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How can critical deliberative theory help to solve the methodological challenges of evaluating from a Gender + Perspective?

Abstract

This article explains why and how it is possible to give greater democratic meaning to an evaluative process by bringing into dialogue the Gender + perspective and a critical approach to deliberative theory within its design. Furthermore, it identifies the methodological challenges of using this intersectional approach to create more inclusive evaluative procedures. Taking into account the experience of the evaluation of Law 4/2005 for Equality between Women and Men in the Basque Country (Spain, 2015-2016) the text explains that the enclave deliberation praxis proposed by critical deliberative theory helps to resolve the challenges that emerge from the implementation of the Gender + perspective in the evaluation of public policies, a perspective that can be considered to be a specific kind of Deliberative Democratic Evaluation. These challenges include the incorporation of the empowerment perspective into the evaluation, and guaranteeing dialogue between expert knowledge on gender and other more "intuitive" types of knowledge.

Keywords: Evaluation from a Gender + Perspective, Critical Theory of Deliberation, Enclave, Intersectionality, Democracy

Introduction

With the institutionalization of the idea of accountability and the gradual consolidation of the sphere of study dedicated to the evaluation of public policies in the 1970s (Mathison, 2005), the problematization of the relationship between democracy and evaluation has been expressed in different ways. This has given rise to a specific area of work known as "fourth generation evaluation", largely comprising contributions that explore ways to bring democratization based on participatory (Guba and Lincoln, 1989) and deliberative approaches to evaluation (House and Howe, 1999). So currently, in academic terms, this area is founded on the interaction of studies of participatory democracy, deliberative democracy and evaluation theory. Considering the internal diversity of approaches in

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existence in each of the areas of study, it is deduced that the points of interaction where dialogue can be established are infinite.

Given this open horizon of the common goal –that of democratization–, in this article we seek to provide elements to the field of study of democratization through evaluation, by means of deliberative practices.

With the aim of focussing this text's contribution it is worth contextualizing the fact that the institutionalization of deliberative apparatuses into fourth generation evaluation designs began more visibly in the 1990s in the sphere of higher education in Sweden (Fjellström, 2008) and the USA (Ryan and Destefano, 2001). Such experiences reveal how important it is for both the academic and administrative spheres to continue to systematize the lessons that can be learned from dialogue between theories of deliberative democracy and those focussing on the evaluation of public policies. The crucial nature of this dialogue arises from an evident relationship: both the commitment to deliberative mechanisms, and the practice of evaluating public policies are rooted in a profound concern for the poverty of democratic quality. For this reason, deliberation and evaluation have been at the heart of theoretical and practical advances aimed at extending the democratization of societies. Examples of this effort are the administrative reforms of new public management and governance in the United Kingdom, New Zealand and Australia; the first participatory budgeting experiences in Latin America (1989, Porto Alegre), and Canada (1999, Guelph); the work of the French Conseil scientifique de l'evaluation in the 1990s; and the emergence of interesting literature on the cooperative evaluation of governance apparatuses (Santos Guerra, 1993; Heron, 1996; Martí, 2000). Ultimately, this practice profiles a school of critical evaluation, characterized by "conceptualizing problems as part of the social, political and cultural patterns in which the evaluating process takes place" (Shaw, 1999: 77).

This relationship between deliberation and democratization on the one hand, and evaluation and democratization on the other, had been tackled in the seminal work of House and Howe (1999), when they propose "Deliberative Democratic Evaluation" (DDE) as a tool for the redistribution of the different forms of inequality in modern societies. There was a steady development of the scope of work on DDE, which eventually staked a claim for the capacity of these evaluations to be "Schools of Democracy" (Talpin, 2011). In this article we refer to Evaluation from a Gender + Perspective (EG+P), as it is understood by Bustelo (2016), as a specific expression of DDE.

That said, although evaluation and deliberation have frequently established links with a third factor, democratization, the relationship between the two elements at the base of this triangle have been formulated in many ways: underlining the importance of inclusion and dialogue as principles in the communication process (House and Howe, 1998; 1999); articulating contextualist frameworks of analysis in order to boost the democratic character of the evaluation's internal procedures and, with it, the quality of the democracy (House and Howe, 2000: 3-13); inquiring into the specific challenges involved in establishing this relationship for the practice of the evaluating agent (Mathison, 2000; Stake, 2000); questioning the way in which the idea of inclusion in the practice of deliberative evaluation is made operative (Greene, 2000); and indicating the impediments to democratizing societies through deliberative evaluations in political contexts where public information is manipulated or concealed by government agents (House, 2006).

Furthermore, it is usual when problematizing the relationship between democratization and evaluation through deliberation to depart from the contributions of the mainstream theory of deliberative democracy, understanding this as that which hardly differs from the reflections and principles of Habermas's discourse ethics (1962; 1981). This means that the critiques of Critical Theory that mainstream deliberation rests on (cf. Fraser, 1991; Young, 2000) are included to a lesser degree in the contributions of DDE.

