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International Conference on Public Policy

Singapore June 28-30 2017

Panel T01P09

Political sociology of the Policy Process

How to use the notion of « horizon of expectation » to analyse public policies ?

Resume : Politicians are always divided between different temporalities which result in ambiguities in the expression of public policies. As a matter of fact, politicians who create public policies are answering to a diversity of problems and actors. This situation has led to a paradoxical configuration in which politician interplays with aspirations, he is compelled create consensus and find compromise between them.

This communication would try to offer a new approach of time analysis. To determine these different aspirations, narratives studies provide wide information and tools to examine the articulation between these aspirations. In the politician narratives are exposed multi-level argumentations which in fact express multiples times. I will focus on one specific public policy case-study that encloses several electoral periods : the construction of the new subway lines in Paris region.

I will demonstrate that the case-study assembled short time and long time, local and global aspirations, individual and collective perspective. To find these differences in a narrative approach, I will compare urban conceptions describing the project by speech that legitimise it (or confront it). This comparison would allow to organise analysis grid required to develop a way of studying time in politics.

Introduction

‘Horizon of expectation’ and ‘Space of experience’ are associated to the historical periodization of Modernity named by Koselleck in the classic German *Neuzeit*. According to Koselleck, Modernity is conceived as a category of historical periodization. This latter has the specificity of being a temporal form of experience, describing a particular articulation between past, present and future. Peter Osborne explained in detail the mechanism. On the one hand, Modernity was conceived as opposed to Ancient for a long time, before becoming the only vision of present. On the other hand, after the Second World War, it has been contrasted by some academics to the concept of Contemporaneity.

The main purpose is to apply the concept of ‘expectation’ on the study of politics. Peter Osborne has previously focused on the topic in his piece *The time of Politics*, concentrating both on the historical approach and particularly in experience. Additionally, the concept of expectation was underestimated on his book. The results of the approach lie significantly on considerations in history as a scientific discipline. He chooses therefore an approach focused on the past, and the future is a hidden topic.

In order to explore the use of ‘horizon of expectation’ on political strategies, I hereby study political speech pronounced on the “Grand Paris” in 2007. At this time, Nicolas Sarkozy, former President of France (2007-2012) intended to promote large political changes in the Paris’ region by expanding transports infrastructures and reforming its institutional organisation. I will focus on particular on the speech held in Roissy¹, as it reflected the President’s vision of the “Grand Paris”, as well as his vision on cities, their economical and sociological transformation.

1 Sarkozy Nicolas, speech of Roissy, the 26 of June 2007. Consulted, the 10 of December 2016 : <http://discours.vie-publique.fr/notices/077002121.html>.

This communication is organised in three parts. Firstly, I will define the notion of ‘Horizon of expectation’ and his impact in political science. Secondly, I will present the context of our study-case, by exposed actors, dynamics and institutions. Thirdly, I will demonstrate by means of case-study, its impact in our comprehension of politicians’ speech on “Grand Paris”, by a narrative analysis of it. Finally, I will expose the empirical translation of ‘Horizon of expectation’.

1. Horizon of expectation : what about political sciences ?

The notion of Horizon of expectation was developed by Reinhart Koselleck on his study analysis in the articulation between past and future. He states that our representations of time are always oriented from the present to the past or to the future. Moreover, expectations draw a future which is the product of the configuration of both individual and collective experiences.

“No expectations without experience; no experience without expectation” (Koselleck, 2004 : 270).

These experiences represent the interpretation of the present. According to this thinking, experiences associate individuals and traditional characteristics. In other words, social environment grant backgrounds to individuals which affect their perception of the past. Consequently, these experiences have a potential impact in the shaping of expectations (Gadamer, 1989). However, Reinhard Koselleck use this notion of ‘experience’ associated with the notion of ‘space’. ‘Space of experience’ (that was sometimes translated as ‘field of experience’) conceive experiences as a malleable path depending of contingencies – structure did not depend on chronological time because of the countdown knowledge of the past.

‘Space of experience’ needs to be considered in relation with ‘Horizon of expectation’, not in opposition. They are meta historic categories in the same rank as ‘space’ and ‘time’. Experience and expectation reveal the ethical and political significance of the representation of time for the actors.

Based on this theory, Paul Ricoeur (1983) observe that the variation of the interval separating experience and expectation reaches a new approach of historical study, brought by the focus on representation of time. Therefore, the aim of the current study is to explain how this measure interval can be applied in political sciences.

