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Participatory Evaluation and Community Development: A Spanish Case Study

Xavier UCAR¹, Ana PLANAS², Hector NUNEZ³, Asun Llana BERNE⁴

Abstract

Participatory evaluation is a process in which evaluation experts and members of a community who are not experts in evaluation evaluate community actions or projects jointly and on the same level. Participatory evaluation is a community development strategy. In this paper, we analyse the relationship between participatory evaluation and community development processes via three case studies in which participatory evaluation processes are instigated within community development plans. The results show that participatory evaluation is a useful working methodology not only for evaluating community development processes in a participatory way but also in generating learning that can contribute to empowering the people and communities involved in it.

Keywords: participatory evaluation, empowerment, evaluation process, community development, community, social transformation.

Introduction

Community Development Plans (CDP) implemented in the Autonomous Community of Catalonia (Spain) since 1996 are a social and educational intervention strategy that aims to use participatory processes to meet the needs of communities and improve their quality of life.

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The Catalan Government (*Generalitat de Catalunya*), with the collaboration of local authorities and community organizations, provides institutional and financial support for these community work strategies. The main goal of the CDP is to provide resources for local agents and community organizations so that, through a political decentralization process, the community itself will “achieve a real and sustainable social transformation through the promotion of neighbourhoods, municipalities, regions, community organizations and citizens” (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2008: 11). In 2008, after twelve years of the CDP, the need to evaluate these programmes was identified, and a community evaluation plan - *Plan Marco de Evaluación Participativa de los Planes Comunitarios de Catalunya* – (Ucar *et al.*, 2011; Nunez *et al.*, 2012) was designed accordingly. This plan was drawn up using participatory methodology and three documents were produced: 1) variables and criteria for participatory evaluation (PE), 2) the most suitable techniques and strategies for collecting data, 3) protocol for PE development in each specific community.

Following on from the above community evaluation plan, during the period 2010-2013 a research team⁵ carried out the research project “The participatory evaluation of community actions as learning methodologies for personal and community empowerment”.⁶ This project endeavoured to answer a question that concerns social pedagogy and community development, namely, whether participatory evaluation processes generate learning that contributes to the empowerment of those who implement them. Answering this question led us to establish a set of specific objectives, the most relevant being to analyse the efficacy and usefulness of PE methodology in the processes of evaluating community action and generating social innovation. A qualitative case study methodology was used to this end, analysing three PE cases from three different communities. This paper is divided into four sections: firstly, presenting the theoretical framework for interpreting interrelations between participatory evaluation and community development; secondly, the case study; then the methodology and results; and finally a presentation and discussion of some general conclusions drawn from the research project.

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⁶ Approved by the Spanish Ministry for Science and Innovation, 2010-2013 (N° Ref. EDU2010-15122). Given the size and complexity of the project, the team applied for a 5-month extension, which is why the project was finally concluded on May 31, 2014.

Participatory evaluation and community development

According to the principles of non-governmental organizations such as Oxfam, agents play an important role in community development, as people should be at the centre of this process (Oxfam, 2013). Community development is an approach to development that focuses on the collective efforts of people in a community to improve their quality of life through their own actions and initiatives (Awortwi, 2013). This conceptualization of community development is in line with the theoretical principles of PE, which see evaluation as a practice that guides activities and projects and also helps people, institutions' and community organizations' decision-making.

PE can be understood as both a strategy and as a practice of community development. As an evaluation methodology it stands at the confluence of: (1) *fourth generation evaluation models* (Guba & Lincoln, 1989); (2) participatory research-action (Suarez-Balcazar, Orellana-Damacela, Portillo, Sharma & Lanum, 2003) and (3) the empowerment framework (Suarez-Balcazar *et al.*, 2003). Cullen, Coryn & Rugh (2011) noted that non-governmental international agencies apply PE in their projects. In recent years, its increased use has been observed in first-world countries as an additional strategy for intervention in and for the community (Grimshaw & Purdue, 2010; Mayo & Rooke, 2008). PE is mainly conducted in community contexts, evaluating programmes and projects in the following fields: (1) *Health in social contexts* (Atkinson, Wilson & Deepa, 2005; Carr, Lhussier, Wilkinson & Gleadhill, 2008); (2) *Rural community development* (Diaz-Puente, Yagüe & Afonso, 2008; Diaz-Puente, Cazorla-Montero & De los Rios 2009; Lennie, 2005); (3) *Education* (Holte-Mckenzie, Forde and Theobald, 2006; Jacob, Ouvrard and Belanger, 2011); (4) *Poverty reduction* (CORE Initiative, 2006; Oxfam/Actionaid, 2011); (5) *Local participatory initiatives* (Bowers, 2004; Grimshaw and Purdue 2010).

