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An innovative tool for territorial shared diagnosis on poverty and social inclusion: a support for cooperation?

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Abstract

Stakeholders involved in social housing and social integration are numerous (governmental services, non-profit organizations, volunteers, local authorities, etc.). These multiple actors, with heterogeneous resources (coming partly from the government, partly from other institutions) have different areas of intervention, which does not always make actions effective, the ultimate goal being obviously to increase social utility or societal utility created. In order to both increase knowledge about housing and social integration, and improve coordination between stakeholders, the French government designed and made available to local actors a methodology for a shared territorial diagnosis, so-called "360° diagnosis". In this communication, we present two case studies corresponding to the deployment of this tool in two regions. We propose a critical analysis of the implementation of this tool, by focusing on its uses and effects, this next to its philosophy and its initial intentions.

Introduction

Historically, the non profit sector supports many activities and responsibilities in relation to accommodation and social integration of the most vulnerable people. Stakeholders involved in this activities are numerous (governmental services, non-profit organizations, volunteers, local authorities, etc.). These multiple actors, with heterogeneous resources (coming partly from the government, partly from other institutions) have different areas of intervention, which does not always make actions effective, the ultimate goal being obviously to increase social utility or societal utility created.

In France, in early 2013, the government wanted to be more involved in the management of hosting arrangements and social integration, drawing a strategy included in the multi-year plan to fight against poverty and for social inclusion. The proposed strategy is built around two lines: giving priority access to housing on the one hand, and answering the needs for a greater offer of lodging (by increasing capabilities but also improving housing conditions) on the other hand.

Two issues may hinder the achievement of these goals: the multiplicity of actors and actions already undertaken in the field, and the difficulty of coordinating actions throughout each territory (region). In response, the French government designed and made available to local actors a methodology for a shared territorial diagnosis. This diagnosis, so-called "360°", is a prerequisite required by the government before any decision or action. The aim of these diagnoses is to highlight issues (homelessness, inadequate housing) and to analyze the existing offer, this in a comprehensive, objective and shared manner. The 360° evaluation is to be "a decision aiding tool for the government and local communities"¹.

¹ Ministry document published the 18th of August 2014.

This tool was deployed for the first time early 2015 on all French regions, at the request of the French Minister of Housing and Equality in Territories, with the obligation for each region to return diagnosis before June 2015. In each region, an identified organization (a governmental agency or an actor from the private sector) facilitated the realization of this diagnosis. This diagnosis should be updated annually, allowing for comparisons over time. The government has not only formulated the goals and intentions of the 360° evaluation but it also detailed precisely the methodology that actors must mobilize across territories. In addition to the aspects covered by the evaluation, the methodological framework emphasizes the diversity of stakeholders to be involved in the process.

Beyond its main function (evaluation), the 360° shared diagnosis would aim to stimulate local dynamics and foster collaborations between stakeholders, harmonization and practices transformations, the actual process of diagnosis creating *de facto* a link between players on the same territory and concerned with the same problem. The premise thus posed is that in participating, through the 360°, to a process of construction of a shared representation, the actors will have more ease to appropriate the results by integrating them in their decision-making process and translate collaboratively in actions on the territory. It would ultimately create the conditions for social innovation.

This evaluation support is therefore a full management tool: a knowledge production tool aiding the decision (diagnosis tool) and a tool promoting interactions between actors on the basis of a shared diagnosis. It would provide a means for collective action. Nevertheless, it is possible to question the way local actors have used this methodology in a sector where very few formalized management tools are deployed. This raises particular issues. Did the actors in charge of the 360° manage to preserve the core philosophy of this tool? Has the approach been perverted into a rationalization tool of past decisions rather than a useful knowledge

production support for the community? Did the creation of relationships between actors expected through this evaluation process happen?

We propose to address these questions on the basis of a critical analysis of the implementation of this 360° diagnosis on two French regions. We pay attention on the implementation process of the assessment tool to identify its uses and effects, this next to its philosophy and its initial intentions.

I. A shared territorial diagnosis deployed on two French regions

First, we specify what the shared territorial diagnosis consists in, both in its philosophy and its nature, and its implementation. Second, we present two cases of deployment of this assessment tool on two French territories.

A. The 360° diagnosis: principles, goals and methodology

The French policy of accommodation and access to housing is characterized by a strategy focused on giving the priority access to housing on the one hand, and answering the needs for a greater offer of lodging on the other hand. This strategy has been formulated in the multi-year plan to fight against poverty and for social inclusion, adopted on 21 January 2013. The principle of shared territorial diagnosis so-called “360°” was chosen to support the implementation of this strategy. The logic of these diagnoses was proposed to the government decentralized services and partners of the Ministry of Housing and Equality for Territories (federations, NPO, communities) in the second half of 2014.