Consequently, with the aim of strengthening the dialogue between democratizing evaluation and deliberation we propose here a reflection based on a specific evaluative experience; in it we compare the learnings of the critique of deliberative democracy and

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the feminist view of evaluation that exists in the EG+P, which, as we have stated, is a specific form of DDE.

The proposal, then, is to establish a relationship between the gender + perspective on evaluating public policies, on the one hand, and criticism of early deliberative theory, on the other. As will be seen below, each of these two approaches, although they refer to different scales of thought (the first is a specific approach of feminist theory of evaluation that can be framed within DDE, and the second is an umbrella covering different critical theories), contains elements that link it with the other. Thus, the intersections between evaluation and deliberation are based on the common points of three sources: María Bustelo's contributions on EG+P (2016), Iris Marion Young's (2000) thought on the complex forms of exclusion in deliberative contexts, and the proposals of Jane Mansbridge (1996) and de Karpowitz et al. (2009) on enclaves in deliberative environments.

The meeting point of the first two of these elements allows us to see how any political product designed in a field of power imbued with different structures (of gender, race, social class, educational level or physical ability, among others), creates complex (intersectional) forms of oppression and tends to reproduce dominant inertias through public action. This approach, based on the application of the critical view of deliberation found in the EG+P, makes visible a series of limitations and challenges that touch on the epistemological and methodological aspects of the relationship between democratizing deliberation and evaluation, and which are already highlighted by prescriptive proposals (Palència, 2014) and operational practices that incorporate the intersectional viewpoint (Caiola, 2015). They include the need to guarantee the balance between expert knowledge and other intuitive knowledges and/or those gained from lived experience, incorporate the perspective of empowerment into evaluation, and avoid situations of exclusion during a participatory process. These constitute the challenge of working based on a technical diversity that aims to "design an evaluation strategy informed by self-reflection, context, and stakeholders, using some sort of participatory and

empowerment-oriented approaches" (Bustelo, 2016: 13). Precisely for this reason, this article explores the possibilities offered by the praxis of the enclave deliberation technique as an instrument that can strengthen the relationship between evaluation and deliberation, in order to overcome the limits of the qualitative and dialectical methods traditionally employed in public evaluations. It is enough for now to say that enclave praxis is aimed at creating safe spaces for communication among agents who share an outsider position in the social field (outsider in terms of race, social class, gender, age, etc.), which makes them vulnerable, excluding them, when deliberation is established on normative terms, based on unspoken behavioural norms (assertiveness, confidence, dispassion, etc.). These norms are easier to access by agents traditionally trained in occupying the public space (white, adult males of a medium- high social class and with a large amount of cultural capital) (Young, 2000, 37–41; Fung and Wright, 2003, 26–34; Lee, 2011). These enclaves seek to suspend the effect of excluding norms and to boost the creative capacity of those who are outsiders because of the social position they hold in the world.

Some practical limits are confirmed in the applied research piloted by the present authors, in which the possibility that the technique of enclave deliberation helps to overcome those limits is explored. Specifically, by means of a case study of the evaluation of Law 4/2005 for the Equality of Men and Women in the Basque Country (Spain) carried out between September 2015 and July 2016, we explain the practical development and the limits of a deliberative evaluation model framed within the gender + perspective, as well as the relevance of enclave deliberation in order to overcome the challenges that this perspective brings. In this way, this article sets out the learnings that have resulted from practice in a particular case, with the goal of knowing more about how critical deliberative theory can help solve some issues of the EG+P. Thus, the independent variable of this work is the critical deliberative approach, and the EG+P (understood as a type of DDE) is the dependent one. In a first section, we identify the common points of interest that exist between EG+P and critical deliberative theory. We

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continue with a brief explanation of the details of the evaluative design used for the case selected. Finally, we explain how the enclave deliberation forum helps to resolve these challenges.

Evaluation based on a gender + perspective and critical deliberative theory: Some common concerns

The adoption of the gender mainstreaming strategy in the mid-1990s has helped to institutionalize the gender perspective in evaluation. With institutionalization come professionalization and mercantilization and more or less voluntary denaturalization of the gender perspective.

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In this regard, Bustelo's proposal rests on "evaluation from a gender perspective" (Espinosa, 2010; Podems, 2010), which tends to be more proactive since it has a greater impact on the promotion and strengthening of the conditions needed to made equality rights effective. This proposal contains a critical viewpoint that assumes the epistemological principles of "feminist theory on evaluation" (Shaw, 1999), as well as the practical principles of the DDE approach (House and Howe, 1999), since it views the phenomenon under evaluation within a complex social, political and cultural context, and reflects on the possibility that domination relationships are produced and reproduced through the evaluative practice. Her vision of EG+P is based on at least four elements (2016: 5): (1) recognition of the political character of all evaluation, (2) the search for greater social justice, (3) the importance of involving the stakeholders of the product to be evaluated and (4) a design based on contextual methodological diversity. Similar ideas can be seen in evaluation for social justice (House, 1980), reflective evaluation (Eisner, 1991), participatory evaluation (Reason, 1994), "empowerment evaluation" (Fetterman, 1994), and inclusive evaluation (Ryan, 1998). However, this perspective is different from the others in that the author offers a feminist interpretive framework, rooted in a deliberative view of evaluation, that presents an intersectional idea of oppression given that (1) it openly recognizes the existence of different structures of oppression that

