



Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences  
Division of Environmental Communication

## Master Thesis

# **Participation in environmental decision-making processes within the discourse of representative democracy. Case study of Stuttgart 21**

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## **Abstract**

The essay investigates whether the discourse of representative democracy provides enough space for public participation in environmental decision-making. Based on the case study of Stuttgart 21 – a large-scale reconstruction of the train station in the German city of Stuttgart – the citizens understanding of participation and representative democracy is analyzed. With regards to the related theoretical frames of Habermas, Dahl, and others the applied critical discourse analysis carries out the existence of two main discourses: The discourse of formal representative democracy as well as the discourse of lifeworld representative democracy. Taking into account the hegemonic order of discourse the essay concludes that there is enough space for public participation but it affects the social reality in the way that the decisions are not legitimate and therefore it has certain negative impact on the political system in general. As it is shown based on the analysis the discourse of representative democracy need to be further developed. Procedures like the Stuttgart 21 arbitration as well as the claim for referendums could provide valuable grounds for further considerations and to some extent offer a concrete application of deliberative democracy.

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# 1 Introduction

Our work is devoted to the investigation of the case of Stuttgart 21 project in Germany. This case highlights the matter of participation in representative democracy since it is related with the participation of the citizens in the planning stage and afterwards in the project of Stuttgart 21. This project about the construction of new train station and railways has been launched by Deutsche Bahn, federal government of Germany and the state government of Baden-Württemberg. The whole process related to the Stuttgart 21 project is outstanding since after the mass demonstrations against the project in September, 2010 the arbitration among the most popular politicians and public people have been conducted. The arbitration, the new procedure in representative democracy, has brought a question about how it should be interpreted and how it affects the participation of citizens in general.

The perspective we apply to the case is discursive. The events have developed as they did because concrete actions of politicians have been followed within the specific discursive practice they hold. The discursive practice of politicians has influenced social reality and, therefore, it is interesting to analyze all discursive practices related to the Stuttgart 21 case. Another interesting aspect is the matter of participation. Even though there were democratic procedures in the planning stage of the Stuttgart 21 project, citizens took part in them but they still are against the project. These statements show that something went wrong in the whole system since the government is created for the citizens and they should be heard in democratic state. This actually attracts the attention to this case and stimulates the future investigations in this field.

This case lies in the sphere of environmental communication because the key point in the conflict among citizens and politicians is centered on the park near the train station and ancient trees there. Since the main line of our research focuses on how citizens and politicians give meaning to the concepts like participation and propose various constructions of reality around the process related to the Stuttgart 21 project we identify that it lies in the core of environmental communication. So far the content of our research and methodology we are going to use refers to environmental communication.

In order to conduct our investigation we divide our work into the following sections. First of all, we explain why the case is relevant and highlight the challenges that it brings, so far, out of that we draw our problem statement and research questions. Then, we validate the methodology we are going to use and describe the methods and limitations we face. Third, to place our research in the broader context we analyze the theories, which exist in the field of our research and to frame theoretical grounds for our future investigation. Then, the second part of our work is started – the one related to the case study of Stuttgart 21 project. Here a broader introduction to our case is given followed by critical discourse analysis of our empirical data. Fifth, we explain the results of our analysis and guide the discussion about our findings with relation to the theoretical framework we draw. And the ending part of our research provides final conclusions.

## 2 Background

The modern world with all its complexity produces as many problems as benefits because of the development and technological progress. Every year the world faces with catastrophe caused by new mechanisms developed by mankind. In 2010 it was oil spill in Caribbean sea produced by implementation of new technologies by BP company. In 2010 there was anthropogenic catastrophe in Hungary where poisonous toxins were spilled in the river Danube. In World Ocean in southern hemisphere not far from Antarctic pole the new large “continent” that consists of only of plastic soup has been found recently. All these factors tend to show that the development implemented by modern governments and companies and blinked by citizens doesn't ensure stability in future since all the facts imply that it will be more misbalanced in future than now.

The scholars state that the modern society is the risk society (Beck, 2000) (Giddens, 2004) and according to them the current direction of development has caused risks more than opportunities. These scholars imply that the modernity should be replaced by reflective modernization as Giddens proposed. Reflective modernization has been started recently but to cope with these risks it should be spread among institutions and organizations, government, corporations, citizens and society in general. By spreading this perspective among all actors these scholars mean that they need to change their behaviour, to restructure their mechanisms of decision making, in particular in environmental sphere since this is the most important sphere for human survival although everything is interconnected. According to these scholars the only one way to cope with environmental risks is to increase participation of citizens in decision making process because it is important not only from the perspective of morality and fairness but also it can provide local knowledge that is missed by governmental authority. According to some of them the knowledge gathered from all of the citizens is key moment in overcoming these barriers and changing the situation. Many scholars have been concerned with looking for solution how it is possible to implement this citizens' involvement, e.g. Habermas (Elling, 2010), (Giddens.2004), (Castells, 2000).

Furthermore, problematic in the modern world is how this participation can be increased or changed. However some of the researchers and citizen consider the modern situation as normal as well as they don't perceive necessity of future transformations of existing systems. This ambiguity gives the right to consider participation as complex issue and its incorporation in current decision making processes as much more complex. The issue of participation is complex by many reasons. One of them is lack of concrete scheme how to shape it. There are many unanswered questions regarding participation starting from who and how should participate and ending with which of participatory models should be chosen.

As it is stated above the difference in perceiving participation and its role in modern world is based on various meaning given to it by actors. Therefore, the key aspect in this discussion is social construction of reality and, as a consequence, various discourses that propose to look at participation from different perspectives. So far the complexity of participation in modern society is expressed by different discourse while some of them are prevailing at the moment. The analysis of these discourses of participation can be supportive for realization of current power balance and investigation of how it can be altered for changing the negative consequences of development.

At the moment one of the cases interested from the perspective of investigation different discourses of participation is located in Stuttgart. The project of new railways development and reconstruction of train station and surrounding area have caused massive protests from groups of citizens while other groups of citizens have decided to support the project. The whole process related to Stuttgart 21 project is valuable case study for investigation of participation and citizens' perception of it and discourses related to this issues. In the second part the reader will be introduced to the case study of

the thesis. We are going to show why this case is problematic and what is important to take it into account in future similar cases.

The German city of Stuttgart with its 600 000 inhabitants is situated in a valley which, to some extent, limits the urban development since big areas are covered by railway tracks and platforms. Therefore already in 1988 an idea to start a big infrastructure project and reconstruct the train station emerged. The idea was further developed amongst local and national politicians and 1994 "Stuttgart 21" (S21) was presented to the public: The biggest urban development and transportation project in Europe. The plan is to replace tracks and platforms of the current train station with new infrastructure and platforms located underground. The Stuttgart rail node is to be reorganised in order to link-up to the European high-speed rail network and become 'The new heart of Europe'. Doing that the current train station must be rotated with 90 degrees and extensive tunnel constructions are to be applied including the cut down of trees at the central recreation area of Stuttgart called "Schlossgarten". After some struggles the government on federal level as well as on state level finally decided to implement S21. Construction started at the beginning of 2010 with a planned finish date of 2019.

Very early in the planning phase the first resistance against the project has developed including ongoing demonstrations up to now. The opposition against S21 reached a peak in September 2010 when the first century-old trees were crosscut at Schlossgarten. Several thousand people were demonstrating and police force was required to allow construction to be continued. Afterwards the political debate around Stuttgart 21 was even more heated so that arbitration was held at the end of 2010. The discussions around S21 has also influenced the state elections in Baden-Württemberg to some extent. Because of the new green government in the state the owner of the project, Deutsche Bahn, stopped construction works at the beginning of 2011. The public debate as well as the political debate is still ongoing and up to now it is not finally decided if Stuttgart 21 is implemented or not.

The arbitration is a new way to solve environmental conflict as it has been shown. However, there is a huge question whether we can consider the arbitration as the solution. Or in another words the question is what the role of arbitration is in the whole process and whether it brought relief or not for citizens. The application of the arbitration to the process makes it a unique process with outstanding outcome. It is also proved by the results of March election and the victory of green party in state government elections. The process is very new and outstanding and only this makes it interesting to conduct research in this field. But there are, of course, other reasons, such as the claims for direct democracy mechanisms heard from citizens. They continue to ask for some additional mechanisms to raise their voice in this question. Therefore, the link with the current political system, or better to say the form of representative democracy in Germany and, in particular in this region gives another direction of thinking. Connections between participation and representative democracy are shown by citizens, but what is more interesting, by scholars and authorities as well. It is important to mention that it is very rare when citizens, authorities and society in general articulate their interest so precisely.

So far the key moments in this work concerns participation and the role of participation in representative democracy. But this investigation doesn't operate in pour terms of participation but rather individual interpretations of what participation is and what the role of it is in representative democracy. Another significant aspect in the process related to the Stuttgart 21 is the arbitration, the consequences of it and the whole meaning of this process for future discussion in society and environmental decision-making processes. But first of all it is still important to know theoretical grounds for the matter of participation in representative democracy. Although the most important issues which cover all these questions is ability of hegemonic discourse to handle the challenges of the modern world. These challenges are complexity of decision making processes and lack of legitimacy.

## **Problem formulation**

In the context of the case of Stuttgart 21 the hegemonic discourse of representative democracy, if it exists, does not provide enough space for public participation in environmental decision-making processes.

## **Research questions**

1. How participation is introduced in the discourse of representative democracy in theory?
2. Within which discourses citizens and other actors interpret the process related to the Stuttgart 21 project?
3. What are practical and theoretical implications of the Stuttgart case for the understanding of representative democracy?

## **3 Methodology**

The problems of participation in representative democracy have been covered by various scholars and researchers. They have evaluated the boundaries for participation by giving different meaning to the definitions of participation and representative democracy. To put it another way the definitions of participation and democracy that are under research here have been socially constructed. Social construction means that human beings in society develop new knowledge all together by defining social objects and over time this knowledge institutionalizes and consolidates in traditions (Berger, Luckmann, 1966). Therefore, the object of our research lies in the linguistic aspect of social construction (giving different meanings) rather than in subjective reality and figuring out some certain facts or events.

Definition of situation is perception of the situation by participants of this situation. Thomas figures out it as “if people define situations as real they are real in their consequences” (Charon, 2010: 125). It means that interpretation of the situation will lead to actions and it is possible to see in this action how participant defined the situation before acting. Human being defines the situation through his knowledge, information, his self and taking the role of others. The perception of reality is much more important than reality because it isn’t clear what reality is itself. In other words, perception of reality is the only one thing that we really know and we act according to it. Charon identifies definition of situation as “the definition of social objects the actor creates within himself or herself that has consequences for overt action in the situation” (Charon, 2010:126). To investigate participation and its location in representative democracy we will mostly base our work in covering definitions given by participants of the process related to Stuttgart 21 project. Therefore, it seems to be reasonable to conduct this investigation through the methodology of discourse analysis.

So far we will apply critical discourse analysis to our research tasks since it is the proper way to solve it. Discourse analysis is analysis of discursive practices through which text and social practices are connected (Fairclough, 2005). Fairclough suggested certain understanding of critical discourse analysis in his works (Fairclough, 2005). He says that there are three dimensions for critical discourse analysis – text, discursive practice and social practice. By investigating discursive practice it becomes possible to make connections between text and social practice and, therefore, to register social change. It is better way to figure out social change if it exists through texts since the linguistic dimension is the first where something can be changed.

According to Fairclough the focus of discourse analysis should lay on linguistic features of the text, environment surrounding production and consumption of this text and “wider social practices to which the communicative event belongs” (Fairclough, 2005). For Fairclough analysis of communicative even should include: ‘analysis of the discourses and genres which are articulated in the production and the consumption of the text (the level of discursive practice), analysis of the



linguistic structure (the level of the text), considerations about whether the discursive practice reproduces or, instead, reconstructs the existing order of discourse and about what consequences this has for the broader social practice (the level of social practice)” (Fairclough, 2005).

Therefore, the discourse analysis we will conduct will give us an understanding of the relations between text, discourse practice and social practice and it will reveal, perhaps, social change. This mixed character of research makes the analysis “transdisciplinary” because various kind of analysis will be applied from language analysis to analysis of social processes. But it was mentioned that not only discourse analysis but critical discourse analysis will be used.

Critical discourse analysis is a kind of discourse analysis that “primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context” (Van Dijk, 2001: 352). So far the key moment in critical discourse analysis is revealing of power structure, and more importantly, justification of changes in power balance. Van Dijk and Fairclough are both scholars of critical discourse analysis and in some points hold similar attitude toward critical discourse analysis. In the Stuttgart 21 case critical discourse analysis is more applicable than other types of discourse analysis because this case lies in political dimension, concerns power structures and their relationships and even covers the election. So there is a direct link between investigation of Stuttgart 21 case and an application of critical discourse analysis.

Van Dijk states that “Fairclough and Wodak summarize the main tenets of critical discourse analysis as follows:

1. CDA addresses social problems
2. Power structure are discursive
3. Discourse constitutes society and culture
4. Discourse does ideological work
5. Discourse is historical
6. The link between text and society is mediated
7. Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory
8. Discourse is a form of social action” (Van Dijk, 2001:353)

Van Dijk concerns about power as control and discourse as the way to reproduce this power. He implies that those who have more resources through discourse can control others since resources give opportunities for choosing and controlling discourse. In other words apparently there is a struggle between various discourse and those win who provide more resources. It can be different kind of power ensured by resources - not only finances but also, e.g. resource of charismatic personality.

Van Dijk states that control over discourse can be defined in terms of context and structures of text and talk themselves. The context consists of various categories that describe situation itself: time, place, “ongoing actions (including discourses and genres), participants in various communicative, social or institutional roles, as well as their mental representations (goals, knowledge, opinions, attitudes and ideologies)” (Van Dijk, 2001:356). So control over communicative act and, therefore, discourse can be reached in one of these categories. For instance, some of the institutions are given certain rights for granted, e.g. teachers decide what kind of material they will teach their students. Therefore, another important aspect is who form the agenda. The ability to influence the topic gives more opportunities to influence the discourse. Moreover, Van Dijk has figured out the most used words in critical discourse analysis such as “power”, “dominance”, “hegemony”, “ideology”, “class”, “gender”, “race”, “discrimination”, “interests”, “reproduction”, “institutions”, “social structure”, “social order” (Van Dijk, 2001:354).

Therefore, this direction of discourse analysis – critical discourse analysis focuses on distinguishing the power between various organizations and institutions and identifying who is controlling the discourse. To put it another way the role of critical discourse analysis is to figure out which discourse is hegemonic if there is such and to reveal other minor discourse as well. Another task is

to draw connections between these discourses and produce a sort of a map with different relationships based on discursive connections between different social agents. This is what we are going to do in order to investigate Stuttgart 21 case. Below we are going to imply different elements of critical discourse analysis that we will use in our work.

There are several elements of critical discourse analysis that constitute the analysis itself. We will apply these elements in our research in order to provide sufficient level of investigation. Therefore, now we draw instrumental apparatus that will help us to implement critical discourse analysis on the Stuttgart 21 case. The most important elements are nodal point, interdiscursivity, intertextuality, genres, styles, order of discourse, and field of discursivity. Besides, it is important to mention that definition of text isn't limited only by written text but also includes speech, brochures, placards - everything that can be converted into text.

The concept of nodal point is defined as "privileged sign around which the other signs are ordered; the other signs acquire their meaning from their relationship to the nodal point" (Phillips & Jorgensen 2006: 26). According to that perspective nodal points are reference points mentioned in a discourse that bind together a particular system of meaning. Interdiscursivity is the term that is used when one of the discourses incorporates another discourse in its own structure by giving interpretation for this discourse. To put it another way interdiscursivity means giving meaning to someone else interpretation of reality. Besides, interdiscursivity refers to correlation between discourses in general while intertextuality appeals to the certain texts. Intertextuality can be understood as the expression of interdiscursivity – if someone refers to another discourse through application of certain text related with this another discourse. Moreover, there are different genres and styles according to which the texts can be written. Various genres and styles can be used as the means to controlling the hegemonic discourse. Order of discourse is a combination of genres, styles and discourses that are relatively stable and, therefore, might generate potential area of discursive conflicts.

### **3.1 Methods**

For the investigation of the Stuttgart 21 case we have chosen to use two means of data gathering. We conduct interviews and collect written information related to the Stuttgart 21 project. The variety of data sources will provide us with enough information for pursuing our investigation. Since our work is conducted through critical discourse analysis the main basis for working with is text, either written or spoken. Therefore, the decision to cover both spoken and written texts was made in order to have as much various information as possible. Our goal hasn't been to collect information but to pick the most interesting examples of different kind of communication and some of the most different perspectives on the case. So far we are going to analyze different kinds of communicative acts. This variety will help us to understand the problem even more than if only one source of information was chosen.

Semi structured interviews is one of the information providers we chose. The interviews were chosen as one of the methods because, trying to investigate our problem, the key moment is to get citizens involved in the process since the main question is what citizens think about participation in democracy. Posing this question in this way it was obvious from the beginning that to make this research, citizens' opinions need to be gathered.

In total there were ten interviews conducted with the length between half an hour and an hour (see the summaries at Appendix 2). Such a difference exists because of different types of actors that were interviewed. The shortest interview was conducted with the person who isn't interested and actively involved in the project at all and, therefore, has not that much to say. Among these ten actors there are three who took part in the arbitration, two of them were part of the arbitration and the last actor was among organizers. First two of them are against the project. The one from organizers has to be independent. Those have participated in the project as the representatives of their organizations. One person as it was mentioned isn't involved at all. Other six interviewees are citizens who has actively taken part in demonstrations, protest or internet communication.

The interviewees were chosen by different research strategies. Since the timeframe for empirical work has been limited most interviews were organized before going to field trip. First of all, invitations to the interview were sent to all fourteen participants of the arbitration. Two of them and the representative of the main facilitator agreed to conduct an interview. The other twelve participants of the arbitration did not respond to our interview enquiry or said they can not take part in our research because of time constraints. The fact that no arbitration representative of the supporters of the Stuttgart 21 project agreed to give an interview might have some impact on our analysis. To face this risk we focused on keeping the balance between supporters and opponents when selecting interview persons beyond those who took part in the arbitration. To find the most active citizens we proceeded by using social network. For interviews only those were invited who have posted much information about events related to Stuttgart 21, e.g. those citizens who suggest some meetings and look like one of the activists in their internet behaviour. In the social network Facebook two large groups pro and contra the project were identified and the search for interviewees was implemented only in these two groups. Both groups contain more than 100 000 supporters. The will to engage activists was satisfied after meetings with all interviewees and realization that all of them were in fact activists who somehow represents their group pro or contra.

All the interviews were conducted with the help of a specially developed questionnaire that was produced before the field trip. Even though the interviews are semi structured, most of the questions are from the questionnaire because while trying to understand different opinions and positions we also had the goal to have a material that we can kind of compare in our analysis. Therefore, the basis of our questionnaires (Appendix 1) are questions related to different definitions of the terms participation and representative democracy. For participants of the arbitration there are questions regarding this topic as well.

Since it wasn't possible to identify many activists through the Internet another strategy was to ask people in the street to give an interview. It was planned to do it during the Monday demonstration and in the park – the main arena of all demonstrators. So far one interviewee was caught in the demonstration and another in the park. The latter one is one of the illegal constructors of information center in the park. Moreover, for informational purposes legal informational center organized by DB (Railway Company) and Monday demonstrations were visited. All the names of our interviewees have been changed in order to not affect the process since the case of Stuttgart 21 is still in progress.

Another way to get valuable information for critical discourse analysis was made by gathering printed material and making pictures of placards (Appendix 3). It was easy to find material for the research since citizens organized the whole wall of posters near the train station of Stuttgart. Indeed this is already the second edition because the first volume of posters from this wall was taken to the Stuttgart museum.

Another method that was implemented during the collection of the empirical data is observation. The observation was made during three days of field trip in Stuttgart. The general observation of the situation in the city is a support to the main methods for analysis. During the observation the Monday demonstration was visited, the park Schlossgarten and the area near the train station that will be reconstructed were investigated. Moreover we visited the info centre of both parties: The so-called TurmForum, which provides detailed information about the Stuttgart 21 project and the pavilion of the opposition against Stuttgart 21.

### **3.2 Limitations**

Our research contains several limitations we faced with while producing it. First and the most important is the language barrier. Stuttgart is a German city with citizens who mainly speaks German and produces all material in their mother tongue. However, the language of our research is English. It has caused some problem with conducting the interviews and translation original brochures and posters. Most of the interviews were held in English but few of them in German. This problem can cause some problems while conducting the analysis of different perceptions of citizens.

Besides, before starting empirical part we have decided not to limit our research only by citizens who can speak English but also in critical situation we agreed to have interview in German. Even though most of the interviewees chose English they used sometimes certain German words and sentences. Facing with this problem is it important to mention that one of us is native German speaker so there is no problem to understand what the interviewees meant. The bigger problem is how to translate it to English. But as it is known many investigations are conducted in other languages and than they are translated into English. So it is common practice to solve this problem this way and it means that this research isn't an exception. We admit that in the case of mixed language and especially when the work is related with language, particularly the interpretation of material should be conducted very carefully.

As it was stated above only ten people finally agreed to have an interview and, furthermore, the scope of this research from the beginning has been aimed at no more than ten citizens. It is related, of course, with the time and resource frame in this work. From the other side it seems reasonable to have ten citizens who represent different sides of the conflict. The problem in this case refers to limited number of interviewees anyway. It is known that on each Monday demonstration about three hundred up to six thousand citizens are presented but this particular research is aimed at revealing citizens' deep understanding of participation and democracy and interpretation of the process related to Stuttgart 21. Therefore, it is important to organize long interviews that go for a deep understanding rather than catching as much as possible people for an interview. So far ten interviews are enough but of course the exact number of them can be considered as the limitation of this research. To be considered as another kind of limitation is our decision not to fully transcribe the interviews. Instead we transcribed the most crucial and meaningful parts based on our own judgment and interpretation. This can be seen as limitation of the research even those the procedure is align with official guidelines provided by the university for this thesis.

The work analyses some examples of printed materials but not all of them. This happens because the amount of printed or drawn material in Stuttgart is huge; it looks like everyone is concerned and considers that it is important to provide his own vision. The most spectacular example is two editions of the wall with posters near the railway station. Therefore, we have chosen the most valuable samples of the printed or drawn material for our research. So the chosen material reflects our interpretation of what is valuable and what isn't but this is the main limitation of the research that all analysis is based on our interpretation of interviews, printed and written material. Although we consider it to be limitation, we admit that almost all researchers who choose quantitative method for their work face with this limitation.

## **4 Theory**

According to the theory of deliberative democracy by Habermas or reflective modernization by Giddens, participation is seen to be the important basic principle to overcome the threats of modernity that have risen during the last decades. More and more the increase of participation in local community becomes the aim of regional government and consulting agencies. Although participation can be defined differently in these theories it is still perceived as the main driver of development since it allows all the entity members to raise their voice and to share their outstanding opinion that can be a part of future decision. While nowadays participation has found its place among many theories there are not that many solutions or practical advices how to increase participation and integrate citizens in the decision making process. At the same time the views on participations aren't only taken from top down approach but also widely presented by the citizens' opinions. So far, two different levels of participation are possible to be identified – community participation and political participation. Despite the fact that both of them are very interrelated concepts there is still difference in investigation of both of them because they lay in different dimensions. Community participation is located at the local level while political participation in most cases concerns national or sometimes transnational level and involves political decisions. We

will direct our research only in political participation since the angle from which we investigate the case of Stuttgart 21 is political aspect of environmental decision making.

