



## Pathways to use of communication campaigns' evaluation findings within international organizations

Glenn O'Neil<sup>a,\*</sup>, Martin W. Bauer<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Owl RE, Research and Evaluation Consultancy, Geneva, Switzerland

<sup>b</sup> Social Psychology and Research Methodology, London School of Economics and Political Science, London, UK

### ARTICLE INFO

#### Keywords:

Public relations measurement  
Campaigns  
Communication evaluation  
Evaluation use  
Evaluation utilization  
International organizations  
Non-profit communications  
Evaluation methodology

### ABSTRACT

This article presents a study on the pathways and processes regarding the use of evaluation findings of communication campaigns from two international organizations, the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). Several years after the completion of the campaigns and their evaluations, our research identified 28 instances of use and six instances of non-use of the evaluation results, of which the large majority being surprising in nature. Results showed that evaluation use facilitated formal and informal changes at the individual and the organizational level; and, this pattern occurred in a predominantly non-linear fashion, interconnected and overlapping, while gradually decreasing in time and space. Evaluation use was mostly unpredictable, which reflected how meanings are constructed by staff members, as they adjusted and interpreted the findings in opportunistic ways.

Evaluation use (or utilization) has received considerable attention in the evaluation field, as many empirical and conceptual studies have sought to understand how it facilitates changes at individual and organizational levels (Alkin, Daillak, & White, 1979; Christie, 2007; Ciarlo, 1981; Cousins, Goh, Elliott, & Bourgeois, 2014; Johnson et al., 2009; Patton et al., 1977; Weiss, 1979). However, researchers have concluded that contemporary theories of evaluation use are, “simultaneously impoverished and overgrown”; “Impoverished” in that there has been little understanding of the underlying processes that lead to use; “Overgrown” in that too much attention has been paid to the categorization of use and what influences use (Mark & Henry, 2004, p. 37).

This article contributes to the understanding of underlying processes that lead to evaluation use: additionally, it aims to understand how evaluation use actually occurs by mapping individual instances of use or non-use of two evaluations. This is based on a conceptual framework drawing from the model of Henry and Mark (2003), while expanding it to consider issues of meaning, linearity and anticipation. We base our observations on findings from communication campaigns of two international organizations, the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). These evaluations were conducted in 2009 and 2010; and, some four years later, these evaluations were again revisited to examine the underlying processes of use.

The definition for ‘evaluation use’ was proposed by Johnson et al.

(2009) as, “any application of evaluation processes, products, or findings [used] to produce an effect” (p. 378). This definition of evaluation use has been expanded to also include ‘evaluation influence’, defined as the, “capacity or power of persons or things to produce effects on others by intangible or indirect means” (Kirkhart, 2000, p. 7). However, it is important to distinguish that this article makes reference to *use* rather than *influence*. We consider the *direct* effect of evaluation findings *within* the organizations (‘use’) rather than *indirect* effect *outside or inside* the organizations (“influence”). Thus, the construct of influence is less of interest because it is indirect (Johnson et al., 2009); here we will examine the ‘direct use’ of evaluation findings within organizations.

### 1. Literature review

Different forms of evaluation use have been described and debated in the literature with broad consensus emerging around four types: instrumental, conceptual, symbolic and process use (Ciarlo, 1981; Cousins & Leithwood, 1986; Patton, 2000; Shulha & Cousins, 1997). Together with these definitions, the majority of the research has focused on determining which factors may increase evaluation use.

At first, these factors focused on the methods, quality and products of the evaluation and organizational settings, with less focus on other factors, notably human users and their context (Alkin & Taut, 2002; Højlund, 2014a). Context factors were integrated from the 1980s onwards, including resource scarcity (Mowbray, 1992), organizational

\* Corresponding author at: ch. Martinet 2c, Commugny, 1291, Switzerland.

E-mail addresses: [oneil@owlre.com](mailto:oneil@owlre.com) (G. O'Neil), [m.bauer@lse.ac.uk](mailto:m.bauer@lse.ac.uk) (M.W. Bauer).

structures and processes, program aspects (Mathison, 1994; Torres, Preskill & Piotnek, 1996), institutional contexts (Højlund, 2014a), and the existing evaluation practices within organizations (Højlund, 2014b). However, research studies on human factors have focused on skills and competences of the evaluator rather than the user (Contandriopoulos & Brousselle, 2012; Cousins & Leithwood, 1986; Johnson et al., 2009; Shulha & Cousins, 1997).

### 1.1. Pathways model of use

When broadening the range of factors, researchers started to consider the processes of use itself, which is also the focus of this article (Cousins, 2003; Henry & Mark, 2003; Mark & Henry, 2004). Drawing from organizational and social behavior theories, Mark and Henry extended the model to processes and pathways for change at the personal, interpersonal, and collective levels. Their model described a taxonomy of underlying mechanisms that lead to evaluation use at each level. For example, at the individual level, a program manager “elaborates” by reading the evaluation report, reflecting on her current approach, and then changing certain aspects of the findings. At the interpersonal level, a discussion within the project team involves members ‘persuading’ each other of the merits of some findings. At the collective level, an evaluation report can lead to ‘policy change’.

There have been two documented attempts to apply the pathways model to studies of evaluation use, but they were not successful. The researchers cited difficulties in adjusting their methodologies and collecting data needed for pathway modeling. However, they focused on identifying indirect influences on evaluation use (Johnson et al., 2009; Weiss, Murphy-Graham & Birkeland, 2005).

## 2. Conceptual framework

Drawing from Mark and Henry’s model and the existing literature and research, we developed a conceptual framework with five categories to analyze instances of use:

1) *Was use anticipated or unanticipated?* Anticipated use was defined as use being based on explicit recommendations of an evaluation report. Unanticipated use occurred when an instance of use was drawn from the evaluation findings, implied or explicit, but was not a formal recommendation (what Kirkhart (2000) referred to as “unintended” use).

2) *Type of use.* Four types of use were considered as mentioned above; conceptual, instrumental, process and symbolic. Non-use was added and defined for this study when an instance was identified, such as an evaluation report recommendation or finding, but no use occurred. In other words, a non-use was added when there was no action taken as a result of the recommendation or finding (Ciarlo, 1981; Cousins & Leithwood, 1986; Patton, 2000; Shulha & Cousins, 1997). This type of non-use has been referred to as “active” non-use, in that a person has been active in not using a given recommendation or finding (Alkin & King, 2017). Instances of “Passive” non-use were not considered within this definition; that is, when a person was not aware of an evaluation and therefore took no action.

3) *Level of use.* Three levels of use were considered, individual, interpersonal and collective, as developed by Henry and Mark (2003).

4) *Process attributes.* The attributes used are those identified by Henry and Mark (2003) that describe the mechanisms through which change occurs as a result of the evaluation, and are split over the three levels of use. For example, these would include attitude change at the individual use, or policy change at the collective level.