360° diagnosis are intended to feed and direct the content of the various planning or programming documents, both governmental and communal ones. In 2014-2015, the

publication of the Law for Access to Housing and Urban Renovation imposed writing, throughout each territory, a Departmental Action Plan for Housing and Accommodation of Disadvantaged People. The first 360° diagnosis made would be the cornerstone of this plan. These diagnoses are thus made to permanently guide the policy for homeless people or inadequately housed, to the faster access to decent and suitable housing. They are intended to identify relevant actions and progress axes and to set priorities on a territory. They come in addition to some existing document supporting dialogues between partners acting as governmental operators (NPO, private actors), and government services in charge of Social Cohesion and Protection of vulnerable populations in the territories.

The originality of these shared diagnoses claimed by the promoters, is characterized by three principles:

- A global inventory process that takes place with the same temporality in every region of the country,
- A will to involve dynamically all stakeholders in the same struggle against poverty and social exclusion,
- A detailed methodology, assigned to local players that will enable to aggregate all evaluations in a final output, on a national level. This requires consistency from the point of view of data collected and quantitative analysis (statistics and figures), and qualitative (the results obtained, the system of actors, relations between the partners).

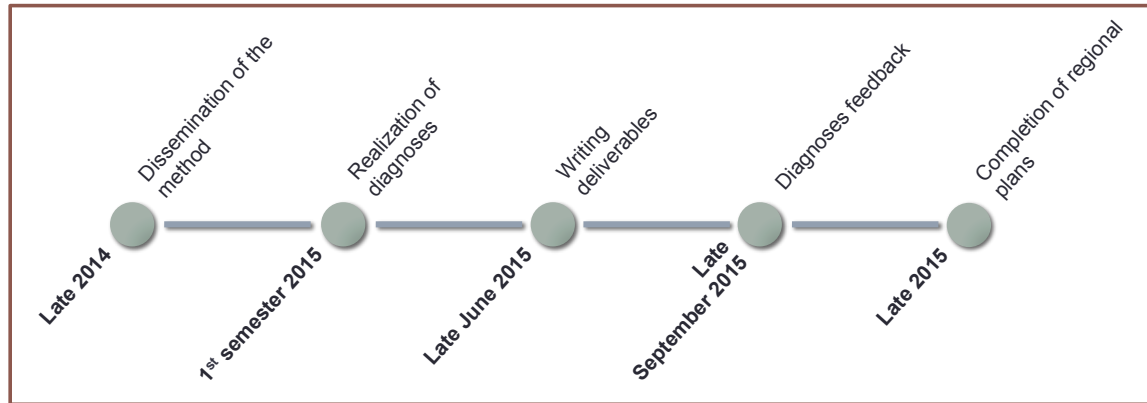
The two aims of these diagnoses is to have in each territory, a more factual vision, a comprehensive and shared representation of the problems of the most vulnerable - from the street to difficulties to access or stay in the housing – and to put in perspective the existing offer. The 360° panorama should allow to better understand the needs of households in their diversities and to go beyond sectorial approaches of institutions, practitioners or numerous existing program, with variable boundaries: Departmental Action Plans of Housing for the

Disadvantaged People, Departmental Action Plans for the Accommodation and Insertion, Local Program of Housing and Departmental Plans of Housing.

The 360° tool consists of a shared analysis of supply and demand, based on a measure of gaps. The imposed approach must, if it is to cross the observations and analysis, to strengthen territorial dynamics and thus adapt institutional responses through better coordination of the actors and a repositioning of the latter vis-à-vis real needs. For this, the instruction specifies the need for elaborating a diagnosis involving all stakeholders implied or concerned with the field of accommodation and access to housing. The spectrum is broad and includes in particular the local authorities, all services involved in the field of social monitoring, hosting, housing and support - especially Prison Service and probation, local organizations fighting for women's rights, the Regional Health Agencies - social or private donors, donors of the insertion housing, social accommodation facilities organizations and social monitoring - including representatives of major voluntary networks, etc.

If the government directs territories to deploy this methodology, the approach was not designed independently from stakeholders. Note that the methodology of diagnosis and its essential elements were developed jointly with some pilot regions before being generalized nationally. A rapid deployment sequencing method was selected (see Figure 1), in order to foster a work dynamic. In this context, each territory is free to schedule the work as it wishes, with respect of an imperative deadline: a first deliverable in June 2015 and a final diagnosis in early September 2015.

Figure 1 – Timeline of the deployment of the 360° evaluation



Unlike standard working procedures between operators and governmental services, the first diagnosis 360° is made to be updated annually, conducted in consultation with the partners, which will be an opportunity to make a feedback on undertaken actions on the basis of the previous diagnosis. The contents of the diagnosis can be enriched progressively depending on the ability of territories to produce reliable data and to develop their existing information systems. Similarly, the tools proposed to carry out diagnosis can be consolidated based on territories feedbacks and difficulties identified.

The regional level of government services is responsible for coordinating the process of realization of diagnosis and for ensuring regional consolidation of data collected in each territory. It supports territories in the appropriation of tools at their disposal, as well as the analysis of national and local collected data, allowing finally a regional consolidation of territorial diagnoses. To do this, the territories have a highly detailed methodological guide which specifies the content of a shared territorial diagnosis (common set of indicators to produce and key issues to address for each territory) and fix the steps of the method development. The annexes of the guide are extremely accurate. They give a precise description of committees to set up. They give practical advices for the organization of

diagnosis and they provide some commented model documents to present materials and results. This guide was designed to be a methodological support to regional and local actors in the implementation of diagnosis and to enable consolidation.