A review of the literature shows an evolution since the 1990s, involving the merger of different approaches of PE. Among these approaches we would highlight: a) *Empowerment Evaluation* (Fetterman, 1994, 2005, Fetterman & Wandersman, 2007); b) *Participatory Assessment of Programs* (ESCWA, 2007); c) *Transformative-Participatory Evaluation* (Mathie & Greene, 1997; Suarez-Balcazar & Harper, 2003), and d) *Monitoring and Participatory Evaluation* (Estrella & Gaventa, 1998).

PE is a set of methodological principles that allow evaluation processes to include community programmes or actions carried out by non-experts (Daigneault & Jacob, 2009). These authors consider that such non-experts can be: (1) the politicians in charge; (2) the staff of the programmes; (3) the beneficiaries of the programmes, and (4) community organizations and the general population. Greene's work (2005) presents a classification that includes all of the above, while

also considering that in a PE process all those who may be affected by the programme's development should be considered agents of it.

Following Cousins & Withmore (1998), three fundamental characteristics define PE. First, *the widest possible number of people involved should share technical control of the evaluation*. This means that the evaluators are not the only agents for decision-making regarding the evaluation process: this responsibility must be shared with the rest of the people involved. Secondly, PE must *ensure diversity among the agents involved*. The composition of evaluation teams must be representative of all stakeholders. Daigneault & Jacob (2009) consider that the greater the diversity of the involved agents, the more participative the evaluation will be. Thirdly, as a fundamental characteristic, the PE has to ensure *implication extension* of the selected agents. Daigneault & Jacob (2009) argue that this term - *implication extension* - is more precise than the one used by Cousins & Withmore (1998) - *depth of participation*; in many works the terms are regarded as synonymous. This means that agents' participation and decision-making regarding the evaluation process must not be an isolated issue, but should happen throughout all phases of the process. It is needed, for example, when negotiating the content of the evaluation, the timing of the process, the staff and instruments for data collection, the presentation of results, etc. Therefore, in PE practice, the active participation of individuals is presented as an intrinsic value (Abma & Widdershoven, 2008) and this participation is a fundamental element in the principle of agent diversity (Harner, 2012; Weaver & Cousins, 2004). Of all the PE models analysed, we consider the two that adapt best to the evaluation of actions implemented within the framework of community development to be the ones known as *Empowerment Evaluation* and *Transformative-Participatory Evaluation* (Nunez *et al.*, 2014). Both approaches seek the empowerment of people and groups participating in the evaluation.

Transformative Participatory Evaluation (TP-E) has its origins in literature on international development (Brisolara, 1998). Its main goal is to achieve a status of empowerment oriented towards the transformation and changing of people participating in the evaluation process (Cousin & Withmore, 1998). This PE model has focused on work with disempowered or socially marginalized people and groups. It is defined in this way as *Empowerment Evaluation* (EE) (Fetterman, 1994, 2005; Fetterman & Wandersman, 2005, 2007; Smith, 2007), which refers to it as an evaluation strategy that seeks social transformation through the involvement of participants in programmes and projects developed in the community. Schnoes, Murphy-Berman & Chambers (2000) consider that people's involvement in these activities promotes their self-determination.

As we can see, although both approaches seek self-determination, it is difficult to distinguish between them on the basis of their authors' definitions. Due to this, Schnoes *et al.* (2000) point to a lack of agreement on specific differences between EE and other evaluation models based on the participation of people. One possible

difference might be the role assumed by the evaluator in each approach. TP-E considers evaluators to have more technical control and to see themselves as being more involved in the management and leadership of the evaluation than EE evaluators. The latter approach is characterized by the importance it attaches to deeper collaboration and greater equality between evaluators and participants.

