

L'évaluation des politiques publiques :

les sciences sociales comme sciences de gouvernement

La thématique de l'évaluation des politiques publiques occupe une bonne place depuis les années 1980 sur l'agenda de recherche comme sur l'agenda politique. Une telle observation est pourtant paradoxale, dans la mesure où tout le monde s'accorde sur le fait que la situation française est marquée par une institutionnalisation difficile de l'évaluation des politiques publiques qui fait de cette dernière une activité faiblement identifiée, insuffisamment systématisée et dont les résultats sont généralement sous-utilisés [1]. Le bilan des dernières années, en dépit d'un affichage ambitieux allant de la Révision générale des politiques publiques (RGPP) à la Modernisation de l'action publique (MAP), est plutôt mitigé, en tout cas « pas à la hauteur des ambitions », comme le notent des observateurs attentifs [2].

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Si, en dépit de réelles difficultés d'opérationnalisations, la question de l'évaluation des politiques publiques demeure, c'est bien parce qu'elle est devenue incontournable et qu'elle a un sens. Elle tient en effet à la nature même de l'exercice du pouvoir politique et à sa justification. La qualité de l'action publique est devenue un enjeu fort du débat public. Le pouvoir politique a été historiquement identifié davantage à une logique de *pouvoir sur* que de *pouvoir de*, même s'il est clair que, en pratique, le second peut difficilement se passer du premier. L'aptitude à contrôler et maîtriser les individus et les groupes est longtemps restée plus significative que la capacité à produire des résultats, *to affect* plutôt que *to effect* pour reprendre la terminologie expressive de Peter Morris^[1]. Or désormais, si l'on ne peut évaluer la question de l'ordre politique et du régime qui lui correspond, on ne peut valablement ignorer que le pouvoir trouve aussi sa justification dans ses réalisations. Il faudra quasiment les difficultés des années 1970 et ce qu'on a appelé sans grande précaution la « crise de l'État-providence » pour que l'on soit amené à articuler *démocratie de forme* et *démocratie*

de contenu dans le cadre d'une théorie moderne de la légitimité. La forte intériorisation d'un modèle d'État protecteur a incontestablement rendu les citoyens plus sensibles aux performances des autorités publiques, au point de faire de l'efficacité un critère de légitimité. Ainsi que l'a montré Habermas^[2], on n'obéit pas seulement pour ce que sont les règles qui conditionnent l'action, mais aussi pour ce qu'on pense que sont les résultats de cette même action. La croyance dans la légitimité du pouvoir politique doit aussi pouvoir se nourrir de la réalité de sa puissance, comme l'avait historiquement bien montré Max Weber.

L'évaluation des politiques publiques a ainsi participé avec la recomposition des registres de justification du pouvoir. La démocratie elle-même ne peut plus seulement se définir comme une procédure de sélection des dirigeants sans s'étendre aux réalisations du pouvoir. Ceci définit une approche moderne de la légitimité politique au sens où celle-ci doit combiner *engagement* (choix de ce qui est digne de valeur, détermination des priorités, etc.) et *responsabilité* (assumer non seulement ce que l'on fait, mais aussi les conséquences de ce

[1] Morris P., *Power: A Philosophical Analysis*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967.

[2] Habermas J., *Raison et légitimité. Problèmes de légitimation dans le capitalisme avancé*, Paris, Payot, 1978.

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L'évaluation des politiques publiques Gaëlle Baron, Nicolas Matyjasik, 2012-11-01 L'évaluation des politiques publiques constitue un instrument de disposition des pouvoirs publics pour engager les mutations nécessaires de leur action. Elle doit accompagner et si possible précéder ces évolutions. L'implication des citoyens et la diffusion grand public sont par exemple des réponses aux attentes de participation à la décision publique. L'évaluation doit aussi adapter ses méthodologies et identifier les priorités d'intervention.