5) *Instance validation.* Each instance was triangulated and validated with documentation of the organization and/or other interview respondents, based on validation strategies of previous studies of

evaluation use (Ciarlo, 1981; Højlund, 2014b; Weiss et al., 2005).

In addition to these five categories we broadened the model to consider the concepts of reception and meaning. We considered the initial “reception process”, how the meaning of evaluation results emerged afterwards and what use people made of these results; the meaning of which they have created. Evaluation reports are texts, and as with most written communication, the interpretation is not fully determined by the “text” itself. The meaning of the text, and in our case of the evaluation reports, builds upon several factors such as 1. situational context, 2. the processes, 3. resources available, and 4., the text itself (Bauer, 1964).

Parallels can be observed in audience reception studies of mass media programs, which ask: How do people receive and make sense of media texts? The debates on audience autonomy have been likened to a pendulum swinging between times when we believed audiences are entirely passive, and that it is the “text” that determines its meaning and ‘use’ operates like a hypodermic needle injection. At other times, we have believed that audiences are freely interpreting the “text”, giving it even opposite readings from those intended; as such, the ‘text’ has little determining power (Bauer, 1964; Hall, 1980; Katz, 1980). The literature also recognizes that the reception process is a dialogue between audiences and authors that influences meaning; similarly, the level of involvement of people in an evaluation process influences their use of its findings (Johnson et al., 2009).

## 3. Methodology

This article examines the pathways regarding the use of evaluation findings within two communication campaigns for the OHCHR and ICRC. Both campaign evaluations were carried out by one of the authors in 2009–2010 in collaboration with the communication units of the organizations, using qualitative and quantitative methods (O’Neil, 2015).

The ICRC is the founding body of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent (RCRC) Movement. From January 2009 to December 2009, the ICRC ran a global campaign, “Our world. Your move” on the 60th anniversary of the Geneva Conventions. The aim of the campaign was to raise awareness of today’s major humanitarian challenges and the work of the RCRC Movement.

The OHCHR is a component of the United Nations system and conducted a global campaign on the 60th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) from December 2007 to December 2008. The aim of the campaign was to increase knowledge and awareness of human rights among the broadest audiences possible, while also empowering rights holders to claim and enjoy their rights.

Beginning in 2014, the researchers interviewed the campaign managers in the ICRC and OHCHR, who had both managed the campaigns and commissioned these evaluations. In this respect, given the managers’ involvement, the context could be considered favorable to evaluation use (Johnson et al., 2009). The managers referred to other staff that knew of and potentially used the evaluation findings. We thus used a snowball sampling technique, which led to six interviews with ICRC staff and five interviews with OHCHR staff. Interviews were semi-structured and focused on identifying instances of use or non-use of the evaluations, and how use was perceived and validated among staff.

We also analyzed internal documentation regarding the campaigns and references in the continuing policy processes. Documentation was examined and considered in an iterative manner; as staff mentioned documentation in their descriptions of use or non-use, copies of the said documentation were requested. This documentation included those internal to the organizations, such as campaign concepts, strategies and implementation plans, and those publicly available, such as campaign goals and objectives and organizational-level communication policies.

Our unit of analysis was the individual instance of use. An instance of use for this study was defined as where an interview respondent identified a specific occurrence where the evaluation was used or not used. We then tracked and documented the pathway for each validated instance of use and non-use based on the descriptions provided by interview respondents. Questions of reception and meaning were discussed during the interviews.

In addition to interviews, respondents reflected on other possible influences concerning the changes they described. The five categories are detailed in Table A2 and the coded results in Table A3 (see Appendix A). Each instance of use is given a unique identifier for subsequent reference (e.g. ICRC5).

The interviews were transcribed and instances identified and categorized according to the above conceptual framework. Each instance was examined and compared to the instances mentioned by other interview respondents. This led to a reduction of instances in which the same specific occurrence was mentioned by more than one interview respondent, and provided a form of validation.

Each instance was mapped across the three levels of the conceptual framework; individual, interpersonal and collective. In doing so, an additional analytical element emerged – one of linearity. Each instance was categorized as being either linear or non-linear. Linear categorization occurred when an instance progressed from one level to another in sequential steps. For example, a manager considered an evaluation recommendation (individual level); it was then considered in a staff meeting (interpersonal level), where it was decided no action was to be taken. Non-linear categorization occurred when an instance progressed from one level to another, but went back and forth between levels before change was made (or not). For example, a staff member would consider an evaluation finding to be worthy of action (individual level) and discuss it with her manager (interpersonal level). The manager would ask the staff member to consider the finding further (individual level) before it was discussed at a staff meeting (interpersonal level) and implemented in the next campaign approach (collective level).

#### 4. Findings

We identified 28 instances of use and 6 instances of non-use: 15 instances of use and 3 instances of non-use in the ICRC and 13 instances of use and 3 instances of non-use in the OHCHR. Henry and Marks' (2003) pathways were modeled as such: Findings travel through three levels within organizations – from individual to interpersonal to the collective – in a causal chain. In some respects, our study confirms this. Communication staff individually reflected on the evaluations findings and considered their implications before they were rejected or referred to group discussions, and some eventually ended up as references in strategy documents. The numbers of incidences that diminished from step to step were: 34 at the individual level; 25 at the interpersonal level, and 20 at the collective level.

However, the linear pathways model was a simplification of how influence and decision-making actually happened. Use was found to rarely occur in a strict linear fashion. Henry and Mark also recognized the overlapping nature of pathways. Communication staff described how the evaluation findings traveled in a series of interrelated and complex processes: the digestion of information from the evaluation in conjunction with other information and influences; balancing this with pre-existing beliefs and assumptions; discussions with colleagues to seek their opinions and to build a consensus often worked in a cyclical manner jumping back and forth between the individual and interpersonal levels or even skipping levels (i.e. interpersonal); culmination of efforts that led to change(s) to policies and informally to campaign practices and communication in general.

This description coincides with the literature that challenges the

rational theory of organizational behavior and decision-making; that decisions are rarely taken in a linear and rational way. They emerge from the building of shared understanding and from reconciliation of conflicting perspectives, which happen in group discussions and meetings (Clay & Schaffer, 1986; Juma & Clark, 1995; Mintzberg & Waters, 1985; Mohammed & Ringseis, 2001; Sutton, 1999).

An example of an instance of use illustrates the complex pathway that can be taken. As illustrated in the diagram below, As illustrated in Fig. 1, OHCHR4 was a direct recommendation of the evaluation findings on providing further guidance to partners. In 2010, both the communication manager and the senior staff member reflected upon the recommendation, which was then discussed with the broader communication team. It was agreed that the recommendation had merit, but limited funding meant that it could not be adopted formally. More so, additional support was provided informally with existing resources for the next campaign (completed in 2010) enabled by a campaign model that integrated partners and other evaluations highlighting the key role of partners. This support continued for two more years. In 2014, the recommendation was re-visited, integrated in a concept note for the 2014 campaign, discussed with the team, presented to the management and eventually adopted as formal policy for campaigning, some four years after the initial discussion.