Case study: participatory evaluation of community development plans

Cases are defined as territorial communities in which Community Development Plans (CDP) are being implemented. Following Coller's work (2000), we understand that each community is constituted by: 1) a socioeducational process developed in communities within the territory; 2) exemplary, generic or instrumental cases, selected to meet criteria that make them representative - not statistically but analytically - of different categories of cases in the whole CDP; 3) contemporary cases that refer to phenomena that are currently taking place; 4) exploratory and analytical cases that study the development of certain phenomena, leading to the drawing of conclusions in a later phase. The first step by research team evaluators (academics) to select case-communities was to talk to the Catalan Government's Directorate of Civic and Community Action, as they know most about the CDP's being implemented in Catalonia. Based on the information they provided, we established the following criteria to select communities from CDP's in Catalonia: (1) *Distinct geographic profiles*. CDPs that are implemented in a specific neighbourhood and others that include a whole district or town. Urban and rural profiles are sought; (2) Communities that have experience in social participation and community work; (3) *Community workers willing to involve themselves in the project*. The community worker is the mediator between the research team and the community. Without their involvement, the PE would hardly make any progress; (4) Territorial proximity to the researchers. To facilitate access to the community. The following three were selected: (1) the neighbourhood of *Sant Narcis-Santa Eugènia*, Girona; (2) the neighbourhood of *Poblenou*, Barcelona; and (3) the town of *Badia del Vallès* (Barcelona). Once the proposal is submitted, it is the members of the different communities attending the first meeting who take the decision on whether to take part in the participatory evaluation project.

The three Community Development Plans (CDP) in context

The selected case-communities share three characteristics: (1) a long tradition of immigration; (2) having undergone significant growth in the 1960s; and (3) having a long history of community-based neighbourhood mobilizations.

Case 1: The first case is the community of *Sant Narcis and Santa Eugenia*, two neighbourhoods in the city of Girona, which experienced a growth in middle and working classes from the 1960s to 1980s and currently has around 34,000 inhabitants. These neighbourhoods comprise working families with a strong sense of community identity. They have a very diverse range of associations, with over a hundred in the community. Residents in the community show an interest in addressing the challenges of immigration, improving the public space, the struggle for coexistence, social cohesion and equality based on the desire for comprehensive action. In 2004, the Education and Coexistence Plan was implemented to coordinate and make use of the inertia in the different community development plans being implemented in the same community.

Case 2: Poblenou is in the *Sant Marti* district of Barcelona and has a population of around 32,000 inhabitants. It is a very diverse community with respect to both the types of spaces it has (a traditional urban environment, converted or occupied industrial buildings, newly urbanized areas, etc.) and the great diversity of its inhabitants (upper class people, people living from the sale of scrap metal and occupying the old industrial buildings, an immigrant population, and recently-constructed residential, commercial and leisure buildings). It is a neighbourhood with a large array of associations. The cohesion and strong neighbourhood identity are the result of actions by civil society organizations that have emerged as collective responses to different problems occurring in the area (housing, work, etc.). *Apropem-nos* is a community development plan that grew out of the need to respond to specific situations of exclusion but ultimately established itself as a platform providing local support for immigrants newly arrived in the neighbourhood.

Case 3: Unlike the two previous cases, Badia del Vallès is a town located near Barcelona. It has a population of around 13,500 inhabitants in an area of less than a square kilometre, making its population density one of the highest in Catalonia. The town was created in the early 1960s on the basis of the “National Housing Plan”, the aim of which was to decongest the metropolitan area of Barcelona upon the arrival of an immigrant population from the rest of Spain. A body comprising two nearby cities, Cerdanyola and Barberà del Valles, initially managed the neighbourhood. In 1994, the town became independent with its own council. The rapid growth of the 1960s led to a dense, vertical type of construction, free from green zones. The small size of the town makes it unfeasible to build new housing and facilities due to a lack of land. The population of Badia has a strong tradition of community action. Throughout its short history there have been very committed people, groups and organizations that have participated in neighbourhood protests and struggles to attain better services for the town.