B. The deployment of the 360° diagnosis on two French territories

In order to study the deployment of 360° diagnosis, two case studies were performed on two French territories, Eure and Orne, both located in rural areas (see Box 1). These cases have been studied based on the experience of one NPO, called Ysos, which is involved in the Home and Insertion Accommodation sector (HIA) on these two territories. Ysos is a private actor. This NPO acts as an operator of the government (by delegation) in this sector and has participated in the deployment of diagnoses 360° in the Orne and Eure territories.

Box 1 – Research methodology

Two case studies were conducted on the Eure and Orne territories forming part of the same French region of Normandy. These two case studies resulted in comparisons, in order to put into perspective the salient features of each case and to identify points of similarity or singularity. We mobilized mostly secondary data (evaluation report, debriefing, ministerial documents, etc.). Mobilization of primary data, including qualitative, was deliberately limited, one of the authors is a stakeholder in the realization of these diagnoses². His status has provided privileged access to work documents and the identification of bottlenecks in the deployment of 360°. It also made possible to identify actors involved and to characterize their role in the implementation of the approach. To limit some biases, we also defined contribution spheres in writing this article. Thus, discussion of results was sequenced: written by researchers at first, this part was then submitted to the practitioner for validation and basis for discussion. As such, in addition to theoretical contributions, the writing of the article had some reflective properties to the practitioner, prompting him to cast a critical eye on the process.

² Romuald Mansuy is the director of Ysos.

The involvement of Ysos in the 360° diagnosis was not of the same kind in the two territories, which came from the major difference in terms of deployment of the tool in both territories (see Table 1). In the Eure, Ysos intervened at two levels. It intervened as an operator responsible for HIA missions. It has also entrusted the animation of 360° diagnosis by the government decentralized services. In the Orne, Ysos has just attended this diagnosis as an operator of HIA in that territory. Government services have preferred to facilitate the 360° diagnosis with internal resources rather than outsourcing it.

Table 1 – Roles of actors in the 360° diagnosis

| ORNE | EURE |
|---|------------------------|
| Diagnosis supervision | |
| Governmental regional decentralized services | |
| Diagnosis process management | |
| Co-management by two governmental regional agencies | |
| Diagnosis process facilitation | |
| Governmental regional decentralized services | NPO YSOS + consultants |

In the Orne, the deployment of the method was carried out by the government decentralized services and regional services. Three persons (one coming from a decentralized service, in direct contact with the French government, and the two others coming from a regional service in direct contact with the local planning authority) handled the animation of the realization of the diagnosis. Two plenary meetings were held, one for the launch of the diagnosis, the other for the feedback at the end of the diagnosis. The chosen facilitation method (see Table 2) is

structured around three thematic workshops that brought together 45 people. These workshops were opened as widely as possible to the actors of the sector (free registration) as required by the methodological guide. They were intended to stimulate exchange and ensure coordination between actors.

In the Eure, the deployment of the method has been conducted by the same kind of actors than in the Orne (co-management by some decentralized services of the government and by regional services). The animation of the realization of the shared diagnosis has however been outsourced to Ysos. An employee of the decentralized services of the government and two project managers (consultants) incurred by Ysos lead the entire diagnosis approach jointly. A scoping meeting was organized upstream to delineate the roles and responsibilities of all actors involved. The animation method was based on the constitution of five working groups resulting in workshops on five themes (see Table 2). These workshops were opened and have gathered 65 people, local experts and / or actors working in the thematic field³.

Table 2 – Number of sessions and workshops on each territory

| Orne | Eure |
|--|---|
| <i>Management</i> | |
| 2 x 2h plenary sessions: launch + feedback | 4 x 2h plenary sessions: launch + intermediary session + 2 feedback sessions |
| <i>Coordination</i> | |
| 3 persons coming from 2 decentralized services of government | 14 persons: 6 coming from regional services, 1 from Ysos, 2 consultants and 5 experts |
| <i>Workshops</i> | |

³ Social services, regional services in charge of housing and accommodation, concerned with indirectly connected issues (justice, health, education, etc.), local communities, social housing providers, etc.

| | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 3 workshops x 3h = 9h | 5 Workshops x 3 meetings x 3h = 45h |
| Almost 45 people participating | Almost 65 people participating |

In Orne, the animation method and the results validation process in workshops was soft and centralized. It was a relatively uncluttered animation method, what we have described as "centralized and streamlined approach" (see Table 3). The model of diagnosis has been put online quickly, once validated.

In Eure, the facilitation method was sophisticated, time consuming and based on the involvement of many actors from different structures. This method was to understand in depth the various topics, adopting an approach that we have termed "outsourced and deep" (see Table 3). Each thematic group was led by a pair of experts and resulted in three plenary meetings, the last consisting of defining improvement actions declined in goals and means. To stimulate discussion, an inventory was conducted on each theme and case studies (analysis of individual paths) to identify particular levers and locking points. The final validation of the diagnosis took place over several months.