Firstly, 'space of experience' means convergence, an integration in one place of contingencies or possibilities to interpret the past. Storytelling is the way for one interpretation to integrate multiple possibilities in an image of the past from the present (Danto, 1985). From numerous points existing in the past, storytelling builds an ordered understanding of them in the present. Secondly, 'Horizon of expectation', which raises from a 'space of experience', means a break-up of prospects, an exploration of different pursued fulfilments.

These two meta historic categories appeared in a specific epoch characterised by at least three semantic analysis. First, Koselleck writes that modernity induces a perception of the present as a transitional time linking past and future in a single twofold combination of experiences and expectations. Nonetheless, modernity represents the past as an image of Obscurity – particularly in the period before Renaissance - ; whereas and future is portrayed as light or as what is better than today. The present is authentically new, only when it opens a better tomorrow (Neuzeit). This configuration of past, present and future define what will be described later by François Hartog's (2003), the futurist '*régime d'historicité*'. Second, Modernity, the belief of a better tomorrow accelerates. Just as Rosa Hartmut, Reinhart Kosellecks assimilate our Modernity to the idea of increasing speed. Third, this acceleration is associated with the possibility of humanity to make history, to create some change. Even though these arguments may be discussed all three semantics analysis are useful to understand the emergence of Koselleck's theories.

As mentioned in the introduction, this communication expects to use a narrative analysis to pursue a public policy approach. I am confronted to this approach by examining the position of Nicolas

Sarkozy in 2007, date when he launched the Grand Paris' project. 'Horizon of expectation' is understandable if we are capable to place ourselves in the second mimesis of the Ricoeurian's theory. Paul Ricoeur states that the narrative expression splits between three mimesis. The first consists of individual thoughts on experience, when the individuals' spirit traducing this experience into thoughts. The second is defined by the translation of experience thoughts to the spoken or text language. The last mimesis is established when another individual reads or hears the translation of experience by the mediation of the language. All these three operations define the nature of mimetic's operations.

Expectations are produced by the articulation between individuals and collective experiences in a projection of willingness in possibility. Horizon implies that expectations are always updated by new experience and by anticipation of the different positions from actors who are capable to do something in the process engaged in expectations. It consists of a mix of strategies, individual and collective trajectories, anticipation, prediction and experiences. All of these points are assembled in speeches, in what politicians expose to other members of the society, their goals and means chosen to pursue them. Considering that, we have the possibilities to describe 'horizons of expectation' by a narrative deconstruction.

2. Contextualisation of the study-case.

This communication show the results of my Phd thesis. I examine the representation of time in politics and particularly, the possibility of a historical regime's change in contemporary societies. The main hypothesis is that a metropolitanization is taking place. The latter is an incarnation of the change produced by the emergence of governance as a theoretical method to study the transformation of States (Pinson, 2015). Following Max Weber's position, the State has a specific place in political landscape because of the 'differentiation' from other institutions. '*Présentisme*' inaugurates an age when the State became more and more normal (dedifferentiation). As a

consequence, the pyramidal organisation of society and historical narrative became concurrent, but they coexist. Nevertheless, States did not lose their predominance easily. In diverse cases, States remain the most important actor when it refers to public policy. The situation that confronted transformation and preservation is illustrated by the Grand Paris' project.

The Grand Paris' project was inaugurated by Nicolas Sarkozy. The former President of France started his career as a local-level representative in the west Parisian's suburbs of Paris, in a municipality within La Defense CBD. He was simultaneously president of the Hauts-de-Seine's department (local administration between municipality level and regional level) and minister of interior in the Jacques Chirac mandate (2003-2007). These political roles offered him numerous possibilities to action in his territory he represented. Yet, it was not until the 2007 electoral campaign, when he presented his project for the Parisian region. This project, named "Grand Paris", was partly inspired by the Great London territorial organisation. Nicolas Sarkozy proposed to put Paris into the top of metropolitan network. To follow his aim, he planned to invest abundant public funds in two fields : research and transportation. These two areas of public policies would promote economic development by increasing attractiveness and productivity of the French economy. To develop the Parisian region, Nicolas Sarkozy imagined a network of 10 clusters linked by 4 new lines of subway around Paris. Their construction would require 20 years. One of them would be built and managed by a private company (Airport shuttle).

The figure you see under is a representation of the political career of Nicolas Sarkozy, and after of Christian Blanc. For each year during the period 2000-2016, I indicate what mandate they cumulate².

