.

One question that I posed concerned the fact that so many participants described kyriarchy without knowing what it was, but in the end, I chose not to include an additional question, but instead include this as a larger part of my analysis.

Points and Reflections from Participants that Stuck in Investigator's Mind

There were several, all of which are noted both in the findings and analysis. However, in the journal, the specific notes, and the way these were noted include:

- Covert layers of support for oppression that operate in the minds of privileged people
- The element of privileged people being perceived as “more human” than marginalized people
- The savior complex being included in one interview
- Reflection on the No Child Left Behind Act
- That evaluation models are less important than using different components that make sense
- Leveraging partnerships and using subversion
- Evaluation often missing analysis of socioeconomic class
- A note that older evaluators seemed to be referencing race and gender that are outdated
- The element of social privileges, specifically connections to family
- Examples of hermeneutic injustice
- A broad perspective and questioning about marginalization
- Intercultural leadership references such as faultline theory, spillover, social identity salience, implicit leadership theory
- Comparisons to being White from a different country, and how that experience is different from White people from the USA without connection to another culture or country

- Emphasis on evaluation as a colonizing field
- Describing privilege as “negative space”
- The criminal justice system as a support of oppressive approaches
- Backgrounds of some participants in the Peace Corps and how that impacted their evaluation approaches
- The concept of refusing work as an element of privilege
- The specific metaphor of denying water doesn’t keep you from drowning to illustrate the futile nature of denying privilege
- Discussions on linguistic privilege

How I Responded to Member Checking

Many of the member checking documents received responses that were minimal, some with minor edits, some with direct acceptance. However, there were some that needed additional reflection.

One participant clarified a point that I misheard, and the mishearing created a completely different context. While the detail was insignificant, as it was about the participant’s background and was not included in the study itself, it led to reflection on how that might have turned out were it a bigger point and there was no member checking process.

Some participants responded to certain parts of their documents where they indicated they could not remember the contexts of certain quotes. When this happened, I listened to audio surrounding the quote and added additional details. This demonstrated a certain limitation to the way I conducted member checks, but the overall reduction in time it takes for participants to review, and the more active discussion over certain points seems to make this process worthwhile.

One participant added additional details to the point about feeling a sense of discrimination over being a vegan, and this caused further reflection on a topic I had already been thinking through and consulted others about. Some of the musings in the journal included trying to determine if it fit as a political/social identity, or a layer of ableism, or an element of religious/spiritual based issues, and also thinking through if I was diminishing this identity, and if this may be an indicator of a bias against dietary lifestyles. The journal entry ended by noting further contemplation was warranted.

One participant provided extensive edits to the member checking document. This assisted in understanding certain points better, particularly as this participant had engaged in storytelling, which made summarizing certain points more challenging. This led to reflection on approaches when writing up the findings and analysis, particularly around the specific details as compared to the broader information. In the end, the writing tended to go for broader information in most cases, but some of the dialogue with this participant involved navigating referencing specific colleagues, which seemed too revealing of this participant's identity.

During one member checking document, while the participant offered little to no feedback other than to accept it, a reflection noted in the journal was that while putting the member checking document together, I noticed that the participant offered few answers that were focused on themselves, but rather provided examples of others. This led to moving some information around in this participant's notes.

During reflection on one participant, I described my appreciation for the participant, but also noted that in future projects when doing member checking, it may be useful to ask participants if they had specific feedback for me, my process, and of their overall experience.

With one participant, the journal entry noted curiosity over the member checking process with the participant, but also reflected on direct concerns brought up by the participant when reviewing the member checking document. The curiosity was noted more about the reason behind the participant's concerns than anything else, and the emotional response noted beyond that was hard to identify. In the entry, I noted that the concerns were unwarranted, yet understandable, and led to some reflections for me on a point made by some participants about the stereotypes that have been encountered toward White cisgender males. Another reflection was that the participant bemoaned liberal responses that often ignore marginalized groups, and a wonder if the participant thought this might happen with this study.

In the end, with this participant, there was a need to negotiate what would and would not be used from the participant's interview, which was challenging, although I felt relief in the ability to use some of the participant's responses, which were valuable.

Trustworthiness & Auditability

Each participant was sent a deidentified summary of their interview where I went through the transcript and took responses to each question and typed them up in bullet points for the participant to review. Fifteen out of sixteen participants followed up by providing clarifications, removals of information, or edits of details within their document, although some participants simply noted that the summary was accurate.

These documents in turn were used to use direct quotes throughout this study on how participants thought through and responded to questions.

Credibility & Authenticity

This study set out with the goal of identifying a working definition of privilege that was derived from privileged and experienced White evaluators, with the theory that a purposive

sampling would allow me to choose specifically aligned evaluators, with experience in discussing and addressing cultural responsiveness, who would have the ability to speak to and reflect on their own privilege. By doing so, the theory was that dialogue would provide rich data on experiences of privilege that are not commonly found within evaluation scholarship.

By sorting participant responses to questions and thematically coding their participation, I was able to create a working definition solely based on the contributions of the sixteen participants. In addition, I was able to provide a specific and detailed explanation of how this definition was reached.

By asking paired questions about participant's positionalities both in privileged and in marginalized layers, I was able to access detailed reflections on the experiences of having privilege and access to power, and how such experiences impacted the professional work evaluators engage in. In addition, dialogue with participants allowed for the sharing of a multitude of strategies of engagement as well as consideration on ways of continuing to develop and add to evaluation scholarship by investigating both privilege and marginalization in a deeper, more meaningful way.

I maintained the following process for theming and coding the participant interview data:

1. Developed data sheet based on question sections in interview protocol that includes research question number and question.
2. Used a template, sorted by research question sections, to take live notes while participant answered questions, and engaged in dialogue between taking notes.
3. Added in codes/themes column to the data sheet and locked the first three columns for future use.

4. Populated sheet with data drawn from interview notes and inserted into sections by research question.
5. First run through of data, used data sheet to note various coded themes for each interview question by each participant, and adding notation when a theme was mirrored by another participant.
6. Exported themed information extracted from participant responses to a Word document in table format by research question.
7. Reviewed themes and sorted into codes within each theme and moved specific quotes to each code section.
8. Extracted data sorting into a codebook, used one example per code to condense codebook, and applied a definition of each code before the quoted example.

Investigator noted each step as it happened, and logged it into the data sheet, and revised if the process shifted for logistic reasons.

Dependability & Integrity

Using Zoom for participant interviews encountered some issues with internet quality, with some dropping out of participant's voice at certain points. When this occurred, the interviewer would wait for the connection to stabilize and either ask the question again or would summarize what was heard from the participant up to the point of losing connection and the participant would continue from that point.

One participant was unable to use Zoom, so accommodations were arranged to interview him over a phone call instead. This method of interviewing remained almost identical to the Zoom interviews, although there was no loss of internet quality.

Praxis / Social Change Transformational Validity

As far as the integrity of the data, Kvale (2006) cautions qualitative researchers to be wary of power dynamics within interviews, and for the purposes of this study, a few of the concerns need careful consideration within this analysis. Kvale's note that the interviewer rules the interview (p. 484) brings forward that due to me knowing the deeper purpose of the research, the ability to frame the questions, and that interviewer and interviewee are not equal partners are all true components of this study. To counter this particular concern, I worked to develop and pay attention to transparency of the process, the content, and the purpose of the study to all participants, however it is not entirely possible to disclose all the framing of the study, the analysis components used by me, or the complete background of my personal and professional experience enough to create an equal power dynamic on this level.

Kvale's concern of "the interviewer's monopoly of interpretation" (p. 485) also is a dynamic present in this study, where there could be potential for conflict between my interpretation of a participant's statements and the participant's intended meaning. This study used member checking as a critical component of the process, and several participants provided reframes of statements they made, clarifications to certain information, and some excised information they were either uncomfortable with, or were concerned it may compromise their anonymity. Kvale postulates that member checking has its limits, however, stating, "in practice, few interview researchers let their subjects have the final say on what to report and what interpretations to present in their dissertations" (p. 485), which is an accurate assessment of this study where participants were offered a final copy, but did not have access to the final work before its defense, nor did they have editing privileges.

Kvale references social science interviews as “in a critical social science, interviews may contribute to the empowerment of the oppressed... a key issue concerns who obtains access and who has the power and resources to act on and consume what the multiple interview voices tell the interviewing stranger” (p. 497). In acknowledgement of this concern, each participant who was involved in this study will receive a copy of the study, and as the findings involve many direct quotes from the sixteen participants, anyone who reads the study will have an opportunity to make their own interpretations of the findings, although I ultimately was responsible for sorting and organizing the data in ways that may not be linear to the interviews themselves.

Procedure

Interview participants were recruited via purposive sampling in April 2022. I emailed each participant with a request to participate that included information on the confidentiality and process of the study, and a copy of the interview protocol. Up to three recruitment emails were sent, and 76.7% (23) replied to either accept or decline the invitation.

When an individual agreed to participate, they were emailed an informed consent containing all the information about the study, their confidentiality, and the security of their data, and were also provided with a link to a Qualtrics survey to collect basic demographic data and be routed to scheduling software to find an interview time.

I conducted interviews that spanned between 60–90 minutes via teleconferencing on Zoom (one participant opted to be interviewed via a phone call), and Otter.ai was used for recordings and transcripts. All data was securely stored on Box.com (2016) which reports that, “every file is encrypted using AES 256-bit encryption in diverse locations” (para. 1).

Interview subjects each received a member checking document of their interview that outlined direct quotes, summaries, and their responses to each question in the interview.

Participants then provided feedback and clarifications via in-line edits to improve the accuracy and confidentiality of the data. I also utilized checking-in and paraphrasing strategies during the interview itself to clarify and/or encourage additional reflection.

Data Analysis Procedures

As a part of a phenomenological study, I journaled personal perspectives and responses to interviews and member checking and used these reflections to begin thinking through the theming of data. I also conducted critical review and updates of potential themes as more interviews were conducted.

After all interviews were complete, I used a constant comparative method (CCM) to compare participant responses to each other by research question, and on occasion between research questions coming from the interview protocol. Boeije (2002) describes, “by comparing, the research is able to do what is necessary to develop a theory more or less inductively, namely categorizing, coding, delineating categories and connecting them... in this way it is possible to answer questions that have arisen from the analysis of and reflection on previous data” (p. 393).

In using CCM, I processed each participant’s responses as a whole, making comparisons between their responses and how their thinking flowed through their answers. I also thought through how similar responses and similar situations for participants might connect to the questions and their responses to them and considered how each interview protocol question may have had similar and dissimilar responses and what those connections or disconnections might mean for answering the research questions. This process involved how I found themes, then separated specific responses within themes into codes, and how I moved categorizations around as I analyzed and sorted responses and aligned beliefs and thoughts expressed by participants.

The codebook was used to organize chapter five in reporting out the results of the study by research question, and when writing the findings, some of the categories I had previously organized within the codebook changed as I noticed that they fit better in a different overall theme, or were better examples of a code found elsewhere in the codebook.

Ethical Considerations

This study was submitted to the Institutional Review Board (IRB) for approval (see Appendix A). As some of the evaluators in this purposive sample are well known within the evaluation community, all interviews and quotes were deidentified prior to reporting and member checking. Box.com was used for data storage as their security standards are high.

Assumptions, Limitations, Delimitations

Assumptions

It is generally assumed that participants in this study are being authentic in their responses to the questions and are providing their reflections on both personal and professional levels that demonstrate both mindfulness to the questions, and within any organic flow of the dialogue with me. Within interviews with White evaluators, it is assumed that these individuals have some degree of insight into how their status and identity of their race have an impact within their lives and upon stakeholders during evaluation work. It is also assumed that some of the questions to be posed will create discomfort, but that the participants will be able to navigate the discussions in ways that will bring greater understanding to how to improve evaluator self-reflection and utilization of privilege in ways that empower marginalized groups.

At the same time, it is assumed that some participants may not have reflected upon intersectionality in ways that provide in-depth responses to working definitions or conceptual frameworks that are a part of the purpose for qualitative data collection. The assumption is that

through gathering connected threads within participant dialogues, a greater whole of responses to the research questions will manifest in ways that offer unique and operational analysis of the phenomenon of privilege.

Qualitative research and analysis are assumed to be the best methodological approach to draw out beliefs, attitudes, perspectives, and experiences, and further that within the number of research participants there will be triangulation of themes that will provide greater insight into the research questions.

It is further assumed that individual interviews will provide a greater degree of comfort in how individuals express their experiences and beliefs about their privilege and how it exists within their practice.

Oppression as a societal norm is assumed to be valid and true, and experiences of marginalization are also assumed to be valid and true. Assumptions made about which groups have societal and cultural dominance, while made through review of various scholarly literature, are assumed to be accurately identifying powerful and privileged groupings.

Intersectional oppression theory is assumed to be the best manner in which to analyze both marginalization and privilege and focusing on White evaluators is assumed to enhance a common area where the participants experience privilege as a way to explore how this privilege manifests and may be utilized in healthy and respectful ways.

The dearth in evaluation literature on the topic of intersectionality is assumed to be accurate, and the research conducted by the author is assumed to be comprehensive and dynamic in nature on these topics.

Limitations

Limitations to this study include, but are not limited to:

- Purposive sampling will not be generalizable to the population of evaluators;
- A focus on White evaluators will potentially limit understanding of privilege and intersectionality from nonwhite evaluators; and,
- A phenomenological study will necessitate an interpretation of data from my personal perspective, which may involve analysis that is informed by my biases

During participant interviews, several participants expressed discomfort at identifying their experiences of harm, and of layers of marginalization, by using the terms “oppression” or “marginalization” which may indicate that there were ways that participants minimized their experiences or feared vulnerability at discussing this topic overall. While there is some importance in analyzing the presence of discomfort, particularly as this was not observed in reports of privileged layers of identity, this hesitation may indicate that there are elements to the discussion of marginalized experiences that are missing from participant’s contexts of understanding.

Since implicit bias is unconscious and difficult, if not impossible, to fully recognize and engage in self-reflection, it is possible that interview subjects will not be able to reflect on certain dynamics that may exist within their evaluation practice. This may have presented a limitation on the identification of themes and analysis of the data overall, as there is little to no ability to assess if individual participants are offering truthful or accurate information on their perspectives and experiences.

Since interviews were conducted over teleconferencing or videoconferencing, the lack of physical presence may have impacted the interactional dynamics between myself and the participants. Individual interviews, as opposed to focus group discussions, may have limitations as the dialogue is only between the interviewer and subject and may miss opportunities for engagement and conversation over shared experiences. In addition, technological barriers may manifest in ways that may interrupt, skew, or otherwise alter the interview experience, audio recordings, and transcription.

While this study follows a specific analysis of white privilege, other layers of privilege and marginalization may exist that create barriers to interactions between the interviewer and subjects. One example of this, which is highlighted within the analysis, is the positionality of myself as the interviewer as male and how that might have impacted responses from female participants.

Delimitations

Delimitations of this study include, but are not limited to:

- Exploring and identifying a working definition of privilege;
- Investigating how White evaluators perceive their personal and professional privilege;
- Inquiring how and in what ways White evaluators experience marginalization and oppression;
- Exploring how evaluators perceive their role in empowering marginalized groups and individuals as a part of their work;

- Reflection on systemic barriers to empowerment of marginalized groups and individuals as well as ways in which evaluation plays a role within those barriers;
- Hermeneutical phenomenological research that emphasizes researcher reflection and interpretation as a part of the process;
- Use of the DATA Model (Peters, 1991) to structure interview protocol;
- Use of Zoom for teleconferencing and Otter.ai for audio recording and transcripts; and,
- Use of Box.com for data security and integrity.

By controlling for experiences of racism and focusing on White evaluators and their experiences of privilege within their racial identities, there is more opportunity to keep themes focused on ways that will more fully address the research questions. By using remote interviewing, scheduling of meetings will be more convenient to both the interviewer and subjects and travel needs will be reduced.

Summary

In this study, I utilized a qualitative phenomenological design to investigate definitions and lived experiences of privilege within experienced White evaluators. These evaluators had professional experience specifically related to investigating marginalization, social justice, or utilized culturally responsive evaluation approaches. I constructed protocol questions through inspiration of the DATA Model of reflective practice (Peters, 1991), and a series of journaling that documents my perspective and interpretative process along the course of the research. Final analysis involved a CCM of thinking through, analyzing, theming, and coding of the data, along with critical reorganizing and reassessment of codes as the data was analyzed.

CHAPTER V: FINDINGS

Introduction

Program Evaluation scholarship currently has few references that discuss, identify, or attempt to navigate the topic of privilege within an intersectional oppression framework. Without a working definition of privilege in the field, there are missed opportunities to advance discourse and research that may better address challenges and issues caused due to marginalization and oppression within communities that are often the focus of evaluation work.

This study works to add to the field by both bringing in research and knowledge from other fields of study on the topic of privilege, and also utilizes the experiences and understanding of experienced White evaluators in the field of program evaluation. By using a purposive sample of White evaluators, this allows conversations to be both reflective on the field and on personal experiences of having white privilege within the societies in which participants operate. This reflection provides illustration of how individuals navigate their privilege, as well as conscious thinking on potential methods of addressing and interrogating that privilege within their work as evaluators.

Over four research questions, the collected data from interview participants uses a phenomenological methodology to analyze lived experiences and opinions to explore privilege on several layers. This chapter reviews participant background and demographics, summarizes conducted interviews, and explores themes that manifested after reviewing all the collected data.

Pseudonyms and Brief Information on Participants

Initially, when going through the findings, I struggled to maintain a balance of data reporting and humanizing of the individuals whose generous contributions were represented by the data itself. Through feedback and reflection, it was apparent that completely divorcing the

quotes and perspectives from the voice they belonged to was a mistake, and distanced the data from the humanity behind it. Therefore, the following table offers brief backgrounds for each participant, and the findings are compiled by theme as well as through the specific contributions of the sixteen participants in this study.

Table 4. Participant Pseudonyms and Backgrounds

Pseudonym	Professional Background	Location	Brief Description
Andrew	Educational evaluation focused	Outside USA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education sector • 45-54 years old • 20-25 years evaluation experience
Barry	Capacity building and teaching evaluation	USA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education sector • 35-44 years old • 10-15 years evaluation experience
Carl	Philanthropy and varied evaluation contexts	USA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Independent evaluation consultant • 55-64 years old • 25+ years evaluation experience
Deborah	Education systems, qualitative methodologies	USA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education sector • 35-44 years old • Approximately ten years evaluation experience
Eugene	Traditional research methods and evaluation, mostly external-based	USA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education and governmental-focused evaluation • 55-64 years old • 25+ years evaluation experience
Florence	Academic: Teaching evaluation, guiding fieldwork for students	USA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education sector • 65-74 years old • 25+ years evaluation experience
Gloria	General evaluation consulting with and interest in leadership dynamics	USA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Private sector • 45-54 years old • 20-25 years evaluation experience

Pseudonym	Professional Background	Location	Brief Description
Gloria	General evaluation consulting with and interest in leadership dynamics	USA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Private sector • 45-54 years old • 20-25 years evaluation experience
Harold	Research on evaluation and evaluation scholarship	USA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education sector • 35-44 years old • 16-20 years evaluation experience
Iris	Teaches evaluation and community service	USA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education sector • 55-64 years old • 25+ years evaluation experience
Jane	Culturally Response Evaluation and human services agency applications of evaluation	USA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Private sector • 25-34 years old • Approximately ten years of evaluation experience
Kenneth	Educational program evaluation	USA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Retired education sector • 75-84 years old • 25+ years evaluation experience
Larry	Evaluation of interventions and community engaged evaluation work	USA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Medical sector • 45-54 years old • Approximately ten years of evaluation experience
Mary	Methods of pushing back on systems and social betterment in evaluation	USA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education sector • 55-64 years old • 20-25 years evaluation experience
Nancy	Teaching and conducting research on evaluation methods	USA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education sector • 45-54 years old • Approximately ten years of evaluation experience

Pseudonym	Professional Background	Location	Brief Description
Olivia	Social justice focused, teaching evaluation	Outside USA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education & private sectors • 55-64 years old • 10-15 years evaluation experience
Penny	Training students on evaluation and research methods	USA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education sector • 35-44 years old • 10-15 years evaluation experience

Results

In this section, detailed results for each research question are offered through the perspectives of research participants as they navigated dialogue with me over the research questions and how these questions applied within their experiences both personally and professionally.

Research Question One

RQ1: How and in what ways do experienced White evaluators define and understand the concept of “privilege”?

In exploring this research question, participants were asked to define “privilege” and explain how they came to this understanding. In further exploring the concept, participants were also asked to consider the ways in which they identified privilege in their personal lives and histories. In discussing definitions, participants offered the following categories of understanding in Table 5.

Table 5. Research Question One Section Descriptions

<i>Components of How Participants Understand Privilege</i>	<i>Descriptions of this Component as Described by Participants</i>
The Unearned Nature of Privilege	Participants describe their understanding of privilege as being a phenomenon where the advantages behind it are not earned by the individual but rather the privilege is granted via societal status quos.
Privilege Features Access, Advantages, and Entitlement	When describing the phenomenon of privilege, participants detailed the ways that layers of privilege provide access to others with the same layer of identity, advantages over those who lack that layer of identity, and ways that certain privileged identities feature a sense of being entitled to treatment by others who lack that layer of identity.
Privilege Creates Shared Identities with Aligned Layers of Positionality	Within each privileged positionality, there are shared identities that each individual holds that create a commonality with anyone else who holds that same layer of privilege.
Privileged Identities are Ignorant to the Experiences and Perspectives of those they Marginalize	On each privileged positionality, there is a failure to recognize, acknowledge, or understand the lives of those whom that privilege may marginalize. While a privileged layer of identity may gain this understanding, it takes specific effort to gain this knowledge.
Privilege is Built Over Time	Historical events and societal support within status quos and hoarding of power inform how privilege is developed.
Privilege is Not Inherently Negative or Toxic	In discussing privilege, several participants stressed that privilege itself is not inherently problematic, and it has more to do with how an individual chooses to utilize that privilege in their lives and interactions with others that determines whether it is healthy or toxic in nature.
Recognizing Positive Media Influences, Reflective Practices, and Developing Empathy & Understanding Are Helpful for Identifying Personal Layers of Privilege	Participants offered specific reflections on how they each became aware of the layers of privilege in their lives, developing a growing personal understanding of their layers of positionality and how they intersect with other layers within themselves and others.

<i>Privileged Positionalities Identified by Participants</i>	<i>Details Provided About this Layer of Privilege</i>
Economic and Educational Privilege	Classism is a form of oppression where individuals and groups have an elevated status due to monetary resources and formalized learning experiences. This layer of privilege can be complicated by having an element wherein individuals gain this status over time.
English Language and Linguistic Privilege	Some participants identified the manner in which the English language dominates positions of power throughout the world in various ways. The lingua franca provides privileged advantages in several ways both in the USA and beyond.
Racial Privilege of White Identity	White racial identity is privileged within the USA, with several historical and political dynamics that have built up throughout the nation's history. This layer of privilege has several status quo norms that are both covert and overt in nature. Participants discussed the privileges they understand that they have access to through their White positionality.
Social Based Privileges	In discussing elements of privileged identities each participant held, some discussed advantages gained through various social skills and connections they have in their lives that offer advantages in ways that impact their lives and those whom they are connected to.
Other Positional Privileges	Categorically, when participants named off different layers of positionality, they held that were privileged, some they did not offer detailed examples yet stated they understood these positions offered societal advantages. This section also discussed some modifiers of privilege (lookism), and how having multiple privileged identities play overall.
Caveats of Privilege	Privileged identities are not necessarily simple or straightforward, and participants discussed some of these complications by considering how some individuals have a tenuous grasp on some layers of their privilege, there are places where privilege may be variable based on the identity that is more prominent, and that concepts behind equality may involve everyone having access to the advantages offered by privilege.

The Unearned Nature of Privilege

When asked to define privilege, some participants began describing their understanding by discussing how privilege is an unearned benefit that others do not have access to. The idea behind unearned privilege is that there is nothing that an individual or group has achieved to accomplish the elevated value of their positionality, but that the privilege is oriented to a societal status quo and in some cases dominance in some economic, political, or social manner. Barry began thinking through his response to defining privilege soon after being recruited into the study, and during his interview stated that,

privilege is an unearned benefit that accrues to someone as a result of some societal structure, situation, [or] system in most cases. There's something out there that confers this unearned benefit, unearned advantage to someone who has privilege that then makes things in various ways shapes and forms, I would say, easier for them. There's all sorts of systems and structures that grant this privilege, but I do believe that many of them have to do with one's positionality, one's identity, and one's interlocking identities in society.

Barry further described these unearned benefits lead to experiences of elevated status or dominance in society and are,

afforded to people because they are a member of a dominant group in society. The idea of privilege comes out of the fact that we live in a society that is structured by inequities and hierarchies and so the hierarchies are set up so that one group in society is oppressed, and another group is privileged, those go together... privilege is both a result of systems of oppression but also as maintaining and perpetuating oppressive systems.

Privilege Features Access, Advantages, and Entitlement

In defining privilege, part of the discussion offered by participants focused on how privilege becomes a part of a “default,” “norm,” or “status quo” in society that provides exclusive advantages, access and a sense of entitlement. This is in comparison to marginalized individuals and groups who neither have access to, nor advantages from their layer of positionality that is marginalized. Nancy initially described that there are many layers to thinking through privilege, and when discussing these layers remarked that,

people who are a member of a dominant group are seen as more fully human... there's a dehumanization that comes with oppression. If you are a member of a dominant group, you are treated with a kind of empathy and compassion... and are the group that is normalized or held up as the default against which other groups are measured. By normalizing a privileged group, it creates deficit perspectives and othering and marginalization of other groups.

Olivia used her understanding of “social capital” when defining privilege and defined privilege as, “having the means and the knowledge and the language and the ability and the platform and the voice to express and have my voice and my perspectives heard.”

Colloquialisms were used by participants to describe privilege such as, “privilege smooths the road,” or “privilege makes the ball bounce in your direction” which were used to describe the idea of privilege offering everyday life advantages and access to opportunities. Gloria reflected that when you have privilege “you sort of get a pass, or at least you don't get a barrier.”

An advantage Nancy discussed during her interview involved what it means to be in a dominant group by stating, “people who are in dominant groups are given the benefit of the

doubt and have greater physical safety.” Gloria spoke similarly to this point and included that, “having privilege means you do not need to prove many things others may not be able to prove or demonstrate.”

Some of these perceived advantages may lead to feelings of entitlement for dominant groups, with Gloria adding to her response that “people may assume you are better than you are,” and Nancy described systemic entitlement by discussing how there is “intentionally set up systematic dominance of one group over others. Society is set up with hierarchies and inequities to provide privilege to certain groups.”

Mary described this as privileged individuals having “special rights” and that this systematic advantage sets up “an edge or preference to a group or individual based on preferential characteristics that people may presume is deserved.” In a similar vein, Eugene stated there is an advantage to having “the luxury to be able to be in certain spaces, to do certain kinds of work, to be taken seriously and to be heard.”

Privilege Creates Shared Identities with Aligned Layers of Positionality

As there are a vast number of different kinds of privilege that exist on different layers of positionality, each distinct privileged position has its own identity elements associated with it. For example, within the layer of nationality, being a citizen of the United States of America has various identity components that could be considered to be stereotypes that exist within dominant status quos such as speaking English, enjoying American football, having icons such as the Statue of Liberty or the USA flag, or other identity traits and associations.

Participants directly identified intersectionality in their responses to defining privilege, with Barry describing “there are all sorts of different systems and structures that grant this privilege, but I do believe that many of them have to do with one’s positionality, one’s identity,

and one's interlocking identities" and "when defining privilege, there are several examples of the layers of identity that have privilege." Deborah described these layers of privilege by stating,

I see it tied to many different aspects to who one is, as well as circumstances in which they are in. So, in terms of circumstantial different experiences or identities or aspects of who you are can have different levels of power or influence or benefit... these are certainly around gender, and racial, and class linguistic identities or qualities, and there are kind of more circumstantial ones based on regionality or other things. I think of it in an expansive way in some regards... sometimes depending on the space I am in, I'm very much aware of a particular dimension of my privilege whether it's my racial privilege or my class privilege.

References were made to societal definitions of privilege, with Gloria referencing "implicit leadership theory," a concept developed by Eden & Leviatan (1975) to describe "preconceptions about the patterning of leadership variables" (p. 736). Gloria stated that the theory applies to privilege in that, "the notion is that some people are just assumed to be leaders based on their social identity, and other people are not." People who are assumed to be leaders are, according to Gloria, able to "get away with more."

Privileged Identities are Ignorant to the Experiences and Perspectives of those they Marginalize

Within privileged positionalities, there is a certain lack of understanding or complete ignorance of perspectives and experiences within those layers of positionality that are marginalized by this privilege. For example, men may not understand certain experiences of women including gynecological issues, the way men often sexualize girls at a young age, or

perspectives on sexual harassment or harms men tend not to experience on the same level or frequency.

In talking about the inability or unwillingness for privileged positionalities to notice the experiences and perspectives of marginalized groups or individuals, Florence described this phenomenon as “primarily what I don’t have to worry about. It’s like the negative space to me.” A paired example provided on the concept of “negative space” involved Florence describing “the epitome of privilege is not having to look at the sticker price of an item that’s on your list when you put it in the shopping cart... it’s something I don’t have to worry about.”

Other references to the unrecognized advantages conferred on privileged experiences and perspectives included:

- Larry stating, “I would say privilege is really being oblivious to all the challenges other people have and not even recognizing that people don’t have the same access and abilities you have.”
- Nancy described that, “typically, privilege is people are unaware, at least initially, of having privilege. There’s a sense of feeling entitled to these benefits and the power people enjoy as a part of a dominant group and not always able to see the privilege is there, so there’s like an invisible aspect to it unless work is done to make it visible.”
- A few participants referenced McIntosh’s (1988) “invisible knapsack” conceptualization of privilege where she states, “white privilege is like an invisible weightless knapsack of special provisions, assurances, tools, maps, guides, codebooks, passports, visas, clothes, compass, emergency gear, and blank checks” (paragraph 4).

Iris spent time associating privilege with ignorance, both identifying personal history and perspectives as being ignorant, but also ignorant about microaggressions and other forms of oppressive interactions with marginalized groups and individuals. She stated, “growing up where literally, we never talked about racism or anything. I was very ignorant, very ignorant... I came out of ignorance and had to read and understand... but then I see it around me.”

Harold reflected on returning home after several years and stated, “over the years, how much of this stuff has been right in front of me and either I didn’t see it, or I didn’t want to see it, or I wasn’t mature enough to understand what I was looking at. I think going back to a place where you were raised as an adult kind of forces you to think about these things.”

Privilege is Built Over Time

Participants framed privilege within the confines of historical developments and patterns. Dialogue over these societal evolutions mostly centered on the evaluation field, however references to history were made throughout participant interviews.

Privilege is directly connected to traditions, patterns, and events that exist in the past and may continue to manifest into the present day. This could involve the foundation of certain trends and accepted norms within society, such as the tradition of escalating power and authority for law enforcement officers (Katel, 2014) which in turn tend to ignore the experiences of marginalized individuals and communities (Headley, 1983).

When framing definitions on privilege, some participants used historical references to assist in understanding the dynamics surrounding privilege. As the context of these interviews were tied to discussing evaluation research, highlighting the specific history within the field was important for some participants. Carl stressed that the field of evaluation needs to be conscious of how the historical foundations of the field impacts the present day, stating,

within this context, there is and has been historically within evaluation, particularly a White male privilege in the field, particularly from its academic roots, probably from the consulting roots... so I think of it as the variety of opportunity and access, influence and leverage that I could have as a White person or as a White male... there is just an enormous leg up that certainly being a White male has in this field. And even as the field has diversified this, I can see that it has remained.

Kenneth, who reflected upon the evolution of the evaluation field since the 1960's, talked about the term "privilege" being more recent in societal use to discuss equality and inequality.

How I've experience with inequality is you've got gender inequality, the field started out entirely men in evaluation itself... so women came on to the field and I remember that happening. Then you have race of course, which is very striking... Social class perspective is what most people in evaluation do not have. They have a race perspective; they have a gender perspective. So, I have thought issues through thinking about poor White kids as well as poor Black kids.

Privilege is Not Inherently Negative or Toxic

As all participants in this study identified within various layers of positional privilege, some of the dialogue centered around how merely holding a privileged positionality did not mean an individual was toxic in their lives, but rather that the contexts in how privilege is used can make a difference that may potentially be healthy or beneficial to others.

Privilege contains various contexts that can complicate its analysis and manifestation, and some of the contexts discussed by participants included the impact and intent behind its use, the

broader impacts of conflicts with societal status quos, and elements such as how regional differences may impact certain ways privilege is experienced.

Some participants provided nuanced discussion of privilege to include the manner in which the concepts of privilege can have positive and/or neutral elements and attributed these perspectives as being a part of how definitions of privilege are constantly evolving. Harold explained that,

in and of itself, [privilege] doesn't lead to an effect unless someone uses it. And I think that's where privilege translates into power or authority, is the using or the leveraging of that privilege. So, I think about privilege as an antecedent, as an existing condition and then the way that you use it leads it to being an authority, power, and if you use it for other people's benefit, that's one kind. If you use it for your own, that could be okay too, but do it wisely and not just kind of going on autopilot, which is, unfortunately, a lot of people do that.

Jane provided a similar analysis, describing that another element of privilege is how those with privilege may have side effects to their positionality.

It depends on how we hold that yardstick, there's a lot of different things that people can benefit off, but there are huge advantages to being White and male in this society in America... and I think that depends on the lens that you look at it through because we've also socialized White male, heterosexual men to only be able to feel certain emotions, to not be able to feel a full range of emotions, to suppress their feelings, and that isn't a privilege... so it's constantly evolving and really trying to hold the ways society has conditioned us, and what we consider to be beneficial and not.

Eugene cautioned that reflecting on privilege can be complicated, and the way that reflection is framed makes a difference.

Just tuning in to my own internal sort of very over-learned expectations and assumptions is really a very important thing, because it's how I then am able to sort of slow down and say I really need to understand what this person is doing, what they know that I don't know, how they view things. That's sort of a sideways answer, but it sort of gets at the issue of I don't like some of the terms in the field like 'check your privilege.' To me, that doesn't always mean a lot and sometimes invokes a certain amount of reactivity, like a push back almost like an internal kind of thing. But the reality is intense, and it's there, and there's a need to be persistently mindful of where I'm coming from and how I have all these sorts of good fortune and/or unearned resources.

Considering how people view privilege within groups can be important for greater analysis. A reference to "Faultline Theory" and how it fits into oppression analysis was important for Gloria in understanding and defining privilege.

Faultline theory is the notion that organizations, that you have factions of social identity, you're more likely to have conflict between people who are more in line with Implicit Leadership Theory are going to get away with more... The more there are groups that are similar within a group around social identity then they're more likely to be a stronger faultline. So if it's all White women who are from the region in one group, and it's all Hispanic men that are not from the region in another group there are more difference involved, so there's more likelihood that there will be conflict between these groups because there's more likeliness that

they have assumptions about each other, and they have differences with each other.

Deborah described how location is sometimes a piece of the puzzle behind how privilege works in different contexts. There are different social groupings in different countries, and there are also varying societal dynamics within different regions of countries, cities, and neighborhoods.

There are more circumstantial ones based on regionality or other things – I think I think about it in an expansive way in some regards because I’ve done so much international cross-cultural work in terms of research and program development. But you know, sometimes depending on the space I am in, I’m very much aware of a particular dimension of my privilege, whether it’s my racial privilege or my class privilege.

Recognizing Positive Media Influences, Reflective Practices, and Developing Empathy & Understanding Are Helpful for Identifying Personal Layers of Privilege

In asking participants how they became aware of their privileged positionalities, they offered several suggestions to others while reflecting on methods of accessing knowledge and understanding of the impacts their privilege had on others and themselves. Serving as a source of reflection, analysis, and reflection, participant’s White racial identity allowed some common themes of learning about and working to understand how their lives were privileged over others. While there are variations on racial privilege in different parts of the world, within the United States of America, White racial positionality holds to several advantages within societal status quos. As such, all participants discussed how their identity of being White fit into their analysis of personal and professional experiences.

White privilege, specifically, was a topic of conversation for all participants in different ways as each navigated the questions. Carl identified the role his White positionality played as a part in his privilege in several ways.

There has been historically within evaluation particularly a White male privilege in this field... so I think of it as the variety of opportunity and access, influence and leverage that I could have as a White person or as a White male... there is just an enormous leg up that certainly being a White male had in this field, even as the field as diversified, I can see that it has remained. I have been afforded more opportunity than certainly my female colleagues... I put that down to just an incredible amount... of opportunity and privilege, working in a profession that has a reputation for its intellectualness. It was easier to navigate as a male, and certainly easier to navigate as a White male in lots of different ways that just sort of contributed to many of the things that happened in my career.

Mary found great value in DiAngelo's (2018) work on "White fragility," both using the book to inform herself and also to think through methods of working to raise awareness for other White people in her life.

DiAngelo is helpful and she [is] accessible to white people, and sometimes people hear things differently, and she is more palatable. I think sometimes, white people need to hear things from other white people. When I would do workshops in workplaces, and it would be on culture, and the use of the term culture or diversity, the white people... would assume that it wasn't about them or for them, and it's like everybody has culture. Let's talk about culture. Let's talk about culture, let's talk about diversity. Let's create.

Media influences were big sources of learning and being exposed to concepts of privilege, opening up some participant's perspectives and abilities to work on increasing their ability to be influenced by evaluators of color. In discussing his media influences, Barry described,

one of the earliest [influences] may have been Francesca Ramsey from MTV, she used to do these little cool videos to explain hard to explain concepts such as race and racism, I may have learned it from her... but then had that corroborated through other blogs on whiteness. In that time learning from some people in the field of evaluation about privilege and some of these concepts, so I would name for instance, Ayesha Rios, Ayesha Boyce, Vidhya Shanker, and others. So by reading EvalTalk, when it existed in its earlier form, and learning from especially women of color evaluators who are doing the unpaid labor to try and educate other people like white men about some of these concepts.

Previously, Deborah mentioned that there are regional differences in privilege that make a difference in the context of how certain advantages play out. Penny, who had immigration experiences with family who are White, explained the immigrant White experience as being different in context within the United States.

Pretty early on I stated to understand that there were some really significant differences between my experience in the states and my experience in [my family's home country]. And so, I think for me that started... even though I'm White, I don't share a culture, the same culture as all White people, right? I don't have the same cultural heritage as all White people... there was something about those experiences that alerted me to the ways in which there are differences in the

world, there were different ways to think about things... there's a part of my identity, it's part of my experience, it's part of cultural.

Several participants brought forward reflective practices as being critical to understanding and identifying personal positionality and privilege. While there are several models of reflective practice, participants did not name any specific form of reflective practice, but rather spoke of it in a more general sense.

Schön (1983) discusses two broad categories of reflective practice that explore how individuals can conduct reflection-in-action as well as reflection-on-action that involve a process of considering experiences and perspectives in the moment, and when thinking back after an event has occurred.

Nancy stated, "the ways systems of oppression operate within our own minds, we're socialized into oppressive systems, and so that responsibility for critical self-reflection and developing critical consciousness... and that personal work, that's necessary in order to be able to do professional work."

While noting the power of using reflective practice, Harold cautioned, I'm less and less convinced that a person can learn to do reflective practice by themselves. I think this is one of those areas where I think we can take a lot of inspiration from counseling and social work because if I just sit down and reflect and reflect and reflect, and that's good for what it is. But there's no one to challenge my thoughts, or someone to say hey, you may be misinterpreting this idea here.

Harold emphasized that a part of reflective practice necessitates outside work and guidance, where he said,

I think good evaluators need mentors, and evaluator educators, people like me, also need mentors - people who can hold us accountable for the things we think and do in the same way we try to hold our programs accountable for the things that they think and do as well.

When discussing the role of mentorship, Penny talked about having mentors both from colleagues, but also from working with youth and emerging evaluators by learning from their experiences,

coming at privilege in a different way than I had, like I had thought about privilege and gender, race, ethnicity, you know those kinds of things but never from a youth / young people perspective. So, that really helped shaped my thinking around that, but I worked... with young and emerging evaluators from all over the globe who were living very different lives than me and having different experiences. They weren't just my colleagues; they were my friends... I feel like I have a lot to learn about a lot of things, and I'm really grateful for the mentors along the way who helped me learn and understand and helped me think about things in a different way or reframe them in a different way.

These comparisons to other's experiences also were discussed as being helpful in identifying personal privilege. In reflecting on childhood experiences, Deborah stated when working in an impoverished country outside of the USA,

I didn't really have a lot of reflectivity about my racial identity... then in slowly starting to work with different communities in different places made me think of and reflect differently on my childhood and a more colorblind ideology that I was raised with. The work I do now consistently challenges me in how I understand

race, and how I understand my privilege, and how I understand the ideas I come to, or the reactions I have to different social issues. It's kind of a constant internal dialogue, sometimes an external dialogue with other people.

Jane's early career experience also assisted with her learning about and understanding privilege.

When I was in AmeriCorps, that was really some of my most lived experience learning where I really came up against [privilege] early in my career... I came up against it first with race and white privilege and started to unpack all the different intersections of my privilege. I really understood systemic racism, and ancestral privilege, and what I've been born into, and socioeconomic status and all of that – I think there was just such a disparity in the work I was doing in [impoverished Black community]... and seeing what those different families were experiencing and the amount of injustices, and basically all the different contextual factors that really led to that, and environmental factors and understanding that through experience through story, through research, but really through lived experience [in visiting] one of the most concentrated poverty regions in the country and what's happened there... then I had to unpack it, and then I came into knowing the most theoretical and research around privilege later.

Media influence was also a way several participants recalled as being helpful in learning about privilege, with Harold recalling that,

it wasn't until later high school, early college, or even grad school that I realized [that] I'm really fortunate in a lot of ways and it's up to me to decide how to use whatever fortune I have wisely, rather than [an] autopilot idea. I don't really have

a better definition than that, except it was probably cultivated and I probably have taken a lot of ideas and inspirations from books and other literary ideas and things that I've read.

Several participants referenced the murder of George Floyd, with Kenneth stating that his murder was an example of how racism is being actively recreated all the time and discussed how reflection within society was occurring prior to his murder even if that event heightened its discussion. Gloria referenced how events like Floyd's murder played into the concept of "spillover effects" in discussing privilege. In referencing this concept, Gloria stated,

there's a notion called spillover... if there's a certain identity issue in the community or the world at large, it spills over into the organization. So, you saw that with George Floyd's murder, right? That was something that happened outside of organizations, but it heightened conflict within organizations between racial groups, because they potentially had different ideas about who was right, who was wrong, or what actually happened.

Gloria's perspective is supported by the work of Eichstaedt, et al. (2021) and Bor, et al. (2018) who investigated the emotional and mental health impacts of the murder of George Floyd on United States society. Eichstaedt, et al. (2021) found in their research, "for anger, in particular, the magnitude of the effect is without comparison in the 2020 and historical Gallup data. The effect was most pronounced for Black Americans; following Floyd's death, nearly half of Black respondents indicated having felt angry and sad, a response significantly greater than that of White Americans" (p. 3).

Privileged Positionalities Identified by Participants

While general reflections upon privilege are helpful, making these reflections personal both assists in understanding individual awareness, but also a certain sense of humility and willingness to continue to learn and grow in the ability to recognize methods of reducing the harms that may be caused by layers of privilege over those who lack it. Each participant was asked to identify and share about their own identification of privilege in their lives and what that privilege meant to them in their experiences and perspectives. The following section outlines categories and layers identified and how participants described their reflections.

Identifying Privileged Positionalities: Economic and Educational Privilege

When participants were asked about their individual experiences that were from privileged positionalities, several examples were provided focused on economic and educational privilege. While participants discussed the nature of privilege having an unearned element, within the dialogue concerning how participants identified their own layers of privilege, some talked about how these identities may have changed over time for them individually, although the status of wealth and knowledge manifests within societal status quos behind hierarchies.

Some examples provided included discussing housing security such as Jane stating, “I’ve always been housed. I’ve never had any housing issues or housing insecurity issues.” While others include how having parents with decent access to resources and education make it easier to develop your own way in early adulthood such as Nancy describing,

my parents... they had access to college education, they had access to get a mortgage to buy a house, they were allowed to buy a house in the community where they wanted to live. They didn’t experience things like redlining or being denied a mortgage. They had those advantages and benefits, but then that

compounds, and it accumulates and sort of passes on to me that I have in starting with those advantages already that I obviously didn't earn in any way.

Acknowledgement of regional privilege came up for Carl, particularly associated with dynamics of white privilege in that, "it was the privilege of a safe neighborhood with access to a good public-school education in an area that was predominantly White, so the public services support in my education I can look back and see was enormously privilege, even if not wealthy, but enormously privileged in terms of access to educational support."

The layering of economic privilege was evident for Penny, who described a middle-class upbringing where there was acknowledgement of resources that were better than others, but not as good as a higher socioeconomic class. "Socioeconomically, my parents have done well. They own a restaurant that has done well. I wasn't necessarily spoiled, but I didn't want for anything either. I didn't have to worry about having food on the table, those sorts of things."

Ancestral privilege manifested in one example Harold provided by discussing how family connections were well educated, and how that assisted in his own life.

My family story is most of the people in my world are preachers, teachers, and doctors. So, I come from a well-educated family, and a family that values learning and ideas and challenging each other, and I would say that is definitely a place of privilege because it means that I had the time and space to wrestle with some of those ideas. Whereas, I'm not sure if other people who didn't come up from that background necessarily would have had those same opportunities.