must be taken into consideration in the evaluation; and (2) it permits the introduction of the idea that a social agent can experience a situation of oppression and another of domination simultaneously and at different scales (individual, group or community). This double viewpoint allows the incorporation of intersectionality as a critical tool for analyzing evaluation by means of a strategy of methodological diversification for which it provides a series of guidelines and implications summarized here, and whose logic guides the exploration of the enclave mechanism in the research piloted by the authors.

Table 1. Epistemological and methodological guidelines for and implications of EG+P As can be deduced from guidelines 1, 3, 5 and 6, the methodological design of EG+P requires a participatory or deliberative dimension, which is why it is characterized as a form of DDE. In this regard, the author points out: "taking into account the political nature of evaluation, it should attend to context and be open to listening to different voices and perspectives; it therefore focuses on people (women and men) and seeks for collaboration and active participation" (2016: 13). The call made by Bustelo to be aware of the context in which the evaluation takes place adopts a contextualist attitude, and ensuring that different voices are included, paying attention to positional differences, inevitably brings to light problems regarding exclusion in deliberative and participatory contexts. The question of the contextualist attitude also connects with the concerns of the different approaches of fourth generation evaluation. So, to democratize evaluation it sets out different challenges: how to include stakeholders (Greene, 1997); how to empower those participating in the evaluation without deactivating their own political action (Fetterman, 1994), and others. In this text we only focus on some of those challenges (expertise, participation and sensitivity to positional difference), aiming to provide EG+P with some proposals from the critical praxis of deliberation.

As we understand it, the problem of exclusion in deliberative and participatory contexts, which the intersectional perspective warns of, is also one of the central concerns of critical deliberative theory. For this reason, the dialogue between the two is interesting and, in a certain way, natural; the challenges of the first can be partially resolved with

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the approaches of the second and some of the conceptualizations of the second can be experienced through the first.

Critical focus of deliberative democracy and critical enclave praxis

In her examination of deliberative theory of democracy, Jane Mansbridge (2006) differentiates "early deliberative theory" -characterized by being strongly influenced by the Habermasian communicational ethic- from "Criticisms of Early Theory"- which, from the 1990s onwards, revealed some inadequacies in terms of inclusion within the original Habermasian ideal. Iris Marion Young takes a series of positions within this second line of thought: (1) she defends the point of view that deliberating without a specific reflection on positional differences privileges a supposedly universal interpretation of what a good argument is, and ignores other forms of expression and communication, and, by doing so, those who use these forms (Young, 2000: 39- 40); (2) she proposes that classic deliberative theory privileges unity and general interest as if it were objective and universal; (3) she considers that by assuming "face-to-face discussion" to be the best form of dialogue, the domination that results from this type of communication is lost from sight – that which Mansbridge refers to as the domination that goes from the "I" to the "we" (1990: 127); and (4) she explains that deliberative approaches are based on a notion of supposedly universal reason and rationality that is not within the reach of all individuals, and this may subtly discredit subaltern positions in the dynamic of these kinds of forums.

Based on these criticisms, Young indicates how, as well as "external exclusion" –visible because it is based on the veto or obstructing the presence of some agents–, there is another subtle form of exclusion: "internal exclusion", defined as "those forms of exclusions that sometimes occur even when individuals and groups are nominally included in the discussion and decision making process" (2000: 53).

Ultimately, the logic of Young's positional differences finds a good theoreticalepistemological home in EG+P, given that it is recognized in complex, intersectional, thought on oppression. The author's conceptual categories let us see that exclusion is complex because in our societies it is naturalized and because excluding processes cannot be explained by the existence of a single axis of oppression. Rather, the many oppressive structures affecting a social agent must be contemplated in an intersectional way, as the black feminist understanding of the experience of domination proposes (Crenshaw, 1989; Collins, 1990).

With the aim of deactivating both internal and external exclusions in deliberation procedures, there is a set of contributions within the criticism of early deliberative theory that focus on the idea of the deliberative enclave. Here we can find operational considerations that affect enclave praxis that are referred to below, as well as normative contributions such as those by Nancy Fraser on "subaltern counterpublics" (1990), understood as a response to the Habermasian critique of public space as a bourgeois space, and considered as parallel discursive arenas in which traditionally excluded social agents train their capacity to signify reality in their own terms. Reflections on deliberative enclave praxis provide solutions to some of the methodological challenges linked to the inclusion of EG+P, especially in so far as they aim to give shape to protected deliberative spaces for dialogue and the production of arguments in which those who have less symbolic capital --understood broadly as the capacity to create meanings or name realities- can understand the logics of the mainstream political field and experiment in the design of their own. These spaces have been named differently in Critical Theory (cf. counterpublic, safe place, refuge or enclave, among others) and they have been given different functions, but all of them maintain the idea of empowering the oppressed. Considering that stated above and in order to pin down the abstraction hinted at by the idea of enclave as a safe space making it possible for certain people to define reality in

their own terms, it is therefore useful for this article's purposes to introduce here the idea of enclave deliberation worked out by Karpowitz et al. in any of its three forms:

"ad hoc groups who share similar pre-deliberation *views* on the issue at hand (...) Another type of enclave, suggested by the defences of homogeneous groups as a means of discovering affiliations and contributing new

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perspectives to the public sphere, may be defined as one in which members occupy a shared *structural location* in relation to the issue. (...) A third kind of enclave may be defined as one in which members feel that they share a common pre-deliberation *identity*" (2009: 582-3).

This framework also includes Mansbridge's proposal regarding "protected enclaves in which members legitimately consider in their deliberations not only what is good for the whole polity but what is good for themselves individually (...) and for the group" (1996: 57).

So, from that stated up to now, it can be deduced that enclaves are a practical expression of the critical deliberative theory that connects with the deliberative principles contained within EG+P. To sum up, both EG+P and critical deliberative theory share a series of interests: (1) achieving greater social justice and extending democracy; (2) using deliberative apparatuses in order to incorporate different voices into the decision-making process and into the different stages of the policy cycle; (3) recognition of the political nature of evaluation and deliberation, given that they occur in a context structured by different axes of domination which create complex situations of oppression, meaning that they are not exempt from the inertias of domination. They therefore agree on welcoming in intersectional approaches, based on the recognition of the experience of a complex form of oppression by the individual. In short, both are concerned with: (4) the possibility of reproducing domination and internal exclusion through deliberative designs, and (5) the fact that social normativity is institutionalized through deliberation and evaluation. Given this shared diagnosis, the two theoretical bodies aim to identify methods that avoid exclusion and facilitate active participation creating empowerment among those who participate. The answer to these challenges may ultimately lie in deliberative enclaves. Case study. Evaluation of the normative application and observation of Law 4/2005

on the Equality of Women and Men in the Basque Country

On 18 February 2005, the Basque Parliament passed Law 4/2005 for the Equality of Women and Men with the general goal of:

"achieving an egalitarian society in which all people are free-(Preliminary heading, Article 1).

Since it was passed, and in accordance with the normative precautionary stipulations, two periods of evaluation of the Law have been carried out, performed by teams external to the Instituto Vasco de la Mujer-Emakunde (Basque Women's Institute)ⁱ. The Law states the general procedure by which the Law itself should be evaluated (see the text's first additional disposition): done by a multi-level commission (art. 12) made up of various authorities from the regional, provincial and local scales. In 2010 this commission decided to carry out a five-yearly evaluation of the Law's implementation. For this it distinguished between an evaluation in "guantitative" terms (Emakunde, 2016a) of the consequences of the Law -by which the aim is to know the Law's influence on the public presence of women in posts in the government, the various authorities, etc.- and an evaluation of the Law in "qualitative" terms -whose aim is to find out aspects such as: public opinion about the Law and its progress, change in attitudes regarding equality of rights between women and men, etc.- (Emakunde, 2016b). It is important to underline that it is the Basque public authority that differentiates between "quantitative evaluation" and "qualitative evaluation", and that this division structures the outsourcing of evaluation for the 2005-2010 and 2010-2015 periods. In both evaluation processes, each of the two tenders is piloted by different research groups and consultancies who specialize in evaluation, participatory policies and gender policies. After the bidding for the public contracts, the channels are established so that both evaluations are simultaneous and coordinated by a commission in which both teams have to report regularly on their progress and findings. This evaluative practice based on the quantitative- qualitative division can be subjected to study and debate, since in general fourth generation evaluation's approaches agree that quantitative and qualitative aspects are indivisible, since they constitute different expressions of a single reality. However, since this is not the subject of this article, we will leave this matter to one side and make clear that the case study presented in this article exclusively focuses on analysis of the named

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"qualitative evaluation" (Emakunde, 2016b) framed within a gender + perspective on evaluation based for the 2010-2015 period on a deliberative democratic vision piloted by the research group that the article's authors belong to (nombre del grupo de investigación_anonimizado). This evaluation was done recognizing the political character of the evaluation, seeking greater social justice, inviting stakeholder participationⁱⁱ and following an approach with a technical diversity based on methodological triangulation.

Design of the evaluation

Within the framework of the gender + perspective, the evaluation employed the logic of cycles of participatory action research (Martí, 2000) shown in figure 1: a first, opening stage, with the goal of reaching the greatest number of sectors and discourses involved in the effects of the Law on Equality; and a second, closing stage, systematizing content and inputs.