Participation is important by many means but first of all because of knowledge that can be held by citizens themselves and that isn't available for politicians since they don't live in that region or this or that issue don't concern them. Many scholars consider participation as the positive element of political system required to overcome obstacles created by complexity of modern world. Cornwall and Gaventa state that previously citizens were considered as only recipients of the system but this has changed (Cornwall, Gaventa, 2001). Elling (2010) implies that participation is key aspect in modern world because complex world can't be governed by politicians only since all decisions become important and demand collective responsibility. The future development can be implemented only together while all parties are engaged. Moreover, the research conducted by Bowler, Donovan and Karp (2007) explicit that German citizens highly estimate the possibility of introduction of direct democracy instruments. Therefore, even though participation isn't perceived positively all the time it is not possible to exclude it from discussion and the claim of citizens for new mechanism of participation is the only prove of it.

In this research we will concentrate on democracy as political regime and framework for political participation as our research problem is enclosed under the boundaries of the representative democracy. The problem of participation in democracy has become very popular among scholars in the second half of the twentieth century, even though not all of them agree that participation is special and required feature for democracy (Pateman, 1970). Therefore, our role here is to investigate the place of participation in modern conceptions of democracy and to analyze how the models proposed by different theories correspond with actual need of participation in society. To understand the role of participation in democracy in modern world several questions should be answered according to modern theories of democracy. How is it possible to ensure the legitimate decisions in democracy? What is the role of knowledge, experience and expertise and where are they located in democracy? What are the mechanisms for accountability of democratic government? Where should lay the limits of participation? Consequently, to rethink the concept of participation and its location in democracy we need to make an analysis of the theory of representative democracy itself.

One of the most influential theories of democracy in twentieth century has been the conception of deliberative democracy suggested by Habermas (Elling, 2010). In his understanding the democracy that can provide the level of safety for future generations and careful attitude to development and environment is based on deliberation, that in turn means that all decisions are taken collectively and through discussions (Elling, 2010). Habermas points out some specific features of this deliberation that are required in order to ensure the sufficient level of decision making. All members of deliberation should dispose all important information in order to make a good decision together, and this knowledge should be available through public sphere where everyone can discuss the issues and share his own understanding of the problem (though creating a pool of opinions before making the decision). Public sphere is the key aspect in the theory of Habermas because it explains that no institutionalized mechanisms for participation are required. In his view citizens should discuss the issue basing their opinions on all information and knowledge required for it and then use the outcome of these discussions for expressing their position through legitimized mechanisms of representative democracy.

Habermas pays special attention for communicative act as a part of this deliberation and implies that deliberation should be maintained with communicative rationality based on communicative act but not on strategic rationality. For him communicative act is a single action in discussion in public sphere, therefore, the success of deliberation depends on whether strategic or communicative intentions citizens have. At the same time comparing the vision of Habermas and Foucault Kulynych comes to conclusion that this pour communicative rationality seems to be unattainable because each communicative act is first of all performative that means that each act is first of all related with identity- and world- creating and demonstration (Kulynych, 1997:335). Therefore, each communicative act contains not only communicative part but also presents personality of speakers

that can't be unbiased. This notion of performativity derives from the Foucault's notion of resistance and its critiques by McCarthy (Kulynych, 1997). They both say that the act of resistance exists on a micro level of standing against power execution and explains the resisting actor himself and reasons why this actor is against current situation (Kulynych, 1997:329). Demonstration and self presentation through communicative act is a kind of resistance to existing power structure since the speaker decides to raise a voice not without any reason. So far deliberative democracy originated by Habermas contains some aspects that are widely discussed by critics.

Decisions in deliberative democracy are legitimate by their origin since they are widely discussed before they were made by citizens in public sphere. No additional elements for their legitimation or accountability of government are required because these decisions were taken collectively, they are based on all disclosed information and provided knowledge from all experts and, therefore, reflect all public opinions. To sum up Habermas thinks in the frames of representative democracy insisting on the existence of public sphere and communicative acts based on knowledge as the prerequisite for taking the legitimate decisions and maintaining democracy. Since deliberation in this concept holds the primary role it is implicit that the participation as the obligatory feature of deliberation has to find its place in the theory of democracy created by Habermas. Even though he suggests to look at participation through the frames of representative democracy with standard elements of it such as voting and election this theory is still very different from others operating with the same concepts. He actually doesn't argue for people to become politicians and go for elections but only become more interested in matters that concern them and their future. This aspect is very important and goes align with other modern theories of democracies, for instance, Berelson who empirically proves that broad interest in politics leads to disturbance of political system rather than improvement. Although these theories don't consider participation as important requirement for democracy at all (Pateman, 1970) Habermas states that specific kind of participation is needed in order to make decisions legitimate. As was written above his main proposition for participation is sharing the knowledge in public sphere where all information is available and decisions are made through deliberation.

Thus, Habermas model of democracy claim to integrate participation in decision making process even though the mechanism for expression of citizens will remains the same as in main conception of representative democracy – through voting and elections. But it seems impossible to call this theory one of the classical theories of representative democracy since the other perspective on participation is taken. Participation and, as a consequence, deliberation is the crucial moment in the whole theory of deliberative democracy but it is important to remember that this citizens' activity stays beyond the system – in public sphere. Moreover, this conception implicitly states that the standard channels of representative democracy should remain well developed and structured and in turn public voices are heard even though they are formed outside of institutionalized political system. Although deliberative democracy isn't that sufficient as it seems to be because it doesn't meet the most required civil need claimed by citizens – the broadening of civil authority and delegation of some responsibilities and, therefore, addition of some instruments of direct democracy. To put it another way, Habermas theory of deliberative democracy doesn't locate direct democracy in political system in that or another way. Likewise there is no answer what to do if mechanisms of public opinions representation don't work properly.

Introducing the term of representation let's look deeper into this concept. According to Urbinati and Warren (Urbinati, Warren, 2008) there are two differentiated views on representation in democratic theory that refers to basic pre understanding of elections and voting process. To some of scholars (Dahl, Sartori, Berelson) representations means the right to fair elections and opportunity to be elected and what is more important it is the only significant meaning of representation for them. Robert Dahl who suggested the new conception of democracy – poliarchy as a real democracy is representative of this approach toward representation and democracy. For him poliarchy as the ideal model of real democracy should contain seven institutions maintaining the stability of this democracy. There are elected authorities, free and fair elections, inclusive right to vote, the right to be elected, freedom to speech, access to alternative information and freedom to association and

gathering together (Pateman, 1970). These institutions are significant in order to satisfy the following criteria for ideal democracy: effective participation, equality in elections, knowledge based understanding, agenda control, inclusion (Pateman, 1970). Ensuring the existence of these criteria provides the legitimation of decisions made by politicians elected through free and fair voting. Therefore, participation in Dahl's poliarchy is constituted by elections and various criteria providing fair and free elections. From this we can conclude that voting and elections hold the primary place in Dahl's understanding of modern democracy. But we question whether it is enough to have only elections as democratic mechanisms since some of the scholars consider this as quasi aristocratic ways of governing because while giving a vote to one of the candidate there is almost no other mechanisms to control him except next elections (Urbinati, Warren, 2008).

Schumpeter was first scholar who started to rethink the modern concept of democracy and his theory claims that the main feature of democracy is competitive struggle for people's vote (Pateman, 1970). He also says that democracy is political method and by using it everyone is able to compete for leadership in free elections. Moreover, the concept of participation isn't located in central place of his theory and it has no special role in general. Pateman underlines that not only Schumpeter and Dahl share this view on participation in democracy but other scholars as well. For instance, Berelson who pointed out that high level of participation is required only from a minority of citizens only is one among them as well as Sartori who extends Dahl's theory of democracy as poliarchy saying it is not just minorities who rule but elites (Pateman, 1970). Discussing the stability of democracy Eckstein comes to conclusion that "governmental pattern must contain "balance of disparate elements" and there must be a "healthy element of authoritarianism" (Pateman, 1970:13). By the way, these modern conceptions of democracies implies the significance of free distribution of information and knowledge and for some of them importance of political education but this part of theory isn't crucial in their discussions and likewise there is no thought about how this knowledge should be spread or gained. Therefore, even though these modern theories of democracy are consistent and reflect upon empirical analysis shown disinterest of citizens in politics they can be easily criticized by impossibility to suggest a proper answer for modernity threats and, as a consequence, necessity to engage citizens in decision making and especially in environmental sphere.

Dahl and others claim that election is the only one sufficient way to organize democracy while for others like Urbinati and Warren and others elections once in four – five years aren't enough to ensure the legitimate level of decision making. Urbinati and Warren argue that for Habermas "representation is incomplete without the deliberative attentiveness of citizens mediated by public spheres, and the reflective transmission of public deliberation into the domain of representative institutions" (Urbinati, Warren, 2008:393). They also try to extend the features of political representation given by Pitkin to a broader context since she says that to be democratic representatives have to be authorized to act and have to promote the interest of the represented and, most valuable here, citizens must have means for holding representatives accountable for their actions (Urbinati, Warren, 2008:393). From now and further accountability of representatives becomes important for participation in representative democracy as well. Accountability is one of the main elements in democracy for Urbinati and Warren and it seems to be underestimated by other scholars. While those who insist on elections as the only one way to organize democracy consider elections as the instrument for making politicians accountable (if politicians don't satisfy citizens they will not be reelected) those for whom participation is important don't claim accountability that much.

Furthermore, Urbinati and Warren underline the widen scope of social and political actors around the world that aren't presented in classical theory of government such as intergovernmental networks, transnational agencies, international social movements and so on who by their presence has changed power balance of the world and to comprehend the whole complexity of modern political system new mechanisms should be introduced. For instance, now more powerful political organizations can claim the right to construct what they want since they pay as well as citizens can't decide on the project implementation because it is not their taxes that are spent on the construction.

Therefore, we come to another understanding of representative democracy that implies the importance of additional instruments of accountability and control of representatives.

It is important to mention here that almost none of the scholars question the representative democracy and importance of elections themselves but rather some of scholars (Urbinati and Warren, 2008) doubt that only fair and free elections are enough. In particular this matters for environmental problems because the result of these decisions will affect everyone. So coming back to the theory of reflective modernization we should highlight the importance of citizens' inclusion in environmental decision making as some of the scholars do, e.g. Giddens. But in the case of environmental problem the scheduled elections don't give the opportunity to include people in the process at the planning stage and it ends by the politicians taking crucial decisions by themselves.

Now it is important to figure out whether these theories are that different in their essence. Focus on differences in Dahl and Habermas conceptions of democracy doesn't give deep understanding of them since they actually have much in common. If making a comparison of both theories basing only on their features of them it is possible to notice that they have much more similarities that it is seen from the first look. Habermas and Dahl considered their theories from the point of representative democracy where political decisions are made through the elections and voting. They both underlined that no other institutionalized channel between government and society should be added since elections are the only way to make it democratically. Moreover, with different degree of importance, of course, they stated the significance of knowledge based decisions and free access to information. Therefore, the conceptions of democracy developed by Dahl and Habermas in their core have important similarities that make them be much closer. But still there is the huge difference that indeed claims these theories to be interesting from their own positions without comparing or combining them.

What specifies deliberative democracy is attention to public sphere as the field where knowledge can be gained and decisions are formed while Dahl's polyarchy implies significance of access to information and right to meetings and gatherings. However, these scholars hold different perspective on participation in representative democracy. While for Dahl participation is limited by free voting and right to be elected Habermas stands at necessity of first of all implementing deliberative process in public sphere. Their different angles provide different understanding of how democracy should work. If these theories have so much in common than what do they present? These different perspectives seem to be different discourses at the first look. Let's consider it.

Discourses are based on various social constructions of the world. They provide different attitude to the same processes by emphasizing on different parts as the crucial. Dryzek suggested to analyze different environmental discourses by four elements such as basic entities recognized and reconstructed, assumptions about natural relationships, agents and their motives and key metaphors and other rhetorical devices (Dryzek, 1997). Even though he used this classification for environmental discourses it seems to be very consistent and able to provide enough level of investigation we want to conduct here. For Habermas main assumption is importance of inclusion everyone in decision making process while for Dahl it is ability to express some one self through provided mechanisms. For Dahl agents are citizens who don't concern much about politics but Habermas sees citizens as the most important element of political system. He also underlines the importance of public sphere as the way to ensure deliberation when Dahl at the same time put emphasis on electoral process with specification how the features of democracy he claims to be crucial are to be implemented. Even though Habermas and Dahl and their successors all think in theory of representative democracy and imply many similar principles important for democracy they have different discourse since their attitude to different elements is completely different. The difference between them isn't based on claiming different things but rather on different perceptions of what is important in almost the same systems and the ways of obtaining it. They differ not in suggesting different normative elements but just in approaches to it. It makes them be different in discursive way of understanding reality. Urbinati and Warren suggest to analyze this difference between two main approaches to democracy in the same way (Urbinati, Warren, 2008). Here we have presented two discourses of representative democracy that place participation in democracy



differently. As Urbinati and Warren (2008) underline most of the scholars occupied by analysis of democracy concept in twentieth century can be considered as belonging to one of these discourses since participation and elections have been the principal directions of thinking. These different schools of democracy give different meaning to participation in democracy, therefore, making various social construction of democracy and so far creating two different discourses.

It is very important for research not to look through one of the discourse but compare them and be able to see different opportunities created by them. Therefore, keeping in mind that two discourses in democracy exist we need to move on to the next step of empirical analysis. According to the discussion above there are different views upon participation within representative democracy we now will apply to our case study that we investigate in the next section in order to get better understanding of the case.

## **5 Case study Stuttgart 21**

### **5.1 Introduction to the case**

The big-scale infrastructure project Stuttgart 21 (S21) with its main task to bring down the train station of the city of Stuttgart in order to have all platforms underground is heavily debated since the first ideas have been presented to public. Some of the advantages of the project according to the project owners:

- New sites for housing, workplaces and more greenery (100 hectare of former track area located in the centre of the city)
- Better connections for the region (for instance to Stuttgart airport and trade fare centre as well as to other cities)
- More efficient train station

Disadvantages seen by some parts of the society are for instance:

- S21 is badly planned and calculated as well as far to expensive
- Construction site in the centre of Stuttgart for more than ten years
- To travel with train will become more stressful, more slowly and more expensive
- Participation and citizens will are not taken into account

Politicians followed the initial idea of S21, which was firstly presented in 1994. In 1995 federal as well as state government, city of Stuttgart and DB signed a general agreement to further develop and boost the project (Heimerl, 1996). In 2006 the state parliament of Baden-Württemberg, where Stuttgart is the capital of, generally approved the project. In 2007 an agreement over the total costs of 4.1 billion Euro was reached. In 2009 the German minister of transportation, the head of DB and the ministers-president of Baden-Württemberg formally approved the final finance plan. According to that the following actors share the total costs: DB as project owner (36%), federal government (30%), state government (20%), airport Stuttgart (6%), city of Stuttgart (6%), and metropolitan area of Stuttgart (2%) (SZ, 2001). Since 1994 all political levels, from local city parliament up to the European parliament, have fully approved the project S21 and Deutsche Bahn (German national railway company, DB) juristically received the right to implement S21. Construction activities started in February 2010. Seven month later, in September 2010, parts of the old train station were demolished according to the S21 construction plan. On first of October, 2010 the first century-old trees were cut down at the Schlossgarten. End of construction and train operating start is planned for 2019 (EU Official Journal, 2010).

During the planning phase all mandatory means for citizens participation in Baden-Württemberg and Germany were followed. Firstly the regional planning procedure (German:

Raumordnungsverfahren) is to be mentioned. It is a formal governmental procedure in order to clarify if big regionally significant civil works (like highways or big shopping malls) are compliant to the Regional Planning Act of the related state. The regional planning procedure is to be understood as a high-level cross-sectional measurement taking into account economical, ecological, cultural and even social aspects of the planned project. Goals of that procedure, amongst others, are to provide planning reliability for investors and to increase public acceptance of the planned project. The regional planning procedure involves creation and publication of planning documents as well as a public discussion of objections against them (Regional Planning Procedure Act, 1990). After the regional planning procedure a second formal governmental mechanism has to be started: the plan approval procedure (German: Planfeststellungsverfahren). On a more detailed level it provides the opportunity for concerned citizens to hand in objections like pollution. Again the planning documents with all its details are laid open to public inspection. During a public hearing all involved parties such as authorising agency, owner of the project, other concerned authorities, as well as concerned citizens discuss the planned project and related objection (Administrative Procedure Act, 1976).

In the S21 case the regional planning procedure took place in 1997 whereas the plan approval procedure was applied in 2001. All together 13 700 individual objections against the project have been handed in. By end of 2001 all of them have been cleared and the S21 project did pass both procedures with some adjustments (TurmForum, 2005).

Apart from the fact that all relevant planning documents concerning S21 were laid open for public inspection an information centre was established. At the tower of the Stuttgart train station all citizens can inform themselves about different aspects of the S21 project since 1998. The entrance to the multimedia show presented on four floors is for free.

Relevant for the following investigation of S21 case are the political power constellations and election outcomes. In 1995, when federal government signed the general agreement to further develop and boost the S21 project, a red-green government was in power. During the city council elections in Stuttgart in 2009 the black party lost its majority. Since then the green party has the majority, whereas the mayor of Stuttgart is still a fellow of the black party. In March 2011, during the state elections in Baden-Württemberg, the black party lost its governmental power. It is the first time since 1953 that not the black party presents the Ministerpresident of Baden-Württemberg. Shortly after the announcement of the election results DB stopped construction works and contract placing (DB, 2011).

### **Resistance against S21**

Prior to the official decision for the project a Confederation against S21 (dt. "Aktionsbündnis gegen Stuttgart 21") was formed. Its main actors are

- League for the environment and nature conservation (German: Bund für Umwelt und Naturschutz Deutschland, BUND)
- Green political party
- Grassroots initiative "Live in Stuttgart"

In 2007 the confederation against S21 started a petition together with public demonstrations. The goal was to have a referendum amongst Stuttgart citizens about the question whether to build S21 or not. With regards to the relatively small amount of money the city of Stuttgart contributes to the total costs (see above) the city council stopped the referendum due to legal issues (City of Stuttgart, 2007).

In terms of the regional planning procedure as well as the plan approval procedure the confederation against S21 certainly was involved in formulation of some of the 13 700 objections. BUND already raised its voice during so-called "scoping sessions". In case of complex plan approval procedures of big projects a scoping session is held prior to the procedure itself in order to clarify the scope of the investigation, methods used, expert's reports required and further more.

After the formal decision for S21 weekly Monday demonstrations started in November 2009. The number of participants fluctuated between less than hundred protesters and several thousand (Die Zeit, 2010). In December 2009 the park guards (German: Parkschtzer) established. The primary goal of that group is to protect the Schlossgarten and its trees from cutting down. Both, the highest level of violence as well as the most people protested against S21 was reached in autumn 2010. On Thursday September 30, 2010 the cut down of 25 trees was started at Schlossgarten. Several thousand people were demonstrating against this so that the police came into action. The police used water cannons, pepper spray and batons against peaceful protesters in order to open up the access roads for tree cutting machinery. Up to 400 people were injured and one of the protesters is almost blind now due to the use of water cannons (Focus Online, 2010). A public and political debate arose out of the so-call “black Thursday” and the questions whether such a heavy police operation was legitimate. The issue resulted in an investigation committee of the parliament of Baden-Württemberg. After September 30, based on police estimations the number of demonstrators rose sharply up to the level of 63 000 on October 9, 2010 (Spiegel Online, 2010).

Within this context an arbitration was organized in October/ November 2010. Led by the former federal minister Heiner Geissler, fourteen representatives of pro and contra side discussed and argued about all aspects of S21. The arbitration can be subscribed as conciliation approach to settle a public conflict and increase participation in the issue of S21. The approach should serve to inform citizens of facts and figures about the project, so that everyone would be able to form its own opinion. Ministers, directors, mayor, city council members, green politicians, members of grassroots initiatives were sitting in front of equals. All the facts were on the table and discussed during an open dialogue on equal terms. All arbitration sessions – eight days with in total 60 hours of debate – was broadcasted live on television and radio (Office Dr. Heiner Geisler, 2010). In his arbitration statement Heiner Geisler basically argued for the project with some adjustments. Amongst other aspects the adjustments include improvements of security measures and a review of the capacity of the new train station (so-called “S21 Stress Test”).

The current construction stop costs fifteen million Euros per month. The outcome of the Stress Test is expected in May/June 2011. If the result will be negative additional investments of 500 million Euros are expected. Another aspect that is to be taken into account when making the decision is that DB already invested 1.5 billion Euros so far (SZ, 2011). On a political level there are many open questions: Based on what hurdles to conduct a referendum? What could be the outcome of such a referendum? And: is the S21 project – the “new heard of Europe – finally implemented or not?

The following section conducts critical discourse analysis to the empirical data. As stated in the methodology part, critical discourse analysis is applied to develop an understanding of the complex relations between language and social practice with regards to our research questions.

## **5.2 Critical discourse analysis of empirical data**

At this section we are going to make a critical discourse analysis of ten interviews we conducted during the field trip and as well the analysis of the brochure “Connecting people” and posters “Time resources for participation”, “Lesson in democracy”, “Shift in the shaft”. While doing so we are going to look for connections and interrelations that lay between these pieces of empirical data we got because they will provide us a general understanding about the discourses if they exist in this case.

### **Anna**

Anna is one of the participants of Monday demonstration where we have asked her for the interview. She has visited Monday demonstration during the last year except three times when she couldn't participate. She was born in Stuttgart and she has lived almost all her life in Stuttgart

except some year that she spent abroad. On that Monday demonstration many people in the age over forty five were taking part and Anna can be referred to this category of citizens as well.

Participation for Anna means to follow the news. Her phrase that “we need to know something before we say we go to the streets” (lines 9-10) is very much linked with Habermasian understanding of public sphere. Habermas says that the information and knowledge should be spread among citizens before they make decision collectively. Anna explains her position by saying that “politicians lie sometimes” (line 14). In other words, to prevent critical situations in her interpretations the knowledge holds the significant place since it gives better understanding and also allows to keep eye on politicians. The very strong position is heard during the interviews when she says that before the politicians didn’t mind what people (16 line) want but what is more important at the moment it has been changed when the green party came to power. So far for Anna the passed elections changed power balance, moreover, it means that not only some politicians were replaced but also that attitude toward citizens’ opinion will be changed. She repeats this point later by saying “they didn’t listen to us, before they didn’t” (26 line). She focuses on the thought that politicians tend to lie while she considers only parliament with the green party in the lead to be representative democracy. Representative democracy for her means to represent people, “to listen what the voters want” (17 line). This point of view sounds very optimistic in comparison of her description of political situation beforehand. Anna uses a kind of interdiscursivity while referring to politicians’ action as “they just lie to us”. This creates the impact on social practice since this discourse helps to justify and legitimize to organize and take part in sit down demonstration or block crossing streets.

