9ème Symposium de recherche Unisanté : L'impact de la recherche

Quel est l'impact de la recherche sur les politiques de santé ?

Céline Mavrot, Professeure Assistante
Institut des sciences sociales, UNIL

Mardi 26 mars 2024

Covid-19 : Le règne de l'expertise ?

« Although it is understandable that governments should do what they want rather than what a group of scientists suggests they should do, it means that the model of evidence based policy in the first paragraph is something of a parody. » (Marmot 2004)

« Although most practitioners claim to support the use of evidence relevant to their roles, their use of the best available evidence is patchy. » (Head 2016)

« Despite 40 years of research into evidence-based policy (EBP) and a continued drive from both policymakers and researchers to increase research uptake in policy, barriers to the use of evidence are persistently identified in the literature. » (Oliver et al. 2014)
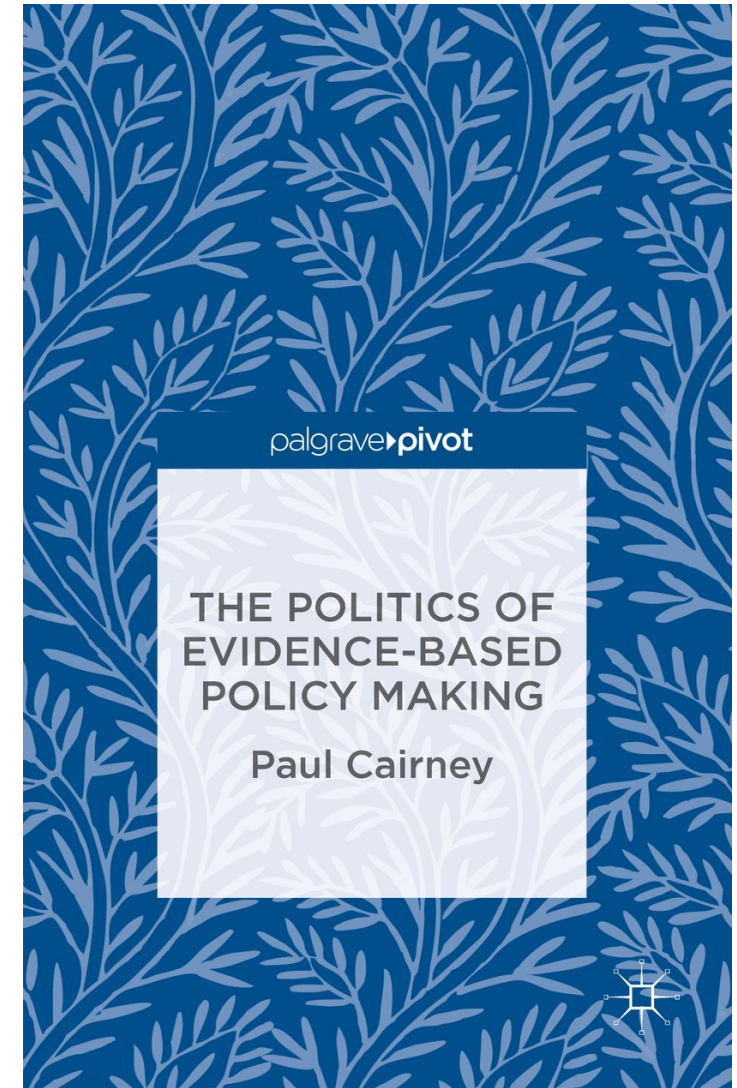
Pour un retournement de perspective

 « Some express the view that **policymakers should think like scientists** and/ or that evidence-based policymaking should be more like a **caricature of evidence-based medicine** in which everyone supports the same **hierarchy of evidence**. » (Blog Paul Cairney 2024)

Evidence-based policy…or **policy-based evidence**? (Marmot 2004)

Utilization-focused evaluation (Patton 2013; 2021)

➢Accepter la hiérarchie des valeurs démocratiques: acceptance, faisabilité, pluralisme, ownership… (Cairney 2024)

Pour un retournement de perspective

Toward More "Evidence-Informed" Policy Making?