Table 3 – From workshop sessions to the validation step

| ORNE | EURE |
|---|---|
| Workshops | |
| <i>Period</i> | |
| April | March to May |
| <i>Themes</i> | |
| - Analysis of the balance between the housing offer and the existing and future needs | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Prevention of evictions - Unworthy habitat - Housing access |

| | |
|--|--|
| - Analysis of mini case studies (individual paths) - Analysis of existing social, care and health structures | - Link Health/social - Domicile |
| <i>Workshops facilitation</i> | |
| One person from decentralized governmental services | A third person certified as an expert by the governmental services |
| <i>Speech organization</i> | |
| Free speech on each theme | Speech structured around monographs and case studies prepared by advance |
| Validation processes | |
| Simple: - Delegation of reporting activities to the workshops facilitator - Feedback by emails. Reaction of participants and validation Short processes. Short time between workshops and validation. | Sophisticated: - Reporting made by consultants - Validation by governmental decentralized services and regional services - Transmission to experts Long processes. Numerous, subtle and time-consuming corrections. Long time between sessions and validation. |
| Facilitation model | |
| Centralized and streamlined | Outsourced and deep |

The workshops, regardless of the territory, have produced relatively similar results. They were helpful in documenting the diagnosis (in that they helped producing knowledge on the expected topics in the final report) on the various topics covered in the workshops, both about

itself than on identifying needs of the territory, on the users demands of existing devices or on the quality of services provided. However, they have been of limited scope to identify even more dynamic relations between stakeholders and to understand the competition between service providers. Competitive logic persisted and has sometimes led actors to censor their words. Recognize their difficulties in their missions would be to recognize that they are not able to take over the tasks delegated by the government. Their survival depends on it, as these structures are dependent on the budgets granted to them by the government. Similarly, workshops struggled to produce knowledge on the question of the balance between public needs and practices of service providers or on the evaluation of the efficiency of the service (next to its cost). The only notable difference between the two territories was that it was possible to understand the results obtained through benefits in the Orne while this was not possible in the Eure.

Finally, in Orne, the minimalist form of management of the diagnosis gave to actors a sense of efficiency and operability in a simple setting. For Ysos, the 360° diagnosis has actually led it to start a new project in partnership with the social housing provider of Orne, and a relocation plan of its activities in order to ensure the performance vis-à-vis the beneficiaries. In this territory, the diagnosis has enabled Ysos to recognize the known problematic of all, but not previously managed. However, in Eure, 360° diagnosis did not have any impact on Ysos activities. A year later, updating the diagnosis is not envisaged by the government services.

II. Background

We propose to develop in this second part a review of relevant literature to inform this experimentation of a shared diagnosis on social issues. This refers primarily to the issue of management tools and the way actors use them. This then provides a specific context, that of

public policy. It is thus a question of tools and evaluation in the context of public management.

A. Management support tools and their appropriation

Work on management tools are primarily derived from French works on organizations culturally rooted in a continuation of the work by Michel Crozier, Jean-Claude Moisdon, Michel Berry, Jacques Girin or Armand Hatchuel from the 1970s.

A management tool consists of an "A set of management objects incorporated in a functional logic (or other kinds of logic) in a codified and systematic manner, respecting a certain number of management rules" (Vaujany, 2006, p. 113). A management tool takes different forms which purpose is to guide and facilitate collective action. In other words, management tools can be seen as conceptual constructions in the form of accounting or financial formalizations for instance, quantitative or qualitative (Nobre, 2001) or as noted by Lorino (2002), abstractions of concrete operations.

Two approaches can be identified in the literature:

- Either as a representation of reality in an instrumental logic; a vector of rationalization and standardization of behavior, in the tradition of Fayol's "administrative tools". This vision has been predominant for many years in management theory. It is based on a decomposition design / use of the tool and its ability to replicate reality. This is the "representationist" posture (Lorino, 2007), which is part of a rationalist perspective. The tool requires the actor, the context is irrelevant;
- Or - and this is the approach we chose - a pragmatic approach or "actionalist", according to a logic of "design in use" (Bourmaud and Rétaud, 2002) or "design for use" (Lin et Cornford, 2001). In this perspective, the tool is incorporated in behaviors likely to produce

meaning and actions (Lorino, 2002). The object then can be reinvented for each use, representations or interpretations developed for it evolving, as Grimand (2012) highlights it. It is in this perspective that lies the pioneering works of the French school of Management Tools from the 1970s, under the leadership of the French Management Research Centre (CRG - Ecole Polytechnique: Berry, 1983; Girin, 1983) and the Scientific Management Centre (CGS – Ecole des Mines: Hatchuel, 1994; Moisdon, 1997; David et al, 2000).