² Description of acronyms : CR, member of Regional Council and PCR, President of CR ; CG, member of Departemental Council, and PCG, President of CG ; Maire, Major and CM, member of Municipal Council ; EPCI, member of Inter-municipality institution, and PEPCI, President of EPCI ; AN, member of National Assembly ; S, member of Senat ; DE, member of the European Parliament ; Gvt, member of government. In black coloured, I indicate executive function, and in grey coloured the simple member of a council.

Year/Nom	Mandat	Depuis	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	Nb years	
Nicolas Sarkozy (UMP)	PCR																				
	CR	83-88																			5
	PCG																				3
	CG	85-88																			3
Municipality Neuilly-sur-Seine	Maire	83																			19
	CM	77-83																			10
	PEPCI																				
	EPCI																				
Departement Hauts-de-Seine	AN	88-93	95																		13
	S																				
	DE	99																			1
	Gvt	93-99																			11

Year/Nom	Mandat	Depuis	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	Nb years	
Christian Blanc (UDF/NC)	PCR																				
	CR																				
	PCG																				
	CG																				
Municipality Chesnay	Maire																				
	CM																				8
	PEPCI																				
Departement Yvelines	AN																				8
	S																				
	DE																				
	Gvt																				3

The project was based on different origins. On the first place, the belief in a virtuous circle of public investment which produces economical dynamic rooted in the old Keynesian spirit of national policy. All the experts who participated on the ‘*Atelier International du Grand Paris*’ (architects, economists, urban planners) share this paradigm. At the same time, Nicolas Sarkozy nominated a deputy (Christian Blanc) from a circonscription close to La Défense CBD as state secretary for the development of the Parisian region. Christian Blanc was president of the Parisian transportation

company (*Régie Autonomes des Transports Parisiens - RATP*), and he inaugurated the subway line 14 in the 90's. His nomination intended to facilitate the negotiation with local authorities : municipalities, departmental council and the regional council. The President would manage the global project and national involvement, whilst the state secretary would focus on efforts at the local-level with national aspiration.

The President Sarkozy confronted an extremely divided political landscape. Historically, the Council of Paris was isolated, surrounded by a combination of conservative and communist municipalities. When the project was launched, Nicolas Sarkozy imagined a metropolitan region including over 1 500 municipalities (overpassing regional delimitation), with 10 departmental councils and 2 or 3 regional councils. This size would be competitive faced to London, New York or Dubai. These three cities are often quoted by Nicolas Sarkozy, particularly in the speech of Roissy which officially announced the Grand Paris' project.

Therefore, the Roissy speech is the perfect case study to apply empirically the notion of 'horizon of expectation'. It allows to study the narrative implication of the description that the President did about future and past, linked by a certain logical argumentation. Specifically, the President described at this moment : his conception of urban life, the different characters who are a reference for him, the perception of global dynamics and their effects on the Parisian region. By analysing these three points, I will demonstrate how to use horizon of expectation to decipher constraints and volition that run through the text.

3. What 'space of experience' appeared in Roissy speech ?

As I mentioned in the previous pages, 'horizon of expectation' is always correlated with the notion of 'experience'. To understand what time expectations the former President, I will evaluate the

vision he outlined from the present and the past, making a parallel analysis of the projection he tells to the public in his speech of Roissy.

My PhD thesis focused on the politician's discursive reality through the observation of actors' contexts and the chronological construction of their storytelling. I have observed that politicians are forced to articulate their position according to the reality that they consider sharing with the portions of society who support them. A politician's discourse is shared between anticipation and experience. The 'art of politics' is thus reaching a consensus between these two features. When Nicolas Sarkozy refers to his vision of Parisian region in Roissy in 2007, he addressed to architects who participated to the AIGP (*Atelier International du Grand Paris*), local authorities and national politicians. Three temporal elements emerge from this speech :

- An urban conception based on the American way of life.
- A past composed in reference to the alleged Great's Urban Planner of the 19th century.
- The idea of greatness to consider politician's action.