Figure 1. Summary of the evaluation process by stage and technique employed Before beginning the opening stage, the core group (CG) of the evaluation was created, made up of representatives from: the Instituto Vasco de la Mujer, the Basque Government's Dirección de Atención a la Ciudadanía e Innovación (Citizen Service and Innovation Directorate), the Comisión Consultiva para la Igualdad (Consultative Commission for Equality), the Agencia Vasca de la Innovación (Basque Innovation Agency), and the person in charge of the Law's quantitative evaluation. The composition of this core group was discussed between the research group and Emakunde. Monthly meetings provided technical elements to the evaluative design, making the CG a meeting space with expertise on the matter of evaluating public and gender policies.

From diagram 1, it can be seen that the opening stage begins with a work session, open to the public, in order to promote training in and information about the process of evaluating the Law with two lectures on the intersectional perspective in public policies. It continued with interviews with experts in the different areas governed by Law 4/2005 and a first contrast workshop was run, at which equality officers from the different Basque

authorities and professional equality consultants took part. This workshop sought specific information about the structures and tools set out in the Law for the integration of the gender perspective into government. A social contrast workshop with the women's and feminist movement was carried out in order to work on four of the spheres constituting the institutional equality agenda: socio-political participation, education, employment and gender violence. This stage ended with: a Delphi with political and technical personnel expert in working against gender violence, 9 sectorial focus groups and 24 in-depth interviews focussing on the different spheres governed by the Lawⁱⁱⁱ. In the closing stage, with the goal of information validation and systematization, (1) telematic return and contrast procedures were carried out with the mixed associations and feminist groups that participated in the process; (2) two work sessions were carried out with groups from the women's and feminist movement; (3) another technical contrast workshop was run with equality officers, with the goal of returning, validating and completing the information and some of the conclusions reached; (4) finally, an enclave deliberation forum was organized with the goal of evaluating the Law's^{iv} principles and collecting proposals from different social sectors not so far included in the evaluation. In total, the evaluation collected the testimony of 165 people from different political, institutional and social spheres in the Basque Country.

As can be seen, the design's technical diversity has guaranteed the involvement of expert knowledge in evaluation and gender, and has introduced the participatory and collaborative dimension.

Contributions of critical deliberative theory to EG+P: the enclave deliberation forum

Despite the fact that, in the design of this evaluation, an inclusive and participatory perspective was sought, three problems made it difficult to meet the requirements of satisfactory EG+P: (1) not reaching the empowering effect desired; (2) not achieving the convergence of specialized knowledge with more intuitive or incipient knowledge on this matter^v; (3) not creating fully inclusive spaces, either because certain sensibilities and

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social positions remained outside, or because domination relationships were reproduced in the deliberative spaces, leading to a situation of internal exclusion (for example, people with a longer career in participation in the public space tended to take up more time and space in the workshops and focus groups organized in order to evaluate the Law).

These limits have shown the epistemological and methodological challenges faced by EG+P and they are intimately related to the implications summarized in table 1. Given that situation, and with the aim of responding to the challenges of (1) empowerment and (2) guaranteeing expert knowledge and making it converge with other, more intuitive, knowledge (3) without thereby creating internal exclusion, it was decided to experiment with the application of ideas from deliberative criticism in the EG+P through an Enclave Deliberation Forum (EDF), involving 16 people: 9 women and 7 men.

For this, the notion of enclave in its broadest sense is applied, close to the concept of Mansbridge (1996), understanding enclaves of participation and deliberation as spaces of refuge or safe places where those social agents traditionally excluded from decision-making processes, who experience oppression in a complex way, can define, in their own terms, reality, along with intervention strategies adapted to it. This allows them to consider their own interests and contrast them with those of other groups and which are presented as general interests, creating tools by which those who do not have sufficient symbolic power are empowered and where those who dominate the social field can be "taught to listen".

The challenge of empowerment during EG+P

In operative terms, empowerment is related to, among other things, working in the enclave on the internal legitimacy of participants' own work. In their contribution to the critical praxis of enclave deliberation, Karpowitz et al. made this kind of legitimacy operational through four variables: (1) the perception of this enclave regarding whether they have enough information on the matter; (2) the support of their own contributions; (3) to "deliberate in a climate characterized by openness to a diversity of viewpoints, mutual respect, and recognition of disagreement as well as consensus" (2009: 600); (4)

and that participants take their decisions independently. Adapting the Karpowitz team's variables to the context of evaluation, in this work, it has been considered that an enclave fulfils its empowering function if those participating in the evaluation: (1) have the subjective sensation of having achieved dialectical and participatory skills; (2) perceive that they know, better than before joining the enclave, the field of participation and deliberation as well as its logics and contradictions; and (3) grant subjective value to their own opinions about the subject matter being evaluated.

Within the framework of the evaluation of Law 4/2005, with the aim of apprehending this perception, two actions were carried out: (1) five in-depth interviews with the criterion of self-selection of people participating in the forum, carried out one month afterwards^{vi}; and (2) a semi-structured questionnaire for forum participants, when the forum ends. Although it is not the goal of this article to set out the results of the questionnaires and interviews, some figures help to indicate the empowering value of the forum in an evaluative context and which connect with the three challenges of involving an EG+P perspective referred to on table 1: 56% of participants state in the questionnaire that taking part in the enclave has allowed them to "increase their knowledge about how other people whom they did not know understand equality, and this has helped them in their own reflections on the matter"; 50% state that, when participating in the forum, their opinion has been valued and it "has roused their interest to look further into the matter of equality."