Furthermore, Anna explanation why power balance in state Parliament was changed refers to the street demonstrations and “pressure from the streets”. The positive attitude towards street protests and evaluation of its importance also results in the phrase “Look the people in Egypt copy us now” (line 29). Anna in a way makes use of this discourse in order to fill here text with more emotional meaning. This is done in order to create impact on social practice – to motivate people to take her position and to join demonstrations. While she has participated in various meetings, sitting protests (and this was illegal) and internet surveys she says that she doesn’t know whether she had right to do so but she imply took it (42 line). This statement is interesting from various perspectives. First of all, implying it this way she states that the citizens’ right for her is something different than from what is written in national laws – that sometimes they don’t correlate with reality where you need to act differently. Second, it also characterizes the whole discourse of those who are against the project – that only common sense and the interpretation of situation by citizens is more important than rules and regulations.

She follows this direction as well by saying that she wants to know “the purpose of such infrastructure projects upfront. Is it for the sake of people or just to make money” (69-70 lines). Therefore, she considers the knowledge as key element of discussion and she thinks she has a right for it. Than Anna as some of other interviewees, e.g. Hans, implies that the projects that government proposes can be not that good for people as they are shown by politicians. She expressed doubts in honesty and fairness of politicians. Another phrase that repeats this position is “you don’t build a house and then think about what you want to do in this house” (63-64 lines). Wim also uses this metaphor. They both try to reduce the validity of the other parties’ arguments to show who is wrong and who is right. This is made in order to make public become more critical towards expert planning and consequently don’t trust experts or politicians. So far Anna underlines that politicians behaviour doesn’t always promise to produce goods for citizens and in critical case it should be questioned. That is what has happened in case of Stuttgart 21. Anna’s position refers to citizens’ understanding of the issue and ability to express their position and also to have a right to question politicians. On the other side, the representative democracy by her logic was reached by elections when the green party came to power and, therefore, she doesn’t ask directly to change the form of political system but rather focuses on specific qualities of politicians that should be in power.

## Max

The interviewee was randomly chosen on a walk through the centre of Stuttgart. In the beginning he seemed to be quite reluctant to conduct the interview in English language due to a limited word pool. Indeed the linguistic structure of his answers suggests that he is not used to speak a foreign language. Therefore it can be assumed that he was limited in terms of fully expressing his thoughts. Max is not actively involved in the S21 case. He never took part in any demonstration or other kind of activity for or against the project. Max lives in a mid-sized town about 30 kilometres away from Stuttgart.

The term “participation” is linked with positive connotations in line 10 and 11. With using expressions like “I think that’s very good” and “... people should be more involved with everything” he gives the impression to develop an open-minded identity towards participation in general. He further constructs his identity in line 36 and 37 when directly referring to demonstrations as one way of participation within representative democracy. In a way he ascribes himself to the critical part of the society that wants to raise its’ voice against political decisions. At the same time he offers an explanation why he has not been actively involved in any demonstration in the past. In line 38 he mentions that “they would laugh about you” when raising your voice in small towns. This notion might refer to some experiences he made in his hometown where demonstrations are not perceived within the applicable norms of the society.

Max suggests conducting surveys prior to political decisions (line 19 ff.), which is interesting since he is the only interviewee mentioning surveys instead of referendums. It might be interpreted as attempt to express his ambivalence towards possible power shifts. The call for referendum regarding S21 was and still is heavily discussed in the public sphere. A survey would be an option that, kind of, follows both discourses: the one that aims to give more power to the people and the one that wants to leave the final decision with the elected representatives. Rather following the discourse of the supporters of the S21 project, the utterance of the long-term planning phase can be explained: “The people who are demonstrating now should have done this much earlier” (see line 29). In the opinion of Max there was enough space for citizens to take part in the decision-making process. The interdiscursivity aims to strengthen the argument that during the lengthy discussions around S21 it has been enough time to oppose against it. Now the time is over and instead it is time to implement the project.

When following the questionnaire and arriving at the topic of participation within representative democracy, it seems the interviewee starts to reflect more about existing power structure (see line 33 ff.). Politicians and in a broader sense the parliament is regarded as a crucial moment that construct social reality. But at the same time Max seems to differentiate between “normal people” and “politicians”. Doing that he follows Habermas’ theory of system versus lifeworld. The fact that he follows the discourse of “we” and “them” shows how the interviewee perceives existing social power structures. In line 35 he makes a jump, possibly because he cannot find an acceptable way to describe what is wrong with those “some decisions”. The following discursive representation of the social reality in smaller towns aims to show the difficulties as well as regional differences in terms of citizens’ participation. It might also serve as an excuse for him why not to become active and make use of this “very good” thing called participation.

There are three utterances in the interview that can be perceived as very crucial interdiscursivity within the frames of our research: line 45 (“to go out to the street”), line 62-63 (“they can not simply continue as they are doing right now”), and line 56, 57 (notion of “citizens” instead of “people”). All three more or less refer to the German discourse of “angry citizen” (German: *Wutbürger*). Since political decision made by their representatives does not take into account the will of the people, more and more Germans take part in demonstrations, go out to the street, are not silent anymore. The S21 case is just one example. Another popular example is the public debate fired by several thousands of people demonstrating against nuclear power in Germany. The notion of angry citizens, the way how people like Max frame their talk and refer to such discourses shows how discursive practice influences broader social practice. The discourse itself represents what

people perceive as truth. As shown with the analysis of Max's interview text, he strongly supports the direct democracy discourse, whereas he also refers to the discourse of representative democracy showing a kind of ambiguity.

## **Otto**

Otto is a member of the association "Citizens for Stuttgart 21". He is a student of architecture who actively takes part in the work of this organization. The main goal of it is to provide information for citizens about the Stuttgart 21 project. The organization he is engaged with is a non-profit association of citizens who care about the city of Stuttgart. Otto himself poses him as pro the project of Stuttgart 21.

Otto perceives participation as the right to be informed and from his side he helps to organize "mutual conversation and understanding of each other" (15-16 lines). Several times he underlines that information is important for people. To him the current conflict situation is caused by the lack of information. His consideration about why people go to the street – "for most of them it is something like frustration...they don't feel informed" (88-89 lines) goes align with thoughts of other interviewees. Then for Otto it is important to give an explanation what is meant in the project documents, therefore, he and other members of the association try to explain the numbers and technical data of the project. For others, e.g. Anna, the overall knowledge about the project and the consequences seems to be a key aspect. Moreover, Otto's explanation of street protests refers to the false information people in the streets got from other associations. The information, its sources and consumption is the red thread in whole interview with Otto. Therefore, it seems the most important word for Otto understanding of the process related to Stuttgart 21 project.

Otto perceives participation in representative democracy only through elections and voting (20 line). Furthermore, he says that "we have to trust our politicians" (20-21 line). The usage of this concrete linguistic form "have to" is very strong and it gives an idea how important this trust to politicians is for Otto. It seems that from his perspective it is a citizens responsibility to trust to their politicians. Indeed he trusts not only in politicians but also in the whole system. He might consider the political system to be sufficient without any need for change. He implies that if people want to have more participation they should join a party (36 line). This thought refers to other interviewees, e.g. Wim, who says that political participation in decision-making is ensured by party system and the existing system shouldn't be misbalanced by institutionalization of another participatory mechanism. So far among our interviewees there are two groups of people, the first one considers that political participation through elections and party system is sufficient system that shouldn't be neglected, and the other group thinks that the existing mechanisms of participation aren't enough because they cause some serious misunderstanding among politicians and citizens as it has happened in the Stuttgart 21 case.

Otto also extends his thought by saying that representative democracy doesn't give the possibility to fully express himself or other selves but also adding that it isn't efficient to provide this possibility for everyone (27 line). Therefore, he implies again that citizens should trust to politicians because anyway all the citizens can't be heard because of objective capacity of politicians (too many people, too many ideas and interests) (26 line). In Otto's opinion it also would be better to make the arbitration as closed session – because "no one wanted to lose his face" (70 line). All these thoughts refer to the understanding the citizens should trust politicians and repetition of it only justifies it. To conclude, Otto bases discussion on two focal points, information and its production and consumption as well as trust to politicians. He expressed both aspects clear and many times. His perception of participation and representative democracy is covered by these two points as well as he believes in elections as the only one way of participation in decision making process. He might focus so much upon the trust to politicians and the political system because he tries to satisfy his view on the S21 project. It is kind of the easiest way to legitimize the S21 project when saying we simply should trust our politicians.

## Hans

Hans is member of the city council of Stuttgart. Those politician get paid for their political work, they normally have no other income and live from being a politician. However in case of Hans that's partly true since he describe himself as retiree having time to engage in political affairs. Hans belongs to the relatively small party named "Ecological and Social Stuttgart". His party belongs to the Confederation against S21. Moreover he was one of the representatives of the resistance against S21 during the arbitration.

One core outcome of the analysis of the interview with Hans is how he is framing the problem. According to him the majority of the citizens does not legitimize some of the recent political decisions in Germany. S21 is one prominent example of it. And he is articulating a clear picture of who is responsible for that: it's the politicians themselves. Several examples are given: Line 21-22 (it's not about including people, but "we have to include the politicians"); line 31 ("failure of the government"); and line 39 (politicians should "not interfere too much"). The most evident way to relate to that argumentation is to take into account that he is part of the opposition in Stuttgart council. It is his job to criticize governing politicians and to keep eye on them. But at the same time he seems to promote the discourse of having more elements of direct democracy through articulating how fallible politicians are. He gives concrete explanations in line 43-44 ("politics becomes independent/gets its own dynamics, lifts off"), line 52 ("suddenly it's all about employment, about working opportunities, about board of directors' seats") and in line 85-86 (the "interweavement/linkage of economy, politics and also research"). This is to be understood as politicians who doesn't listen to its citizens and instead are too much influenced by own personal interests, economy and research. This notion refers to the perception of politicians behaviour by Anna and Willy as well. He supports his own claim through saying "I was member of many different parties (...) I know how it works" (line 51). Another way of supporting the discourse of direct democracy is to refer to a working example, namely Switzerland. In the lines 25-26 he is mentioning a "Stuttgart democracy model", which relates to aspects of the democracy in Switzerland. It's an implicit way of intertextuality as his notion obviously relies on resources about how democracy works in Switzerland.

A very relevant moment in the way how he is representing social, or in this case, political reality is his answer to the question regarding citizens rights: "I would be satisfied if citizens have the right to be taken seriously and if they are taken seriously" (lines 57-58). Here he is referring to the core meaning of the term democracy, namely authority and control for the people. In other words peoples' will must be taken seriously. The notion of "citizens should have the right to be taken seriously" can be framed with the concept of nodal point. A nodal point is to be understood as a privileged signifier, that bind together a system of meaning (see section 3 methodology). Indeed within both discourses, discourse of resistance and discourse of people in favour of project, one would agree that citizens should be taken seriously. So it is possible to name it nodal point, which makes it even more interesting for future analysis.

Apart from these controversial discourses Hans also refers to other discourses of the S21 case. In line 65 ff. he presents his view upon development as well as the opponent understanding of the term. It can be described using the concept order of discourse. Those two different discourses around the term development – on the one hand "higher, wider, faster" and on the other hand implement what is necessary only, not what is technically possible – those two discourses partly cover the same terrain, which they compete to fill with meaning. Already during the arbitration it became clear which of those two discourses he subscribes to. In the interview he is further arguing for the "only implement what is necessary" discourse of development. According to him this was clearly proven during the arbitration.

## **Ben**

Ben is a retiree formerly used to work as project leader for an international IT company. From the perspective of his former profession he came in contact with the S21 project. With colleagues he visited the TurmForum in order to learn about professional project management. Some years ago Ben moved from the north of Germany to a suburb of Stuttgart. Ben is active in Facebook and since December 2010 he takes part in public demonstrations and meetings with his Facebook fellows. Via those channels he is involved in the S21 debate arguing for the S21 project.

A crucial aspect in his interview is the way how he frames the term participation. To the question what participation means to him he responds with referring directly to the referendum the Confederation Against S21 initiated in 2007. Also the question regarding his understanding of participation within the frames of representative democracy is answered with focus on referendums (lines 30 ff.). It is surprising that he, as former member of a city parliament and member of a political party since many years, does not refer to those kinds of participation. One possible reason for that could be that he is framing both questions in the context of the S21 case. In this context he might assume that all possible means for citizens participation are gone already – except to conduct a referendum. Possible means could have been to hand in objections during the plan approval and regional planning procedure or even to become a member of a political party and take influence to political opinion making through that channel. This assumption correlates with the notion expressed by Wim. To conduct a referendum would still be possible, also based on the on-going discussions in public news during the time when we had the interview. Ben might refer to that discourse. Another possible explanation of Ben limited understanding of the term participation: the way how he produces his text simply shows his view upon reality. He does not see or recognize those kinds of political participation in the context of S21. As Wim framed it: “Take for instance the membership in political parties where you can take influence in, for instance, nominating political personal for running for all kind of parliaments. And thinks like that. It's, sort of...not so popular to do that anymore.” (lines 32-35). Ben might agree with Wim, realizing that the majority of citizen does not engage in politics in that way anymore and therefore he is referring to referendums.

As a supporter of S21 Ben seems to follow a similar argumentation as for instance Max. In line 40 ff. he formulates “I think people did have the chance to get involved in the S21 project very early, but the people didn't take the chance”. With this he refers to the long-term planning procedures, which, based on his view, provided more than enough time for the opponents to raise their voice. By saying “but the people didn't take the chance” he could try to take away the demonstrators' legitimation to protest against the project few days before the planned start of construction works, namely the crosscutting of trees in the Schlossgarten.

The notion of “in the Stuttgart 21 project I am not in favour of a referendum” (lines 34-35) refers to a contradiction when taking into account Ben's earlier statement supporting the idea of referendums. It refers to what Ralf says that people need to participate more in general but in case of Stuttgart 21 it is already too late. They both aren't against the referendum but they want to institutionalize it into the system and don't use the option of referendum when some groups of citizens simply want it. This is their justification of the declining the idea of referendum in case of Stuttgart 21.

## **Willy**

Willy is a middle age man who is active on facebook and in the internet resources devoted to the Stuttgart 21 project. He takes part in the whole process by writing his opinion and spreading valuable information. He also goes to the demonstration to meet his friends that he made during all the campaigns against the project. Willy is opposing the project of Stuttgart 21.

Participation for Willy means “to spend time and to tell the opinion and to convince people and to make people to do something and to make people think and it means to take risks...it is fighting for your opinion” (10-12 lines). The key moment here is that Willy as well as Otto considers



participation as the process to involve not only himself but also other people. This broader context of participation is adding some new elements to the standard definition of participation, which originally concerns only the actor himself. Furthermore, even though Willy and Otto are representatives of different discursive practice they are adding the same element to both discourses – new interpretation of participation that in future might change social practices as well. Willy uses many “aggressive” phrases and words such as “fighting”, “we need to win”, “I want to win this time” that differs from what other interviewees say. This attitude shows that Willy takes this project seriously and perhaps the project itself is some kind of a border line when he decided to start fighting.

Willy refers to another discourse while stating that “if the politicians were ideal politicians and if the system would be an ideal system it might be enough but it isn’t in reality” (28-29 lines). He implies that politicians have their own discourse and gives critical evaluation of it. This is interdiscursivity that shows Willy’s understanding of the discourse of those who are pro the project. He realizes that another discourse exists but what is more important Willy characterizes this system of norms and wills as impossible to conduct.

Moreover, Willy raises the matter of trust to politicians as well as Anna does. They both question the credibility of politicians even though for Anna the new green parliament is what she wants to see as representative democracy but Willy goes further and suggests not to trust the members of green party as well. His explanation lies in that “all politicians are following their own interests” (30 line). This statement is very rational because it refers to the essence of human beings to be self-centred. Therefore, he and Anna construct their discourse by adding the important notion about attitude to politicians – not trust to them because they follow their interests.

Furthermore, going in this direction Willy expresses the loyalty to representative democracy but figures out the importance of “having a look at politicians’ fingers” (43 lines). Therefore, the problem for him lies in the dishonest behaviour of politicians and the lack of controlling mechanisms. His main suggestion to incorporate new mechanisms for citizens’ participation follows this discourse. The crucial aspect in his interview is the realization of another discourse and explanation why that discursive practice doesn’t provide widely excepted social practice. To put it another way the discourse of politicians expressed in just following the rules and regulation doesn’t find approval from many people because according to social practices this discourse produce no space for control of the politicians by citizens.

Willy supports this though by implying that “I like the representative democracy, we are not opposing it (...) but it isn’t enough any more (...) the world is more complicated” (18-19 lines). While evaluating that discourse of those who are pro the project Willy proves his thinking by giving rational arguments that the world is more complex and the current system can’t manage to work properly within its own frames. Comparing interviews with Willy and Anna it is important to notice that they both stick to almost the same though but while Anna is based her speech more on emotions Willy explaining the same things gives more rational interpretation of reality. Both these approaches construct the same discourse and, moreover, it is important for discourse categorization to state that this discourse can be achieved from different grounds as in the case of Willy and Anna.

Willy’s perception of his rights corresponds with Anna’s. They both aren’t sure about the rights to take part in something they have but they think it is important at some moment to take their rights even though its is against the rules, e.g. to go for a sitting demonstration in case of Anna and Willy says he would break rules on a minor level (51 line). He states that “the laws are the deadline for me but the borders are fluent” (49 line). It is very ambiguous saying that implies that in critical situation he can disregard the law. Both Anna’s and Willy’s discourse states that at some point the rules can be broken. This is one of the main outstanding features of this discourse that distinguish it from another one.

## **Maria**

Maria is state-level chairwoman of the German green NGO “BUND”. BUND stands for League for Environment and Nature Conservation. It is one of the biggest environmental NGO in Germany. Maria was representing the Confederation Against S21 during the arbitration.

As chairwoman of an environmental NGO Maria most likely is aware that participation within a representative democracy nowadays does not end with placing the tick on the voting paper every five or six years. Even though she rhetorically describes it like in lines 23-24 (“the participation of citizens ends with the election”) and lines 82-84 (“citizens passes on its responsibilities for what’s going on when he or she places the tick on the voting paper”) in order to draw a negative picture of the current situation. She does that to open up for her main discourse throughout the whole interview: the discourse of introducing more elements of direct democracy into the current representative democracy of Baden-Württemberg and Germany. Examples can be found in line 32 (the decision is met by politicians, “but that isn’t enough anymore”), lines 65-67 (“I want to move on from general participation towards participation in the decision process”), line 70 (“No, currently there is not enough space to take part in the decision making”), or also in the lines 123-124 (“citizens want to be included in the decision processes within the new modern society”). She seems to be a strong advocate of that discourse who even is involved in the process to initiate a formal committee of enquiry of the parliament of Baden-Württemberg to investigate possible options for more direct democracy. With regards to the level of knowledge that must be available for citizens in order to actively take part in any decision making process, Maria mentions that she “wants to move on from information overload to transparency” (line 67). How to define information overload? How to distinguish from transparency? Information overload has rather negative connotations whereas transparency is linked with positive attitudes. By contrasting both terms Maria uses the positive connotation of transparency in order to support her discourse of direct democracy.

A very interesting statement also linked with those two competing discourses regarding direct democracy is given in lines 81-82: “If a parliament has made its decision it doesn’t mean that citizens must accept the decision without questioning it”. With that utterance one could say she directly disagrees with Otto, another interviewee, who claims “we have to trust our politicians”. May be those two statements articulate what the conflict around S21 is about: do we need more elements of direct democracy or not? Can we trust the politicians or can we trust the citizens? The question of trust becomes complicated especially within the German context and the history of WWII. Maria refers to that when saying “in Germany we must learn that citizen participation is not a defeat and not a limitation of representative democracy” (lines 97-98). With such utterances it seems she wants to encourage the German society as well as politicians to follow the discourse of resistance and finally end up with more democratic mechanisms within the representative democracy.

Another crucial aspect covered in the interview is the understanding of arbitration and its position within representative democracy. “The arbitration developed out of the public pressure and the ongoing demonstrations” after heavy police action on September 30, 2010 and an “absolutely wrong” behaviour of the politicians related to that (lines 45 ff.). Saying that Maria argues in the same direction as Hans. It can be classified as conscious or unconscious use of intertextuality, which does not surprise since Maria and Hans work closely together in the Confederation Against S21 since many years. By doing that both try to locate the arbitration close to the resistance against S21 and use it as argument for more direct democracy. The rhetorical question asked is: why having a public arbitration, explaining all details of a complex project to the citizens and finally not allowing the people to make a decision? Maria also claims that one goal of the arbitration was “to show the public, the politicians, the economy that citizens, through their representatives, through their experts, are able to fully understand such a difficult and complex project like Stuttgart 21” (lines 107-109). If people do have access to all kind of information, they do understand complex facts of a case. In a way Maria uses the arbitration to further argue for more elements of direct

democracy. Crucial is to realize how she uses here perception of the arbitration and her style of representing her view upon reality in order to take influence on social or political practice.

## Wim

Wim is director of the state agency for political education in Baden-Württemberg. Before he was head of Mr. Heiner Geislers (chairman of S21 arbitration) office, which might be one reason why Wim was assisting Mr. Geisler during the arbitration. Because of his role during the arbitration Wim did not take any side during the arbitration.

Throughout the whole interview Wim did follow both discourses. The one arguing for representative democracy as it is in Germany and Baden-Württemberg now as well as the discourse, which incorporates more elements of direct democracy. Sometimes the views are represented in quite a strong way: “I think there are really broad ranges for everybody to participate in politics, in decision making – you just have to make use of it” (lines 30-31); because all parliaments and courts have passed the project “the legitimation of S21 is a 100%” (lines 48 ff.); “so far the democracy, the way we have it now, has worked to the advantage of us all” (lines 98-99); and “if people want to take part in the big politics, want to be heard, they should become members in political parties or become politicians” (lines 117-118). In contrast to that Wim also articulates the opposite position: “it would be a good idea to lower the quorums to actually have some sort of referendums” (lines 39-40); he even argues for referendums on federal level when saying “in the German federal constitution (...) is a paragraph that says the sovereignty of people is applied in formal elections and polls” (lines 59 ff.); and the democracy as we have it now could be improved by “making more use of referendums and things like that” (lines 99 ff.). The question remains why he highly refers to both discourses, sometimes even within one sentence. One reason could be that he wants to link both perspectives, showing that implementing the ideas of one discourse might supplement the other and consequently help to improve and tighten the representative democracy.

Following that perspective we would have to classify the following statement of Wim as out of the genres of interview. During the interview he paraphrased citizen participation with something in order “to keep people busy”. May be this utterance was meant ironically because after a little smile he corrected himself by saying “to have people involved I should have said” (line 23 ff.). But we also can ask the question why Wim goes out of the genre of interview. Did he express parts of his own personal opinion? If yes, he simply does nothing else than referring to a discourse which questions whether simple citizens are really able to understand politically and economically complex issues like S21. But similar as shown above Wim recalls his own statement when referring to the Swiss model of direct democracy and thus using intertextuality to something that was mentioned and discussed during the arbitration already: “Why shouldn’t we do what the Swiss can do” (line 36). In fact the Swiss do keep their people busy with six elections and 30 referendums within ten month (Guidebook to Direct Democracy, 2010:15).