Brian W. Head

The copyright line for this article was changed on April 5, 2016 after original online publication.

≡ SECTIONS   📄 PDF   🔧 TOOLS   ≺ SHARE

Abstract

The quality of public decision making depends significantly on the quality of analysis and advice provided through public organizations. Champions of "evidence-informed" policy making claim that rigorous evaluation practices can significantly improve attainment of cost-effective outcomes. After decades of experience, performance information is more sophisticated, but evaluation practices and capabilities vary enormously. Public agencies gather and process vast amounts of information, but there has been little analysis of how this information is actually utilized for policy and program improvement. This article examines how government agencies use evidence about policy and program effectiveness, with attention to four themes: (1) the prospects for improving "evidence-informed" policy making, (2) the diversity of practices concerning evidence utilization and evaluation across types of public agencies and policy arenas, (3) recent attempts to "institutionalize" evaluation as a core feature of policy development and budget approval, and (4) the relationships between public agencies and nongovernmental sources of expertise.

De l'evidence-based à l'**evidence-informed policy** ? (Head 2016)

→ « Where implicit, a simple 'pipeline' model is usually assumed (i.e., that **the more research** is carried out and the higher the quality, **the bigger the effect on policy** and practice). »

→ « Rather than asking how research evidence can be made more influential, **academics should aim to understand what influences and constitutes policy**, and produce more critically and theoretically informed studies of decision-making. » (Oliver et al. 2014)