In the latter perspective, internal and external stakeholders have a role first, because external stakeholders (consultants, government, customers, etc.) design new management tools that organizations can, or even should, use, and second because internal stakeholders are involved or interfere with the appropriation or the use of the tool. In this sense, management tools can facilitate dialogue with the stakeholders of the organization, as Chatelain-Ponroy (2010) shows it.

As highlighted in Vaujany (2006), if the management tool has long been seen as a representation of reality, more recent work, in the 2000s, have proposed an alternative approach, centered on the use (Lin & Cornford, 2000; Lorino 2002; Lorino & Teulier, 2005 Vaujany and Grimand, 2005; Grimand, 2012). Rabardel (2005) define the management tool as a mixed entity, which combines material and symbolic artifacts (concepts, interpretation schemes, computer tools interfaces, etc.) on the one hand, and action registers, that will give them meaning, on the other.

The management tool is inseparable from its use: "to implement the tool means to design it" (Lorino, 2002, p. 23). It has a contextual dimension, the tool influenced by various transformations depending on its use and dissemination. It is also inseparable from actors who use it, humans having themselves fallible judgments, leaving room for interpretation (Lorino, 2002). The management tool should thus be considered through its uses, which refers to its process of appropriation.

By going beyond the instrumental logic, new thinking appears on the issue of management tool appropriation process. We will discuss four successively: diversion or deflection of the tool, the place of (and sometimes conflict) a new management tool in an existing frame, its induced effects, particularly on: the relationship between actors, wider organizational dynamics and finally its symbolic significance.

First, a number of works paid attention to the becoming of management tools once in the hands of people that use them. As Grimand (2012) recalls it, appropriation process of management tools is never predictable and remains subject to diversion. So there is room for deformation or modification of the tool in use. This is not unrelated to the learning process, a learning phenomenon crossover designer / user of the tool operating (Hatchuel, 1994).

The management tool evolves according to a system of "joint regulation" (Rabardel, 1988). According to Rabardel (1988), the joint regulation is made of control and self-regulation. While control corresponds to the design and instrumentation of the object by the dominant stakeholders, self-regulation refers to how actors in the organization receive action coming from the control system. It is in this context that operates the effects of the appropriation of the tool by the actors, the deformation of the associated rule or the avoidance of the use of the tool or the invention of new objects to fill gaps left empty by the specified management object.

Second, it is important to question the place of the management tool within the organization and practices. The management tool will fit more or less easily to the practices of actors and the decision system. The introduction of a new management tool can especially hinder the overall coherence of the existing management system. Rabardel (2005) states that an overall reconfiguration is required, whether the management tool comes to occupy an existing territory or not, which explains its complexity and cost. This is not unrelated, according to the author, to the high mortality of some management innovations.

Following on from these reflections, it is the wider question of the effects of management tools on organizational dynamics that is asked. Grimand (2012) explores this question on different registers: power, learning, change, etc. Several studies (De Vaujany, 2005; Grimand, 2006; Martin and Picceu, 2007; Dominguez-Pery, 2011; Oiry, 2011) have in common to emphasize the role of management tools in the activity of sensemaking, the structuring of relationships between actors, the introduction of change or the organizational learning process.

Finally, the management tool may also include a symbolic dimension. To make use of a management tool recognized by stakeholders of the organization, means symbolically materialize a mode of operation, an expertise. This means to make the organization visible. The systems and tools in place in some organizations do not have other vocations than making legitimate or credible the organization, which uses them from the point of view of its institutional environment (Laufer & Burlaud, 1980, quoted by Chatelain-Ponroy 2010; Meyer, 1986). This symbolic dimension encourages organizations to adopt tools, not with the aim of improvement, but much more in a conformist logic inciting to mimicry. The tool is introduced mainly to instrument the interface between the organization and its environment, which produced very little change in the organization (Chatelain-Ponroy 2010). In this case, the tool is essentially reduced to its formal dimension but without real adoption of the tool. It does not really "penetrate" the organization.

The appropriation of the management tool can be apprehended from different perspectives, each based on a particular conception of the management tool. We summarize in Table 4 below the 4 perspectives identified in the literature.

Table 2 – Management tools appropriation: 4 perspectives

| Perspective | Tool conception | Tool uses | Appropriation process |
|-----------------------------------|--|--|---|
| Instrumental (or rational) | Rationalizing actions. Replicating the reality. The tool produces expected effects. | Prescription and normalization of behaviors. | Linearity. Relies on a separation between design and use. Normalized process. |
| Sociopolitical | A tool for valuing. Rhetorical tool. Legitimate <i>a priori</i> or <i>a posteriori</i> collective action. “Machines made to build interpretations” (Boussard & Maugeri, 2003, p. 27) | Structuring power relationships. These are transformed. | Social action. Collective process influenced by individual or collective strategies (see the joint regulation theory by Reynaud, 1988). |
| Psycho-cognitive | Support learning processes. The tool questions the own practices of actors. | Enhance reflexivity of actors through the use of the tool. | Individual or collective process. Double process made of assimilation and accommodation. |
| Symbolic | Identity support and sensemaking support (Weick, 1995). | Symbolic dimension of the tool that gives it a role in organizational dynamics | Adoption (the tool is reduced to its formal dimension) rather than appropriation. |

Source: Synthesis made from de Vaujany (2006) and Grimand (2012).