The interviews converge in highlighting the possibilities for creating empowerment that enclave deliberation forums have in the context of evaluating public policies:

"It lets you to feel more at ease, and so participate more. If you are among people with a background, training or life situation similar to yours then you can give your opinion in the best of conditions, and ensure it is valued. For example, putting LGTB people together in order to evaluate might make them feel more able to express themselves in their own terms and then to pass this on to others who do not know or do not experience that position which is

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offering its point of view (…) You feel you can contribute more things because it is what you know about" (E1)

"The idea of the enclave creates an atmosphere of trust, sharing a common challenge, sharing language, an interpretation of reality and this can help you, at the beginning, give you strength and socialise what you thought was a problem. (...) And move it from the I to the us." (E2)

"You speak the same language, so there is mutual understanding with those next to you and with whom you are going to share ideas (...) it is a much more relaxed atmosphere. In my enclave we were all people who had received the same ideas about gender (...) and it was much easier to talk among ourselves and understand each other, we all started from the same level of understanding. (...) It was strange to me, and nice too, that with people who we didn't know before it was so easy to talk and to assess a subject. (...) In other groups that didn't happen because I had problems expressing myself, because I was embarrassed but also because they didn't understand me." (E3)

"It seems to me a more horizontal way of including different contributions. Of enriching the analysis of a reality from different angles and viewpoints. Only with diversity will be able to look at the many sides of the reality/problem/situation we want to analyse." (E4)

The challenge of guaranteeing expert knowledge and making it converge with other, intuitive knowledges during EG+P

In terms of public equality policies and, to an even greater extent, the evaluation of an equality law, there are no agents who are not involved in this matter. To put it another way: equality policies are for everyone, in such a way that there are so many stakeholders that it is not easy to implement a serious inclusive participatory approach. In such a context, how is it possible to converge expert knowledge in gender and equality with another type of intuitive or initiatory knowledge? To solve this problem, enclave

praxis can be useful. Within the framework of the evaluation analysed, four enclaves were identified, aiming to introduce an intersectional perspective, aware of the complexity with which oppression is carried out. Work was done with people who are traditionally on the margins of public policies, or who, without being on the margins, have a shared structural position that, until now, has not been visibilized in the evaluative process. Specifically, the enclaves were made up of (1) immigrant women, (2) groups of men who work on masculinities, (3) professionals from the media who are involved in working for equality, and (4) members of civil society not organized with respect to working for equality.

Three constitutive criteria were employed. The first criterion was the sharing of a common pre-deliberative view with regard to experience in working towards equality. So, three of the enclaves began their discussion on the Law based on expert knowledge on the matter which allowed them to progress in their thought, giving rise to propositional aspects. A fourth enclave started from knowledge that was intuitive or in the process of being trained, that has "avoided bad feelings or exclusion for not knowing the subject in great detail" (E5). The second criterion, guaranteeing the presence of expert knowledge, has been used when making up the "media people with a gender perspective" enclave, aiming to include those who share a single structural position. The third was intended to have a bearing on the intersectional perspective and to integrate the idea that there are complex forms of experiencing oppression: so, the identity criterion has allowed the constitution of an enclave with migrant women.

Finally, in order to guarantee an expert space that also involves other, intuitive kinds of knowledge, the sequence presented in table 2 was organized.

Table 2. Sequence of the enclave deliberation forum

As can be seen, the forum guarantees a stage of enclave deliberation and a sharing process that allows those who have already reflected on the subject to share their experiences regarding equality with other people; and those who have not done so not to feel excluded for not having developed an approach to the question. This apparatus

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allows the confluence of different points of view with different levels of reflection on a single subject, taking care not to limit or exclude others.

The challenge of progressively deactivating internal exclusion during EG+P

Warned by Young about the existence of a naturalized kind of exclusion, the forum concerns itself with reducing the effects of two potentially exclusive elements in deliberative spaces: (1) consensus seeking and (2) the imposition of a restrictive notion of deliberation during the evaluative process. Based on the conviction that from the "I" to the "we" there is domination (Mansbridge, 1990: 127), and that this is partly constructed through consensus seeking, the goal of this forum, unlike other deliberation processes, is not to reach a consensus but rather to identify and visibilize points of confluence and inflection that exist in participants' discourses. In order to work on this confluence, the work of Kadlec and Friedman on forms of inclusive deliberation is taken as a reference. They state:

"Literally, confluence means a gathering or flowing together at a juncture. In a deliberative democratic process, this juncture should be a common problem around which alternative views may be voiced and heard. Confluence thus encourages participants to reach across boundaries and explore multiple perspectives by focusing together on the examination of an issue from as many vantage points as possible" (2007: 13-14).