To further understand the pathways to use or non-use, we categorized each instance on three variables; 1) use vs. non-use 2) anticipated vs. unanticipated; and 3) linear vs. non-linear. This can be organized into a categorization of six pathways as described in the following table, and labeled using travel analogies:

As seen in Table A1, use/non-use, occurring in a non-linear way (18-categories 3, 4, 5 & 6), was seen slightly more than use/non-use occurring in a linear way (16-categories 1, 2, 7 & 8). According to the evaluation use literature, the most expected way that use would occur would be category 1: Anticipated linear use. However, this was not a dominant way that use occurred; rather, it was unanticipated and could be equally linear or non-linear (categories 2 and 4). Two additional categories could also be added to the above categorization continuing the possible combination of criteria: 1) use was not anticipated, did not occur and happened in a non-linear way; and 2) use was not anticipated, did not occur and happened in a linear way. No instances were found for these categories so they are not considered in this article. We now explore each of the six pathways in some detail with the following examples:

1. *Direct route*: Instance ICRC1 (Reduce complexity of messages and products) is an example in which a recommendation of the evaluation report was taken up by the communication manager, agreed upon by the team, and implemented in the next campaign launch. This direct implementation was facilitated by the fact that the recommendation confirmed the pre-existing beliefs of the campaign staff, and promised some cost-savings.

2. *Unexpected hop*: Instance OHCHR8 (Learnt monitoring and evaluation terminology), through participating in the evaluation, a staff member learned and became familiar with monitoring and evaluation terminology, such as “outcomes” and “indicators” which was not anticipated as part of the exercise. This learning was also influenced by the introduction of the results-based management system at the time of the evaluation that used similar terminology.

3. *A planned ramble*: OHCHR4 (further guidance for partners) is an example of an anticipated non-linear use, where it was a direct recommendation of the evaluation findings but it was not directly implemented. Rather, changes were first seen informally (i.e. adapting existing practices) with eventual formal change adopted for campaign policy. As seen in Fig. 1, the recommendation was only one of the influences that contributed to a change of the campaign policy.

4. *Unforeseen foray*: Instance ICRC11 (possibility to use campaigns to

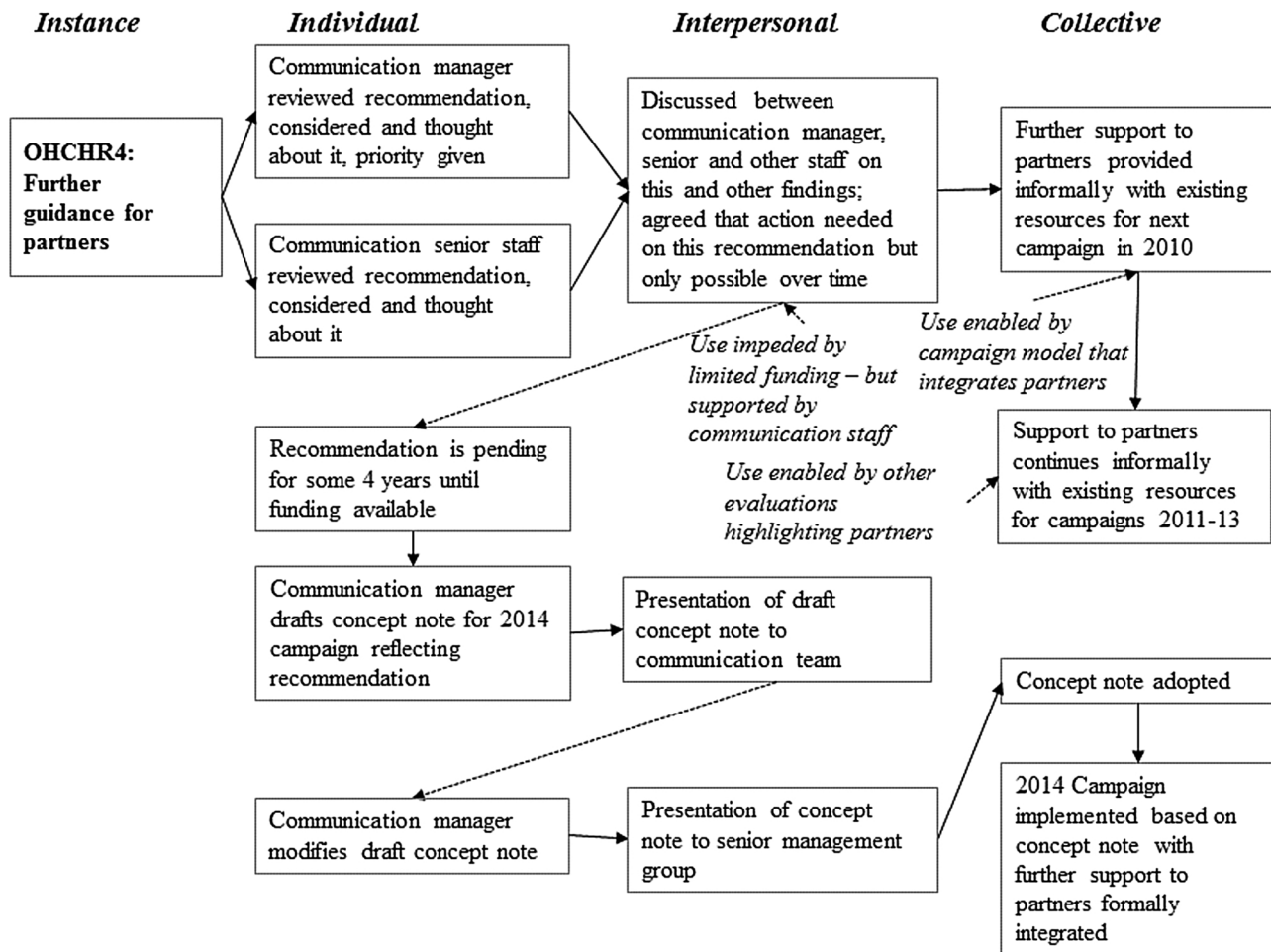


Fig. 1. Example of anticipated non-linear use – instance OHCHR4.

mobilize publics) is an example in which the evaluation report provided an unanticipated input into internal discussions on the role of communication and mobilizing publics that were ongoing at the time of the evaluation and continued for the following years. This was considered non-linear as described by staff; discussions took place in parallel and moving between the individual to interpersonal level (and back again), with an anticipation that policy revision would occur. The evaluation was one of the many inputs into the eventual policy revision.