The methodological process of Participatory Evaluation in three Community Development Plans (CDP)

In all three cases, the first contact with the community was crucial and required the full support and backing of local administrations and community workers, which acted as mediators between the people in each community and the research team of evaluators. From the outset, this research project was able to count on the cooperation of the different administrations and institutions responsible for managing the community plans. The PE was presented in the three different locations via organizational structures already in place in each community, especially through established groups or consolidated projects. Also, meetings were held with the community workers with the aim of negotiating a unified way of understanding and developing the PE before initiating works with the community. The first step was to create a steering group for the PE processes, comprising people from the community and experts in evaluation (academics). The community workers from each community were the keys to setting up steering groups, especially as regards getting stakeholders involved. The work of these community workers and the characteristics of each community resulted in the creation of three steering groups: two with a lower overall number of participants (average of 8) and with a high number of managers, and a third group with a larger number of people from the community (average of 13) and a greater diversity of profiles, including local residents and members of community organizations and other bodies.

The working procedure followed to implement PE was based on steering group meetings, where decisions were taken regarding the actions each member was to carry out (Planas et al, 2014). The meetings were held every month with the aim of providing continuity in the PE process. Figure 1 presents the sequence of actions taken in the steering groups and the main techniques used in each.

Phase 1 of the process involved initial negotiation of the PE, which was carried out by the steering group of each case-community, discussing the objectives and phases to follow in the evaluation process. The objective of the initial negotiation was to establish common ground for those involved to understand what PE is and how it can be articulated, that is, the objectives to be achieved and steps to follow.

In Phase 2, for each of the three communities the steering group drew up a map of community actions being implemented so as to display the actions taking place in the community, their organization, their lines of community work and the stakeholders involved.

dynamics were used. The circumstances and composition of each steering group meant that techniques were created or adapted to provide people with a place where they could express their opinions openly, regardless of their experience or expertise. The techniques employed contributed to balancing power relations, especially in communities with a more varied type of stakeholder. Some of the classic social science techniques provided by the evaluators and used in the PE were observation, field notes and focus groups (Themessl-Huber & Grutsch, 2003). Other dynamics were also used, such as colour voting methods (Plottu & Plottu, 2009) and the timeline technique (Crespo, Ciraso & Ucar, 2012; Nabasa, Rutwara, Walker & Were, 1995). In all three cases, the steering group employed a selection of these techniques and dynamics during the different phases of evaluation.

In Phase 4 of the PE, the context in which the community actions were developed was evaluated, using techniques such as “social mapping”, in which the participants locate actions that have been carried out on a local map, allowing visualization of the results obtained. It is worth noting that the steering group in case 1 decided not to evaluate this dimension because they had carried out a diagnosis in the community a short time previously and felt it would not provide any new data.

In Phase 5, in order to assess the variable “*evolution of community actions*” over the years, the *time-line technique* was used, consisting of reaching a consensus on the significant moments of the group’s shared history (Crespo, Ciraso and Ucar, 2012). The adaptation and implementation of this technique led to optimal results since it generated involvement in the steering group and highlighted the different points of view existing in the community.

In Phase 6, evaluating the variable “*CDP operating actions*”, the dynamic “*lets bake a good plan*” - developed in one of the communities - was applied, which involved finding out and sharing the elements required for a good community plan by creating a cooking recipe and organizing all the elements required for a PE plan. One aspect fostered throughout the process was the *multiplication* of techniques applied by the steering group. *Multiplication* consists in non-expert members of the steering group, with the support of expert evaluators, replicating a specific technique and the dynamics of participatory evaluation in their reference community groups. Each *multiplication* performed by a member of the steering group in their reference group allows more evaluative data to be gathered. In turn, this process allows the amount of data produced by the steering group to be multiplied by the number of replicas each participant performs and the PE process to be spread throughout the community. However, it should be noted that *multiplication* was limited in this case, mainly due to the insecurity of some members of the steering group when setting up these processes in their groups. Multiplying an activity in another group empowers those people capable of overcoming their fears and insecurities to finally apply it in their groups. In our experience, people

with a more technical profile performed the *multiplications* easily, and only had limitations with regard to their availability. Due to these limitations, however, fewer *multiplications* than desired were made in the studied communities.