Identifying Privileged Positionalities: English Language and Linguistic Privileges

Communication is a core element of what it means to be human, and while there are verbal and nonverbal forms, verbal and written language are important to navigating society both

within social and professional realms. While the English language may not be the most commonly spoken or read language in the world, it still holds a dominant place within academic settings, and some participants identified the power and privilege behind the English language as the “lingua franca” throughout the world. Andrew directly named the way that English as a language confers privilege by stating,

my privileges in the context of the work I do would be that I’m English-speaking, which is an enormous privilege and an enormous advantage... within that the lingua franca, the language of operation, is English, which is a phenomenal professional privilege for me because English is my first language. So that gives me a privilege in terms of my capacity to exercise my own agency within [an] organization and my ability to progress and prosper within that organization.

Florence, who described herself as a second-generation American, discussed how, because I spoke English well, and my mother was a stickler for that, she had some expression about it. She learned as a child because my grandparents were [not born in the USA], in her household the children were prohibited from speaking [their native language]. She had some expression in a context about the King’s English. It was some expression to the effect that if you express yourself well, you can walk among kings or something like that. So, vocabulary was always very important. Proper grammar, proper expression.

Framing this privilege as being rooted in domination, Deborah said, I’m also aware of things like nationality, or citizen status as a privilege, or linguistic privilege or supremacy. I don’t even know how to frame that as a privilege, because it’s sort of a domination into the place of English in this world

and in this country. I recognize that my mother tongue has a certain privilege and there's a certain domination behind that.

Barry simply stated that, "there's an extreme English privilege in evaluation, as well as in many other fields."

In more broadly speaking to linguistic privilege, Penny, who is multilingual mentioned that positionality as,

it's interesting – I sometimes wonder whether it's also a privilege that I'm bilingual, and I say that because the spaces I find myself in... particularly when I travel a lot... I get, she's not like one of those Americans... so, I think there is a little bit of benefit to that, for whatever reason both within this country and in many parts of Eastern Europe being [from a European country] is a good thing... I think it's complex, that particular piece, and I don't know that I have it fully figured out, but I recognize there are ways in which I do get afforded privileges because of that.

Code-switching was another linguistic-based privilege Mary referenced, "that's like the people who can code-switch, you talk one way here, and one way somewhere else, and you know how to do that because otherwise you will be discriminated against."

Identifying Privileged Positionalities: Racial Privilege of White Identity

Participants named several specific privileges based on being White identified, although participants with longer careers discussed such analysis have not always been present either in the field of evaluation or in society in general. Kenneth described his experience and his opinion that,

evaluation should be concerned with social justice... and making the argument was absolutely radical at the time that justice should be concerned at some level of social justice... [in the 1970s] being concerned about social class, and race, and all that stuff, that other people weren't concerned with... pretty much nothing on social justice stuff... when it was first mentioned in evaluation... was 1976... I tried to explain to myself, how is it racism is persistent over such a long period of time? Because I had the idea, along with everyone else, that it was going to evaporate due to these longer generations... I realized racism itself is being actively recreated all the time.

Noticing the differences White people experience from nonwhite people is an important dynamic of being able to work against it. These comparisons between privileged experiences and marginalized experiences can assist in understanding methods of empowering and creating agency for those who lack privilege in certain layers, but also in knowing how to provide feedback and intervene in racism. Nancy shared the story,

I'm a professor, and so that is a position that carries with it a lot of privilege and status that are then amplified by the fact that I'm read by White. So, for example, when I show up on campus, it's just assumed that I'm a professor and then treated when I speak about a topic, I'm treated like an expert. I'm treated as an authority on that topic. Faculty of color, like my colleagues who are faculty of color, are often assumed to be a student, or a visitor, or their expertise is questioned by students in class, or by colleagues in the academy. It's grossly evident that folks of color are treated less respectfully than how I'm treated... and even in things

like course evaluations and comments from colleagues... I see privilege operating in the ways that I'm treated with greater respect.

Discussing how White people often do not notice privilege, Mary reasoned this is, "because White people aren't always aware of the benefit, and then when there are studies about where does somebody cross a line of people and that's usually they break in front of a person of color. So, even like super subtle things, like who's next in line, whose order is next."

Identifying Privileged Positionalities: Social Based Privileges

Dialogue concerning privilege was navigated by each participant in different ways. Some stayed in commonly defined layers of privilege, while others expanded their understandings by accessing the ways they experience advantages in their lives when compared to others. One such series of reflections focused on what it meant to have social advantages and how those contributed to other privileged positionalities. When discussing these various social advantages, both social skills and social network makeups played a role. Deborah spent time highlighting social privileges, saying,

I would say that my life outcomes are really different than many of my family members, and I guess the reason I bring up family is there's kind of an intimacy there... a certain intimacy to family and so just knowing how my life trajectory is so different than my sibling... it's in some ways rooted in my educational opportunities and privilege... I think just having a strong support system and support network, I have recently really thought about my social skills. I have really strong social emotional skills, or what are often called soft skills, and I've thought about how much that benefits so many aspects of my life. A lot of I would say my privileges are relational... I have three sisters and I have very

strong relationships with them. And that part, I don't know that it's true, but having three sisters for me is a huge privilege, and it's so interesting because they're healthy, strong relationships.

Deborah also considered intimate partnership, but was unsure of how it fit into privilege, "I don't even know if I would say being a partner or being partnered is a privilege or not. I'm going to hold on to that. That's something I say in question."

"Social Identity Saliency" was referenced by Gloria in discussing social privilege. Haslam et al. (1999) describe the phenomenon as "the definition of the self in terms of group membership shared with other people... plays in the stereotyping process. One crucial determinant of saliency is fit, the degree to which a social categorization matches reality in both its comparative and normal aspects... in this way, a readiness to categorize people in particular ways (e.g., in terms of race rather than height, and in terms of particular racial divisions rather than others) is conferred by societies, cultures, and ideologies that – through political debate and conflict – collectively instruct and shape perception" (p. 810).

When explaining how social identity saliency fit in personal experiences with privilege, Gloria stated,

it's basically the contextualization of social identity and how depending on the demographics of the group overall, things could shift. So, like me, being a woman really isn't super salient typically. That's not really different. Versus, if I was the only woman in a group of all men, my gender identity would be more salient.

Identifying Privileged Positionalities: Other Positional Privileges

Several other layers of privilege were referenced by participants that did not fit into other categories named above, and participants also did not provide many details beyond listing these positionalities within their lives. These include examples such as:

- General identification of being male, cisgender, or living in or being a citizen of the United States of America.
- Having traveled nationally and internationally.
- Being tall, being able-bodied.
- Being a part of a religious majority, and,
- Heterosexuality.

Some more expansive and detailed responses to identifying privilege included Florence including dialogue on having a settler colonial ancestry.

[My relationship in working with Indigenous people] led me down the path to review my settler colonial ancestry. Because I only had a dim view of my grandmother coming west in a covered wagon and settling... when she was a little baby. So, my great grandparents that were the settler colonists when she was a little baby... So, putting all these pieces together is still something I'm actively involved in.

References to the concept of "lookism" also came up when Jane discussed how "I would say presenting as a heterosexual even though I'm queer (or bi). A lot of times, a lot of people don't know that, and I think that comes with both its own privileges and oppressions."

Advantages were broadly discussed within the context of privilege where Harold mentioned,

I don't know if I would have called this a privilege when I was going through it, but I think I would now, but when I was in high school, I worked in entertainment for several years. That led me to try on different personas and ways of presenting myself and ways of being and that flexibility. Let me think about who I am, and how I show up and who do I want to become in ways that were safe for me.

Several participants noted that they experienced a vast amount of privilege by stating things such as Barry mentioning, "I've said or written or stated from time to time in different venues that essentially almost every position or access to potential diversity I gain privilege from," and Gloria stating, "most places, some of that's obviously being White, being hetero, being cisgendered, being educated, having an advanced degree, regionally being from the US, tend to all be typical markers of privilege," and Nancy identifying, "I would say it manifests in a lot of more day-to-day and macro kinds of threads – for example, I'm a professor so that is a position that carries with it a lot of privilege and status."

Identifying Privileged Positionalities: Caveats of Privilege

During discussion of places where participants experienced privilege in their lives, some identified positive attributes and factors that are important to consider as a part of the discussion. Jane identified privilege as having a "huge protective factor on the trajectory of my life," yet Gloria acknowledged that even when an individual has privilege, they may not have the ability to take certain risks that other privileged individuals may have the ability to take.

Recognizing when someone might not be able to take the risk to be vulnerable, or face what is challenging, because contextually the resources are not for them... If you're solidly in the in-group, you're less likely to get pushed out of there. But if

you're barely hanging on to your group status, it doesn't take much, and the consequences of that can be pretty severe.

Some dynamics of privilege, participants listed as being positionalities that at times contained privilege, but at other times were marginalized and oppressed identities. Gloria discussed how, "being a woman is intermittently useful, or not, not so much at grad school, and not so much early in my career." Jane struggled with identifying privileges altogether by noting, "there's these layers of options that I would say I'm struggling because I'm like, do I consider this a privilege from my own lens of importance, or just society names this as a privilege?"

Nancy discussed that privilege includes characteristics and advantages all human beings should have by saying,

there's an aspect of privilege that is what everyone should have – that's just like the full humanity, and the access to resources, you know the benefits of being a member of society that are power over other people. So, there's some complexity there in terms of what those unearned advantages and access to power is, but that's an example of what I would want for everyone.

In concert with this idea, Harold discussed that everyone deserves a happy, healthy, and fulfilling life, however they define what that may mean.

If we are honest with ourselves, we'd realize that not everyone is living a happy, healthy and fulfilling life, which is where programs and policies and supports and interventions come into play, at least for me. But we also need to know if those things are working so that people can live happy, healthy, and fulfilling lives – and in that kind of framing, I try to position evaluation as a process in service of human rights and human equity.

By having a positionality that provides privilege, there is careful need to understand how others may perceive those advantages or status. Harold acknowledged this by reflecting, when people critique me, I try to take those critiques and weave them into my teaching and learning, but it also makes me remember that I have privilege. I need to name it without bragging about it. So, when we started talking... I said I'm a straight White man with a Ph.D. – that's not bragging, that's being honest about where I came from.

Research Question Two

RQ2: How and in what ways have White evaluators experienced oppressive conditions within their personal and professional lives, and how have such experiences contributed to their work as evaluators?

- a. Within professional evaluation experience, how do participants notice conditions that amplify oppressive conditions within an evaluand (e.g., administrative practices, funding, program process, representation, and program values)?

After participants discussed how to define privilege and reflected on their privileged positionalities, questioning turned to considering positions in which they experienced marginalization or oppression. This is an important part of humanizing and understanding the intersections of both privilege and marginalization that individuals have in their lives. Barry described this as,

the concept [of intersectionality] does not mean that it is some sort of additive property, like you just check off all the boxes that gets you oppressed or marginalized. It's more nuanced than that, it's about the interlocking and

intersecting nature of those positionalities put one at more risk for marginalization, more oppression.

Coston & Kimmel (2012) consider the intersections between marginalization and privilege when discussing men and state, “when discussing privilege, we often consider it a zero-sum quantity, one either has it or one does not” (p. 97). However, “privilege is not monolithic; it is unevenly distributed and it exists world-wide in varying forms and contexts. Among members of one privileged class, other mechanisms of marginalization may mute or reduce privilege based on an-other status” (p. 109).

The following sections outline the ways participants responded to questions about their experiences facing oppression and marginalization, how privileged roles and positionalities operate within evaluation practice, how and in what ways participants have experienced systems amplifying status quos, and ways in which participants have gained more understanding of program values and understand values within evaluation practice.

To start this section, it was important for many participants to acknowledge the ways in which their multiple layers of privilege made it challenging to identify and acknowledge layers of marginalization or to think of experiences of facing oppression, particularly after spending time thinking through and discussing privilege.

Table 6. Research Question Two Section Descriptions

<i>Complications Experienced Within Layered Identities</i>	<i>Descriptions and Participant Analysis of How these Identities Intersect and Introduce Complications</i>
Participants Were Often Reluctant and Seemed Uncomfortable in Describe Their Experiences of Marginalization and Oppression Using Those Words	After being asked about their layers of privileged positionality, when participants were probed about their experiences of marginalization or oppression, several balked at those terms, seeming to minimize the places in their lives where they are in positionalities that are less powerful and privileged.

<p>Some Male Participants Shared Experiences of Feeling Discrimination Due to Their Identity as White Males</p>	<p>In reflecting upon experiences of marginalization and oppression, some male participants discussed ways in which they had faced people within marginalized identities (women and people of color) who would call them out for being White men. In these dialogues, the participants expressed conflicted emotions and viewpoints, but maintained a sense of discrimination over these experiences.</p>
<p>When Asked How Marginalized and Oppressed Experiences Contributed to Their Work in the Evaluation Field, Participants Expressed the Ability to Use These Experiences to Leverage Understanding of How Their Privilege May Harm Others</p>	<p>Participants essentially discussed how they developed empathy through their experiences of either witnessing or experiencing marginalization and/or oppression, often at young ages. There was an acknowledgement that these issues are all enmeshed within the evaluation field, and there is a great need to work through understanding methods of engaging with and learning from marginalized groups and individuals to better do work within the field as a whole.</p>
<p><i>Marginalized & Oppressed Positionalities & Experiences</i></p>	<p><i>Details About this Component of Marginalization and Contexts for the Experiences</i></p>
<p>Women Participants Discussed Impacts of Sexism in Personal and Professional Life</p>	<p>Women’s experience of sexism has far-ranging implications for how childhood experiences impact personal and professional development, and participants discussed discrimination, harassment, and patriarchal norms that effected their lives.</p>
<p>Discussions of the Micro and Macro Impacts of Homophobia and Heterosexism</p>	<p>Marginalization and oppression have micro-based and macro-based ways in which they discriminate and harm individuals and groups, and participants discussed how these levels fit within their experiences as members of LGBTQ+ layers of positionality.</p>
<p>Perspectives of Marginalization for First-Generation College Students</p>	<p>First-generation college students lack the cultural capital to fully understand how to navigate the academic systems, and participants who identified having this layer of positional marginalization discussed several ways these experiences challenged their educational development.</p>
<p>Participants Experienced Being Misunderstood or Ignored Due to Ableism and Ageism</p>	<p>Ableism, having elements that involve physical and/or emotional/mental dynamics that present challenges for an individual, lead to those who fit within the status quo of health to ignore, minimize, or discriminate against those with forms of disability. Similarly ignored, minimized, and discriminated against, participants discussed elements of ageism against the young and elderly.</p>

Discrimination Due to Having Less Money or Education is Often Elitist	Participants provided detailed stories of ways they felt discrimination due to being poor, middle class, or in navigating academia from departments or schools that were seen as less valuable than others. In discussing these stories, participants discuss the way these forms of classism can bolster a sense of elitism among privileged positionalities.
<i>Analysis of How Privilege Operates and is Amplified Within Evaluation Practice</i>	<i>How and in What Ways Participants Analyzed Privilege Within This Category</i>
Academia and Research in General Have Control in Framing Knowledge and Ignoring Potential Harms in Doing So Has Consequences	The academy is a source of great knowledge and power, and if it is not attuned to the way these can be used for harm against individuals and communities, then the amplifications of privilege go unchecked. Participants discussed and cautioned about these systemic privileges and their experiences behind them.
History is More Than Looking into the Past, it Structures How Privilege is Amplified in Evaluation and Research	Historical roots of evaluation are mired in privileged positionalities, and the very origin of the field helped to determine which groups and individuals had the ability to make decisions on broad systemic levels. Participants reflected upon these historical dynamics and how they specifically amplify privilege within the field of evaluation.
The English Language Serves to Dominate Communication Channels and Amplify Linguistic Privilege Within and Beyond the Evaluation Field	As the lingua franca, the English language is the preferred method of communication throughout the world in contexts of academic scholarship and dissemination of information. This amplifies privilege within and beyond the United States, as well as within and beyond the evaluation field. Participants discussed details behind how this operates within the evaluation field.
Considerations of What Projects Are Funded, Who is Nominated for and Receives Awards, and What is Perceived as Credible Are Necessary in Understanding How Privilege is Amplified	Evaluation, and research in general, tend to require funding to operate. Determinations on what is funded, and for what reasons are a way of amplifying privilege. Attention received for awards or publications also help to determine the flow of work and what is popular. Privilege is also amplified in figuring out what sources and services are credible. Participants discussed all of these amplifications of privilege directly related to evaluation work.

Politics are Intricately Involved in Evaluation, and Evaluators Can be Complicit in Enforcing, Amplifying, and Perpetuating Privilege as a Result	Public policy is often a source of evaluation work, and this can complicate some of the amplification of privilege when evaluation may be manipulated for political purposes. Evaluators need to be aware of these dynamics in amplifying privilege to avoid situations where marginalized groups and individuals may be harmed by these practices.
The Process of Determining Program Values in Evaluation May Result in Amplifications of Privilege, and Participants Expressed Concerns About the Process	Some participants, when discussing methods of determining value within programs as a part of the evaluation process, expressed several concerns with doing so. Much of the conflict between stated values and practiced values has been evident in evaluator’s investigations, leading to an overall questioning of the process itself and potential methods of changing it.

Complications Experiences within Layered Identities

Discussing privilege and marginalization holds many complications, some of them in identifying which positionalities are privileged and which are marginalized, others in nuancing the impacts, harms, and benefits between these layers of identity, and yet more complications in considerations of how these pieces of humanity work within personal and professional settings. Participants noted some of these complications in their interviews, providing some elements that may need further discussion and analysis to determine if it is possible to make these concepts more manageable to understand and navigate.

Participants Were Often Reluctant and Seemed Uncomfortable in Describe Their Experiences of Marginalization and Oppression Using Those Words

When asked to share an experience of facing oppression, and what (if any) layers of identity a participant experienced marginalization personally or professionally, seven participants expressed direct or indirect discomfort with the question itself. There were several participants who downplayed their experiences.

Florence stated, “I wouldn’t call it oppression, but marginalization, yes.”

Harold elaborated, “you know, it’s hard to describe that because I don’t, I can’t say with certainty that I’ve ever been systematically discriminated against. I don’t think that’s happened. It could have, and maybe I wasn’t aware of it, but I haven’t seen that.”

Deborah described her discomfort saying,

I can’t say that I have felt like I really faced oppression. I guess I feel like that would be a strong term for much of anything I’ve ever encountered in my life... I feel uncomfortable with, like, framing it as oppression... I guess I just feel too privileged in the summary of experiences I’ve had, and the outcomes of my life, to just feel like that term very easily applies to me... I’m not sure that the situations in which I’ve experienced discrimination or unfairness or these, kind of, discourses that are disadvantaging in some sense?”

Carl started off his response in describing his experiences in marginalized positionalities by both joking,

I said that I have a, we’ll call it a free pass, but the fact that I’m gay means I’m not completely hetero White male supremacist actor, however, I have no evidence, nor have I had any perception or experience that I have been oppressed for that reason.

Participants who expressed discomfort in identifying layers of marginalization or oppression in their personal or professional lives provided ideas on different ways to frame their understandings. Deborah reframed by stating,

I definitely think that at moments, I have experienced being in a disadvantaged state or status related to my gender, or I’ve just kind of experienced assumptions about who I am based on my gender... but I feel uncomfortable with, like,

framing it as oppression... Related to some dimension of feeling, like, discrimination, or like not a fair standard, or maybe, like, something that would feel language-wise, like perhaps a little bit lighter than what I would call oppression. I don't know that they have been so complete or oppressive to be called oppression. I think they've been fragmented.

These reframing statements were varied but were common enough during the interviews to be elements to consider overall in how people with several privileged positionalities think about and consider their own experiences that have been marginalized or oppressed.

Some Male Participants Shared Experiences of Feeling Discrimination Due to Their Identity as White Males

Male participants sometimes identified their identity as being cismale as a form of privilege over transgender people or discussed "male privilege" as a concept overall to be mindful of. However, during some of these conversations, men also reflected on ways they have had experiences they felt as discriminatory. Eugene described his work in a woman-oriented and woman-dominated field, saying,

I work in a field that is becoming extremely women-oriented, so in our graduate programs we're probably accepting over 80% are women at this point. And so, sometimes I do want to speak up about that, because I actually do think it's an equity issue. And I do think that men have a harder time in the human service fields, sort of bidding the stereotypes to get admitted to graduate programs, and so on... and I do think we need the diversity, gender diversity in the field, but I really bite my tongue and don't say things that I could say. I don't speak up about that. Because, number one, I don't want to make it seem like, oh my god, men are

being oppressed, and you know, pulling out that old BS, and I am concerned about how that will be perceived just by colleagues. But, anyway, it's not me personally, but I am concerned. There's a big gap now in men going to college, there's about a five-percentage point gap that's growing for women versus men. So, something's happening where, you know, there's a shift socially, and I don't think that men need tremendous advocacy, or men's rights organizations to resolve that. But I do think we need to be attentive to some issues of equity that are developing in various areas, particularly, I think, in education, the area that I work in.

Harold offered his view that as his professional colleagues join in working in anti-oppressive spaces, there may be a natural resistance toward privileged identities, and where White people and men, in particular, have dominated several areas of society there may be a certain degree of apprehension about White men joining into anti-oppressive work.

The one area where I'm kind of under attack right now is, you know, in my department right now there's a real movement towards social justice, and some of those things there's an overriding philosophy, which's funny, because I really agree with that. But I seem to be the target of other people's anger as the straight White man, and they're holding me up as the badge of all, everything that's wrong with the department. When I'm the one who's actually trying to work on fixing those problems. So, it's kind of a funny situation for me as far as that goes. So, I have been marginalized, my voice has been silenced, but certainly not to the systematic effect that others have. I try to let this be a teaching and learning opportunity, so other people don't have to have the same experiences that, you

know, the same negative experiences that I have, but maybe they can have some of the same good ones. So, when, you know, people critique me and say, 'oh, you're an over-privileged White guy,' well okay, and here's what I'm doing, not to counteract that, because there's no good if I leave whatever privilege or opportunities I carry with me to the side, but if I use them to open up opportunities for others, that's where I want to be... When someone says... you're not a gay man, how can you, that means you're denigrating me, and I'm like, well, no, it doesn't mean, it means I'm trying to understand you, but I'm also trying to not tokenize you... but when people critique me, I try to take those critiques and weave them into my teaching and learning as best I can. It also makes me remember that, you know what, I have privilege. I need to name it without bragging about it. When we started talking... I said, I'm a straight White man with a Ph.D. – that's not bragging, that's being honest about where I came from.

Within a completely different context, Mary talked about participating in an exercise for a class where she experienced a simulation of male privilege stereotypes. Within this class activity, she felt dismissed, but was unsure why until the deception was revealed by the instructor. She relayed the story,

[the professor] had us all do the work online... we all were assigned avatars but we didn't know what our avatars looked like. And then, we were to have substantive discussions online about certain issues and you know, come to consensus or do exercises. And then when we finally saw our avatars, my avatar was like a preppy surfer guy. And this had a highly feminist focus in a lot of

ways, and anything I said through my avatar was like, shut down. And so it's like, why am I being not heard? What is this all about? I would say something, and then when I saw, I was like oh yeah, they're looking at me and looking at this image or this picture that I have. And so then we did a face to face debrief – what was it like to not be heard or considered, or not be seen as who you are, but you didn't know how people were seeing you?

These stories and experiences point to an element that begins to differentiate between oppressive and marginalized experiences in how they contain different impacts than discrimination in some cases, but other than mention their experiences participants did not offer any additional insights into this specific phenomenon of privilege.

Participants Expressed the Ability to Use Experiences of Being Marginalized to Leverage Understanding of How Their Privilege May Harm Others

After identifying and discussing experiences of marginalization and oppression, participants were asked to think about ways these experiences may have impacted their work in evaluation. Responses were reflective about how personal experiences and perceptions shaped their thinking and process as evaluators in various ways. In an early professional experience, Jane brought up working with a poverty-stricken area and how that led to understanding classism.

I'm extremely passionate, I would say because of the ways that I've seen oppression even though it hasn't been necessarily against me. My experiences in [an impoverished city] and my understanding of how racism had impacted generations, and the intentionality behind creating concentrated poverty housing, making sure people were less educated, making sure generations were illiterate,

making sure people didn't have food, making sure people didn't have transportation – the way that has impacted Black people in our country has me so pissed off for so long, that it's become a part of my bloodstream. It's a part of what shaped me going into evaluation, and it informs the lens at which I come at collecting data, and the lens at which I still analyze data whether it's health equity or anything, because I know that the detrimental effects that racism has in this country in particular. So, I would say that's a huge one for me in terms of how I look at the lens I bring to every aspect of evaluating.

Before entering the evaluation field, Nancy volunteered with a domestic violence shelter, and discussed how those experiences shaped her understanding of limitations within current systematic practices.

Connecting what I understood personally from my own experiences... and matching them to research and evaluation and like, oh, these are all bound up – the same larger systems, the same forces and factors that were at play, and I didn't know that my anti-violence work had a bearing on this... that was sort of the connections I was starting to make with evaluation is like, whose agendas are being advanced, whose methods are being advanced? And sort of, how the whole evaluation enterprise is like, is set up to center the perspectives and the values of dominant groups. I honestly wasn't sure what to do about that, or what to do with that insight... Kind of where I started from in evaluation and continue to move toward a social justice orientation that I was trying to make sense of, it's kind of like okay, I understand all these things conceptually. How do I actually, what do I actually do in evaluation practice to challenge that centering of dominant groups?

Gloria reflected both on privilege and marginalization experiences in responding to the question, essentially discussing how empathy is developed through having lived experiences in being marginalized and harmed and acknowledge that does not mean you have to pass that harm on to others.

I think in some ways having a social identity configuration, that I've seen a bit of different privilege and not, I can a little bit more easily understand some extent of how oppression plays out for people, or you know that you have to be careful with assumptions you make. I think I understand people's experience as expertise more readily than some people do. I think there's an experience that you have when you [have] lived experience is not something you can study. You can study it, but there's something people can get that you don't get by reading about it...

Recognizing that in evaluative work and realizing, hey, we need to include these perspectives and thinking through what questions are asked and how we get information, how we make sense of information. And then compensation within evaluation, right, because that's super narrow. Typically, I mean that's shifting obviously... but you know, the notion would be that the experts would be paid, in some cases highly, and the people being researched would, you know, volunteer their time and their energy and their discomfort. In reality, they're often giving more than the researcher is in terms of themselves.

Identification of Marginalized & Oppressed Positionalities and Experiences

After discussing experiences and positionalities of privilege, participants were asked to reflect on ways in which they had instead experienced elements of marginalization and oppression in their lives. Participants both listed examples and provided stories and details on

their experiences that revealed insights and understanding for how these translated and developed into their experiences both professionally and personally.

Women Participants Discussed Impacts of Sexism in Personal and Professional Life

For the nine women participating in this study, only two did not explicitly mention facing discrimination, oppression, or marginalization due to sexism in some form. The two who did not instead discussed their experiences of homophobia and heterosexism within their experiences as bisexual or lesbian, and implicitly described situations where assumptions were made about them based on their gender presentation.

Several participants named stereotypes they had experienced due to being a woman including Deborah saying,

I experienced assumptions about who I am based on my gender, or what I can do... as a young kid, I definitely have experienced at different stages in my educational experience like messaging around my abilities related to math, these sorts of things, internalizing ideas that I think are pretty gendered around capacity and life.

Gloria talked about assumptions made when comparing men's and women's experience and expertise, stating,

as a panelist I might be introduced [by my first name] while the guy next to me is introduced as Dr. [last name]. So subtle things that would occur quite frequently. Or even in bios, my bio would be more conversational, and there'd be a highly polished doctor so and so is an expert. Or people at work, you should talk to doctor so and so about IRT – like he doesn't know shit about IRT, I should talk to

him about IRT! Things like that where people assume I don't have expertise that I do, and that the men I work with have it when it's not been the case.

In accessing memories of early adulthood, Florence discussed a situation where she was applying for a study abroad program while in her undergraduate program. She said, in the end, it was a group of White men who did the interview. There was one other woman and me in the pool and then some men... What the gentleman interviewing us said was, he didn't think Mr. so and so, the donor, would be interested in paying to have girls study abroad, so that was the end of that... the unfairness of it hit me.

Florence described feeling more saddened for another women who applied for the program than for herself, as well as anger that was more easily directed for her benefit than for her own. In a discussion of an overlap between ageism and sexism, Mary described, when it comes to gender, when it comes to age and it works both ways. If you're young you can be marginalized or excluded or treated differently, and also if you're older – the minute I stopped coloring my hair, oh you know, you're suddenly not as smart as I thought you were, and so like men become distinguished. How are you perceived? Are you suddenly not seen as smart or worthwhile?

Deborah referenced being viewed through the lens of being a mother, and the presence of sexism as a part of this by describing,

I certainly feel the effects of being a parent and a mother in academia – as a young kid I definitely have experienced... gendered [expectations] around capacity and life trajectory, and I also have very much experienced that in my

family like ideas and expectations about what I would do, you know, as a woman, like educationally or career wise versus as a man.

Some women specifically discussed experiences of sexual harassment such as Iris recalling an experience where,

looking back, I can tell you these things that happened at the time, I was just sort of angry... when this really disgusting man in another department, ‘oooo you look sexy when you’re pregnant’ he whispered into my ear at a party, and it made me so uncomfortable... I didn’t have names for the kinds of things that were going on.

In recalling her experience with men within academia, Iris described situations involving male members of AEA choosing to sexually harass women, and she stated,

obviously not all older men academics are womanizers, I get that, unfortunately there have been enough to give older White men a bad name in terms of the kind of privilege and the power that they have over the women, and their students.

When describing her experience with sexism, Gloria simply stated she experienced “some mild sexual harassment in the workplace, never assault or rape thankfully.”

Florence discussed the elements of being underpaid as a form of sexism, reflecting on her career by describing,

I was underpaid for a long time. It took a lot of work to get my pay up, including up to just saying I’m gonna quit because I’m working really hard and I’m not getting paid at the same level as other people,” and, “just last week I got a notification letter that there’s a class action lawsuit at [university] for the unequal pay of women over time. And so, I mean there was definitely systemic sexism in

the system but to have it named and called out as it was, that's the only time I can remember it being actually named in the open.

Other participants added to the discussion of childhood experiences of sexism. Olivia mentioned being aware of sexism "by the time I was nine or ten, I identified gender and sex as an issue, there's definitely a privilege and oppression there, so I think I have always been attuned to it."

In discussion how childhood experiences of sexism and patriarchy impacted her as an adult, Penny detailed her experiences growing up with cultural ties outside of the United States and stated,

it's also a patriarchal society, and particularly in some parts of the country... but I grew up, as I mentioned, there were other family members [who] immigrated and so I grew up seeing very strong male father figures talking to their wives and daughters in not very nice ways, and sometimes we talked to our mom that way, particularly when my dad wasn't around... or even when my dad was around, and he wouldn't say anything because he didn't want to rock the boat because he also wasn't the oldest male and there's like both patriarchy as well as age... related to all of those things is sort of the influence of that and working really hard to undo those kinds of notions about who should speak, or who should be in charge, or who should be dominant in a conversation or discussion or things like that.

Discussions of the Micro and Macro Impacts of Homophobia and Heterosexism

Nancy spoke extensively on her experiences with heterosexism and homophobia. "I am queer, so I have experienced heterosexism and homophobia and anti-queer bias in a variety of

different ways and across those different levels of personal and professional, and layers of magnitude.” Breaking down her experience into levels, she described,

I would say on a micro level, you know, being called names on the street or having people use anti-queer slurs, that kind of stuff. I applied for a job once at a really small organization, and I didn’t know it, but my across the street neighbor worked there... And I don’t know the backstory on this. All I know is that after the interview, the hiring manager asked all of my references if I would promote alternative lifestyles and inappropriate morals in the workplace, so that was interesting. You know, right now there’s this huge wave of anti-queer legislation sweeping the country the ‘don’t say gay’ and anti-trans bills...The most profound example, in my personal life, I wasn’t legally allowed to get married until 2014, and I had a partner who died in 1999... when she passed away, I had no legal rights, and the reason I was able to even see her after she died was because the hospital chaplain broke the rules and let me in because he was just personally sympathetic.

Visibility was a source of discussion overlapping with marginalization and oppression for LGBTQ+ experiences. Larry stated that while, “the obvious one is being gay, in academia, especially the work I do there are a lot of gay men... it’s not really a problem or any sort of disadvantage in academia but growing up definitely was.”

At times it is more about invisibility with Jane discussing, “I feel like I would say there’s been a lot of bi-erasure in terms of bisexuality, and being queer in different spaces, like both in the LGBT community and in general whether it’s been work or social places.”

Perspectives of Marginalization for First-Generation College Students

While educational-based classism tends to focus on level of achieved academic standing, an element that is less discussed involves the presence of different understanding and knowledge that may be passed down through ancestral privilege. When parents have experience within higher education, they are more likely to provide resources for their children to understand how to navigate systems that have long held histories and traditions. For students who lack that support, their journey through academic systems holds several challenges that often go unnoticed.

Penny referenced the concept of “cultural capital” when reflecting on being a first-generation college student.

In these classes, is the first time I encountered James Baldwin, Judith Butler, Subcomandante Marcos, Bourdieu, you know these folks who were talking about ideas that were incredibly relevant not just for culture and identity, but you know privilege and power and gender and gender identity and all of these things. And it was just my, like, a whole world opened up for me... it took me a long time to think about how to navigate is the first-generation thing – being the first generation, first in your family to be in these very privileged academic spaces... I was someone who excelled academically, I knew how to study, I knew how to read, but what I didn't have was access to knowledge around how do you navigate that system? I didn't have cultural kinds of capital... there's all that kind of stuff I didn't grow up going to... we didn't go to museums or any of those kinds of things, and to be fair it didn't occur to my family to ever take me to those places... neither of [my parents] could help me navigate any of that.

This lack of cultural capital led to Penny having self-doubt, stating that it took a long time to find her voice,

I was past grad school and in my first faculty position, and I was still trying to shed my student identity, but I was smart enough at that point to recognize the ways in which being the first, the sort of disadvantage that created... my general assumption was I still have a lot to learn I'm trying to figure things out... Being a faculty member has its own set of rules you have to figure out, and unlike other people who were in the academy, I didn't have parents who were faculty members.

Struggles that existed due to the need to learn more about the process and administration of academia, along with the professional identities that develop alongside a career as a professor, Larry described the experience as being directly related to learning as you go.

I think in terms of life, my father never graduated from high school, my mother has an associate's degree, so I do not come from academics like some people do, so I've had a lot of struggles just trying to figure out academia. I ended up going from [a job] to a Ph.D., and just kind of fell into things rather than, like, having a set plan and knowing how things work, which has been really challenging to get where I am.

As a first-generation college student, Andrew was able to attend advanced schooling due to public policy changes that shifted access into higher education in ways that were not available to previous generations.

[after the changes to public policy] up until then, you could only access [higher education] through scholarship. So, you had about 35% of the population

completed secondary education in the mid-1960s. At the moment, it is now 95%... it was a social transition, so it wasn't as if my personal story was unique in terms of moving from marginalization to privilege, that happened everywhere... I would say in many ways, most of us are privileged now in the broader context, but then within the micro context... of course there's different levels to that privilege, too.

These societal transitions led Andrew to have a difficult time in processing elements of marginalization in this lack of cultural capital, although he mentioned,

because everybody was having access to it, you didn't recognize it. I can't describe it to you... it's only in retrospect I've thought about that. Where I think it was significant was my accessing of higher education, I know my dad would always have loved to have done that. So, I was very conscious of that, and I think that goes with a lot of emerging societies.

These experiences of marginalization led Penny to work toward helping other first-generation college students,

I try to pay it back as much as I can. I have a sign on my door that literally says... 'I was the first to go to college, come ask me anything,' and I can't tell you how many times students that I've never seen before will come into my office or knock on my door and be like, hey I have a quick question, can you help me? And I do.

Participants Experienced Being Misunderstood or Ignored Due to Ableism and Ageism

Societal status quos surrounding health and wellness can at times be nebulous, partially because so much illness and health disturbance occurs in ways that are not fully obvious to others. In this regard, ableism can be experienced as others misunderstanding you, or that your

needs are being completely ignored. This form of marginalization led some participants to consider several of these often less obvious forms of oppression, and how they have impacted their lives. In a similar vein, both the young and the elderly are ignored or misunderstood due to their age, and participants also discussed these forms of marginalization.

As a form of ability outside of the status quo, neurodiversity beyond the societal “norm” and how it fits into ableism was a topic of concern for Jane, who brought forward having a diagnosed identity of attention-deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD).

I have pretty severe ADHD, and different ways that is seen and not seen, and even having the choice to disclose that is a privilege in the realm of these different layers of disability. There’s also so many ways that people haven’t known, that the diagnosis is misunderstood and talked about, and even a spectrum of cognitive differences, because to me there is no neurodivergent and neurotypical, it’s like more of a spectrum... there been a lot of ways that systems have been designed in ways that particularly don’t work for me, and therefore I have had to mask as a means of survival a lot through different schooling and different jobs.

ADHD often overlaps with other mental health issues, and Jane brought this forward in saying, “I struggle pretty much with depression, anxiety, and then compounded with ADHD – I’ve dealt with not having any healthcare sometimes, depending on job or schooling.”

Discussion of drug addiction and mental health issues was brought forward by Eugene, who stated,

when I was an adolescent, I had a history with some pretty significant drug and mental health issues, and so there’s a certain amount of stigma that I’ve experienced associated with those things and that’s more of a hidden

characteristic. A hidden identity that on one hand means I have a choice on when and whether I share those things. When I have chosen to share them, I've sometimes met with reactions, especially in public or professional contexts that are seemingly a little uncomfortable.

A general reference to how the evaluation field overlaps with ableism was brought up in Jane's discussion about marginalization, "we haven't even touched on the way [evaluation] is affecting disabled folks that we might be collecting data with, you know how are we collecting this data with folks if they're autistic, or if they're blind? We haven't accounted for ableism."

While not directly related to ableism, as a component of marginalization and oppression, ageism is one that can become complicated with its view on both older and younger experiences and perspectives. Participants in this study discussed both of these elements of ageism, with Carl reflecting,

I may have had a fear that I wasn't as influential, but I think that had been honestly tied up in, I was generally until recently, I was very much a young person in the leadership role for most of my career. I was younger than my colleagues... I was as guilty of ageism in my own work, and with my interactions meaning either I did not fully allow for or expect much younger or much older people to hold a certain truth or experience. I think I learned midway that I was being too close-minded. So in that sense, I think I've learned over time that it's something to watch in myself and that I do have certain ageist expectations at both extremes around this work, and watch myself when I start thinking that way.

In describing a social event connected to AEA, Mary described this event as one in which senior evaluators were telling stories about their experiences, and

some of the younger Ph.D. students, White women, were trying to get a word in and comment, and one of them got really angry, open up the conversation. And I'm sitting there thinking I am enjoying listening to the two of them swap war stories. But how much have I bought into the age as a construct – age equaling wisdom, and if so if you are a younger student person, you don't have the same thought value. Have I bought into other constructs unintentionally, or unbeknownst to me?

Discrimination Due to Having Less Money or Education is Often Elitist

Classism is a form of oppression that can be viewed through several lenses. Educational privileges, monetary and resource-based privileges, and elitism can all be analyzed as forms of classism. Participants discussed each of these layers of class and classism and how they had experienced these things as forms of marginalization and/or oppression.

As far as economic, resource-based classism, Mary described childhood experiences of, [my country] is very stratified in class, so the fact that I didn't attend a private school, the fact that I didn't live in a fashionable area of the city. Perhaps you could say that had some sort of impact, and at times there might have been social awkwardness when I was younger in particular contexts and settings when I felt on the outside of people who did have those advantages from a socioeconomic background.

Florence described finding out decades after undergrad about being an affirmative action admission.

[I was] a scholarship student because I was from an unimpressive high school that had a lot of diversity in it. Lots of Black and Brown students. So, my being a

valedictorian among that group wouldn't normally impress this college, but they were trying to admit (and I didn't know this for years later) but when they were gearing up for the first fifty-year reunion... one of the people on the listserv referred to it as we were with the experimental class. It didn't use the term affirmative action, but that they differed from standard admission criteria to try and get a different group. Not people of color... but yeah economic diversity was the thing.

Educational / academic forms of classism were close to several participants who work in academia, which play out due to the administrative process and culture behind the academy as a whole. Barry brought forward that,

there are power differentials and power dynamics in graduate school, and some faculty and administrators would make that more apparent. Some tried to level the playing field as much as possible. My advisor... would speak to it in class, although he knew that he couldn't speak it away because he remained the professor, and we remained the students. I think that's kind of a structural inevitability, something like higher education, that there's all these power dynamics based on people's rank and role.

While in some ways relating back to cultural capital, Florence provided an example of feeling a certain degree of marginalization due to not having very specific cultural knowledge or access that her university professor assumed all students understood.

I remember vividly in sociology 101, we were given an assignment in which we were... to write in the style of a New York Times book review. That was the end of the explanation... and I was completely clueless. We subscribed to [a local

newspaper]... I'd never seen a copy [of the New York Times], I didn't have any sense of its importance or stature, why someone [in my area] would read a New York newspaper. I mean, I was clueless on absolutely every level, and I got a D in sociology.

Educational classism was described directly in Mary's experience from being a graduate student, where there were elements of power over (undergraduates) and power under (professors) that created hierarchies that end up being oppressive.

I'm doing a research assistantship at the university, and I'm in this room with some of these hot shots, and I can't even remember the subject because I was there as a student, but it was a pretty big meeting. I was there supporting a professor or administrator, and I started to say something and a male at the table put his hand, calm, towards me like basically shut up. We don't need your voice. You are in this role, and you can just go. So, I pushed my chair back from the table and said, you know what? If this is how the game is going to be played, I'm going to sit over here like Cinderella, good to know. Somebody could have warned me. You guys can walk into your quicksand, somebody at this table might know something about this, but guess what? I won't volunteer that because you're gonna play your games.

While all of the examples in this section describe situations where a person or group sees themselves as superior to others due to their lower-class identity, Barry directly named this element as elitism. Elitism is often a more subtle manifestation of classism to discuss, however, Barry referenced it within the context of being in a top-tier university.

Something perhaps a bit less explicit that I don't often think about this... I took a few classes over in different departments, but we had a department of development sociology, and perhaps it was because I had applied the previous year and did not get in... but they always felt a little bit – the faculty and some of the students – felt a little bit elitist over there... I felt that in that department where I was still just learning about epistemology, and I heard them talk about sociological theories, and I didn't know all those words and didn't know all those theorists, I didn't feel oppressed by any means, but I felt less than, I felt kind of diminished.

Evaluators Need to Pay Attention to Systemic Components that Amplify Privilege and Further Marginalize Individuals and Groups Within Communities

During discussions with participants about the field of evaluation, questions about how systems amplify privilege offered several insights into elements that continue to perpetuate advantages for certain groups and individuals at the expense of others. Participants offered cautionary tales and experiences of these systems; with some hoping to develop ways they may be changed as conversations continue on the topic.

Academia and Research in General Have Control in Framing Knowledge and Ignoring Potential Harms in Doing So Has Consequences

For many participants, the first systemic amplification for privilege mentioned was academia and research. As there is a vast amount of power and knowledge represented by the academy, participants reflected both on their experiences within academic settings, but also in how communities respond to research overall. This brought forward several cautionary tales behind the power and privilege in these systems.

For those participants who have careers within academia, their reflections upon the ways in which privilege manifests within the evaluation field included discussing constructs that fit into academic systems and process. Nancy discussed the over-arching issue of how academia is able to frame the field by saying,

I think that all of that shows up in what counts as evaluation, and who counts as an evaluator, or what counts as evaluation training. I am very much complicit in this – I work in the academy; I’m training evaluators in higher education contexts and graduate school context. And that’s kind of how we think about, or how the field kind of frames evaluation is that it goes with what is privileged, what is prioritized is formal academic training and positions in the academy are valued to a great extent. I’ll think of Jori Hall’s work around privilege and evaluation, too, and thinking about that evaluators are in a position of authority and have power over stakeholders, often, and in that, evaluation has been historically used as a means of social control. And so, seeing privilege at work there as well, in terms of it being a privileged profession or role that we’re often stepping into.

Nancy refers to Hall’s (2019) writing “although privilege is intersectional, complex, and challenging, it remains important for the field of evaluation to critically consider and actively engage. This is because professional privilege carries real-life consequences” (p. 3). Hall follows this by quoting Kirkhart (2015) who states, “I was disconcerted to confront the fact that evaluation itself is infused with privilege, and that mine is the face of privilege when I take on that role. And not in a good way. Evaluation may have been conducted with social betterment in mind, but the consequences have often been less than fair. Communities have been over-scrutinised and problematised. In some cases, calls for more evaluation have effectively stalled

corrective action. Evaluation can also serve as a means of social control, monitoring compliance with policies that are themselves oppressive” (p. 14).

In discussing research, in general, Eugene talks about the privilege inherent in any research profession,

research overall really epitomizes [privilege] because we are sort of free operators who get to sort of do whatever we think is important as researchers, which is another level of tremendous privilege, and I guess responsibility that comes with it to choose important topics and do things that are valuable and might help people... In a traditional research way, that those are a lot of where [privilege] would come from, and the other aspects of it are reflected in sort of having presumptions about diverse populations, or you know coming into the work with sort of without really taking the time to understand and get to know people and their experiences and their perspectives, and what they think of the research we’re doing. A lot of my research has had populations that were fairly racially diverse, and I know that it hasn’t been as clear and sensitive to the concerns of minoritized participants and understanding what might be different for them in these programs that we’re studying... The evaluation piece, it’s similar in that you’re entering some kind of connection typically within an organization or funder to be able to provide the kind of evaluation perspective, I’m very sensitive in that context to try to design and conduct the work in a way that ultimately won’t be harmful to the organizations. So, there’s a balance between getting accurate, clear data that can provide some answers to questions, and there’s a balance with also making sure that whatever questions we’re asking and data we’re gathering are not going to be

inappropriately used to in any way harm the organization, the programs we're working with. What that's meant at a practical level is that sometimes when people have come to me and said, you know, can you do this kind of an evaluation or can you do this kind of project? My answer has been, I really don't think that's necessarily the right thing to be doing right now for your organization, or to promote the work that you're doing and hoping to do. I would suggest instead we take a step back and maybe do this piece or this other piece first, so that we can be in a better position to get data that's going to be helpful to you, or that's not going to in any way harm your efforts in your organization... And that's a reflection of how I have to be very careful about using the privilege of having these research skills or evaluation skills and not just saying, okay, you know give me some money, you're gonna get this data and come back and say what you do is all crap, and it doesn't work.