In a deliberative democratic process –such as this forum–, this juncture is a common problem –in this case, the equality of men and women or, more broadly, the achievement of more just and egalitarian societies– regarding which there are alternative viewpoints that can be expressed and listed to. The confluence, therefore, is an invitation to participants to arrive at the frontiers of opinions or ideas and explore multiple perspectives on a single theme. In this way, without the pressure of having to reach a consensus on the policy to evaluate, confluence allows access to a map of points of agreement, disagreement, doubts, silences, etc. regarding a policy that constitute part

of the evaluation report delivered to the public authorities and made public through the Basque Government's transparency website (cf. Emakunde, 2016a and 2016b).

In the post-forum questionnaires, 31% of participants saw a direct relationship between working based on seeking confluence and the creation of a more relaxed atmosphere, a situation that does not resemble that of competitive discourse, which has helped them to feel included and heard. The other participants indicated their interest but did not identify such a central causal relationship between confluence and inclusion. The five people interviewed explain in one way or another that:

"Confluence is a way of preventing the enclaves from remaining as niches. The diversity of discourses and the sharing process is always enriching for building bridges among different problems and the confluence helps to establish this kind of bridge without pressure." (E2)

Another method used to deactivate the elements that create internal exclusion, apart from the confluence mechanism, is a broad application of the notion of "deliberation" which goes beyond the formulation of what are traditionally known as "rational judgements" about the object to be evaluated. For this, as well as reserving a space and a protocol for welcoming those participating in the forum, they are asked to give, in writing -with guidelines given to participants 15 days before the forum and the same day of the event- and in spoken form, their opinions on the broad meaning of the term, making use of rhetorical, experiential, narrative-based or any other forms of expression they wish. In the proposal presented to participants, it is indicated that "the product of each group after these 50 minutes need not be a series of refined and consensual measures, but can be considered to be ideas or principles (about principles) that sketch out an approximate map of the different opinions within the group." Likewise, they are told: "The idea of mapping, sketching or revealing the architecture or design of your proposals as groups can specifically reflect the way in which the confluence is expressed, as well as show where a proposal's limits lie and what its potential is" (protocol sheet sent to forum participants 15 days before the forum took place).

Conclusions

In those societies moving towards egalitarian multiculturalism, the evaluation of political products is imbued with a complex social, political and economic context that poses new challenges to thought on evaluation. Aware of this, many experts develop approaches that include substantive theories regarding the complexity of evaluation, and agree on seeing evaluation as a means for contributing to democratic expansion (House and Howe, 2000; Byrne, 2013; Marra, 2015).

Based on the principles of critical evaluation, in this article we have underlined the political value that evaluation has in the construction of more inclusive societies. If a democratic society is one that evaluates, then democratization must reflect on the evaluating process from the point of view of greater participation and reflection on exclusion. This involves a practical and intellectual challenge because it brings those who are doing the evaluation up against complex epistemological and methodological questions such as those set out in table 1.

However, there are tools to help find imaginative and innovative answers. The one proposed in this article is putting EG+P and critical deliberative theory into dialogue by using the praxis of enclave forums that allows these limits to be overcome. As has been shown, EG+P exports complex thought on the oppression experienced by the social agent, allowing the inclusion of intersectional approaches. What is more, it incorporates the principles of critical evaluation and seeks to empower and include the different perspectives involved in the object to be evaluated. These are two elements that make this kind of feminist evaluation a very demanding one, but one liable to contribute to resolving the problems of the democratic crisis.

We have seen that EG+P obliges technical evaluating agents to question their position, and they are faced with at least three methodological challenges that make it necessary to formulate a design that (1) allows empowerment of the agent involved, during the

process of evaluation; (2) guarantees expert opinion while allowing the expression of a more intuitive kind of knowledge; and (3) actively avoids situations of internal exclusion. In order to confront these challenges, there are many quantitative, qualitative and dialectical techniques, and their combination certainly offers a greater probability of success. However, by means of analysis of the case of Law 4/2005 it has been possible to see that critical deliberative theory, by sharing a concern regarding these aspects, offers ingenious contributions that add to the toolkit available to the technical agents involved in the evaluation. Thus it can be seen that critical deliberative theory helps to solve the methodological challenges of EG+P by exporting inclusive deliberation approaches.

Specifically, we have explained that Iris Marion Young's thought on exclusion offers conceptual tools such as internal and external exclusion as well as certain figures that can mitigate these forms of exclusion (incorporation of the welcome, rhetoric or narration). We have also proposed that the challenges of empowerment, the guarantee of expert knowledge and inclusive participation can be successfully achieved by means of apparatuses such as confluence-based enclave deliberation forums. Although these have usually been used experimentally in order to carry out participatory diagnoses, or in the early stages of policy cycles, in this article it has been explained that exporting these into the evaluation process is possible and can help to achieve the general goal of democratic expansion. Furthermore, it would be possible to export other deliberative tools that focus on boosting the confluence of technical and experience-based knowledges, such as deliberative mapping and study circles.