5. *Expedition starts/stops:* Instance OHCHR14 (set measurable objectives and target audience) was a specific recommendation of the evaluation report that was considered by the campaign manager and not directly dismissed. The campaign manager discussed this with his staff on several occasions before concluding it was not feasible, given that the campaign model relied largely on partners, which complicated efforts to be more specific and precise in targeting and measurement.

6. *Travel plans cancelled:* Instance ICRC17 (integrate further needs of low technology contexts) was a specific recommendation of the evaluation report that was considered by the campaign manager and dismissed directly without internal discussion or reflection. In taking this decision, the campaign manager indicated that rapidly changing contexts in which the organization was working were the main influences; the gap between low and high technology contexts (e.g. access to internet and mobile networks) was narrowing rapidly and would be further so by the next planned major campaign.

## 5. Discussion

### 5.1. Meaning and sense making

The reception process differed notably according to the staff members' roles. Campaign managers in both organizations commissioned the evaluations and were involved in all steps of the evaluation process potentially favoring their use (O'Neil, 2015). Therefore, they viewed the evaluations as a direct feedback on the campaigns they managed, and they provided evidence of most instances of use (24 in total). The senior campaign/research staff members of both organizations were similarly involved in the evaluation process and could cite 19 instances of use. Less involved in the evaluations were campaign staff members who provided fewer instances of use (7 in total). Only one campaign staff member, who started her job after the evaluation had been completed (at the ICRC), was able to cite an instance of use (ICRC14).

Consequently, the meaning of the evaluation findings varied. Of note, out of the 34 instances identified, 16 were stated recommendations of the evaluation findings and 18 were not, that is, they were "unanticipated uses". These were mostly instances drawn from the evaluation findings (implied or explicit) but they were not stated recommendations. These instances, mostly identified by campaign managers, were their constructions of meaning drawn from the evaluation. In some cases, there was shared meaning among staff concerning what

was not explicitly stated in the evaluation findings. For example, regarding the OHCHR1 “review timing of campaign material”, both the campaign manager and senior campaign staff member identified this spontaneously as the primary use for them, although it was not a stated recommendation or explicitly advocated in the report.

Out of the four staff that started after the evaluation was completed, only one ICRC staff member knew of the evaluation and could cite an instance of use of the findings (ICRC14). More so, these staff members could cite instances of campaign policy or practices that had changed but they did not know that the evaluation findings had contributed to these changes alongside other influences. For example one OHCHR interviewee (P4) mentioned that the, “importance of partners has increased as has our support”, which was an instance of use cited by two other colleagues. This meant that significant meaning of the evaluations was lost for these staff members, who were not directly involved in the evaluations, but were subsumed into a pool of generalized knowledge. This phenomenon has been observed previously (Weiss, 1981).

At the same time, the meaning assigned to the evaluations differed in the organizations. Within the ICRC, the evaluation was the latest major evaluation of a communication campaign and had taken on a symbolic status amongst the campaign manager and staff members. ICRC interviewee I2 commented, “Whenever I read a new concept note for a campaign or communications action I share the [evaluation] report with the relevant staff; it became a reference point for me”. In comparison, within the OHCHR, after the completion of the present evaluation, the organization has carried out four more evaluations of campaigns (as their campaigns ran annually). Therefore in the interviews with the campaign manager and staff, feedback on the evaluation overlapped with that of the other evaluations. The distinctions were blurred, as seen when OHCHR interviewee O1 discussed use, “I learned from this evaluation but also from those that followed, it all works together in that way”.

We did not find any evidence that the evaluation findings had traveled further beyond the inner circles of campaign staff, although a limitation of the study was that not all possible users of the findings were identified. As seen above, use was concentrated on those that had direct interaction with the evaluations. However, this did not limit the wider impact of the evaluation findings on policies as documented in several instances of use, where the campaign manager acted upon a finding that then impacted on broader policies (e.g. ICRC11, OHCHR10).

### 5.2. Attributes of change processes

Henry and Mark (2003) developed a typology of change process attributes at each of the three levels, individual, interpersonal and collective, that was applied to each instance of use. The attributes were the mechanisms through which change was described as occurring or not. At the individual level, the evaluation findings went through a process of reception, selection and meaning as described above. In most instances identified, they were then a trigger for raising the given issue in the minds of the communication staff (attribute of salience), that led them to thinking it over and developing it further (elaboration). In some cases, this in turn influenced their opinion or strength of their opinions in bringing it to the ‘top of their mind’ (priming). By being involved in the evaluation process, one instance of skills acquisition was found. However, it was mostly knowledge that was acquired, an addition to the original typology of Henry and Mark.

In reality, the evaluation findings triggered these attributes but they overlapped and were interconnected with other influences and existing beliefs of staff. For example, an evaluation finding could trigger more thought on the specific issue in an individual, bringing it to the

forefront of many competing issues, while simultaneously reinforcing their existing opinion and providing momentum to raise the issue with colleagues. In this regard, the thought process as described by communication staff was compatible with the cognitive psychology concept of mental models (Johnson-Laird, 1983; Vandenbosch & Higgins, 1996). That is, staff integrated the evaluation findings into their existing beliefs that then supported their actions and decisions, mostly confirming existing models in these two cases rather than creating new ones (Hall, 2011; Vandenbosch & Higgins, 1995; Vandenbosch & Higgins, 1996).

The major variations to the original typology were seen at the interpersonal level. Whereas Henry and Mark (2003) describe a setting where individuals seek to influence others through persuasion and as agents of change, what was found in these two organizations was a more subtle process of discussion and consensus building. This is supported by the literature on group dynamics and organizational change, which emphasizes the development of shared understanding and reconciliation of conflicting perspective that happens largely through group discussions and processes (Mohammed & Ringseis, 2001; Sutton, 1999). Evaluation findings and recommendations brought by individuals to the interpersonal level were discussed. In most cases, a consensus was reached concerning whether to proceed or not to the collective level, with discussions and reflections back and forth between these two levels. This did involve persuasion and justification in some instances to convince colleagues of the worth of the issue, but was also compounded by colleagues with supportive or non-supportive opinions (influenced or not by the evaluation) and other sources, such as personal experiences or available monitoring data. In turn, this led to a setting where the interaction did bring about change, but more often there was common agreement found rather than individuals competing to influence.

At the collective level, the typology of Henry and Mark (2003) was more extensive than what was seen within the two organizations studied. Where agreement was found regarding the existing typology was that the evaluation findings did trigger policy change in some cases, albeit not always immediately and influenced by other sources as described above. Further, an additional attribute was added of “practice change”, an informal change to the way that a campaign was managed, such as the prioritization to a given area of work (e.g. monitoring or setting objectives). Practice normally has no written dictate and has been referred to as “informal implicit rules” (Mark, Cooksy & Trochim, 2009, p.6), which is still considered a type of policy. A number of the attributes anticipated by the typology were not found within the identified instances of use, such as agenda setting (moving of the issue on the public agenda) and diffusion (influence on another sector or jurisdiction). This is also due to the fact that the evaluations were internal to the organizations, within a specific technical area (communication) and not foreseen to influence a larger policy debate (and eventual social betterment), as was the case in the examples cited within the original typology of Henry and Mark.