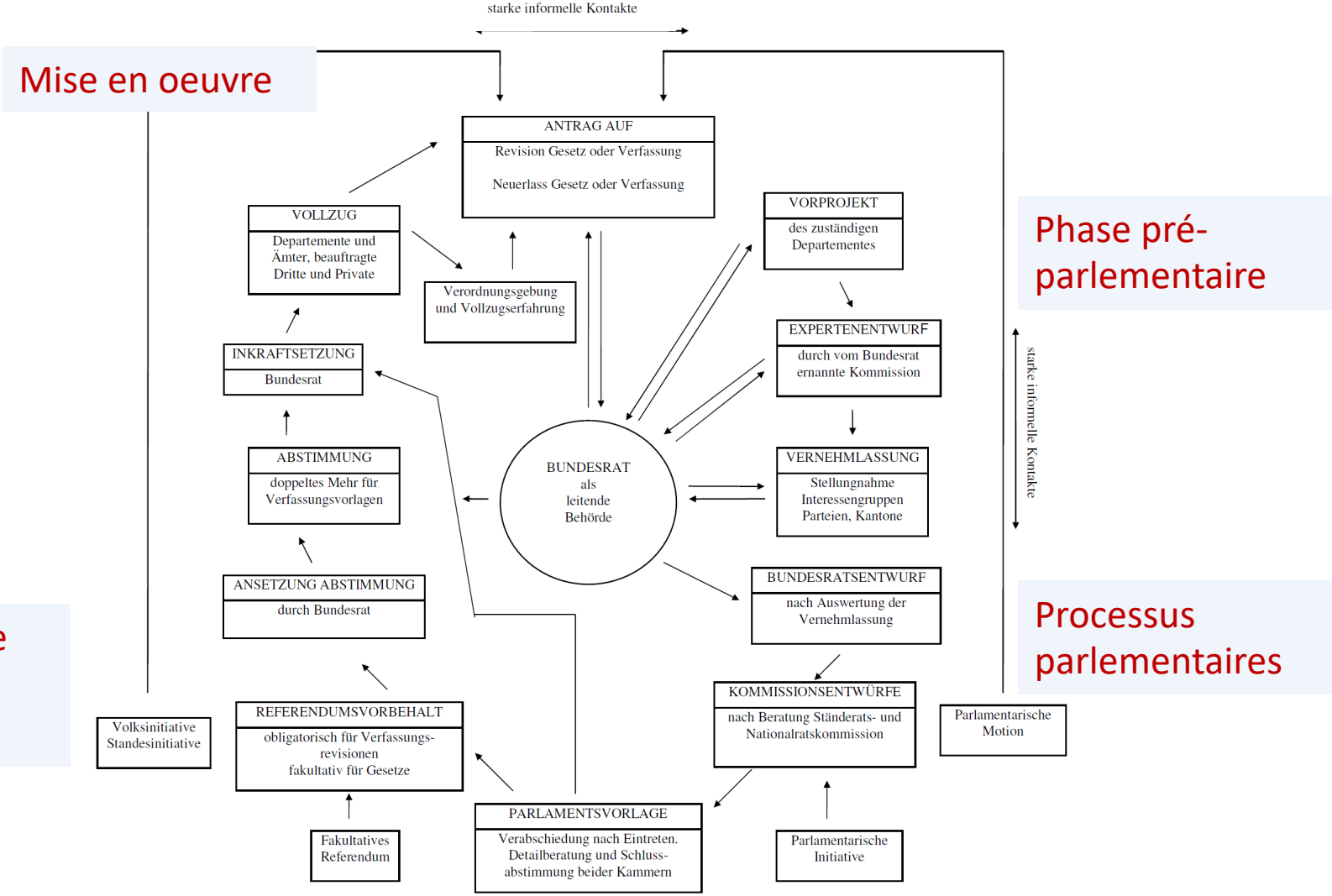# La fabrique des politiques publiques

Science

Politique ?

La fabrique des politiques publiques

Mise en oeuvre

Science → Politique !

Procédures de démocratie directe

Phase pré-parlementaire

Processus parlementaires

(Linder/Mueller 2017: 369)

- **Polity** : ensemble d'institutions et de règles structurant le jeu politique

- **Politics** : jeu politique partisan (compétition électorale, affrontements inter-partis)

- **Policies** : formulation et mise en œuvre des politiques publiques

(Leca 2012)

Palais fédéral, Dictionnaire historique de la Suisse

24Heures, 12.09.2020, « Quand les élus doivent s'agiter dans un bocal »

Admin.ch, Le rôle de la Chancellerie

I. Polity-Politics-Policies

- **Système de concordance**
  - Tradition de partage du pouvoir
  - Démocratie semi-directe pousse à la recherche de compromis

- **Le fédéralisme**
  - "Multiple Venue" – expérimentations bottom-up
  - Potentielles incohérences

- **Système de milice et administration faible**
  - Capacités politico-administratives faibles en comparaison internationale
  - Besoin en expertise externe, lobbying

  (Linder & Müller 2021; Mavrot 2017; Ritz et al. 2019; Sager, Ingold, Balthasar 2017: 21-31; Studlar 2010)

II. Polity-Politics-Policies : Elu.e.s

Contraintes d'échelles :

- Échelle supra-nationale : intérêts économiques, enjeux géopolitiques (Wangler et al. 2013)

- Échelle infra-nationale : initiatives mais manque de prérogatives et de moyens (Shipan & Volden 2006)

Contraintes temporelles :

- Politiques ambitieuses = long-terme

- Temporalité politique = court-terme (contraintes électorales, *blame avoidance*...) (Hood 2007; Jacobs 2011; Mavrot et al. 2023)

Contraintes de rôle :

- Démocratie représentative = synthèse d'intérêts antagonistes

Contraintes discursives :

- Arènes d'énonciation font peser des contraintes :arènes semi-confidentielles (commission), arènes publiques (débats parlementaires)

Contraintes historiques, *path depedency* :

- « Self-reinforcing sequences that reproduce given institutional patterns » (Holsen 2021)

II. Polity-Politics-Policies : Elu.e.s

→ Usage de l'évidence: **réel, stratégique, symbolique**… (Mavrot & Pattyn 2022; Ledermann 2012)

→ Bonne évidence politique n'est pas evidence-based medicine mais **co-construction** expert.e.s-stakeholders-politicien.ne.s – selon valeurs politiques (Parkhurst & Abeysinghe 2016)

→ Contextualisation des effets (la causalité n'est pas mono-factorielle dans le monde social) – **diversification des ordres de preuve** (Parkhurst & Abeysinghe 2016)