B. Public policy, evaluation and management tools

The question of policy instruments has long been remained unexplored in the literature, which is easily explained, since the issue of performance, or how to do better with less, appeared lately (Van Dooren et al., 2010). On this issue, however, as on the evaluation of public policies, every country did not advance at the same pace, Continental Europe having entered a lesser extent in this logic compared to the Anglo-Saxon world (Hood 2007) or the United States (Salamon, 2002; Damart & Roy, 2009). Reforms supporting the "New Public Management" marked a turning point in this matter in OECD countries, requiring management tools (Chatelain-Ponroy 2010). In France, the organic law on public budgeting (LOLF) of the early 2000s put into perspective the issue of budget performance (Calmette, 2006). The subject of the evaluation as practice is fairly new in France (Monnier, 1992; Perret, 2001). Dating back to the 1970s and especially 1990, it found its inspiration in the American Program Evaluation, highly developed under the Kennedy and Johnson presidencies (Barbier 2010).

A lot of articles is concerned with the evaluation of public policies⁴ (called PCE) (Verdung, 1997; Kessler et al, 1998; Weiss, 1999; Sanderson, 2002; Jacob, 2005; Barber, 2010; Perret, 2010; Givord, 2015 ; Spenlehauer, 2016). Should we see a specific approach to performance measurement? According to McDavid & Hawthorn (2006), there are several notable differences between evaluation and performance measurement. Measuring the performance would have the property of being continuing. It concerns general issues and it would be incorporated in routines, directly involving managers and bearing on infrastructure. Evaluation would be more punctual. It would focus on more specific issues, specifically

⁴ Two conceptions of public policy evaluation could be presented (Barbier, 2010): a managerial one (decision-aiding) or a democratic one (favoring participative processes). This has been discussed in Damart & Roy (2009) and we will not enter into this debate.

designed according to the needs, conducted by evaluators who are not necessarily linked to managers and to the goals defined in advance. Evaluation is directly connected to the design and implementation of public policies (Barbier 2010). If evaluation and performance measurement are distinct, literature nevertheless interconnects these two faces of the practice of public policy, either using a sequential logic (Wholey et al, 2004; Weiss, 1998), or an integrative one (McDavid & Hawthorn, 2006). In particular, evaluation tools are very useful in the measurement of performance.

Among the strategies identified by Pollitt & Bouckaert (2004) that public decision-maker use to improve public management performance, one of them is to import techniques and values from the private sector, in a managerial logic (Hood, 1991). New management tools thus accompany each reform or designing process of new policies. And the proliferation of tools is even more significant that public policies are less structured and involve a wide range of interest groups (Lascoumes & Le Gales, 2007), which is the case of the environment, urban policy or social policies.

Traditionally, public management tool is apprehended through an instrumental logic, which is not without some difficulties. Moisdon (1997; 2005) emphasizes the delicate encounter between management tools and public organizations, the latter remaining frozen in a normative view of tools. They face difficulties to enroll in a real learning process. Non-profit organizations tend to idealize the management tool "through a rationalizator myth" (Chatelain-Ponroy, 2010, p. 74). Aggeri & Labatut (2014) lead to the same conclusion, considering that issues and impacts associated with the instrumentation of public action are comparable in large organizations, public and private. In both contexts, the analysis has long favored a rational perspective of the decision and the decision maker, inspired by H. Simon's works.

Halpern, Lascoumes & Le Gales (2014) propose a different reading through a sociological approach. According to the authors, a public policy instrument is "a device both technical and social, which organizes specific social relations between public power and citizens based on representations and meanings it carries". The effects produced by the tool can be disconnected from its original goals. According to these authors, management tools can take a status of "actor", partly autonomous and helping to steer the behavior of actors. Capilotin (2014) emphasizes interactions between objects and actors highlighting mutual influence: the object changes the practices of actors and actors transform tools.

Halpern et al. (2014) also discuss the role of management tools within public policy contexts. They qualified them as change tracers (they can shake history) but sometimes they are the ignition sparks of new dynamics, in that they can produce new expertise or renew coalitions. In doing so, the authors discuss some widely accepted assumptions but questionable, such as technical instruments neutrality or indifference to the political strategies in particular. In this perspective, the authors apprehend the toolkit as an artifact of the transformations of the relationship between rulers and ruled; public action is apprehended through the prism of instruments.

Throughout the evaluation process, there is a risk that the initial ambition that motivated the design of a particular evaluation tool is diluted in much more pragmatic or political considerations, at a local level. De Lancer, Julnes & Holzer (2001) consider the introduction of tools to measure performance in public organizations as a process of change, under the influence of political factors in particular. Chatelain-Ponroy (2010) also raises the issue of the management tool in non-profit organizations, focusing in particular on the introduction of management control tools. Like Abernethy & Chua (1996), the author highlights the lack of willingness of these organizations to adopt this type of tool in response to the dictates of their institutional environment. The adoption of these tools is also a way to cope with

"organizational constraints", including the enlargement of the missions assigned to non-profit organizations to meet changing public expectations (quality requirements, diversification of activities). The management tool becomes a support to the dialogue with partners and supervisory authorities (Dejean et al., 1998; Chatelain-Ponroy 2010).