### 5.3. Similarities and differences in use between the ICRC and OHCHR

Similarities were found between the organizations in the pathways mapped, such as a gradual decrease of use from the individual to the collective level. This difference was seen in the meaning attached to the evaluation. The evaluation had a more symbolic status in the ICRC, whereas in OHCHR, it was consumed within other evaluations, as discussed earlier. There were also differences between the organizations in how use occurred, based on the typology developed above. As seen in Table 1, a distinction between the two organizations is that non-linear processes were more prevalent in the OHCHR compared to the ICRC.



This reflects the meaning attached to events: the evaluation that occurred occasionally (i.e. the ICRC case) was more likely to be used directly and take on a symbolic status in the long term.

#### 5.4. Limitations

In our study one of the authors had carried out both the evaluations and the assessment of their use, thus running the risk of author bias. This is a known issue in past studies although not explicitly addressed (Ciarlo, 1981; Højlund, 2014b; Russ-Eft, Atwood & Eggherman, 2002). We addressed the problem explicitly. We sought to minimize bias by involving a second author and validating carefully any instance of use claimed as described above. Limitations to the generalization of the findings of this study has to be considered as the contexts being studied contained elements that were favorable to evaluation use, i.e. the involvement of the campaign managers in the evaluation process.

Our study worked with an interval of four years between the evaluation and the follow-up study of uses. Alkin and Taut (2002) suggests that the optimal time period for studying use is one year after the evaluation. The memory of participants is limited and the likelihood of liberal reconstruction increases over a longer period of time. However, this study did not find particular issues with poor recall; on the contrary, the extended period worked well in identifying longer term examples of creative and unexpected use of evaluation results which indeed takes time to develop and to take hold. That they were attributed to evaluations of four years earlier even strengthened the evidence.

#### 6. Conclusion

The implications of the key findings of this study are as follows:

1. *Use was found to occur slightly more non-linearly than linearly.* This implies that thinking about evaluation use has to be seen in organizational settings where decision-making and policy construction are interconnected, overlapping and more cyclical than linear in nature, with changes occurring both in a formal and informal manner, recognizing the existing policy science literature cited above.

2. *Over half of the instances of use were unexpected and not contained in the explicit recommendations of the evaluation reports.* This illustrates well de Certeau's notion (1990) of how policies are actually implemented, what he called "bricolage" where campaign staff interpreted the evaluation findings in opportunistic and unanticipated ways. The unexpected guidance drawn from the findings did not go against the intentions of the evaluations but remained within their overall directions. However, the staff effectively resisted any undue imposition; they confidently rejected recommendations that were felt to be inappropriate or incompatible with organizational priorities. This phenomenon of unexpected use has been documented previously (Alkin & King, 2017; Kirkhart, 2000).

3. *The overall meaning assigned to the evaluations was linked to the frequency of evaluation occurring.* Regularity of carrying out evaluation meant that findings and their use were fused, losing the boundaries between evaluations and entering a cycles of continuous reflection and decision-making. Evaluations carried out infrequently are more likely to take on symbolic meanings. Also spatial distance and time impacted whether the attention of potential users was received (what Luhmann (1990) termed the reach problem); only a limited circle of

communication staff was reached with the distance of time. At the same time, those who were outside the evaluation process did not know how evaluations eventually contribute to changes in practices and policies, as previously seen (Weiss, 1981).

4. *The contribution of evaluation findings to foster change was not always a simple and direct process.* Instances were found where evaluation did lead to change in the practices and policies of the organizations. However, change was rarely direct, immediate and formal. This implies that when studying evaluation use, this aspect has to be taken into consideration linked to thinking about broader impact of evaluation (Alkin & King, 2017; Cousins et al., 2014).

5. *Evaluation use never occurred in a vacuum.* In identifying instances of use, other factors were described that contributed to changes seen, conferring with Alkin and King's position (2017) that "evaluation information may be one of multiple influences at a given time" (p.6). A combination of factors were often at play, whether they were pre-existing beliefs of staff, or the campaign models used; these factors could both enable or impede use.

The conceptual framework used from this study drew heavily from the pathway model of Henry and Mark. This model was found to be appropriate for mapping individual instances of use across its three levels. The attributes of change processes were useful in determining and categorizing the underlying mechanisms of use with this study adding some attributes not covered in the original model. At the same time, the creation and categorization of six pathways of use by this study was a complement to the model and effectively provides another perspective of analysis.

The pathway mapping used to trace individual instances of evaluation use required direct interaction with users of the evaluation within the organizations. With personal interviews and analysis of documentation, this methodology can be used for future studies. However, the limitations arise from the amount of work involved in documenting and coding each instance of use and the necessity of access both to internal documentation of organizations and potential users of evaluations. Without such access, using this methodology would not be possible.

Previous studies have showed the low prevalence of communication and campaign evaluation in companies (30–50%) and even lower in International Organizations (13%) (Macnamara, 2006; O'Neil, 2013; Watson, 1997; Xavier, Patel, Johnston, Watson & Simmons, 2005). The present study showed how evaluations are used by communication professionals, albeit in a limited sample of two organizations and where campaign managers were involved in the evaluation process. In the two cases studied, evaluation findings were used to improve efficacy of future campaigns, and mostly so in a surprising way, opportunistic ways and often delayed in time. Staff extracted meaning from evaluation findings that supported their understanding and existing or shifting priorities. Evaluation findings proved to be of value to communication staff, even if not applied directly and to the letter.

#### 7. Conflicts of interest

None

This research did not receive any specific grant from funding agencies in the public, commercial, or not-for-profit sectors.

## Appendix A

Table A1

Categorization of pathways of use in both organizations.

Label	Description	Number of instances		
		ICRC	OHCHR	Total
1. Direct route	Use was anticipated and occurred in a linear way.	4	1	5
2. Unexpected hop	Use was not anticipated and occurred in a linear way.	5	4	9
3. A planned ramble	Use was anticipated and occurred in a non-linear way.	2	3	5
4. Unforeseen foray	Use was not anticipated and occurred in a non-linear way.	4	5	9
5. Expedition starts/stops	Use was anticipated, did not occur and happened in a non-linear way.	1	3	4
6. Travel plans cancelled	Use was anticipated, did not occur and happened in a linear way.	2	0	2
	<i>Totals</i>	18	16	34

Table A2

Conceptual Framework for Analysis of Use.