In using an example of a specific evaluation project he worked on for his state, Eugene was asked to evaluate how certain programs funded for the state were doing, however, he responded to the state that it was important to learn how programs may be operating differently throughout the state, and learn about the range of variation, and the resources programs were operating from. After gathering data, he found,

we got the stories from people running programs where they were seeing people in waiting rooms of local nonprofits because they did not have their own space, working with 50-100 people a week on ten hours of support time, you know, horrible stuff that made no sense. And if you had said, why is your program not working as it should, or not being effective, without knowing that, it would be

ridiculous and unfair and not direct attention to the proper starting points in making sure we have reasonable resources for these programs and that they have space and staffing, and that they have a plan and protocols, and stuff that they're working with that makes sense to them. Then we can see, are they achieving some of their intended effects in the short term or long term... It's a vague concept of privilege, but what I'm saying is that we essentially have been given some authority or privilege to do things that can be helpful or harmful to organization, and I think we really need to think about that carefully when we enter into any of this kind of work.

Research that is positivist in nature can often have an emphasis on reducing bias or being value-free, which Penny expressed concern over.

I think that's another way [privilege] shows up, is just in some approaches and frames to evaluation, there's still a detached, scientific, wanting to hold onto this notion of value freeness, and in doing so I don't think they would say it is extractive because the framing never invites those kinds of questions. Like, I think it never occurs to them, because it's just their framing is so dominant that they never step back to question it, and that question never comes up.

Andrew pointed out that seemingly small advantages offered through academic privileges, such as the ability to travel to conferences or conduct evaluations in other locations, are important to keep in mind as well, since these advantages are so ingrained into the system it may be difficult for academics to understand that many people who lack that privilege may not be able to travel in that way.

My position as a professor within a university will give me access privileges. I have the capacity to go places, and I have the capacity to access funding to facilitate me to go to places and to engage in acts of evaluation or programs of evaluation. And it gives me the right, or at least the opportunity, to access and to ask questions that leads to value judgements based on my own particular understanding or my own interpretation of the goals of whatever program I'm looking at.

Beyond these advantages, however, is also the reality that the very nature of the evaluation field means that evaluators have the ability to define, judge, and make real impacts on individuals and communities. Deborah states that how evaluators understand their privileges and advantages is an important element to inspect.

I know evaluators see evaluation multiple ways, I tend to come to seeing evaluation as a social process that relies on methodology and data versus a methodological process that includes social dimensions, because I really center and see the social and cultural values/dimensions of what evaluation is. There's just no way to really know that privilege operates in society and in programs or systems without seeing it pretty much present throughout the process of evaluation. I think where we have to be extra careful as evaluators about where privilege has impacts in ways that can disadvantage people who have the least privilege in the evaluation context are in recruitment, participation representation, it's not just which stakeholders related to the program are least likely to be considered in terms of their interest, but often it's also absent stakeholders who don't even participate in the program but would have an interest or stake in it if

they were appropriately served. So, there's kind of those dimensions of participation and inclusion and representation. It's often the valuing process – how are we going to build consensus or agreement about the criteria by which we decide this is successful, useful, worthwhile? That can often look really different from different people's social standpoints, and those standpoints aren't often shared by who decides to fund that program or what people within powerful positions want it to achieve. So, I think that attending to those gulfs in interests are central to evaluation.

The presence of “top-down hierarchies” within research create a direct process of amplifying privilege in making sure that certain individuals and groups have a majority of the agency in decision making and determining how resources are used. Florence believes this includes the need to analyze how evaluators make decisions, and how the tools used as a part of those decisions need to be examined.

I think of it fundamentally, I guess, coming from a top-down, I think visibly looking at logic models you can see a ton of the bias and the built-in preconceptions, just even in the way they're structured... I think logic models just tell a great deal about the assumptions that are being made, particularly the western logic models have these two things – the presumed causal links, and then just the categories. [A colleague taught me] to be very cautious about categories... and in most categories themselves have to be taken with a grain of salt, and their boundaries interrogated, and their overlaps... I started off thinking much more categorically than I do now, even though I see them as lenses, sides of a prism I can turn and get different angles of vision... but I have a real

appreciation for the limitations of categorical thinking and categorical explanations and how much is left out.

Olivia discussed this top-down approach as being an issue that may be bigger than evaluation itself.

Evaluation itself, the whole process of evaluation, forget the person who is doing the evaluation, the field itself is a colonizing field, a colonizing practice. Our standards that we use to judge comes from the western canon, the western canon, though, is made up of White men historically. And that western canon identifies our history – it identifies everything, actually. It's the standard by which we judge everything in our society – literature, art, science, you name it – evaluation is a part of that. Qualitative and quantitative, even post-structural or post-colonial all of these approaches, even critical theory, even post-modernism, all stem from these concepts that are very western in origin.

Carl believes that philosophies and paradigms behind evaluation theory are important to analyze within any attempt to investigate how systems amplify privilege. Where these philosophies encourage narrow viewpoints and fail to recognize perspectives of marginalized groups and individuals, there are bound to be places where privilege is amplified in ways that cause harm.

One way [privilege] shows up is in privileging of dominant groups, like how the practice of evaluation is oriented. We think about all those frameworks, evaluation theory, that are really focused on people who hold positions of power – like decision-oriented frameworks, and sort of orienting evaluation toward the needs of funders and program managers rather than communities and the people

who are supposed to be benefiting from a program, and in fact, actively excluding the voices and perspectives of the people that the program is supposed to benefit, which are typically people of color, low-income people, people with disabilities, for example... the values of the dominant group show up in methods and methodologies. We're still, as a field, having all these conversations around randomized control trials, and there are these certain methodologies that dominant groups reflect those values as well.

When focusing on evaluators themselves, one participant detailed that, we have to start with that, often, as the practitioners in this space. We are, generally speaking, very highly educated compared to the average – we're mostly graduate degreed in some way. We may be interacting with professional peers who are also educated, but we are most often being asked to evaluate programs in communities and with people who are less educated than we. I think we fully operate from the privilege of formal education, and that comes with some downsides as well. But, I think that's where it shows up first and foremost. We're a practice that intellectualizes, it involved some degree of abstract theory base, higher-level math skills and statistical skills – all things which we can't assume give us a better sense of the truth, or the right sense of the truth and evidence, but it has given us ease of access as well as reputational influence that what we say matters, what we decide or what we analyze people will pay attention to. That's changing, appropriately being questioned, but I think that's the biggest one for me with evaluation is that we sit with a very privileged stance about deciding the value of other people's work.

There are numerous challenges to overcome in addressing evaluator privilege. Larry talked about in his identity as a White evaluator from an “ivory tower” university that is not community-based,

you come in and you have a lot of assumptions to overcome. [You may have to deal with previous researchers] who had the ethos of [ivory tower academic settings], or anything else [the community] might have experienced before...

There are a lot of initial challenges to overcome before we even get to be like, I’m coming in to help you, I’m not coming in to punish you, I’m not going to come in and steal your data or take advantage of you. There’s a lot of harm that has been done that you need to directly address before you can even get started on doing what you need to do. I still face it with new agencies with new people... who are suspicious, but it’s taken a lot of work to overcome that, and I know many people would do that, namely just come in and do the job and leave, as opposed to building these relationships and trying to make sure things are culturally appropriate and culturally sensitive and helpful.

History is More Than Looking into the Past, it Structures How Privilege is Amplified in Evaluation and Research

Historical components to evaluation have various roots, yet one piece of writing on the topic of the foundations of evaluation, Alkin & Christie (2004) postulated a semi-structured taxonomic analysis of evaluation approaches that has received attention since it was published. Participants referenced the “evaluation tree” on several occasions, and also spoke to other historical components behind the field that amplify privilege. Penny noted,

our scholarship, whose voice gets privileged, whose voice is a part of the canon, who decides, all of those things. An example that is getting a lot of discussion, but is also tied to a longer conversation, and a longer history is Alkin & Christie's evaluation theory tree... I understand very clearly where this came from and how some of these decisions were made. I also understand that evaluators of color, Indigenous evaluators, evaluators working in the Global North in non-European context, evaluators in Africa, they were also writing about things, they were writing about theories. And, so, they were excluded. And some of the cases, I think they were excluded because there wasn't a translation of ideas. Not all other ideas were written in English. But other times, for instance evaluators of color, they were excluded because someone made a decision that it didn't rise to the level of importance... it wasn't important enough to be included. I think there's privilege embedded in our scholarship, and that gets carried over into training because students are reading things, and they're learning ideas. If they don't ever know that there's another way to think about these things, or that there are other people who have written about these ideas even earlier than what is being suggested.

Barry observes that the evaluation theory tree, in addition to ignoring the influence of evaluators from other parts of the world, also set up a foundation in White male dominance. In a way, this tool at its very inception allowed for an amplification of privilege that infuses throughout the field of evaluation.

Being an academic, I will start at the level of theory before moving to practice because they're very linked, of course. So, one way privilege works in evaluation

is it's now symbolized by the Evaluation Roots situation... We have the Evaluation Roots metaphor, the Theory Tree put forward by Alkin and Christie, and also picked up by Mertens and Wilson, laying out the structure of the canon of our field. As many people have pointed out in recent years, Nikki Bowman, Vidhya Shanker, Ayesha Rios, Jennifer Billman... that tree is very obviously, first of all, there's not theories on the tree it's theorists, so they're people, and mostly all White men and a few White women. All of whom were either passed away or in retirement age, basically. So, that's one way privilege works in evaluation is whose theories, whose ways of thinking and knowing are made to be the canon of the field. And manifest[ed] by that tree metaphor, that's how privilege works. At a broader level... there's privilege that happens through epistemological and methodological hierarchies, so even going back to the 2002 AEA and non-AEA statements about the methodological hierarchies of randomized control trials, the way I would talk about it is back then and to this day in some ways there are methodologies that are privileged in funding decisions, publishing capabilities, just status. It's a manifestation of the paradigm wars of the 70s and 80s, rehashed through the 'gold standard' debates of randomized control trials. It's an epistemological and methodological privilege that happens.

Some participants were involved early in the evolution of evaluation as a field and speaking to their experiences as evaluation was first gaining its footing offered up first-hand accounts to historical components. Kenneth was recruited to assist in an evaluation of school districts, and described that process as,

they were developing materials, so they had me teach their materials to become a demonstration... I went around the state and became a state consultant and visited all these classrooms... to help develop materials... [eventually made a connection], he worked in the state legislature and wants to see a review of it, wants to know if it's good or not. That was a tricky place, and they wanted me to head up the evaluation, and I don't know anything about evaluation. I talked to [colleague], my stats instructor... and he told me, nobody knows anything about this, so here's what you do... get someone like [early evaluator] and set up an advisory panel and have them advise you on what to do... So, I started the project... got a box, a small cardboard box, and everything with evaluation in the title, all the papers I could find, and I wrote everything in a month and set up an advisory panel... I worked with them, they visited 2-3 times per year... that worked out wonderfully, I designed the whole thing, nobody knew what the hell they were doing, because all research designs and university research they worked with pigeons, and stuff they do in universities. So, it wasn't anything that we would now call evaluation, it wasn't even close in my view. So, I did this evaluation after four years... by then people were asking me to write papers and give speeches... we'll hire you anytime because none of us know how to do evaluation... and you actually know how to go out and do an evaluation... it wasn't anything that existed as a profession. You were a measurement person and you did testing, and administered tests... this is not a field, per se, that people did unless you went into measurement. I wasn't really interested in strictly doing measurement stuff... so, this became something broader in my view, and I helped

broaden out the field, along with [others], to kind of look at things other than simple testing. It was all standardized human testing, pretty much, in education... Title I for disadvantaged children, because Robert Kennedy, he insisted these Title I funds that go to school districts, he insisted they be evaluated, so all of a sudden there's a big demand that was stimulated by the federal government. Kenneth, in discussing evaluation history, stated, Charles Murray, who had worked on some stuff over in Vietnam, doing evaluations... pacification programs... he used their stuff, Murray went from there directly into his famous book on social programs, that Great Society programs weren't any good, and the reasons they failed is because people themselves are bad... and went right on to 'The Bell Curve,' so he went straight into biological racism. But he started out, he was doing evaluations... not trying at all to understand the program, just pushing an evaluation model over the top of it, which is what I bet he did in Vietnam, evaluating the Vietnam stuff. So, and then when the program didn't work, he blamed it on Jackson, in his view he didn't do a good job... so, he went into other Great Society programs and they failed because these people are naturally lazy, and these programs enforce their laziness... there are a lot of neoconservatives and other types of groups that are now set up, producing literature, they found out they could produce their own pseudoscientific literature, which the press would accept. They have a lot of success communicating, because this fits how the public sees itself – the public itself is racist and have a racial frame they carry around... if someone says that [Black people] are inferior, it just enforces ideas they already have. And it's true

because the evaluation reinforces all their racist ideas. The White community I'm seeing is still pretty racist... they're better than they used to be, and they're more aware than they used to be.

When Florence, who started her career early in the development of evaluation, spoke to the history, she discussed some of the early makeup of who was conducting evaluation work.

I came on as a graduate student into [Evaluation Network] that was mostly White male, and the whole profession was White at the time, but the other side, Evaluation Research Society... there were some men on that side, too, but it was pretty much all White, but gender wise they had different roots, so when they came together as AEA it was more gender balanced than either of them had been prior to that, in terms of the leadership.

In calling out evaluation work within the United States of America, Andrew mentioned that while there often is a stated desire to focus on cultural responsiveness, there are many cultures that are not considered a part of the analysis when they are outside of the country.

I'm really fascinated by the hegemonic nature of the Anglo-centric view of research within education. We have very particular perspectives, and sort of intellectual and academic scaffolding structures that we sort of think are universal... Meetings in the US, which are about the importance of culture and cultural context, which are absolutely monocultural. There're just focused completely on the experience of the continental United States, and many of the subcultures within that, but there's no awareness or no acknowledgement that there's a much broader world out there, even though there's a European world that is profoundly different in its conceptualization to the American world. And

there's very little awareness of this, even with people who are talking all the time about the importance of cultural sensitivity and cultural context and being aware of diversity.

Historical foundations for evaluation are often broader than the evaluation field itself, as Carl noted, "I do think the deepest part of privilege in our work is that we are by choice privileging the roots of our scientific inquiry from a very narrow part of history and science."

Some of the historical dynamics of evaluation come from practiced status quos behind process and methodology. Carl described,

some of it's intentional, intentional about power maybe not as explicit about race in the choices that are made. I think we work backwards, it's still a smaller number of people who are in the room making decisions, and those rooms are not diverse to start with and even if their intention is about diversity and equity, it's still doesn't show up in the sharing of resources and access. I think we've made certain choices about how we operate... in an academic frame is one, lots of small issues and choices that may just privilege men over women. There's also the sociological and personal and cultural things around how that happens in institutions, and I think that still shows up in our work. I put it down to it's about resources, it's about access, and it's about influence, and we're still challenged by all those things that are going to get in the way of someone's reputation, or I would put it as their ability to be believed, understood, have influence. That people, because of sociology and ecology and anthropology, we're still defaulting into underappreciating/undervaluing the perspectives of those who are othered, and that still happens in our field, even when we try to think otherwise. But I

would still go back to, it's the decisions of who is resourced in the first place. And I think who has access to the places, the spaces, and the funding is still where that disproportionality shows up.

The English Language Serves to Dominate Communication Channels and Amplify Linguistic Privilege Within and Beyond the Evaluation Field

In discussing the conditions that amplify oppressive conditions within an evaluand, the English language was brought forward as being a foundational construct upon which other systems are built. As it is a source of communicative power throughout the world, participants suggested the need to analyze how this may fit into evaluation work overall. Andrew speaks to the power and privilege of the English language by describing,

There's the hegemonic use of the English language, it's enormously dominant and it's an imposition of other linguistic privilege in a context where language is that core communication capacity that allows you to translate your ideas into concepts and thoughts for communication, and if you're being forced to do that in a second, or a third, or sometimes a fourth language, it automatically disempowers you and it automatically leads to a position where you're being forced to in some way alter your core ideas and core conceptualizations, and alter and change what to you is a basic cultural presupposition in order to communicate in a different way to somebody from a different context. One of the things we're terrible at, those of us who are English language speakers, is learning second languages. So, we demand in any given situation that people communicate with us in English, and I say that in absolute knowledge that I'm one of the people who does that. So, I that's a really, really important point of privilege within any academic field and within

evaluation as well... We're privileged because we can communicate in a more coherent way, and we communicate in a more fluid way because it's our primary first language, but we're also privileged because our mental structures and the conceptualization that we use, and the way in which we shape ideas become the dominant way because we are the ones who shape the agenda through our use of our language.

These dynamics both lead to the inability of non-English speakers to communicate in certain ways, but also for English speakers to have access to knowledge and scholarship coming from other language sources. Andrew shares that,

it reminds me of one of my closest colleagues, she's Portuguese, and I remember complimenting her after her presentation she did at a conference, and she said if you think that was good you should hear me in Portuguese! That's fascinating, you know, and then there's also quite interesting research about networking and higher education and the way in which we form collaborative networks. And what tends to happen is people tend to cleave to those with a similar linguistic background over and above a geographic background.

In discussing his specific context, Andrew discussed how he and his university were "language brokers" who were given opportunities to take part in funding projects due to having English as a native language. "We have the capacity to put together networks of people who share our linguistic, or at least we know they're competent within English and therefore we can shape networks out of that and engage in the research around culturally responsive evaluation [in my area] which is a very new field."

Considerations of What Projects Are Funded, Who is Nominated for and Receives Awards, and What is Perceived as Credible Are Necessary in Understanding How Privilege is Amplified

For privilege to be amplified, it needs to have access to resources, needs to receive ample attention, and needs to have overall societal support. Funding dynamics are critical within the analysis of both evaluation and the manner in which privilege is amplified. Attention is also provided to whom receives awards for their work, and for what work they conducted – and this attention serves to amplify certain kinds of privilege. Who and what determines which sources are credible is also an element of privilege, and evaluation can play a key role in determining credibility.

Overall, funding determines the ability to conduct certain research and projects within communities. To the extent that funding creates opportunities, or amplifies privilege is important to consider, as several participants noted. Mary described this as,

I just think the whole funding supplication – who pays for what you do... Part of the reason I got into and took a couple courses on evaluation is that I hired an evaluator to do some work for the agency I worked for, and the work was so shoddy and so incomplete, and there were no standards and way to do it... It was, here's what the funder wants and we're going to tell them what they want to hear, as opposed to really evaluate the program. I know that's throughout the field, who decides what methods, but with funding being at stake... organizations that can hire good grant writers get the grants, right? I remember fairly recently being on a review panel, and they said no do not look at grammar, do not look at punctuation... but yet, they were like if they went over their word count, we're

going to ding them... And often in the grant applications, what data, what research do you have, what evaluations do you have to show that your programs work? And then the ones that have a partnership with this university, or we did this over here, so it becomes this self-perpetuating without people ever really looking critically.

Mary also communicated that the expectations that come with grant funded projects are important to consider. Not just the grant process and necessary application, but the reporting procedures and end products that are expected by funded projects.

And then the question would be, what did they expect from the recipient at the end of the grant period? Was it a 10-page report, or was it a thumbs-up/thumbs-down emoji? Because often the evaluation piece is disproportionate, so what did the process ask? Because that is where I think evaluation becomes used or complicit... and is our primary job to keep ourselves in business? Are we internal so we want to make sure, or are we external and trying to get the gigs? So, where is our self-interest in this?

Funding also tends to fit into various status quos that determine what is credible, what is fundable, and what determines various norms within society. Gloria explained,

because evaluators, usually, if it's contract work you have a client that usually they have the money to pay for a big evaluation has ideas that are typically more status quo (not always). So, I think the way evaluation as a profession reinforces the status quo, then the reliance on expertise and how we frame expertise as a collective of people tends to reinforce the status quo. I was working on an evaluation project with somebody, and it was the person who was paying for it,

and we were talking about doing focus groups with teachers, and maybe parents, and paying people for their time, and compensating for their time in different ways, and there was somebody who was a stakeholder for her that was concerned that would bias the results if you paid people to participate. Super status quo. I was like, you're getting paid, I'm getting paid, everybody but the people providing information are getting paid, so like why is that not a problem? You're okay with everybody but the people that actually have experience in this area, that's the bias you want to drive things?

Beyond funding, there is also the attention that certain evaluators may receive when awards are bestowed upon them. Barry asks further questions about this process and reports it's not just the awards themselves, but who determines the process behind how these awards are given, and how does this bolster certain roles and responsibilities over others?

The system or structure of publishing, but I really do mean more than publishing, it's kind of like who is in the room where it happens? It has to do with publishing, but being in service leadership roles in the field with our different associations and that works, because those activities are in some cases one of the top points on someone's job description. If you're a faculty member, publishing in addition to getting grants is your number one job, so of course you're going to publish more. But since faculty tend to be predominantly White and male, even though in a lot of evaluation programs that is no longer the trend, which is great. Unlike a field like economics which has a terrible race and racism problem, but that's one way for clearly... it's an awards system and a credibility system. Who is seen as being credible, and who is awarded for doing stuff. An amazing consultant/practitioner

could write twenty stellar reports, perfectly data viz, applying multiple methods, just great, even though there's a practice award, they might not be likely to get that because it's just seen as doing the work. Whereas I could write three journal articles in the American Journal of Evaluation, because I need to do that to maintain my job, and I might get a promising new evaluator award because I published in AJE three times. So, that's a clear linkage between structures and systems and individual privilege.

Pointing toward academic structures in the evaluation field, Penny discussed the privilege behind the formal learning of evaluation, and evaluation academic programs by stating, I think the system reinforces itself within academia is particularly around tenure decisions, you have to have someone who already has tenure above you, ideally a full professor, and if you think about who those people are, there aren't a whole lot of them in evaluation. I mean, we've got something like, I don't know how many evaluation doctoral programs, right, but I think it's somewhere like 40 or 50, but we no not everyone in those programs is an evaluation person, right? So, there's a still a small group of people who's deciding who the next generation is going to be to fill and maintain those academic positions. It's the same people who have created the systems and the privileges, or the ways in which people are disadvantaged within the evaluation scholarship.

Politics are Intricately Involved in Evaluation, and Evaluators Can be Complicit in Enforcing, Amplifying, and Perpetuating Privilege as a Result

While historical roots were discussed previously, part of the historical connections involve the ways in which evaluation is attached to the political process in the USA and around

the world in various ways. Evaluation often addresses or focuses on public policy and political systems, and these systems can have places where they amplify privilege, as Deborah described,

systems are often like a collection of policies that are enforced by people whose roles are to do that... One of the ways you see privilege magnified and lack of privilege magnified are just in the accumulation of policy in a sort of arbitrariness of implementation... In some ways the role of evaluation... is to reconcile the logic of several layers of education policy and different planned schemes and programs that are supposed to represent the state caring for these communities, and in particular for how inequity is experienced. However, their sound implementation and the ability to conceptualize and have some evidence for what are their multiple effects is just so complicated, and there's often not the same ending and intention and space to the attention of understanding the effects of all these policies and programs, versus the conceptualizing of them and their half-implementation. Sometimes the reproduction of privilege isn't exactly just in the policy but is in the planning for its implementation and the desire to reflect on its actual consequences for people.

This process, however, is complicated by how positions in power use evaluation for their own purposes, which Deborah goes on to describe as,

one way to preserve power and to basically not achieve anything at all, is to pretend you're achieving everything and then not measure it... There is a lot of beautiful rhetoric and policy sometimes with very few details on its mechanisms, and such a grand expanse compared to what the actual context is, that it is almost farcical. There, evaluation plays quite a large role in terms of just attempting to

document and apply a certain level of evaluative thinking to the logical extension of what would be some of these ideas if they are really to be implemented and understood as to whether they would happen or not.

The Process of Determining Program Values in Evaluation May Result in Amplifications of Privilege, and Participants Expressed Concerns about the Process

Evaluators have various ways of learning about program values, and how some of these values may amplify privileged members of an evaluand. Discussions of logic models, and how they can be windows into a program's value systems was brought forward by Florence who reflected,

I have some [logic models] from published articles that were real examples where it was totally a deficit model constructed. And that's one thing that evaluators can always look for that comes straight from social work, the strengths-based versus the deficit framing of people's lives, of people's circumstances, and have their talents framed as problems rather than as strengths. So yeah, I think evaluation needs to take a page from social work in terms of considering how aspects of diversity enter into the assumptions that we enter with in evaluation and then become operationalized.

How programs detail values in writing as opposed to demonstrating them can be a challenging component for evaluators. Carl expressed concern about determining values by describing,

I think the biggest lesson and challenge is, people can state values in words, but how do you confirm those values have meaning in practice, as in what can be observed, what can be seen in behavior. For me, the hardest part in this work, is

that values are words that are meant to represent some kind of internal orientation or internal principles, but as evaluators trying to see if those values actually have relevance in practice in behavior... People can say anything, but it may not show up in behavior. So, observing behavior and deciding what might be the intrinsic or unstated principles, versus the ones that people assert.

Carl referenced work by Eoyang (2011) who lists and describes ten reasons not to work to define corporate values, which include:

1. They are an invitation to lie in public (para. 2)
2. We feel good when we talk about values, but nothing changes (para. 3)
3. Value considerations amplify similarity while silence different perspectives (para. 4)
4. Values conversations tend to perpetuate cultural bias (para. 5)
5. Values statements often mask reality and encourage skepticism (para. 6)
6. Questions if institutions have values at all (para. 7)
7. Values may be espoused, but not lived (para. 8)
8. The few cannot determine the values of the many (para. 9)
9. Values focus on past, and sometimes present, but not necessarily the future (para. 10)
10. Values statements often do not distinguish one organization from another (para. 11)

When Carol elaborated on his understanding of Eoyang's work he further described that, we have to be careful that when an organization, in particular, asserts values, those values are often produced or come to some agreement through a very

traditional white supremacist framing of what values are important, and doesn't make room for a lot of diversity of values and diversity of opinion. And I've always had that article stuck with me, that even the way values are asserted, they're asserted in very, 'of course you agree' or 'we all agree, of course, poverty is bad' but it doesn't make a lot of room for nuance, or disagreement, so I have come to a suspicion of values, particularly when her point was asserting common organizational values can quiet or silence differing opinions, and in her view that's often what happens in organizations... I have questioned the ability to get a true answer when you are asking people about values, but it's hard in this work because there's a lot of desire to conform, a lot of social value on some of these values, and they tend to be generic and tend to have very specific meaning, and I think that shows up even in programmatic values... without triangulating it into any real evidence of behavior.

Research Question Three

RQ3: How and in what ways do experienced White evaluators identify the role of evaluation in addressing the marginalization of stakeholders, and how do they leverage privilege in evaluation practice (if at all)?

- a. How and in what ways do participants address oppressive systems, individuals, and groups within evaluation contexts?

As the interview with participants finished asking about experiences of marginalization, it shifted into inquiring about how evaluators, within the positionality of privilege in the profession, might work to address marginalization and then other ways of leveraging privilege as

a part of the evaluation field. Finally, the questioning emphasized how evaluators might best interrogate privilege in efforts to inhibit its advantages in pursuit of greater equity.

Table 7. Research Question Three Section Descriptions

<i>The Roles of an Evaluator in Addressing Marginalization</i>	<i>Brief Description of How Participants Described This Role</i>
Evaluators Must Pay Attention to Which Voices and Perspectives are Included and Excluded	Simply stating that an evaluation collects all the voices of a community or program does not necessarily mean they have been authentic, nor that they have been freely given. Evaluators must be sensitive to which voices are dominant, which lack nuance or understanding, and how and in what ways certain voices are excluded from discussions, activities, or decision making within an evaluand.
Cultural Responsiveness is Not Just Knowing, But Practicing a Mindset of Humility	Evaluators discuss cultural responsiveness in several ways and raising awareness and knowledge of various cultural dynamics – especially those which are marginalized – is important. However, evaluators need to navigate culture with humility, particularly in understanding how their privileged positionalities may have been involved in the marginalization of others.
Foundationally, Evaluators Can Make Sure the Teaching of Evaluation Pays Attention to Marginalized Perspectives	When evaluators are involved in teaching the practice of evaluation to others, there is a certain responsibility to make sure that issues of privilege and marginalization are addressed directly and comprehensively. Evaluation can often be taught as a series of tools and processes to follow, but this misses the human element that is typically a major part of the work as a whole.
Evaluators Need to be Attuned to Theories Behind Evaluation and Evaluation Methods and Approaches to Understand How They May Amplify or Inhibit Privilege	With each evaluation method or approach mentioned by a participant, there were concerns about how those may be used in ways that may amplify privilege. Participants discussed the benefits and cautions behind Empowerment Evaluation, Participatory Evaluation, Culturally Responsive Evaluation, and general evaluation design considerations.

<i>Methods and Discussion For Leveraging Evaluator Privilege</i>	<i>Brief Descriptions of How Participants Described This Method of Leveraging Privilege</i>
Evaluators Need to Leverage Their Positions to Contexts of Educating About Privilege and Making Concerted Efforts Toward Equity	In understanding the privilege evaluators have in their roles, there are several methods of using the access and power within the role to reduce marginalization and work toward equity. Participants offered examples of specific education evaluators can provide to others in several contexts.
Understanding the Ability to Refusing to Evaluate is an Important Way to Leverage Evaluator Privilege	Privileged positionalities often have both the access to advantages and power, but also the ability to deny that access or fail to use it for personal interests. Evaluators can leverage their privilege by refusing to evaluate if the context is in some way amplifying privilege or can redirect work to marginalized evaluators or communities.
<i>Directly Addressing Privilege and Oppressive Systems Can be a Role Evaluators Choose to Play</i>	<i>Brief Descriptions of Roles Evaluators Can Play in Addressing Privilege and Oppressive Systems</i>
Components of Evaluator Privilege Include Access to Multiple Perspectives, Awareness of Systemic Inequities, and Influence With Funders and Decision Makers	As evaluators can access perspectives of various stakeholder groups and individuals, they have the ability to understand bigger pictures and conflicting interests. A part of this access may involve how evaluators have awareness for and pay attention to systemic inequities within a system and can use this knowledge and understanding to influence changes from various sources of community power.
Knowing How Certain Systems Can Inhibit Privilege Will be Useful in Recognizing How Systems Can Potentially Move Toward Greater Equity	Evaluators, in their understanding of systemic inequities can also build awareness of systems that actively work against oppressive and privileged positionalities. Participants offered examples for further thought that may inspire future work in addressing privilege through evaluation and other means.

What is the Role of an Evaluator in Addressing Marginalization

Evaluators take on many roles within many different contexts, depending on the model approach, the philosophical orientation and values of the individual, and the constraints of the funding elements and requirements. In asking questions about evaluator perspectives of the roles they might play in addressing marginalization and methods of leveraging privilege, participants

offered experienced insights, philosophical values and perspectives, and specific strategies as they navigated the dialogue.

Evaluators Must Pay Attention to Which Voices and Perspectives are Included and Excluded

Giving attention to both voice and perspective, for evaluators and stakeholders, includes the need to pay attention to positionality in several areas. Jane cautioned how evaluators have a huge responsibility, and I think it needs to be taken extremely seriously in understanding where your lens is limited and where you might not be the person. If my presence as a White person is going to trigger them, or a woman is going to trigger them, or something like that. First and foremost, I would be like, oh should I be the one to do that? Should I be the one to collect this data? Should I be the only one to analyze the data or thinking through all of that and where your limitations are, and where your strengths are too, and what you should be focused on.

Andrew echoed the question by stating that evaluators themselves need to be asking it, in a theoretical and a research background, one of the things I'm very interested is in voice, stakeholder voice, and at the moment, a lot of the research we've been doing will be around student voice and stakeholder voice in educational evaluation. So how do you include the voices of those individuals who have been traditionally marginalized within models of looking at quality within education?

Much of answering this question involved the ability of an evaluator to access a variety in points of view. Carl expressed his opinion that awareness that there are varying perspectives is critical to including voices that are easily missed.

I think posing a question, observing, and reminding clients or program that this is about assessing to get closer to, I won't say truth, but answers, we've got to be aware constantly that there are different points of view, different analyses, different ways to assess, different ways to interpret the data and make conclusions. So, it's that ability to keep questioning, not only our own assumptions but the assumptions of others. I think empowering other voices in what we do – who gets to speak for, publish, lead, all of that is within our purview and power to be able to control, that then lays the groundwork for perspective shifting in big ways.

Gloria added that the ability to pay attention to voice and perspective may mean that evaluators need to be,

making space for other people to be doing the work, and to lift them up to other people [and] reinforce somebody else's expertise that is more well positioned to do work to people who maybe aren't open to that expertise... Turning down work, and explaining why in some cases... Helping people argue for resources to compensate people, to not only acknowledge their expertise but also pay them for it, and argue for that in projects, and amplify their voices. Because, a lot of evaluation work is done by middle aged White women, I'd say, the world does not need another middle-aged White woman right now.

Stake (1972) stated that responsive evaluation is present if, "it orients more directly to program activities than to program intents, if it responds to audience requirements for information, and if the different value-perspectives present are referred to in reporting the success of the program" (p. 1). Andrew accessed Stake's work by stating,

culture is obviously very important, but to me the core of that way of thinking of evaluation comes from Bob Stake's work on responsive evaluation. So, you are actually responding. You're listening to those with whom you are creating an evaluation relationship, and I use that phrase advisedly, that instead of you being an evaluator and making a judgment about something, you're engaging in a responsive relationship with a group of people and you're trying to come together to a shared understanding about questions of value in a particular context and a particular setting. And where cultural responsibility is important is it recognizes that the cultural background of the individual [you are] creating that relationship with is massively important and should be an essential aspect to the way in which you consider, and you discuss, questions of value.

Florence suggested stakeholder mapping as a practical tool that can serve to amplify voices by making sure all stakeholders are represented within the work.

In doing a stakeholder map, where you're looking at the different stakeholders in relation to your evaluand, that then being able to advocate for intentionality in including those at different positions of power... including both direct and indirect consumers in the stakeholder mapping. So, to me, a lot of this comes down to who is genuinely allowed, who is genuinely welcomed into the process and provided a platform to communicate their needs... So, it's not just to say, come join me and tell me on my terms what you want, but maybe I'm going to you, or I'm simply shutting up and listening to an event or watching an event or whatever, but creating opportunities to really get close to the experience and I think evaluators can insist on that. I mean, I think we should be insisting that all

of these big secondary data analyses need to be accompanied by a qualitative case study so that you're getting both experiences. Both what do big data say, but what is it like up close and personal?

Cultural Responsiveness is Not Just Knowing, But Practicing a Mindset of Humility

Barry explained that from the broad sense and understanding of what it means to be culturally responsive, a starting point is in,

trying to operationalize and implement culturally responsive and equitable evaluation, trying to actively be antiracist in evaluation... those are things that are relatively tangible to do... the epistemological hierarchies and ontological assumptions of people, either evaluators or program people, to actively and as consistently as possible, and as out loud as possible, challenge my own received assumptions my received notions about knowledge and reality to open up in my own mind the possibility for (not to name them by othering them, but that's always a problem) non-Euro American theories, philosophies, epistemologies, ontologies and wherever possible find ways in my research and evaluation to foreground ways of knowing and being that are drawn from communities not my own, and I'm aware of the potential irony, but I think that's a strong point because there's more parallelism... if the current status quo is that all evaluators should pick their theorist from the tree, regardless if they themselves are White or Black or what have you, and then doing culturally responsive evaluation or made in Africa evaluation is a little bit like a novelty or a side project – you can study it, but of course you won't use it because you have to use one of these established things. Try to interrupt that norm and say I... when I present at a conference and

present my theoretical framework it may be a feminist African philosophy, and that might not be the point of the presentation, but that was a tool to think with, and there should be nothing novel about a White American man using a feminist African epistemology as an undergirding for a research project or evaluation... for now I'm being explicit about it so people know the irony isn't lost on me, and I think pulling back the curtain and being more explicit about something like that for the time being about it is beneficial until it becomes more normalized, which might take fifty years or might never happen.

Andrew stressed that sensitivity to the perspectives and expectations of marginalized individuals and groups is an important component of cultural responsiveness where evaluators have to,

in a meaningful way giving authority and power and responsibility to the people who we are working with or evaluating with. I'm still moving my way along that role and trying to think of the best way of doing that. Then that often happens within a context of a funding context or a structural context that has an expectation of outputs that may or may not make sense within the cultural experiences of those you are trying to move from the margins.

In doing this culturally responsive work, Andrew further discussed how evaluation needs to be constantly considering public policy.

I don't think it can be done in one project, I think there has to be a widespread systemic and policy change. That's in some ways, that's the way increasingly... we see our roles as evaluators as being absolutely looking at program sessions and looking at individual and maybe national programs, but also having a policy

influence as well. I've been a part of a policy conversation, so when you begin to discuss things like how you take account of culture within an evaluation context, that's a multi-agency, multi-generational setting. That's a change of mindset, which we may or may not succeed with, but it has to go that way. It's not enough, although we can do a lot of work by doing it at individual micro levels, it has to be done in mezzo and macro levels as well, and there has to be systemic changes as well as individual practice change.

Andrew observed that there are several challenges in navigating cultural sensitivity, and to enter into cross-cultural spaces, humility is of key importance.

I think there's a lot of glibness around, 'we have to be culturally sensitive, you know, and I gotta go to these people and they're going to understand that I'm just like them...' that's just nonsense. We have to be humble in the context of us as evaluators going into a different cultural context.

Jane offers that being culturally sensitive and responsive includes paying attention to everyday activities and habits that might vary within cultures. Evaluators need to always [be] trying to think you have a responsibility to understand the culture and the context of the community that you're working with. I think we would talk a little bit about cultural logistics. Where do people already convene, where do people already, you know, what food do they order, how do they arrange the chairs, how do they function, and how can you integrate yourself into that culture and celebrate it? What are their cultural strengths as a community? And understanding how power works within the evaluation itself, you know, with the organization or with the group you are working with so then, again, you are

emphasizing the experiences of those most effected by whatever it is you are evaluating in the program and making sure they have the most amplified voice.

This is not always as simple as ensuring certain voices are amplified, however, and Andrew described that sometimes it has a lot to do with knowing which voices need to be less prominent.

I think what you have to do is you have to sort of take yourself off the evaluator's pedestal and create an actual relationship with those individuals. So, that's the first thing, the second thing is you have to be humble enough to realize that you might be able to.

Florence reflects that components of self-reflection help with the ability to be humble, as well as being careful about how pride and self-satisfaction may contribute to missing perspectives and viewpoints.

In truth, all of us is going to be missing something... self-satisfaction is a... manifestation of privilege, that complacent self-satisfaction of oh, good job, I think I got that right. You've gotta be careful. I think that's dangerous territory, and some people are more used to going there than others. The self-interrogation stuff, I mean, I think honestly my clinical training and years of therapy earlier on have helped that sensibility. But yeah, we don't understand everything about ourselves or others. And self-critique is a good thing, self-exploration is a good thing, and uncertainty is a good thing. I think that the search for absolute answers is really not in the right direction, you need to be thinking about all of these qualifying statements. And that's why it's so important to get close to the community of interest.

Humility necessitates the ability to humanize self and others. “The first thing you have to do is humanize yourself,” Andrew said simply, while Jane elaborated on what that means, I think you’re going to mess up, because you’re human, but I think it’s a life practice. It’s a daily practice, but if you understand that you’re contributing to society in the way you operate every day, then I think it’s pretty important for you to speak and be intentional with where you put your money, and all the different things. Share networking opportunities that have less access to social capital, just every choice I think there’s a possibility for you to really see how you can possibly leverage your positionality and your privilege... and that word comes back to me again with evaluators. We have a specific positionality that I think is unique and really important – if we’re tied to multiple, a funder, a nonprofit, community participants, a school district, or a health system, you’re able to see all these kinds of interconnections... I think there’s an immense duty that comes with that. We have to be thoughtful and responsible, but also agile in how we use and how we move with information we have.

Barry said evaluators can also work to be transparent about their positional privilege, and work to understand why doing so is important in addressing marginalization.

One way [in addressing marginalization is] to be explicit about my own privilege, because if I stay silent, then I am complicit in marginalization. Connected to that is my role as someone who can and ought to speak up – when I see marginalization happening, be it from so-called microaggressions all the way up to systematic, structural exclusion of certain groups, or thinly veiled racism or very marginalizing language and action. Stating my own privilege, speaking up to

intervene when I see others perpetrating it, and perhaps on a different level, it's approaching both the practice of evaluation and the theory of evaluation in ways... specifically taking a participatory and collaborative approach to the work is, I feel, in and of itself, not necessarily but it has the potential to avoid or reduce marginalization.

Olivia echoed an uncertainty between the professional responsibility of evaluators and the personal values of pressing against marginalization.

I think it's so individual. I think there's a lot of evaluators who evaluate programs and policies and systems that have nothing to do with marginalization, right, and I think that's fine because we need educated evaluators doing that work. We have a responsibility... not to marginalize people and not marginalize voices, but I don't know that we have a responsibility beyond that, you know? I think it's my responsibility, I can only speak for myself... [but] it's my role as a teacher to broaden student's minds and help them think about themselves and about their own positions.

Foundationally, Evaluators Can Make Sure the Teaching of Evaluation Pays Attention to Marginalized Perspectives

Evaluators, particularly those who teach evaluation within academic settings, can have a role to play in addressing marginalization from a foundational level. Knowing that people enter the profession for various reasons has helped Harold clarify how to approach teaching evaluation itself.

What tends to happen is my often White students get interested in evaluation because they are interested in the kind of intellectual and applied aspects of it, that they tend to really like that, speaking broadly. Whereas my students of color or

my international students, they see themselves reflected in the programs that we're talking about. They bring up stories about program evaluations done well, program evaluations that have not been done well and what needs to be done differently. By engaging them and respecting their experiences, I'm able to say yeah, your experience to you is absolutely correct, here are some other ways we can also think about them.

Students often have stereotypes about evaluation as a field, and Harold believes that an evaluator educator can impact thoughts surrounding marginalization by discussing these.

There's an activity I do around stereotypes of evaluation... where we talk about that. How do we help students navigate through their biases and prejudices and first reactions to evaluation itself? When it comes to equity within evaluation field, if I'm not creating a good environment early on, it's not likely that I'm going to help diversity my field whether it's race or creed or identity or sexual identity. I, as an educator, I get to and I have to do better about that, or at least better than my predecessors. When it comes to equity within evaluation practice, I can give my students ideas, I can share the book on evaluator failures, I can share lessons learned around what I have done well, and what mistakes have I made, and what have I learned, and what should I do differently. But eventually, a lot of them come back and say hey, I'm in the situation, I'm running into something, can we talk about it? And that's where I get to really solidify their thinking around often equity and justice and power dynamics... What my classes and my processes built on my foremothers and forefathers I can help them to be more systematic about their evaluations, and be more thoughtful, and have a better way

of describing the decisions that they make and the processes they take. A higher level of awareness is important for me.

Carl brought forward that awareness in educating others about evaluation extends to also creating united fronts to question and dismantle status quo approaches that tend to align with systems that are unaware of how a process may be marginalizing to others.

There are explicit [ways] – there's a coalition to ask White evaluators to not appear on an all-White or all-male panel in evaluation, not to publish or to speak at a conference or publish in a journal that is not diverse not only in its authorship but in its reviews.

Penny believes there is an element of addressing marginalization that involves the way academic-based evaluators have a role in how they fit within academic systems.

I think for those of us that are academics, it's to protect against or try to dismantle the systems that only privilege a few. I think within my evaluation practice there is a role for us to play, I think there's also a continuum in the sense of I think there's probably a group within the field who believe it's really important to draw awareness to these issues within the evaluations that we're doing – to ask the hard and oftentimes difficult questions. And then I think that's sort of one end of an anchor around this, versus activism or advocacy in terms of being more socially just or addressing privilege and things like that. I'm probably someone who falls on the side of the continuum of yeah, we have to bring it up, it's part of the lenses we bring to the work, and at this point in my career (probably because I have tenure) I just do it. And I'm really up front with people about it when they approach me about a potential evaluation that I'm like... here's the way that I

approach it, here is my own brand... here are the kind of things we need to ask in all evaluations, and if you're okay with that great, but if not I am probably not the person for you... Pushing that particular agenda within our larger scholarship and practice, but most of my advocacy and activism work falls outside of my professional work, because it's stuff that's aligned to my values and who I want to be in this world and the kinds of things that I just think can help make the world better.

Carl describes that mentoring, and how evaluators consider mentoring can be important to this process of incorporating more diverse perspectives and understandings.

I also think, frankly, there's even the quieter or less public of making sure to both mentor and expose and bring along other evaluators, particularly evaluators of color in this space, and to be absolutely intentional about that pipeline building, but it's also about opportunities.

Part of thinking through how to teach evaluation involves using what Nancy referenced as Thomas Archibald's "Problem Definition" in which the author accesses Bacchi (1999) discussing that, "while this might appear commonsensical, it is not the way we are taught or encouraged to think about political issues. These are often talked about or written about as if there were only one possible interpretation of the issue at stake. I do not mean that we are not offered competing opinions on particular issues; this of course is the stuff of party political banter. But we are not encouraged to reflect upon the ways in which issues take shape within these discussions" (p. 1).