Distortions of the evaluation process could also happen so that the result of the evaluation legitimizes offs and past actions. Each party seeks to rationalize past decisions and value the past actions by demonstrating their relevance, "evaluation evidence" in hands. Interference may be fortuitous (local actors, adapting the method to their own context, may bias the process and results) or present a much more deliberate character, the process comprising a highly political and strategic dimension, as pointed by Leca (1993). Barrault (2014) shows the resistances and the mobilization of actors helping to limit or exacerbate certain effects of the tool, or favoring a process that totally escapes the designers of the tool. He mentioned disparities of: the understanding of the tool, the meaning of issues the tool serves. Le Bourhis & Lascoumes (2014) also put into perspective these opposing logics of appropriation. Actors may develop certain forms of resistance in response to difficulties or even impossibility in the deployment of the instrument. Cognitive resistance may in particular arise when the new instrument upsets habits, practices, or when it requires new skills. Le Bourhis & Lascoumes (2014) mentions the example of the personnel of the Scotland Environment Protection Agency (Kirk & Reeves, 2007) who were expected to cooperate with other agencies as organizations were partitioned. In such a situation, actors may prefer withdrawal on mastered options.

Finally it is important to raise the question of the participation of actors and their ability to cooperate in the implementation of a new tool. The 360° diagnosis is expected to be a shared evaluation tool, which requires collaboration of stakeholders during its deployment.

Stakeholders are multiple: government services, local authorities, private actors to which some services have been delegated.

In public policy context, the nature of the dominant service delivery model can affect how the actors will cooperate, especially in the knowledge-sharing phase, which is an important phase in the shared territorial diagnosis. Head and Alford (2008) evoke symptomatic difficulties of competition between actors, which is the French model of HIA sector (operating by tender - competitive tendering processes). If this operating mode is intended to improve efficiency, the authors state that it also has the effect of altering the cooperation between actors and it develops information retention strategies, limiting or negating any sharing of ideas. It is indeed important that a minimum of trust is established, regardless of the contractual aspects. Thus the authors stress the importance of cooperative relations, a key contributing factor to improve understanding and solving wicked problems involving actors with different knowledge levels and different stakes. These cooperative relationships also produce positive effects in the deployment of solutions. In the context of relationships involving competing organizations, Head and Alford (2008) stress the importance of communication, relationships facilitation and time. The public sector is not, according to these authors, an easy context because it may lack consistency over time (because characterized by alternating political orientations). This raises finally the question of cooperation between government services and private actors, symptomatic of the 360° evaluation.

III. Discussion

As emphasized by Head & Alford (2008), there is no universal solution to 'wicked problems'. They nevertheless point out that according to the nature of the problem, some solutions may be preferred. So if "the fundamental problem is insufficient knowledge", it is important to fill

gaps and promote consensus, route explored by the French government in offering this 360° diagnosis. The philosophy of these shared diagnoses gives to the approach a real sense of decision support, both for the government and the territories. The evaluation is conceived here not in its restrictive meaning as a simple management control tool or a control-sanction tool (Fouquet, 2013) but as a knowledge production tool useful for decision and action. This approach is consistent with that contained in the official Charter of Evaluation of the French Society for Evaluation: "the evaluation aims to produce knowledge on public actions, including in their effects, with the dual purpose of allowing citizens to appreciate their value and help policy makers improve the relevance, effectiveness, efficiency, coherence and impact." At its conception, centralized government services have adopted a psycho-cognitive approach, attributing to the tool useful functions for learning and reflexivity.

Although the methodological guide addressed to the territories is extremely detailed, can this be enough to ensure the universality of the method when local actors deploy it? Or do factors interfering in the evaluation process exist? The experiments carried out on the territories of Orne and Eure are illuminating from this point of view. Results from the 360° diagnosis on these two territories are relatively similar, while the animation style was rather different, more or less complexity assumed by different actors, public actor in Orne, and private in Eure.

In contrast, what interfered with the nature of the data obtained emanates from the local competitive environment. Eure, territory where several service providers are in competition, has suffered from this context, collaboration and information sharing between stakeholders being limited or denied by the actors. Regardless of the appropriation of the tools, it is difficult to ignore the socio political context and intentions that actors perceive as associated with the tools, which interfere with the process of appropriation. It is important to remember that this diagnosis approach was initiated in a crisis budget for the country, even though at the time the budgets of providers had not been reduced. All the actors involved and providers

were able to experience this as a hint to rationalize resources. This mindset has certainly had an impact on the attitudes of staff and structures, as well as the transparency of information during the working sessions. The 360° diagnosis was designed as a knowledge production tool. Yet the actors failed to adopt this approach, fearing that the decisions resulting from of this evaluation will upset the equilibrium and budgetary allocations. Some “trial intents” were also able to alter the appropriation process.