Type of use	Anticipated	Level of use	Process attributes	Validation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Conceptual</li> <li>● Instrumental</li> <li>● Non-use</li> <li>● Process</li> <li>● Symbolic</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Yes</li> <li>● No</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Individual</li> <li>● Interpersonal</li> <li>● Collective</li> </ul>	<p><i>Individual</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Attitude change</li> <li>● Behavior change</li> <li>● Elaboration</li> <li>● Priming</li> <li>● Knowledge acquisition<sup>a</sup></li> <li>● Salience</li> <li>● Skills acquisition</li> </ul> <p><i>Interpersonal</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Change agent</li> <li>● Consensus<sup>a</sup></li> <li>● Exchange<sup>a</sup></li> <li>● Justification</li> <li>● Minority-opinion influence</li> <li>● Persuasion</li> <li>● Social norms</li> </ul> <p><i>Collective</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Agenda setting</li> <li>● Diffusion</li> <li>● Policy change</li> <li>● Policy-oriented learning</li> <li>● Practice change<sup>a</sup></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Documentation</li> <li>● Staff</li> </ul>

<sup>a</sup> These attributes were added by the authors during the analysis.

**Table A3**  
Coding and description of instances of use.

#	So.	An.	Instance description	Individual			Interpersonal			Collective		
				Type	Description	Att.	Description	Att.	Description	Att.	How	Ver.
ICRC 1	I1, 2, 3	y	Reduce complexity of messages and products	In	Recomm. reviewed, considered, thought about, priority given	Sa, El	Discussed with campaign team, confirmed existing consensus	Ex, Pe	Integrated into next campaign concept and implemented in messages/products developed	POC	ALU	D; I1, 2, 3
ICRC 2	I1, 3	y	Greater involvement of Red Cross Movement in campaigns	In	Recomm. reviewed, considered, thought about, priority given	At, Sa, El	Discussed with team, considered important for some future campaigns	Ex, Co	Integrated into campaign planning & general approach	POC, PRC	ANLU	D; I1, 3
ICRC 3	I1, 3	y	Include a central "ask" in future campaigns	In	Recomm. reviewed, considered, thought about, priority given	Sa, El	Considered, decision made to include in next campaign	Ex, Ju, Co	Fundraising central "ask" included in next campaign	POC	ALU	D; I1, 3
ICRC 4	I1, 2	y	Focus on activities that "work well"; de-prioritize those that do not	In	Recomm. reviewed, considered, thought about, priority given	At, Sa, El	Discussed with team & complemented by own reflections	Ex, Pe	Certain activities integrated in next campaign; others not	POC (2)	ALU	D; I1, 3
ICRC 5	I1	y	Consider option of using campaigns as operational tools	In	Recomm. reviewed, considered, thought about	Sa, El	Recomm. aligned with team reflection & adopted for next campaign	Ex, Co	integrated into next campaign concept	POC	ALU	D; I2
ICRC 6	I2	n	Learning that quantitative results attracted media coverage	In	Finding reflected upon, consideration for future	Sa, El	Discussed with team; agreed for next campaign strategy	Ex, Co	Integrated into next campaign concept and implemented in campaign	POC	ULU	D; I2
ICRC 7	I2	n	Action to share report with colleagues who plan and manage campaigns	In	Concepts and strategies of other programs reflected upon	Sa	Feedback provided to managers	Pe	Integrated into relevant concept of campaign	POC	ULU	I2, 3
ICRC 8	I1	n	Understand what evaluation methods can be used (and reused)	Pr	Developed understanding of evaluation methods & use	At, Sa, El	None	n/a	None	n/a	ULU	I1
ICRC 9	I1	n	Understand the limits of evaluation	Pr	Developed understanding of the limits of evaluation for campaigning	At, Sa, El	None	n/a	None	n/a	ULU	I1
ICRC 10	I2	n	Learn about campaign strategies and tactics	Pr	Learnt about campaign strategies and tactics during the evaluation	Sa	None	n/a	None	n/a	ULU	I2, 3
ICRC 11	I1, 3	n	Possibility to use campaigns to mobilize publics	Con	Findings on public mobilization reviewed and contributed to reflection	At, Sa, El	None	Ex, Ju	Inputted into planned revisions of policy on communications	POC	UNLU	I1, 3
ICRC 12	I1, 2	n	Greater involvement of field offices in campaign strategy and design	Con	Findings on field offices reviewed and contributed to reflection	At, Sa, El	Taken into consideration in discussions on policy modifications concerning public mobilization	Ex, Ju	Inputted into planning for future campaigns	POC	UNLU	I2, 3
ICRC 13	I1	y	Consider the different needs of field offices	Con	Recomm. reviewed, considered and thought about	Sa, El	Taken into consideration in discussions for future strategy and design for campaigns	Ex, Co	None	n/a	ANLU	I1
ICRC 14	I4	n	Importance of developing clear objectives and measuring results	Con	Findings considered and thought about, kept in mind for future programs	At, Sa, El	Recomm. aligned with own reflection but no direct implementation seen	Ex, Co	None	n/a	UNLU	I4
ICRC 15	I1	n	Dismissing proposed tactics that the evaluation indicated were unsuccessful	Sy	Finding on non-successful tactics recalled	Sa, El	none	Ex, Ju	Certain campaign tactics not included in campaign strategy.	POC	UNLU	I1
ICRC 16	I1	y	Consider ability to reach non-traditional audiences	N-U	Recomm. reviewed, taken into consideration but no direct action taken; not precise or actionable	Sa, El	Evaluation findings cited in discussions with colleagues on potential campaign tactics	n/a	None	n/a	ALNU	I1
ICRC 17	I1, 2	y	Integrate further needs of low-tech contexts	N-U	Recomm. reviewed, reflected upon but rejected as obsolete given rapidly changing environment	Sa, El	None	n/a	None	n/a	ALNU	I1, I2
ICRC 18	I1, 2	y	Consider the different needs of National Societies	N-U	Recomm. reviewed, considered and thought about	Sa, El	None	Ex, Ju	None	n/a	ANLNU	I1, I2
OHCHR 1	O1, 2	n	Review timing of campaign material	In	Findings reflected upon, consideration for future programs	Sa, El	Discussed with team but not implemented as issue difficult to respond to given campaign model	Ex, Pe, Co	Integrated into approach by campaign team for future campaigns	PRC	UNLU	D; O1, O2

(continued on next page)



Table A3 (continued)