Lastly, it is important to point out that what is explained in this article is simply one example of the fertile dialogue that can result from the work of reflecting on and design of evaluation based on the intersection of EG+P and critical deliberative theory and praxis.

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ⁱ Basque Regional Government body that designs, promotes, advises on, coordinates and evaluates equality policies.

ⁱⁱ In the case of equality laws, the stakeholders constitute the entire society in which the regulation is applied, and hence the complexity of carrying out a serious participatory strategy on the subject of equality.

ⁱⁱⁱ The spheres are taken from Heading III of the Law: socio-political participation, culture and media, education, work, social rights, conciliation and violence against women.

^{iv} Specifically, work was done on four general principles that should govern and guide the actions of the Basque public authorities with respect to equality between women and men: the elimination of sex-related roles and stereotypes, balanced representation, collaboration and coordination, and respect for diversity and difference.

^v This point is fundamental when evaluating a product whose goal is equality between women and men, given that equality is only achieved by involving all social agents (experts and "non-experts").

^{vi} The interview fragments are coded in the following way: E1: woman, aged 33, Master's education level, expert in equality. E2: man, aged 25, Master's education level, new to the subject of equality. E3: man, aged 22, Master's education level, new to the subject of equality. E4: woman, aged 37, Doctorate education level, expert in equality. E5: man, aged 28, high school graduate education level, expert in equality.

Figure 1. Summary of the evaluation process by stage and technique employed. Own elaboration

Table 1. Epistemological and methodological guidelines for and implications of EG+P. Own elaboration. Note: those challenges to which this article seeks to find responses are shaded.

Table 2. Sequence of the enclave deliberation forum. Own elaboration

Return of the

society

evaluation to participants and to

В

Evaluation Report

^{ing} stage

Social Contrast

Workshop

Enclave deliberation

forum

Technical Contrast

Workshop

Opening stage

Work session on

"the challenge of intersectionality in

public policies

Λ

Creation of Core Group (CG)

16 In-depth

interviews with key of expert informants

7

Technical Contrast Workshop

Delphi on violence

against women

Social Contrast Workshop

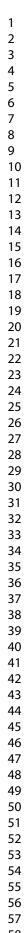
24 in-depth sectoria

9 Focus groups

interviews

Figure 1. Summary of the evaluation process by stage and technique employed

338x190mm (54 x 54 DPI)



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- 60

Table 1. Epistemological and methodological guidelines for and implications of EG+P

Guideline according to María Bustelo's EG+P proposal	Epistemological implication affecting the evaluating agent	Methodological implication
1 Involve expertise in gender, evaluation, context and field	As an evaluating agent, the person involved needs to have a position that brings together different kinds of expertise, without any of them being undervalued. Such a position should guarantee that agents can communicate in their technical language regarding the innovations occurring in each field, developing the understanding of those involved in this area of expertise and bringing expert innovation into the evaluation process. However, it should not exclude the participate as experts, since, although they may not have technical knowledge, they do have both intuitive knowledge and knowledge derived from experience.	designs in which there are (1) reserved, but no isolated, periods for the expert agents; (2 moments at which to promote the understanding of different forms of expertise, where expertise has a broade meaning than the one deriving from a restrictive and elitist understanding of the construction of knowledge, and therefore breaks up the specialist— non
2 Application of a gender analysis.	Requires an affinity to feminist epistemology, in any of its approaches: from feminist empiricism to feminist postmodernism (Harding, 1993).	data broken down b sex during the evaluation process Also, extracting differentiated data sensitive to positional differences to avoid exclusion.
3 Creation of a design that allows the participation and empowerment of social agents.	Requires reflective thought with regard to exclusion and empowerment.	Use of deliberative and/or participatory techniques in its design
4 Questioning and revision of the criteria of evaluation with a gender perspective throughout the evaluative process.	Requires a self-critical and vigilant attitude.	Planning of times fo evaluation of the evaluation proces itself.
5 Use of different techniques that are appropriate to the needs of the different characteristics of those who participate.	Requires reflective thought with regard to the complexity with which the social agent experiences oppression.	Awareness of technica approaches and/c corrective measure sensitive to positiona differences.

processed, as a report, article

Stage	Duration	Activities/ actions	
Start	15 minutes	Welcome	
		 Explanation of the forum and the meaning of the enclaves 	
		 Explanation of the participation guidelines 	
Enclave deliberation		Enclave deliberation based on questions previously determined by the agents piloting the evaluation. All the enclaves have the same questions and each enclave establishes dialogue based on these questions.	
Sharing	45 minutes	Each enclave explains their reflection and response to the question and the other enclaves ask, annotate, listen, understand and complement from their enclave position.	
Conclusions	15 minutes	The evaluating team facilitators offer a description of the mapping of responses. If there are points in common, these are highlighted, and if there are disagreements, these are also highlighted.	
Thanks and return of results	15 minutes	 Thanks and information about returning the study's results. Individual questionnaire about how the forum worked. 	

Table 2. Sequence of the enclave deliberation forum