The tool essentially promoted the development of an inventory of the quality and the nature of the services provided, the needs in the territories and the beneficiaries’ paths. It has however weakly produce knowledge on what was nevertheless one of the main ambitions of the tool: the adequacy of the existing offer to existing and future needs, encouraging actors to work for better coordination interventions and greater efficiency. In practice, actors’ strategies and diversions of the tool have emerged, as part of a socio-political process. The symbolic dimension is probably also present, the use of the 360° legitimizing actors in their dialogue with the government. From this point of view, being entrusted by the government services for the facilitation of the whole process in Eure has constituted a strong symbolic advantage for Ysos. This allowed it to legitimize its place in the territory (operator in charge of regulation on the entire territory, which naturally gives a competitive advantage to the structure) and strengthen it vis-à-vis to the other actors. This echoes the analysis of Laufer & Burlaud (1980, quoted by Chatelain-Ponroy, 2010) and Meyer (1986) for whom the management tools adopted in some organizations have no other purpose than to improve organizations credibility within their institutional environment.

The extremely detailed methodological guide was originally designed to deploy the same standardized method on all French territories, repeatedly, with the aim to aggregate the results. The tool is expected to be both a diagnosis tool useful for decision-making in the

territories but also a post evaluation tool to measure the deviations from the decisions taken at the end of the previous diagnosis. It does not seem, however, that a permanent facilitation had been considered. The actors have therefore not been encouraged to reproduce the diagnosis the following year, making impossible any comparison over time. We must not ignore the context in which the tool operates. News for government services, including regional services in charge of social cohesion, were particularly busy in recent months in France especially with the coming of many migrants, refugees and asylum seekers. This perhaps has not allowed exploitation of the work and / or relationships formed during the course of diagnosis. The urgency of the situation may have overtaken foresight ambitions, both for government services and service providers.

The appropriation of the tool and its integration in the management of policies and actions in the territories therefore assume that government agencies act on certain aspects. As in any context, government services must accompany the change induced by the introduction of a new management tool. This calls for an increase in expertise on the use of the tool but also a better understanding of themes and complexity of the sector. It is also important to establish multi-year targets to enable actors to restructure themselves, the annual pace of the 360° diagnosis not to induce short-term logic. The usefulness of the tool (justifying the resources it mobilizes) will be more noticeable and proved that the decentralized services of the State will conduct regular inspections of the practices of the actors, thus ensuring the appropriateness of the offer to the needs. The decentralized government services must in turn adopt a transversal logic between the different areas of community competence. It is also important that they manage to develop a future vision of "living together" in the territory.

Conclusion

Our contribution has helped to highlight the uniqueness of appropriation of a management tool in the context of public policies partly implemented by private actors. Designed by the government services with the aim to produce useful knowledge for decision-making and the control of actions in the territories, the tool was to be operated by the actors autonomously in the territories.

Our findings support an idea raised by Head and Alford (2008). Based on a government report (APSC, 2007), the authors state that in order to deal with 'wicked problems', governments have an interest in promoting collaboration to develop a sustainable behavior change. In this same logic, the 360° diagnosis may have an effect on social innovation only if cooperative logics develop between the actors, which requires both time and a network of actors. This of course upsets the habits of the sector, requiring an actor the ability to operate beyond its organizational boundaries and structure its efforts using management tools, hitherto little used in practice. New skills are required, particularly in communication, global thinking and ability to cooperate. So far remains the difficulty of developing collaborative logics between actors also in competition in the delivery of social services or in conflict on responsibilities allocation (between government decentralized services). This is one of the obstacles to a better match between supply and needs on fields where private actors assume missions, by delegation of the government. The political and symbolic logic prevailed in the process of appropriation of the tool, regardless of the actors concerned (private or public) even if the psycho-cognitive perspective was originally present in the way that was designed and introduced the tool by centralized government services. In the end, the tool does little to improve the functioning of the system as it has been confined to its symbolic dimension. Like what was observed by Chatelain-Ponroy (2010) in a different context, the tool is reduced to its

interfacing feature between the organization and its environment. It did not really "penetrate" the organization so it was unable to produce real effects, lacking of ownership by the actors.

The fact that Ysos has not held the same role in the two studied territories (actors simply contributing to the diagnosis in Orne and diagnosis leader in Eure) was of interest insofar as it was possible to observe the appropriation of the same tool by the same actor from a different perspective depending on the place occupied in the process. This asymmetry of role may however cause some bias and it is the main limitation of our approach. It was not possible to observe the same elements in both territories, which meanwhile gave us access to data of different types.

One obvious prospect of this research is to continue working in order to observe the evolution over time of the deployment and the animation of the tool in the territories (if it continues to exist). This will make it possible to observe in time any changes of the tool, its possible deformations and how the actors made, over time, with the tool once the changes it induces has been accepted. Will the actors go far beyond the political and symbolic logic, leaving the tool penetrates the global system and thus produce knowledge necessary to release social innovation?

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