#	So.	An.	Instance description	Individual			Interpersonal			Collective		
				Type	Description	Att.	Description	Att.	Description	Att.	How	Ver.
OHCHR 2	O1, 3	n	Use of quantitative findings for annual planning process	In	Select findings reviewed & re-used directly	Sa, El	Discussed with team, agreed that action needed	n/a	Data of evaluation report used for annual planning process	POC	ULU	D; O1, O3
OHCHR 3	O1, 2	y	Harnessing partners worldwide	In	Recomm. reviewed, considered and thought about	Sa, El, Pr	None	Ex, Ju, Co	Level of integration of partners is adapted over time	POC	ANLU	D; O1, O2
OHCHR 4	O1, 2	y	Further guidance for partners	In	Recomm. reviewed, considered, thought about, priority given	Sa, El	Discussed with team, agreed that action needed to be taken but only possible over time	Ex, Ju, Co	Process of supporting partners adapted over time	POC	ANLU	D; O1, O2
OHCHR 5	O1	n	Modify priority of communication tactics	In	Findings reflected upon, consideration for future programs	Sa, El, Pr	action needed to be taken but only possible over time	Ex, Ju, Co	For future campaigns, certain tactics maintained others reinforced	POC	ULU	O1
OHCHR 6	O2	y	Incorporating public mobilization in campaigns	In	Recomm. reviewed, considered and thought about	Sa, El, Pr	Discussed with team, justifies previous action (choice of some tactics) and need to adjust on others	Ex, Pe	Tactic is tested in future campaign	POC	ALU	D; O2
OHCHR 7	O1	n	Skills and know-how on campaign design	Pr	Learnt about campaign design during the evaluation	El, Sa	Discussed with team, agreed to test tactic in next campaign	n/a	The way of designing campaigns is adapted	PRC	UNLU	D; O1
OHCHR 8	O2	n	Learnt monitoring and evaluation terminology	Pr	Learnt of monitoring & evaluation terminology	At, Sa, El	None	n/a	None	n/a	ULU	O2
OHCHR 9	O1	n	Priority of monitoring and evaluation for staff	Con	Findings prompted reflection on role of staff	Sa, El	None	Ex, Co	None	n/a	UNLU	O1
OHCHR 10	O1	y	Alternative measures for evaluating awareness	Con	Recomm. reviewed, considered & thought about, given priority	Sa, El	Discussed with team but no immediate action taken	Ex, Ju, Co	More emphasis given to monitoring & evaluation	PRC	ANLU	D; O1
OHCHR 11	O2	n	Increase use of social media and web for campaigns	Con	Importance of issue raised; thought about and given priority	Sa, El, Pr	Discussed with team, agreed that action needed to be taken but only possible over time	Ex, Co	None	n/a	UNLU	D; O2
OHCHR 12	O2	n	Further forward planning for campaigning	Con	Importance of issue raised; thought about and given priority	Sa, El, Pr	Discussed with team; no direct action taken, more so overall approach to campaigning	Ex, Ju, Co	None	n/a	ULU	O2
OHCHR 13	O2	n	Understanding theoretical aspects of campaigning	Con	Importance of issue raised; thought about and given priority	Sa, El, Pr	Discussed with team; no direct action taken, more so approach over next years	Ex, Ju, Co	None	n/a	UNLU	O2
OHCHR 14	O1, 2, 3	y	Set measurable objectives and target audiences	N-U	Recomm. reviewed, considered and thought about	Sa, El, Pr	Discussed with team; no direct action taken, more so approach in next year	Ex, Ju, Co	None	n/a	ANLNU	O1, O2, O3
OHCHR 15	O1, 2	y	Finding a balance between NGO and UN compatible messages	N-U	Recomm. reviewed, considered and thought about	Sa, El, Pr	Discussed with team, agreed that action not possible to take	Ex, Ju, Co	None	n/a	ANLNU	O1, O2
OHCHR 16	O1, 2	y	Adopt more specific messages on government pledges	N-U	Recomm. reviewed, considered and thought about	Sa, El	Discussed with team, agreed that action not possible to take	Ex, Ju, Co	None	n/a	ANLNU	O1, O2

*Titles:* So: Source, An: Anticipated (Y = yes, N = No), Att: attribute, How: how use occurred, Ver: Verification.

*Source:* I1, 2, 3, 4 = ICRC interviewees, O1,2,3 = OHCHR interviewees.

*Type:* In: instrumental, Pr: process, Con: concept, N-U: non-use, Sy: symbolic.

*Individual attributes:* At: attitude, Sa: salience, E: elaboration, Pr: priming, Ka: knowledge acquisition, Sa: skills acquisition.

*Interpersonal attributes:* Ex: exchange, Co: consensus, Ju: justification, Pe: persuasion.

*Collective attributes:* PRC: practice change, POC: policy change.

*How use occurred:* ALU: anticipated linear use, ANLU: unanticipated linear non-use, ULU: unanticipated linear non-use, UNLU: unanticipated non-linear use, ANLNU: unanticipated non-linear use, UNLNU: unanticipated non-linear use.

*Verification:* D: documentation, I1, 2, 3, 4 = ICRC interviewees, O1,2,3 = OHCHR interviewees.