These points are not directly linked. They are dispatches in the text, and not exposed by block. Nicolas Sarkozy combined his ideal city with an historical analysis of what was the Paris in the past. This past is not defined : he mentions Haussmann and the delimitation of Paris by roads named Boulevards, which became urban symbols overtime. The image exposed of the past is entirely anachronic. For instance :

« Originally, in the agglomeration of Paris things were done differently. The Charles V wall became the *Grands Boulevards*, the wall of *Fermiers généraux* became the *Boulevard Saint-Jacques* or *Avenue Kleber*, the Thiers' fortification became the *Boulevards des Maréchaux*. We

created not only highways, but also squares and crossroads. But when the crossroad highway was built and crossed, this ambition was defeated and abandoned »³.

Anachronism appeared when he uses the word ‘highway’, translate from the French ‘*rocade*’. This concept refers exactly to ‘ring road’, however Nicolas Sarkozy makes a reference to the ‘*Périphérique*’ which is the closer ring road highway surrounding Paris. The ‘*Périphérique*’ plays a symbolic role: it creates a spatial division between Paris (2.3 million inhabitants) and its suburbs (~10 millions inhabitants). However, highways and ring roads did not exist in the period than Nicolas Sarkozy speaks. Moreover, he sets the origin of the agglomeration to this old period, revealing a vision particularly limited in time and in urban history.

Besides this last anachronism, the first is equally suitable to understand the space of experience that portrays his point of view. Nicolas Sarkozy describes Paris’ transformation as the outcome of two events which marked the urban landscape. The first is the destruction of the Charles V wall which was commanded in the 17th century when Paris was the most important city of Europe and the time when Louis XIV wanted to flaunt of his power. The destruction of the Thiers’ fortification was decided in the post-World War I period, in accordance to the new military strategies. The destruction of these symbolic borders transformed inner Paris and its spatial relations to the suburbs. Wall destruction evolved into city growth, whilst the city opened to its adjacent territories.

Where the old walls where situated, governments built monumental streets which became the symbolic *Boulevards* of Paris. They represent the imaginary of the French capital, its specificity and beauty. A classic beauty opposed to the urban planning of the second part of the 20th century,

3 *Ibidem*. Translate by myself. « Aux origines de cette agglomération lorsque Paris s’est constituée, les choses se sont faites différemment. Le mur de Charles V est devenu les Grands Boulevards, le mur des Fermiers généraux est devenu le boulevard Saint-Jacques et l’avenue Kléber, les fortifications de Thiers, les boulevards des maréchaux. On ne créait pas seulement des rocades, mais des places, des carrefours. Mais une fois le Périphérique construit, et franchi, cette ambition, perdue, dans un autre monde ».

characterized by expansive urbanization in the suburbs. In order to manage urban development, governments built different types of infrastructures, in particular highways and ring roads.

Nicolas Sarkozy expressed a nostalgic vision of the urban planning:

« I believe we need to recover the *Hausmannian* spirit of Paris, from the 1860's, and the spirit of Pierre-Charles L'Enfant from the 1800's Washington. Rather than wishing – like Alphonse Allais – to build cities in the countryside, why not building a real city in our suburbs? They don't lack of space, but of political willingness and a coordinated vision of urban management, which lays on the power structures to make it happen. To prevent the construction of social housing where they already exist. To prevent favouring a community's interests before those of an agglomeration, inhabited by 11 million inhabitants »⁴.

In this extract, Nicolas Sarkozy increases the 'space of experience' introduced earlier. He adds figures of the Parisian urbanization to the symbols of the city. Haussmann distinguished Paris conferring it its current romantic vision. This implies that the experience of urban transformation is a combination of both symbols and figures. These characters embodied by Haussmann and L'Enfant in the speech, are those two capital builders. They are not only planners: they represent the greatness of civilization. In history, we recognize them as the benchmark of success.

Experience is thus composed by actions (of urban transformation), willingness, planning and – finally – success. The last aspect is the most relevant. As stated by Augustin, the past and the future are always conceived from the present. Haussmann imagined in the past the future of Paris, yet the

4 *Ibidem*. Translate by myself. « Je crois qu'il faut retrouver l'esprit d'Haussmann dans le Paris de 1860 et de Pierre-Charles L'Enfant dans le Washington de 1800. Plutôt que de vouloir comme Alphonse Allais, construire des villes à la campagne, pourquoi ne pas construire une vraie ville dans nos banlieues ? Elles ne manquent pas d'espaces nécessaires, mais de volonté politique et d'une vision coordonnée de l'organisation urbaine, appuyée sur les pouvoirs nécessaires pour le mettre en œuvre. Pour ne pas toujours construire des logements sociaux là où il y a déjà des logements sociaux. Pour ne pas faire passer systématiquement l'intérêt de chaque commune avant celui d'une métropole, - excusez-moi du peu-, peuplée de 11 millions d'habitants ».

ongoing future from the past is by definition different from his expectations. By re-appropriating this future-past, Nicolas Sarkozy intends to reach the same success for his imagined future.