Asla.org

II. Polity-Politics-Policies : Population

Votations Loi Covid-19 et Initiative sur les soins infirmiers 28 novembre 2021, rts.ch
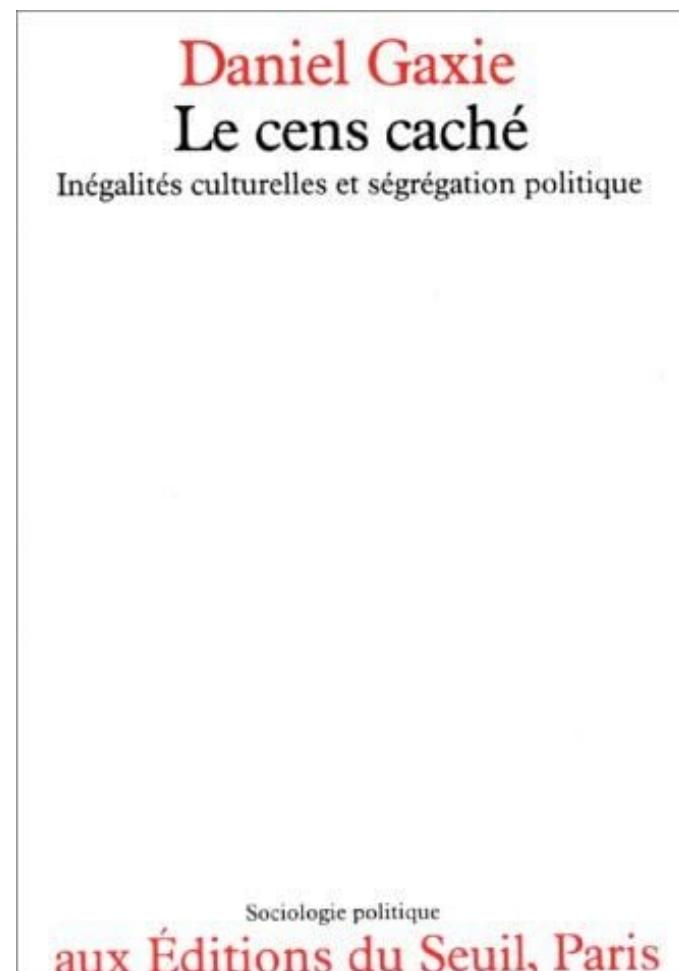

Rts.ch

Population

Inégalités de santé, inégalités d'accès au système de santé…

Mais aussi **inégalités d'accès à la démocratie**

Le cens caché (Gaxie 1978)

Stratification socio-économique de la participation démocratique : vote, sentiment de compétence politique → participation aux débats, aux mobilisations

Daniel Gaxie
Le cens caché
Inégalités culturelles et ségrégation politique

Sociologie politique
aux Éditions du Seuil, Paris

« For example, our Evidence vs Democracy report set out the case for how mini-publics can **help democracy connect with evidence** » (Alliance for useful evidence)

Assessing the Potential of Mini-publics to Promote Evidence Uptake in Social Policy and Practice

Stephen Elstub, Ian Johnson, Ruth Puttick & Matthew Wilkinson

Newcastle University

III. Polity-Politics-Policies

- Concrétisation et mise en oeuvre des politiques (*policy designing and policy implementation*)

- Administration : i) stabilité, ii) est spécialisée, iii) pas de pression électorale

- ***Street-, mid- et high-level*** *bureaucracy* influencent la mise en oeuvre mais aussi la formulation des politiques et peuvent promouvoir le changement politique (Edri-Peer et al. 2023; Lavee & Cohen 2019; Lipsky 2010; Laurens 2009))

  → Influence de l'administration dans la **mise en oeuvre**, la **mise en forme**, voire la **formulation** des politiques !