Archibald (2020) uses Bacchi's work to suggest a series of questions to consider in working toward addressing social change and marginalization:

1. What's the problem represented?
2. What presuppositions or assumptions underpin the representation of the problem?
3. How has this representation of the problem come about?
4. What is left problematic in this problem representation?
5. What effects are produced by this representation of the problem?
6. How/where has this representation of the problem been produced, disseminated, and defended? (Bacchi, 2012, as cited by Archibald, 2020, pp. 12-13)

Nancy discussed how,

I really like Tom Archibald has that great paper about problem definition that I think about a lot is sort of like how problems are defined, and where the problem is located. When problems are defined from a deficit perspective or at a personal level rather than looking at systems and structures that is a huge opportunity and responsibility for evaluators to intervene and challenge those ways that problems are defined and help open up other ways of seeing that, and other perspectives can complicate and problematize those problem definitions.

Florence stated that marginalization can also be addressed through the use of theory.

I try to [address marginalization] through theory – by following the links and being curious and trying to think through the implications of our actions and of our models, like what are they including and what they're exploiting, because... every evaluation model directs attention at certain ideas and certain procedures and away from other procedures and other ideas. That to me is the edge for

beginning to address marginalization, is just simply noticing what is this evaluation calling attention to, and again, against the backdrop of then what's missing, or what else might be equally or even more important to be paying attention to. I think it's a lot in terms of the theory of how it's frames, and I tried to approach it on the one hand in terms of validity – that you need to consider these other forms of evidence to come away with a valid understanding.

Evaluators Need to be Attuned to Theories Behind Evaluation and Evaluation Methods and Approaches to Understand How They May Amplify or Inhibit Privilege

Several participants referenced evaluation theories and approaches as they navigated answering questions concerning privilege and marginalization, however, one question within this study asked them to consider what approaches and models they thought best worked to address marginalization.

Empowerment Evaluation was first put forward by Fetterman (1993) who described it as “the use of evaluation concepts and techniques to foster self-determination. The focus is on helping people help themselves. This evaluation approach is problem focused, collaborative, and requires both qualitative and quantitative methodologies” (p. 115).

Barry both discussed the benefits of empowerment evaluation, but also cautioned against its use by stating,

I don't think that empowerment evaluation empowers, necessarily, but evaluation does have the potential to empower if done carefully. Empowerment evaluation is great, but it doesn't always empower, per se. It's collaborative and participatory. To be empowering I think you need to address some of these structural and systemic issues that can marginalize and disempower program participants, and a

lot of it comes down to approaches that foreground assumptions and not just banal assumptions around the edges of a program, but more transformative notions of... what the problem is represented to be. So, every evaluation is of a program or some initiative, and every program or initiative or policy is designed to address some problem – but whoever stops to think about who defines that problem? And whether they’re defining it in a racist white supremacist patriarchal way, so even if a program is evaluated and found to be achieving its objectives, you’re still propping up a racist white supremacist patriarchal structure through your evaluation.

Participatory Action Research (PAR), and how it evolved into participatory evaluation, originated with the work of Fals-Borda (1987), who described his approach as having “pertinence to the initiation and promotion of radical changes at the grassroots level where unsolved economic, political and social problems have been accumulating a dangerous potential” (p. 329). At the time of the article, Fals-Borda discussed participatory methodology as, “a process of personal and collective behavior occurring within a satisfying and productive cycle of life and labour... imply[ing] the acquisition of serious and reliable knowledge upon which to construct power for the poor and exploited social groups and their authentic organisations” (p. 330).

Participatory Evaluation grew from evaluators increasingly using PAR in their work, with Cousins & Whitmore (1998) analyzing how two streams of use developed over time into Practical Participatory Evaluation (P-PE), which involves stakeholders directly within evaluation planning and implementation with hopes of increasing utilization, and Transformative

Participatory Evaluation (T-PE) that serves to democratize social change and is more akin to Fals-Borda's liberatory use of the approach.

If not attuned to the liberatory components of participatory methods, gaining participation as a part of participatory evaluation can impose on communities and individuals in ways that might be counterproductive to gaining authentic involvement. Florence, when bringing up participatory evaluation approaches, discussed learning from a colleague by describing how,

in developing the framework [they] built it from the bottom up through doing focus groups... but she said, what you have to push against... these are busy people... they have their own lives and their own full agendas, and when [a colleague] came in as an evaluator, they're reluctant to participate. They're like, 'what do you mean I have to be involved? That's why I hired you. You're the evaluator.' So, there is that piece that I think has legitimacy also, that evaluators need to understand their role in a way that they take responsibility for doing maybe the less fun stuff and still make it possible, maybe by some reciprocal exchange of tasks or something for someone to participate, to open up some time, otherwise it becomes very exploitive, I think, in ways that are not always acknowledged.

Florence said this complicates participatory evaluation approaches as, we sort of egocentrically assume that we're gifting you with this invitation to participate, but that may not be anywhere close to their agenda... it sort of rings in my mind, that we get caught up... in the excitement and even the genuineness in believing this would be good for community to participate, but it can be so far removed from the experience of the people that you're inviting to participate, that

they can be like, ‘you’re the evaluator, you like this stuff, you do it. I don’t understand it, I don’t like it, I don’t have any use for it.’ So, there is, in a sense in which there’s a lot of those power differentials, I think, that are almost built into the process and we need to be very cautious and mindful at how that can backfire.

CRE, as described by Hood (2001) involves that an evaluator, “orchestrates an evaluation that culminates in a reporting of findings that comes closest to letting the audience see, hear, and touch the essence of the program and how it is functioning” (p. 37).

While discussing how CRE can be beneficial in addressing marginalization, Florence mentioned,

Culturally Responsive Evaluation seeks to have [conversations about creating space from the ground up], but CRE as much as I believe in it, has a lot of western roots that it’s bringing with it, and so I think there’s always that caution against it, turning that assimilation corner, just say, ‘now that I’ve got your attention and you’re willing to participate, let me tell you how we’re going to do it.’

Iris stressed that CRE needs to overlap with evaluator humility, you’re never totally culturally responsive, but the best you can do is making sure it’s having people at the table and recognizing that you absolutely have never walked in these people’s shoes. You need to know, you need to bend over backwards... but now it seems like you can’t be an evaluator if you aren’t culturally responsive. It is just what evaluation should be.

Regardless of evaluation model or approach used, Deborah said it is necessary to recognize,

that evaluation is related intrinsically to issues of power and to values, and that it must be contextually driven and it must be fundamentally concerned with fairness because it certainly intervenes politically in spaces and in programs. I think the challenge with all of them is enactment and embodiment and to understand how to take the different values and concepts and honor them in the space you're in. I think evaluators are encountered with multifaceted decision making, like interpersonal decision making, methodological... the more I learn about evaluation, I am kind of in awe at its complexity, and I think there's all these frameworks and writing that is beautiful and that has to come out of deep wisdom and practice. Wisdom about social theory and about human beings and evaluation context and such, but the challenge is always how to translate those and understand them in a new environment with people, and how to communicate them and try to teach about them to people and sometimes as the evaluator, you actually have to be the learner. So, you come in with all these things, but like, who are you to say that they should be the gospel of how we understand how to proceed?

Carl cautioned that conversations about evaluation methods need to consider the bigger implications by saying,

I wouldn't want this conversation to fall solely to methods when in fact, there are even deeper assumptions that need to be articulated and questioned in the work itself. Who gets to decide that there's an evaluation, not just in the method of the evaluation, but the bigger frame of who even is demanding the evaluation, has the ability to demand the evaluation, etc.? So, I do think all of that is a meta to the

methods we're choosing – I think the enterprise itself that has to be questioned or examined.

While many of these examples of evaluation methods and approaches contained cautious behind their use, Barry shared direct problematic approaches to evaluation in how it can cause marginalization to a community directly. Barry referenced Campbell (1984), who wrote about the dangers of positivism, particularly in evaluation that, “this dogma led to the designation of a specific measure as the favored or solely-necessary dependent variable, and to the recommendation that all researchers in a problem area use the same one measure. It led to suppression from focal awareness the obvious theoretical complexity of measures and the frequently plausible argument that the measured change was due to irrelevant components of the complex, that is, to experimental artifacts or method-specific sources of variance... It persists most perniciously in social policy science, in the accountability movement, or in managerial control efforts employing single explicit quantitative criteria. All of this leads to... the reading that will generate the administrative decision which one seeks” (p. 18).

In highlighting Campbell, Barry stated,

[evidence-based practice] was imported from over there, from evidence-based medicine, and even though it's basically suspect, it's persisted. And then another really interesting thing, there's a beautiful quote from Donald Campbell, in 1984, where he basically presciently called it out as bullshit. That was years, decades before it came to the fore, but he called it and said it's one of the most pernicious sort of holdovers from logical positivism, which is then imported into management science, which he called that's like the evaluation apparatus. And like, he's often thought of as the grandfather of experimental design, which he

loved experimental design, but he also thought any government agency or funder calling RCT the gold standard, and only funding that was it was a terrible mistake, because that's not how knowledge advances, and that's not how society is managed.

Methods and Discussion for Leveraging Evaluator Privilege

Several participants discussed methods of leveraging privilege long before the questions within the study focused on the concept. When participants were asked directly, "what would it mean to leverage privilege within personal and professional spaces? How and in what situations might evaluators do this and should they?" their responses pointed to specific and broad examples of methods, approaches, strategies, and personal ways that privilege can be used in ways to address oppressive systems, individuals, and groups within evaluation contexts.

Evaluators Need to Leverage Their Positions to Contexts of Educating About Privilege and Making Concerted Efforts toward Equity

Whether or not an evaluator is teaching evaluation within an academic setting, evaluators always have a role to educate others whether in the context of a community, a program, with stakeholders, or with funders. Participants provided several examples and stories of ways evaluators can leverage this education opportunity in the service of providing agency and empowerment for marginalized groups and individuals. Andrew sees the teaching of evaluation as a way to hope for continued work against marginalization in the future, stating,

You change the context and the way you do evaluation to move those who have been traditionally marginalized away from the margins. Perhaps the way we teach evaluation, and I mean obviously I'm a teacher in higher education, so we teach about this topic all the time. So, anytime there is an evaluation methods class or

anytime there's a program evaluation class that we do, we talk about issues of culture and cultural context all the time. So, it becomes part of the context and a part of the way the next generation of evaluators think about evaluation.

As this study accessed White evaluators, there were several parts of conversations that focused on white supremacy, white privilege, and in the case of working toward practical ways to leverage privilege, directly addressing white guilt. In describing some methods for leveraging privilege, Barry started by discussing the problem being,

the White men who are active in our field who actually, some cases explicitly, other cases more tacitly deny that they have privilege... But I think some of the systems and structures of discourse in the field (and this was played out on EvalTalk a few years ago), but it happens in other discourses too, where a White male who was very definitely privileged can explain away or deny their privilege. And they use the structures and system as almost a smokescreen, or a way of deflecting that, like kind of to say, oh, this is just the way it is, right? It's an unjust situation, and oftentimes older, but not necessarily, but especially White male evaluators that don't see, so they might deny that white privilege exists... to kind of prop up their belief, which then is harmful to young evaluators and other evaluators who are experiencing oppression and marginalization.

As some practical methods of leveraging privilege, Barry stressed the need for White people to educate themselves as,

one has to first learn about [privilege], cry about it if you have to, get over it. If you're afraid of the water, saying the water doesn't exist is not going to help you not drown. Or not make someone else drown because you pulled them in after

you. It just is, like there's water in the pond. So, dudes, especially White dudes, need to learn what it is, admit you have a problem, then learn some stuff... But like, you're in that system, you're striving to produce your own pyramid, how is it possible for them to deny the evidence of systemic racism and privilege... I don't understand it. They need to learn about it, admit they have it, then practice using the privilege to use it for good rather than harm. Some practical ways [to use privilege involves] speaking up about it, to normalize it, and not to make it some scary marginal thing, but that is just part of how it is. I don't judge myself, but that's a big thing, this White guilt and White tears... acknowledging white privilege doesn't mean you should be ashamed. Shameful is denying it and saying you can't make it better in little ways. I am ashamed when I go wrong, but I have a supportive community, and I have read about if you are always worried about saying the wrong thing, so you say nothing that is worse. Your friends of color will probably forgive and correct you, and it's important not to get defensive when someone corrects you. Even in evaluation, I have seen one White person try to do better, slipped up and got super defensive. Another White person got called in, accepted it beautifully to use his privilege to try and do better.

In addition to expanding and focusing on the teaching of evaluation, and having White people be more reflective about their privilege, Andrew says it can also benefit to specifically recruit and seek out people to join the evaluation profession who are a part of marginalized populations.

I think the other thing we might do, and I don't know how we would do it, is that we try and bring traditionally marginalized groups into our evaluation

community. That's more complicated in a way, because I think... Oh, no, actually I've given myself excuses here. No, I mean it's not complicated, it's just that you have to spend time and effort identifying individuals from groups who have been traditionally marginalized and bring them into and make them evaluators. I think we've had some success in doing that with socioeconomically marginalized groupings and individuals. I think we've been less successful in bringing different ethnic or cultural groups within to it... but how do we do that? How do we make that – I think it has to be very deliberate and conscious pathways put in place, but that requires funding, it requires timing, it requires time, and it requires ongoing commitment, and a lot of times we fall down on that.

Beyond teaching evaluation, Gloria mentioned other methods of changing evaluation contexts could involve taking a careful look at methods used during evaluation activities by, challenging assumptions about the validity and credibility of information, which takes more time and not everybody wants to have that conversation. So maybe, like, I want to do a survey and then we'll have the quantitative truth. Well, you know, we'll hire this person, the survey expert who has no knowledge of this community. You know, it's wonky, so helping people, you know, broaden their perspective on why that might be an issue. I thought, it's been years since it came out, but with the Chicago Beyond report, while it was being researched, I thought that had a lot of good, it was very concise and had a lot of good information. I think just articulating why things are an issue and ways that people have the power to change it and kind of absorb it.

In referencing the Chicago Beyond (2020) report, Gloria uses it as an example of ways to produce educational material and use evaluation to focus on topics of equity. The report is summarized as providing, “evidence that the power dynamic between community organizations, researchers, and funders blocks information that could drive better decision-making and fuel more investment in communities most in need. This power dynamic creates an uneven field on which research is designed and allows unintended bias to seep into how knowledge is generated” (p. 6).

The Chicago Beyond report also directly describes inequalities (Figure 3) discussed by several participants in this study:

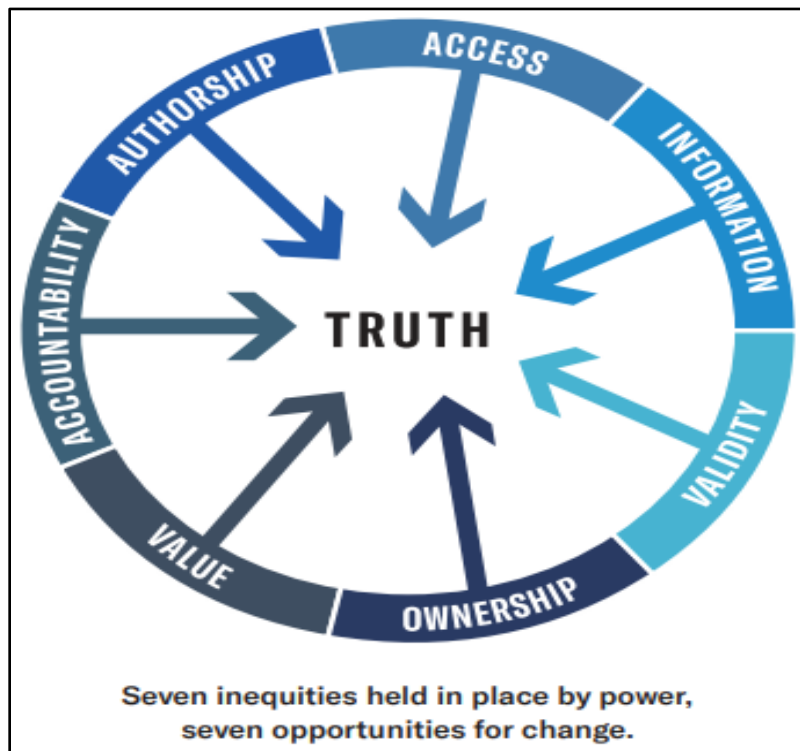
1. “Access: Could we be missing out on community wisdom because conversations about research are happening without community meaningfully present at the table?”
2. Information: Can we effectively partner to get to the full truth if information about research options, methods, inputs, costs, benefits, and risks are not shared?
3. Validity: Could we be accepting partial truths as the full picture, because we are not valuing community organizations and community members as valid experts?
4. Ownership: Are we getting incomplete answers by valuing research processes that take from, rather than build up, community ownership?
5. Value: What value is generated, for whom, and at what cost?

6. Accountability: Are we holding funders and researchers accountable if research designs create harm or do not work?
7. Authorship: Whose voice is shaping the narrative and is the community fully represented” (p. 7)?

The Chicago Beyond report offers several helpful suggestions for research, in general, however, focusing specifically on evaluation, Florence stated there is a need to understand why certain approaches to research are problematic.

From a settler colonial perspective there’s this whole edge to how the participatory models, the collaborative participatory models, and I would include CRE right in the middle of those, can turn around to this assimilationist... come be like me, and I think that’s hugely problematic in evaluation because evaluation takes not only its methods, but its agenda, I would say from western ways of

Figure 3. Seven inequities standing in the way of impact, each held in place by power dynamics (Chicago Beyond, 2020, p. 7)



thinking, you know, and so I believe in evaluation. I believe in its capacity to do good, and support social justice, and different kinds of justice, but you have to really tread cautiously and watch for the unintended consequences because they can be profound, and not only can undo the benefits of evaluation, but actively do harm... evaluators need to be cautious and reflective, all the time. That's why the influence piece and the consequential aspect of the validity which intersects that, is so important to say is it really? But did we really accomplish something positive? And really look at what's like on the ground and not just assume that because we intended it to go well, but it actually didn't go well because it could have gone very much the other direction. It could have been co-opted by people in positions of power that you didn't even understand if you're not from that community.

Jane offered that another method of changing contexts of evaluation is to make sure that the important findings are communicated to the community, commissioner, and evaluand in direct and accessible ways.

I think there are a lot of opportunities in data collection... especially I think in how you present findings and give findings back to an organization or foundation and knowing like what is really important and what is really meaningful and what you learned and found out, and also thinking through the lens of which the organization is listening through, and how you can frame what is most meaningful for them to know. Again, thinking through what is really the power of this data, what does it affect, whether it's something the program initially had in mind, or

some of those unintended outcomes, or data they weren't expecting, thinking through how all of that can be used.

Understanding the Ability to Refusing to Evaluate is an Important Way to Leverage

Evaluator Privilege

Positionalities of power and influence also allow for the ability to deny various experiences, which may include directly denying experiences of others, being ignorant to various perspectives, or the ability to avoid or refuse certain activities or responsibilities. Carl referenced the privilege to refuse work, or the ability to leverage position and power to provide opportunities for others.

It's a matter that is most explicit to talk about, actually, what we get to say no to. There's a lot of power in our ability to decline work, and I know that's a difficult one for many. But to be able to decline, say no that's not the right way to do this work, the ask itself is problematic therefore going about it in different ways, it's not what you do, it's what you don't do. And I think there's a lot of power in being able to say no, no this is not the right way of working, and this is not the way particularly because of equity... And so, you decline work, you decline partners, you decline invitations, we pay a little more attention to the choices we make about the work, not just about the things we do while doing the work. It's about our invitation to do them, the permission we have, and being able to push back on a paying client to say this is not the right way to do this work, and this is why, and hopefully be able to defend that position and keep to that position or at least accommodate. But I think often we're forced into giving it verbal nod, but the behavior itself doesn't change again." In another dialogue about opportunity, a

participant stated, “I also think scholars of color, making other’s work more visible and elevate those contributions that folks are making, like nominating for an award, or advancing their name for an opportunity like referring who I work with and who I have access to know about an opportunity.

Thinking beyond opportunities, Deborah discussed how there is power in reflecting on incentives as well.

Speaking from my own experience, I have found that reflecting on the incentives I have within a system, and sometimes the power I have within it, and sometimes taking a different course or set of decisions because I suspect those incentives don’t favor issues of fairness or equity, and I think don’t help to make the spaces I’m working in more equitable... You have to be willing to sometimes make decisions that don’t seem directly in your favor, personally, when you have power within an institution.

These sorts of reflections can lead to a sense of powerlessness, but Deborah put forward that recognizing your ability even within situations of feeling less power is important as a part of being able to leverage the power you do have.

I think you kind of feel returned to some level of infancy when you become an assistant professor, like, oh I’m kind of infantilized as a graduate student then you realize, oh no, there’s just many layers of that. But in relation to students, you have a lot of power and in relation to many other people within academic institutions and in relation to communities you work with, and you know, so it’s important to not focus too much on one’s own fragility or infantilization or sense of powerlessness and sometimes in relation to whatever other people have greater

power over your career, and to just attempt to as much as possible act as an extension of your best analysis of what these values mean, embodied. That's pretty hard sometimes to know how to do that, but I think to kind of keep your head in the game of trying to live those values, confronted by many other incentives.

Mary said that redirecting privilege may involve the willingness to collaborate with others and bring them into opportunities they may not be offered.

I think if we assume, or we know that White evaluators have privilege in this field, then it is our responsibility to try to help leverage that. And it's kind of like if you think about the dynamics in academia, you know, if a professor is writing a paper, does the professor always get and bring students on? Do they always get co-authorship, are they always lead? Who decides? How are you sharing opportunities and work? I remember when [advisor] became my advisor, and she was already meeting with a student and I was a prospective student, and she said oh, you should meet this person here, she is doing amazing work with this. So, she is elevating everyone, and elevating students to each other, and creating a collaborative... this idea that we're not in competition with each other, but how do you then also shine a light on the voices and raise those voices and give the opportunities and create opportunities where none exist?"

Eugene discussed that being mindful of credit given during collaborations is also important.

One of the things I've increasingly tried to do, and it's a luxury and privilege I have, given where I am in my career. I'm not really super hard up for certain

kinds of things that when you're younger in the academic side of things, so I try very hard to do collaborative work with other people. Younger scholars, scholars of color, women in these fields, and I try to be mindful to do more than my share. I know that might sound a little arrogant, but I try very hard to do more than my share in these collaborations, not just my share, because I think that's really facilitating and promoting the diversification of our field, and also to the success of people that have experienced barriers. So, I'm happy to be the one who has to do the extra part of polishing up a grant or writing up some stuff or doing things and I don't feel like I need to step up and get the credit. I've gotten more than my share in most of the things I've done so far, and so I think that's leveraging privilege that it's just saying, look, we're doing this together, and your contributions are super important. And that, you know, I'm willing to do whatever some of the hard work and labor is to help us to be successful and you to be successful. I feel that way with regard to agency collaborations, too, and some of my community service work as well that you know, I need to be there, show up, and be willing to do the stuff that's not as elegant in order to help others be successful who haven't had the same types of privileges.

Penny discussed leveraging in terms of creating and making space by understanding and using your power and privilege to intentionally assist others.

I think it's using your privilege in service of someone or something greater than you, right? So, sometimes that's making space for someone else... I was supposed to be a keynote... and I had to back out, and said I'm sorry, but obviously, I can't travel, and here's three people that I think would be outstanding and phenomenal

keynote speakers to replace me, and I think could really add a lot to the conference. And I intentionally suggested people who were early on in their careers who I... thought were saying really smart things, really important things, but maybe hadn't quite been given space to share that, and so like using my privilege to basically get out of the way, because someone else has something really important to say and I'm not the person to say it.

Directly Addressing Privilege and Oppressive Systems Can be a Role Evaluators Choose to Play

With privileged positionalities, there comes the ability to make decisions for self and others. Evaluators, within their positions of privilege, can utilize that privilege to investigate, interrogate, and intervene in privileged and oppressive systems. This may have several challenges, but ultimately can work to serve the greater public good. Participants offered some suggestions in how evaluators may be able to accomplish these goals.

Components of Evaluator Privilege Include Access to Multiple Perspectives, Awareness of Systemic Inequities, and Influence with Funders and Decision Makers

Part of engaging in evaluation research involves the need to have critical thinking about the activities of a program setting or community as a whole. Critical thinking is not limited to programs or communities, however, and self-reflection is also important as a part of evaluators leveraging privilege. Nancy said that addressing privilege can involve,

the responsibility of evaluators to speak up when we witness racism in evaluating a program, could be anywhere, but in an evaluation context or program context, that responsibility to how evaluation is being positioned to serve the needs of dominant groups, and kind of creating that space for the evaluator to question that

and to invite that conversational and sort of bringing other voices and values and perspectives and centering the values perspectives that have been marginal and excluded.

Direct action is possible, and Nancy described evaluators engaging in direct action as a critical part of the work by saying,

the most important thing, is actually as White people, calling out racism among other White peoples... I have the option to avoid discomfort and remain silent, you know, safe from the real harm that's unfolding. So, I think one of the most important ways to leverage privilege is to not stay silent and to take responsibility for interrupting, for educating other White people and for coming together. For example, in like creating a racism group that has to come together and challenge, and kind of hold each other accountable. It's not enough to just reflect on our privilege... who else are we speaking with, relatives, White co-workers, to disrupt racism in White spaces? And then, like taking up less space, kind of not making it all about me as a White woman. Like really listening to people of color as people are sharing about their experiences, you know, and how racism operates, like really listening and managing my own White fragility about that, and defensiveness and fear, and all that stuff that comes up. That's my work, that I think it just has to happen so that I can stop taking up so much space. Like, I think that happens a lot in these spaces where White people, you know, are just in our feelings about all this and defensive and wanting to show that we are, you know, that we know stuff and that we're trying and that we're you know, whatever it is, and so to stop taking up space and to just deeply, deeply, deeply listen and

manage our own stuff, and know that we're going to make mistakes, but still just keep going. I make mistakes all the time, obviously, and my first reaction is to like, you know, freak out and get really worried about the mistake and then it's just all these characteristics of whiteness, the perfectionism and all that kind of stuff, and so really getting that, attending to that internally so that I'm able to disrupt systems of power and privilege and oppression.

Several participants mentioned the access White people have to other White people to intervene in racist and oppressive behavior. Carl mentioned,

there is particular demand, specific demand for White evaluators to bring along, educate, encourage other White evaluators to recognize their privilege, step aside, engage in new and different ways, and it needs to be done rather explicitly.

Deborah added to the dialogue by discussing how,

a part of it is, is having difficult conversations with people. My understanding is that for some people of color it is extremely fatiguing to feel like the responsibility for having conversations, that these things fall to disproportionately on people of color, and that certainly we should all be invested in having fair systems and an equitable society, and if that is the case, then we all have to take responsibility for having difficult conversations about what that looks like. I think, frankly, that sometimes White people are willing to listen to other White people in a different way. That isn't a good thing, but it is perhaps a reality that should be leveraged... I'm always a little hesitant when it comes to thinking about how to act or leverage privilege without having conversations with other people about that. There's a fine line there between not taking action and not feeling

responsible for that, and I think it is important that I do, but then I also don't want to impose values or impose an idea on how things should go, and I certainly don't want to have like a savior kind of persona related to people. So, I think there's a delicacy there. I think this work is delicate work, it's important work, I don't think it's work that people can shy away from if they want equitable institutions and a better society and to act in good faith. I think it is impossible to do that and not take up this work, but it's delicate work, it's difficult work, and it's not always clear to me how I should use my privilege.

Deborah continued by discussing how being clear about intentions and impact combine when discussing marginalization and oppression is also necessary to recognize that,

sometimes in our country, and I don't know if this happens in many other places outside of the US, we have this debate between intentions, like our intentions are racist or not, are our policies intentionally discriminatory or not? Like, is this human being meaning to be racist? We have these debates about intention, and we have these debates about outcome. Well, does it matter what that person intends their effect is? They made me feel this way or the policy is discriminatory because it produces these unequal effects. This has legal implications to like in laws of the UN around like racial discrimination and how things are legislated within our country and decided upon. There is this tension between an analysis of intention and an analysis of outcomes. I think we have to care about both things and it makes conversation difficult and thorny, but it does matter what my intentions are towards other people, but it also matters the effect I have on them and the experience of my actions, like neither can be unimportant in the work towards

equity. We have to have good values and intentions and desires and purposes, we also have to have good outcomes and effects and a sense of responsibility for what actually happens and how people actually experience it. Sometimes there's this either/or debate and why do I think that matters to privilege, because I think it further complicates the sense of like, how do we both understand our privilege from a place of intention, and understanding and desire to act appropriately, but then how do we also understand the effects of it and the outcomes of it and both of those things are important to us knowing how to act in any sort of set of circumstances. The complexity of it is really profound.

Knowing How Certain Systems Can Inhibit Privilege Will be Useful in Recognizing How Systems Can Potentially Move toward Greater Equity

When participants were asked about systems that amplify privilege, part of this dialogue also focused on thinking through systems in place that work to inhibit privilege. This was challenging for most of the participants, but several were able to think through some initiatives, programs, and systems that work to change status quos in ways that actively serve to limit, reduce, or inhibit privilege in some ways. Barry considered how thinking through and considering how these systems operate may potentially inspire future work to broaden these approaches within other settings, or within overall evaluation practice.

There are initiatives that are structural and systemic that are intentionally designed, they may not be advertised as being designed to inhibit privilege for a lot of reasons, but they would be described as promoting something rather than inhibiting something. So in many cases designed to promote, say, diversity in evaluation, or to promote young and emerging evaluators in evaluation. None of

their written material would say they are designed to inhibit privilege, but it's the flip side of the coin, and I don't think they'd be shy about saying that, it's just not necessarily the way that they lead. So specific structures and systems that come to mind are the GEDI program within AEA, the MSI program within AEA, the Expanding the Bench initiative, the Equitable Evaluation Initiative, the EvalYouth mentorship program globally, the international travel scholarships program of AEA, New Directions for Evaluation editors in chief and section chiefs that actively cultivate first time authors, that's a structure that can be put in place. The entire reworking of EvalTalk... those changes were made to inhibit privilege from turning into violence which was happening. Some funders, like foundations... have found ways to say we will only hire evaluation firms who come from the community that characterizes the evaluand, the evaluation context... MasterCard Foundation is doing a lot to be more explicitly antiracist, not just in what they say, but they moved all their staff to Africa, because they were working mostly in Africa so they would be based in the US if we're working mostly in Africa. So, things like that, that don't necessarily inhibit privilege, but at least is a structural step to engage in this stuff a little bit differently.

Barry continued by describing how understanding the limitations of inhibiting privilege is also helpful in work to dismantle or leverage it.

None of them are perfect either, right? That's the risk of unreflexive liberalism, where you think like, oh you know, a lot of this discourse around underrepresentation in STEM... like it can get flattened out a bit where it's like, if we could just get them to come to this summer camp then everything could be

solved! But, like, you could go to a summer camp and then get a Ph.D. in physics, then you become an assistant professor in a racist institution where you'll never get tenure and you'll be miserable for five years until they kick you out. Like what's up with that? So, it's a little band-aid type thing, but liberalism's notion of progress, sometimes being overly technical rationalistic is sometimes a risk in some of these structural or systemic efforts to try to impede privilege. But, generally doing something is better than doing nothing even if we're still working out how to do that something better.

Carl discussed how systems and individuals within systems are aware of and question assumptions can be a key component.

I think where there is increasingly a questioning of assumptions, and more deeply a questioning of, as the Equitable Evaluation Initiative puts it, is the questioning of orthodoxies of our profession. And I think where that happens, there is more likelihood that it at least be exposed, I'm not going to say eliminated, but exposed, so I do think that's the start. I actually think this is where AEA plays a role in terms of setting a standard, the changing of the guiding principle, the changing of evaluator competencies, emphasizing and raising that there is a better way to do evaluation that is about questioning and making room for, and so that's where it's incentivized and at least the standard is set higher, and that it's important to consider where the profession is putting pressure on itself to improve and be better.

Carl said that he accesses the tools within the Equitable Evaluation Initiative, stating,

I rely on the framework of the Equitable Evaluation Initiative to question the orthodoxies behind and underneath the practice, as well as going back to questioning the enterprise itself. To me those are the starting places, to use those questions to pause and reflect on what we're attempting to do, what we've been asked to do, how we go about it in our work, and what we're expecting to achieve. It is those ones around what values do we hold while we are valuing, questioning carefully who gets to decide which values are important in the valuing, questioning what values we leave out intentionally or unintentionally. If we choose to draw our attention within a defined boundary of inquiry, what damage do we do, intentional or unintentional, that we know exists outside the boundary but have chosen not to include? I think it's all those kinds of questions in our practice that we do have control over as evaluators, explicitly telling whether it's a client or others, this is where we have either been told to look, or constrained by resources to look, but this is what we recognize we may be giving up and maybe causing harm if we leave these other perspectives out. I think that's what we have control over in this work, by being able to do that with some intentionality, not just in values, but frankly in research that has come before that helps us recognize this, I think it's our responsibility to do that.

Carl went back to discussing how leveraging privilege to provide opportunities and amplify marginalized voices can be a part of systemic inhibitions of privilege.

I think where there is an active, intentional invitation to young evaluators, evaluators of color to be legitimate partners in advancing work, not tokenized, not diminished or limited in authority or autonomy, but where they are participating.

Because we may not have the pipeline, perhaps, in the younger ranks, so we need to make room for that to have more influence and I think there are institutions for doing that. And, frankly, it goes back to what I said earlier where their institutions are putting their money into the practice. So giving resources to evaluators of color, or working with communities of color. To innovate, learn, assess, build without a need to have to validate their existence or defend their work and efforts in a way that the traditional system of competitive funding or academic jockeying for attention and resources. Once that's taken away I think there's maybe a better exploration for what this work could be. I'm not saying where you can take privilege away, but where it is examined much more intentionally and the work is attempting to actually advance without too much particularly unintended meddling of privilege in it.

In discussing policy, and how dynamics within university policy can become a part of inhibiting privilege, Deborah stated,

in terms of policy, I have seen the importance of changes in criteria around things like funding and promotion and tenure and hiring, like at all kinds of levels like I think when we can make arguments for the benefit of inserting priorities around diversity and equity issues in the criteria of how we appoint leadership, of how we value faculty's work, of how we fund projects, I think there has been positive, at least at my own institution, changes in these criteria. And it matters to evaluation because then those programs, that people's work, get valued along a greater spectrum of criteria that includes social outcomes toward greater equity and fairness. It also creates opportunities to fund those evaluations and to fund those

programs, and it creates opportunities for faculty to engage in that work and it be valued, particularly evaluation faculty. I've been noticing within my institution, criteria for eligibility and for valuing things, changing in favorable ways towards valuing diversity and equity, and I think it has an impact and it isn't perfect by any means towards creating a fully equitable institutions, I don't want to say that the work is in any way done, but I do think it matters.

Jane stated that how people think about ways to progress in dismantling privilege can be explored as part of the process.

I think folks that have been prone to dreaming big, wanting to do more visionary work... in my evaluation experience there's been a range of people who were like, let's do several visioning sessions in these focus groups and think about, we worked on thinking of like a food pantry, let's vision a world without hunger, you know, and spending hours and hours with different groups of like what would a world without hunger really look like, and pushing that and trusting us as culturally responsive thinking about like, we're going to start with this broad vision and how would we go there? So, I think of different organizations that are willing to be really imaginative... social service spaces that's really hard because people feel... it's so easy to focus on the barriers, to really be radically creative and dream oriented is a big one. And to really have the skills to vision and to be imaginative or to partner with people what can help take you there, I think is huge and challenging the status quo to really try and commit to, hey we're seeing something isn't working for us, and let's not just say we're going to be innovative, let's like really go through a deeply creative process.

Larry cautioned about systems that may seem to inhibit privilege because, even the little things that seem like they're making differences, and they might be making some differences, but they're still set up in a way that it also benefits the people in the majority... even the things that are set up to help underprivileged people still help the privileged... it's definitely not fully inhibiting it, I mean, it's giving more power to the underprivileged but not really inhibiting anything.

Olivia also offered caution,

I think the welfare state was designed, perhaps, to not inhibit but to rein in perhaps somewhat the privileged status quo but it's fallen apart... I think the whole system is designed to protect the status quo. I think the university system is designed in such a way to privilege the status quo. Focusing on grades, which is what universities do, privilege the status quo, because we know that grades are easier to attain if you have a lot of social capital in your upbringing, versus someone who was not born with social capital. So, I think the systems we have that define our society protect privilege and protect the status quo.

Research Question Four

RQ4: What is the role of the White evaluator in addressing oppressive systems, individuals, and groups in practice?

Question Four was explicit about how White evaluators may address oppression, including and beyond racism. In acknowledgement that oppression manifests in both direct/overt ways in addition to indirect/covert ways, evaluators were also asked for their thoughts on ways to address both contexts.

Table 8. Research Question Four Section Descriptions

<i>Methods of Addressing Overt Forms of Racism & Oppression</i>	<i>Brief Description of Methods Described by Participants</i>
<p>Direct Examples Included Building Awareness of Privilege and Oppression, Clear and Direct Interventions, White Evaluators Confronting White Evaluators, and Understanding Boundaries</p>	<p>To address directly overt forms of racism and other oppressions, White evaluators must work to build awareness in other White people that oppression and privilege exist and have negative consequences. In cases of overt oppression, evaluators have a role to use their privilege to intervene directly. White evaluators have the ability to influence and access White people in ways people of color do not and should use that to confront racism in White people. Evaluators should have clear understandings of their boundaries and limits in their work to address oppression.</p>
<p>Indirect Examples Included Listening to Marginalized Evaluators, Privileged Evaluators Need to Educate Themselves, Make Agreements Not to Participate in Segregated Works, Consider Ecological Viewpoints, and Consideration of Data Use</p>	<p>To address more indirectly overt forms of racism and other oppressions, evaluators need to pay attention to not just listening in and of itself but rather the way they listen to marginalized individuals and groups. Evaluators also need to make time and effort to educate themselves about their own privilege and the history behind it. A part of indirect overt oppression involves ways that conferences or publications exclude certain marginalized contributions, and evaluators can agree not to participate in these. Evaluators can benefit from considering a more holistic ecological viewpoint in analyzing communities and all of their dynamics that humanize and support equity. When evaluators use data, they need to remember how data may be impersonal and methods of humanizing the people behind the data to avoid ways information may marginalize groups.</p>
<i>Methods of Addressing Covert Systems of Racism & Oppression</i>	<i>Brief Description of Methods Described by Participants</i>
<p>Evaluators Can Humanize Themselves and Others by Using Reflective Practices, Recognizing Internal Oppressive Thinking, and Understanding Knowing vs. Experiencing</p>	<p>To address covert systems of racism and oppression, evaluators need to work on humanizing themselves and others through reflective practices. Some of the specific practices discussed by participants were to recognize and acknowledge internalized oppressive thinking that supports privileged entitlement, as well as understanding the difference between knowing something vs. having direct experience with something and finding ways to bring more people into experiencing other’s perspectives.</p>

<p>Understanding Historical Contexts of Evaluation, Avoiding False Cultural Competency, and Ensuring Transparency are Key Strategies in Addressing Covert Systems of Racism and Oppression</p>	<p>Evaluators need to understand the deeper histories behind the evaluation field to fully understand how they support covert forms of racism and oppression. It is also critical to recognize the hazards of false cultural competency where tokenism leads to superficially addressing community needs without accomplishing anything. Ensuring transparency assists in avoiding places where privilege has obscured, hidden, or been secretive about its plans and operations against marginalized groups and individuals.</p>
--	---

Addressing Overt Systems of Oppression/Racism

In responding to overt racism and oppression, participants discussed direct and indirect roles White evaluators could play in intervening or addressing it. Elias (2015) defines overt racism as, “observable and whose modus operandum is palpable, operating in unconcealed, unapologetic forms of ethnocentrism and racial discrimination. Historically, overt racism is a creation and product of white supremacy. Characterized by blatant use of negative and/or intentionally harmful attitudes, ideas, or symbols and actions directed at a specific racial group or groups deemed nonwhite or colored, overt racism persists in many forms throughout contemporary society. Overt racism occurs in individual and group interactions, institutions, nations, and international relations, spanning micro- and macro-level social realities” (para. 1).

Direct Responses to Overtly Oppressive Systems, Individuals, and Groups

Part of the first response to directly dealing with overt oppression involves knowing it exists. Andrew explains,

increasingly, over the past ten to fifteen years, there’s been enormous normalization of overt statements of oppression and overt statements of discrimination that just weren’t there when I was younger. I mean, that’s fascinating... it’s happening everywhere, there is this sort of neonationalist,

strongman (it's always strongman political culture) with this ethnically nationalist attempts to sow divisions within the social and cultural context based on the ethnic identity and national identity. So, with these settings, then, I think evaluators have a very strong political role where they actually object to that and they demonstrate that questions around value, which is what evaluation to me is about, and aren't really synonymous with any sort of ethnic or political background, so it's an independent scientific inquiry and it doesn't matter who you are or where you're from, in terms of your perception of dominance. It's quite possible to be excellent, and to run something excellent, and to do something excellent from what you consider to be a lesser community. So, I think that's really important, I think that's the political statement we have to make. I don't think we should be on the side of the dominant faction in that way, and that's why this is a totally different conversation. I think the modes and methods of school evaluation based around standardized assessment... massively problematic because they tend to privilege those who have privilege, and I think that's really difficult and I think that the evaluation community has made a fundamental error in facilitating that over generations.

Acknowledging that privilege exists, and how it fits into evaluation was also brought forward by Harold, who stated,

I think probably first we have to acknowledge that [privilege] is a thing. I think it's probably a thing we have to acknowledge we have benefitted from, and it's the thing that we have to make a commitment to change it. All in which are cognitive ideas. There's also an affective and emotional component in there too,

which is White evaluators, evaluators with privilege and power, at least in the US context, we need to come to terms with the fact that we may not be wholly responsible for all the good things that have come to us in our life, or all the good things that have come to us from our work. And that's a hell of a lift, but I think that's probably where we would need to start.

Clear and direct intervention in oppressive behavior and environments are also roles White evaluators can play. Barry shared,

we have to be outspoken and clear, and leading the way to address those persons and individuals. We can't hang back and let people suffering, who are the direct victims and survivors of racist oppression to be the lead, and we have to do this without making it about us. We have to take more risk to step out and try to address that. It's hard because helping someone who is racist to be less racist is hard, and I'm not sure how to do it. I tried to do it with one colleague... I don't think it worked. I don't think I made him less racist, so it's not about facts and stuff, I'm not sure what it is. We need to learn how to get your people, get your boy, like how men should stop men from sexually abusing women. Be an ally, don't be a bystander, which can incur some risk... I need to remember I don't always have the best ways to address systems and persons being racist and doing racist things, so I need to learn how to do that better.

I think that some of the examples we've been talking about have been the details of [roles of evaluators] but I think zooming up a level or outer level, it's that piece specifically around racism I do have the option to remain silent, to avoid being uncomfortable but it's this understanding that racism is dehumanizing to

everyone. It's dehumanizing to White people, because there's a moral injury that comes as a result of benefitting from domination. Being in a dominant group in society that's characterized by these hierarchies and knowing that my privilege... I am in a dominant position over others, being a privileged group means another group is being oppressed, and being in touch with that, and I think some of where the dehumanization comes for White people is that we are cut off from, like, the pain and rage and that is human to feel in looking around at the world at the effects of racism and the real injustice in this world. And so, I think that it is the role of White evaluators to stay in touch with that and then use that to... fulfill our responsibility to stand with Black evaluators or stand with Indigenous evaluators who are working for change and not centering ourselves, like standing with not trying to like lead the charge, and I think it can be scary because there are consequences from obviously trying to disrupt systems and oppose oppressive practices, but we have a responsibility to do it, and we are at much less risk of harm. The risk to White people in standing up for racism is obviously we are not in the same level of jeopardy, so we have this responsibility to use that privilege, and in thinking about White evaluators, it's at that macro level of keeping that focus on our responsibility to not remain silent and to not be complicit to the extent possible, and actually taking a stand in those specific ways... to disrupt how systems of power and privilege and oppression are operating.

Penny reminds that sometimes the context of directly responding to overt oppression is important to consider.

I definitely think [evaluators] have a role, I think what that role is depends on the context. So, if you're in a context where no one's talking about this, you know, people are pushing back. I mean, going back to the idea of being White, or even you know, in some times White male, there's a privilege there for that can be really helpful for just saying, no, we need to pay attention to this, this is not negotiable.

Continuing from previous dialogue about leveraging privilege, Harold stated, I'd say White evaluators could create other spaces for other evaluators to do the work, so if for example someone comes to me and says they have a program they want evaluated, specifically for the African diaspora [in a region]. I'm not of African descent. I am not a part of the African diaspora. I would not be an appropriate evaluator, but I would certainly be happy to support someone else in doing that work. So, using whatever resources I have to support somebody else, is another thing that we can and should be doing.

Nancy stated that making sure White evaluators confront other White evaluators is also a direct way of addressing overt oppression.

The responsibility to address the behavior of other White people, that sometimes things are said in a group of White people. If there's not a person of color there watching, people aren't policing themselves and speak their true thought, which is racist, and the responsibility to address that... like how men might behave differently in the company of women.

Florence brought up the importance of boundaries and understanding your limits for intervening with people who are being oppressive or racist.

I think sometimes, one, as an evaluator has to refuse to evaluate sometimes. If the oppression is such that you don't feel equal to the task, you can't bridge that gulf to get to a place of respectful communication for the oppressor, I think one has to sometimes say I can't do this, thank you. Like, for me, reproductive rights is very important. I couldn't evaluate a right to life movement fairly... I don't think there should be... a lot of exclusions, I'm just saying I do think evaluators have to be aware of the possibility that there's a line they simply have to draw, and say, 'I'm sorry but my personal values won't allow me to productively be of use to you in your mission.'

Florence mentioned that the way evaluators ask questions is helpful to consider in confronting oppression.