The success he pursues is conceived in the American way of life.

« Urban houses' areas are as dense as tower blocks' areas. Why would one be a conformist by building a crossroad highway when we can build squares instead? The debate around land policy, choices related to housing are fundamental. I asked for a long time why in the city-center, there are still individual houses and in the new cities, there are towers. On the contrary. Collective living in the city-center. Individual housing in the suburbs. We need to think cities over »⁵.

Nicolas Sarkozy was mayor of Neuilly-sur-Seine, a rich suburban municipality. He has a particular experience of the periphery that he translates by this speech. He thinks that the urbanity is the result of a gradual density. In the centre, the CBD and the high level density of accommodation. In the periphery, the private housing composed by a space for a garden and private life. The latter is considered as a vital need for the population. Collective housing is negatively perceived, as he has a negative vision of the concentration of social housing. This last point is perceptible as a traditional opposition between rich conservative suburban municipalities and poor communist suburban municipalities. The 'space of experience' that appears to us is thinking by association of partisan conception of the city and his personal aspiration of greatness. It's only in consideration of this 'space of experience' that we can understand his 'horizon of expectation'.

4. What 'Horizon of expectation' emerge ?

5 *Ibidem*. Translate by myself. « La densité de logement des maisons de ville est la même que celle des barres. Pourquoi se contenter de faire un échangeur alors qu'on pourrait faire une place ? La question de la mobilisation du foncier, des choix en matière de logement est centrale. Je me suis toujours demandé pourquoi en centre-ville, il y avait encore des maisons particulières et dans les villes nouvelles, il y avait des tours. C'est plutôt l'inverse. L'habitat collectif en centre-ville. L'habitat individuel, en périphérie de nos villes. Il faut que l'on repense la ville »

‘Horizon of expectation’ is not an exact definition of what the future will be. ‘Expectation’ is fundamentally divergent more than prospective. Prospective analysis draws a number of *scenarii* according to a potential modification of multiple characteristics defined earlier. Indeed, prospective intended to predict what will be happen in certain condition from the situation which was established by a diagnostic. But, it is not necessarily intended. It is also possible that one scenario is desirable. Nevertheless, in the famous case of the IPCC (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change), *scenarii* are produced and publicised in the aim to transform environmental approach of public policies. ‘Expectation’ depicted a desirable future, or multiple desirable futures.

These multiple desirable futures are close to utopia. The term of ‘horizon’ expressed a point that form the boundary between earth and sky. After this point, we do not know what happens. Before this point, we know what happened. Paul Ricoeur said that the ‘horizon of expectation’ associated both hopes and fears. What is the fear of Nicolas Sarkozy ? There are numerous. The first one, is the decline of Paris and by amplification, the decline of France. He wanted to be the President which outbreaks this dynamic. Fear of decline is not new and not particularly concentrated in France. A lot of occidental countries are faced with it : Brexit and Trump election are the most visible consequences. What is the hope of Nicolas Sarkozy ? As I said, hopes and fears are connected. Nicolas Sarkozy’s hope is to outbreak the decline of France by generating an economical growth which provide social development. This hope is founded in a specific fear which is the product of individual and collective experience of the decline. ‘Experience’ as mix between collective and individual phenomenon, cannot be rational imagination. The decline is a wisdom of the present resulting of an interpretation of the current past.

The second fear emerged of his speech, is the concentration of social housing. From his rich suburb, he perceives the poor suburb as a problem, blocked in a communitarian situation where poor are