Phase 7 consisted in evaluating the process followed by those people comprising the steering group throughout PE. Evaluation of the implemented process is essential for appropriate closure of the PE and anticipating future actions and challenges for the community. The actions implemented were: (1) Revision of the PE process conducted and fulfilment of participants' initial expectations; (2) Identifying and evaluating the individual and group learning achieved by participants; (3) Analysing new challenges generated from the PE process. Different techniques were also applied in this phase, such as the *collage of experiences*, which enabled reconstruction of the entire PE process conducted by the steering group over a year.

In Phase 8 of the PE, the results were presented and the best ways to disseminate both these and the PE experience were analysed and discussed. Implementing PE in the three communities made it possible to identify and evaluate, in a participatory way, the results of the community development plans conducted; it also empowered people and generated unity and team spirit in the steering group. These results have led to further PE actions being conducted on the initiative of the steering group itself without the further involvement of academic experts in evaluation. One example of this is the setting up of a theatre-forum in Badia del Vallès to disseminate PE and its continuity as a social theatre group in that community.

Discussion

The case studies conducted allowed us to test the PE process in practice in three different communities and to some extent determine how much learning and empowerment occur during this process. Results are most visible once PE has been completed. The reflections of the three PE steering groups in each community clearly show the usefulness of these processes and a positive and satisfactory assessment of the journey undertaken. The PE had been set up both as an individual and group learning process and as a legitimization process that promotes community members' possession of all those skills and knowledge that form part of or are related to their daily lives. One of the aspects to have been rated very highly is the feeling of enrichment PE gave to all group members. Participants specifically referred here to skills and knowledge regarding PE techniques. They appreciated the opportunity to learn about and apply a different community work methodology. They believed that they have learned from this interaction with academic evaluation experts and the decisions that they have had to make during the PE process. These interactions and decisions have allowed them to now adopt a new approach to issues in their communities.

However, the same levels of learning were not generated in all cases due to the constitution of the steering groups. In only one of the communities (Badia) was a steering group created that integrated the diversity of all agents in the territory. In the other two, as noted earlier, groups were created with a higher number of community managers and a lower presence of local residents and representatives of associations. These differences between the three steering group affected not only the focus of the evaluation but also the involvement of participants and the characteristics of their learning. Perception of the learning and levels of empowerment achieved were higher in the more diverse group than in the two with a higher number of managers. It should be noted in this regard that the figure of the community manager is essential when constituting the steering groups. Their professional capacity and the work they do in the territory decisively influence not only the constitution of the groups and the involvement of participants in the process, but also the characteristics of their learning.

It is worth mentioning that this process not only contributes to generating new knowledge and providing information exchange and reflection, but also has an emotional impact on participants and their involvement in community projects. Steering group members demonstrate a clear sense of belonging. This feeling manifests itself in the proposals they make and the willingness to continue developing the PE process, as well as the need to share this process and its results with the whole community. The process also contributes to formulating concrete proposals for the advancement of community development plans and creating a social knowledge network, and with it relational and social capital among neighbours and neighbourhood organizations. We may conclude that social networks and experience should serve to overcome the mistakes made and move forward with an improved community development plan. One important element is awareness of the need to improve coordination between institutions and community administrations in implementing PE. The use made of the results of participatory assessment may depend on the level of involvement of local government in this process. In one of the cases studied, the local government was not interested in generating lines of political action in the community from the results obtained.

There seems to be a need for more transversal and horizontal working areas, with the promotion of more decision-making by community members and less protection by the administration; there is a need to develop greater trust among all stakeholders. The three PE cases highlight the need for close institutional collaboration between public authorities and civil society in the design, implementation and evaluation of social and educational initiatives (Laperriere, Potvin and Zuniga, 2012). Plottu & Plottu (2009) consider PE to be applicable to the evaluation process in community development actions and processes for four different reasons: (1) to provide a more valid assessment; (2) to provide a better use of the results obtained; (3) to promote public engagement among participants; and finally, (4) to create a process of empowerment. In all three cases presented here, we have seen tangible examples of all four reasons (Soler *et al.* 2014).