The key things are asking good questions and naming oppression when you see it. And the that order – I think that sort of asking Socratic questioning kind of things, like just being curious about why is it that you do this and do, or I noticed it seems to be this way, am I mistaken? Just kind of taking a stance of confusion or unclarity, or just asking for more information may lead someone to name it for themselves, and then you don't have to name it. But, eventually, I think if it's not seen that way, then I think the evaluator can connect the dots and say, you know, in my experience that feels to me a whole lot like racism, or that feels to me a whole lot like discrimination on the basis of gender identity. Just like naming microaggressions, that kind of thing... I think evaluators have to be willing to call out what they see and put it on the table and suffer the consequences... part of the sharing needs to be to introduce the dynamics of racism in a way that you can

have a conversation or whatever the oppression is. Just to be curious, like has it ever come up that so and so might be the case, or you know, trying to do the whole social work, open ended questioning thing. That's why I think social workers make really good evaluators, although they don't often choose that, but the instincts about respecting people and questioning in a way that's not like, you know, attacking. I think all of that comes with evaluation, too.

Indirect Examples Included Listening to Marginalized Evaluators, Privileged Evaluators Need to Educate Themselves, Make Agreements Not to Participate in Segregated Works, Consider Ecological Viewpoints, and Consideration of Data Use

While support can be provided directly, there are indirect components of support that White evaluators can engage in as well. Participants gave several examples of how to do this, with a key element involving how evaluators listen. Harold stressed the need for listening, stating,

when evaluators who have been historically marginalized or traumatized or abused by the systems, when they speak, we need to listen. Not just with our heads, but with our hearts and understand that this person is talking about something and if we are having an emotional reaction to it, we need to sit with that and not just jump to solutions, because they're telling us something very important that we have to be ready and willing to hear.

Harold added that personal investigation and reflection are also a helpful indirect practice, but at times there may be more of an interactional dynamic to go along with listening to marginalized perspectives.

Evaluators with privilege need to do a better job of educating themselves around the power and privilege and things that have come before us. And sometimes what that means is, I need someone to say, check your privilege... I might need someone to tell me where it needs to be checked. I'm not asking them to tell me the solution to it, but I need them to say hey, you know, you're making some assumptions here, and I'm human. I make assumptions, we all do. What's less helpful for me is someone to say check your privilege, and then walk away and then try to figure it out on my own. Because that gets into that echo chamber of if I start just trying to find my own solutions, I'm going to find ideas that may not be the thing the other person was telling me needs to be checked... So, I think that there's probably a two-way conversation, but I think I'd be more comfortable with it if it were people who have been marginalized telling me where my areas of weakness are, then it's my responsibility to learn about those, and to try to remedy them, perhaps with their support. It's not their job to fix me, it's mine.

Mary gave an example of indirect actions to not be involved within certain contexts of evaluation. In this example, Mary was watching a conference panel that consisted of all evaluators of color where,

they were talking about the research they were doing, the evaluations they were doing, and at one point a White person raised his or her hand... [and said] to one of the people on the panel, 'basically what you're saying is that White people shouldn't do this work... the work you are doing in prison,' and [the panelist responded] 'yeah, basically, get out of my country, get out of my neighborhood, you don't know what you're doing and you're doing harm'... some of the White

people were really offended. It's like, no, you really don't need to be in there because you don't know what you don't know, and to fool yourself into thinking that you do, and that you can be this neutral evaluator person, or be self-aware, and you have the potential to do such harm by not knowing what you don't know.

Olivia also recognized the need for personal awareness by saying,

I think we have a huge responsibility [as White evaluators to leverage privilege], but I think we all have that responsibility. I think that so many of our systems in our society are oppressive, and we need to recognize our privilege to maintain the status quo, and part of our responsibility are to understand its context and interactions with the other systems that are at play. And that those systems are often oppressive, they are always racist... I think a good evaluator [involves] understanding the broader systems.

Olivia referenced Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological perspectives, which identify expectations behind certain roles and identities by stating, "associated with every position in society are role expectations about how the holder of the position is to act and how others are to act toward her. These expectations pertain not only to the content of activities but also to the relations between the two parties, in terms of the dyadic parameters previously outlines: degree of reciprocity, balance of power, and affective relation" (p. 85).

In referencing the ecological model, Olivia further states,

I just think to understand... whether it's the child of the classroom of the program or the community, we have to understand the forces, and often they're oppressive that constructed and created what it is, especially today... [children] are still hugely oppressed in this society... so it's not like these historical pieces are gone,

they're still here... all of these things that constructed and created the programs...

I think our responsibility, our role, is to not be simplistic in our understanding of programs.

The complexity in understanding programs, in part, deals with questions of who is represented within programs and communities, and how they are participating as part of the evaluation. Greene (2000) discussed the challenges in working to democratize stakeholder voices by outlining (1) the absence of significant stakeholder voices due to certain groups and individuals choosing not to participate; (2) the masking of values by method leading to an overemphasis on the methods used, and a lack of included voices as a part of that overemphasis; (3) the limited authority of the evaluation due to contextual factors that can undermine the influence of evaluators (p. 17).

In accessing Greene's work, Deborah discussed these points by saying,

I think what we are attempting to do is challenge, and to challenge is to create a sense of resistance and difficulty for things proceeding according to a status quo in which privilege is reproduced. When I think about evaluation for transformative purposes, I'm really mindful of Jennifer Greene's work because I've read a good amount of it and her values and the way she describes different democratic values are very grounding and helpful. What I love about her research is she often presents cases and vignettes where you see the enactment of that really complicated, and sometimes the outcome of what an evaluator may seek as a good outcome for this value they are trying to embody kind of fall apart. So, I think we, one, have to try to steadfastly identify stakeholders who are least positioned to have influence within programs or systems, and maybe go

frequently overlooked or even unidentified as someone who should be served by them. So, like, this fierce interest in the issue of representation, and then I think we have to ask questions. I think we have to be curious about issues of equity and find ways to ask questions. Thirdly, I think we have to come up with methods and approaches for participation that are not burdensome, particularly to stakeholders and communities that are least well positioned to participate... there just needs to be what is easily accommodated, more time building relationships, and there needs to be greater creativity in terms of the mechanisms for collecting data, and what we understand to be evidence that helps us to answer criteria for a program or system's success.

Speaking to the role of evaluation in describing communities in ways that may be problematic, Gloria discussed,

pointing [oppression] out, acknowledging it, talking about it, making the case for it to be different, and why that is advantageous... Helping people reframe, which is part of what I was saying about having people reframe things, and then maybe in ways they haven't considered... And there's the liberatory strategies and some of those can be used in different contexts... As a profession, having that conversation in different gatherings, and trying to help people within the profession and talk amongst themselves about what their experiences have been in being mindful about who is participating and who is not participating in discussions... And then there's... Sally Leiderman and Potapchuk... the way they did it... is an example of a way to frame something... it was writing about a program for White parents in a way that normally programs were written for

nonwhite parents, so White people could see how ridiculous some of the framing of how these programs are described and how insulting it would be if that was the way you were being talked about, how your community was being talked about. In drawing out Gloria's reference, Leiderman (2005) states directly that, the challenge of making sure people who view the data can see it in the context of an analysis of institutional (or structural) racism, or within the context of white privilege. The reason this is so important is that, without a context for viewing the data, people will create their own explanations. And people without an understanding of the cumulative effects of white privilege, institutional and structural racism will tend to look for individual – rather than institutional or structural – explanations that end up 'blaming the victim' for poor group outcomes. That is, people will view persistent and large group differences as being solely the result of attitudes, actions and inherent abilities of the individuals in the group or of a group 'culture' (p. 98).

Language is a big part of the puzzle of indirectly addressing privilege, both in being aware of how language can be damaging, and also how it can seem to be supportive but may have underlying messages that are not helpful in intervening in oppression. Jane describes, I have seen this differently in both gender and race... What we've done with this language that's like 'smash the patriarchy' are trying to lift feminism up, and then therefore put men down, in like sometimes very violent language. And I think that some of what I'm seeing happening now is, it's like in order to celebrate Blackness, which is like, yes, ultimately we should definitely – doesn't mean we need to villainize all White people, but we need to understand white supremacy is

toxic and affects all of us, and it's like no one is benefitting from thinking White is supreme. We're all sick because of it. I just say that to say I think that there's a lot of that that's actually an important recognition for White evaluators to understand. In what ways are their practices colonizing, and what ways are there practices of white supremacy manifesting into our own language... If this is the ocean, and this is in the water, and we've all been in the water, you know? There's not enough time spent there of really getting familiar with what is your way of doing stuff and like, get to know what's in there that you can start to tweeze out. I think that knowing first of all that you're not other from those systems and individuals. What are you doing? Look at us first, I think that's a big one, especially for us progressive evaluators that really don't want to do any harm, then it's really hard to look what ways what you have been doing has been harmful.

Jane describes that how evaluators analyze and think through data is also a part of indirect ways of addressing use of data that may be overtly oppressive.

It's like that otherness gets more and more rigid. We're always unintentionally projecting things into our data, so really being able to humanize people is really important.

Eugene added to this point by saying,

I think we have to try and create evaluation strategies and data collection that can help provide some evidence that will perhaps raise the awareness. So, if it's implicit and folks don't see that they're doing this or that their system is set up in a way that is harmful, or biased, or oppressive, then yeah, being able to sort of

find the types of evidence – and that often means privileging the voices of the people who are experiencing the harms. Finding ways to really get their perspectives on the table and out for folks to enhance helping them take a look at that or showing the ways you know, through data, that the system appears to be problematic or biased or harmful.

Guiding funders and privileged community members to join marginalized communities in experiencing environmental conditions, or in having real interactions with individuals and groups can also be useful in indirectly addressing marginalization. Jane shared the story,

I was on a coalition, and this [rich] man was a stakeholder that was a part of this education committee, and he had never understood what the kids were going through in terms of the transportation system, and [not understanding] why they were late. And the point in all this is that he ended up taking a bus and going with a family one morning and taking like three different busses and waiting in the cold for a bus that didn't come for 45-minutes, and they had to go walk and catch another one. This young girl was a half an hour late, and this mom had to take like six different busses in [city], and it was just absurd. He was like, 'I didn't know to the extent.' But I think that actually his physical body walking the walk changed things in him, he had a different frame of reference.

Addressing Covert Systems of Oppression/Racism

Oppression that is covert is typically much more challenging to identify and address. Coates (2011) in focusing on the dynamics of covert racism, defined the concept broadly as, “covert racism may be viewed as racism which is hidden; secret; private; covered; disguised; insidious; or concealed. Covert racism varies by context... Regardless of context, the most

pervasive qualities associated with covert racism are that is served to subvert, distort, and deny rewards, privileges, access, and benefits to racial minorities” (pp. 1-2).

When asked to consider methods of addressing covert systems of oppression/racism, participants often focused on dynamics of humanization of self and others, and through that humanization, discussed specific strategies of addressing it.

Evaluators Can Humanize Themselves and Others by Using Reflective Practices, Recognizing Internal Oppressive Thinking, and Understanding Knowing vs. Experiencing

Covert oppression often operates at an internal level where individuals experience thinking and beliefs that incorporate stereotypes, assumptions, and privileged ignorance of other’s perspectives and lived realities. This understanding drove several participants to discuss the need for evaluators to humanize themselves by personalizing their understanding of their own privilege and positionalities. Andrew validated the challenge by saying,

[Thinking through strategies to address covert oppression] is actually much more difficult in some ways, because it’s really easy to identify overt oppression and overt discrimination and stand up against it. The covert one almost requires you to look into your own heart in a way, and to say, well look what am I doing here? And why are my understandings influencing the way I make judgements? Are my linguistic understandings, my cultural understandings, my own sense of what I think is right and wrong, how are they impacting on the decisions and judgements I’m making as an evaluator? And how to I hear other voices, and how do I give agency to different voices in the work that I’m doing? And that can be hard, you know, that’s not necessarily an easy thing to do, but how do I do that both on an individual level, but also at a program level, and how do I do it in terms of the

structure of the evaluations I do, but also the interpersonal relationships that I'm creating around evaluation? And that's challenging because it's an ongoing set of journeys, and an ongoing set of conversations, and it's an ongoing set of reflections on yourself and your own values. And the older you get, the more difficult that becomes because we become more ossified in our own understanding of what's right and wrong, and also the more busy we get, and the more complicated our external environment becomes, the more difficult it becomes to be flexible in those ways as well.

Having a connection to your own flaws and prejudicial thoughts is both important in the process of addressing implicit oppression, but also in humanizing yourself. Jane said, "really being able to humanize people is important... I have definitely othered myself from covert racism, and there's such a humility to remembering your own flaws in this whole process."

Understanding person flaws is critical in recognizing internalized stereotypes and oppressive thinking. In discussing covert oppression, Nancy said,

I think about covert, that word makes me think about internalized stuff, and sort of the ways that systems of oppression operate within our own minds. We're socialized into oppressive systems, and so that responsibility for critical self-reflection and developing critical consciousness might fit into that as well. And that personal work that's necessary in order to be able to do the professional work.

Eugene discussed raising awareness as a way to address covert oppression by saying, you have to start by raising awareness, and also being a good role model for that through that reflective process... you also have to be very careful because if you

try too hard to make the implicit stuff explicit, you tend to meet with a lot of resistance and pushback. And so, it has to be done clearly and thoughtfully, and in some cases subtly so that people start becoming more aware.

The supportive role in responding to covert forms of oppression has been discussed previously in various ways of making sure marginalized individuals and groups have a voice within evaluation work, however, Penny brought it back to support as being a necessary component in intervention with oppression as well.

We need to be thoughtful about being supportive, not getting in the way.

Sometimes I think about this in the sense of are we always the best people to be at the helm or be leading us. I think in some contexts, yes, but I think in some contexts no. In other contexts, our role is to support others who often are not White, right? And for whatever reason the metaphor I'm thinking of is like the coach, right? Like someone else is a coach, and I'm on the team and I'm on the team, I'm gonna work hard, I'm gonna do everything I can to address this, but also, it's not my vision, right?

Penny stressed that this depends, at times, on understanding how to differentiate your academic knowledge from your lived experience – and other's lived experiences that may differ from your own.

One of the things I think about a lot in this work is the difference between knowing and experiencing. And this didn't hit me until I had my daughter. I can tell you that before I had my daughter, I knew about what it was like to have children around, even small children, like newborns, but I didn't know what the experience was. And I think sometimes we confuse knowing about, with the

experience, and because of that, when we don't have the experience, we often have blind spots whether we realize it or not, that can sometimes get in the way of real progress.

Understanding Historical Contexts of Evaluation, Avoiding False Cultural Competency, and Ensuring Transparency are Key Strategies in Addressing Covert Systems of Racism and Oppression

Participants outlined some strategies beyond self-reflection and working to understand others, and these strategies often accessed several things discussed previously during interviews. One of these previously discussed points involved understanding historical contexts of evaluation, which Gloria described as,

understanding the historical context of evaluation, regarding privilege, is something that should be more a part of the graduate education of evaluators. Understanding evaluation as a profession in a historical context. I feel like any profession should understand how it came to be... but like the foundations of eugenics, I think that's very useful for people to understand how this profession had aided and abetted, and then the origin of certain things that are very deeply rooted, and maybe glossed over, but had real consequences for people and they remember that... that's a role people can play as White evaluators, it's kind of helping people understand those kinds of connections in how they're showing up in the world, and how what they might be doing might be seen as very normal and typical, and how that doesn't make it okay. Like, you're right, people do this all the time, and that's part of why it's so bad, right?

Strategies of avoidance are often indirect measures, and Mary discussed a specific example where an evaluation attempted to be culturally responsive, but in doing so missed critical points, and should have avoided a sense of false cultural competency.

I think the idea so often in doing community work, or in teaching evaluation... you know the cookie exercise that everybody does, which is our way of saying hey, everybody can be evaluators, everyone can do this – but then we set this Ph.D. bar, or these other bars and so are we walking our talk, even? Are we listening? People can do this themselves; they know if something is working or not. There's a story... that's been around for awhile [on] a Somali moms and kids reading program, so the White evaluator said, oh we know we need a Somali evaluator to do the focus group... and so the evaluator did the focus group and the data, everything came back this is a great program, we love it, everything's excellent... and then, later on, a program person heard some of the moms talking about how much they hated the program. They had a male evaluator within a culture that at that point and time, the culture was we're going to tell if the man says how is this going, you say great! The White people made the judgement, it didn't matter, we just needed to have a Somali person do it. It didn't matter if you didn't understand the dynamics... And so, there were some fundamental flaws, and the White evaluator – we hired a Somali evaluator, here's your data, the program is great! And how many times a day is that happening? If you're not in the culture, and you are making those decisions, how truly do you just give the money to the people doing the program and say, here's the money, figure out what works for you?

Larry emphasized that transparency is an important tool in any respectful and healthy discourse.

Making sure things are more open, the less secrecy there is around things, the less chance any of [covert oppression] happens. I know that's always a challenge for any field, for any agency, but I think that's an easy way to make sure there is nothing that's happening behind the scenes, is to make sure things are open.

Because it's mostly White people in power, they are the ones that can make that happen.

Healthy discourse also depends on people to be authentic in their opinions and ability to express disagreement. Harold said,

it doesn't necessarily mean that everything that every person tells me is a problem I'm going to agree with. And so, that's one of the areas where I think people who consider themselves advocates and allies or activists sometimes run into trouble because there may be a legitimate disagreement about what the problem is or where the problem is. But, in moments of disagreements, we need to listen rather than shut down, which I think is what a lot of people do. If you're like me, you're conflict avoidant, I'd rather shut down too, but I shouldn't have that privilege anymore, right?

In the end, Larry was clear that work to end oppression, whether overt or covert, requires White evaluators to be proactive in addressing privilege by, "making sure that there's better methods and processes in place to ensure equity and diversity, making sure it's not reactive, it's proactive. Because usually it's reactive, and that usually means that there's a problem internally."

Summary

In their interviews, participants engaged in dialogue that managed to talk through several challenges faced by privileged evaluators and offered up several ideas on how to face those challenges. In many cases, developing awareness of definitions, of history, of patterns of harm and dismissal, and of self were key to the strategies discussed. In many ways, however, while responses were specific to the questions being asked, the overall need is to broaden understanding in how to respond to oppression.

The findings from this chapter provide several methods of thinking through how evaluators reflect on and use their own privilege, and how they understand marginalization and the need to not just write about it, but actively engage in methods of dismantling it. In accessing personal, professional, and historical analysis of how evaluation interacts with issues of social justice, participants were able to consider several methods of identifying, addressing, and reflecting upon privilege. Ultimately, using reflective practices to consider strategies for incorporating analysis of privilege within evaluation approaches offered several areas of insight and application for participants to discuss and contemplate in their work currently, and how they structure their future efforts.

CHAPTER VI: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction and Summary of Study

The field of evaluation evolved from several sources of academic and public interest in determining the value, efficiency, and purpose of programs designed to address things of societal importance. Education, public policy, social service programs, corporate strategies, scientific inquiry, and more were targets of investigation through evaluation methodologies. Targets of these evaluations were often groups, communities, and individuals most benefited from services provided by programs and when the outcomes of an evaluation determined that there was a deficit in some way, the weight of the reasoning has often fallen upon marginalized peoples. Whether the reasoning has been focused on deficits in program functioning, or on an overall process or systematic failure, these targets have typically experienced the brunt of the blame. This blame manifests in cutting program services that are deemed to be lacking in value for non-marginalized peoples, ignoring marginalized voices in efforts to acquire better outcomes, or in sweeping public policy changes that tend to benefit status quo communities at the expense of marginalized peoples.

Whenever there is a structure of research that overly focuses upon marginalized peoples, it is important to consider radical shifts in thinking through how that research is conducted. Understanding how the evaluation field creates operational definitions of marginalization can assist in creating conceptual clarity but can also support a different focus on researching privileged status quos that perpetuate harm. Such a shift may alleviate historical patterns of targeting disadvantaged minoritized groups who have less ability to respond to and fight against the development of programs and systems that continue to make decisions that undervalue and dismiss the needs of people who may not fit into societal norms.

Current evaluation scholarship lacks in several operational definitions of social justice terms, but two key definitions that are particularly beneficial in this study are in understanding and defining marginalization and privilege. Scholarship within the development field constructed a comprehensive definition for marginalization, which this study utilizes to identify nine different components of marginalization to be studied – and in doing so locates only three categories of the nine that evaluation scholarship has worked to address (see pp. 59-60).

Using the definition of marginalization provided by Alakhunova et al. (2015), “marginalization is both a condition and a process that prevents individuals and groups from full participation in social, economic, and political life enjoyed by the wider society” (p. 10), we can be better able to identify gaps in addressing marginalization. This study worked to follow the example of Alakhunova et al. to create a working/operational definition of privilege by conducting a phenomenological qualitative study focusing on the knowledge and experiences of White evaluators. While this emphasis on White evaluators may seem counterintuitive, due to the vast body of work from scholars of color discussing privilege and marginalization, the reason for this specific focus is to consistently address perspectives of individuals who are positioned in two overlapping areas of privilege, (1) the privilege afforded to White people within greater society in the USA and beyond, and (2) the positionality of professional evaluators over those they evaluate.

Further, understanding how privileged individuals view their own marginalized positionalities allows for focus on the phenomena of kyriarchy to consider how identities overlap and cause challenges that may not be fully appreciated or paid attention within evaluation contexts. This identification may allow evaluation professionals to have greater understanding and empathy for marginalized experiences, and also may provide insight into how they may

perceive systems and structures that tend to amplify conditions of privilege that perpetuate harm against marginalized peoples.

Ultimately, such reflection on personal and professional privilege can allow individuals with privilege to consider methods of accessing and using what privilege they have to create empowerment, access, reparations to, and agency for peoples who have been kept to the margins of experience and existence within society. This method of reflection on the ability to leverage privilege can instigate a sense of responsibility and role for evaluators within their work, and this study also seeks to provide participants an opportunity to challenge other evaluators to think through their abilities to interrogate privileged systemic oppression and create action plans for future work within the field of evaluation and beyond.

Due to the complicated nature and multi-layered dynamics of positionality that may interface with and be separate from status quo structures, this study uses a phenomenological approach to access participant's lived experiences and structure questioning and dialogue in such a manner that the research questions are answered with a depth and purpose that invite future exploration yet provide some key understandings that can create a framework for methods of ongoing inquiry. These complications are also better served within a phenomenological approach due to the inclusion of the investigator as a part of its structure. The investigator's journaling through the process of investigation provide insight into potential personal bias, experiential challenges faced, and how the investigator worked through these challenges. This serves to humanize both the investigator and research subjects, and within a topic of study that requires attention to humanization, this approach logically provides a greater potential for validity and application within the evaluation field.

The limited nature of evaluation scholarship on privilege necessitates an investigation of the phenomenon within other areas of social science inquiry, however, this study includes reference to both evaluation and other sources of literature on privilege. In addition, investigation of conceptual frameworks, particularly those related to intersectional oppression theory, reflective practice, leveraging privilege, and epistemic privilege from marginalized stakeholders are reviewed to create a grounding in previous investigation including and beyond evaluation scholarship.

A specific review of evaluation designs, methods, and philosophies in how they consider marginalization within their approaches is also included as a part of this study's framing. Participatory evaluation design, empowerment evaluation design, transformative evaluation design, and culturally responsive evaluation design are included within this analysis.

Data collection for this study involved creating a purposive sampling of experienced White evaluators who are known through their scholarship to have a focus on responding to and investigating culture in some fashion. Qualitative interview questions were created to explore four research questions, and my navigation of questions included potential sub-questions as indicated by a participant's responses (Appendix C, pp. 401-404). A Qualtrics survey was administered before each interview to gather demographic information (Appendix D, pp. 405-409), and I completed a personal journal focused on relevant reflections about the interviews and member checks (Appendix F and G, pp. 411-413).

The rest of this chapter focuses on my analysis of each research question through the findings from participant responses, and an overview of what I learned from my journaling data. This chapter will also discuss the implications of the study, as well as recommendations for future scholarship related to this investigation.

Summary of Findings and Conclusion

The following sections sort through the data from this study by research question, and in some cases sub questions within the research question itself. This section also highlights the journaling I completed after every interview.

Research Question One: Defining and Identifying Privilege

RQ1: How and in what ways do experienced White evaluators define and understand the concept of “privilege”?

Definitions of privilege vary, as the concept is explained in nuanced ways to match the specific discipline or context of the topic it may fit within. Peggy McIntosh (1988) brought a women’s studies analysis to the intersections of white privilege and male privilege, providing several examples of what she called, “the invisible knapsack” without providing a concrete definition of the term. Michael Kimmel and Abby Ferber (2003) wrote and edited a sociology textbook dedicated to discussing and providing examples of privilege and debate about its existence on both personal and societal levels. Both of these resources encapsulate discussion about privilege, without directly naming the phenomenon itself in a specific or tangible manner.

In summarizing participant’s efforts in defining and identifying privilege, I aim to provide a working / operational definition behind the concept of privilege to be utilized within evaluation contexts. As participants illustrated examples of their own layers of privileged positionality, these experiences provided insight into how a working definition can be critical to the examination of stakeholder groupings both in structuring evaluation questions, but also in navigating conflict and understanding dynamics of power that may lead to construct irrelevant findings within specific evaluation research.

Creating an Operational / Working Definition of Privilege for Evaluation

Scholarship

I propose the following working definition for privilege, based on the contributions of participants in this study – the numbers are tied to the sections below that describe how this definition was constructed:

(1) Privilege is a social phenomenon that interfaces with individual and group identity in (2) providing unearned advantages to gain access to favorable experiences, perspectives, and positions in society. (3) Privilege is based on historical accumulation of power for group identities and experiences that lead to (4) the ability to maintain ignorance of the experiences and perceptions of individuals and groups who (5) lack access to contextual applications of power behind the privilege in question.

This working definition is derived from several themes that appeared during investigation of participant responses. The following section analyzes and describes each component of the definition.

(1) Social Phenomenon with Identity Components

In answering questions about ways to define the concept of privilege, some participants named the varieties of how human beings identify themselves, either individually, or within some sort of social grouping – and how these individual and social groupings were numerous within each individual human being. Social phenomena are what defines groups in broad (such as race, religion, socioeconomic status, etc.), and then narrow ways (such as neighborhood/region, religious denomination, peer group, etc.), and is what leads to human identity, whether individual or grouped with others.

(2) Unearned Advantages and Access

The concept of privilege being unearned can often be contested, particularly in cases of group and individual identity that have an incremental build-up of power (such as with socioeconomic class or educational achievements which may be earned over time). While this complication needs further, deeper, consideration in cases of gained authority or power, participants in this study discussed situations in which advantages and access often become dichotomous in certain categories of power where one grouping maintains powers and advantages, and another grouping is othered in ways that create disadvantages and marginalization. During analysis of Research Question Two, the topic of kyriarchy will be more directly explored, however in the context of unearned advantages and access, the layers of positionality also tend to be complicated where an individual may have power and advantage in one positionality, and marginalization and disadvantage in another part of individual positionality.

(3) Historical Accumulation of Power

In giving examples of why historical analysis of the evaluation field, and academic research in general, are important in the analysis and defining of privilege, participants discussed positionalities who have had power and access throughout the foundation and development of scholastic endeavors, and the evolving nature of how society has discussed marginalization, harms, and privileges in general over time. During the course of dialogue about privilege in other research questions, participants maintained the importance of historical analysis in understanding how power both accumulates, and how it can cause harm when left unchecked.

(4) Maintain Ignorance to Marginalized Experiences and Perspectives

Florence's use of the term "negative space" summarized the concept of privilege not recognizing or understanding the perspectives of those who may be marginalized by the power it holds. Several other participants echoed this perspective and referenced germinal work on theories focused on contextualizing and understanding privilege and oppression (such as McIntosh, 1988). This distinction of privilege holding a characteristic of ignorance is helpful in potentially examining disconnects one group or individual may have with other groups or individuals, and also helps to acknowledge the dynamics of epistemic privilege and standpoint epistemology that focus on marginalized experiences of being ignored and put on the margins.

(5) Contexts of the Power behind Privilege

Responses from participants acknowledged the complications of defining and understanding privilege, leading to several to offer contextual framings of these understandings of privilege. A major part of this dialogue emphasized the reality that privilege is not positive or negative, but merely exists in layers of human positionality. Understanding this context helps in recognizing that someone with privilege in a layer of identity is able to have access to and agency over that layer in ways that marginalized people do not hold. At the same time, holding a layer of privilege also has side-effects that bear closer examination tied to specific forms of privilege. While the example given by a participant called out the potential toxic elements of masculinity within a sexist patriarchal framing, examples in other kinds of privilege will necessitate examination of the unique elements of each identity and positionality to better understand these side-effects. In providing some contextual examples of the power behind privilege, participants overall considered that there are a multitude of elements that prevent

simplistic or dichotomous understanding of privilege and necessitating a definition of the concept that accounts for the multitude of contextual attributes within layered privilege.

Understanding Personal and Professional Privileged Positionalities

Self-reflection questions, as a part of the interview protocol in this study, asked participants to practice vulnerability in providing examples of layers of privilege they inhabit in their lives. Asking this question after inquiring about how a participant defined the concept of privilege allowed for participants to create a frame for their experiences, which were both important for deeper questions that followed, but also created an opportunity to follow through on a conceptual framework that comes from creating a definition of a concept.

In this section, participant's identified privileged positionalities, along with their analysis of their experiences as a part of that identity serve to illustrate the power of having an operational definition of privilege, and why that could matter within the field of evaluation.

Reflections on White Privilege

All participants were informed that this study utilized a purposive sampling of White evaluators, and at the start of each interview, I discussed the reasons for this decision. After identifying their definitions and understanding of privilege, several participants reflected on their identities of being White before being asked questions about their privilege.

After providing his thoughts on how to define privilege, Carl was able to scaffold on to that definition how he understood the ways male privilege and white privilege contributed advantageously to his career development. He also was able to compare his advantages to how they fit into women's experience. His descriptions evidenced some understanding for the injustice of his unearned advantages that women did not have access to.

Leaning on a given definitional component of privilege, Mary elaborated on the ignorance privileged experiences have for marginalized lives and perspectives, relying on work by DiAngelo (2018) on White fragility. This understanding of privilege allowed Mary to recognize that White people are able to believe discussions about culture or diversity do not apply to their lives, experiences, or needs.

Societal dynamics include the presence of the media, and a participant used a reflection on a growing awareness of privilege to watching television shows that discussed White privilege, blogs and writings on the privilege of whiteness, and other examples of how societal phenomena contribute to the accumulation of understanding and power within privileged identities. After referencing these media examples, this participant further discussed the societal dynamics of learning about privilege by referencing a growing understanding also developing from nonwhite peers in the field of evaluation who worked to educate others on topics related to marginalization and oppression.

Penny's complicated analysis of the difference in White identity when comparing national identity nuanced her definitional understanding of privilege to more broadly think about influences that may occur due to regional differences and how these differences are often missed by people who have national identities that solely privilege experiences from the United States.

All of these examples demonstrate layering experiences onto an applied definition, and this first research question allowed participants an opportunity to become a part of creating a multilayered and multifaceted definition that could potentially help others to better understand both their own experiences and the experiences of others with different backgrounds and identities.

Identifying and Understanding Privileged Positionalities

Intimate personal examples were provided by participants when discussing their layers of privilege. While the findings on these examples provide lengthy accounts, the general categorization of privileges participants brought forward included (1) status-based privileges (education, economic, nationality, religion), (2) knowledge-based privileges (linguistic, social), and (3) identity-based privileges (race, gender, sex, sexual orientation).

- 1) **Status-Based Privileges:** this grouping of privileges has to do with specific status an individual has within a layer of analysis. Educational status requires analysis of both the level of achievement (degree completed, trade membership gained, experience-level attained) and the context or focus of the achievement (location of degree program, type of degree obtained, focus of degree or topic of interest, trade of practice, union-based experience and training level achieved). Economic status may be broken down between various levels depending on the analysis used, but typically is compared between higher-than and lower-than positioning, although on occasion these analyses are tied into possession of specific resources. Nationality is often layered as someone who is a “natural born” citizen, someone who is born in a different country by parents who are citizens, naturalization for an immigrant status, legal immigrant, illegal immigrant, and sometimes analysis of certain regions or countries which may be seen to have a higher status than other regions or countries. Religion may be categorized in privilege by in-group and out-of-group status or will receive higher status based on concentration of religion within a region, or

adoption of a religion by a state. Within religions, there may be comparisons and judging between different denominations or practice of beliefs. Each of these statuses have a continuum of achievement where a certain level is considered to be superior and holds advantages over a lesser obtained status or level. Within these levels, there are often comparisons based on field of interest, which end up involving the context of what fields are considered to be more prestigious within a given region, society, or culture.

- 2) **Knowledge-Based Privileges:** while status may be gained from achieving certain levels of achievement, knowledge-based privileges exist based on what specific knowledge has more advantages or benefits within a given context. Linguistic privilege, as discussed by some participants of this study, often goes to those who speak English as the global lingua franca, however in regions where English may not be the predominant language, the privilege may have different connotations or advantages. Social-based privileges were discussed by participants as the advantages held for understanding and knowledge of certain social practices. This may involve the ability to navigate social structures, understanding of hierarchies, emotional intelligence within social gatherings, presentation and oral skills, or other specific knowledge that may apply within social settings.
- 3) **Identity-Based Privileges:** these privileges are most often referenced when discussing both privilege and marginalization. They tend to be identities that an individual was assigned, or was born with, although some

dynamics mentioned by participants included the way certain identities may be hidden due to the ability to appear to have a privileged identity. Race often involves the dynamic of skin color, with a gradation of privilege based on the lighter the tone of your skin or appearance. Gender is associated with how one identifies within a spectrum of possible identities. These are often ranked based on cisgender having the most privilege, and transgender or non-binary gender having an element of societal marginalization. Sex-based privilege is often based on dichotomous male-female identities, where male identities tend to have greater privilege. Sexual orientation can also be analyzed from identity-based privilege where heterosexuality has amplified ability and agency, and then within non-heterosexual identities there is a contextual analysis based on various factors within LGBTQ+ communities.

Participants discussed their privileged identities by bringing forward a comparison to marginalized identities (“I’ve always been housed, I’ve never had housing issues or housing insecurity issues”), listing specific advantages gained from privilege (“a safe neighborhood with access to a good public-school education”), reflecting on ancestral privilege (“my parents had access to a college education, they had access to get a mortgage to buy a house”), and an understanding of how historical dynamics of colonialism play out in privileged perspectives (“my great grandparents that were the settler colonialists”).

There were few incidents where I detected discomfort from participants in answering questions about privilege (see investigator journal details, pp. 95-96), with most participants simply naming their layers of identity, and some details being so intimate that they needed to be

excised from the data due to the way they may have violated participant anonymity. In general, participants structured their reflections on their identities in ways that demonstrated deeper understanding of their positionalities, with various ways that they framed that privilege and put it within their personal contexts.

How Participants Gained Understanding of Privileged Statuses

Self-reflection is critical to the ability to work beyond the way that privilege leads to ignorance of marginalized perspectives and experiences. Reflective Practice within the evaluation field has gained growing attention over the years for its value in gaining understanding of ways to improve evaluation research (Schön, 1983, Peters, 1991, van Draanen, 2017, and Tovey & Skolits, 2022), and some participants directly credit their reflective practice in how they were able to gain understanding of their privilege and how it applied to their work in evaluation.

Taking a multidisciplinary approach to evaluation was also mentioned through some participants referencing work within the leadership and management fields, social work, and psychology fields. By accessing research and resources in other fields, these participants expressed an ability to learn about the contexts behind privilege in more dynamic ways.

Gloria referenced “spillover effects” when discussing the murder of George Floyd and media influence on gaining understanding of privilege, and also referenced “faultline theory” in understanding conflict and mediation approaches to intercultural conflict. Gloria also made a reference to “implicit leadership theory” that sets the stage for stereotypes and privileged groupings of individuals. Accessing fields outside of evaluation is often a product of evaluators mostly having initial training in other fields before entering evaluation.

Other examples of how participants learned to reflect on their privileged identities involved expressions of empathy for marginalized individuals and groups, having experiences of gaining privilege over time as a part of various contextual factors of growth in life, and recognizing how access to advantages might be useful for those who lack relevant privilege.

Challenging Dynamics of Privilege

One component of privilege that is not covered by this operational definition is how privilege operates as a protective factor for several layers of identity. One participant discussed this dynamic as it applied to having the ability to pursue higher education and had access to financial resources as a part of ancestral privilege. If the study had specifically asked about protective factors as an element of privilege, it seems likely that several additional examples may have been provided.

Also, due to the multi-layered dynamics involved in positionality, while privileged identities may have more ability to resist oppressive contexts, for individuals who may have privilege on one layer, but are marginalized in others, there may be a more tenuous attachment to abilities that people with multiple layers of privilege may experience in a given context.

Consideration of the “scarcity fallacy” could be important to keep in mind in discussion and thinking about privilege and marginalization. One participant noted that the advantages given to privileged identities are advantages all human beings should have access to, yet in several layers of identity advantages are seen as a zero-sum game where one group has access so that another does not. In their work on addressing food insecurity, Scanlan et al. (2010) discuss how “scarcity is a compelling, common-sense perspective that dominates both popular perceptions and public policy... [yet] scarcity is largely a myth” (p. 35). In their discussion of how multiple layers of oppression are involved in global hunger and food insecurity, they are

clear that food is plentiful, even more so than in most periods of history – the problem, however, is a lack of equal distribution of food to all.

This analysis can be applied to most layers of privilege – while the problems behind marginalization often are blamed on marginalized populations themselves, privileged identities have the ability to distribute access, advantage, and status to those who lack them.

Research Question Two: Experiences of Marginalization & Systemic Amplifications

RQ2: How and in what ways have White evaluators experienced oppressive conditions within their personal and professional lives, and how have such experiences contributed to their work as evaluators?

- a. Within professional evaluation experience, how do participants notice conditions that amplify oppressive conditions within an evaluand (e.g., administrative practices, funding, program process, representation, and program values)?

Within the second research question, participants were asked to shift their reflections from identifying their privileged identities to considering how they had experienced marginalization or oppression in their lives and identities. In some cases, identities some participants listed as privileged ended up being identities other participants were marginalized by, and while participants did not talk to each other, their experiences served to illustrate several sides and experiences of identity and experience.

While there was little discomfort evidenced in the first research question, participants expressed discomfort in several ways when responding to these questions about marginalization and oppression. The reflections on this discomfort were often expressed through desire to change

the framing, to minimize impacts of marginalized experiences, or to hesitate in providing a response.

After spending time thinking through personal marginalization, this led to questioning how these experiences may have impacted their work in evaluation, and then thinking through how evaluators noticed amplifications of privilege within programs and direct evaluation work.

Analysis of Participant Discomfort in Discussing Marginalized Identities

With nearly half of participants expressing some form of discomfort over the question about the ways they had experienced marginalization or oppression (seven of sixteen participants), clearly this question brought up more challenges to being vulnerable than questions about privileged positionalities. It seems possible that part of the discomfort may have come from the ordering of the questions, as being asked to talk about privilege and its dynamics then being asked to reflect on harms that may have been experienced by being marginalized may have caused an emotional and mental shift in thinking that may have been challenging to process.

Another possible interpretation relies on Harbin et al. (2012) who discuss how discomfort at discussing marginalized perspectives may be due to a fear of judgment. Within the context of their research, they explored interactions between queer patients and physicians in discussing healthcare needs. They noted, “policies and practices that avoid discomfort at all costs are not always helpful for care, and experiences of shared discomfort in queer health contexts are not always harmful... it might be that discomfort can produce joint efforts to recognize what causes discomfort and joint efforts to challenge underlying judgments – efforts that may not happen otherwise” (p. 159).

The implications of Harbin et al. could be that participants may have feared judgment for disclosing vulnerable experiences that exist within marginalized identities. For experiences that

already have attached harm, fear for facing additional harm when recounting events or contexts is a reasonable place for discomfort. As one of the attributes of marginalized experiences involve being “othered” and outside of the status quo, discomfort in identifying these positionalities may be a part of the issue.

The way some participants responded by reframing the question could also be an indication that there was a certain discounting of experiences that are marginalized as they were often given along with providing a comparison to privileged experiences, such as when Deborah stated, “I guess I just feel too privileged in the summary of experiences I’ve had, and the outcomes of my life, to just feel like that term very easily applies to me.”

If the human experience, overall, is a combination of harmful and constructive experiences, positionalities of privilege and those of marginalization, then the ability to balance these competing experiences is an important part of humanizing yourself and others. I started this study by referencing my personal blend of privileged and marginalized experiences and positionalities due to my belief that all human beings have a vast variety of mixed and competing identities.

While this study did not directly question participants about the discomfort noticed in their responses to this research question, it could be important to consider ways to bridge and discuss this blend of marginalized and privileged identity that exists in human experience, particularly within the evaluation field where most stakeholder groups consist of this blend of positionalities.

Elements of Marginalization and Oppression Experienced by Participants

Using the categorizations of privilege discussed from participant’s discussion of their privileged positionalities (status-based, knowledge-based, and identity-based), these same

categories will be used to discuss how participants experienced layers of marginalization and oppression for their identified positionalities. In addition, when in dialogue about marginalization and oppression, some participants provided examples of experiences that fit outside of more common distinctions when discussing intersectional layers of oppression, and those challenges to the discussion are further detailed below.

Status-Based Marginalization and Oppression

Dynamics of ableism can be challenged by the elements of “lookism” as stereotypes about people who have physical or mental issues outside of status quo “norms” are often placed on visible and more directly obvious disability. While this study has a definition of the term, Adomatis and Saiki (2010) described lookism as having several dynamics to include appearance, dress, ideal beauty, aesthetic labor, as well as many other visible characteristics, and they discuss how individuals are treated differently based on how they look.

In the case of ableism, the aesthetic would be ideas that center around what society deems to look more physically fit and healthy, and what it means to be completely rational and in control of one’s mental capacities. In this, lookism becomes a modifier of both oppressive / marginalization experiences as well as privileged / dominant group experiences. While Spiegel (2022) specifically researched lookism in the case of physical attractiveness, he names this component by stating, “Positive lookism refers to positive discrimination based on physical beauty. Negative lookism, on the other hand, refers to the negative treatment of people for the sole reason of being physically unattractive” (p. 2).

This complicates several layers of intersectional oppression analysis, with Spiegel also describing lookism as a unique phenomenon that intersects in dynamic ways with layers of oppression, “by focusing predominantly on lookism as a sui generis phenomenon. Thus, I

understand lookism as a kind of prejudice that works analogous to racism or sexism that can in some instances intersect with racism and sexism, but something that is ultimately distinct from sexism or racism. One key difference lies in the fact that looks-based discrimination has not received the kind of critical attention and consciousness-raising that race or gender-based discrimination have” (p. 4).

Participants provided details of this dynamic in their examples by discussing neurodivergence, mental health issues, and substance abuse issues – all of which may be hidden layers of marginalization that only come forward contextually or through an individual volunteering their positionality and becoming potentially vulnerable by doing so. This makes the framing of questions and the self-reflection of evaluators on their own biases even more critical to be mindful and considerate of the harms that might be caused to individuals and groups who might seem to be within a status quo yet have experiences and perspectives that are based in discomfort or harm.

Often, this is part of the challenge with status-based marginalization and oppression – it can be contextually hidden or obscured. In the case where privileged experiences are ignorant to the experiences and perspectives of marginalized and oppressed groups and individuals, status-based marginalization is especially difficult for privileged perspectives to understand or notice. This leads to increased need for evaluators to understand the role of epistemic injustices (see definition on p. 28) that may be caused through evaluation work, as Spiegel (2022) notes, “lookism is associated with epistemic injustices (in addition to the social and economic injustices that are more obvious). The kinds of epistemic injustices in this context have to be further divided into positive and negative epistemic discrimination. The forms of positive and negative

epistemic discrimination are analogous to forms of positive and negative racism or positive and negative sexism” (p. 6).

Evaluators also have the ability to alleviate epistemic injustice by providing terms, contexts, and validation for marginalized individuals and communities, and while there may be more attention paid to identity-based oppression, there are huge opportunities to leverage status-based and knowledge-based privileges by accessing resources, knowledge, and analysis that are often not as accessible for marginalized groups and individuals. This may also be possible through directly naming and admitting to the ways evaluation research has impacted such marginalized groups and individuals, as Jane’s statement attests to in that,

we haven’t even touched on the way [evaluation] is affecting disabled folks that we might be collecting data with, you know how are we collecting this data with folks if they’re autistic, or if they’re blind? We haven’t accounted for ableism.

Participants also disclosed various layers of marginalization and oppression experienced due to classism as a status-based form of oppression. In the arena of resource/financial forms of classism, evaluators can be well served in understanding the skills associated by socioeconomic class that can be illuminating in understanding impoverished individuals and communities. When people are discussed by level of income, poverty, or socioeconomic class, there are various stereotypes and assumptions based on the levels an individual or community may fit into. Several academic sources, when discussing skills based by socioeconomic class tend to reference deficits in status quo educational skills (see examples Bergen et al. 2016, Brown et al. 2016, McLaughlin & Sheridan, 2016).

However, when viewing socioeconomic level through the lens of what skills are necessary based on access to monetary resources (or not), Payne (2005) discussed how poverty is

not only about lack of monetary access but operates on several layers of resources to include emotional resources, mental resources, spiritual resources, physical resources, support systems, relationships/role models, and for the specific analysis here, knowledge of hidden rules (pp. 7-9). Payne outlines, with the hidden rules among classes framing, how skillsets within poverty vary significantly from middle class skillsets, and from wealthy class skillsets. For each socioeconomic class listed by Payne, there are fifteen given examples of hidden rules in how each grouping perceives certain resources and concepts. Payne then describes, “hidden rules are taken for granted by a particular class, which assumes they are a given for everyone... hidden rules govern so much of our immediate assessment of an individual and his/her capabilities (pp. 41, 44).”