## References

- Alkin, M. C., & King, J. A. (2017). Definitions of evaluation use and misuse, evaluation influence, and factors affecting use. *American Journal of Evaluation*, 38(3), 434–450.
- Alkin, M. C., & Taut, S. M. (2002). Unbundling evaluation use. *Studies in Educational Evaluation*, 29(1), 1–12.
- Alkin, M. C., Daillak, R., & White, P. (1979). *Using evaluations: Does evaluation make a difference*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.
- Bauer, R. A. (1964). The obstinate audience: The influence process from the point of view of social communication. *American Psychologist*, 19, 319–328.
- Christie, C. A. (2007). Reported influence of evaluation data on decision makers' actions: An empirical examination. *American Journal of Evaluation*, 28, 8–25.
- Ciarlo, J. A. (Ed.). (1981). *Utilizing evaluation: Concepts and measurement techniques*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.
- Clay, E. J., & Schaffer, B. B. (Eds.). (1986). *Room for manoeuvre, an explanation of public policy in agriculture and rural development*. London: Heinemann.
- Contandriopoulos, D., & Brouselle, A. (2012). Evaluation models and evaluation use. *Evaluation*, 18(1), 61–77.
- Cousins, J. B., & Leithwood, K. A. (1986). Current empirical research in evaluation utilization. *Review of Educational Research*, 331–364.
- Cousins, J. B., Goh, S. C., Elliott, C. J., & Bourgeois, I. (2014). Framing the capacity to do and use evaluation. In J. B. Cousins, & I. Bourgeois (Vol. Eds.), *Organizational capacity to do and use evaluation. New Directions for Evaluation*: 141, (pp. 7–23).
- Cousins, J. B. (2003). Utilization effects of participatory evaluation. In T. Kelligan, & D. L. Stufflebeam (Eds.), *International handbook of educational evaluation* (pp. 245–266). Netherlands: Springer.
- de Certeau, M. (1990). *L'invention du quotidien. 1. arts de faire (1ère édition 1980)*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Hall, M. (2011). Do comprehensive performance measurement systems help or hinder managers' mental model development? *Management Accounting Research*, 22(2), 68–83.
- Højlund, S. (2014a). Evaluation use in the organisational context—changing focus to improve theory. *Evaluation*, 20(1), 26–43.
- Højlund, S. (2014b). Evaluation use in evaluation systems—the case of the European Commission. *Evaluation*, 20(4), 428–446.
- Hall, S. (1980). Encoding/decoding. In S. Hall (Vol. Ed.), *Culture, media, language: Working papers in cultural studies: 1972–79*, (pp. 128–139). London: Unwin Hyman.
- Henry, G. T., & Mark, M. M. (2003). Beyond use: Understanding evaluation's influence on attitudes and actions. *American Journal of Evaluation*, 24, 293–314.
- Johnson-Laird, P. N. (1983). *Mental models: Towards a cognitive science of language, inference, and consciousness (No. 6)*. Chicago, IL: Harvard University Press.
- Johnson, K., Greenseed, L. O., Toal, S. A., King, J. A., Lawrenz, F., & Volkov, B. (2009). Research on evaluation use a review of the empirical literature from 1986 to 2005. *American Journal of Evaluation*, 30(3), 377–410.
- Juma, C., & Clark, N. (1995). Policy research in sub-Saharan africa: An exploration. *Public Administration and Development*, 15, 121–137.
- Katz, E. (1980). On conceptualizing media effects. *Studies in Communication*, 1, 119–141.
- Kirkhart, K. (2000). Reconceptualizing evaluation use: An integrated theory of influence. *New Directions for Evaluation*, 2000, 5–23.
- Luhmann, N. (1990). *Essays on self-reference*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Macnamara, J. (2006). Two-tier evaluation can help corporate communicators gain management support. *PRISM* Retrieved from: [http://www.prismjournal.org/fileadmin/Praxis/Files/Journal\\_Files/Evaluation\\_Issue/COMMENTARY\\_MACNAMARA.pdf](http://www.prismjournal.org/fileadmin/Praxis/Files/Journal_Files/Evaluation_Issue/COMMENTARY_MACNAMARA.pdf).
- Mark, M. M., & Henry, G. T. (2004). The mechanisms and outcomes of evaluation influence. *Evaluation*, 10(1), 35–57.
- Mark, M. M., Cooks, L. J., & Trochim, W. M. (2009). Evaluation policy: An introduction and overview. *New Directions for Evaluation*, 3–11.
- Mathison, S. (1994). Rethinking the evaluator role: Partnerships between organizations and evaluators. *Evaluation and Program Planning*, 17(3), 299–304.
- Mintzberg, H., & Waters, J. A. (1985). Of strategies: Deliberate and emergent. *Strategic Management Journal*, 6, 257–272.
- Mohammed, S., & Ringseis, E. (2001). Cognitive diversity and consensus in group decision making: The role of inputs, processes, and outcomes. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 85(2), 310–335.
- Mowbray, C. T. (1992). The role of evaluation in restructuring of the public mental health system. *Evaluation and Program Planning*, 15, 403–415.
- O'Neil, G. (2013). Evaluation of international and non-governmental organizations' communication activities: A 15 year systematic review. *Public Relations Review*, 39(5), 572–574.
- O'Neil, G. (2015). *Communication evaluation in international organisations: Methodology, influence and use. (Unpublished PhD thesis)*. London, UK: London School of Economics and Political Science.
- Patton, M. Q., Grimes, P. S., Guthrie, K. M., Brennan, N. J., French, B. D., & Blyth, D. A. (1977). In search of impact: An analysis of the utilization of federal health evaluation research. In C. H. Weiss (Ed.), *Using social research in public policy making* (pp. 141–163). New York, NY: D.C. Heath and Company.
- Patton, M. Q. (2000). Utilization-Focused evaluation. In D. Stufflebeam, G. Madau, & T. Kellaghan (Eds.), *Evaluation models: Viewpoints on educational and human services evaluation* (pp. 425–538). NorwellMA: Springer.
- Russ-Eft, D., Atwood, R., & Egberman, T. (2002). Use and non-use of evaluation results: Case study of environmental influences in the private sector. *American Journal of Evaluation*, 23(1), 19–31.
- Shulha, L. M., & Cousins, J. B. (1997). Evaluation use: Theory, research, and practice since 1986. *American Journal of Evaluation*, 18(3), 195–208.
- Sutton, R. (1999). *The policy process: An overview*. London: Overseas Development Institute.
- Torres, R. T., Preskill, H. S., & Piontek, M. E. (1996). *Evaluation strategies for communicating and reporting: Enhancing learning in organizations* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Vandenbosch, B., & Higgins, C. A. (1995). Executive support systems and learning: a model and empirical test. *Journal of Management Information Systems*, 12, 99–130.
- Vandenbosch, B., & Higgins, C. A. (1996). Information acquisition and mental models: an investigation into the relation between behaviour and learning. *Information Systems research*, 7, 198–214.
- Watson, T. (1997). Measuring the success rate: Evaluating the PR process and PR programmes. In P. J. Kitchen (Ed.), *Public relations: Principles and practices* (pp. 283–299). Boston, IL: International Thomson Business Press.
- Weiss, C. H., Murphy-Graham, E., & Birkeland, S. (2005). An alternate route to policy influence how evaluations affect DARE. *American Journal of Evaluation*, 26(1), 12–30.
- Weiss, C. H. (1979). The many meanings of research utilization. *Public Administration Review*, 39, 426–431.
- Weiss, C. H. (1981). Measuring the use of evaluation. In J. A. Ciarlo (Ed.), *Utilizing evaluation: Concepts and measurement techniques* (pp. 17–31). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.
- Xavier, R., Patel, A., Johnston, K., Watson, T., & Simmons, P. (2005). Using evaluation techniques and performance claims to demonstrate public relations impact: An Australian perspective. *Public Relations Review*, 31(3), 417–424.

**Dr Glenn O'Neil** is the founder of Owl RE, evaluation consultancy, Geneva, Switzerland. Glenn has carried out over 100 evaluations in over 50 countries for some 40 international organizations, NGOs, governments and foundations with a specialization in the communications, advocacy and humanitarian areas. Glenn has a PhD in social research and methodology from the London School of Economics and Political Science and an Executive Masters in Communications Management from the University of Lugano, Switzerland.

**Martin W Bauer** is Professor in Social Psychology and Research Methodology at the London School of Economics and Political Science. Martin read Psychology and Economic History (Bern, Zurich and London) and joined LSE in the mid-1990s, after a post-doctoral fellowship at the Science Museum London. A former Head of the LSE Methodology Department (2008-2010), he currently directs the Msc Social & Public Communication. He is a former Editor-in-Chief of the international journal *Public Understanding of Science* (2009-2016) [impact 2.552; 2017] and a regular academic visitor in Brazil (Porto Alegre, Campinas and Rio) and recently also to China, where he co-directs the Centre for Study of Science Cultures, an LSE-NAIS-Tsinghua University venture in Beijing.