A very interesting aspect of the interview is Wims attempts to explain and localize the arbitration. He starts with expressing what was not the goal: “And this was not the intention of the arbitration, you know, to sort of...increase the legitimation of S21” (lines 52-53). He continues with a contradiction: “the outcome of the arbitration was open...there was no chance to turn back the right of DB to build that station” (lines 53-54). With that statement the dilemma of the arbitration statement becomes clear. On the one hand side DB already received the legal right to implement S21 due to the democratic decision-making procedure as it was in place at that time. On the other hand side Heiner Geisler cheered the hopes of the S21 resistance when he officially confirmed the outcome of the arbitration would be open. Wim is representing this perspective and refers to Heiner Geisler’s utterances during the arbitration. He does that since he is fully aware that this issue is a hot topic in current public discussions. In a way he locates the arbitration very far away from any kind of formal decision-making mechanisms within the representative democracy when he says “it was totally clear from the very beginning that there was no obligation, no law-like influence such an arbitration statement could have (...) it’s a statement, nothing else actually” (line 165 ff.). The question is why he makes use of this discursive practice. Well, of course he is aware about the political dilemma the arbitration statement was faced with (see above). At the same time an

arbitration is not institutionalized within official decision-making. It was some kind of an adventure and it is not yet decided if politicians want to make use of the experiences in future.

## **Bruno**

Bruno is an artist who together with his friends and associates has organized the illegal informational pavilion with installation in the park near the train station. He with others has constructed it to support the resistance in the park. Since his work is related with art he thought that the way for him to participate is to make art object – to express himself in a way he can.

Bruno as well as Willy use the strong word “fight” that lays another colour on the whole process related to Stuttgart 21 project. However, Bruno puts this word in even stronger context by saying “fight against our people...a fight against the citizens” (17 line). The usage of this word by two interviewees out of three against the project makes us think that this word is important in the discourse of people who are against the project. Perhaps, they have heard it during Monday demonstrations many times. It is important to notice here that there is a difference in defining the scope of the project among citizens who follow two main discourses. The supporters of the project, e.g. Ben, think that some changes should be made in the system even though in the concrete situation of S21 nothing can be changed because it is too late. At the same time the citizens who are against the project gives more meaning to the resistance against the project. They use bigger words, e.g. “fight”. Perhaps because this is the rhetoric of resistance – they need to alter the situation and it isn’t possible while saying “soft” words. Bruno has also figured out the economic interests of politicians who decided for this project. This is another clash that distinguishes both discourses, the one of the resistance and the one of the supporters. Anna, Willy and Bruno emphasize the “specific” interest of politicians while Ralf, Ben and Otto haven’t even mentioned it.

Describing the term of participation Bruno refers to the state of Bavaria that went through a process to introduce reasonable rules for having referendums (25 line). At the same time Ralf, the representative of another discourse, has interpreted these referendums in Bavaria as a kind of exception with the main thought that “in Germany we don’t have any referendum” (26 line accordingly). Explaining the position of politicians - representatives of another discourse about referendum - Bruno underlines the ambiguity of their position by using intertextuality. He states that on the question about referendum asked by the green party the prime minister said “The regulations for referendum are very good in Baden-Württemberg, we don’t need a single referendum” (28-29 lines). This equivocal sentence characterizes the actions of politicians as inconsistent and, therefore, questionable.

Following the thought about interests of politicians Bruno implies that now “it is not a representation of the opinion of the people...they make what they want to do” (33-34 lines). He broadens the discourse of those who are against the project by saying that it’s not representation. Therefore, his personal opinion is even more radical than other interviewees. But this aspect adds new features of this discourse. Bruno is in favour of direct democracy very much. He is the only one who openly says that he has been involved “in this movement in Germany for referendums and direct democracy since 1968” (22-23 lines).

In order to express his opinion about politicians actions Bruno states that “they play a game which is called “democracy”... it isn’t real, it is only coulisse” (46 line). So through interdiscursivity he tries to evaluate their action and, moreover, discourse. Bruno uses many strong words, e.g. “game”, “fight”, “struggle” but this can be explained since he is an artist and what is more important the discourse of resistance has to use strong words to make people listen to them and take their side. In contrast with Willy and Anna, who have doubts at some point about their rights, Bruno states that “they (politicians) don’t have the right to decide that” (53 line). Furthermore, at this aspect he also broadens the discourse because mentally he admits the situation where citizens have to decide who has right for what. He supports this by implying that “we want to take part and we want to express ourselves and we want to have chance to take part in the decisions...and if they don’t allow us we do it anyway” (90-92 lines). Mr. Meyer is more open in reconsidering his own rights.

Bruno as well as Anna and Willy have the specific perception of participation focusing it on citizens' involvement. He underlines that the illegal informational pavilion was made for this purpose. "It's some kind of symbol what we make here, because we go here into a public park and inform and it's a platform for discussions here and also we want to get ideas from the people to this process so that people have the idea that they can participate" (65-67 lines). This statement argues for the development of special platforms, so far, suggesting a kind of solution for the problem of participation. This recommendation can also be applied for what Ralf says about the lack of citizens' involvement. Even though, it hasn't been repeated many times we consider these platforms as nodal point because they connect both of the discourses in their desire to provide the place for citizens' engagement.

It is important to notice that Bruno refers to the resistance at Tahrir Square in Egypt (74 line) as well as Anna. This notion brings a new light for this discourse – citizens who follow it feel or want to feel as revolutionaries. Both of them, by introducing the case of Egypt in reference to Stuttgart 21 case, place both of the cases at the same line. Indeed that again shows that the matter of Stuttgart 21 is huge for people who are against. Mr. Meyer holds another opinion that he shares with Anna – "what is happening here now is a chance to do this to have this development of democracy now" (124 line). He has said the same thought in the beginning of the interview – "I think it is a great chance now, it is a historical chance now in Germany" (21 line). Mr. Meyer and Anna both see the case of Stuttgart 21 in long term perspective – in the optimistic view for democracy development. That also can be an answer why Anna states that "they do the same in Egypt now" (accordingly). This phrase is quite absurd because it is less likely that people in Egypt really look back to Stuttgart case but it shows the optimistic perspective in this discourse. In addition Bruno implicitly says that "at the moment when they (the green party) are in the government they don't want to hear about that (referendum and participation)" (116-117 lines). By stating this he repeats the Anna and Willy thought, that citizens shouldn't trust politicians.

## **Ralf**

Ralf is an IT company owner in his middle age. He has started his active participation in the case of Stuttgart 21 when he created a group on facebook "for Stuttgart 21". Afterwards he and others have created an association with 300 members, which he is leading now. Ralf spends some time for meeting as the leader of this association with DB, government and people who are against the project.

Ralf is in favour of the project and he strengthens it by introducing intertextuality. He says that "a lot of my employees don't like to go by train, they don't like the old train station, and for them it takes too long to go to Munich" (19-20 lines). He supports his statement about necessity of the project by this notion. Ralf has an opinion about the work of politicians that corresponds with Otto's thoughts about it – citizens have to trust them. Ralf implies that "maybe it is right, there is no referendum, but in Germany we don't have any referendum" (26 line). He proves this thesis by implying that "the last fifty or sixty years in Germany I think the system works...if you don't look on the details the system works" (45-46 lines). Ralf doesn't say that he likes the system in its present condition but he implicitly says that there is no other option. "There is no better option than representative democracy" (43 line). At the same time he describes the political system "as typical" (61 line) where "you only could say your opinion" (66-67 lines). Ralf's interpretation of the representative democracy and citizen's role in it correlates very much with what Otto states. At the same time Ralf's opinion differs from what those following the discourse of resistance imply. Ralf states that "they (politicians) don't have to do what we are saying...maybe they are hearing us maybe not" (67-68 lines). At this point it is possible to realize one of the biggest differences between both discourses. While the supporters of the resistance discourse say that they want to have more rights and if they don't have them they will simply take them, Ralf extends Otto thought about trust to politicians by implying that politicians don't have to do what citizens want. This is a crucial

thought because it shows the clash between two discourses – about the relationship between politicians and citizens, political system and life world (it is a reference to Habermas theory).

Moreover, another aspect that Ralf brings to his discourse is the attitude to the arbitration. Since he is in favor of the current system he was first against the arbitration because “the decision was legitimized through the parties and government” (89 line). Although his opinion changed this notion goes align with other statements within this discourse. Furthermore, what Ralf says sometimes highly correlates with the thoughts of those following the discourse of resistance. He implies that there should be made some changes in political system but only those regarding citizens’ voice. “The people have to realize that they have a voice and that they could vote for or against something” (76-77 lines). This notion shows that in fact the discourse of pro the project and discourse of resistance has much more in common than it was visible before. They both argue for changes, the difference lies in the scope of changes. “So in Germany we need a reform. We have to change all that laws about that” (75 line).

The application of the example of Switzerland is present in almost all interviews. It can be considered to be nodal point here. Ralf refers to Switzerland as the example that shows how the Swiss are concerned about some issues and they actively take part in their solutions. The crucial aspect for Ralf is to empower people “the people have to realize they have a voice” (76 line). In this notion Ralf is very close to Bruno and Anna who say that participation means engagement of citizens into the process. Ralf in turn doesn’t suggest to give people the possibility to decide in political matters (“you can only tell your opinion” (67 line). But to give this opinion means a lot to Ralf since he proposes to “change the culture a bit” in this sense (78 line). Ralf indicates the same problem, the lack of participation, but suggests to overcome it by different method. Therefore, by this he underlines the existence of both discourses again.

At the same time Ralf as well as Ben can see the perspective of introducing the practice of referendums in future – “from my side the system is working but in future it could be better to do more referendums for different things” (48-49 lines). Therefore, they identify the same problems as those following another discourse but consider them differently. Ralf and Ben think that there is no good way to interfere in the Stuttgart 21 project and the suggestions for the system are made refers to future. Indeed it shows again how different the perceptions of the project are – for those who oppose the project – it is “fight” for those in favour “it is almost over”.

### **Brochure “Connecting People”**

The brochure along with the text in it is produced by the association “Stuttgart-Ulm Rail Project e.V.”. The association is funded by some of the main supporters of the S21 project: DB, state government of Baden-Württemberg, city of Stuttgart and metropolitan area of Stuttgart. The communication is part of a high-professional information campaign also covered by the Turmforum in order to promote the S21 project amongst citizens.

The expression “connecting people” can be seen as key message of the text. Plenty of references are provided: “link up Stuttgart and the surrounding region to the European high-speed transportation network” (line 11), “the airport and trade fair centre will be linked up to the international rail network” (line 28), “faster regional services will shorten journey times” (line 29), “Stuttgart 21 = better connections for the region” (line 35), “without this new-build line...Stuttgart would be left on the sidelines of the European transportation network” (line 48 ff.), and “excellent connections to local public transport” (line 87). On rhetorical level words like “good”, “fast”, and “excellent” might be used to suggest positive connotations to the recipient. At the same time one could say that “to be connected” or “to have good connection” also relates to crucial attributes of modern society in so called developed countries. Connection is understood in terms of transportation, but also in terms of access to data and information. From that perspective the text simply agrees to ones understanding of modern society and its social practice. Apart from that the key message also gives

a glance to the economic interests of one of the senders: transportation and good connections is the central service offered by DB.

The text at page two of the brochure is written in the style of a personal message. Consequently the first sentence starts with “we spent more than 15 years looking for a solution” (line 10) and in the end the text is signed by the project spokesperson of Stuttgart-Ulm rail project (lines 43-44). Together with a four-colour-picture of both individuals it appears as an attempt to increase the trustworthiness of the text. Individual persons might be more trustworthy than abstract organisations. Reliability is a crucial moment within the concept of discourse. Especially when the speaker himself is reproducing the order of two discourses with the aim of defining the truths, his perspective on reality. A quite evident example for that is given in line 14 ff.: “Many people ask if the project is really necessary – the old station served its purpose satisfactorily in the past. The truth is that the terminus station at Stuttgart has reached the limits”. In this utterance the term “truth” is even used in order to underline what is right and what is wrong. It can be understood as a very obvious and direct attempt to define reality and consequently make use of discursive practice in order to have some impact on society.

Further below in the text two examples of interdiscursivity are provided. On the one hand side it is referred to the discourse of technology driven development. Expressions like “efficient station” (line 35) or “making the new solution far more efficient and flexible” (lines 67-68) links to technology and its impact on development. Supporters of S21 project heavily use the discourse behind in order to define reality and goals for future development. On the other hand side the text refers to the discourse of economy and free market. It is mentioned that S21 will “provide positive impetus for the regional economy” and the project will “not only safeguard existing jobs” (line 22 ff.). Such utterances are based on the assumption that better infrastructure will attract more companies with new jobs and at the same time help to reveal the top advantages of a strong business region like Stuttgart.

### **Fence poster «Lesson in democracy»**

The read heart with the slogan “the good arguments preponderate” is the official logo of the S21 project. It refers to Stuttgart as new heart of the Trans-European rail network. The heart is shaped in kind of a lovely way, like for example a present for the Mother’s Day. In contrast to that the photo with the schoolgirl is to be seen. Frightened she looks up to the policemen. One might see the fear in her eyes along with the question: “what happens here?” or “why do you do that?” The timestamp below refers to the so-called “black Thursday”, where water canons and batons of the police have also injured peaceful demonstrating pupils.

With the expression “lesson in democracy” the author tries to point out his or her perspective of what has happened on September 30 at Schlossgarten: The police operation representing the state has shown the contradictory face of modern democracies. The state uses power against its citizens in order to enforce a political decision a part of the society is opposing against. And like in class, the pupils amongst the demonstrators should learn that lesson.

The poster is full of emotions and strongly accuses the police operation. With this poster the author might want to question the authority and legitimacy of the state. He or she possibly asks what kind of political understanding the state has upon democracy.

### **Fence poster “Shift in the shaft”**

Stefan Mappus is the former prime minister and head of government of Baden-Württemberg. Since the very beginning when he came into power he did support S21. The opposition in the state parliament claim that he was politically involved and therefore has shared responsibility for the harsh police operation at Schlossgarten during the so-called “black Thursday”. March 27, 2011 was the date of the state election in Baden-Württemberg.



The picture shows Mr. Mappus with an exaggerated laugh. A possible interpretation of the message behind the picture in relation with the text: We will wipe that smile right off your face - you will get what's coming to you! The expression "on...there is shift in the shaft" obviously refers to the forthcoming state elections. The author of the fence poster might raise his or her voice against Mr. Mappus for all those who heavily criticize his political behaviour in relation to the S21 project. The message for Mr. Mappus: On March 27, 2011 you will have to pay the bill for all the mistakes you have done as prime minister. You will lose your political power.

### Fence poster "Time resources for participation"

Same as many others, the fence poster "time resources for participation" is pinned up at a prominent place right at the entrance to the current Stuttgart train station. Many pedestrians recognize and read the poster day by day. The author of the text obviously wants to stay unknown.

The text seems to have a distinctive perspective upon democracy and participation and how it is currently applied in Stuttgart. There is the notion of "participation through civil protest" at line 2 as well as "protest democracy" at line 6. One could have the impression that the author aims to criticize this understanding of democracy, which is perceived as quite time-consuming. Another example is presented in an expression in line 6: "democracy of the privileged". A democracy of the privileged is not democracy in its core meaning. Via this text the author reminds the society that even the grass-root initiative against S21 has its democratic limits. Between the lines there is the question of how to organize participation so that nobody is excluded.

## 5.3 Results of the analysis

### Nodal points

So far we have applied critical discourse analysis (CDA) for ten interviews as well as for four other resources of written data. In the following section those CDA's are used to develop results of our analysis. A first step is to recapture and summarize crucial moments of the texts, so-called nodal points (definition see section 3 Methodology). Those serve as starting point for the second step, to identify and draw the two main discourses related to our case study and the perspective we apply in our research.

The table below provides an overview to the empirical data analyzed as well as the identified nodal points.

| Empirical Data | Stance on S21 | Trust in Politicians | Switzerland   | Information                             | Participation   | Referendum     |
|----------------|---------------|----------------------|---------------|---|---|----------------|
| Anna           | Adversary     | No                   | Not mentioned | To be informed is very important to her | Is more than to elect and be elected, in S21 case even breaking the rules | Yes            |
| Max            | Support       | Not clear            | Not mentioned | Not mentioned                           | More involvement  | Rather surveys |
| Otto           | Support       | Yes                  | Not mentioned | Very important                          | To inform others  | Not mentioned  |
| Hans           | Adversary     | No                   | Yes           | Obtained through deliberation           | People should question  | Yes            |

| Empirical Data                                  | Stance on S21 | Trust in Politicians         | Switzerland         | Information                                   | Participation   | Referendum     |
|---|---------------|------------------------------|---------------------|---|---|----------------|
|   |               |                              |                     |   | politicians   |                |
| Ben   | Support       | Yes                          | Not mentioned       | Not mentioned                                 | Elect and be elected  | Yes, in future |
| Willy   | Adversary     | No                           | Yes                 | Very important to inform others               | To provide own opinion, in S21 case even breaking the rules                       | Yes            |
| Maria   | Adversary     | Question political decisions | Yes                 | Rather transparency than information overload | Much more than go to elections  | Yes            |
| Wim   | Support       | Yes                          | No                  | Important                                     | Elect and be elected  | Yes, in future |
| Bruno   | Adversary     | No                           | Yes                 | Very important                                | Deliberation plus referendums   | Yes            |
| Ralf  | Support       | Yes                          | Yes, not applicable | Not mentioned                                 | Elect and be elected  | Yes, in future |
| Brochure "Connecting People"                    | Support       | Not mentioned                | Not mentioned       | Very crucial to convince citizen              | Not mentioned   | Not mentioned  |
| Fence poster "Lesson in democracy"              | Adversary     | No                           | Not mentioned       | Not mentioned                                 | Indicated to be important   | Not mentioned  |
| Fence poster "Shift in the shaft"               | Adversary     | No                           | Not mentioned       | Not mentioned                                 | Through election  | Not mentioned  |
| Fence poster "Time resources for participation" | Unknown       | Not mentioned                | Not mentioned       | Should be available for everyone              | Also people who have not much time should be able to participate beyond elections | Not mentions   |

One reference point many of the texts analysed refer to is trust to politicians. Two main chains of signification have been identified: One is that citizens simply must trust their representatives. That implies trust in the whole political system as well. Mostly supporters of the S21 project subscribe to that system of meaning, whereas some are also critical towards the political system. Not in general, but with regards to formal political decision-making processes and referendums. A second nodal point refers to fallible politicians with their hidden agenda and own personal interests valued higher than performing as representative of the people. From that perspective utterances like "they

(politicians) just lie to us” (Anna) or “if the parliament has made its decision it doesn’t mean that citizens must accept the decision without questioning it” (Maria) are to be understood.

Another concept often referred to, but with divergent perspectives on it, is Switzerland with its form of direct democracy. Some texts relate to it arguing that it proves that having more referendums might be a helpful tool to improve representative democracy. Applied to the Stuttgart case that would mean to have one public referendum about the general idea and the goal of an infrastructure project. Followed by a second referendum where citizens vote for one out of several concrete planning proposals for implementation. To some extent it can be said that a part of the interviewees wants to turn back the clock and apply such a procedure to the S21 case. Another set of texts relate to the Switzerland example saying that such a procedure would never work in Baden-Württemberg or Germany because of several reasons.

A further result out of the analysis is the complex meaning system given towards information. None of the texts questions the importance of information, but the views upon it are remarkably different. Some highlight information and knowledge that results out of it as a kind of prerequisite for participation. Others point out that there is the need to prepare and improve the information provided by project owners and the government in order to help citizens to understand the S21 case and make up their mind. Supporters of S21 articulate the lack of well-prepared information as one of the main reason why so many people are against the project, which was legitimated by all necessary political and judicial levels before. Very much linked with that perspective is the meaning given to arbitration.

Similar to information different meanings are given to the nodal point of participation within the frame of representative democracy. The most obvious is to participate through elections. But there are divergent perspectives upon the question if that is enough – see above, results to the reference point politicians. The meaning texts give to participation also refers to views upon information. To gather information and keep up to date is expressed as one way to take part in democracy. And of course to become member of a political party or be elected as politician is to be mentioned.

Apart from the nodal points mentioned above it is important to recognize the significance citizens give to natural resources affected by Stuttgart 21. The main focus of our research is rather not to identifying the meaning people give to the century old trees that are to be cut down or the park Schlossgarten, which would be heavily affected by the construction works. Non the less it can be claimed that there seem to be a strong link between the natural resources on stake and the level of engagement citizens apply to the Stuttgart 21 case which in turn influences the meaning people give to participation.

## **Two discourses**

The critical discourse analysis that was conducted in the last chapter has revealed the existence of nodal points that are discussed above. The presence of these key points and different interpretations of them creates the understanding that in the process related to the Stuttgart 21 project there are two main discourses. It is also proved by the fact that those interpretations can be distinguished by two main directions so far there are two discourses. According to the definition of discourse – “different ways of representing aspects of the world” (Fairclough, 2005) we argue that the two directions of interpretation of the situation in Stuttgart are discourses. They give meaning to not only specific elements of the process but rather construct the whole reality. To prove that we are going to draw both discourses.

The first discourse that we have identified is that one within which Ralf, Max, Ben, Otto and Wim operates. In case of Max and Wim the classification is conditional because they refer to both discourses. This discourse claims that the citizens have already had all the rights to interfere in the process during the planning stage and now after the final decision it isn’t legitimate any more to integrate new elements for legitimizing the project. The supporters of this discourse consider participation as the right to express the opinion but not to decide themselves, and if other citizens want to decide upon the projects they should go for elections. So Ralf implies that first he was

against the arbitration, even though he changed his mind later. Ben says that citizens simply didn't use their rights to participate before and he also doesn't see why they should be granted this right now. The interviews have shown that the perspective on the project and participation has been changed during the Stuttgart case. Now for these people it became more important to engage others, they generally agree on the idea of referendum and on citizens' involvement in the process although before they were more sticking to the perspective that if citizens want more participation they should run for elections. The crucial aspect here is that the whole process was fully legitimate up to now because all democratic procedures were implemented during the planning stage and this is the mistake of citizens who didn't take part in. This is the justification why within this discourse our interviewees don't support the citizens who are against the project. The interviewees also express the lack of intent to explain sometimes illegal behaviour of citizens. Therefore, according to this discourse there is no right to anyone to break the laws and to carry out illegal protection of the trees, for instance. This element of the discourse can be justified as well by the attitude to politicians within this discourse. Citizens who incline to this discourse consider that they "have to trust politicians" (Otto). Moreover, they are loyal not only to politicians, but to the whole political system in general and they have a rational explanation for that – because "during the last sixty years the system worked fine" (Ralf). So far, the main legitimation of citizens' beliefs into this discourse comes from historical grounds and rational explanation of their position.