Deborah described being “awkward” with other children who had higher socioeconomic background, Florence expressed surprise when learning decades after the fact of receiving admission to a university due to having a lower socioeconomic status, and these may be examples that may point to a certain degree of apprehension of judgment due to being a part of a marginalized grouping.

Educational class can be analyzed through the lens of either status-based marginalization or knowledge-based marginalization. Participants provided examples of both, but in the case of status-based, Barry was conscious of the level of privilege afforded to professors and how there was a lower status for students on several levels, and Mary provided an example of a direct aggression coming from a professor that demeaned and dismissed the validity of a graduate student perspective. Elitism, as mentioned by Barry, also fits within both categories depending on the context. There is the status context of elitism that has to do with judging an individual or group based on certain ratings of school (such as Ivy League vs non-Ivy League), or in the

example used by Barry, the status that is compared between different departments within an academic setting.

Knowledge-Based Marginalization and Oppression

The elements of educational classism that fit within the boundaries of knowledge-based marginalization and oppression were discussed by several participants related to being a first-generation university or graduate student. Penny's reference to "cultural capital" demonstrates that lacking knowledge of the process, hierarchy, and culture of a college or university setting can lead to various marginalization through not understanding how to navigate systems that exist on campuses.

Evaluators may benefit from understanding this dynamic of cultural capital, particularly within research on STEM-based programs and work to increase diversity. Like Payne's analysis of poverty above, if evaluators are merely addressing a status quo understanding of student learning, but do not access or pay attention to the unique needs of students who may need to grow and develop social capital, they may not fully be understanding how to analyze student needs. While, on a research front, this may illustrate how construct irrelevant dynamics may exist due to status quo assumptions, it also illustrates a powerful method of both accessing student experiences and gaining information that may help STEM-based programs to develop and grow their ability to work with marginalized students.

As with other forms of leveraging privilege, individuals with knowledge-based privileges such as having inter-generational college experience can serve as mentors for first-generation students or can work to understand the ways of providing supportive services beyond simply having them available. As with other analysis of privilege, there are typically assumptions that

since a privileged identity knows about a resource, everyone knows about a resource – yet the experiences described by participants in this study reiterate that this is not the case.

All of the participants in this study were native English speakers, limiting the ability to discuss any marginalization due to linguistic privilege, however Penny identified as bilingual and grew up during childhood with two languages used by her family. She identified this as sometimes a privilege, and other times a source of marginalization, yet discussed this positionality within privileged framing as being able to communicate between two cultures, and also granting knowledge of these two cultures through family heritage and through language itself. Andrew discussed witnessing the impacts of linguistic privilege, although without having firsthand accounts of being marginalized by linguistic privilege as a part of this sample, it may indicate that future work on identifying the knowledge-based marginalization and oppression experienced by non-English speakers may be an important place to investigate further.

Identity-Based Marginalization and Oppression

Identity-based marginalization was commonly referenced by participants, particularly within experiences of sexism. To analyze this specific form of marginalization and oppression, it is important to note that dynamics between my positionality as male, and these specific participant's positionality as female may exist and complicate this analysis.

However, Broom et al. (2009) discuss the interactions between and among gender identities (restricted to male and female in this study) in qualitative research interviews, and describe that the intersectionality of the interview environment, the researcher's biography, and the participant's psychological state with gender expression and performance all play a role within analyzing power dynamics and interviews of women by men, but highlight that there are both limitations to and resources behind gender dynamics within qualitative interviews (pp. 61-

62). Of greater importance, according to Broom et al., are the reciprocity and rapport built over shared connections between researcher and participant (p. 62).

I took time and effort to disclose personal and professional background information before starting interviews, often discussing a social work background as well as professional experience working with intimate partner violence with both perpetrators and victims/survivors. It could be that these efforts to build rapport may have assisted in creating a connection with female participants, although other factors that may have helped in the process included creating a reciprocal dialogue where I offered contextually relevant research and information and shared personal experiences behind some of the stories shared by participants. Another potential contributing factor may be that while I was a graduate student at the time of the interviews, most participants had completed their doctoral degree and were either working directly within academia, or within a consulting capacity, therefore each participant had a degree of status-based privilege over me.

While I did not detect any discomfort or hesitation from female participants discussing their experiences with sexism, as discussed at several points in this study, that lack of detection alone is not necessarily reliable from the standpoint of privilege behind male identity and how men are easily ignorant to the experiences and perspectives of women. However, while these dynamics are important to discuss within the context of this specific identified marginalization, the identity-based marginalization of sexism was explored in several ways by participants that warrants further analysis.

Several participants named childhood experiences of sexism and patriarchy that informed their early development. This is a component that is important to consider with all forms of marginalization, but particularly within identity-based marginalization and oppression as these

forms tend to be those that manifest at birth and follow an individual throughout their life. Within environments and contexts where men are given more favorable treatment and have advantages over women, children, specifically girls begin to learn a series of expectations on their lives, their experiences of safety and well-being, concepts of propriety and manners specific to women and girls, and in some cases, perhaps a building sense of resistance to male domination and control.

Being underpaid, experiencing contexts where women's perspectives and voices were less welcome, judgments made about capability to balance parenting and career needs, preference being directly shown for male scholars, sensing differing beliefs behind aging for men and women, and assumptions made for women not having specific scientific or mathematics-based knowledge were all general examples shared by participants in experiencing sexism.

Participant's discussion of the presence of sexual harassment within academia, both within the past and also within more recent history, necessitate ongoing vigilance within academic systems as well as within overall academic scholarship to be conscious that while sexual harassment is a behavior that is currently more universally condemned within professional spaces, it both still exists and remains a form of abuse and violence that manifest within the marginalization and oppression of women.

While no participants identified as transgender, a few participants referenced their cisgender identity as a form of privilege in their lives. Further analysis of cissexism within the evaluation field will be important in the future, as this element of marginalization and privilege did not come up during this study.

Two participants directly discussed identity-based marginalization experiences through ageism, Carl in reflection of having a leadership-based role at a younger age, and Mary

discussing witnessing an element of ageism during a social event connected to AEA (she also discussed an overlap between ageism and sexism involving when she stopped coloring her hair and noticing men being treated differently for looking older than women). In both cases of discussing ageism, participants brought forward that there are different weights given to people who are younger or older where their opinions and contributions are diminished due to their age identity.

In discussing the identity-based marginalization and oppression of heterosexism and homophobia, Nancy told very personal stories related to her experiences, and attributed these experiences as a micro-level oppressions. Nancy contextualized marginalization and oppression experiences through the lens of macro-oppressions such as public policy that is anti-queer, and while no specific example of mezzo-level oppression was given for homophobia and heterosexism, understanding the way organizations and systems within regions conduct business and engage in process within that level would be a good source of future investigation.

The element of “bisexual erasure” was brought forward by Jane as a form of identity-based marginalization. Morgenroth et al. (2022) explicitly researched bisexual erasure and discovered, “even when sexual identity is explicitly stated, bisexual men are assumed to be more attracted to other men than to women. This assumption is made by both heterosexuals as well as lesbian/gay individuals, illustrating once more that bisexual people – in particular bisexual men – face marginalization not just in heteronormative contexts, but also in the LGBTQ+ community” (p. 257). While this study did not focus on evaluation strategies in engaging with LGBTQ+ communities, it could be important for all evaluators to be conscious of bisexual erasure within their stakeholder groups and how this may be damaging and oppressive.

In another study, Xavier Hall et al. (2021) provided an example of potential damage specific to bisexual women, stating, “when a bi + woman is in a relationship with a bisexual man, she may experience discrimination related to her own sexual identity and she may also experience vicarious discrimination related to her partner’s sexual identity (e.g., people telling her that her bisexual male partner is “really” gay)” (p. 34).

Marginalization and/or Discrimination Identification Challenges

In many interviews, when participants explained their experiences of marginalization, oppression, or discrimination, they would reference comparative layers of oppression and use these comparisons to either diminish their experiences, or to emphasize their privilege as being stronger than their marginalization. When this came up during dialog, I added a question to ask these participants if they were familiar with the concept of kyriarchy (see p. 94). None of these participants had heard of the term, and I spent a short time describing the phenomenon and how it related to what they had discussed.

In several of the analyses above, elements of kyriarchy presented themselves as layered experiences of marginalization and privilege. Kyriarchy, as a concept, has great applications for evaluation research on several levels. While there is a dearth of applicable research on kyriarchy within social science scholarship, Osborne (2015) provides examples of how kyriarchy can assist in developing frameworks for work in addressing climate change. Within a planning theory context, Osborne notes, “when it comes to understanding vulnerability in the context of climate change impacts and disasters, many scholars have noted that it is shaped by multiple factors, including race, class, gender, ethnicity, and sexuality. Less widely acknowledged is the intersectionality of these factors; that specific combinations of these factors shape their own social position, lived experience, and thus affect vulnerability” (p. 131).

The framing discussed by Osborne is directly applicable to evaluation contexts where these multiple intersections of marginalization create unique combinations that exist within all stakeholder groups. “An intersectional approach does not only acknowledge the presence of multiple axes of oppression, but explores how they may relate to one another or co-constitute one another” (p. 134).

When an analysis of kyriarchy is paired with an intersectional analysis, an evaluator can both locate several layers of positionality and identity within individuals and groups, but also may be able to begin to understand the hierarchical structures between and among these identities and positionalities. For example, if an evaluator is investigating an organization that works with Spanish speaking immigrants to provide routes toward citizenship, the immigrants who benefit from the organization’s services might all speak Spanish but may have different national origins. Each nation has its own dialect of Spanish, which may lead to communication issues between participants in this program, but also with program workers who may speak a specific dialect of Spanish themselves. In turn, these cultural differences between countries of origin may have ways in which they have stereotypes and comparisons among each other, which may create hierarchies of identity based on the size of the population from each country, overall perceptions and cultural strengths of a specific country over another, or the number of specific cultural-based resources for that country within the organization’s regional reach.

In this example, each Spanish speaking participant in this organization may have an individual identity made up of several factors such as country of origin, education and experience, family connections, access to resources, knowledge of the area, ability to communicate with English speakers, and/or understanding of the organization’s process and how to engage in services provided. Each individual then takes those pieces of their identity and may

form groups with others who have similar identities but may choose different layers to group with according to certain factors of priority or given status quo strength.

For an evaluator attempting to determine an evaluation approach who is unfamiliar with intersectionality and kyriarchy, biases may prevent that evaluator from understanding the vast differences between Spanish speaking individuals and may also prevent an understanding that putting all these program participants into one group may cause conflict, jockeying for position, or any number of construct irrelevant components within any qualitative or quantitative research design.

Osborn (2015) continues by detailing the way intersectionality and kyriarchy can overlap by stating, “an integrated framework also improves our capacity to examine individual experiences of marginality and vulnerability within the context of structural power. An intersectional study that draws from kyriarchy to establish its theory of structural power can demonstrate how intersectional identities, and in turn, lived experiences, are produced and experienced through kyriarchy. A kyriarchal study may draw from intersectionality in order to understand how the experiences of this structural power are shaped by the intersection of identity groups at the individual level” (p. 140).

Walsh (2015) advises that researchers need to both be aware of and address power and privilege dynamics in themselves directly as, “only by tackling head-on the distorting impact of kyriarchal power can a privileged scientist produce objective material; we must contextualise our knowledge by declaring our bias and working to extinguish it. We must distinguish bias from marginalised experience... Marginalised experience, conversely, is knowledge from having experienced a phenomenon first-hand, and the deep analysis and reflexivity that result from experience that contrasts with the dominant episteme” (p. 63).

Within this study, participants noted these overlapping experiences when sharing their stories of marginalization. Some male participants further explored these complicated overlaps by differentiating marginalization from experiences of being discriminated against. This differentiation is important to keep in mind, as the context brought forward by these participants is that they expressed understanding of their positionalities of privilege, as well as validating why marginalized groups and individuals might discriminate against them due to those privileged identities. Having the ability to express humility due to having positionalities of privilege is both key to self-reflection, but also to interactions with marginalized and oppressed peoples.

Discussion of How Marginalized Experiences Impact Evaluation Work

Overall, participants' ability to reflect on their lives, their experiences in evaluation, their positionalities of privilege and of marginalization provide a very solid foundation for understanding how their individual marginalization experiences fit into their ability to conduct evaluation research.

Some of the aligning characteristics between participants included early career experiences within marginalized communities that led to deeper understanding of both personal privilege as well as the development of a desire to work to address marginalization overall. By experiencing marginalized people's lives through evaluation work, participants have been better able to understand various complicated dynamics related to epistemic privilege.

Having experience of marginalization and oppression helped participants in creating a sense of empathy and care for people in such a way that humanization becomes an integral part of evaluation research and work. As a few participants mentioned the idea that privilege as a concept is something that includes advantages that all people should have access to, and this

belief and value system may lead to an overarching belief in fairness and egalitarian understandings of evaluation contexts.

Participants, through their dialogue, seem to recognize the inherent injustice of privileged positionalities as well as the expansive harms experienced by marginalized individuals and groups. As such, this may lead to the ability to see the ability and benefit of using their privilege to impact the lives of others through the field of evaluation.

Some comments from participants are validated in the work by Uluğ & Tropp (2020) who discovered that, “witnessing racial discrimination can foster willingness to engage in collective action for racial justice among members of advantaged racial groups, through the pathway of enhanced awareness of racial privilege” (p. 256). It seems likely that witnessing other forms of oppression and discrimination could lead to the willingness to engage in collective action against other forms of oppression as well.

Evaluators Noticing Amplification of Privilege

Within the context of research question two, participants were asked to discuss how they perceived components within systems that amplify privilege. This broad questioning led many participants to simply respond that all, or most, systems amplify privilege before providing examples of specific systemic amplifications. Once participants began to name systems and specific amplifications, a pool of information began to flow from their dialogue which seemed to illustrate the connectedness of privilege and systemic oppressions.

Examples of Amplifications of Privilege in Systems

Most participants had connection to the academy in some way, with many being professors, and all having at least a master’s level degree and most having a Ph.D. level of

academic achievement. As such, there were a multitude of example of how academic systems amplify privilege that serves to marginalize and oppress individuals and communities.

Defining the origins of the academy and discussing the history behind it is a question that is brought into analysis of power and privilege by Tuck & Yang (2014). “One might ask what is meant by the academy, and by the academy being undeserving or unworthy of some stories or forms of knowledge. For some, the academy refers to institutions of research and higher education, and the individuals that inhabit them. For others, the term applies to the relationships between institutions of research and higher education, the nation-state, private and governmental funders, and all involved individuals. When we invoke the academy, or academe, we are invoking a community of practice that is focused upon the propagation and promulgation of (settler colonial) knowledge” (p. 232).

Tuck & Yang, in their analysis of the academy and social science research continue to discuss the settler colonial nature of the academy, “academic knowledge is particular and privileged, yet disguises itself as universal and common; it is settler colonial; it already refuses desire; it sets limits to potentially dangerous Other knowledges; it does so through erasure, but importantly also through *inclusion*, and its own imperceptibility” (p. 235).

In echoing some of Tuck & Yang’s critique of academia as a whole, participants discussed how the academy is ultimately privileged with the ability to define both what counts as evaluation, but also how evaluation is taught within institutions as well as how the field continues to feed itself through the system of having departments dedicated to evaluation research and a limited number of tenure track positions within the field that dictate who gets to learn about and practice evaluation.

In identifying evaluators as having inherent privilege within their positions, particularly over stakeholders, participants also discussed the ways that evaluation can be used as a form of social control – or in one participant’s example, used as a way to dismantle social safety nets. Evaluators also can damage or destroy programs and organizations through their reports and analyses or enable ongoing oppressive systems if accepting funding from a commissioner of an evaluation who requires that results of any evaluation support positive viewpoints of the analysis they are paying for.

Deborah recognized the way that social standpoints may be radically different between the perspective of funders, and from the perspective of other stakeholders requiring that “attending to those gulfs in interests are central to evaluation.”

In these ways, participants mirror Tuck & Yang (2014) who state, “research is just one form of knowing, but in the Western academy, it eclipses all others. In this way, the relationship of research to other human ways of knowing resembles a colonizing formation, acquiring, claiming, absorbing, consuming” (p. 237).

These characteristics of academy-based research are well known by marginalized groups and communities, who have many historical reasons to be wary of any form of research due to exploitation and harms that have been conducted in the name of research. While there is much discourse on the ethics of research focusing on two specific cases: the use of Henrietta Lacks’ blood without her or her family’s consent (Stump, 2014), and the Tuskegee Syphilis Experiment refusing medical intervention for people in a poor Black community to observe the longitudinal effects of syphilis (Roy, 1995). These are often cases that are easy to consider as historical accounts of scientific misconduct that took place several decades in the past, and therefore easily minimized as nothing more than examples and not current concerns.

Experimentation on the blood samples of the Havasupai Indigenous tribe (Lunshof & Chadwick, 2011) ended in 2010, after a specific use of their blood started in 1990. The original use of their blood to search for causes of high incidence of type 2 diabetes ended in 1993 (with inconclusive results), yet researchers continued using the blood for various experiments without the consent of the Havasupai for nearly two decades.

Evaluators can benefit from understanding that cases of unethical research, not just in biomedical contexts but within social science as well, are not in the distant past, and most likely there are cases of research that is pushing boundaries today that will be cases for ethical debate in the future.

Participants discussed how frameworks and theories feeding into evaluation work can overly privilege and give priority to dominant groups, and in so doing meet the concerns of Tikly (2004) that the academy is used, in part, to be a part of a new form of global imperialism, “new imperialism is presented as the incorporation of low-income countries and regions that were previously subject to older forms of European imperialism into a new regime of global governance which serves to secure the interests of the USA, its western allies and of global capitalism more generally” (p. 173). By amplifying the power and privilege of dominant groups, marginalized perspectives and experiences are silenced, and if evaluation plays a role as a part of this top-down hierarchy that justifies controlling and subjugating people with less power and privilege, and by the reasoning of many privileged dominant positionalities, of less value.

This is certainly the complication behind Alkin & Christie (2004) in their work constructing the Evaluation Theory Tree, which several participants referenced as an example of privileging White male scholarship. While initial foundation of the field of evaluation was predominantly White male, contributions by nonwhite, and mostly non-male and non-USA

scholars was completely ignored, and participants brought forward specific examples of this, although as a part of this study one direct example is the lack of attribution to Fals-Borda's work establishing Participatory Action Research, despite it being a foundational origin for participatory evaluation.

The infiltration of neoconservative and neoliberal interests into evaluation may have begun with Murray (1984), they did not end with his influence but instead have been bolstered into various ways that standardization has become commonplace within educational and other testing. References made by participants to the "No Child Left Behind Act" (NCLB) implemented by the George W. Bush administration are a testament to the proliferation of changes in educational policy that ended up having various adverse impacts on poor and nonwhite communities and schools.

Ambrosio (2004) investigated the impacts of NCLB by conducting a case study on a low-income community urban high school, and after going through the details of punitive sanctions made against the school due to low standardized testing scores, he discusses the very real reasons this school experiences lower scores: a large non-English speaking population of students at the school who were forced to take standardized tests despite not speaking or being able to read the language. These sanctions took resources away from the school, making it more difficult to address the issues behind the test scores, and after providing a host of concerns about the impact on the school and its students, Ambrosio quotes Monty Neill, the executive director of the National Center for Fair & Open Testing (at the time of the article) as saying the real purpose of NCLB "is to manufacture a demand for alternative school placements and ultimately to transfer funds and students to profit-making private school corporations through vouchers" (p. 712).

As evaluation research, particularly education-focused evaluation, assists in creating systems of assessing and understanding entire swaths of people with little or no attention paid to the impacts on communities, groups, and individuals who are marginalized, oppressed, violated, and dismissed, the field is easily complicit in perpetuating violence as defined by Young (1990) when identifying the five faces of oppression. “What makes violence a face of oppression is less the particular acts themselves, though these are often utterly horrible, than the social context surrounding them, which makes them possible and even acceptable. What makes violence a phenomenon of social injustice, and not merely an individual moral wrong, is its systemic character, its existence as a social practice” (p. 61).

While often a more invisible form of amplification of privilege and oppression, due to the most commonly spoken language in the USA being English, the imposition of English upon evaluation contexts amplifies privilege in a very specific manner. By its very nature of being ever present, and by natural born citizens of the USA often being monolingual, it creates a dynamic that tends to exclude all non-English speakers, but also marginalizes English language learners.

Gergen (2018) postulates that, “all propositions concerning the relationship between mental states and human behavior owe their intelligibility to the degree to which they share definitional space” (p. 701). If taking this idea and applying to linguistic privilege, it indicates that in order for someone to have the ability to describe their humanity, they need to be able to have shared foundations of language, which creates definitional space. If English is privileged within evaluation, then this could mean that evaluating non-English speaking populations without the evaluator having the fluent ability to communicate in the same language as the non-

English speaker, the evaluation would be itself meaningless due to the inability to fully process shared definitions with those being evaluated.

Considering that Andrew stated,

language is that core communication capacity that allows you to translate your ideas into concepts and thoughts for communication, if you're being forced to do that in a second, or a third, or sometimes a fourth language, it automatically disempowers you and it automatically leads to a position where you're being forced to in some way alter your core ideas and core conceptualizations, and alter and change what to you is a basic cultural presupposition in order to communicate in a different way to somebody from a different context,

Gergen's postulation becomes more compelling, particularly how he discusses the concept of semiotic slippage in how there is plasticity in how people explain ideas and concepts. He provides the example, "love may be defined as intense attraction, which may be defined as intense desire, then defined as a state of desperate need, subsequently defined as a helpless dependency, which can be defined as a state of slavery, defined as morally reprehensible, defined as something to be eradicated. With extended slippage, we might thus conclude that we wish to destroy those we love, and love should be abolished" (p. 703).

While it may not be possible to change the landscape of English as the lingua franca, at least not within a near timeframe, it is definitely possible for evaluators to recognize how the linguistic privilege behind speaking, reading, and writing in English can amplify disconnects and direct harms to non-English speakers.

While in some ways, discussing funding dynamics, awards, and credibility within the framework of amplified privilege returned to a discussion of academic privilege, the nuances

behind the dialogue on this topic illuminated the ways in which gaps are widened between academics and non-academics in several ways. For evaluators who operate within an academic setting, understanding the ways that status-based privilege allows for advantages of publishing, credibility, and public recognition in ways not experienced even by non-academic evaluators could help in limiting the way that these dynamics are amplified. In addition, as funding requirements and grant writing requirements often necessitate certain administrative knowledge and skill, it is important to think critically and possibly investigate who gets funded and who does not to conduct evaluation research, and research in general.

The use of evaluation as a political tool has been a growing and inevitable outcome due to the history behind the profession. The ability of an evaluator to ferret out the motivation for certain desired evaluation contexts can be of assistance in considering elements that may assist in determining when to refuse to evaluate. The willingness to question what or who certain public policies benefit and recognizing those policies that reinforce or amplify status quos when these requests reinforce oppressive and privileged interests is an important component of how Tuck and Yang (2014) discuss the elements of refusal.

According to Tuck and Yang (2014) Refusal can be a generative stance for humanized researchers and is not just saying “no.” Refusal must be situated in a critical understanding of settler colonialism and its regimes of representation (i.e., the disappearance of Indigenous people, the enslavability and murderability of Black people, the right to make interdictions on Othered lives). Refusal makes space for desire and other representational territories, such as making the spectator the spectacle, and turning settler colonial knowledge back on itself.

Refusal is multidimensional, in dynamic relationship between communities who refuse, the researched who refuse, and the research who refuses – or who does not. Social science

knowledge is settler colonial knowledge. It also refuses (refuses the agency, personhood, and theories of the researched), and it also set limits (limits the epistemologies of the colonized / colonizable / to-be-colonized) and hides its own refusals and limits in order to appear limitless.

Thus, refusal makes visible the processes of settler colonial knowledge. Refusal, by its very existence and exercise, sets limits on settler colonial knowledge. Similarly, refusal denudes power (and power-knowledge) without becoming an advertisement for power. Refusal problematizes hidden or implicit theories of change, and the most efficacious might be on how a researcher determines the limits on what can be asked or what will be written. This refusal might take the form of turning off the tape recorder; not disclosing what was on the tape even if it was recorded; hearing a story and choosing to listen and learn from it rather than report it; resisting the draw to traffic theories that cast communities as in need of salvation (p. 244-245).

Implications and Applications of Methods Used to Gain Understanding of Values

While participants discussed several strategies to learn about values within a program or evaluation setting, one participant's reference to Eoyang (2011) was perhaps the most compelling consideration of determining values – that it may not always make sense to do so.

Instead, it may behoove evaluators to be much more attuned to their own sense of values, morals, and ethics behind their personal and professional lives. Values can be challenging to determine, and perhaps are best paired with a participant's dialogue when answering a different question – that visionary and imaginative work on what changes, improvements, and ultimate liberation might be like if realized - could potentially be a much better driver of evaluation planning than attempting to determine globalized values of the many, but only through the decision making of the few.

Research Question Three: Evaluator Roles in Leveraging Privilege

RQ3: How and in what ways do experienced White evaluators identify the role of evaluation in addressing the marginalization of stakeholders, and how do they leverage privilege in evaluation practice (if at all)?

- a. How and in what ways do participants address oppressive systems, individuals, and groups within evaluation contexts?

After participants thought through ways that systems can potentially amplify privilege, the questioning shifted to working to understand roles of evaluators in addressing marginalization, but also in how evaluators might use their privilege in a way that leverages access, opportunity, ability, and overall power for those who may lack that privilege.

Roles of Evaluator in Addressing Marginalization

Discussions of the importance of evaluator attention to stakeholder voice were prevalent with participants in thinking through the evaluator's role in addressing marginalization. While the specific contributions talked about the need to gather as many voices as possible, and for evaluators to engage in reflective practice to consider what might be missing, none of the answers were focused on paying attention to privileged voices. Paying attention to voice does not mean you either trust or accept the voice in and of itself and paying attention does not mean a voice is necessarily amplified or used within evaluation reporting.

This could be an area where evaluators could learn from the practice-based wisdom and experience of intimate partner violence victim advocates, as paying attention to voice within this context is more about listening for cues of oppressive violence, or for cues that someone is concealing information for self or other's protection. Nancy named this dynamic directly by stating,

fundress in a domestic violence shelter setting... would be really concerned in an evaluation about the number of women who, you know, contacted police and moved forward with consequences and that kind of stuff. But, like, working in a shelter and interacting with families, I could see that actually, like, for a Black woman, that could put her in greater danger because now she has to interact with the police, and the police are... another threat, another source of harm and violence. And the same thing with queer women – having to interact with law enforcement can cause them to have to, you know, they can be outed through that, and their job can be put in jeopardy. Or someone who is undocumented, and that can jeopardize their status in the country and their ability to provide for their family and keep their job and all that stuff.

In this example, the women Nancy is referring to may verbally tell police there is not a problem, that they have not experienced any threat or actual harm, that it was a mistake, may say supportive things about their partner who has hurt them, may perhaps take responsibility for violence and abuse to shelter their partner or children. In all of these responses, if one listened only to voice, the intimate partner violence not only continues, but in some ways either escalates or leads to punitive measures against the victim herself.

Therefore, although listening is important, and making sure that all voices are present, listening to voice alone is not enough in many contexts.

While certainly police officers are an entirely different profession and category of work, the context of responding to their responses to intimate partner violence bear comparison here. Some states in the USA have mandatory arrest policies for intimate partner violence, that is, if the police are called for a “domestic disturbance” it is mandatory that they make an arrest,

regardless of the circumstances. Paired with this public policy often is an expectation of “predominant aggressor screening” where police are trained on and asked to make a determination of who is the predominant perpetrator of violence and who is the predominant victim of violence. This process is quite varied by state and by region, but all tend to have a thread of the need to go beyond the incident leading to the call itself and consider larger patterns and relationship issues that may have developed over time that contributed to the incident itself.

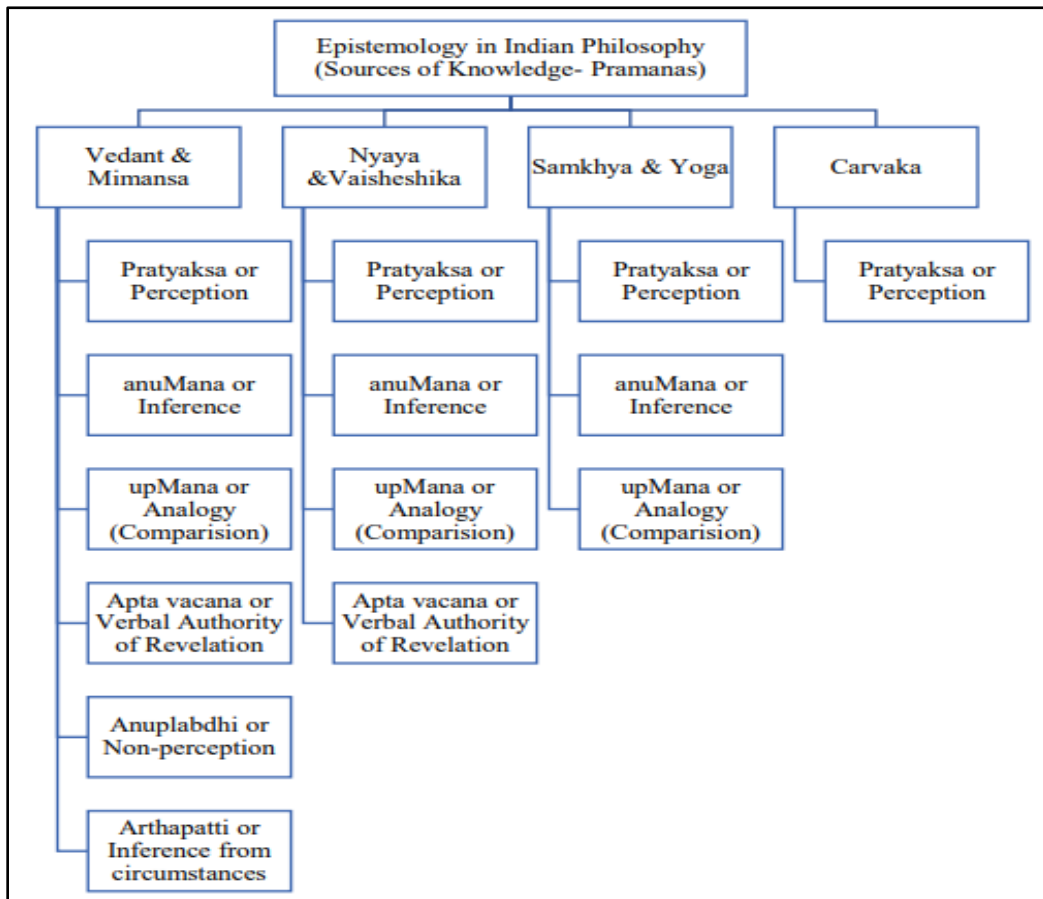
In a sense, this is a form of evaluating where a police officer must have a plan or approach to determining predominant aggressor, must consider the incident in a way similar to developing a logic model where there is attention paid to inputs, outputs, and impacts. The police officer must observe, may use a psychometric instrument, may gain outside assistance from a victim advocate, and may rely on personal experience and training in making a determination. In all these steps, voice will come from multiple sources – the two people in an intimate partnership, perhaps the children, perhaps neighbors or other family members, perhaps other community workers involved with the family. All of these voices must not only be recognized, listened to, and in some cases must be found if the officer notices they are not present, but all these voices must be fully weighed before a determination is made. In these cases, this is well before a court engagement or trial (or even pretrial) is conducted.

Gezinski (2022) conducted qualitative interviews with victims of intimate partner violence and service providers to learn their perspectives on police responses to mandatory arrest laws in Utah. The results of her study led to (1) participants describing a reluctance to contact police, but those who did experienced inadequate responses to their needs, (2) police officer responses included use of stereotypes about intimate partner violence victims, minimization, and victim blaming, (3) a general lack of awareness about trauma informed care, or training on

intimate partner violence issues, and (4) positive interactions with police when police linked survivors to services, a description of a ‘hit or miss’ response depending on the specific department who responded, and a sense of worry and care from police (pp. 104-105).

With these examples, considering parallels to evaluation, (1) there is often reluctance from programs or organizations to be evaluated, as some have experienced inadequate

Figure 4. Epistemology according to different schools of thought in Indian Philosophy (Based on Bhawuk, 2011, as cited by Singh, 2019)



evaluations, and there are often community members and stakeholders who are wary of evaluation and evaluators for several reasons, (2) evaluator biases and stereotypes may blame marginalized individuals and groups for their own marginalization, or give greater weight to dominant and privileged stakeholders and how they describe or discuss marginalized groups and individuals, (3) evaluators may listen to the voices of marginalized people and groups, and get

their involvement, but may not have enough cultural awareness or understanding of epistemic privilege, and therefore misinterpret or fail to notice minimal engagement or inauthentic participation, (4) when evaluators reciprocate and are engaged in dialogue with stakeholders, build trust and rapport, follow through with promises, are transparent in their work, and express genuine care and empathy while working to not just listen to stakeholders but take care to notice and validate, stakeholders may be more authentic and gain value out of their interactions with evaluators.

In discussing cultural responsiveness and logistics, some attention was paid to the reality that evaluation is mostly a western-focused and western-based scholarship, which tends to dismiss or ignore evaluation approaches and models that may originate from the Global South or the eastern-focused philosophies and focus on scientific inquiry. For example, Singh (2019) provided details on ways to consider research paradigms beyond and within the common western boundaries of axiology, epistemology, methodology, and ontology. Singh dissects epistemology through the lens of Indian philosophy, stating, “Indian philosophy is having divided views on epistemology” (p. 6), and provides a chart listing the layers of how knowledge is understood or given credibility (Figure 4).

While there are varying non-western views both on philosophy and methods well beyond this example, this can suggest that evaluators may benefit from expanding their search for methodologies and research approaches during evaluation work, as noted by Barry who said,

when I present at a conference and present my theoretical framework it may be a feminist African philosophy, and that might not be the point of the presentation, but that was a tool to think with, and there should be nothing novel about a White American man using a feminist African epistemology as an undergirding for a

research project or evaluation... for now I'm being explicit about it so people know the irony isn't lost on me, and I think pulling back the curtain and being more explicit about something like that for the time being about it is beneficial until it becomes more normalized, which might take fifty years or might never happen.

The teaching of evaluation is discussed in various ways throughout this study, but if evaluators are conscious of and reflective behind the pedagogies used as a part of their instruction to include and work beyond the privileged history of evaluation as a field, they will be better able to address marginalization simply by giving attention to those who are easily ignored. This will include pointing out the problematic origins layered in White male scholarship that intentionally excluded other knowledge and perspectives.

Shanker (2019) directly addresses this exclusion in bringing forward the “May 12 Group,” an early evaluation group who maintained a secretive collective made up of White male evaluators. When she interviewed one of the academics who assisted in founding the evaluation field, she describes the conversation, “this evaluation forefather, who was part of the original invitation-only May 12 Group—so named explicitly to prevent evaluators who were not invited from feeling entitled to be part of it—explained his disinterest by lamenting that that professional association—which he noted was now led by an African American man—insisted on an open call for its publications. The forefather had been doing it as a service—he said, off the record—and was not going to start competing now” (p. 364).

Shanker continues to work to [expose and address the May 12 Group](#) (Shanker, 2022) as one of the roots of the evaluation field's foundation, and evaluators who teach evaluation can be better informed by accessing her work as well as the work of other evaluators who have

amplified both the oppressive and privileged origins of evaluation, and the work of marginalized and ignored non-White, non-male evaluators.

Conversations about the importance of cultural humility stressed the importance of evaluators being attuned and transparent about their own positionalities as they strive to understand other cultural experiences and perspectives. Williams et al. (2020), while using the term “ally”, discuss that, “striving for cultural humility takes consistent attention, both professionally and personally, while actively working toward racial and social justice” (p. 30), and also,

in order to enact authentic allyship one must have cultural humility. The two concepts are interrelated in that the thoughtful reflection of cultural humility is what can lead to the necessary action required of true allyship. Social service practitioners can read about and understand various cultures, but culture is not a stagnant group of facts to be memorized. It is not a set of tools to be used in an assessment and then put away (p. 31).

A key point for evaluators to keep in mind in addressing privilege is to pay careful attention to the evaluation theories and models that may be utilized in their work. While participants listed several specific approaches and models, each mentioned them with caution and caveats for their use. Newer evaluators are particularly disadvantaged in this area, as the participants were all experienced in navigating various models and approaches and stressed the need to pay heed to the implications of power struggles and privileged components of these models and how they may function and serve to further marginalize while providing a superficial layer of attending to this marginalization.

Another part of navigating cultural humility is making sure it does venture into the realm of “white savior” positioning. Finnegan (2022) defines the phenomenon as, “a network of relationships and resources that is guided by an ideology that centers white bodied as essential helpers to respond to social problems” (p. 1). While working to dismantle privileged and dominant power within systemic processes and administration are a worthy goal of addressing marginalization, the method of doing so makes a difference as white savior mentality, while seemingly benevolent, ends up serving to infantilize and take agency away from marginalized groups while portraying itself as a “good person”. Confronting this dynamic is often a painful one for white people who may not recognize the elements of white supremacy as a part of their efforts, and this can easily lead to defensiveness or hostility toward any critical feedback about the attitudes and behavior behind the efforts to address marginalization. Finnegan describes this dynamic as, “those of us enmeshed in the [white savior complex] are not able to contribute meaningfully to social justice efforts because it is more about us being extraordinary, finding purpose, being right, and avoiding any rigorous scrutiny than about critical reflection and collective organizing” (p. 17).

Finnegan describes, “efforts that are an antidote to [white savior complex] place lineage, humility, and curiosity at the center; they highlight accountability and critical feedback; and they involve concerted reflection on structural determination as well as personal social location identities and motivations. These aspirations are difficult to realize but not impossible to achieve, and this project serves as a call for all of us – educators, organizers, students, and community members – to center these principles so that our efforts can contribute to meaningful social transformation toward justice” (p. 3).


Figure 5. Power Dynamism Matrix for Environmental Scanning (Mendelow, 1981, p. 412)

		D y n a m i s m	
		Dynamic	Static
P o w e r	HIGH	Continuous Scanning	Irregular Scanning
	LOW	Periodic Scanning	NIL

The Utility of Stakeholder Mapping

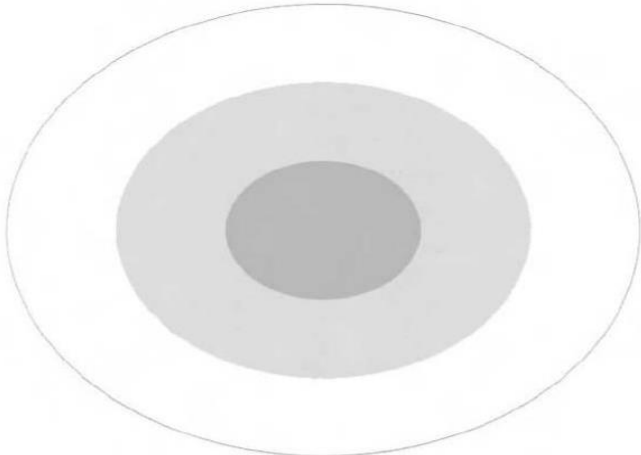
Florence suggested the use of stakeholder mapping to work toward knowing whose voices are important to include within any evaluation work. The concept of “stakeholder mapping” originated from Mendelow (1981) who developed the stakeholder framework for business management and information systems usage. He describes this as “it is clear that it is the organization’s stakeholders who judge its effectiveness. It is thus of vital importance for an organization to determine the outputs required by its stakeholders” (p. 407). As a part of this work, he outlines a method for determining the importance of determining stakeholder needs in what he calls the “power dynamism matrix for environmental scanning” (figure 5) which provide a graphical method of outlining, “a grid that may be constructed using Power and Dynamism as the two axes... Stakeholders may thus be classified into one of the four quadrants” (p. 412).

Figure 6. Mapping the Stakeholders (Lusthaus, 1999, p. 9)

EXERCISE 3. Mapping the stakeholders 

Instructions: Identify the various groups, in order of importance, with a stake or interest in your organization and the outcomes of the self-assessment. Write the names of these groups on Figure 3. The closer they are to the centre of the map, the greater their interest in, or influence on, your organization. When you have finished, complete the checklist for mapping stakeholders.

FIGURE 3. WHO ARE YOUR STAKEHOLDERS?



Checklist for mapping stakeholders

- Have all primary and secondary stakeholders been identified?
- Have all potential supporters and opponents of the organization been identified?
- Have all the other stakeholders that are likely to emerge as a result of the self-assessment been identified?
- Have stakeholders' interests been identified?
- Have stakeholders' interrelationships been identified?
- Have the self-assessment goals been reconciled with stakeholders' needs, interests, and priorities?
- Has stakeholder participation in the self-assessment been investigated?

When stakeholder mapping was brought to the evaluation field by Lusthaus et al. (1999), they created an exercise for mapping stakeholders using a modified version of Mendelow's work, describing, "identify the various groups, in order of importance, with a stake or interest in your organization and the outcomes of the self-assessment. Write the names of these groups on Figure 3. The closer they are to the centre of the map, the greater their influence in, or influence

on, your organization. When you have finished, complete the checklist for mapping stakeholders” (p. 9, see figure 6).

Leveraging Evaluator Personal and Professional Privilege

In leveraging privilege, it can be helpful to have a structured understanding for what that can mean, and during discussions with participants, I had to occasionally provide a generalized definition of leveraging before further dialogue occurred on the subject. Once participants had a basic understanding of the ability of privileged positionalities to access and use the power they have as a part of that identity for the empowerment and agency of marginalized individuals and groups, they provided many examples of how this may fit in personal and professional positionalities.

Before framing possible strategies of leveraging, Barry called privileged white men to task, stating, “a white male who [is] very definitely privileged can explain away or deny their privilege, and they use the structures and system as almost a smokescreen, or a way of deflecting that.”

Knowles et al. (2014) describe that White Americans manage their privilege in very specific ways stating, “dominant-group members minimize these costs of whiteness by engaging in White identity management – actively ‘tuning’ their cognitions concerning whiteness in ways that immunize the self from threat” (p. 595). The researchers provide specific examples of the strategies used to include (1) denial of systemic oppression by focusing on individual experiences of excellence based in meritocracy (pp. 599-601), (2) distancing perspectives of themselves from what is perceived as an offensive social identity, which typically involves downplaying the importance of privilege, or in the provided examples, the importance of race (pp. 601-602), (3) embracing efforts to reduce privilege to both signal one’s egalitarian

intentions, but also to seem to be working to change privileged and oppressive environments while not playing any active role to do so (pp. 602-603).

In this sense, leveraging privilege needs to be attached to an understanding of the fine line between accompanying marginalized groups and individuals in struggles toward empowerment and agency, and the ways that privileged identities can be operating for the sole purpose of self-gratification and moral superiority.

Participants discussed the need for privileged positionalities to reflect, learn, admit and recognize, and find ways of using their privilege in healthy ways, but given what Knowles et al. discussed as the defense mechanisms involved in avoiding all those strategies, it may be important to expressly attend to the ways evaluation scholarship can find ways to respond to each of those methods of avoidance, as well as explicit ways to discuss and address the White savior complex.

Specific tools of evaluation are important to keep within a context of how they have been used in dismissive ways and have bolstered privileged voices, which participants tended to add to their descriptions in how to use things such as stakeholder mapping and logic modelling. Like many of the evaluation strategies mentioned throughout this study, the tools themselves are less the issue than the history behind them, evaluator awareness behind their use, and the actual use in practice itself.

This leads to suggestions made by participants that evaluation contexts and methods need to be changed on a foundational level to acknowledge the history and to work toward repairs for how these tools are used and taught to new evaluators. The work by Chicago Beyond (2020), while not specifically aligned with the evaluation field, offers a great deal of wisdom and guidance for efforts to make repairs, particularly if privileged voices are used to amplify their

approaches and ideas behind how to create greater equitable research that works to empower, validate, and grow agency for marginalized peoples.

Positionalities of privilege, in having access to structures and systems of power, also have heightened abilities to practice transparency. As referenced in the work of Shanker (2019) regarding the May 12 Group, as evaluation has a history of being secretive about planning, development, utilization, funding, and membership, to work to build trust in the field, transparency can be a part of the key to demonstrating efforts to work against oppressive systems that have been ingrained in the field. As several participants mentioned in different contexts, evaluators refusing to evaluate, and being transparent about reasoning, can be a part of that process.

Encouraging possibilities of systems of inhibiting privilege were offered by participants as a balancing point to thinking through how systems may amplify privilege. Some of the initial thoughts put forward had to do with recognizing that perhaps there was not so much an inhibition of privilege inasmuch as there have been systemic promotion of things that may shift discussion towards marginalized opportunities and needs.

This creates a strange space that may not be recognized as being directly related to how White people defend white privilege. Promoting something else does not, in fact, inhibit something else – so if the goal is ever to inhibit privilege, different strategies will need to be implemented by focusing on the thrusts of power behind various privileged positionalities and how they manage to enforce and grow dominance over marginalized individuals and groups.

Carl put forward a question that aligns with this concern: “what values do we hold while we are valuing, questioning carefully who gets to decide which values are important in the valuing, questioning what values we leave out intentionally or unintentionally.” In this

promotion of “diversity” are we, in fact, deciding that diversity should be increased while ignoring the need to decrease and work toward eliminating oppressive systems? What values are we leaving out through promotion rather than inhibition?

Strangely, one source of investigating privilege has nothing to do with social justice and instead considers computer access management, yet this investigation may inadvertently offer some inspiration for future work within this concept of inhibiting privilege.