Le conseil à l'administration doit passer deux tests (Weiss & Bucuvalas 1980) :

- le **test de vérité** (*truth test*) : faits scientifiques rigoureusement établis, liens de causalité entre phénomènes – hypothèse causale

- Le **test de faisabilité** (*utility test*) : faisabilité et acceptabilité des solutions – hypothèse d'intervention

When politicians do not care for the policy: Street-level compliance in cross-agency contexts

Céline Mavrot
KPM Center for Public Management, University of Bern, Switzerland; David Geffen School of Medicine, University of California Los Angeles (UCLA), USA

Susanne Hadorn
KPM Center for Public Management, University of Bern, Switzerland

Abstract
The non-implementation of political decisions is a major challenge of contemporary political life. Policy analysis has devoted careful attention to implementation gaps resulting from administrative non-compliance with political orders. However, the fact that political authorities actually want to enforce all policies should not be taken for granted. This article proposes a conceptual model that systematically accounts for cross-agency divergence and convergence processes both at the political and at the street levels. We find that in inter-sectoral policies, dissent between different heads of agencies (political level) or between groups of implementing bureaucrats (street level) rather than dissent between the political and the street-level can be a major cause of non-compliance. Based on a comparative dataset on the implementation of the smoking ban in 12 Swiss states, the article analyzes cross-agency fragmentation processes. It advocates a stronger dialogue between street-level bureaucracy and policy coordination literatures, and nuances the conceptualization of (non-)compliance in a cross-agency context.

De l'evidence-based à l'utilisation-focused evidence ?

Evidence-based : mise à disposition d'information scientifique

Utilization-focused : travail sur l'utilisation effective de cette évidence (issu de l'évaluation, Michael Quinn Patton 2013; 2008)

Le conseil scientifique doit passer deux tests (Weiss & Bucuvalas 1980) :

Le **test de vérité** (*truth test*) : faits scientifiques rigoureusement établis, liens de causalité entre phénomènes – hypothèse causale

Le **test de faisabilité** (*utility test*) : faisabilité et acceptabilité des solutions – hypothèse d'intervention

→ Anticiper : les oppositions, les **résistances**, les alliances possibles, les **contraintes** temporelles-budgétaires-matérielles, l'**acceptation** publique.. (Sager et al. 2020)

Unsplash, Alex Shute

IStock

Conclusions

L'evidence-based policy ne peut pas se calquer sur les procédures et ordres de preuve de l'evidence-based medicine

Différentes cibles de l'évidence : élu.e.s, population, administration

S'inscrit dans un système complexe polity, policies, politics

→ Distinguer qui cibler, quand, sous quelle forme

ODI, « Explainer: what is evidence-informed policy-making? »

Références (i)

Cairney P. (2024). Blog Politics & Public Policy, https://paulcairney.wordpress.com/evidence/

Cairney P. (2016). *The Politics of Evidence-Based Policy-Making*. London: Palgrave Pivot.

Edri-Peer Ofek, Silveira Costa Mariana, Davidovitz Maayan, Frisch-Aviram Neomi, Shehade Jamal, Diab, Hadeel, Golan-Nadir Niva, Cohen Nissim. (2023). Policy entrepreneurship on the street-level: A systematic literature review. *European Policy Analysis*, early online: 1–23. https://doi.org/10.1002/epa2.1187

Gaxie D (1978). *Le cens caché. Inégalités culturelles et segrégation politique.* Paris: Seuil.

Head, B.W. (2016), Toward More "Evidence-Informed" Policy Making?. Public Admin Rev, 76: 472-484. https://doi.org/10.1111/puar.12475

Holsen Terje (2021). A path dependent systems perspective on participation in municipal land-use planning, *European Planning Studies* 29(7): 1193-1210.

Hood Christopher (2007). What happens when transparency meets blame avoidance?, *Public Management Review* 9(2): 191-210.

Jacobs A. M. (2011). *Governing for the long term: Democracy and the politics of Investment*. Cambridge University Press.

Laurens Sylvain (2009). *Une politisation feutrée. Les hauts fonctionnaires et l'immigration en France*. Paris: Belin.

Lavee Einat Cohen Nissim (2019). How street-level bureaucrats become policy entrepreneurs: The case of urban renewal. *Governance*, *32*(3) : 475– 492.