The result of the last election, when the green party came to power, is interpreted within this discourse as another democratic procedure that the system disposes. Citizens within this discourse would like to leave CDU in power because it was quite successful during all time this party being in the government. But they admit that this happened through legitimate formal procedures and, therefore, they accept the outcome of the elections. Since the main feature of this discourse is belief in existing mechanisms (because they work) citizens don't consider this project and the struggle around it as the most important event during the last years in contrary with another discourse that uses words like "fight" and citizens highly underline the importance of the project for their life. This also explains why citizens within this discourse claim that referendums are crucial for political processes in future but at the same moment they imply that this time, in case of Stuttgart 21, the referendum isn't their will. They basically stand for incorporating referendums and more citizens' participation into the political process in the state of Baden-Württemberg but only through legitimate procedures. According to this discourse the political process itself shouldn't be built on the random claims of citizens in the middle of the process to conduct the additional procedure of control. Moreover, these citizens want the representative democracy to be changed a bit but not significantly. The basis of this discourse refers to the successful implementation of the existing laws and regulation and following the formal procedures. So far we name it formal representative democracy. Citizens don't call it this way and they don't think within the frames of discourse theory but what they imply correlates with the name of the discourse as the discourse of formal representative democracy.

The second discourse that we found out is that one within which Anna, Bruno, Willy, Maria and Hans operate. All of them stand against the project of Stuttgart 21. They don't perceive the democratic procedures during the planning stage as really participatory. As we can interpret the empirical data we collected citizens within this discourse experienced the lack of well-prepared information about the project. The crucial aspect in this discourse is related with information and enlightenment of citizens. What is interesting is that the discourse of formal representative democracy in general argues for the efficient spreading of information as well. The main concern of citizens who operate within this discourse is honesty and fairness of politicians because they mainly claim that "politicians lie" (Anna, Bruno). Of course, not all of them say it directly since they have a public position, e.g. Maria and Hans are public representatives of the citizens in a way. Most of them state that politicians have their own hidden agenda, e.g. economical interests that made them vote for this project. So far in this critical situation where politicians are from another side of barricades citizens within this discourse decide to take their rights by themselves. Participation for them means taking part in something even if it is illegal but necessary for the future. These citizens apply the critical perspective on the rights they have been granted by political system. They don't

accuse representative democracy but rather argue for additional instruments of controlling the politicians. The main reason why they stand against the project is the concern about the environment by many reasons.

The citizens within this discourse legitimize their actions by implying that they don't support the existing political system if this system doesn't secure their right to fair environment. Another explanation is that citizens feel that they belong to an influential group (Monday demonstrations are held constantly) but at the same time their opinion isn't heard. The frustration they got because of that drive them to take actions. This frustration refers as well to the lack of well-prepared information and knowledge about the project. The explanation why the project became so important for them can be found in the frank way the politicians skipped the demonstrators' rights during black Thursday. At the same time some of them hope that the last elections, when the green party came to power, will change the situation (e.g. Anna) but some of them still follow the notion that politicians have their interests and, therefore, are not fully trustworthy (e.g. Willy). Furthermore, in order to "fight" with politicians (Bruno) citizens think they can break the rules to protect their rights to fair environment and demonstrations. Another right they want to have is "to be taken seriously" (Hans). The citizens within this discourse suggest not to look at formal procedures but to comprehend the reality and to make conclusion based on future consequences of the project they can have. The logical statement behind is that citizens shouldn't trust the politicians. The justification of this discourse also comes from the understanding that "if the politicians were ideal politicians and if the system would be an ideal system it might be enough but it isn't in reality" (Willy). Therefore, this discourse declines the rational part of the formal representative democracy discourse while stating that it appeals to ideal model that doesn't exist in reality. As a consequence, the project of Stuttgart 21 isn't just an ordinary project for citizens within this discourse it is much more, it is struggle for their civil rights. The discourse mainly appeals to observe the situation with respect to reality, not only follow the formal procedures because they aren't ideal. This discourse claims to integrate citizens into the process right now without waiting for, e.g. institutionalizing referendums as a participatory mechanism. So far we call this discourse – the discourse of lifeworld representative democracy (with reference to Habermas theory of system – lifeworld relationships). This is our interpretation of the discourse within which this group of citizens operates. Citizens themselves don't identify the discourse and they don't think within the frame of discourse theory but the system of meaning they provide in our understanding lies very close to the definition we give.

Those two discourses, discourse of formal representative democracy and discourse of lifeworld representative democracy constitute the order of discourse where the former one is hegemonic. Our understanding of hegemony is based on the definition provided by Gramsci. According to him the hegemony, as the intellectual and political dominance of one group of society, means that the points of view, values and norms of this group is perceived as common sense by everyone. Therefore, hegemony based on Gramsci's perspective emphasizes that there is power executed by the dominant group. Those who follow the discourse of formal representative democracy are first of all politicians with power who launched the S21 project. We argue that the discourse of formal representative democracy is the discourse of citizens supporting the project and as well as politicians. The rational explanation for that is the notion that both groups support the project and have a similar argumentation of their position (Wim). So far even though these groups seem to be different by their connections with the project they hold the same perspective and, therefore, as it was shown in analysis they follow one discourse of formal representative democracy. The hegemony means there is power executed by dominant group. So far, in the case of Stuttgart 21 project we know that both discourses form a kind of relationships – the order of discourse. We also argue that one of them is hegemonic since the decision made before are formed within one of the discourse – it can be noticed since all the decisions have followed some kind of system of meanings, beliefs and truths. Therefore, one of the discourses has the power to decide and this is the discourse of those in power – politicians and those who think within this discourse. So far, the discourse of formal representative democracy has been the leading one, in particular in case of Stuttgart 21 project, even though the discourse of lifeworld representative democracy has widely

interfered into it. It has interfered because citizens thinking within this discourse have made concrete actions – participated in various kinds of demonstrations and protests (that indeed was illegal sometimes) or in other words within their discursive practice they have developed another social practice, and as a consequence the social practice within the discourse of formal representative democracy became misbalanced (the potential conducting of referendums – that hasn't been planned before). Therefore, we can claim that in case of Stuttgart 21 the order of discourse has been reorganized and the hegemonic discourse of formal representative democracy doesn't hold such stable position as it had before. The changes we have noticed and their implications will be discussed in the following chapter.

## 6 Discussion

Participation within the representative democracy is the crucial aspect of this work. As we stated above basing on our critical discourse analysis there are different conceptions of participation within the society in Stuttgart. We don't want to simplify the meaning behind it. But to sum up there is the definition of participation that refers to electoral procedures and voting as the main mechanisms of taking part in the process of decision making. As well as there is another definition of participation that incorporates the additional mechanisms for citizens taking part in decision making apart from just voting and elections. Both definitions refer to the discourses we have identified previously – the discourse of formal representative democracy and the discourse of lifeworld representative democracy. Moreover, the theory we have developed before suggests some definition of participation within representative democracy as well.

In the theoretical part we have figured out that there are two discourses related to participation in the context of representative democracy. Furthermore, there are strong parallels between theory and practice, our case study, the case of the Stuttgart 21 project. In theory two most important scholars for this research, Dahl and Habermas, suggest to look at participation from different perspectives, Dahl argues for the notion of elections while the main focus of Habermas lies in the public sphere and identification of the conditions for deliberation. We claim that the discourses of formal representative democracy and lifeworld representative democracy highly correlate with those theoretical grounds. These discourses are practical implications of theoretical visions of participation within representative democracy. Although there are some differences among these two dimensions. For instance, Habermas implies that deliberation should be concluded by making decisions collectively through voting. From one aspect it corresponds with Dahl who states that elections are the crucial and the only one element of participation in representative democracy. This interpretation gives us an understanding of similarities what both of this theoretical discourses of representative democracy have in common. But from another perspective the will of citizens of Stuttgart to have more instruments of controlling politicians incorporated into representative democracy brings another interpretation of what Habermas has meant by taking decisions collectively after the deliberation through voting. To put it another way the theory of Habermas can be interpreted differently but what it contributes to our research is the understanding of the ongoing process in Stuttgart. We may say that citizens of Stuttgart claim the right to vote for some decisions collectively after the deliberation in public sphere. Even though Habermas stays in the tradition of representative democracy and, therefore, doesn't want to institutionalize another mechanism for participation his notions of citizens voting for some decisions can be interpreted as the widening of the concept of elections and voting themselves. Therefore, the citizens asking for additional mechanisms to control politicians, e.g. through referendums, don't claim direct democracy in any kind. Having more voting procedures doesn't mean that citizens will need to take part in certain sessions in state parliament. However, it means that citizens want to deliver their opinions to politicians more often.

Another notion that supports this thesis lies in the field between two discourses of formal representative democracy and lifeworld representative democracy. Representatives of both

discourses argue for more referendums in general in future and that means they both aren't against having another bench of voting procedures for broaden scope of issues. But while citizens within formal representative democracy propose to run as a candidate for being politicians for those who don't accept the current system, the citizens within lifeworld representative democracy discourse don't want to become more politically active in that sense. They rather stand for increasing participation in general. Indeed this statement is very much related with the thought of Habermas to increase citizens' participation through making knowledge based decisions and as well with Dahl's criteria of ideal democracy – effective participation. Therefore, we come to the point where we can state that the process of giving different meanings to participation is related more with the term of participation itself rather than political aspects of it. None of these discourses actually wants to increase political participation (e.g. citizens are gathered together with politicians in the special sessions) but ask for extending the conception of participation (including citizens in the decision making process about life important matters or rather controlling the politicians). For instance, citizens within formal representative democracy discourse see the way to take part in political decision making by going for elections, this is the radical measure – this unnecessary is proven by the fact that people within this discourse haven't gone for elections themselves or even joined political parties. The citizens within the discourse of lifeworld representative democracy want to be heard and to be informed, to be on closer terms with politicians but not to be a kind of political supplement to politicians or doubling authority. The positions in the discourses of Dahl and Habermas are the same when they say that elections and voting is the only necessary mechanisms for citizens' political participation. In addition to it Habermas asks for extended participation before these elections in public sphere.

Even though, as it was shown, all these discourses have very much in common, they don't actually claim the same thing. While followers of the formal representative democracy tend to accept referendums in order to avoid such problematic situations like it can be seen in the Stuttgart 21 case, citizens within the discourse of lifeworld representative democracy want to have more elements of controlling politicians in general. Having referendums is seen as one concrete example for that. In fact the focus lies very much on this improved means for controlling the representatives, which derives from a decreased level of trust in politicians. Whereas citizens within the discourse of formal representative democracy still have a high level of trust in their representatives. These elements of direct democracy, mechanisms to control politicians, are what Urbinati and Warren claim that should be added to representative democracy. Indeed it has much in common with what people within the discourse of lifeworld representative democracy claim for – ability to control political situation not only during the elections but also through voting in between. Therefore, the theoretical implication of Stuttgart 21 lies in the field of required reformulation of the definition of participation within representative democracy. This definition should incorporate in itself the current perception of people about the politicians and necessity to control them.

Another crucial element in the defying of participation in representative democracy refers to information. Information and knowledge are one of the most important elements of representative democracy theories developed by Habermas, Dahl and other scholars. Information has been underlined by many interviewees in our analysis as the special element of participation as well. Indeed the understanding of information within lifeworld representative democracy and formal representative democracy discourses reflects what Habermas says even more that one could think. Citizens within both discourses define participation as the right not only to be informed but also to inform others. This highly corresponds with Habermas statements about public sphere and deliberation. He implies that citizens should make knowledge-based decisions and according to him knowledge comes from deliberation. That actually is what representatives of both discourses perceive as participation. Therefore, the interpretation of participation due to the issues of information within both discourses refers to the discourse of Habermas and, moreover, in turn, it brings the realization that both discourse share more than expected. This can be analyzed as that in this aspect of information both discourses construct reality in Habermasian way – so to say as the part of public deliberation and so far the case of Stuttgart 21 can teach others about practical application of theory of deliberative democracy.

The case of Stuttgart 21 to some extent refers to Habermas theory of deliberative democracy in terms of examining how this theory can be applied in practice. We claim that by many reasons the case of Stuttgart 21 is unique but also because it provides a good example how deliberation can be incorporated in representative democracy (this is the intention of Habermas) can be solved practically. This refers to the matter of the arbitration that we will discuss later. This is the part of the lesson that has been learnt in the case of Stuttgart 21 project. There are also other parts of the lessons such as the meaning of it for other cases related to environmental decision making in big infrastructure projects. The extrapolation of the case of Stuttgart 21 project to other big project may result the different understanding of how the planning phase of these projects should be implemented in general. According to the discourse of lifeworld representative democracy the measures taken for the legitimation of this project should be more explicit for the citizens, they should be explained how to take part in this stage. So far, this statement highlights the important elements for conducting the project of this size next time – the information about the procedures citizens may take part in planning stage.

The analysis above shows that the discourse of lifeworld representative democracy as well as interpretation of the process in terms of Habermasian theory of deliberative democracy gives better understanding of lessons that can be learnt from the case of Stuttgart 21 project. The case itself proved the following the hegemonic discourse of formal representative democracy as well as Dahl's theory of representative democracy couldn't comprehend the whole complexity of the issues and than causes huge misbalance between what politicians do and what part of the citizens really want. Within this discourse and the theory that frames it there isn't enough instrument of delivering citizens' opinion to the government and that has been proved by facts in practice. So far the hegemonic discourse of formal representative democracy is problematic because it doesn't provide appropriate level of legitimacy to the decisions made by politicians.

The discourse of formal representative democracy is consistent in itself but the discursive practices it consisted of affects social practice in a way it shouldn't be affected because it creates lack of legitimacy and lack of communication as it has happened in the case of Stuttgart 21 project. The crucial aspect in it is that within the social practice created by the discourse of formal representative democracy the decisions aren't legitimated by the majority but still approved through democratic procedures. This results in the fact that the current understanding of representative democracy has to be reconsidered. The politicians of the city of Stuttgart have acknowledged the existed of this misbalanced situation that have led to the formation of the commission that investigates the issue of direct democracy within representative democracy and carrying out the workshops related to the topic of various elements of citizens participation in decision making process. As carried out in our analysis the hegemonic discourse of formal representative democracy is contested by the discourse of lifeworld representative democracy. We claim that the order of discourse here should be changed in order to provide enough room for citizens to raise their voice, to carry out the knowledge based discussion and to avoid the consequences such as they have been in case of Stuttgart 21 project.

All stated above highly relates to the fields of environmental communication. It needs to be recognized that the majority of decisions related to the environment almost always are embedded in a political system. In our case study the political system is representative democracy. In order to understand conflicts within the environmental sphere a deep understanding of the political context is required.

### **The arbitration**

The arbitration itself is a crucial moment in our case study, which is important to be discussed in order to gain full understanding of the case and its theoretical and practical implications.

The arbitration was not planned from the beginning. So there is the question what made it happen? First it's worth to recapture the situation as it was in Stuttgart before there was a call for some kind of arbitration. Already in 2001 all 13 700 formal objections against S21 had be clarified. In other words, the objections could not stop the project. In 2007 the resistance initiated a referendum on a local level, which was rejected by the city parliament. Then in September 2010, after construction



has started, this so-called black Thursday happened. Hard action against peaceful protestors with up to 400 people injured. And finally, on the day after, the biggest demonstration ever took place with 63 000 people out at the street. There was a heated, very emotional conflict between the resistance and the state government. To formulate it with the words of Wim: "That results (regarding black Thursday) showed everybody that it's time to talk". So one could say there was no other choice than to have some kind of arbitration. What makes this arbitration outstanding is the agreement to broadcast it to the public. From one perspective that might have been decided because of prospective people involved. As Maria mentioned in the interview, the people at the street should get the chance to make up their own mind. On the other hand side there was no other choice unless to make the arbitration public. The pressure from the street simply was too big.

In terms of how to understand or allocate the arbitration within the frames of representative democracy the views of participants are to be taken into account. According to Wim there was no intention to apply any kind of participatory approach. Nor was the goal to use the arbitration in a first step to increase the legitimation of the S21 project amongst citizens. As shown with the analysis, the arbitration should provide all details regarding S21 to the people. It should enable the citizens to make up their own mind. The arbitration is the instrument that makes this whole process related to the new train station unique among other cases of constructions that weren't supported by citizens. According to the S21 project documents there is no place for doubts that the project was approved through all democratic procedures. But still it hasn't been enough for citizens.

A discussion of the arbitration in relation to relevant theory is to be applied. From Habermas perspective the arbitration is the mean to deliver expert knowledge to the citizens in order to ensure them with information required for decision making. While obtaining all information citizens are made able to choose the best decision based on their enlightenment rather than first assumptions. Moreover, weekly demonstration where participants get new piece of information as well as discuss it with other people seems to be the mean to develop and strengthen newly created public sphere. From Habermasian theory all present elements of existing process fit in the general theory of deliberative democracy and reflect upon different part of this theory. From the other side, the actual process can be called only proto deliberation since real deliberative democracy requires to have a possibility to express citizens' voice after the deliberation through voting and elections. At the moment it is not an option for citizens and politicians otherwise in case of referendum this model of deliberative democracy can be considered completed. Furthermore, without elections now the whole process looks only like attempt to include citizens in the process but in case of providing sufficient mechanism of raising the voice the whole process related to construction of Stuttgart 21 can be reconsidered as the first successful case of deliberative democracy. Indeed Habermas doesn't give any practical implications of his theory the arbitration as the way to manage the discussion and spreading the knowledge can be seen as the one of the possibilities to start new era of deliberative democracy. Therefore, the arbitration is easily explained by Habermas conception of deliberative democracy that states that decisions should be made through knowledge based discussion in public sphere.

Analyzing the arbitration from the view of scholars who concentrate their theories on elections and voting is a little bit harder since there is no official place for arbitration in these models. For those who explain democracy only by electoral process election and voting is the only one way to express the opinion. Keeping in mind that Dahl and others don't focus on the means how knowledge can be obtained it is irrelevant to suggest the same explanation as in terms of Habermas conception. It looks like there is simply no place in the political system for arbitration in Dahl's view but that isn't right since the arbitration has happened and it has to find its place in theory as well. So far the arbitration according to Dahl model of democracy should be a kind of anomaly because it doesn't fit to the system but still exists. Dahl's discourse of representative democracy doesn't provide a proper understanding of the arbitration while seeing it as the anomaly. Moreover, in such a way the arbitration has to be considered as unique case that less likely will be repeated. This point of view doesn't study the opportunity to use this original case in future in order to advance the whole political system since this system has already been developed enough. This perception of

representative democracy says that the system is already more or less perfect since all representative mechanism is provided and the decision was made democratically. Then we are coming back to the question what we should consider as democratic since the decision about Stuttgart 21 construction hasn't been approved widely by citizens.

What can be learned from our case study and especially with focus on S21 arbitration links back to the topic of participation in environmental decision-making. It is not only about having more elements of direct democracy in future decision-making processes. It relates to possible means to initiate public deliberation in Habermas's sense prior to any kind of votes or referendums. Based on our analysis the arbitration in the Stuttgart case served to initiate and broaden the public deliberation which in turn helped citizens in their own individual decision-making process. But so far by no means the arbitration can be located in relation to any formal decision-making procedure within the representative democracy. According to our interviewee Wim who was the assistant of Heiner Geisler the arbitration itself as well as the arbitration statement given by Heiner Geisler has no formal influence on any decision met in the past, nor it has formal impact on future political decisions regarding S21.

The citizens and politicians in Stuttgart have gone through the unique learning process that perhaps will not happen in other regions but still there are lessons that can be learnt from it. The practical application of this case study concluded in the necessity to understand the significance of the political process with relation to people's lifeworld and with opening the whole process for citizens. Citizens shouldn't be integrated into the political process but rather they better have a say and become closer to the politicians.

The arbitration has played the significant role in order to balance the whole situation in general. According to the result of critical discourse analysis there was huge lack of information and, therefore, communication between citizens and politicians. While trying to explain why this situation with Stuttgart 21 project happened at all the main reasons that comes to many minds is the lack of information, or better say, the explanation of the project or rights that people have in order to claim their opinion to be heard. The arbitration can be perceived as a kind of stabilizer of the situation as it was actually meant to be because it brought the information and explanation of the project for citizens. Even though it wasn't supposed to legitimize the project as some of the interviewees stated it actually did so – and now it can be perceived as a good tool to cope with the conflict situation as in the case of Stuttgart 21. The arbitration has to some extent replaced the lack of information that remained in the whole project from the beginning. Here we should explain the difference we realize between information and communication. In the context of this research we consider communication as the process of communicative acts exchange and information as data.

The carrying out of the arbitration has proven that the limits of representative democracy can be expanded and for those following the discourse of lifeworld representative democracy it means that other techniques can be implemented within the process of the Stuttgart 21 project. The arbitration wasn't supposed to happen and this notion contributes to the understanding of representative democracy and location of participation within it. The arbitration may be considered as the part of participation, at least as the prerequisite for the increase participation. Therefore, conducting the arbitration meant that the system has started to identify the problems (the lack of information and deliberation) and to deal with by the mean of arbitration. So far only the statement that the arbitration occurred implies that the decision making process in its former design wasn't sufficient to handle the Stuttgart 21 project. However the arbitration hasn't only proven that by only its existence it is a prerequisite for change but also that the social practice it is located in isn't sufficient enough. Moreover, the arbitration has shown how it is possible to escape from the conflict situation with the lack of information and knowledge among the citizens – by developing a special instrument – in this case arbitration.

## 7 Research findings

In answering research question how participation is introduced in the discourse of representative democracy in theory:

- It is figured out that in theory of representative democracy two directions of consideration of participation within representative democracy exist. Those two directions are considered to be discourses.

To give an answer to the research question within which discourses citizens and other actors interpret the process related to the Stuttgart 21 project we claim:

- It is proved that there are two discourses regarding the process of Stuttgart 21 project, discourses of formal representative democracy and lifeworld representative democracy. Moreover, hegemonic discourse of formal representative democracy has been affected significantly by the other one.

Providing the answer to the research question what are practical and theoretical implications of Stuttgart case for the understanding of representative democracy we claim:

- It is identified that the arbitration in the Stuttgart case is a relevant example of how Habermasian public sphere, and in particular, knowledge based deliberation, can be designed.
- It is determined that the matter of information as data is the crucial one. The lack of information, deliberation and communication is one of the main reasons why the conflict appeared. The importance of information and knowledge obtained through discussion is one significant lesson that should be learnt from the Stuttgart case.
- It is found that citizens want to control politicians but not so much to participate in decision making process themselves. That also found the reflection within the discourses of representative democracy in theory.
- It is shown that hegemonic discourse of formal representative democracy is problematic within itself because this discourse affects social practice in a negative way since the decisions aren't legitimized through the existing mechanisms. Although this discourse has started to change when politicians began to identify these challenges and to cope with them.

## 8 Conclusion

During our investigation we have drawn two discourses regarding the process related to the Stuttgart 21 project. Both discourses give different system of meaning to the existing situation. However they also influence social practices and the way the situation is going to develop. Since the order of discourses constitutes the balance of power or in other words shows the relationships between them, one of these discourses, the discourse of formal representative discourse is hegemonic. Furthermore, even though the discourses aren't right or wrong in their essence they are the perspectives through which the situation can be handled practically. From now on the analysis of the Stuttgart 21 case has proved that the reality constructed by the discourse of formal representative democracy hasn't provided the legitimacy for the project.