assimilated to dangers, violence and degradations of life conditions. It is not only decline, but decadence. By example, he says in the speech of Roissy : « The urban rupture appeared when quarters have no links with the world, because the bus runs every quarter of an hour, when nobody launch rocks in it »⁶. This sentence requires to be contextualized. The speech took place just after the presidential and parliamentary campaign which was marked by the topic of security. As in 2002, the President used this topic to appear as the traditional and conservative candidate, incarnation of order and protection. Project of Grand Paris is described as a global project and not a regional program of transportation. The President wanted to deploy all actions in all possible sectors. This is the particularity of the Hyper-president which he incarnates. Alongside of this security argumentation, Nicolas Sarkozy explains that the link between city-center and suburb by transportation line is essential to integrate a periphery space in the metropolitan dynamic. According to him, a place where the bus runs more than quarter of an hour is not connected to the ‘world’. By ‘world’, he means ‘metropolitan dynamic’. This word is used because of the construction of the speech which is a description of the Grand Paris project by showing a general conception of urban way of life (Wirth, 1928). After describing this second fear, it is evident that the hope correlated to it is constituted by the two figures of order and development. Auguste Comte’s theory of progress gives the base of the speech of Roissy. Economic development engages social development and by consequence, a diminution of insecurity. To begin this virtuous circle, Nicolas Sarkozy proposes the Keynesian approach by investing in transportation infrastructures.

Moreover, ‘Horizon of expectation’ is the end of the transitional-present exposed by Reinhart Koselleck. He said that the present in the Modernity marked the transition between Obscurity and Light. The past is necessarily negative and the future better than today. According to the speech of Roissy, this point is not an evidence. If Nicolas Sarkozy imagines a better tomorrow, he refers for

6 *Ibidem*. Translate by myself. « L'éclatement ce sont ces quartiers qui ne sont reliés au monde que par un bus qui passe tous les quarts d'heure quand il ne se fait pas caillasser »

the future to the great past of urban planners. He prospects in tomorrow the success of yesterday. Because of that, he turns in another way than Modernity. As I said in the first part of this communication, Koselleck gives three semantic analysis of Modernity : the present is transitional (Neuzeit), the transition is always from the worst to the best, humanity is more and more capable to interfere in his own history. The last point is visible in our study case. Nicolas Sarkozy, as a lot of politicians, has the impression to be an actor of change.

What limits to this analysis ?

The most important limit that I encounter in my PhD thesis is to detect the representation of time in political discourse. According to Reinhart Koselleck, Modernity was a period where multiple ideologies were in concurrence to deploy a common horizon of expectation. In our study case, it appears that Nicolas Sarkozy is positioning in this Modern thinking. He believes on a personalisation of the Presidential role, head of a recovered powerful State. He pursues an aim based on progress, by actioning top down public policies. It is difficult, based on the speech analysis to determinate the difference between a desired future and a prospect future. The ‘art of politics’ is to articulate these two aspects of expectation in one entire expression of future. For example : is the security speech an desire future or an prospect future which serve the desire of order ? It is the strategy of the aim ? To know that, I need to get an interview with him and with the writer of his speech (Henri Guaino). I do not have to explain how is complicated to get it, everyone understands. And, if I get the interviews, they will not have the obligation to answer exactly to my questions. Moreover, when we analyse this kind of situations, we are confronted to divergent scales which are mixed, paradoxical, complementary, and are totally dependent. It makes no sense to study the Grand Paris project without studying the territorial proportionment of actors as I exposed in the

contextualising part. However, it makes no sense either, to study this project without a national and global contextualisation.

A second limitation is the result of the separation between individual and collective ‘space of experience’. As I said, ‘space of experience’ participate actively to the production of the ‘Horizon of expectation’. But, it seems that two sociological approaches are in conflict in this point (Elchardus, 1988). If we use a structuralist approach, we would easily use the collective explanation of experience. Nicolas Sarkozy is the product of his territory of election, his social category, his educational trajectory. Finally, what the individuality of Nicolas Sarkozy gives to this collective experience to be specific ? We need to find what orientation are the results of paradigms and what stay to the hand of the former President.

The third limitation emerges if we intend to study a large data base. As Paul Ricoeur said in his narrative analysis about time and stories, this kind of study are necessarily quantitative. The results of my PhD that I showed in this communication had been developed during a long explanation that I cannot express in this paper. I came to this analysis by crossing discursive analysis and urban planning analysis to understand experiences and expectations of actors.

Conclusion

Limitations did not hide the interest of these historiographical notions in public policy. These two expressions were for a long time reserved to a philosophical approach of history. The aim of this communication in continuity of my PhD thesis, is to improve the capacities of academics to use these notions in the aim to understand the articulation of the past et the future in public policy decided today. It appears to me that political scientists are more concentrated in the influence of past in the present and less about the influence of representation of future in the present and the

past. To perceive the rationality which produce public policy, it seems to me essential to understand the volition of actors. To study this point, I think that the use of ‘experience’ and ‘expectation’ opens some ways of understanding and more generally, some gates between political sciences and history.

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