As has already been pointed out, EE and PE-T are the most suitable approaches to methodological strategies in the evaluation of programmes and activities conducted in the actions of community development, for at least three reasons. Firstly, because both emphasize the usefulness of the evaluation process as a space for relationships and learning; in other words, development of the evaluation process itself constitutes an outcome that allows identification of what people learn during their evaluative experience (Forss, Rebien & Carlsson, 2002). Secondly, learning processes and the participatory evaluation process undertaken involve constant processes of community negotiation (Sharkey & Sharples, 2008). We believe that negotiation is a key strategy in the process of participatory evaluation when it comes to community development plans. Finally, both approaches help to increase the evaluative capabilities of those involved. The use of a set of strategies and dynamic evaluation techniques introduced by evaluation experts in the steering group enables community members to acquire new evaluative skills. This skills acquisition - which equates to empowerment in the evaluation field - helps participants in community development activities to assess programmes without the presence of evaluators external to the community.

The methodological process is closely linked to the individual features and limitations of each community, and methods used in other processes should therefore be adapted before being implemented (Planas *et al.* 2014). On the basis of this experience of implementing PE in three community development plans, we would like to propose some considerations and useful methodological contributions for the implementation of new community PE processes.

The point of entry into the community is a crucial moment, when the usual resistance to evaluation must be overcome early in the process (Miller & Lennie, 2005). Therefore, we consider it advisable to invest time in negotiating with managers or the organization responsible for community action so as to establish a framework for collaboration from the start of PE. The figure of community worker is also crucial. These are experts in their community's dynamics, history and potential. They are a key element when establishing the steering group and act as mediators between the group and the team of evaluation experts. The composition of the steering group determines the direction of the PE process and requires sufficient information on the PE process, motivating the community, and encouraging participation of its members. We recommend the establishment of a steering group in which the maximum number of stakeholders in the area are represented, and that they provide a diversity of knowledge, skills and experiences so as to design and implement more effective assessments (Baur *et al.*, 2010; Miller & Lennie, 2005) and increase the use of results. It is important to conduct participatory activities throughout the entire process, where all participants of the community can express their views, regardless of which position of power they hold.

Regarding participation, the expert evaluation team should work to achieve a balance in the control process followed by the steering group (Cousins, 2003). This entails the non-expert evaluation members of the steering group involving themselves in all actions and processes on the same level as the expert evaluators: in the design process, the decision-making process and the implementation of methodologies (interviews with key stakeholders, guiding multiplications, analysing documentation etc.). This is without doubt a key challenge during PE. It is essential to be flexible when making changes to the evaluation plan and the implementation of PE (Furrer, Burrus, Green & Greenidge, 2007; Scarinci *et al.*, 2009). If the group intends to take control of the process, it must be flexible and adapt to the situations and potential of those participating throughout. Efforts must be made to obtain good feedback on the results of the process, which will enable the steering group to consider the learning achieved, take decisions over future actions and improve the community action plan.

Closure of the process with the team of external evaluators is not necessarily the end of PE. In fact, it would be useful for the group to continue with the process in the community once PE is finished. Thus, the end point of the process actually becomes the starting point for integrating evaluation practices in everyday life (Furrer *et al.*, 2007). This result indicates that the community has been empowered in evaluation issues (Themessl-Huber & Grutsch, 2003) and has contributed to creating an evaluation culture (Miller and Lennie, 2005).

Conclusion

In conclusion, we would like to stress that PE puts more emphasis on the process than the end product generated by evaluation; it is the process that provides the educational component of PE. We might say that this is a process in which learning takes place through action; in which the greater the involvement during the various stages of the process, the greater the learning will be. We agree with Cousins (2003) when he defines Participatory Evaluation as that which produces learning and builds capacities and empowerment. We are convinced that PE generates learning, provides group cohesion, makes group members more active in the community and more critical of their context, and empowers them. This is the main contribution that justifies its use in the processes of community development.

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