To put it in another way the discourse of formal representative democracy explains participation in the way it does and according to it there is enough space for participation since all the mechanisms for it are offered within the frames of the current model of representative democracy. At the same moment the decisions made according to this system aren't legitimate. It means that even though this discourse ensures enough room for participation the social practice it constitutes doesn't meet

the need of the citizens. It is crucial that those citizens who follow this discourse really seem to understand that because they want to have referendums incorporated into the political system in future. They do express their will as this because they don't want to have an argument with others who don't support the system – it is more democratic for society to make the decisions legitimate as from the beginning rather than to have a conflict situation as it has happened in Stuttgart. Their will is not to please their opponents but to maintain the system in general.

At the moment within the discourse of formal representative democracy the politicians are starting to reconsider citizens' involvement and they launched the commission about the investigation of application of elements of direct democracy to the current political system, e.g. having referendums. The process related to the Stuttgart 21 project has proved explicitly for everyone that new elements for citizens' engagement are highly required. Moreover, not only citizens have realized it but also politicians. Although it still remains to be the main question of what kind of new elements should be added. Indeed it means that the change in the hegemonic discourse of formal representative democracy that is ongoing now can teach regions to follow this perspective. Especially in environmental sphere it is important to give the right to participate for everyone and it seems that other regions or states can learn this lesson without going through the whole painful process as it has happened in Stuttgart. The right to give an opinion should be secured by many means and in particular in environmental sphere because it concerns everyone.

In our research we have shown how discursive practices have been constituted in the Stuttgart case and, as a consequence, how they have started to reorganize social practice. The social change that is about to happen within the sphere of environmental communication in Stuttgart at the moment is a unique case but we assume that it is just the beginning of the new era where citizens' participation will be ensured by knowledge based discussion. The concept of arbitration brings a lot to the understanding of how the discussion should be structured. The crucial moment right now is not to give this problematic process to repeat in any other place but to spread the knowledge that was gained during the learning process in Stuttgart case. More important, the new understanding of participation has been developed among all sides in case of Stuttgart 21 project and that is something to learn for others.

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## 9 Appendix

### 9.1 A1: Questionnaires

#### *Questionnaire: Specific questions for participants of arbitration*

##### 1. Arbitration

- 1.1. Do you think all opinions/groups of the society were represented in the arbitration? /  
Würden sie sagen alle Meinungen zu S21 bzw. alle gesellschaftlichen Gruppierungen waren in der Schlichtungsrunde vertreten?
- 1.2. Did you feel strong pressure from the group of the society you were representing during the arbitration? /  
Haben sie sich von dem durch sie repräsentierten Teil der Gesellschaft während der Schlichtung unter Druck gesetzt gefühlt?
- 1.3. Do you have the feeling that the current political system is efficient in order to meet a decision regarding such big infrastructure projects? /  
Denken sie die gegenwärtig geltenden politische Rahmenbedingungen in Deutschland/Ba-Wb sind ausreichend um zukünftig Entscheidungen zu solch großen Infrastrukturprojekten wie S21 zu treffen?
- 1.4. Do you think the process as it was (including arbitration and election) fully took into account all divergent opinions of the citizens? /  
Glauben sie, dass der Prozess in Fall S21 (einschließlich Schlichtung und Landtagswahlen) alle Meinungen der Bürger in ausreichendem Maße berücksichtigt hat?
- 1.5. To what extent you think the process up to now helped to increase the legitimation of the decision met (to implement "S21 plus")? /  
Inwiefern half der S21 Prozess die Legitimation der Entscheidung innerhalb der Bevölkerung zu erhöhen (siehe Schlichterspruch Umsetzung "S21 plus")?
- 1.6. Do you see the arbitration as an outcome of representative democracy? If not: how could it be understood? /  
War die Schlichtung ihrer Ansicht nach ein Resultat, welches aus der repräsentativen Demokratie heraus entstanden ist? Wenn nicht, wie würden sie die Schlichtung erklären/definieren?
- 1.7. What are the forces/reasons that made the arbitration necessary? /  
Was sind die Kräfte/Gründe, welche die Schlichtung erforderlich machten?
- 1.8. What are the major forces behind the S21 process? /  
Was sind ihrer Ansicht nach die treibenden Kräfte hinter dem S21 Prozess?

##### 2. The right to participate / Das Recht auf Teilhabe/Bürgerbeteiligung

- 2.1. What does participation mean to you within the S21 process? /  
Was bedeutet Bürgerbeteiligung für sie im Bezug auf den S21 Prozess?
- 2.2. What is representative democracy for you within the S21 process? /  
Was verstehen sie unter "repräsentativer Demokratie" im Bezug auf S21?
- 2.3. Do you think representative democracy gives you the possibility to express yourself fully within the S21 proces? /  
Denken sie sie können/konnten ihre persönliche Meinung im Rahmen der repräsentativen Demokratie bezüglich des S21 Prozesses voll einbringen?
- 2.4. Do you think your opinion is heard/recognized withing the S21 process? /  
Haben sie den Eindruck ihre Meinung wird/wurde gehört und beachtet im Rahmen des S21 Prozesses?
- 2.5. What does participation within representative democracy mean for you? /  
Was verstehen sie unter Bürgerbeteiligung im Rahmen einer repräsentativen Demokratie?
- 2.6. How do you define your own or others rights in relation with the planning of S21 and afterwards? /  
Welche Bürgerrechte sehen sie für sich im Bezug auf die Planungsphase von S21 und danach? Wie würden sie diese Bürgerrechte beschreiben?
- 2.7. Do you see different discourses interplaying in the S21 process? If yes: what are those discourses? /  
Erkennen sie unterschiedliche konkurrierende Diskurse im Bezug auf den S21 Prozess? Wenn ja, welche?
- 2.8. What are challenges and benefits regarding participation in the S21 process (including all phases: Planning, decision making, demonstrations, arbitration, state elections)? /  
Welche Herausforderungen und Vorteile sehen sie bezüglich Bürgerbeteiligung zu dem Infrastrukturprojekts S21. Das Projekt umfasst unserem Verständnis nach die Planungsphase, die Entscheidungsfindung, die Demonstrationen im Oktober 2010, die Schlichtung durch Heiner Geisler sowie die Landtagswahlen in Baden-Württemberg.

### **3. Implications of S21 / Auswirkungen von S21**

- 3.1. What is the outcome of the arbitration for you? /  
Was wurde ihrer Ansicht nach mit der Schlichtung erreicht?
- 3.2. Has your political perspective changed due to the discussions around S21? Did you vote for another party in recent elections? /  
Hat sich ihre politische Gesinnung aufgrund der Diskussionen um S21 geändert? Haben sie aufgrund dessen eine andere Partei gewählt?
- 3.3. What do you think about recent political changes (that the Green party came to power)? Do you connect it somehow with S21? /  
Wie sehen sie die Änderung der politischen Machtverhältnisse in Baden-Württemberg? Hat diese ihrer Ansicht nach etwas mit S21 zu tun?
- 3.4. What are your expectations of the S21 process (including the new political situation in Ba-Wü)? What do you think will happen next? /  
Wie wird es ihrer Ansicht nach in Fall S21 weiter gehen?



- 3.5. What is the lesson that can be learned from S21 case? /  
Was kann man ihrer Ansicht nach aus dem Fall S21 lernen?

***Questionnaire: Specific questions for citizens***

**1. Specific question for citizens /**

**Fragen für Bürger (ausgenommen Repräsentanten und Vertreter von Organisationen)**

- 1.1. What have you done regarding Stuttgart 21? Did you go to demonstrations, press like on facebook or anything else? /  
Wie haben sie sich an der Auseinandersetzung zu S21 beteiligt? Nahmen sie an Demonstrationen teil? Waren sie zum Beispiel in sozialen Netzwerken wie Facebook zu S21 aktiv?

**2. The right to participate / Das Recht auf Teilhabe/Bürgerbeteiligung**

- 2.1. What does participation mean to you? /  
Was bedeutet Bürgerbeteiligung für sie?
- 2.2. What is representative democracy for you? /  
Was verstehen sie unter "repräsentativer Demokratie"?
- 2.3. Do you think representative democracy gives you the possibility to express yourself fully within the S21 process? /  
Denken sie sie können ihre persönliche Meinung im Rahmen der repräsentativen Demokratie bezüglich des S21 Prozesses voll einbringen?
- 2.4. Do you think your opinion is heard/recognized within the S21 process? /  
Haben sie den Eindruck ihre Meinung wird im Rahmen der Auseinandersetzung mit S21 gehört und beachtet?
- 2.5. What does participation within representative democracy mean for you? /  
Was verstehen sie unter Bürgerbeteiligung im Rahmen einer repräsentativen Demokratie?
- 2.6. How do you define your own or others rights in relation with the planning of S21 and afterwards? /  
Welche Bürgerrechte sehen sie für sich im Bezug auf die Planungsphase von S21 und danach? Wie würden sie diese Bürgerrechte beschreiben?
- 2.7. Did you use your rights to participate? Do you know how to use them? /  
Haben sie den Eindruck sie haben ihr Recht zur Bürgerbeteiligung wahr genommen? War/ist ihnen klar wie sie von diesem Recht gebrauch machen können?
- 2.8. Do you see different discourses interplaying in the S21 process? If yes: what are those discourses? /  
Erkennen sie verschiedene miteinander konkurrierende Diskurse im Bezug auf S21? Wenn ja, welche?
- 2.9. What are challenges and benefits regarding participation in the S21 process (including all phases: Planning, decision making, demonstrations, arbitration, state elections)? /

Welche Herausforderungen und Vorteile sehen sie bezüglich Bürgerbeteiligung zu dem Infrastrukturprojekts S21. Das Projekt umfasst unserem Verständnis nach die Planungsphase, die Entscheidungsfindung, die Demonstrationen im Oktober 2010, die Schlichtung durch Heiner Geisler sowie die Landtagswahlen in Baden-Württemberg.

### **3. Implications of S21 / Auswirkungen von S21**

- 3.1. What is the outcome of the arbitration for you? /  
Was wurde ihrer Ansicht nach mit der Schlichtung erreicht?
- 3.2. Has your political perspective changed due to the discussions around S21? Did you vote for another party in recent elections? /  
Hat sich ihre politische Gesinnung aufgrund der Diskussionen um S21 geändert? Haben sie aufgrund dessen eine andere Partei gewählt?
- 3.3. What do you think about recent political changes (that the Green party came to power)? Do you connect it somehow with S21? /  
Wie sehen sie die Änderung der politischen Machtverhältnisse in Baden-Württemberg? Hat diese ihrer Ansicht nach etwas mit S21 zu tun?
- 3.4. What are your expectations of the S21 process (including the new political situation in Ba-Wü)? What do you think will happen next? /  
Wie wird es ihrer Ansicht nach in Fall S21 weiter gehen?
- 3.5. What is the lesson that can be learned from S21 case? /  
Was kann man ihrer Ansicht nach aus dem Fall S21 lernen?

## 9.2A2: Summary of transcriptions

### *Bruno*

1 **Interview summary Bruno**  
2 **Question coding based on questionnaire "Specific questions for citizens"**  
3  
4 Q 1.1.  
5 00:01:16-3  
6 1:16  
7 After the Schlichtung he, together with other artists, created the installations to protect the Park  
8 Guards' camp ("a wall to give them some kind of shelter"). The wall consists of a picture, which  
9 shows parts of the Brandenburg gate in Berlin. "It's a very equivalent picture. On the one side it is  
10 resistance and on the other side it is a symbol of our state, of the German state. And what  
11 happened here in this park is something very very strange after the 30 September. Because the  
12 police was so violent, afterwards the politicians were very careful to do any political action her".  
13 He also organized the info pavilion against S21 at the Schlosspark.  
14 "It is said: we make a project for the people. But if you have seen what has happened here (police  
15 action in Schlosspark) it was clear it is not a project for the people. It is a project of a little group  
16 of politicians and people with economic interests. And it is clearly against the people, what they  
17 are doing. They use power and it is a fight against our people. (...) A fight against the citizens."  
18  
19 Q 2.1.  
20 00:14:06-8  
21 "I think it's a great chance now, it's a historical chance now in Germany. Because in Germany we  
22 have very badly developed moments of participation." Since 1968 I am involved in this  
23 movement in Germany for referendums and direkt democracy. In the beginning not many people  
24 were interested in this topic but during the last 25 years some states like Bavaria made a good  
25 development but not the federal republic.  
26 00:17:02-9  
27 Some time ago the Green party raised the topic of referendums in Baden-Württemberg in the  
28 parliament and the prime minister just said: "The regulations for referendums are very good in  
29 BaWü - we doesn't need a single referendum. That was the answer."  
30  
31 Q 2.2.  
32 00:20:36-6  
33 "I have no good opinion about this, because we saw in the last few years (...) they make what  
34 they want to do. And it's not a representation of the opinion of the people. And this became more  
35 and more strange in the last 20 years."  
36  
37 Q 2.3.  
38 00:22:10-1  
39 "No, I don't think so. The decisions about this projects are always made in another sector of  
40 society. It's economic circles which make the decisions and the politicians make what this circles  
41 want them to do. And what people think about that is not very interesting for them."  
42 00:30:09-3  
43 "I think people living today they want to live in a democratic, in a real democratic society (...) we  
44 are not on this level in the moment. (...) You can call this kind of democracy like a form of  
45 theatre. It's a form of theatre what they are doing. (...) The play a game which is called  
46 'democracy'. It's not real, its only coulisse. And I hope that the struggle at the moment brings a  
47 new idea of democracy."  
48 Bruno's vision of direct democracy: "The vision is besides representative democracy, that's only

49 one part. And as much questions as possible, which are concerning all of us, we decide directly."  
50 "We need some kind of consensus what means 'progress' (on societal level)". Bruno seems not to  
51 trust the representatives in that: "They can't decide that for us. They always think they can decide  
52 that. But they...they have...they don't have the right to decide that."

53

54 Q 2.4.

55 00:23:00-5

56 I think demonstrations are the only way to show our thoughts about this

57

58 Q 2.6.

59 00:24:33-3

60 "I think at the moment there are not many possibilities to get with my opinions or opinions of  
61 other peoples into the planning processes. And I think this has to change."

62 People really have to have a say in the decisions and "that's also a little bit the idea of this  
63 happening hear." We think "you have to go out of structures and you have to build new interfaces  
64 for the public interests. (...) It's some kind of symbol what we make here, because we go here into  
65 a public park and inform and it's a platform for discussions here and also we want to get ideas  
66 from the people to this process so that people have the idea that they can participate. But we have  
67 no interfaces for participation at the moment."

68 00:07:33-4

69 Related to the Schlosspart occupied by Park Guards after September 30: "Here began to exist  
70 some kind of situation which you can call...some kind of...unmarked state. An area were  
71 politicians and the city has no competence to do anything. (...) They have the power, but not the  
72 political background/legitimation. (...) In this park here it's a little state in the state. (...) Yes, it's  
73 the same situation as in Egypt at Tahrir Square. What is happening here is the state and the town  
74 have no power to...to...to do something."

75 00:11:24-2

76 "We want to show here this little state is a state of people with lots of creativity and with ideas of  
77 other kind of future. This people which meet here are connected together with a common idea.  
78 The idea of a future with another kind of technology other kind of living together."

79

80 Q 2.7.

81 00:26:36-4

82 Stefan: Did you ask to set up this pavilion here or you had the feeling that this is your right?

83 Bruno: "Yes, I had the feeling it's my right, it's my right. And it's absolutely necessary. And the  
84 state and the government don't give us this right to make a public platform anywhere. We have to  
85 take that right to do this. (...) We got a writing from the government, from the city to put it away.  
86 (...) But we ignore it and say: no, it's our right to be here. And it's interesting that they don't  
87 nothing against us (...) they except that they have no more the power to control us. We are out of  
88 control now at the moment. That's a chance for political change here. (...) That people have more  
89 self-confidence. We want to take part and we want to express ourselves and we want to the  
90 chance to take part in the decisions. And if they don't allow us we do it anyway."

91

92 Q 3.1.

93 00:39:03-8

94 Firstly everybody could see that S21 is not the very best planned project ever. In fact the public  
95 could see that many mistakes has happened in the planning of S21. Geisler did not propose a  
96 referendum right after the arbitration (this would have been the best outcome) because "I think he

97 was under political pressure. (...) A arbitration does make only sense if afterwards people which  
98 take part in it or the public could make a decision. And there was no decision, there was only a  
99 this decision of Heiner Geisler and that is not correct."

100

101 00:03:52-4

102 The expectations was: Either they stop the project or they do a referendum. But after the  
103 arbitration statement we thought we would loose. "Everybody was very depressed after this"  
104 (after they heard there will be no referendum. "I had the idea the whole resistance could collapse.  
105 And than I thought: what can I do as an artist in this situation. I had the idea to help this people  
106 here in the park. To get the resistance more strong."

107

108 Q 3.3.

109 00:21:03-1

110 Stefan: But, that the Greens are in power now, isn't it a proof that representative democracy  
111 works?

112 Bruno: "Yes, okay. That's true. But I think also the Green party has the tendency, when they are  
113 in the government...Before they are in the government they talk about referendum and  
114 participation. And in the moment when they are in the government they don't want to hear about  
115 that.

116

117 Q 3.4.

118 00:19:30-0

119 The Social Democrats want to conduct a referendum without lowering the hurdles, "and the idea  
120 then is: we loose the referendum and they can build the station. And that's a very very bad  
121 policy."

122 "What is happening here now is a chance to do this, to have this development of democracy now"  
123 (to have more referendums so that the citizens can vote directly for an issue.

124

125 Q 3.5.

126 00:43:31-0

127 "I think we could learn: nowadays people want to be involved in political decisions as from the  
128 beginning."

1 **Interview summary Ralf**  
2 **Question coding based on questionnaire "Specific questions for citizens"**  
3  
4 Q 1.1.  
5 00:00:26-6  
6 He has its own company (IT consulting) with 50 employees.  
7 In June 2010 together with others he created the Facebook (fb) page "Für S21". On August 1st he  
8 had the first personal meeting. Via fb he invited others to that personal meeting. They created an  
9 association with currently 300 members (citizens that support S21) and now he is the leader of  
10 this association. They did demonstrations against the protests related to S21. Different working  
11 groups. Since August 2010 it's his hobby where he spends 3-4 hours per day for association  
12 meetings, meetings with DB, government and with people who are against the project.  
13 Information counter every Saturday at Königsstrasse.  
14  
15 Q 2.1.  
16 00:08:10-9  
17 "Stuttgart has to keep in time (...) ten years ago Stuttgart was really a sleeping town, but the last  
18 10 years Stuttgart became more modern. They built new buildings.  
19 "A lot of my employees don't like to go by train, they don't like the old train station, for them it  
20 takes to long to go to Munich. (...) About 60-70 % of my employees like this new main train  
21 station because driving by train would be more modern that it is now"  
22  
23 Q 2.2.  
24 00:10:25-6  
25 They planned the project for the last 20 years and all big parties like that project. "May be it's  
26 right, there is no referendum, but in Germany we don't have any referendum. Only in Bavaria and  
27 in the north of Germany in the last years."  
28  
29 Q 2.3.  
30 00:12:48-7  
31 "I think so. (...) We think if there is a referendum (...) it is possible to win that."  
32  
33 Q 2.4.  
34 00:13:36-8  
35 "For our side I would say yes. (...) We are sitting together with DB and with the government" and  
36 we tell them what mistakes they have made in the planning process. We ask them: what have you  
37 done in the last 10 years? "We like this project, but we don't like all this details, may be. And the  
38 political system in Baden-Württemberg was very stable the last 50 years, something like that, and  
39 they are feeling to...to...comfortable (...) they said: oh yeah...we do that."  
40  
41 Q 2.5.  
42 00:16:35-9  
43 There is no better option than representative democracy. At the same time "they are doing a lots  
44 of mistakes and all this 5 years...sometimes you could say this is too long, something like that.  
45 But if you see the last 50 or 60 years in Germany I think the system works. If you don't look on  
46 the details the system works."  
47 "I Switzerland 5 years ago the had a referendum about increasing the taxes - in Germany this in  
48 impossible, no one would vote for higher taxes. "From my side the system is working, but in the

49 future it could be better to do more referendums for different things. But I think the German  
50 citizens has to be more interested in all this different details."  
51  
52 Q 2.6.  
53 00:19:07-7  
54 "In the past there is no integration, the people aren't asked." DB now installed my working groups  
55 with private people involved in different topic, but that is too late. "They are going for a long  
56 running and do it on the last 5 km, so it's too late to get the people in that (...) they are doing it on  
57 the last 5 minutes".  
58  
59 Q 2.7.  
60 00:20:19-8  
61 "It's like a typical political system. You could only tell your opinion or something. There is not  
62 right to say do it in another way, something like that." At the moment politician pay very much  
63 attention to what the citizens want, "but I think there is no...no right...to...that every...I think it's a  
64 right of the citizens, but not the right of a...of a...from one person. You understand?"  
65 "We are doing what we could do. So we are using all this rights we have, we are using that. But it  
66 is very difficult, because from the...in our political system, there is no...ahm...you only could tell  
67 your opinion. The don't have to...the politician...don't have to do what we are saying. May be the  
68 are hearing us or may be not. I think this is in every state the same problem."  
69  
70 Stefan: "Is it enough to vote every 5 years?"  
71 Ralf: "Yes I think they have to change the political system a little bit. (...) It could be, you see, in  
72 the north of Germany, in Hamburg 20% of the people decided what's happening with the system  
73 of the schools (...) In Bavaria we have the situation that 10 or 15% decided that you aren't  
74 allowed to smoke in a restaurant. So in Germany we need a reform. We have to change all that  
75 laws about that."  
76 "You have to build, not a political system. The people have to realize that they have a voice and  
77 that they could vote for or against something. That's what the people from Switzerland know.  
78 They know we have a voice" in different topics. "I think we have to change the culture, a little  
79 bit"  
80  
81 Katya: But do you think this changed during the Schlichtung?  
82 Ralf: "Only for this project. Yeah, you are right. (...) We see from our side, after the Schlichtung,  
83 the people aren't interested anymore. (...) I think the German people aren't interested, something  
84 like that". My friends and all others are very satisfied about their live. "There is no motivation to  
85 give some energy in discussions like that"  
86  
87 Q 3.1  
88 In the beginning we were against the Schlichtung because the decision was legitimized through  
89 the parties/government. "But it's very interesting to have the details in the Schlichtung. (...) We  
90 though may be it makes the project even better".  
91  
92 Q 3.4.  
93 I think it would be possible that the Baden-Württemberg government conducts a referendum. But  
94 the question is how to design the referendum. Because the city of Stuttgart pays for a relatively  
95 small amount only. It's the project of DB. "They couldn't decide what I am doing in my company.  
96 So we can not decide what DB is doing". You would need to do a referendum in whole Germany

97 because DB is partly owned by the German government.  
98  
99 Q 3.5.  
100 00:41:54-5  
101 "You would have to ask the people before you plan something". And the politicians should listen  
102 to the people they are representing. Those people in turn - if they would be better informed early  
103 in the process - should have talked to their representatives about the project.  
104 "I think lots of politicians learned that, not only to speak with their people but also to speak with  
105 other people."  
106 In Germany it is a problem that the planning process takes too long because technology and  
107 opinions are changing. Many politicians in Germany used to be civil servants before they became  
108 politicians. They grew up within the political system. So they don't listen to people outside the  
109 system.  
110 00:49:17-3  
111 "Politicians are too detached / flying above the ground (dt. sind abgehoben)" and don't listen to  
112 ordinary people.