Références (ii)

Leca, J. (2012). L'état entre politics, policies et polity: ou peut-on sortir du triangle des Bermudes ?. *Gouvernement et action publique*, OL1, 59-82. https://doi.org/10.3917/gap.121.0059

Ledermann, S. (2012). Exploring the Necessary Conditions for Evaluation Use in Program Change. *American Journal of Evaluation*, *33*(2), 159-178. https://doi.org/10.1177/1098214011411573

Linder Wolf, Mueller Sean (2021). *Swiss Democracy. Possible Solutions to Conflict in Multicultural Societies*. Springer.

Linder Wolf, Mueller Sean (2017). *Schweizerische Demokratie*. 4ème éd. Bern: Haupt.

Lipsky Michael (2010 [1980]). *Street level bureaucacy. Dilemmas of the individuals in public service*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Marmot M. G. (2004). Evidence based policy or policy based evidence?. *BMJ (Clinical research ed.)*, *328*(7445), 906–907. https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.328.7445.906

Mavrot Céline (2017). "Concerted Horizontal Policy Transfer: How Local Action can Drive National Compliance to International Norms". In: Magdaléna Hadjiisky, Leslie A. Pal, Christopher Walker (Eds.), *Public Policy Transfer: Micro-Dynamics and Macro-Effects*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, pp. 101-124. ISBN: 9781785368035.

Mavrot Céline, Pattyn Valérie (2022). "The Politics of Evaluation", in Ladner Andreas, Sager Fritz (Eds.), *Handbook on the Politics of Public Administration* (pp. 243-254), Cheltenham: Edward Elgar. ISBN: 978 1 83910 943

Références (iii)

Mavrot Céline, Sager Fritz, Hinterleitner Markus, Kaufmann David, Grosjean Martin, Stocker Thomas F. (2023). Quelle communication scientifique dans la lutte contre le changement climatique ?, SciencesPo, *Cahiers du LIEPP* 63. hal-04007666

Oliver, K., Lorenc, T. & Innvær, S. New directions in evidence-based policy research: a critical analysis of the literature. *Health Res Policy Sys* **12**, 34 (2014). https://doi.org/10.1186/1478-4505-12-34.

Parkhurst, J. O., & Abeysinghe, S. (2016). What Constitutes "Good" Evidence for Public Health and Social Policy-making? From Hierarchies to Appropriateness. *Social Epistemology*, *30*(5–6), 665–679. https://doi.org/10.1080/02691728.2016.1172365

Patton Michael Quinn (2013). *Utilization-Focused Evaluation (U-FE) Checklist*. En ligne : https://wmich.edu/sites/default/files/attachments/u350/2014/UFE_checklist_2013.pdf.

Patton Michael Quinn (2008). *Utilization-Focused Evaluation*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Ritz Adrian, Haldemann Theo, Sager Fritz. *Blackbox Exekutive: Regierungslehre in der Schweiz*. Basel: NZZ Libro.

Sager Fritz, Karin Ingold, Balthasar Andreas (2017). *Policy-Analyse in der Schweiz – Besonderheiten, Theorien, Beispiele*. Zürich: NZZ libro.

Sager Fritz, Mavrot Céline, Hinterleitner Markus, Kaufmann David, Grosjean Martin, Stocker Thomas F. (2020). Six-Point Checklist for Utilization-focused Scientific Policy Advice, *Climate Policy* 20(10): 1336-1343.

Références (iv)

Shipan Charles R., Volden Craig (2006). Bottom-Up Federalism: The Diffusion of Antismoking Policies from U.S. Cities to States. *American Journal of Political Science* 50(4): 825–843.

Studlar Donley T. (2010). What Explains the Paradox of Tobacco Control Policy under Federalism in the U.S. and Canada? Comparative Federalism Theory versus Multi-level Governance, *Publius:TheJournal of Federalism* 40(3): 389-411.

Wangler Leo, Altamirano-Cabrera Juan-Carlos, Weikard Hans-Peter (2013). The political economy of international environmental agreements: a survey, *International Environmental Agreements* 13: 387–403.

Weiss Carol H., Bucuvalas Michael J. (1980). Truth tests and utility tests: decision-maker's frames of reference for social science research, *American Sociological Review* 45: 302-313.