Shyamsundar (2022), in her blog post about internet security provides discussion about privileged access management, which is a type of computer security wherein, “a privileged account is a user or device with administrative access to sensitive enterprise resources, including data” (para. 3). To consider ways of managing privileged account activities, she describes, “privileged access management starts with setting policies that define and enforce the ideal of the least privilege, in which each person only gets the specific access they need – no more, no less” (para. 2).

Again, this is not a source that specifically is targeting social justice and the idea of inhibiting the kind of privilege this study is referencing, however, what would it be like were there to be discussion about privileged positionalities only having the access they need, no more, no less? As it currently stands, to have positional privilege tends to mean a sense of unlimited access to the power that is held by that identity. Do individuals who have privilege in a specific layer need to recognize and understand how they make their chosen access as limited as possible, or at least recognize the places where such access to power is done in a healthy and liberatory manner? In a sense, this is often what participants were suggesting for privileged identities – that increasing awareness of the layers of privilege and making concrete choices to leverage the power those positionalities hold for the greater good.

Research Question Four: White Evaluator Roles in Addressing Oppression

RQ4: What is the role of the White evaluator in addressing oppressive systems, individuals, and groups in practice?

Within the final question of the interview protocol, participants were asked to narrow down their thinking about privilege to consider White evaluators, which would include themselves within that identity. To make sure there was an opportunity to consider both the explicit and implicit components of racism, participants were further asked to explore both overt and covert forms of oppression and racism.

Responses to Overt & Covert Forms of Racism and Other Oppressions

The main message provided by participants to addressing overt forms of racism and other oppressions has to do with strongly objecting and intervening when such oppression is witnessed. While this response is important, some of the nuance may need to be thought through carefully.

The first consideration for the nuances behind direct confrontation are the need to think through the layered positionality that may make it more or less dangerous to confront overt systems and forms of oppression. As discussed with kyriarchy, where there are certain contextual forms of privilege that may have more or less advantage or power in any given situation, if a situation involved, for example, a White male manager who says something racist in the presence of a White female employee, as both of them have the privilege of being White this does not mean the White female employee is going to be risk-free in calling out the racism as a fellow White person, as in this circumstance she may be dealing with potential sexism as well as the presence of her manager who has status-based privilege over her.

This is not to say that in this example, she would lack a moral or personal responsibility to confront this overt racism, but that the risk the situation poses to her may mean that there is a human component to making a decision not to intervene.

Sometimes, even in situations where there are mostly layers of privilege both parties share, risks to interpersonal relationships, workplace environments, or in the case of witnessing overt oppression in a public setting perhaps the unknown layers that may exist in a stranger.

An example of navigating the risk of directly confronting overt oppression, Todd Minerson, one of the founders of the White Ribbon Campaign that does work against sexism and patriarchy, related a story during an interview (The Pixel Project, 2011),

within a patriarchal society, it can be hard for men at first to openly come out and combat gender inequality. I'll tell you a story about my hockey team and how a number of years ago I managed to overcome my own feelings of speaking out. We were in the locker room after a match, banter was flying from all corners, and then one member of the team made a sexist joke. I had just made my pledge to The White Ribbon Campaign and I knew I couldn't stand by and say nothing. Of course, the articulate, well-constructed response didn't quite make it out of my lips. Instead I said in a resolute, firm manner, 'Dude, it's not funny.' After, two of the other guys on the team came up to me and said, 'Thanks for saying that Todd, we didn't like his joke either.' (para. 11-12).

This is one small example, and one in which there was a good outcome, however the beneficial part of this story is that it's not always necessary to intervene in loud, profound, or aggressive ways, and in many cases doing so would not be helpful and may even escalate the situation or the presence of risk to the person intervening.

A second consideration for this nuance has to do with examining the components of oppression and potential actions behind oppositional forces to these components. Hall (2020) outlines the three components of oppression to be (1) power, as the ability to make people do things, to keep people from doing things, and the personal agency to make choices for yourself, (2) privilege, as the history, patterns, and accumulation of power, and (3) prejudice, the beliefs about a person not based on who they are as an individual, but what they represent. As a counter to these three elements, Hall proposed (1) access as a counter to power, with the ability to use comparable social power to respond to the oppression, (2) introspection as a counter to privilege, where an individual with power makes efforts to build self-awareness and self-reflection about the power and how it may be used in healthy ways, and (3) humanization as a counterpoint to prejudice, where rather than applying a broad-based series of beliefs about an individual, the person with power instead humanizes themselves and the other person to individually understand themselves and the other person (pp. 201-207).

Confronting overt forms of oppression might involve any of those three counterpoints, although doing so will still need consideration of personal risk and safety in addition to the kyriarchal analysis of power differentials as a part of that analysis.

A third consideration is the complication of lateral oppression and/or horizontal hostility which might mean an individual within privileged positionalities witnesses oppressive behavior from someone whom they have a position of privilege over. The dynamics of this become complicated partially because the individual who confronts may easily use the power inherent in the privileged layer to control the person being oppressive, yet in doing so may also be engaging in oppressive behavior. This may need further investigation, due to the intersections of power, privilege, oppression, and dominance that are in conflict simultaneously.

Evaluator participants also reflected on methods of addressing covert systems of racism and other oppressions, and a major response was the need for evaluators to humanize themselves and the stakeholders. Initially, several participants mused at the very real difficulty as covert is often more internal, and harder to notice in others. It is, however, something evaluators can notice in themselves.

Gaining more direct awareness of microaggressions and how they operate may be an important addition both to evaluator education, but also to overall work in addressing marginalization and leveraging privilege. As microaggressions are a form of covert oppression, understanding specific strategies in responding to them can be a useful skill for evaluators.

Hathaway (2018) outlines three potential responses to consider when witnessing microaggressions, (1) turn the tables by asking others what they think, and how they might address the situation and turn the incident into a discussion, (2) have a private conversation with the person who was microaggressive, and allow the individual the ability to more fully discuss the incident, (3) open discussion directly about the microaggression, which would involve naming what happened and having others engage in how the microaggression fits, although Hathaway notes this may take someone who is well versed in and understands microaggressions (pp. 12-13).

Implications

Theoretical Implications

This study's emphasis on addressing privilege provides a different target for investigation that may innovate the ability of program evaluation to locate areas for potential change and improvement that may in turn address marginalization within an evaluand directly. As common patterns of investigation tend to analyze marginalized communities, and not the groups and

individuals who cause the marginalization, there is a limited ability to create adequate responses. This approach may create several innovations within program evaluation, and within social science research as a whole.

The references to historical foundations within the evaluation field and social science may provide opportunities for more critical investigation into how these historical framings may have created growth in ways that are not based on an accurate or comprehensive reality that includes marginalized perspectives and research discoveries. As such, revisiting these histories may find additional innovations for future work that have been obscured due to privileged dominant group interests.

Practical Implications

This study provides a working / operational definition for the concept of privilege. As such, this definition may have utility in structuring research that references or addresses privilege or provides analysis of or education on various privileged positionalities. The details provided by participants as a part of this study may be useful insights into issues within the academy that need to be addressed to create greater equality, and to reduce marginalization and work toward inhibiting privileged components within academia.

Some of the strategies in leveraging privilege and working with White people to address racism may be practical resources to develop future initiatives and campaigns that have an anti-oppression focus. As my background experience is within the realm of intimate partner violence interventions, many of the findings in this study may have direct philosophical and programmatic utility within that field of research and practice.

Future Implications

Broadening the scope of understanding marginalization, the listing of nine potential areas of investigation of marginalization, and the information from this study provides adequate potential for future investigations within program evaluation.

Analysis of Benefits of Privilege

Future implications may be a need for evaluation scholarship to provide analysis of the societal, economic, and/or political benefits enjoyed within privileged positionalities as a part of conditions or process that exclude or undermine individuals, groups, or communities that are not within that privileged positionality.

Within this possible research, a study could examine one layer of privilege, for example, heterosexuality, and systematically analyze the dynamics that are present within that positionality that historically and currently serve to exclude and undermine individuals and groups within the LGBTQ+ community or position the research to identify one group within the LGBTQ+ community and intimately explore the impacts of how privileged heterosexual identities marginalize and oppress that group. While in some ways, this sort of research seems like it is obvious with any reasonable insight into privilege granted to a heterosexual identity, but the process of having a systematic investigation of the workings of that privilege could lead to new insights on ways to inhibit or work against that privileged identity.

Investigations of Privileged Groups

There may be several benefits in investigating groupings of privileged individuals within a specific positionality to determine how and in what ways the power within this privilege manifests to create, enforce, relegate, and systemically oppress those marginalized groups, communities, and individuals it dominates.

For a potential example of this, future research could potentially investigate the religion of Christianity, which would necessitate narrowing the perspective into a specific denomination or organized grouping of Christians, then finding ways to analyze how that specific privileged grouping influences public opinion, political public policy, individuals within that grouping, individuals tangentially connected to that grouping, and in doing so determine what builds sympathy for their causes and activities. By doing so, it may be more directly possible to dismantle elements of that privilege which disempower, marginalize, or create violence toward individuals and groups that are outside of that privileged identity.

Layering and Scaffolding of Privilege

Future work within evaluation scholarship may include research on the specific layering of privilege within a broader category to determine how those layers communicate, coordinate, and operate to systematically oppress and marginalize those individuals, groups, and communities it has domination over.

If a study were focused on male privilege and began to draw out some elements of that privilege which create toxic and abusive behavior and attitudes toward women and girls, then these specific elements could potentially be investigated to understand better how they spread as status quos within the privileged grouping of masculinity overall.

Exclusion Practices of Privileged Positionalities

Evaluators can potentially develop a greater understanding of how marginalized individuals, groups, and communities are directly and indirectly excluded by privileged positionalities.

This kind of investigation may necessitate confederates within privileged positionalities to discuss and disclose intimate knowledge of something that is similar to epistemic privilege –

that is, knowledge that privileged individuals and groups tend to discuss or plan in ways that exclude marginalized knowledge, or that are conducted in secret to prevent their dismantling or intervention. This may also involve research to understand how individuals and groups broadcast their intentions in subtle or disconnected ways that make it difficult for those outside a group to understand how they are ultimately a part of a more coordinated planning for attacks on marginalized individuals, groups, or communities. While some of the work in identifying “leakage” (Van Brunt, 2016) serves to use some of these strategies, coordinating these strategies along with a working / operational definition of privilege may serve to open new avenues of exploration.

Strengths and limitations of the study

Strengths

This study coordinated discussion and reflection from sixteen experienced evaluators to determine a united definition of privilege that may be structured to support future research and investigation into privilege itself. In taking an interview approach that utilized reflective practice strategies (see pp. 87-89), and structured questions through a process of describing (defining privilege), analyzing (reflecting on privileged and marginalized experience and identities), theorizing (thinking through ways of leveraging privilege), and acting (specific strategies of White evaluators addressing racism and oppression), this allowed for a scaffolding series of reflections for participants that built their responses in layers that created greater connection and opportunities for understanding both the questions and their own experiences.

In using purposive sampling of White experienced evaluators, opportunities were presented to access thinking of privileged positionalities in addressing social justice and human rights issues. By including questions for participants that paired reflections of privilege with

reflections of marginalization, this humanized each participant and created access to understanding how experiences of marginalization can influence working to amplify, empower, and develop agency for marginalized peoples.

By utilizing my own self-reflection in the form of journaling, the structure of investigation paired interviewing with reflective practice, which allowed for addressing and thinking through biases and assumptions coming from myself.

Limitations

Keeping a purposive sampling that excluded nonwhite evaluators and inexperienced evaluators may have prevented reflections on privilege that might have been influenced through marginalized perspectives more directly. While the study incorporated participant's reflections on marginalized and oppressed experiences, the lenses of reflection were within two highly privileged positionalities (experience and whiteness), and as such there was less ability to consider how inexperienced evaluators may have insights into evaluation practice that are more directly tied in and recent to receiving education on evaluation itself, or to consider how nonwhite evaluators may experience White colleagues within the field, or experience interactions with marginalized identities in different ways.

If a non-purposive sampling were used, there may have been more variety in responses, and as all the chosen evaluators had some experience in culturally responsive work, interviews with evaluators who lacked that experience may have led to more privileged or oppressive responses that could have been analyzed in ways that added counterpoints to some of the material in the findings and overall analysis. As it was, the small number of oppressive responses experienced by me (see p. 97) were not included within the overall analysis as the terms used by participants seemed outdated, but subtly oppressive and not clear enough as derogatory terms to

warrant amplification. However, a limitation behind that perspective in choosing not to include these concerns in the analysis is that I could be preventing the analysis of impacts of older-identified people using oppressive terms upon marginalized younger-identified people (either privileged or marginalized).

Some of the analysis accessed critical theory, such as Indigenous Critical Theory, Critical Feminist Theory (in any reference to standpoint epistemology terms or concepts), and Critical Race Theory (intersectional oppression analysis), which are controversial within some perspectives and approaches. In using these analyses, it is possible this study may alienate certain groups or individuals even if the information included might be useful for their consideration and analysis.

Recommendations

Several recommendations were made in the body of the study. The summary and expansion on these points are included in this section.

Recommendations or future research

Future research based upon this study could potentially include investigation into the side-effects of privileged identities and positionalities to include disadvantages, expectations, or harms experienced by being associated with that identity.

There may be benefits in conducting comparison of regional and cultural attachments to whiteness beyond the United States to understand its operation within other settings, and also to understand kyriarchal positioning within other regions that may be radically different than United States configurations of privileged hierarchies. Within this, the analysis of the intersections between empathy and savior mentalities and how these interact both in practice and research could offer deeper insights into these mechanisms.

It seems possible to create an application of evaluation approaches to predominant aggressor screening research in intimate partner violence, and future research may investigate the “least privilege” concept and how it may fit into an analysis of privilege and inhibiting privileged positionalities.

Recommendations for future practice

Within the body of the study, recommendations for future practice include further investigation into how privileged positionalities gain the ability to reflect upon, understand, and identify their privilege and consider toxic and healthy use of those identities.

In addition, a look into cissexism within the evaluation field, and how transgender stakeholder voices are amplified or ignored as a part of evaluations that concern LGBTQ+ communities and beyond could provide several benefits for these specific marginalized groups and individuals.

As the participants in this study were unfamiliar with the concept of kyriarchy, an extensive dissemination and education on the topic of kyriarchy within evaluation education could offer new insights and practices into the field that may be more attuned to marginalized stakeholder group needs.

Investigation into using access, introspection, and humanization to confront and intervene in privileged positionalities may introduce new analysis tools and allow for thinking through and exploring methods of understanding lateral oppression / horizontal hostility, particularly within practice-based settings.

REFERENCES

- Adomatis, A. D., & Saiki, D. (2010). Lookism. In *Berg Encyclopedia of World Dress and Fashion*. Berg Publishers. <https://doi.org/10.2752/BEWDF/9781847888594-EDch101518>
- Alakhunova, N., Diallo, O., del Campo, I. M., & Tallarico, W. (2015). *Defining marginalization: An assessment tool* [International Studies Capstone Project]. George Washington University.
<https://elliott.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs2141/f/World%20Fair%20Trade%20Organization.pdf>
- Alkin, M., & Christie, C. (2004). An evaluation theory tree. In Alkin, M. C. (Ed.), *Evaluation Roots* (13-65). SAGE Publications, Inc., <https://www.doi.org/10.4135/9781412984157>
- Allen, A. (2017). Power/knowledge/resistance: Foucault and epistemic injustice. In I. J. Kidd, J. Medina, & J. Gaile Pohlhaus (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Epistemic Injustice* (187-194). Routledge.
- Ambrosio, J. (2004). No Child Left Behind: The case of Roosevelt High School. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 85(9), 709–712.
- Anderson, K. C., Stern, M. J., Powell, R. B., Dayer, A. A., & Archibald, T. G. (2022). A culturally responsive evaluation framework and its application in environmental education. *Evaluation and Program Planning*, 92(2022). 1-10.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.evalprogplan.2022.102073>
- Angelucci, M., & Di Maro, V. (2015). *Program Evaluation and Spillover Effects*. Policy Research Working Paper; No. 7243. World Bank.
<https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/21857>

- Annells, M. (2006). Triangulation of qualitative approaches: Hermeneutical phenomenology and grounded theory. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 56(1), 55–61.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2648.2006.03979.x>
- Appiah, K. A. (2021, June 2). *The case for capitalizing the 'B' in Black*. The Atlantic.
<https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2020/06/time-to-capitalize-blackand-white/613159/>
- Archibald, T. (2020). What's the problem represented to be? Problem definition critique as a tool for evaluative thinking. *American Journal of Evaluation*, 41(1), 6–19. DOI:
[10.1177/1098214018824043](https://doi.org/10.1177/1098214018824043)
- Arnold, L. (2019). Accompanying as accomplices: Pedagogies for community engaged learning in sociocultural linguistics. *Language and Linguistics Compass*, 13(6), 1-20. <https://doi.org/10.1111/lnc3.12329>
- Askew, K., Beverly, M. G., & Jay, M. L. (2012). Aligning collaborative and culturally responsive evaluation approaches. *Evaluation and Program Planning*, 35(4), 552–552.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.evalprogplan.2011.12.011>
- Aultman, B. (2014). Cisgender. *Transgender Studies Quarterly*, 1(1-2), 61–62.
<https://doi.org/10.1215/23289252-2399614>
- Azzam, T. (2010). Evaluator responsiveness to stakeholders. *American Journal of Evaluation*, 31(1), 45–65. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1098214009354917>
- Bacchi, C. L. (1999). *Women, policy, and politics : The construction of policy problems*. Sage.
- Berthuizen, M. G. C. J., Brugman, D. (2013). Moral value evaluation: A neglected motivational concept in externalizing behaviour research. In Heinrichs, Karin (ed.), *Handbook of*

- moral motivation : theories, models, applications.* (365–384). SensePublishers.
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-6209-275-4_21
- Berenstain, N. (2016). Epistemic exploitation. *Ergo, an Open Access Journal of Philosophy*, 3(22). <https://doi.org/10.3998/ergo.12405314.0003.022>
- Berg, D. N. (1984). Objectivity and prejudice. *The American Behavioral Scientist (Pre-1986)*, 27(3), 387–402.
- Bergen, E., Zuijen, T., Bishop, D., & Jong, P. F. (2016). Why are home literacy environment and children's reading skills associated? What parental skills reveal. *Reading Research Quarterly*, 52, 147-160. doi:10.1002/rrq.160
- Black, L. L., Stone, D. A., Hutchinson, S. R., & Suarez, E. C. (2007). The development and validation of the social privilege measure. *Measurement and Evaluation in Counseling and Development*, 40(1), 16–32. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07481756.2007.11909803>
- Bless, B. D., Gebremichael, E. K., & Tsotsotso, K. (2017). Evaluation capacity assessment of the transport sector in South Africa: An innovative approach. *African Evaluation Journal*, 5(1), 1–8. <https://doi.org/10.4102/aej.v5i1.188>
- Boeije, H. (2002). A purposeful approach to the constant comparative method in the analysis of qualitative interviews. *Quality and Quantity*, 36(4), 391–409.
<https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1020909529486>
- Boodhoo, R., & Purmessur, R. D. (2009). Justifications for qualitative research in organisations: A step forward. *The Journal of Online Education*, 2, 1-7. DOI:10.1.1.554.4293
- Bor, J., Venkataramani, A. S., Williams, D. R., & Tsai, A. C. (2018). Police killings and their spillover effects on the mental health of Black Americans: A population-based, quasi-

- experimental study. *The Lancet*, 392(10144), 302–310. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(18\)31130-9](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(18)31130-9)
- Bowleg, L., & Bauer, G. (2016). Invited reflection: Quantifying intersectionality. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 40(3), 337–341. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684316654282>
- Box.com. (2016, March 21). *Enterprise level data and information security*. Retrieved January 6, 2022, from <https://www.box.com/security-compliance>
- Broom, A., Hand, K., & Tovey, P. (2009). The role of gender, environment and individual biography in shaping qualitative interview data. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 12(1), 51–65. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13645570701606028>
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The ecology of human development: Experiments by nature and design*. Harvard University Press.
- Brown, M. G., Wohn, D. Y., & Ellison, N. (2016). Without a map: College access and the online practices of youth from low-income communities. *Computers & Education*, 92, 104-116. doi:10.1016/j.compedu.2015.10.001
- Byrne, S. (2020). Feminist reflections on discourses of (power) + (sharing) in power-sharing theory. *International Political Science Review*, 41(1), 58–72. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0192512119868323>
- Bytheway, B. (1995). *Ageism* (Ser. Rethinking ageing series). Open University Press.
- Cadigan, S. (2013). The privilege of history. *Labour*, 71(71), 187-192.
- Caldwell, L. D., & Bledsoe, K. L. (2019). Can social justice live in a house of structural racism? A question for the field of evaluation. *American Journal of Evaluation*, 40(1), 6–18.

- Campbell, D. T. (1984). Science Policy from a Naturalistic Sociological Epistemology. *PSA: Proceedings of the Biennial Meeting of the Philosophy of Science Association, 1984(2)*, 14–29. doi:10.1086/psaprocbienmeetp.1984.2.192495
- Campbell, F. A. K. (2000). Eugenics in disguise? Law, technologies and negotiating the 'problem' of 'disability'. *Australian Feminist Law Journal, 14(14)*, 55–70.
- Chicago Beyond. (2020). Why am I always being researched: A guidebook for community organizations, researchers, and funders to help us get from insufficient understanding to a more authentic truth. Chicago Beyond: Equity Series, Volume One.
https://chicagobeyond.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/ChicagoBeyond_2019Guidebook.pdf
- Cho, J., & Trent, A. (2006). Validity in qualitative research revisited. *Qualitative Research, 6(3)*, 319–340.
- Chouinard, J. A., & Milley, P. (2018). Uncovering the mysteries of inclusion: Empirical and methodological possibilities in participatory evaluation in an international context. *Evaluation and Program Planning, 67*, 70–78.
- Cloete, F., & Auriacombe, C. (2019). Revisiting decoloniality for more effective research and evaluation. *African Evaluation Journal, 7(1)*, 1–10. <https://doi.org/10.4102/aej.v7i1.363>
- Coates, R. D. (2011). Covert racism: An introduction. In R. D. Coates (Ed.), *Covert racism: Theories, institutions, and experiences*, (1-16). BRILL.
- Cohen, B. B. (2012). Advisory groups for evaluations in diverse cultural groups, communities, and contexts. In R. VeLure Roholt & M. L. Baizerman (Eds.), *Evaluation advisory groups. New Directions for Evaluation, 136*, 49–65.

- Coleman, B. R., Collins, C. R., & Bonam, C. M. (2021). Interrogating whiteness in community research and action. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 67(3-4), 486–504. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ajcp.12473>
- Coleman, J. S. (1994). Social capital. In *Foundations of social theory* (300-321). Harvard University Press.
- Coston, B. M., & Kimmel, M. (2012). Seeing privilege where it isn't: Marginalized masculinities and the intersectionality of privilege. *The Journal of Social Issues*, 68(1), 97–111. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.2011.01738.x>
- Cousins, J. B., & Earl, L. M. (1992). The case for participatory evaluation. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, 14(4), 397–418. <https://doi.org/10.3102/01623737014004397>
- Cousins, J. B., & Whitmore, E. (1998). Framing participatory evaluation. *New Directions for Evaluation*, 1998(80), 5–23. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ev.1114>
- Crath, R., & Rangel, J. C. (2021). Engaging cultural humility diffractively. *Journal of Evaluation in Clinical Practice*, 27(3), 554–561. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jep.13409>
- Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: a Black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory, and antiracist politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, 139(1989), 57-80. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429500480-5>
- Culver, L. P. (2017). White doors, Black footsteps: Leveraging "white privilege" to benefit law students of color. *The Journal of Gender, Race, and Justice*, 21(1), 37-90.
- Daniszewski, J. (2020a, June 19). The decision to capitalize Black. AP Definitive Source. <https://blog.ap.org/announcements/the-decision-to-capitalize-black>

- Daniszewski, J. (2020b, July 20). Why we will lowercase white. AP Definitive Source.
<https://blog.ap.org/announcements/why-we-will-lowercase-white>
- Davis, J. E. (1992). Reconsidering the use of race as an explanatory variable in program evaluation. *New Directions for Program Evaluation*, 1992(53), 55–67.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/ev.1601>
- Dean-Coffey, J. (2018). What's race got to do with it? Equity and philanthropic evaluation practice. *American Journal of Evaluation*, 39(4), 527–542.
- Dei, G. J. S., Karumanchery, L. L., & Karumanchery-Luik, N. (2004). Chapter four: White power, white privilege. *Counterpoints*, 244, 81–99.
- Dhaliwal, K., Casey, J., Aceves-Iñiguez Kimberly, & Dean-Coffey, J. (2020). Radical inquiry: Liberatory praxis for research and evaluation. *New Directions for Evaluation*, 2020(166), 49–64. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ev.20415>
- DiAngelo, R. (2018). *White fragility : Why it's so hard for white people to talk about racism*. Beacon Press.
- Dotson, K. (2014). Conceptualizing epistemic oppression. *Social Epistemology*, 28(2), 115-138.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/02691728.2013.782585>
- Dumais, S. A., & Ward, A. (2010). Cultural capital and first-generation college success. *Poetics*, 38(3), 245–265. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2009.11.011>
- Eden, D., & Leviatan, U. (1975). Implicit leadership theory as a determinant of the factor structure underlying supervisory behavior scales. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, 60(6), 736–41.
- Eichstaedt, J. C., Sherman, G. T., Giorgi, S., Roberts, S. O., Reynolds, M. E., Ungar, L. H., & Guntuku, S. C. (2021). The emotional and mental health impact of the murder of George

- Floyd on the US population. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, 118(39), 1-5. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2109139118>
- Elias, S. (2015). *Racism, Overt*. In *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Race, Ethnicity, and Nationalism* (eds A.D. Smith, X. Hou, J. Stone, R. Dennis and P. Rizova).
<https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118663202.wberen398>
- Embree, J. L., & White, A. H. (2010). Concept analysis: nurse-to-nurse lateral violence. *Nursing Forum*, 45(3), 166–173. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1744-6198.2010.00185.x>
- Eoyang, G. (2011, October). Devaluing values. *Human Systems Dynamics Institute*.
<https://www.hsdinstitute.org/learn-more/read-the-latest/attractors/archive/87-attractors-2011-october.pdf>
- Fals-Borda, O. (1987). The application of participatory action-research in Latin America. *International Sociology*, 2(4), 329–347. <https://doi.org/10.1177/026858098700200401>
- Fetterman, D. M. (1993). Theme for 1993 annual meeting: Empowerment evaluation. *Evaluation Practice*, 14(1), 115–117. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0886-1633\(93\)90049-U](https://doi.org/10.1016/0886-1633(93)90049-U)
- Finnegan, A. C. (2022). Growing up white saviors. *Journal of Applied Social Science*, (20220325). <https://doi.org/10.1177/19367244221082023>
- Flanagin, A., Frey, T., Christiansen, S. L., & Bauchner, H. (2021, March 16). *The reporting of race and ethnicity in medical and science journals*. JAMA Network.
<https://jamanetwork.com/journals/jama/fullarticle/2776936>
- Fricke, M. (1999). Epistemic oppression and epistemic privilege. *Canadian Journal of Philosophy Supplementary*, 25, 191–210.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00455091.1999.10716836>
- Gaffney, C. (2016). Anatomy of an ally. *The Education Digest*, 82(3), 43–48.

- Gaotlhobogwe, M., Major, T. E., Koloi-Keaikitse, S., & Chilisa, B. (2018). Conceptualizing evaluation in African contexts. *New Directions for Evaluation*, 2018(159), 47–62. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ev.20332>
- Garibay, C., & Teasdale, R. M. (2019). Equity and evaluation in informal STEM education. *New Directions for Evaluation*, 2019(161), 87–106. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ev.20352>
- Gergen, K. J. (2018). The limits of language as the limits of psychological explanation. *Theory & Psychology*, 28(6), 697–711. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0959354318811641>
- Gezinski, L. B. (2022). “It’s kind of hit and miss with them”: A qualitative investigation of police response to intimate partner violence in a mandatory arrest state. *Journal of Family Violence*, 37(1), 99–111. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10896-020-00227-4>
- Ghanbarpour, S., Noguez Mercado, A. P., & Palotai, A. (2020). A language justice framework for culturally responsive and equitable evaluation. In L. C. Neubauer, D. McBride, A. D. Guajardo, W. D. Casillas, & M. E. Hall (Eds.), *Examining Issues Facing Communities of Color Today: The Role of Evaluation to Incite Change*. *New Directions for Evaluation*, 166, 37–47. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ev.20412>
- Ginsberg, A. E. (2021). Critical evaluation capital (CEC): A new tool for applying critical race theory to the evaluand. *American Journal of Evaluation*, (2021), 1-15. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10982140211025617>
- Greene, J. C. (2000). Challenges in practicing deliberative democratic evaluation. *New Directions for Evaluation*, 2000(85), 13–26. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ev.1158>
- Greene, J. C. (2001). Dialogue in evaluation. *Evaluation*, 7(2), 181-187.
- Greenfeld, L. (2005). The trouble with social science. *Critical Review*, 17(1), 101-116. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/08913810508443630>

- Gresse, W., & Linde, B. (2021). Entitlement disconnect: Exploring management graduates' mental schema in their anticipatory psychological contract. *Management Revue*, 32(1), 27-52. <https://doi.org/10.5771/0935-9915-2021-1-27>
- Hall, C. M. (2020). Leveraging privilege: Intersectional analysis to motivate and engage men in anti-violence work. In *Social studies of gender: A next wave reader*, (195-210). Cognella Academic Publishing.
- Hall, J. N. (2019). The other side of inequality: Using standpoint theories to examine the privilege of the evaluation profession and individual evaluators. *American Journal of Evaluation*, 41(1), 20-33. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1098214019828485>
- Hall, M. E. (2018). Evaluation's race problem in the United States: A call to action for the profession and the "American Journal of Evaluation". *American Journal of Evaluation*, 39(4), 569–583.
- Hammond, R. A., & Axelrod, R. (2006). The Evolution of Ethnocentrism. *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 50(6), 926-936. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0022002706293470>
- Hanberger, A., & Schild, I. (2004). Strategies to evaluate a university-industry knowledge-exchange programme. *Evaluation*, 10(4), 475–492.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1356389004050217>
- Harden, K., & Harden-Moore, T. (2019). Moving from ally to accomplice: How far are you willing to go to disrupt racism in the workplace? *Diverse Issues in Higher Education*, 36, 32.
- Haslam, S. A., Oakes, P. J., Reynolds, K. J., & Turner, J. C. (1999). Social identity salience and the emergence of stereotype consensus. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 25(7), 809–818. <https://doi-org.libproxy.uncg.edu/10.1177/0146167299025007004>

- Hassan, F., Gatrell, C., & Downs, C. (2018). Muted masculinities – Ethical and personal challenges for male qualitative researchers interviewing women. In C. Cassella, L. Cunliffe, & G. Grandy, *The sage handbook of qualitative business and management research methods*, (400-414). SAGE Publications Ltd, <https://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781526430212.n24>
- Hathaway, G. L. (2018). Addressing microaggressions in the classroom to improve learning outcomes. *Insight into Diversity*, 90(8).
- Hays, D. G., Chang, C. Y., & Decker, S. L. (2007). Initial development and psychometric data for the privilege and oppression inventory. *Measurement and Evaluation in Counseling and Development*, 40(2), 66–79. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07481756.2007.11909806>
- Hays, D. G., Prosek, E. A., & McLeod, A. L. (2010). Assessment & diagnosis: A mixed methodological analysis of the role of culture in the clinical decision-making process. *Journal of Counseling and Development*, 88(1), 114–121.
- Headley, B. D. (1983). "Black on black" crime: The myth and the reality. *Crime and Social Justice*, 20(20), 50–62.
- Heidegger, M., & Stambaugh, J. (1996). *Being and Time : A Translation of Sein Und Zeit*. SUNY Press.
- Hilliard, A. G., III (1997). Language, culture, and the assessment of African American children. In A. L. Goodwin (Ed.), *Assessment for equity and inclusion: Embracing all our children* (229-240). Psychology Press.
- Hines, S. (2019). The feminist frontier: on trans and feminism. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 28(2), 145–157. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09589236.2017.1411791>

- Hogan, R. L. (2007). The historical development of program evaluation: Exploring past and present. *Online Journal for Workforce Education and Development*, 2(4), 1-14.
<https://opensiuc.lib.siu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1056&context=ojwed>
- Hood, S. (1998). Responsive evaluation Amistad style: Perspectives of one African American evaluator. In R. Davis (Ed.), *Proceedings of the stake symposium on educational evaluation* (101-112).
- Hood, S. (2001). Nobody knows my name: In praise of African American evaluators who were responsive. *New Directions for Evaluation*, 2001(92), 31–44.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/ev.33>
- Hood, S., & Hopson, R. K. (2008). Evaluation roots reconsidered: Asa Hilliard, a fallen hero in the "nobody knows my name" project, and African educational excellence. *Review of Educational Research*, 78(3), 410–426.
- Hood, S., Hopson, R. K., & Kirkhart, K. E. (2015). Culturally responsive evaluation. In K. E. Newcomer, H. P. Hatry, & J. S. Wholey (Eds.), *Handbook of practical program evaluation* (4th ed., 281-317). John Wiley & Sons.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/9781119171386.ch12>
- Hoover, S. M. (2016). A critical feminist phenomenological study of social justice identity among professional psychologists and trainees from a feminist multicultural practicum. *Professional Psychology : Research and Practice*, 47(6), 383–383.
- Hopson, R. (2018). Apples do not fall far from trees and other interesting revelations as I come to age in evaluation. *New Directions for Evaluation*, 2018(157), 113–116.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/ev.20285>

- House, E. R. (2017). Evaluation and the framing of race. *American Journal of Evaluation*, 38(2), 167–189.
- Howard-Payne, L. (2016). Glaser or Strauss? Considerations for selecting a grounded theory study. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 46(1), 50–62.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0081246315593071>
- Huynh, K. D., Sheridan, D. J., & Lee, D. L. (2020). Assessing the internalized homophobia scale for gender invariance. *Measurement and Evaluation in Counseling and Development*, 53(4), 238–248. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07481756.2020.1735202>
- Indigenous Action. (2014, May 4). *Accomplices not allies: Abolishing the ally industrial complex*. Indigenous Action Media. Retrieved July 22, 2021, from <https://www.Indigenouaction.org/accomplices-not-allies-abolishing-the-ally-industrial-complex/>
- Jones, T. B. (2006). *Cultural competency in evaluation: A Black perspective* [Doctoral dissertation]. <https://fsu.digital.flvc.org/islandora/object/fsu:175917/datastream/PDF/view>
- Junge, N., & Negroustoueva, S. (2019). Bridging divides and creating opportunities in international evaluation consulting. *New Directions for Evaluation*, 2019(164), 127–139.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/ev.20388>
- Katel, P. (2014, December 12). Police tactics. *CQ Researcher*, 24, 1033-1060.
<http://library.cqpress.com/>
- Kavanagh, K. M. (2022). Bridging Social Justice-Oriented Theories to Practice in Teacher Education Utilizing Ethical Reasoning in Action and Case-Based Teaching. In I. Management Association (Eds.), *Research Anthology on Racial Equity, Identity, and Privilege* (375-397). IGI Global. <https://doi.org/10.4018/978-1-6684-4507-5.ch020>

- Kimmel, M. S., & Ferber, A. L. (Eds.). (2003). *Privilege: A reader*. Westview Press.
- Kirkhart, K. (2010). Eyes on the prize: Multicultural validity and evaluation theory. *American Journal of Evaluation*, 31(3), 400–413.
- Kirkhart, K. E. (2015). Unpacking the evaluator’s toolbox: Observations on evaluation, privilege, equity and justice. *Evaluation Matters—He Take Tō Te Aromatawai*, 7–24. <https://doi.org/10.18296/em.0002>
- Knaus, C. B. (2018). If everyone would just act white. In J. S. Brooks & G. Theoharis (Eds.), *Whiteducation: Privilege, power, and prejudice in school and society* (1-21). Routledge.
- Knowles, E. D., Lowery, B. S., Chow, R. M., & Unzueta, M. M. (2014). Deny, distance, or dismantle? How white Americans manage a privileged identity. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 9(6), 594–609. DOI: 10.1177/1745691614554658
- Kvale, S. (2006). Dominance through interviews and dialogues. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 12(3), 480–500. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800406286235>
- Lalik, R., & Hinchman, K. A. (2001). Critical issues: Examining constructions of race in literacy research: Beyond silence and other oppressions of White liberalism. *Journal of Literacy Research*, 33(3), 529–561. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10862960109548122>
- Lambie, G. W., Blount, A. J., & Mullen, P. R. (2017). Establishing content-oriented evidence for psychological assessments. *Measurement and Evaluation in Counseling and Development*, 50(4), 210–216. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07481756.2017.1336930>
- Lau, D. C., & Murnighan, J. K. (1998). Demographic diversity and faultlines: the compositional dynamics of organizational groups. *The Academy of Management Review*, 23(2), 325–340.

- Lehmann, E. R. (2015). What if ‘what works’ doesn’t? *Evaluation*, 21(2), 167–172.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1356389015577505>
- Leiderman, S. (2005). Doing evaluation differently. In M. Potapchuk, S. Leiderman, D. Bivens, & B. Major (Eds.), *Flipping the script: White privilege and community building* (91-101). MP Associates & Center for Assessment and Policy Development.
- Lester, S. (1999). *An introduction to phenomenological research*. Taunton, UK. Stan Lester Developments. www.devmts.org.uk/resmethy.pdf
- Lincoln, Y. & Guba, E. (2000) Paradigmatic controversies, contradictions, and emerging confluences. In *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 2nd edn (Denzin, N. & Lincoln, Y., eds), Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA, 163–188.
- Loughlin, M., Mercuri, M., Pârvan Alexandra, Copeland, S. M., Tonelli, M., & Buetow, S. (2018). Treating real people: Science and humanity. *Journal of Evaluation in Clinical Practice*, 24(5), 919–929. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jep.13024>
- Lundy, K. G. (2020). *Teaching fairly in an unfair world* (2nd ed.). Pembroke Publishers.
- Lunshof, J., & Chadwick, R. (2011). Editorial: Genetic and genomic research-changing patterns of accountability. *Accountability in Research*, 18(3), 121–131.
- Lusthaus, C., Adrien, M.-H., & Anderson, G. (2000). *Enhancing organizational performance : a toolbox for self-assessment*. International Development Research Centre. Retrieved July 2, 2022, from <https://public.ebookcentral.proquest.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=266310>.
- Magnet, S. (2006). Protesting privilege : An autoethnographic look at whiteness. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 12(4), 736–749. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800406288617>

- Mahabir, D. F., O'Campo, P., Lofters, A., Shankardass, K., Salmon, C., & Muntaner, C. (2021). Classism and everyday racism as experienced by racialized health care users: A concept mapping study. *International Journal of Health Services : Planning, Administration, Evaluation*, 51(3), 350–363. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002073142111014782>
- Manstead, A. S. R. (2018). The psychology of social class: How socioeconomic status impacts thought, feelings, and behaviour. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 57, 267-291.
DOI:10.1111/bjso.12251
- Mark, M. M., & Shotland, R. L. (1985). Stakeholder-based evaluation and value judgments. *Evaluation Review*, 9(5), 605–626. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0193841X8500900504>
- Mason, A. (2021). What's wrong with everyday lookism? *Politics, Philosophy & Economics*, 20(3). 315-335. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1470594X20982051>
- Matthes, E. H. (2016). Cultural appropriation without cultural essentialism? *Social Theory and Practice*, 42(2), 343–366.
- McBride, D., Casillas, W., & LoPiccolo, J. (2020). Inciting social change through evaluation. *New Directions for Evaluation*, 2020(166), 119–127.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/ev.20405>
- McCall, L. (2005). The complexity of intersectionality. *Signs*, 30(3), 1771–1800.
<https://doi.org/10.1086/426800>
- McIntosh, P. (1988). White privilege and male privilege: A personal account of coming to see correspondences through work in women's studies. In *Working paper no. 189*. Wellesley College Center for Research on Women.

- McKegg, K. (2019). White privilege and the decolonization work needed in evaluation to support Indigenous sovereignty and self-determination. *The Canadian Journal of Program Evaluation*, 34(2), 357. <http://dx.doi.org/10.3138/cjpe.67978>
- McLaughlin, K. A., & Sheridan, M. A. (2016). Beyond cumulative risk: A dimensional approach to childhood adversity. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 25, 239-245. doi:10.1177/0963721416655883
- Medicine Crow, L. (2016). Truth, racial healing and transformation (TRHT): Background and related readings. W. K. Kellogg Foundation. Retrieved from <http://www.racialequityresourceguide.org/savedGuides/70002708.pdf>
- Mendelow, A. L. (1981). Environmental scanning: The impact of the stakeholder concept. *ICIS 1981 Proceedings*, 20, 407-418. <https://aisel.aisnet.org/icis1981/20>
- Mertens, D. (1999). Inclusive evaluation: implications of transformative theory for evaluation. *The American Journal of Evaluation*, 20(1), 1–14. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S1098-2140\(99\)80105-2](https://doi.org/10.1016/S1098-2140(99)80105-2)
- Moore, G. (2022, June 6). *Why is Black spelled with a capital 'B' and white lowercase? It's divisive*. The Arizona Republic. <https://www.azcentral.com/story/opinion/op-ed/greg-moore/2022/06/06/capitalize-black-but-not-white-race-confusing-divisive/7502345001/>
- Monahan, M. J. (2014). The concept of privilege: A critical appraisal. *South African Journal of Philosophy*, 33:1, 73-83. DOI: 10.1080/02580136.2014.892681
- Morgenroth, T., Kirby, T. A., Cuthbert, M. J., Evje, J., & Anderson, A. E. (2022). Bisexual erasure: Perceived attraction patterns of bisexual women and men. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 52(2), 249–259. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2773>

- Morris, M. (2011). The good, the bad, and the evaluator: 25 years of AJE ethics. *American Journal of Evaluation*, 32(1), 134–151.
- Muntaner, C., Nagoshi, C., & Diala, C. (2001). Racial ideology and explanations for health inequalities among middle-class Whites. *International Journal of Health Services : Planning, Administration, Evaluation*, 31(3), 659–68.
- Neisen, J. H. (1990). Heterosexism: redefining homophobia for the 1990's. *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Psychotherapy*, 1(3), 21–35. https://doi.org/10.1300/J236v01n03_02
- Neubauer, B. E., Witkop, C. T., & Varpio, L. (2019). How phenomenology can help us learn from the experiences of others. *Perspectives on Medical Education*, 8(2), 90–97. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40037-019-0509-2>
- Nicholas, L. (2019). Queer ethics and fostering positive mindsets toward non-binary gender, genderqueer, and gender ambiguity. *The International Journal of Transgenderism*, 20(2-3), 169–180. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15532739.2018.1505576>
- Oliver, K., Lorenc, T., & Tinkler, J. (2020). Evaluating unintended consequences: new insights into solving practical, ethical and political challenges of evaluation. *Evaluation*, 26(1). 61-75. DOI: 10.1177/1356389019850847
- Osborne, N. (2015). Intersectionality and kyriarchy: A framework for approaching power and social justice in planning and climate change adaptation. *Planning Theory*, 14(2), 130–151.
- Park, J. Y. (2018). A resource approach to academic literacies: Leveraging urban immigrant youths' epistemic privilege. In *Learning from urban immigrant youth about academic literacies* (111-133). Routledge.