1 **Interview summary Maria, BUND Baden-Württemberg**  
2 **Question coding based on questionnaire "Specific questions for participants of arbitration"**  
3  
4 Q 1.1  
5 00:01:39-4  
6 One prerequisite for the arbitration articulated by K21 Confederation was to ensure a public  
7 space: "We did articulate two prerequisites. One was the construction stop and the second was  
8 that the arbitration would take place in the public sphere, that everything would be broadcasted  
9 via TV (...) That was a claim I personally formulated because I said I will not turn into a debate  
10 and just journalists or DB are going to interpret what was said. If we start all this the citizen  
11 himself must develop its own understanding."  
12  
13 Q 1.3.  
14 00:07:16-4  
15 "No, very clearly no." Reasons: Currently there is participation just in plan approval process (dt.  
16 Planfeststellungsverfahren) and regional planning procedure (dt. Raumordnungsverfahren) where  
17 people can hand-in objections against the planned project. But there is no room for a general  
18 discussion about the project itself. Apart from that there is the possibility to start a petition for a  
19 referendum (dt. Bürgerbegehren) including the referendum itself (dt. Volksentscheid on state  
20 level or Bürgerentscheid on municipality level). But the hurdles are very high. "In Baden-  
21 Württemberg 1/3 of all persons entitled to vote must vote for the proposal - you can't reach that.  
22 That is... such a big amount of votes that is not possible. That means the options for direct  
23 democracy are very small. Concerning us it is basically built upon the fact that the participation  
24 of citizen ends with the election" or some few other participation procedures, which are very  
25 much limited and regulated (see regional planning procedures or public hearings). Whereas  
26 people have no influence whether decision-makers take over proposals from citizens or not.  
27  
28 Stefan: "So there the power of the citizens ends. The decision is met by the politicians and not by  
29 the citizens."  
30  
31 Maria: "Yes, absolutely right. As well that is the understanding of representative democracy - so  
32 far. But that isn't enough anymore."  
33  
34 Afterwards Maria describes her idealistic view upon a participatory approach for a project like  
35 S21. How she would like to have it. That is: 1) Reduce quorum and regulations in Baden-  
36 Württemberg and Germany for referendums so that it will be easier to have a referendum for big  
37 projects 2) Before such big projects to have environmental mediation procedures 3)  
38  
39 Q 1.5.  
40 00:18:40-7  
41 No. The legitimation did not really increase.  
42  
43 Q 1.6.  
44 00:22:32-1  
45 The arbitration developed out of the public pressure and the ongoing demonstrations. "The  
46 politicians felt under pressure as well as DB and that's why they have finally and grudgingly  
47 accepted that kind of arbitration". Since 1995 the K21 Confederation wanted to have a discussion  
48 with politicians (dt. Gespräch mit "der Porlitik"). The politicians' reaction on Sep 30 2010 was

49 absolutely wrong and subsequently the interaction became more violent and therefore politicians  
50 as well as DB realized that a mediation would be necessary. "The first idea for an arbitration  
51 came from the green party. Werner Wölfle proposed Heiner Geisler and Mappus then agreed to  
52 that when he realized that the resistance and the anger became bigger and bigger."

53  
54 Q 1.7.

55 See above.

56

57 Q 2.1.

58 00:30:55-0

59 "I think it is not bad at all if citizens are represented through institutions or associations or if they  
60 send independent spokesman. (...) And if I want to have all citizens to participate I must conduct  
61 a referendum in the end"

62

63 Q 2.2.

64 00:34:27-3

65 "I do not question the representative democracy". But there must be changes for participation. "I  
66 want to move on from general participation (dt. Beteiligung) towards participation in the decision  
67 process (dt. Mitbestimmung) and I want move on from information overload to transparency".

68

69 Q 2.3.

70 No, currently there is not enough space to take part in the decision making. It should be as  
71 described above.

72

73 Q 2.4.

74 00:35:35-9

75 Within the frame of juristically defined questions and ways of participation the BUND has a  
76 voice and is heard. But not in terms of if a project is reasonable in general or not.

77

78 Q 2.6.

79 00:38:59-9

80 "First of all the citizens have all rights to articulate their opposition/resistance - if it is done  
81 peacefully. And also if a parliament has made its decision it doesn't mean that citizens must  
82 accept the decision without questioning it. I think representative democracy does not mean that a  
83 citizens passes on its responsibilities for what's going on when he or she places the tick on the  
84 voting paper."

85

86 Q 2.7.

87 One discourse in relation to S21 covers a distinctive understanding of modernity and future in the  
88 sense of strengthening of the business location. "Ultramodern train station and ultramodern  
89 trains".

90 "That discourse struggles with a different understanding of modernity. A modern train station  
91 must be aligned with costs, cost-benefit ration, what is the level of environmental impacts and  
92 what is the impact on urban development".

93

94 Q 2.8.

95 00:44:52-1

96 "From the side of the planning and the municipality parliament the big challenge is to allow, to

97 accept participation. In Germany we must learn that citizen participation is not a defeat and not a  
98 limitation of representative democracy, no lose of power, but rather a ... it is connected with  
99 assurance and affirmation of power when I use it constructively. And with that in Germany we  
100 have a problem. We heavily internalized the thinking of to hand over the individual participation  
101 at the voting box. (...) In the past municipality parliaments felt threatened because they say we  
102 decide in the end"

103

104 Q 3.1

105 00:04:22-0

106 "From my point of view the arbitration did consist out of two main components: One was to  
107 finally put the facts on the table. And the second was to show the public, the politicians, the  
108 economy that citizens, through their representatives, through their experts, are able to fully  
109 understand such a difficult and complex project like Stuttgart 21 and to take opposite positions  
110 and develop their own suggestions. For me that was a goal as from the beginning and later it  
111 turned out that we could reach this goals; all this has initiated the discussions around more  
112 participation. And I think we have been at the mercy of that, that this would work fine."

113 00:05:22-8

114 Some had the hope that the arbitration would turn out S21 can not be constructed. "As from the  
115 beginning I thought this is an illusion because of the existing contracts and the late point of time  
116 in the process I knew that would not turn out. For me the long-term goal was important: To  
117 initiate a development, a movement, political action towards more citizens participation and  
118 direct democracy. That was a very crucial aspect."

119

120 "The arbitration has shown that citizens are capable to understand complex issues".

121

122 Q 3.5.

123 "The politicians can learn from S21 that citizens want to be included in the decision processes  
124 within the new modern society.

1 **Interview summary Willy**  
2 **Question coding based on questionnaire "Specific questions for citizens"**  
3  
4 Q 1.1.  
5 He is not a leading activist, rather mainly active at FaceBook. Sometimes he meets with his  
6 FaceBook friends at demonstrations.  
7  
8 Q 2.1.  
9 00:03:19-8  
10 Participation means for me "to spend time and to tell my opinion and to convince people and to  
11 make people to do something and to make people think and it means to take risks (...) its fighting  
12 for your opinion".  
13 "Now I need to win. Besides the facts, now it the idea: I need to win this war."  
14 "Taking part in the elections, in the campaigns, has been a part of participation also"  
15  
16 Q 2.2.  
17 00:06:50-4  
18 "I like representative democracy, we are not opposing it (...) but it's not enough anymore (...) the  
19 world is more complicated." We need politicians/representatives to discuss all the issues and  
20 meet decisions in lieu of the citizens, but "people have to be allowed to do things besides waiting  
21 and looking what the politicians are doing".  
22 He wants to see lower hurdles to conduct a referendum. And he wants the possibility to conduct  
23 referendums on federal level.  
24 "Nothing against representation, but the possibility to engage ourselves"  
25  
26 Q 2.3.  
27 00:10:33-2  
28 "Well, in theory it does. Not in reality. (...) If the politicians were ideal politicians and if the  
29 system would be an ideal system it might be enough, but it's not in reality". Politicians and party  
30 are following its own interests and so they are undermining the system.  
31  
32 Q 2.4.  
33 00:11:21-7  
34 "No, I don't think so. We are on the street in masses, thousands and thousands of people over two  
35 years now. (...) And they are still going on building the station. (...) So its...no, we are not heard."  
36 "The politicians have to be forced to listen to us"  
37  
38 Q 2.5.  
39 00:13:23-6  
40 "Participation could make representative democracy stronger, it could stabilize it"  
41 My wish is that people here continue to be interested in politics, to engage themselves, "to take  
42 interest, to ask questions, to no trust politicians, to not trust the green politicians, too. You have to  
43 look on their fingers."  
44 He thinks with an easier opportunity to conduct referendums people would stay engaged into  
45 politics, would be more interested.  
46  
47 Q 2.6.  
48 00:20:03-6

49 "The law is a deadline for me, but the boarders are fluent"  
50 "I wouldn't ever use any force against people and I wouldn't ever destroy anything. (...) I think it's  
51 my right to break the rule on a minor/lower level. So it's sort of civil disobedience"  
52  
53 Q 2.9.  
54 00:23:29-0  
55 Benefits: "I met a lot of people I would never ever have met in my normal life. (...) And I have  
56 lots of fun of with them. (...) You are learning a lot of things (...) which might help you later in  
57 other private contexts."  
58 Challenges: He had to make a decision to reduce his engagement in another political topic, which  
59 he is fighting for on a voluntary basis in parallel. "So the challenge is how to spend your time"  
60  
61 Q 3.1.  
62 00:30:01-8  
63 "It was an opportunity for the resistance to present our ideas and reasons to the people all over the  
64 country".  
65 But he is not satisfied by the arbitration statement.  
66  
67 Q 3.4.  
68 00:44:50-0  
69 "We will not allow it to happen. There is only one change for S21 to be built: if the people of the  
70 country are deciding to build it. We will not accept any quorum which is not achievable."  
71 "I think the level of violence would increase if they continue construction work without asking  
72 the people. (...) I would go a step further (...) standing in the front row. (...) I might risk my job  
73 then because in my professional work I have to deal with the police every day."  
74  
75 "There is, inside me, something I want to win". After everything that has happened so far,  
76 thousands of people on the street, the 'black Thursday', I will not allow them to continue. "If you  
77 invest lots of work/efforts you wan to win".  
78  
79 Q 3.5.  
80 00:51:31-2  
81 "More participation!"  
82 I learned the public press has its own interests and they are close to the government. "So I  
83 learned: don't trust your local newspaper. (...) And I learned: don't trust your local politician  
84 because he is not your man only, he is the man of the industry. He does have interests of it's own,  
85 he may be does want a job afterwards over there."  
86  
87

1 **Interview summary Anna**  
2 **Question coding based on questionnaire "Specific questions for citizens"**  
3  
4 Q 1.1.  
5 Since beginning of April 2010 she has nearly took part in all Monday demonstrations  
6  
7 Q 2.1.  
8 00:03:09-3  
9 Participation for her means to follow the news. "First we need to know something before we say:  
10 okay we go on the street".  
11  
12 Q 2.2.  
13 00:04:38-6  
14 In representative democracy politicians lie sometimes - see example of minister Guttenberg.  
15 "Representative democracy is what we have now, when this green party does really listen to what  
16 we want. And not like the Mappus before, they didn't mind what the citizens here want. (...)  
17 Representative means to look and listen what the voters, the citizens, what they want."  
18  
19 Q 2.3.  
20 00:07:13-8  
21 "Yes, I think so. We can go on the street, we can demonstrate, we can go to the city hall and can  
22 listen what they plan for example."  
23  
24 Q 2.4.  
25 00:08:11-9  
26 "They did not listen to us. Before they did not. (...) Now they have to, now they have the bill for  
27 not to listen what the people want". The pressure from the people on the street got bigger and  
28 bigger and therefore now they have to listen to the people.  
29 "Look the people in Egypt copy us now".  
30  
31 Q 2.5.  
32 00:11:47-1  
33 "Apart from demonstrations I participated in many surveys related to the theme of S21. (...) I  
34 communicate with other people, I write what I think (on the website "bei-abriss-aufstand.de").  
35 (...) To talk to the people. (...) Here never before you had so many people talking to each other,  
36 old people, young people, business people, punks. Suddenly they are all talking."  
37  
38 Q 2.6.  
39 00:15:21-0  
40 She took part in the "Stadtblockade". When the demolition of the old train station begun people  
41 went to every crossing in order to stop the whole traffic. "In this moment I thought: yes I have  
42 this right. May be I don't have it, but I took it. (...) And then, of course, I took part in all this sit-in  
43 protests."  
44 She even took part in a training session in order to learn how to conduct a sit-in protests.  
45  
46 Q 2.7.  
47 00:19:34-5  
48 "Yes, I did. (...) I stayed many nights in the park."

49  
50 Q 2.9.  
51 00:21:16-2  
52 During the Monday demonstrations we learned: "They lie to us, how can they do this?"  
53  
54 Q 3.1.  
55 00:23:19-8  
56 "My hope was really that this Geisler, that he would be objective. But I don't think, he was not  
57 objective. For me he was still a CDU man. (...) In the end he voted for his party and not for us the  
58 people here."  
59  
60 Q 3.4.  
61 00:27:36-5  
62 "I hope it will die (...) I hope that this 'Stresstest' will show that the thing doesn't work".  
63 "They first build a stations and then think about the plan (...) you don't build a house and then  
64 think about what you want to do in this house."  
65  
66 Q 3.5.  
67 00:30:27-7  
68 In the future they must ask the citizens before. "A party who beats its own citizens - like it has  
69 happened here - has no future". I want to know the purpose of such infrastructure projects  
70 upfront. Is it for the sake of people or just to make money.  
71  
72

1 **Interview summary Wim, director of the state agency for political education in Baden-**  
2 **Württemberg**  
3 **Question coding based on questionnaire "Specific questions for participants of arbitration"**  
4  
5  
6 Q 1.1.  
7 00:00:27-2  
8 "No, of course not in that case. The participants certainly did not represent all social groups and  
9 all opinions within the society because there were only 100% supporters or 100% non  
10 supporters." So the people who wanted to see a compromise or have not yet made up their mind  
11 were not represented.  
12  
13 Q 1.3.  
14 00:05:38-0  
15 "Well, that's my personal opinion: No it is not. We do not have enough participation of the  
16 citizens right at the beginning, the start of large projects like federal high ways, big train stations,  
17 thinks like that. And they simply take to long from planning being build. It's some sort of...(little  
18 smile)...political art to find an exit out of that situation. You know. That actually widens or  
19 broadens the citizens perspectives in terms of participation and shortens down the process from  
20 first plan to actually building something big. We actually need both: Shorter procedures and more  
21 participation at the beginning. We do not have that at the moment."  
22  
23 With regards to the question how the procedures should be in future Wim explained that there is  
24 already a broad range of citizen participation in local planning, "to keep people busy...(little  
25 smile), to have people involved I should have said".  
26  
27 The question regarding what participation means, what level of power people should be giver,  
28 really to have a vote in such decisions like S21 Wim said:  
29 00:09:59-4  
30 "That's hard to tell. You know I think there are really broad ranges for everybody to participate in  
31 politics, in decision making - you just have to make use of it. The problem seems to me is that too  
32 many people are not making use of what is already there. Take for instance the membership in  
33 political parties where you can take influence in, for instance, nominating political personal for  
34 running for all kind of parliaments. And thinks like that. It's, sort of...not so popular to do that  
35 anymore. But it is important none the less. There is no democracy without political parties. On  
36 the other hand I would say: Why shouldn't we do what the Swiss can do."  
37 There is the possibility of having referendums in Germany, "but nobody ever make use of it.  
38 Well, there were some nice tries, but they weren't successful. But the hurdles are very high.  
39 And...well I could imagine, this is my personal opinion of course, that it would be a good idea to  
40 lower the quorums to actually have some sort of referendums."  
41 "On the other hand I would say, well, if there is a referendum it should be a referendum by the  
42 people, for the people. And should at least, well, have as many people as possible, taking part in  
43 the referendum. I would like to see the quorum pretty up high. Because I don't think that a  
44 referendum with a turnout of 25% is a referendum."  
45  
46 Q 1.5.  
47 00:14:39-6  
48 "Well...I have to give you a...formal answer first: The legitimation of S21 is a 100%. (...) Every



49 branch of government, parliaments, state, local, federal level, all courts...that's a 100%  
50 legitimation under the law as we have it. Probably it's not seen as valid or sufficient legitimation  
51 by some, that the processes were manipulated and all kinds of things. I don't believe in that really.  
52 And this was not the intention of the arbitration, you know, to sort of...increase the legitimation  
53 of S21 because the outcome of the arbitration was open. (...) There was no change to turn back  
54 the right of the Bundesbahn to build that station here."  
55 Stefan: "You said it was open as from the beginning"  
56 Wim: "But there was no possibility to turn back the clock. And to turn back the processes. The  
57 processes have to be considered as legitimate (...) How could you possibly do that?"  
58 00:21:14-0  
59 In the German federal constitution (not in Baden-Württemberg constitution) there is a paragraph  
60 in one of the first 20 articles. It says: The sovereignty of people is applied in formal elections  
61 AND polls (dt. die Volkssouveränität wird in Wahlen und Abstimmungen durchgeführt). But we  
62 have only elections at federal level so far. Of course we could say let's have a referendum whether  
63 to get out of nuclear energy."  
64  
65 Q 1.6.  
66 00:01:34-0  
67 "We had a different situation. You know arbitration is not something that, in this case, stood at  
68 the beginning of the process. We were to the very closed end of the process. (...) We had a  
69 situation in Stuttgart where we had two strong camps of supporters and adversaries of the project."  
70 After the police action on Sep 30, "nobody had an interest in further escalation of the conflict,  
71 nobody. Everybody had to be interested in some sort of deescalation. And I think the police  
72 action taken to the demonstration, which...well...sort of a...well...(little smile)...bad outcome,  
73 okay, that results, showed everybody that it's time to talk."  
74  
75 Q 1.7.  
76 00:25:33-3  
77 "The arbitration was not about...not in the first...place...about participation. Certainly not. In the  
78 first place it was about information...giving people in our state the possibility to make up their  
79 mind on S21 by having the adversaries and supporters of the project at one table, exchanging  
80 their views on the project, on the facts...with respect to the project. (...) And it was sort of  
81 participation in terms of...you know to...you know, give people the feeling that there is  
82 information available, that there are controversial opinions which helps people, I think, to make  
83 up their own mind. (...) And I think that was the major purpose. (...) That goal has been reached."  
84  
85 It is everybody's duty to speak in an understandable language so that people can understand what  
86 is said and therefore trust the experts - including DB.  
87  
88 Q 2.1.  
89 00:35:26-3  
90 With regards to a referendum: "You have to accept what the majority wants to be done". When  
91 you take part in a referendum but you are not on the winning side, you took part in the decision.  
92  
93 Q 2.2.  
94 See above. Everybody is allowed to vote and can be elected.  
95 00:47:21-4  
96 "I don't think you can run an 82 billion high-tech industrial...I don't know how many billion gross

97 national product economy and country by leaving all the decisions to the people. (...) So there has  
98 to be always some form of representation. So far the democracy, the way we have it now, has  
99 worked to the advantage of us all, on the whole. Which is not to say that it could not  
100 be...well...supplemented, improved,...making more use of referendums and things like that."

101  
102 Q 2.3.

103 "Definitely (...) There are endless ways to express your voice, they have to be used. (...) If you  
104 wana be involved you can get involved".

105  
106 Q 2.4.

107 00:50:23-2

108 "That's hard to tell". Wim thinks there is no better way than having a representative democracy  
109 with parties that transform the political opinions of people to a political decisions.

110  
111 Q 2.5.

112 00:37:51-4

113 To have more referendums would be okay. But there are many many other opportunities for  
114 people to take part in political kind of decisions (including partens' associations at schools up to  
115 parliamentary spheres). To do some kind of voluntary work means "to support a democracy from  
116 its roots". It is a problem if there is no "cultural tradition of taking part in public affairs".

117 If people want to take part in the big politics, want to be heard, they should become members in  
118 political parties or become politicians.

119 00:43:34-3

120 "I think there is a difference between being asked or being heard and being able to...to...to make a  
121 decision. There is a lot of being heard and being asked even now. There are hearings, you know,  
122 all kinds of consultations processes. Within the parliament, outside the parliaments. (...) I think  
123 when it really comes down to...you know...to open up for more referendums or not, I think that's  
124 the major questions". And if you want to be part of the decision making, you can become a  
125 politician.

126  
127 Q 2.6.

128 00:54:53-8

129 "It simply takes too long in Germany to build such a thing like S21, but that's partly because  
130 people have their rights to intervene. Very strong rights actually when it comes to their own  
131 personal concerns. (...) We had about 11000 objections at the courts that were made against S21.  
132 (...) And as far as I know all the objections were turn down. So there is participation there as well.  
133 (...) But that also lengthens a process from planning to realizing. I think if we could organized  
134 better ways to have people participate at the very beginning - they should participate there - it  
135 might be easier to shorten the process from planning to realizing a big project. It's not easy."

136  
137 01:05:22-5

138 "The right to demonstrate is one of our basic human right in our constitution"

139  
140 Q 2.7.

141 "There are people for and people against it"

142  
143 Q 2.8.

144 Watching the arbitration on TV is one way of participation.

145 01:01:20-0

146 "We can not - as state, as parliament, as parties, as educational institutions - we can not grasp the  
147 people, put him on a chair and tell him: Hey, you have to participate here! They have to do it by  
148 their own...it's their thing to participate or not. We can provide the instruments, we can provide  
149 the...educational skills, that might be helpful, and things like that. But it all comes down to the  
150 questions: do I want to participate or not. It's your personal decision. We can make it as easy as  
151 possible. (...) But we can not condemn or force people to take part. (...) But it's all, basically it's  
152 voluntary. It can not be anything else other than voluntary. If it's not voluntary, what's the use of  
153 it."

154

155 Q 3.1.

156 "A way better level of information in the society. A certainly better climate in terms of  
157 communication between the supporters and the non-supporters of the projects. (...) An arbitration  
158 statement that was...welcomed by majority of the people. A new interest in processes of  
159 democracy with high transparency. (...) A new process that can be used with respect to conflicts  
160 that are at a comparable stage. (...) Nobody expected a compromise to come out, what Heiner  
161 Geisler actually did. He said, well, the DB has a right to build it's station."

162

163 00:23:11-2

164 "It was clear from the very beginning that the arbitration could not...reversed decisions that were  
165 made in the past. (...) A second point is Mr. Geisler could have a arbitration statement ..., it was  
166 totally clear from the very beginning that there was no obligation, no law-like influence such an  
167 arbitration statement could have. It's a statement, nothing else actually. Well it may be has...can  
168 put...well has some moral...political...momentum, may be. (...) It would have been actually  
169 completely foolish to...to...to expect something that could even come close to...you  
170 know...some...some, well, obligations. Obligations for others taking part in the process or not."