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Table of Contents Leacutevaluation Des Politiques Publiques Deacutefi Dune Socieacuteteacutute En Tension

1. Understanding the eBook Leacutevaluation Des Politiques Publiques Deacutefi Dune Socieacuteteacutute En Tension
 - The Rise of Digital Reading Leacutevaluation Des Politiques Publiques Deacutefi Dune Socieacuteteacutute En Tension
 - Advantages of eBooks Over Traditional Books
2. Identifying Leacutevaluation Des Politiques Publiques Deacutefi Dune Socieacuteteacutute En Tension
 - Exploring Different Genres
 - Considering Fiction vs. Non-Fiction
 - Determining Your Reading Goals
3. Choosing the Right eBook Platform
 - Popular eBook Platforms

- Features to Look for in an Leacutevaluation Des Politiques Publiques Deacutefi Dune Socieacuteteacute En Tension
- User-Friendly Interface
- 4. Exploring eBook Recommendations from Leacutevaluation Des Politiques Publiques Deacutefi Dune Socieacuteteacute En Tension
 - Personalized Recommendations
 - Leacutevaluation Des Politiques Publiques Deacutefi Dune Socieacuteteacute En Tension User Reviews and Ratings
 - Leacutevaluation Des Politiques Publiques Deacutefi Dune Socieacuteteacute En Tension and Bestseller Lists
- 5. Accessing Leacutevaluation Des Politiques Publiques Deacutefi Dune Socieacuteteacute En Tension Free and Paid eBooks
 - Leacutevaluation Des Politiques Publiques Deacutefi Dune Socieacuteteacute En Tension Public Domain eBooks
 - Leacutevaluation Des Politiques Publiques Deacutefi Dune Socieacuteteacute En Tension eBook Subscription Services
 - Leacutevaluation Des Politiques Publiques Deacutefi Dune Socieacuteteacute En Tension Budget-Friendly Options
- 6. Navigating Leacutevaluation Des Politiques Publiques Deacutefi Dune Socieacuteteacute En Tension eBook Formats
 - ePub, PDF, MOBI, and More
 - Leacutevaluation Des Politiques Publiques Deacutefi Dune Socieacuteteacute En Tension Compatibility with Devices
 - Leacutevaluation Des Politiques Publiques Deacutefi Dune Socieacuteteacute En Tension Enhanced eBook Features
- 7. Enhancing Your Reading Experience
 - Adjustable Fonts and Text Sizes of Leacutevaluation Des Politiques Publiques Deacutefi Dune Socieacuteteacute En Tension
 - Highlighting and Note-Taking Leacutevaluation Des Politiques Publiques Deacutefi Dune Socieacuteteacute En Tension
 - Interactive Elements Leacutevaluation Des Politiques Publiques Deacutefi Dune Socieacuteteacute En Tension
- 8. Staying Engaged with Leacutevaluation Des Politiques Publiques Deacutefi Dune Socieacuteteacute En Tension
 - Joining Online Reading Communities

- Participating in Virtual Book Clubs
- Following Authors and Publishers Leacutevaluation Des Politiques Publiques Deacutefi Dune Socieacuteteacutute En Tension
- 9. Balancing eBooks and Physical Books Leacutevaluation Des Politiques Publiques Deacutefi Dune Socieacuteteacutute En Tension
 - Benefits of a Digital Library
 - Creating a Diverse Reading Collection Leacutevaluation Des Politiques Publiques Deacutefi Dune Socieacuteteacutute En Tension
- 10. Overcoming Reading Challenges
 - Dealing with Digital Eye Strain
 - Minimizing Distractions
 - Managing Screen Time
- 11. Cultivating a Reading Routine Leacutevaluation Des Politiques Publiques Deacutefi Dune Socieacuteteacutute En Tension
 - Setting Reading Goals Leacutevaluation Des Politiques Publiques Deacutefi Dune Socieacuteteacutute En Tension
 - Carving Out Dedicated Reading Time
- 12. Sourcing Reliable Information of Leacutevaluation Des Politiques Publiques Deacutefi Dune Socieacuteteacutute En Tension
 - Fact-Checking eBook Content of Leacutevaluation Des Politiques Publiques Deacutefi Dune Socieacuteteacutute En Tension
 - Distinguishing Credible Sources
- 13. Promoting Lifelong Learning
 - Utilizing eBooks for Skill Development
 - Exploring Educational eBooks
- 14. Embracing eBook Trends
 - Integration of Multimedia Elements
 - Interactive and Gamified eBooks

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