- Pastrana, A. (2010). Privileging oppression: contradictions in intersectional politics. *Western Journal of Black Studies*, 34(1), 53–63.
- Patton, M. Q. (1999). Some framing questions about racism and evaluation: Thoughts stimulated by professor John Stanfield’s “slipping through the front door.” *American Journal of Evaluation*, 20, 437–443.
- Payne, R. K. (2005). *A framework for understanding poverty*. (4th ed.). AHA! Process.
- Peters, J. M. (1991). Strategies for reflective practice. *New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education*, 1991(51), 89–96. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ace.36719915111>
- Pierce, C. M. (1970). Offensive mechanisms. In F. B. Barbour (Ed.), *The Black Seventies* (265–282). Boston, MA: Porter Sargent Publisher.
- Powell, J., & Kelly, A. (2017). Accomplices in the academy in the age of Black Lives Matter. *Journal of Critical Thought and Praxis*, 6(2). <https://doi.org/10.31274/jctp-180810-73>
- Quinn, D. M. (2020). Experimental evidence on teachers’ racial bias in student evaluation: The role of grading scales. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, 42(3), 375–392. <https://doi.org/10.3102/0162373720932188>
- Rasmussen, M. L. (2009). Beyond gender identity? *Gender and Education*, 21(4), 431–431. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09540250802473958>
- Reed, G. G. (2011). The complexity of moral learning: diversity, deprovincialisation and privilege. *Journal of Moral Education*, 40(3), 359–359. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057240.2011.596337>
- Reid, A. M., Boyce, A. S., Adetogun, A., Moller, J. R., & Avent, C. (2020). If not us, then who? Evaluators of color and social change. *New Directions for Evaluation*, 2020(166), 23–36. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ev.20407>

- Roy, B. (1995). The Tuskegee syphilis experiment: Medical ethics, constitutionalism, and property in the body. *The Harvard Journal of Minority Public Health*, 1(1), 11–5.
- Russo, A. (2018). Resisting the “savior” complex. In *Feminist Accountability: Disrupting Violence and Transforming Power*. NYU Press. DOI: 10.18574/nyu/9780814777169.003.0010
- Ruys, K., & Stapel, D. (2009). The unconscious unfolding of emotions. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 20(01), 232–271. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10463280903119060>
- Ryan, K., & DeStefano, L. (2001). Dialogue as a democratizing evaluation method. *Evaluation*, 7(2), 188–203. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13563890122209621>
- Salmon, J., & Buetow, S. (2013). Transcendental phenomenology and classic grounded theory as mixed data collection methods in a study exploring fetal alcohol spectrum disorder in New Zealand. *Journal of Population Therapeutics & Clinical Pharmacology*, 20(2), 82–90. <https://jptcp.com/index.php/jptcp/article/view/391/323>
- Scanlan, S. J., Jenkins, J. C., & Peterson, L. (2010). The scarcity fallacy. *Contexts*, 9(1), 34–39. DOI: 10.1525/ctx.2010.9.1.34
- Schön, D. A. (1983). *The reflective practitioner: How professionals think in action* (Ser. Harper Torchbooks, TB 5126). Basic Books.
- Schüssler, F. E. (1992). *But she said : Feminist practices of biblical interpretation*. Beacon Press.
- Schüssler, F. E. (1999). *Rhetoric and ethic: The politics of biblical studies*. Fortress Press.
- Shanker, V. (2019). *Definitional tension: The construction of race in and through evaluation* [Doctoral dissertation]. Retrieved from the University of Minnesota Digital Conservancy, <https://hdl.handle.net/11299/211799>

- Shanker, V. (2022, June). *Why is evaluation so white? Why is evaluation so white?.* Retrieved July 9, 2022, from <https://sites.google.com/view/whyisevaluationsowhite/welcome>
- Shyamsundar, T. (2022, April 25). *What least privilege means in practice.* Veza. <https://www.veza.com/blog/what-least-privilege-means-in-practice>
- Singh, D. (2019, April). *Understanding philosophical underpinnings of research with respect to various paradigms: Perspectives of a research scholar* [Paper presentation]. Anvesh 2019 - Doctoral Research Conference in Management, Nirma University, Ahmedabad, India. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/333036861_Understanding_philosophical_underpinnings_of_research_with_respect_to_various_paradigms_Perspective_of_a_research_scholar
- Smith, R. (2010). Social work, risk, power. *Sociological Research Online*, 15(1), 37–46. <https://doi.org/10.5153/sro.2101>
- Spiegel, T. J. (2022). Lookism as epistemic injustice. *Social Epistemology*, 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02691728.2022.2076629>
- Springett, J. (2001). Appropriate approaches to the evaluation of health promotion. *Critical Public Health*, 11(2), 139–151. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09581590110039856>
- Spurgeon, S. L. (2017). Evaluating the unintended consequences of assessment practices: Construct irrelevance and construct underrepresentation. *Measurement and Evaluation in Counseling and Development*, 50:4, 275-281, DOI: 10.1080/07481756.2017.1339563
- Stake, R. E. (1972, December 5). *Responsive evaluation.* US Department of Health Education and Welfare Office of Education. ED075487. <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED075487.pdf>

- Stephens, A., Lewis, E. D., & Reddy, S. (2018). Towards an inclusive systemic evaluation for the SDGs: Gender equality, environments and marginalized voices (GEMs). *Evaluation*, 24(2), 220–236. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1356389018766093>
- Stockdill, S. H., Baizerman, M., & Compton, D. W. (2002). Toward a definition of the ECB process: A conversation with the ECB literature. *New Directions for Evaluation*, 2002(93), 7–26. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ev.39>
- Stump, J. L. (2014). Henrietta Lacks and the HeLa cell: Rights of patients and responsibilities of medical researchers. *History Teacher*, 48(1), 127–180.
- Sue, D. W. (2010). *Microaggressions in everyday life : Race, gender, and sexual orientation*. Germany: Wiley.
- Swiercz, P. M., & Skipper, J. K. J. (1982). Labor law and physicians' privileged position: An example of structural interest influence. *International Journal of Health Services : Planning, Administration, Evaluation*, 12(2), 249–61.
- Symonette, H., Miller, R. L., & Barela, E. (2020). Power, privilege, and competence: Using the 2018 AEA evaluator competencies to shape socially just evaluation practice. *New Directions for Evaluation*, 2020(168), 117–132. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ev.20433>
- Taylor, E. (2016). Groups and oppression. *Hypatia*, 31(3), 520–536. <https://doi.org/10.1111/hypa.12252>
- The Pixel Project. (2011, March 14). *Inspirational interviews – Todd Minerson, White Ribbon Campaign, part 2*. The Pixel Project – It's Time to Stop Violence Against Women. Together. <https://www.thepixelproject.net/2011/03/14/inspirational-interviews-todd-minerson-white-ribbon-campaign-part-2/>

- The Seattle Times Staff. (2019, December 19). *Capital-B 'Black' becomes standard usage at The Seattle Times*. The Seattle Times. <https://www.seattletimes.com/seattle-news/capital-b-black-becomes-standard-usage-at-the-seattle-times/>
- Thomas, A., Kuper, A., Chin-Yee, B., & Park, M. (2020). What is “shared” in shared decision-making? Philosophical perspectives, epistemic justice, and implications for health professions education. *Journal of Evaluation in Clinical Practice*, 26(2), 409–418. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jep.13370>
- Thomas, C., MacMillan, C., McKinnon, M., Torabi, H., Osmond-McLeod, M., Swavley, E., Armer, T., & Doyle, K. (2021). Seeing and overcoming the complexities of intersectionality. *Challenges*, 12(1), 5–5. <https://doi.org/10.3390/challe12010005>
- Thomas, V. G., Madison, A., Rockcliffe, F., DeLaine, K., & Lowe, S. M. D. (2018). Racism, social programming, and evaluation. *American Journal of Evaluation*, 39(4), 514-526. DOI: 10.1177/1098214018772910
- Tikly, L. (2004). Education and the New Imperialism. *Comparative Education*, 40(2), 173-198. DOI: 10.1080/0305006042000231347
- Toole, B. (2019). From standpoint epistemology to epistemic oppression. *Hypatia*, 34(4), 598-618. <https://doi.org/10.1111/hypa.12496>
- Toone, K. (2018). Come back for us: a critical reflection on the shared history of queers and sex workers and our need for solidarity. *Hecate*, 44(1/2), 110–121.
- Torres-Harding, S., & Turner, T. (2015). Assessing racial microaggression distress in a diverse sample. *Evaluation & the Health Professions*, 38(4), 464–464. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163278714550860>

- Tovey, T. L. S., & Skolits, G. J. (2022). Conceptualizing and engaging in reflective practice: Experienced evaluators' perspectives. *American Journal of Evaluation*, 43(1), 5–25. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1098214020983926>
- Tuck, E., & Yang, K. W. (2013). R-words: Refusing research. In D. Paris & M. T. Winn (Eds.), *Humanizing research: Decolonizing qualitative inquiry with youth and communities*, 223-248. SAGE Publications. <https://www-doi-org.libproxy.uncg.edu/10.4135/9781544329611>
- Uluğ, Ö. M., & Tropp, L. R. (2021). Witnessing racial discrimination shapes collective action for racial justice: enhancing awareness of privilege among advantaged groups. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 51(3). DOI: 10.1111/jasp.12731
- Van Brunt, B. (2016). Assessing threat in written communications, social media, and creative writing. *Violence and Gender*, 3(2), 78–88. <https://doi.org/10.1089/vio.2015.0050>
- van Draanen, J. (2017). Introducing reflexivity to evaluation practice: An in-depth case study. *American Journal of Evaluation*, 38(3), 360–375. DOI: 10.1177/1098214016668401
- Walker, A. C. (2013). Practical theology for the privileged: A starting point for pedagogies of conversion. *International Journal of Practical Theology*, 16(2), 243–259. <https://doi.org/10.1515/ijpt-2012-0016>
- Walsh, R. J. (2015). XI. 'Objectivity' and intersectionality: How intersectional feminism could utilise identity and experience as a dialectical weapon of liberation within academia. *Feminism & Psychology*, 25(1), 61–66. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0959353514562807>
- Wernick, L. J. (2012). Leveraging privilege: Organizing young people with wealth to support social justice. *Social Service Review*, 86(2), 323-345. <https://doi.org/10.1086/666874>

- Williams, W. C., Lacet, C., & Willison, J. S. (2020). Cultural humility and allyship in action. *Reflections: Narratives of Professional Helping*, 26(2), 28–38.
- Wingard, B. (2010). A conversation with lateral violence. *International Journal of Narrative Therapy & Community Work*, 2010(1), 13–17.
- Wimpenny, P., & Gass, J. (2000). Interviewing in phenomenology and grounded theory: Is there a difference? *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 31(6), 1485–1492.
<https://doi.org/10.1046/j.1365-2648.2000.01431.x>
- Xavier Hall, C. D., Feinstein, B. A., Sales, J. M., Girod, C., & Yount, K. M. (2021). Outness, discrimination, and depressive symptoms among bi women: the roles of partner gender and sexual identity. *Journal of Bisexuality*, 21(1), 24–41.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/15299716.2021.1886219>
- Yanow, D., & Willmott, H. (1999). Considering passionate humility. *Administrative Theory & Praxis*, 21(4), 450–454.
- Young, I. M. (1990). Five faces of oppression. *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, 39–65. Princeton University Press.
- Zingsheim, J., & Goltz, D. B. (2011). The intersectional workings of whiteness: A representative anecdote. *Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies*, 33(3), 215–241.
- Zorn, E. (2020, July 9). *Should 'white' be capitalized? It feels wrong, but it's the way to go.* Chicago Tribune. <https://www.chicagotribune.com/columns/eric-zorn/ct-column-capitalize-white-black-language-race-zorn-20200709-e42fag6ivbazdblizpopsp4p2a-story.html>

APPENDIX A: IRB APPROVAL LETTER

Date: 4-6-2022

IRB #: IRB-FY22-413

Title: Addressing Privilege not Marginalization: Analysis of White Evaluators' Experience in Leveraging Privilege

Creation Date: 2-3-2022

End Date: 4-5-2023

Status: **Approved**

Principal Investigator: Christopher Hall

Review Board: UNC-Greensboro IRB

Sponsor:

Study History

Submission Type	Initial	Review Type	Expedited	Decision	Approved
-----------------	---------	-------------	-----------	----------	-----------------

Key Study Contacts

Member	Ayesha Boyce	Role	Co-Principal Investigator	Contact	astillma@uncg.edu
Member	Christopher Hall	Role	Principal Investigator	Contact	cmhall8@uncg.edu
Member	Christopher Hall	Role	Primary Contact	Contact	cmhall8@uncg.edu
Member	Devdass Sunnassee	Role	Investigator	Contact	d_sunnas@uncg.edu

Initial Submission

Getting Started

About Cayuse Human Ethics

Cayuse Human Ethics is an interactive web application. As you answer questions, new sections relevant to the type of research being conducted will appear on the left-hand side. Therefore not all sections may appear. You do not have to finish the application in one sitting. All information can be saved.

Additional information has been added throughout the form for guidance and clarity. That additional information can be found by clicking the question mark in the top-right corner of each section.

For more information about the IRB submission Process, IRB Tracking, and UNCG IRB Tasks, please refer to the [Cayuse Human Ethics Procedures Manual](#).

Getting Started

Throughout the submission, you will be required to provide the following:

- Detailed Study Information
- Study-related questionnaires
- Informed Consent Forms
- Study Recruitment Materials

UNCG IRB

- You cannot begin data collection until a formal approval letter from the chair of the IRB has been received.
- Please allow for four weeks for IRB review of your submission. For studies requiring full committee review, the UNCG IRB meets regularly throughout the year.
- **If your study is funded**, please note that it is the responsibility of the Principal Investigator to link your IRB application to your Cayuse SP record.
- For more information regarding the UNCG IRB, consent form templates, and FAQs, visit our [website](#)

*required

I have read the information above and I am ready to begin my submission.

✓ Yes

*required

Does your project involve a systematic investigation, including research development, testing and evaluation, which is designed to develop or contribute to generalizable knowledge?

PLEASE NOTE:

- The above question is the **federal definition of research**. If your submission meets the federal definition of research, please respond "yes"
- You should only answer yes if your activity meets all the above

✓ Yes

*required

Will you be obtaining information or biospecimens **through intervention or interaction** with the individual, and use, study, or analysis of the information or biospecimens? **This would include any communication or interpersonal contact between investigator and subject such as using in-person or online questionnaires/surveys, interviews, focus groups, observations, treatment interventions, etc.** PLEASE NOTE: Merely obtaining information FROM an individual does not mean you should answer Yes unless the information is also ABOUT them.

NOTE: Remote data collection (ex: Zoom, electronic survey, etc.) is still an interaction/intervention even though the research team may not meet face-to-face with participants. Those using remote data collection options, must still answer "yes" to this question

✓ Yes

*required

Will you be obtaining, using, studying, analyzing, or generating identifiable private information or identifiable biospecimens collected through means other than direct interaction? This would include data, records or biological specimens that are currently existing or will be collected in the future for purposes other than this proposed research (e.g., medical records, ongoing collection of specimens for a tissue repository).

✓ Yes

No

No

No

*required

Is this a multi-institutional study?

Yes

No

*required

What type of activity is this submission for?

- Research Study
- Clinical Trial
- Drug/Device Study
- Quality Improvement Project
- Program Evaluation
- Evidence Based Practice (EBP)

*required

What is your status at UNCG?

Faculty

- Student
*required

Please choose the applicable category.

Undergraduate Student

- Graduate Student
*required

Please enter your anticipated graduation date.

08-05-2022

*required

Please choose the applicable option below

Thesis

- Dissertation

Other

Staff

Study Personnel

Note: If you cannot find a person in the people finder, please contact the IRB Office immediately

*required

Principal Investigator

Provide the name of the Principal Investigator of this study

Name: Christopher Hall

Organization: Ed Research Methodology

Address: 1400 Spring Garden Street , Greensboro, NC 27402-6170

Phone:

Email: cmhall8@uncg.edu

*required

Primary Contact

Provide the name of the Primary Contact of this study

Name: Christopher Hall

Organization: Ed Research Methodology

Address: 1400 Spring Garden Street , Greensboro, NC 27402-6170

Phone:

Email: cmhall8@uncg.edu

*required

Faculty Advisor

Provide the name of your Faculty Advisor

Name: Ayesha Boyce

Organization: Geography/Environment/Sustain

Address: 1400 Spring Garden Street , Greensboro, NC 27402-6170

Phone:

Email: astillma@uncg.edu

Co-Principal Investigator(s)

Provide the name(s) of Investigator(s) for this study

Name: Devdass Sunnassee

Organization: Ed Research Methodology

Address: 1400 Spring Garden Street , Greensboro, NC 27402-6170

Phone: (336) 334-3471

Email: d_sunnas@uncg.edu

Other Personnel

- *Provide the name(s) of other personnel for this study (ex: research assistants)*

- ***PLEASE NOTE:*** Research team members listed in this section **DO NOT have editing rights** to edit a study submission. They are unable to make changes to a study submission or respond to stipulations.

*required

External Researchers

Will this study involve a collaboration with researchers that are **not affiliated with UNCG?**
An external researcher would be a collaborator who is unaffiliated with UNCG or at an institution external to UNCG

Yes

No

*required

Will this study be externally funded?

Yes

No

*required

Study Site

Please select the location of the study

UNCG Main Campus

*required

Please provide the names of the UNCG departments where recruitment and/or data collection will take place

Educational Research Methodology

External Site (sites external to UNCG)

Study Dates

Please provide the anticipated study start and end dates. As a reminder, this section is informational only. Recruitment and data collection cannot begin until IRB approval has been obtained.

*required

Start Date

03-21-2022

*required

End Date

07-01-2022

Additional information and guidance may be found by clicking the question mark in the top-right corner of each section

*required

Subject Enrollment

Total Study Enrollment

- *Please enter the total number of subjects anticipated to be enrolled.*
- *It is recommended that the researcher submit a number that is more than the anticipated amount so as not to over-enroll.*
- *If using Qualtrics or another online survey tool, please either set a cap on the survey or monitor the number of participants that have completed the survey so as not to over-enroll.*

25

*required

Ages

Select the age range of subjects that will be enrolled in this study. Please be sure to check all options that may apply.

[Birth to less than 1 month](#)

[1 month to less than 12 years old](#)

[12 years old to 17 years old](#)

18 years and older

*required

Vulnerable Populations

Please check the population(s) that will be enrolled. Check all options that apply.

Pregnant Women

Minors with Parental Consent

Prisoners

Cognitively Impaired Adult Subjects

Non-English speaking

Other

None of the Above

Is this study a clinical trial?

Click the question mark to the right for the definition of a clinical trial

Registration of a clinical trial on ClinicalTrials.gov is required if a study meets any of the following criteria:

- [Applicable Clinical Trials](#) (regardless of funding)
- [NIH-funded](#) and [any externally funded](#) studies that meet the [NIH definition of clinical trial](#)
- A clinical trial subject to the [revised common rule](#) – a clinical trial [conducted or supported by a Federal department or agency \(45 CFR 46.116\)](#) (h) Posting of clinical trial consent form)
- [Billing insurance \(per CMS policy\)](#) – regardless of funding, although these almost always fall into one of the other categories anyway

NOTE: If a researcher plans to submit to an [ICMJE journal](#) for publication, *ICMJE requires, and recommends that all medical journal editors require registration of clinical trials in a public trials registry at or before the time of first participant enrollment as a condition of consideration for publication.

Yes

No

*required

Study Background

Provide a summary of the background and rationale for this study (i.e., why is the study needed?).

- Do NOT exceed one paragraph.
- Do NOT include a literature review.

Social science research, specifically evaluation-based research, often places an emphasis on marginalized populations as a part of determining if the methods are appropriately reaching groups who

are often overlooked. Unfortunately, there is less attention paid to privileged individuals, groups, or communities and how these participants in research may be consciously and unconsciously causing marginalization of others. This study is focused on interviewing experienced White-identified evaluators to investigate perspectives from privileged standpoints. Within the study, it is hoped that such perspectives can assist in illustrating the power of focusing on privilege as well as specific methods for researchers to leverage privilege to empower, affirm, and validate marginalized individuals and groups as a process of conducting research. Research questions formed as a part of this study will ask participants to think through their definitions, experiences, and perspectives from a privileged standpoint that may influence their evaluation work.

*required

Hypothesis

Provide the study hypothesis.

Participants in this study will provide experiences and perspectives that illustrate the potential for accessing privileged perspectives, and for investigating privileged groups/individuals to better address conditions that perpetuate the marginalization of others.

*required

Objectives / Research Questions

Provide the study objectives.

1. How and in what ways do experienced White evaluators define and understand the concept of "privilege"?
2. How and in what ways have White evaluators experienced oppressive conditions within their personal and professional lives, and how have such experiences contributed to their work as evaluators?
 - a. Within professional evaluation experience, how do participants notice conditions that amplify oppressive conditions within an evaluand – such as within
 - Administrative practices
 - Funding
 - Program process
 - Representation
 - Program values (deficit vs. strength perspectives)
- How and in what ways do experienced White evaluators identify the role of evaluation in addressing the marginalization of stakeholders, and how do they leverage privilege in evaluation practice (if at all)?

- a. How and in what ways do participants address oppressive systems, individuals, and groups within evaluation contexts?
- What is the role of the White evaluator in addressing oppressive systems, individuals, and groups in practice?

*required

Outcome Measures

Provide the main study outcome measures.

n/a

*required

Inclusion Criteria

List and describe the inclusion criteria.

This study's inclusion criteria is for evaluators who have at least ten years of experience within the evaluation field who identify racially as White, and have work focused on social-justice-based evaluations that include marginalized individuals and/or groups.

Exclusion Criteria

*required

Does this study have specific exclusion criteria?

✓ Yes

*required

List and describe the exclusion criteria

Individuals who meet the inclusion criteria, but identify racially as non-White.

*required

Justify any exclusion based on race, gender, or ethnicity. If this does not apply, state n/a

As this study is focused on privileged perspectives, a focus on racial identification of White eliminates analysis of evaluators who may experience a lack of privilege due to racial-based marginalization.

No

Additional information and guidance may be found by clicking the question mark at the top-right corner of each section.

*required

Describe all study procedures.

Participants will be recruited from a pre-generated list of professional White evaluators who have worked on social-justice-based evaluations. These potential participants are known by their publication history, presentation history at the American Evaluation Association, and interaction within professional evaluation spaces. Each potential participant will be sent an email requesting their participation in the study, and upon acceptance will be provided with a Qualtrics link to collect demographic information. After providing this information, the participant will be provided with a link to schedule an appointment time with the researcher. After the research interview has been completed, the researcher will send the participant a summary of their interview to member check the data.

*required

Describe your recruitment procedures.

Please include:

- *ALL recruitment procedures being used for this study*
- *Where participants will be recruited from*

Participants will be recruited from a pre-generated list of professional White evaluators who have worked on social-justice-based evaluations. These potential participants are known by their publication history, presentation history at the American Evaluation Association, and interaction within professional evaluation spaces. Participant emails are obtained from professional connections through the American Evaluation Association, academic profiles, and published research articles that include contact information for the author. Each potential participant will be sent an email requesting their participation in the study, and upon acceptance will be provided with a Qualtrics link to collect demographic information, which will include an informed consent form for review.

*required

Has site approval been obtained?

NOTE: *If research will be conducted on the UNCG campus only or the recruitment script will be sent out by a listserv or group manager on the researcher's behalf, please state "n/a"*

Yes

No

✓ N/A

Study Documents

Ex: in-person recruitment script, social media script, flyer, email script, etc.

[AddressingPrivilege-RecruitmentLetter.docx](#)

[ConsentForm-PrivilegeDissertationStudy.docx](#)

*required

Describe Payment/Incentives.

Please include the payment/incentive amount, payment/incentive schedule, and if payment/incentive will be pro-rated.

If not applicable, state n/a

n/a

*required

Describe the duration of study participation, the length and number of study visits, and the timetable for study completion.

This study involves the completion of a Qualtrics demographic survey and one interview session with an estimated time of 60-90 minutes, as well as a member check stage where the researcher will send a summary of the interview to the participant to elicit any clarifications or additional information from the participant.

This study should be completed by July 2022.

*required

Describe the information to be gathered and the means for collecting and recording data.

Example: Qualtrics, remote data collection (Zoom, Google Meet, etc), in-person interviews, etc.

If previously collected data is to be used, describe the proposed uses of these data.

A Qualtrics demographic survey of all participants will be conducted prior to an interview. A 60-90 minute interview will be conducted over Zoom, and interviews will be audio recorded via www.otter.ai through which a transcript will be constructed. This transcript will be edited for accuracy, then summarized for participants to check the data for accuracy and clarity of information. Any clarifications to data will be noted on the transcript for analysis.

Study Instruments

- *Attach all instruments (i.e. personality scales, questionnaires, evaluation blanks, etc) to be used in the study.*
- ***For online survey / questionnaire instruments, please provide PDF or Word documents and not the link to the online survey/questionnaire.***

[AddressingPrivilegeQualtricsSurvey.docx](#)

[Privilege Interview Protocol v2.docx](#)

*required

Survey, Questionnaire, or Interview

Will the study utilize surveys, questionnaires, or interviews?

Yes

*required

Attach all copies of surveys, questionnaires, or interviews

[AddressingPrivilegeQualtricsSurvey.docx](#)

[Privilege Interview Protocol v2.docx](#)

No

*required

Will the survey, questionnaire, or interview record any information that can identify the participants?

Example: Names, email address, student ID, etc.

Yes

No

*required

Genetic Testing

Will this study involve genetic testing?

- Yes
- No

- Yes
- No

*required

Drugs, Devices, Biologics

Will the study involve administering any of the following? Check all that apply.

- Drug
- Biologic
- Device
- None of the above

*required

Participant Data, Specimens, and Records

Does this project involve the collection or use of materials (data or specimens) recorded in a manner that could identify the individuals who provided the materials, either directly or through identifiers linked to these individuals?

- Yes
- No

*required

Will Protected Health Information (PHI) obtained directly from a covered entity (CE) be used?

Additional information and guidance may be found by clicking the question mark in the top-right corner of each section.

*required

Do you anticipate study participants will be subject to any risks?

Yes

No

*required

Expected Benefits

Describe the expected direct benefits for participants (if any) and/or society that will arise from this study. For example, a direct benefit to the participant may be a free hearing test or fitness test results

NOTE: *Monetary incentives, such as cash, gift cards, or drawings, cannot be listed as benefits*

As a result of this study, there may be opportunities to develop operational definitions of human rights-oriented terms within evaluation research. In addition, the emphasis on privilege within evaluation research may offer strategies to improve the ability of evaluators to be reflective on personal and professional positionalities that may impact evaluation research in various ways.

*required

Will deception be used as a method of data gathering?

Yes

✓ No

Safeguarding Participant's Identity

*required

What uses will be made of the information obtained from the subjects?

Examples: Thesis, Dissertation, journal article, conference presentation, etc

Dissertation, journal articles, conference presentations

*required

Please describe how participant's privacy will be maintained.

Please include:

- *Use of pseudonyms/ Study IDs*
- *Private location for data collection (if applicable)*
- *Whether or not a master list linking the participant's name to their pseudonym/study ID will be maintained*

All information obtained in this study is strictly confidential unless disclosure is required by law. Audio recordings will be kept secure within Otter.ai servers. Otter uses AWS services for its data storage in the AWS region West, United States. Otter uses AWS S3 storage and enables AWS SSE (Server-Side Encryption) on data (S3 buckets). It encrypts the key itself with a root key that it regularly rotates. Amazon S3 server-side encryption uses a 256-bit Advanced Encryption Standard (AES-256). Transcripts will be de-identified and kept secure within a Box.com folder. Box is FIPS 140-2 certified, with every file is encrypted using AES 256-bit encryption at rest and in transit. Audio recordings will be deleted upon transcription.

For the demographic data collected through Qualtrics, the service uses Transport Layer Security (TLS) encryption (also known as HTTPS) for all transmitted data. Surveys data are protected with passwords, with services hosted by trusted data centers that are independently audited using the industry standard SSAE-18 method.

Transcripts will be stored on Box.com within a password secure folder. Box is FIPS 140-2 certified, every file is encrypted using AES 256-bit encryption at rest and in transit.

A master list linking the participant's name to their pseudonym will be maintained within Google Drive, with further password protection within the spreadsheet itself. Google Drive data is encrypted in-transit and at-rest.

*required

Please describe how confidentiality of data will be maintained.

Please include:

- *Data storage location(s) / data management plan*
- *Data retention period,*
- *Data destruction plan*

De-identified data (transcripts) will be kept within a password secure folder on box.com. The master key listing the identities of participants and their pseudonyms used for the research will be secured within Google Drive. This data will be kept for future research use and maintained by the researcher.

Audio recordings will be deleted upon transfer to a written deidentified transcript.

*required

Informed Consent

Describe the procedures for obtaining informed consent for adult participants over the age of 18.

All participants will be provided with a link to a Qualtrics survey where they will be asked demographic questions and given an informed consent form that will detail all the guidelines and confidentiality details of the study itself.

*required

Will participants receive a copy of the consent or be provided with the opportunity to save, print, or screenshot the consent?

✓ Yes

No

*required

Parental Consent /Assent

Describe the procedures for obtaining parental consent / assent for minors under the age of 18.

If this does not apply to your study, state n/a.

n/a

Waiver of Documentation (Signed) Consent

*required

Would you like to request a waiver of documentation (signed) consent?

NOTE: Participants must still be provided with a consent form to read, but they do not need to provide their signature

Yes

No

Full or Partial Waiver of Consent

*required

Would you like to request a full or partial waiver of consent?

Yes

No

*required

Will you be requesting a [Limited Waiver of HIPAA Authorization](#)?

Yes

No

Are you requesting a [Waiver of HIPAA Authorization](#)?

Yes

No

*required

Upload Consent./Assent Forms

[ConsentForm-PrivilegeDissertationStudy.docx](#)

Conflict of Interest

*required

Do you or any investigator(s) participating in this study have a financial interest or other interest related to this research project?

Examples: Board membership with an agency related to this study, financial interest with company or vendor related to this study, etc.

Yes

No

Outside IRB of Record

Study Protocol

Attach the protocol for this study that was reviewed by the Outside IRB.

Outside IRB Approval

Attach the IRB Approval from the Outside IRB.

Study Procedures

Study Documents

Example: in-person recruitment script, social media script, email script, flyer, etc.

[AddressingPrivilege-RecruitmentLetter.docx](#)

[ConsentForm-PrivilegeDissertationStudy.docx](#)

Study Instruments

Attach all instruments (i.e. personality scales, questionnaires, evaluation blanks, etc) to be used in the study.

[AddressingPrivilegeQualtricsSurvey.docx](#)

[Privilege Interview Protocol v2.docx](#)

Site Approval

Participant Protection

Informed Consent Forms/Assent Forms

[ConsentForm-PrivilegeDissertationStudy.docx](#)

Site Approval Letter

External Researcher Training

Other

Training Documents, Debriefing script, etc.

APPENDIX B: INFORMED CONSENT FORM

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA AT GREENSBORO

CONSENT TO ACT AS A HUMAN PARTICIPANT

Project Title: Addressing Privilege not Marginalization: Analysis of White Evaluators' Experience in Leveraging Privilege

Principal Investigator and Faculty Advisor: Christopher M. Hall, Ayesha Boyce, Devdass Sunnassee

What are some general things you should know about research studies?

You are being asked to take part in a research study. Your participation in the study is voluntary. You may choose not to join, or you may withdraw your consent to be in the study, for any reason, without penalty.

Research studies are designed to obtain new knowledge. This new information may help people in the future. There may not be any direct benefit to you for being in the research study. There also may be risks to being in research studies. If you choose not to be in the study or leave the study before it is done, it will not affect your relationship with the researcher or the University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

Details about this study are discussed in this consent form. It is important that you understand this information so that you can make an informed choice about being in this research study.

You will be given a copy of this form. If you have any questions about this study at any time, you should ask the researchers named in this consent form. Their contact information is below.

What is the study about?

This is a research project. Your participation is voluntary. This study is designed to investigate “privilege” within an intersectional oppression analysis of human rights, and how this applies within the personal and professional lives of White-identifying evaluators. Interviews with subjects will involve discussing definitions, experiences, and perceptions of how various positionalities may fit into evaluation research.

Why are you asking me?

You have been selected due to your level of professional evaluation experience (ten-years or more), and due to your White racial identity. White evaluators are chosen for this study to specifically highlight positionalities that are a part of dominant racial identity and can speak to experiences of privilege within this and other layers that have greater access to power.

What will you ask me to do if I agree to be in the study?

Participants in this study will engage in a 60 to 90-minute interview over Zoom. Semi-structured interview questions will be forwarded to participants before the interview so they may be reviewed and considered beforehand, although such review is at the discretion of the participant. To collect basic demographic data on participants, a Qualtrics survey link will be provided for participants to complete.

Is there any audio/video recording?

During the interview, an audio recording will be conducted via Otter.ai for transcription and analysis purposes. Because your voice will be potentially identifiable by anyone who hears the recording, your confidentiality for things you say on the recording cannot be guaranteed although the researcher will try to limit access to the recording as described below.

What are the risks to me?

The Institutional Review Board at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro has determined that participation in this study poses minimal risk to participants.

If you have questions, want more information or have suggestions, please contact Christopher Hall at cmhall8@uncg.edu (or at 336-891-2356), Ayesha Boyce at Ayesha.Boyce@asu.edu, or Devdass Sunnassee at d_sunnas@uncg.edu.

If you have any concerns about your rights, how you are being treated, concerns or complaints about this project or benefits or risks associated with being in this study please contact the Office of Research Integrity at UNCG toll-free at (855)-251-2351.

Are there any benefits to society as a result of me taking part in this research?

As a result of this study, there may be opportunities to develop operational definitions of human rights-oriented terms within evaluation research. In addition, the emphasis on privilege within evaluation research may offer strategies to improve the ability of evaluators to be reflective on personal and professional positionalities that may impact evaluation research in various ways.

Are there any benefits to *me* for taking part in this research study?

While there are no direct benefits for you to participate in this research study, the questions will provide an opportunity for professional and personal reflection.

Will I get paid for being in the study? Will it cost me anything?

There are no costs to you, or payments made for participating in this study.

How will you keep my information confidential?

All information obtained in this study is strictly confidential unless disclosure is required by law. Audio recordings will be kept secure within Otter.ai servers. Otter uses AWS services for its data storage in the AWS region West, United States. Otter uses AWS S3 storage and enables AWS SSE (Server-Side Encryption) on data (S3 buckets). It encrypts the key itself with a root key that it regularly rotates. Amazon S3 server-side encryption uses a 256-bit Advanced Encryption Standard (AES-256). Transcripts will be de-identified and kept secure within a Box.com folder. Box is FIPS 140-2 certified, with every file is encrypted using AES 256-bit encryption at rest and in transit. Audio recordings will be deleted upon transcription.

For the demographic data collected through Qualtrics, the service uses Transport Layer Security (TLS) encryption (also known as HTTPS) for all transmitted data. Surveys data are protected with passwords, with services hosted by trusted data centers that are independently audited using the industry standard SSAE-18 method.

Transcripts will be stored on Box.com within a password secure folder. Box is FIPS 140-2 certified, every file is encrypted using AES 256-bit encryption at rest and in transit.

Will my de-identified data be used in future studies?

Your de-identified data (e.g., transcripts) will be kept and may be used for future research without your additional consent.

What if I want to leave the study?

You have the right to refuse to participate or to withdraw at any time, without penalty. If you do withdraw, it will not affect you in any way. If you choose to withdraw, you may request that any of your data which has been collected be destroyed unless it is in a de-identifiable state. The investigators also have the right to stop your participation at any time. This could be because you have had an unexpected reaction, or have failed to follow instructions, or because the entire study has been stopped.

What about new information/changes in the study?

If significant new information relating to the study becomes available which may relate to your willingness to continue to participate, this information will be provided to you.

Informed Consent by Participant:

By scheduling and joining an interview, you are providing your informed consent agreeing that you read and fully understand the contents of this document and are openly willing to take part in this project. All of your questions concerning this evaluation have been answered. Through your participation in the interview(s), you are agreeing that you are 18 years of age or older and are agreeing to participate in this project as described in this document.

APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Research Participant: _____

Overall Research Questions:

1. *How and in what ways do experienced White evaluators define and understand the concept of “privilege”?*
2. *How and in what ways have White evaluators experienced oppressive conditions within their personal and professional lives, and how have such experiences contributed to their work as evaluators?*
 - a. *Within professional evaluation experience, how do participants notice conditions that amplify oppressive conditions within an evaluand – such as within*
 - i. *Administrative practices*
 - ii. *Funding*
 - iii. *Program process*
 - iv. *Representation*
 - v. *Program values (deficit vs. strength perspectives)*
3. *How and in what ways do experienced White evaluators identify the role of evaluation in addressing the marginalization of stakeholders, and how do they leverage privilege in evaluation practice (if at all)?*
 - a. *How and in what ways do participants address oppressive systems, individuals, and groups within evaluation contexts?*
4. *What is the role of the White evaluator in addressing oppressive systems, individuals, and groups in practice?*

Protocol Intro Script:

Hello, my name is Christopher Hall, and I am a Ph.D. candidate at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro in the Educational Research Methodology department of the School of Education. Thank you for agreeing to participate in this research study as a part of my dissertation. Within this qualitative research study, I will be interviewing approximately 20 evaluators with more than ten years of professional experience to learn how and in what ways personal and professional dynamics of privilege overlap with evaluation research. As a part of this conversation, I will be asking about topics that may surface emotional and/or psychological distress related to privileged

experiences and will also ask you to discuss experiences of a personal and professional manner. This interview should take approximately 60-90 minutes to complete, and to build the validity of my data, once we complete this interview, I will develop a deidentified transcript for you to review for accuracy and any clarification of information you provide. Before we begin, did you have any questions about the study, the release of information, or the interview process itself? As a part of constructing a transcript, I plan to audio record this interview, are you okay with me starting the recording?

Participant Position / Years of Experience:

[Take notes here on participant]

Protocol Questions:

Section	Protocol Question	Possible Discussion Points
DESCRIBE / HISTORY	1. Describe your career evolution and how that brought you to become interested in evaluation research.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Ask for details on prior career path & experience ● Inquire for perspectives of evaluation theory ● Potentially compare/contrast academic experiences ● Consider industry experiences, where they fit ● Describe personal contributions to desires to be an evaluator ● Life dynamics involved in decisions to become an evaluator
RQ1	2. In your own words, how would you define “privilege” and how did you come to this definition?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Textbook definitions vs experiential sense of privilege - if both inquire ● Social justice background related to definition ● Development of a definition / understanding over time ● Probe the challenge in defining terms like privilege ● Discuss working definitions and their importance

RQ1	<p>3. How and in what ways do you identify privilege in your personal life and history?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Share a situation where you recognized your privilege ● Discuss intersectionality if it comes up in interview ● Probe discomfort over privilege - ask why ● Differentiate earned authority vs societal if asked and discuss both ● What layers of privilege are identified in personal life ● Discuss experiences of being White and why that position has privilege
RQ2	<p>4. Share with me an experience where you have faced oppression. What, if any, layers of identity in your life do you see as marginalized personally or professionally?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● If exploitation comes up when discussing oppression, ask for more detail ● Probe if powerlessness as a dynamic is mentioned as a part of being marginalized ● Describe cultural imperialism if it is mentioned and elaborate ● Experiences of violence - only ask about this if an example comes up ● How have experiences of oppression contributed to evaluation practice
RQ2	<p>5. How do you see privileged roles and positionalities operating within evaluation practice?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Describe evolution of privilege within a specific professional role ● What layers of privilege interact with layers of marginalization in your evaluation work? ● Institutional privilege for being an evaluator compared to personal layers of privileged identity ● Elaborate on discomfort with privilege - in what situations, for what reasons?
RQ2a	<p>6. How, and in what ways do you perceive systems amplifying or inhibiting status quos?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Ask about personal and professional ties to system-based status quos ● Discuss gatekeeping functions such as funding, program/social environment, government involvement ● Examples of marginalization layers within systems ● Probe about administrative issues and contributions to systems

RQ2a	8. How, and in what ways, have you gained an understanding of program values and meaning while conducting evaluation research?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● If strengths-based comes up - inquire for examples ● Specific strategies used by a program that are evaluated ● Mission statements and document review - how do these demonstrate value
RQ3	7. What do you see as your role (if any) as an evaluator in addressing marginalization?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Discuss representation and access to power ● Probe on humanization dynamics as they come up ● Specific evaluation theories or approaches - ask how they are used
RQ3	8. In your experience, what evaluation approaches serve to empower and amplify marginalized communities and individuals, and how do they accomplish this?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● List specific models and theories and ask for descriptions and experiences using these, and how they perceive these strategies working
RQ3	9. What would it mean to “leverage privilege” within personal and/or professional spaces? How and in what situations might evaluators do this, and should they?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● How is there access to power within privileged layers of identity, and what does it mean to have access? ● What is the role of influence in recognizing and using privilege with others inside a privileged identity?
RQ4	10. In your view, what is the role of White evaluators in addressing systems, individuals, and groups that overtly or covertly support oppression (such as racism)?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Is there or should there be accountability for evaluators ● Questions of ethics and morals ● Guidelines and standards incorporating anti-oppression ● Competencies addressing anti-oppression dynamics ● What kinds of action statement might be developed personally/professionally

Addressing Privilege Demographic Survey

Start of Block: Demographics

Instruction Thank you for agreeing to participate in the research study, "Addressing Privilege not Marginalization: Analysis of White Evaluators' Experience in Leveraging Privilege."

As a part of this study, demographic information of participants will be reported within the data analysis section of the dissertation. If you have any questions about this survey, please contact Christopher Hall at cmhall8@uncg.edu or 336-891-2356.

At the end of this survey, there will be a link to schedule an interview appointment over Zoom, and a blank copy of a consent form, should you need one for your records.

Gender What is your gender?

- Male (1)
 - Female (2)
 - Other (3)
-

Page Break

Age What is your age?

- Under 18 (1)
- 18 - 24 (2)
- 25 - 34 (3)

35 - 44 (4)

45 - 54 (5)

55 - 64 (6)

65 - 74 (7)

75 - 84 (8)

85 or older (9)

Page Break

Ethnicity1 Are you of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin?

Yes (1)

No (2)

Page Break

Ethnicity2 How would you describe yourself? Please select all that apply.

White (1)

Black or African American (2)

American Indian or Alaska Native (3)

Asian (4)

Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander (5)

Other (6)

Page Break

Education What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed?

- Less than a high school diploma (1)
- High school degree or equivalent (e.g. GED) (2)
- Some college, no degree (3)
- Associate degree (e.g. AA, AS) (4)
- Bachelor's degree (e.g. BA, BS) (5)
- Master's degree (e.g. MA, MS, MEd) (6)
- Doctorate or professional degree (e.g. MD, DDS, PhD) (7)

Page Break

Employment What is your current employment status?

- Employed full time (40 or more hours per week) (1)
- Employed part time (up to 39 hours per week) (2)

- Unemployed and currently looking for work (3)
 - Unemployed not currently looking for work (4)
 - Student (5)
 - Retired (6)
 - Homemaker (7)
 - Self-employed (8)
 - Unable to work (9)
-

Page Break

End of Block: Demographics

Start of Block: Experience

Experience How long have you been a professional evaluator?

- Less than ten years (1)
 - 10 to 15 years (2)
 - 16 to 20 years (3)
 - 20 to 25 years (4)
 - More than 25 years (5)
-

Page Break

Training How did you receive training to become a professional evaluator?

- Coursework within my academic studies (1)
 - Professional experience within a workplace setting (2)
 - Post-graduate training specific to evaluation research (3)
 - My academic degree was in program evaluation / evaluation research (4)
 - Other: (5) _____
-

Page Break

End of Block: Experience

End of Survey

Thank you for participating in this research study, I look forward to speaking with you!

To schedule an interview appointment (60-90 minutes) please click on the following link: <https://calendly.com/cmhall8/90-minute-interview>

If you need a copy of the informed consent form, here is one to download for your records:
[Consentform privilegedissertationstudy](#)

APPENDIX E: RECRUITMENT EMAIL



Greetings!

My name is Christopher Hall, and I am a doctoral candidate with UNC Greensboro Department of Educational Research Methodology (Evaluation track). I am hoping to recruit you to be a participant in my dissertation research titled, “Addressing Privilege not Marginalization: Analysis of White Evaluators’ Experience in Leveraging Privilege.”

White evaluators are chosen for this study to specifically highlight positionalities that are a part of dominant racial identity and can speak to experiences of privilege within this and other layers that have greater access to power.

By joining this study, you would be asked to complete a short online Qualtrics demographic survey and participate in a 60 to 90-minute Zoom interview. I am attaching the semi-structured interview questions along with an informed consent form, should you choose to join this study.

If you are willing to participate, please click on the following link to be directed to a Qualtrics demographic survey, which includes an appointment scheduling link at the end.

https://uncg.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_e2jqNRgKrJIUQQe

Thank you for your consideration, and I look forward to speaking to you further!

Best regards,

Christopher Hall, MSW, Ph.D. Candidate

Version Date: March 24, 2022

APPENDIX F: PERSONAL JOURNAL QUESTION FORM

For this journal, I will make a table for each participant and respond to these questions immediately after the interview is complete. I have added a second table here to demonstrate the way the journal will work but will continue to add new tables until all interviews are completed. I ADDED A QUESTION TO MY JOURNAL THAT FOCUSES ON THE MEMBER CHECKING DYNAMIC. THIS WAS ADDED AFTER COMPLETING S13, ALTHOUGH THE MEMBER CHECKING PROCESS HAD ONLY BEEN COMPLETED ON THREE PARTICIPANTS BY THIS POINT.

Interview Subject (Deidentified): SUBJECT XXX	
Date/time of interview: LIST DATE HERE	
Reflection question	Response
How did the flow of questioning go with this participant? What stands out about the process of questioning?	
What challenges did I observe for the participant, and how did I notice these challenges?	
What feelings or reactions to the questions came up during the dialogue for the participant? Did it seem like the participant was uncomfortable, and if so, in what ways did I notice this? How did I respond?	
What feelings came up for me as the interviewer? Why did those feelings come up?	
Were there components of this interview that lead me to think I may need to adjust something in my questioning or flow for future interviews?	
What are the key points/reflections that the interviewee shared that are sticking in my mind? Why those?	
Were there any emotional or mental components of the member-checking process with this participant?	

Addressing Privilege Not Marginalization Dissertation Interview Study: Transcript Overview

Interviewee Deidentified	Subject
Interviewer	Christopher Hall, UNC Greensboro
Date & Time	aaa
Purpose	This study is focused on interviewing experienced, White-identified evaluators to investigate perspectives from privileged standpoints. Within the study, it is hoped that such perspectives can assist in illustrating the power of focusing on privilege as well as specific methods for researchers to leverage privilege to empower, affirm, and validate marginalized individuals and groups as a process of conducting research

Background About You and Your Connection to Evaluation Research

Your Roles and Responsibilities

- aaa

How You Became Involved in Program Evaluation & Current Work in Evaluation

- aaa

Your Career Evolution Into Program Evaluation

- aaa

Definitions of Privilege

How you personally define privilege

- aaa

How you came to these definitions

- aaa

Your identification of privilege in your personal life and history

- aaa

Your Experiences of Marginalization

Experiences in facing oppression

- aaa

Your transition from less privilege to more privilege

- aaa

How You See the Role of Privilege Operating Within Evaluation Practice

- aaa

Your Experience and Perception of Systems that Amplify Privilege

- aaa

Your Experience and Perception of Systems that Inhibit Privilege

- aaa

How you have Gained Understanding of Program Values and Meaning while Evaluating Programs

- aaa

Roles of Evaluator in Addressing Marginalization

How you Perceive and Experience your Role in Addressing Marginalization as an Evaluator

- aaa

How do you Humanize Marginalized Groups and Individuals

- aaa

Amplifying and Empowering Marginalized Communities and Individuals through Evaluation

- aaa

Leveraging Privilege within Personal/Professional Spaces

- aaa

Role of White Evaluators in Addressing Systems, Individuals, Groups

Who OVERTLY Support Privileged Status Quos

- Aaa

Who COVERTLY Support Privileged Status Quos

Aaal