171

172 Q 3.5.

173 01:13:10-6

174 "Inform as early as possible. Give people an ear and may be a say at an early stage of planning a  
175 large project. Do not have one company that makes sort of sole decisions about how a train  
176 station has to be built. (...) Give the people an alternative. (...) If you pay public area, involve the  
177 people. Do not make plans by architects, highly qualified what ever, that in the end it seems to  
178 people, well, that is what is going to be there. I wasn't asked, there was no chance for me to take  
179 part in. (...) Try to shorten the planning process. (...) The best thing is to have a referendum in the  
180 beginning, because it's a clear message: yes or no. Well you can have that in a parliament, too.  
181 (...) It has the same legitimation in a democracy like ours. Question is: Will it be excepted in the  
182 length of the whole process. And (...) keep people informed and up-to-date as good as possible.  
183 Transparency."

1 **Interview summary Hans**  
2 **Question coding based on questionnaire "Specific questions for participants of arbitration"**  
3  
4 Q 1.1.  
5 That was not the goal  
6  
7 Q 1.2  
8 00:02:58-0  
9 "We were under pressure since we had to prove that we have the better arguments - all that in  
10 public sphere"  
11 "For all the many people that have followed the arbitration we were the those they identified  
12 themselves with. That means we were fighting for them."  
13  
14 Q 1.3.  
15 00:05:58-2  
16 "No, S21 is the best example to show that it is not enough. Instead in-between we must have  
17 elements of direct democracy - same as in Switzerland."  
18 "The current applicable circumstances in Ba-Wü for referendums make it actually impossible to  
19 apply a referendum."  
20 00:10:16-1  
21 "The politicians always say: we have to include the people. I always refer to that upside down:  
22 we have to include the politicians."  
23 "During the last three years the citizens of Stuttgart became really self-confident and claim to  
24 interfere in political issues (...) and that must be preserved. Now that must be constitutionalized  
25 in a way so that it turns into permanent institution. We are dream about a "Stuttgart" democracy  
26 model." (like in Switzerland with so called 'Landgemeinden', regular public meetings were  
27 political issues are discussed and also decided)  
28  
29 Q 1. 6.  
30 00:00:56-6  
31 "The arbitration was the result out of a failure of the state government". Since there were no  
32 pictures of violent demonstrators, but pictures of violent policemen after Sep 30 the state  
33 government saw it salvation in the arbitration.  
34  
35 Q 2.1.  
36 00:18:46-8  
37 "To involve people must be fascinating for them, they must be able to gain a little bit of  
38 satisfaction, it must be fun. And some must ensure that the official politicians don't take their  
39 hands in it/do not interfere too much. They must be kept outside of the process a little bit."  
40  
41 Q 2.2.  
42 00:13:38-9  
43 "We gained the experience - you can make this experience everywhere - that politics becomes  
44 independent/gets its own dynamics, that it lifts off, that it looses the contact with the people. And  
45 that contact do we want to make or create again after 20 years."  
46 00:38:55-2  
47 "I always have been a politically engaged person, but I don't understand myself to belong to the  
48 group of politicians. I have no networks or alliances. (...) We (as party SÖS) have no members or

49 directory boards or something else. We work without all this. (...) Biweekly we meet here at the  
50 city hall, always between twenty and thirty people, and develop our politics."

51 "I was member of many different parties (...) I know how it works, how they gain momentum.  
52 Suddenly its all about employment, about working opportunities, about board of directors' seats,  
53 about all that. And from all that we try to disengage ourselves."

54  
55 Q 2.6.

56 00:23:03-1

57 "I would be satisfied if citizens have the right to be taken seriously and if they are taken  
58 seriously. (...) Some say 'if you are on the side of the citizens for sure you are always on the false  
59 side'. But I have really learned in the past: the people are ten-times more brainy. But a crucial  
60 moment is the information, that is available for the people. And for that we have worked over 8-  
61 10 years in the S21 case, that the people know what it is all about."

62  
63 Q 2.7.

64 00:26:14-9

65 One of the discuses is higher, wider, faster as a definition of development. Apart from that there  
66 is the discourse saying: we only do what is necessary.

67 More train/public transport specific: a) Firstly find out what is the demand; secondly define what  
68 transportation facilities are required for that; and thirdly do I need to construct something new for  
69 that

70 versus b) First we construct something and they we think about what can I do with it.

71  
72 Q 3.1.

73 00:31:04-9

74 One result is the arbitration statement. But the package "Stuttgart 21 plus" proposed by Heiner  
75 Geisler is an outcome of the pressure of the state government that clearly stated: we don't want to  
76 conduct a referendum about S21. "In the beginning Mr. Geisler was rather on our side, but during  
77 the seventh arbitration session - you might have noticed that - he has changed."

78 "Another outcome was that the pressure from the street decreased during the arbitration."

79 "I already have said how important knowledge is for direct democracy; for democracy knowledge  
80 is essential."

81  
82 Q 3.3

83 00:34:56-7

84 "In the region of Stuttgart but also in Ba-Wü this project really became a synonym for absurd  
85 planning, for sticking/inflexibility of politics, and also an allegory for interweavement/linkage of  
86 economy, politics and also research."

87  
88 Q 3.4.

89 00:37:37-4

90 "S21 will not be constructed, I am very sure about that. (...) And the people will play another role  
91 in future large-scale projects."

1 **Interview summary Otto**  
2 **Question coding based on questionnaire "Specific questions for citizens"**  
3  
4 Q 1.1.  
5 00:00:31-1  
6 He is member of the interest group "Citizen for S21". They organize the info desks at  
7 Königstrasse as well as demonstrations. He is member of a working group concerned with the  
8 capacity of the train network.  
9 "In our association we try to translate it (the capacity of the new train station) into words the  
10 people can understand"  
11  
12 Q 2.1.  
13 00:02:31-2  
14 People must be informed by DB and politicians and Project leaders (DB) must be aware of the  
15 concerns of the people. Participation means to him to help to organize a "mutual conversation and  
16 understanding of each other".  
17  
18 Q 2.2.  
19 00:03:15-4  
20 "We have elections and we vote for those who represent us. And (little smile) we have to trust  
21 them in the decisions what they do"  
22  
23 Q 2.3.  
24 00:03:49-8  
25 "My self, of course not. (...) It's not possible, if a town like Stuttgart with 600 000 people. All  
26 those people, they are so different they have so many different interests. And it's not possible and  
27 it's not...effective if everyone knows what...everyone thinks"  
28  
29 Q 2.4.  
30 00:04:39-5  
31 "Yes, because I work in this associations. And everyone who gives its own personal capacity, its  
32 own persona power for associations its a way were you can be heard from the decision makers.  
33  
34 Q 2.5.  
35 00:05:38-7  
36 "Its free for everyone to join a party. And that's the way everyone can participate in political  
37 decision making."  
38 Stefan: Are you member of a party?  
39 Otto: "No, I'm not."  
40  
41 Q 2.6.  
42 00:06:17-0  
43 "Well, it's exactly defined in German law." Within the plan approval process (dt.  
44 "Planfeststellungsverfahren") everyone can come forward with his or her worries and concerns.  
45 "Yes, thats the process".  
46 Stefan: But then, what went wrong? Yesterday several thousand people were demonstration  
47 Otto: Other associations gave wrong information, false information to the people  
48

49 Q 2.7.  
50 00:08:22-2  
51 He did not make use of the right to take part in the plan approval process. But now he makes use  
52 of other rights to participate in the S21 case. He is involved in the planning process of the  
53 Rosenstein district. There people now have a say to really take part in the planning, not only  
54 oppose against predefined plans. Apart from that he is still involved in the "Citizen for S21"  
55 association.  
56  
57 Q 2.9.  
58 00:09:43-8  
59 Challenges: "To keep ongoing a true and honest communication between politicians, DB and  
60 citizens, people who are for and against the project. (...) I think that is a really really big challenge  
61 because no one wants to lose his face."  
62 Benefits: Politicians has learned to communicate big projects in a better way to people.  
63  
64 Q 3.1  
65 00:11:39-3  
66 Participants of the arbitration did not really listen to the arguments of the other side. And in terms  
67 of the citizens: "For the most people, especially here in Stuttgart, its' preconceived opinions have  
68 been tightened even more - against and for the project".  
69 He thinks it would have been better if "the specialists" in the arbitration would have talked  
70 without publicity (TV and radio). "No one wanted to lose his face" and therefore "it was not  
71 sufficient".  
72  
73 Q 3.4.  
74 00:16:36-0  
75 "I'm sure it will be built (...) It's not a question if they agree - the new government - because the  
76 DB has a right to built, there contracts have to be fulfilled. There is a latin word, it's 'Pacta sunt  
77 servanda' (en. "contracts must be fulfilled", in public and private law). And it is not an issue who  
78 forms the government at the moment."  
79  
80 Q 3.5.  
81 00:17:44-2  
82 "I think it's important that the people are informed in a really early point of time". Already when  
83 politicians think about a new infrastructure project the citizens must be motivated to inform  
84 themselves and make up their mind.  
85 "It has not been communicated what is the whole benefit" of this project  
86  
87 Katya: What makes people who are against S21 to go to demonstrations?  
88 Otto: "For very most of them it is something like frustration about the politicians. Because they  
89 do not feel informed, they do not feel heard by the government. And that's the most important  
90 point. And yes, I can share that point of view."  
91  
92

1 **Interview summary Max**  
2 **Question coding based on questionnaire "Specific questions for citizens"**  
3  
4 Q 1.1.  
5 00:00:26-3  
6 He is in favor of S21, but is not personally engaged in the topic  
7  
8 Q 2.1.  
9 00:00:52-3  
10 "Yes I think that's very good. The people should be more involved with  
11 everything. (...) In terms of bigger construction projects people should have the  
12 possibility to express if they are in favor of it or not". The politicians should  
13 consult the citizens prior to make a decision.  
14  
15 Q 2.2.  
16 00:02:20-5  
17 Representative democracy means for him that the politicians meet the decisions  
18 for the people. But on the other hand side he is also in favor of having more  
19 citizens participation. "For example to conduct surveys prior to the political  
20 decision or also to conduct referendums."  
21  
22 Q 2.3.  
23 00:03:11-5  
24 "Yes"  
25  
26 Q 2.4.  
27 00:03:27-4  
28 "A little bit. But the people who are demonstrating now should have done this  
29 much earlier. The project is under discussion since 15 years."  
30  
31 Q 2.5.  
32 00:04:50-1  
33 "If politicians meet all the decision the normal people have nothing to decide".  
34 "We have a democracy and we do not decide much, but we elect the politicians  
35 and some decisions...I think its much worse in smaller cities". Here in Stuttgart  
36 they organize big demonstrations and it's possible to do that here in Stuttgart. I  
37 think that's a good way of participation within representative democracy. But in  
38 a small town that is not possible. They would laugh about you if you would try  
39 to initiate something like that.  
40 "People in smaller towns sometimes do not realize it early enough in order to  
41 oppose against it. And as a sudden the project is implemented"  
42  
43 Q 2.6.  
44 00:07:20-4  
45 "There is no other option for citizens than to go out to the street and  
46 demonstrate"



47  
48 Q 2.9.  
49 00:08:13-5  
50 Challenge: "The challenge is to initiate something so that the citizens are  
51 allowed to make the decision in the S21 case"  
52 Benefits:  
53  
54 Q 3.1.  
55 00:10:03-2  
56 "I think it was good that the citizens has been informed about all the advantages  
57 and disadvantages, that the citizens are really aware about what's under  
58 discussion"  
59  
60 Q 3.3.  
61 00:10:47-8  
62 "A change was necessary so that the politicians realized they can not simply  
63 continue as they are doing right now"  
64  
65 Q 3.4.  
66 00:11:21-2  
67 "I think they will conduct a referendum but at the same time they will do what  
68 they always planned to do (to construct S21).  
69  
70 Q 3.5.  
71 00:12:12-5  
72 "That they have to start the thinking process earlier"  
73 "But now they should simply execute the S21 process without listening to the  
74 people"

1 **Interview summary Ben**  
2 **Question coding based on questionnaire "Specific questions for citizens"**  
3  
4 Q 1.1.  
5 00:00:28-3  
6 He started a Facebook group when he saw the increasing amount of people demonstrating against  
7 S21. Since December 2010 he takes part in demonstrations and meetings with his Facebook  
8 fellows.  
9  
10 Q 2.1.  
11 00:04:05-1  
12 He seems to link the term 'participation' with a referendum the resistance tried to conduct two  
13 years ago.  
14  
15 Q 2.2.  
16 00:07:40-2  
17 "To have the right to elect or be elected. (...) To create new laws is the job of the parliament,  
18 that's not my job."  
19  
20 Q 2.3.  
21 Yes, he thinks so  
22  
23 Q 2.4.  
24 00:09:22-5  
25 He is revering to the fact that he used to be member of a municipal council. But in Waiblingen,  
26 his new home town, he did not receive enough votes to be elected.  
27  
28 Q 2.5.  
29 00:13:43-7  
30 In Baden-Württemberg it is not very likely that referendums are started successfully. He himself  
31 was the initiator of a local referendum in Waiblingen. But because of the high quorum the  
32 referendum was not successful. "That is my problem with the referendum here in Baden-  
33 Württemberg: the quorum is too high."  
34 In general he is in favor of referendums, but not in the S21 case. "In this Stuttgart 21 project I am  
35 not in favor of a referendum". At the same time he agrees to lower the hurdles for a referendum  
36 in Baden-Württemberg and Germany.  
37  
38 Q 2.6.  
39 00:11:25-6  
40 He thinks the people against S21 had the chance to raise their voice. The project was  
41 communicated transparently as from the beginning of the planning process. "I think the people  
42 did have the chance to get involved in the S21 project very early, but the people didn't take the  
43 chance." He did not engage himself "because I was not there at that moment". He lived in another  
44 state at that moment. "later I got engaged in the S21 case".  
45  
46 Q 2.9.  
47 00:20:30-8  
48 Benefit: If real participation would have taken place in S21 case in an early phase, it would have

49 been possible to cancel the project in a very early phase.  
50  
51 Q 3.1.  
52 00:21:22-6  
53 "It was a very good result because Mr. Geisler hit the central point: there is no alternative to this  
54 planning."  
55  
56 Q 3.4.  
57 00:26:11-1  
58 "I'm sure it will be built. (...) with or without a referendum"  
59  
60 Q 3.5.  
61 00:31:45-7  
62 "We have to involve the citizens early, very very early" and step by step. People need to know:  
63 what is the goal of the project, what does it cost.

### 9.3A3: Fence posters, brochure

#### *Fence poster “Lesson in democracy”*



Translation of the fence poster “Lesson in democracy”

The good arguments preponderate  
Stuttgart-Ulm Rail Project  
Lesson in democracy

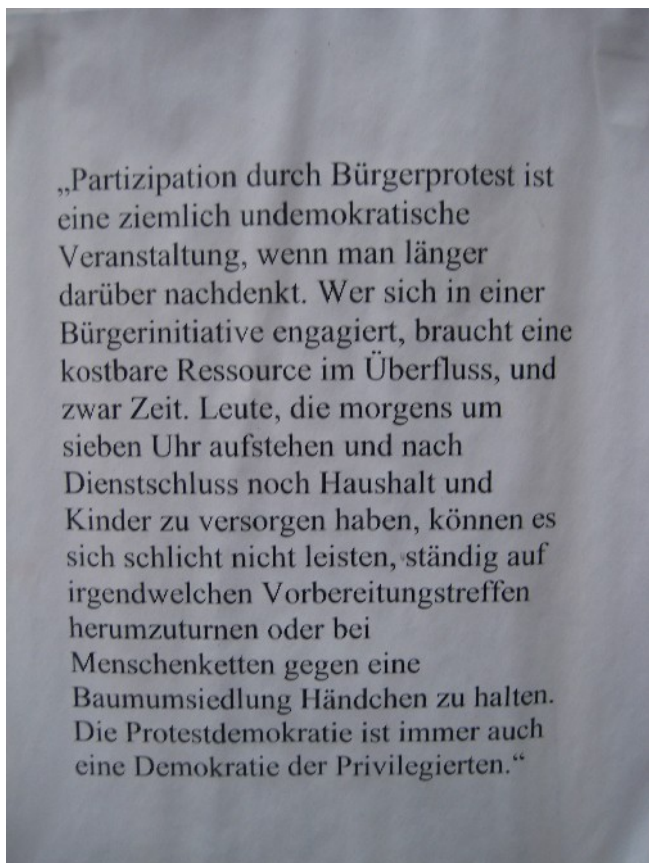
Fence poster: “*Shift in the shaft*”



Translation fence poster “Shift in the shaft”

Stefan Mappus pay attention carefully; on March 27, 2011 there is shift in the shaft

Fence poster: "Time resources for participation"



1 Translation of the fence poster "Time resources for participation"

2 Participation through civil protest is a fairly undemocratic event, if you think about it twice.

3 Those who are engaged in a citizens' initiative need one precious resource, which is time.

4 People who get up at seven o'clock and after end of work have to take care for household and

5 children, can simply not afford to go to association meetings or hold hands at people chains

6 against tree transplantation. The protest democracy is always a democracy of the privileged.

7 too.

## **Brochure: “Connecting people”**

1 Brochure: “Connecting People”

2 Page 1

3 CONNECTING PEOPLE

4 THE NEW TRANSPORT CONCEPT FOR STUTTGART AND THE SURROUNDING  
5 REGION

6 The good arguments preponderate  
7 Stuttgart-Ulm Rail Project

8 Page 2

9 Dear Reader,

10 Dr. Udo Andriof, Wolfgang Dietrich, we spent more than 15 years looking for a solution to  
11 link up Stuttgart and the surrounding region to the European highspeed transport network.  
12 During that time, Deutsche Bahn examined and investigated more than 60 alternatives. In the  
13 end, Stuttgart 21 proved to be the best possible solution.

14 Many people ask if the project is really necessary - the old station served its purpose  
15 satisfactorily in the past. The truth is that the terminus station at Stuttgart has reached the  
16 limits of its capacity and is no longer capable of meeting the rising demand for mobility in  
17 future. There are many business enterprises in this area which work on an interregional scale  
18 and are therefore dependent on good transport connections. Accordingly, it is essential to  
19 provide Stuttgart with a viable station for the future and to build the new line to Ulm in order  
20 to eliminate the severe bottleneck in the European high-speed network. Baden-Wuerttemberg  
21 will benefit in many respects from the Stuttgart-Ulm rail project. Over the next few years, this  
22 undertaking will provide positive impetus for the regional economy. The investments of  
23 approximately EUR 4.1 billion in Stuttgart 21, EUR 2.89 billion in the new-build line to Ulm  
24 and a further EUR 4 billion in urban development projects in the city of Stuttgart will not only  
25 safeguard existing Jobs, but also create more than 10.000 permanent new jobs, plus another  
26 7.000 jobs during the actual construction period.

27 The rail project will bring decisive improvements for the region: the entire Filder region,  
28 including the airport and trade fair centre will be linked up to the international rail network.  
29 Faster regional services will shorten journey times and make travel more convenient for the  
30 people in this region. As many people as possible shall switch from car to rail. The renovation  
31 of the rail mode and the station will provide Stuttgart with a unique opportunity: 100 hectares  
32 of land can be freed from railway tracks to execute innovative urban development projects on  
33 a prime city centre site. Furthermore, once these tracks disappear, the districts to the north and  
34 east can be integrated.

35 Stuttgart 21 = BETTER CONNECTIONS FOR THE REGION + EFFICIENT STATION  
36 +NEW SITES FOR HOUSING, WORKINGPLACES AND MORE GREENERY

37 The vacated sites will give the city the chance to create a new environment- and family-  
38 friendly district right next to Rosenstein park. Furthermore, Rosenstein and Schloßgarten  
39 parks will be enlarged by 20 hectares, which will also improve the urban climate. In the final  
40 analysis, Stuttgart 21 means more environment-friendly mobility, a better quality of life in the  
41 city centre and, last but not least, an economic stimulus programme for this region.

42 Let us think further than tomorrow, let us plan for the future of the next generations.

43 Dr. Udo Andriof, Wolfgang Dietrich  
44 Stuttgart-Ulm Rail Project Spokespersons

45 *Page 3*

46 Stuttgart-Ulm rail project will generate significant future potential for the export region of  
47 Baden-Württemberg. Reorganisation of Stuttgart rail node and construction of the new line to  
48 Ulm will pave the way for a link-up to the European high-speed rail network. Without this  
49 new-build line and the connection to the main European corridor from Paris to Bratislava and  
50 Budapest, Stuttgart would be left on the sidelines of the European transport network.

51 The reorganisation of Stuttgart rail node with a through station and a new rapid transit station  
52 at Mitternachtsstrasse will mean substantial improvements for regional transport. This will make  
53 travelling and commuting faster and more convenient as there will no longer be any need to  
54 change trains on many routes. The new Filder Tunnel will create a short and attractive long-  
55 distance and regional link from Stuttgart main station to the new railway station at the airport  
56 and the trade fair centre. The journey time will be reduced from 27 to just 8 minutes,  
57 providing the Filder region with prime connections to the regional network and the high-  
58 speed line.

59 *Page 4*

60 Stuttgart 21 will provide the capital city of Baden-Württemberg with a new and largely  
61 underground ring railway and three new stations. The central element is the new through  
62 station, which has been turned by 90 degrees and located at a lower level than the present  
63 station. The Bonatz building with the large hall, arcades and tower will continue to serve as  
64 the passenger building.

65 The present terminus station has only five access and departure tracks, so that the trains  
66 obstruct each other as they enter and leave the station. In the new through station, trains from  
67 both directions can enter and leave on a total of eight tracks, making the new solution far  
68 more efficient and flexible.

69 Barrier-free access and a passageway to the Bonatz building are further user-friendly features.  
70 As the side wings will no longer be required when the tracks have been relocated  
71 underground, the historic Bonatz building, with tower, hall and passenger building, will be  
72 accessible from all sides for the first time. The characteristic "light eyes" which admit  
73 daylight to the underground platform hall create a pleasant atmosphere both during the day  
74 and at night. The roof of the underground station will create a new plaza which links the city  
75 centre with the new districts and Schloßgarten park.

76 *Page 5*

77 Stuttgart 21 provides for the city the unique opportunity of executing innovative urban  
78 development projects on an area of around 100 hectares when most of the tracks run  
79 underground in future.

80 Stuttgart purchased the plots for the future Europa and Rosenstein districts from Deutsche  
81 Bahn at an early stage to ensure that new and environment-friendly urban districts with a  
82 good social balance could be developed independent of investor interests, for example by  
83 offering family-friendly funding programmes. 60 hectares of potential land designated for  
84 development have already been deleted from the land-use plan, so that valuable greenfield  
85 sites around the outskirts will remain undeveloped.

86 Mitternachtsstrasse station and the new U12 rapid transit line will provide the new Rosenstein  
87 district with excellent connections to local public transport. For the first time in 150 years,  
88 Rosenstein and Schloßgarten parks will be enlarged by 20 hectares and accessible from all  
89 sides. Furthermore, the northern and eastern parts of Stuttgart will be reunited.