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Participation in river restorations

or

How are environmental subjects formed?

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ABSTRACT

With the 2011 revision of the Water Conservation Act, the Swiss federation decided on the restoration of 4000 km of rivers in Switzerland in the next 80 years. This master thesis explores the linkages between the emergence of environmental subjects and participatory processes to examine the case of the river restoration project Thurauen in the Canton of Zurich. In this project the accent was put on a participatory accompaniment group to include the local population in the development of the revitalization project. The thesis draws on semi-structured and open-ended interviews with farmers, project leaders and moderators, as well as representatives of the community and the Federal office for the Environment in order to examine if and how environmental subjects have been formed. The data has been imported into NVivo and discursively analyzed. Findings suggest that one may indeed speak of the emergence of environmental subjects. The characteristic causes for the emergence defined by Arun Agrawal can be observed and thus the preconditions for the formation of such subjects are present. The three causes: new institutions, struggle over resources as well as changing calculations of self-interest and notions of the self could be identified and were discursively produced by the institutions and authorities executing the project. However, there were also forms of resistance to this subject formation and the paper examines the reasons and the nature of this resistance. The paper advances the understanding of subject formation and environmentality and implications for other river restoration projects in Switzerland can be discussed.

Keywords: restoration, environmentality, discourse analysis, participation

«Tell me, I forget. Show me, I remember. Involve me, I understand».[1]

1. INTRODUCTION

Rivers and lakes are probably the habitats in Switzerland that were most degraded over the course of the years. This is why the restoration of rivers and other surface waters has gained increased national importance. The 2011 revision of the Water Conservation Act by the Federal Office for the Environment (FOEN) foresees that in the next 80 years 4000 kilometers of rivers be revitalized. The restoration of a river intends to maintain or regain natural river courses with adequate space for the river to meander, adequate water supply as well as adequate water quality[2]. It is intended to bring the river back to its 'natural' / 'original' state prior to human disturbance. However, through restoration this happens more efficiently and quickly than 'nature' might do it by itself. Sally Eden goes one step further stating that the interference through restoration might create a mutually beneficial and harmonious relationship with nature. It can be described as a sort of 'healing technology': it heals the damage humans have done to nature and on the other side, keeps humans "in intimate contact with nature" (Eden, Tunstall et al. 2000).

The somewhat normative statement which forms the departure point of the research is the proclamation on the FOEN website: *river restorations and agriculture should not be played off against each other (Schwarz 2013).* To make this even clearer the FOEN conceded participation and the integration of all affected or relevant stakeholders a great importance by putting it in the directive and encouraging project managers to actively include participation in the process. The way the FOEN formulates the willingness to not have river restoration and agriculture be played off against each other already implies certain power relations. What gives an entity the power of playing off the two objects 'river restoration' and 'agriculture' against each other? This question directly leads to the second one: How can one avoid that two things are played off against each other? It is about power relations and it can be supposed that there is some power on an upper level which would be able to play 'river restoration' against 'agriculture'. Power is thus always relational and the most powerful actor is able to exploit the power for his benefit. More specifically, the FOEN or any other institution in charge has the responsibility to make sure that the two objects don't clash and at the same time has the power to influence the

[1] Chinese saying which also makes the introduction to the guidelines of the Federal Office for the Environment for participative planning.
[2] FOEN (2011). "Renaturierung der Gewässer." Retrieved 10.12.2014, from http://www.bafu.admin.ch/gewaesserschutz/04856/index.html?lang=de.

relationship between the two. It is this underlying – or in some respect quite obvious – power constellation which makes it possible to link it to Arun Agrawal's idea of the 'making of environmental subjects'. Agrawal defines 'environmental subjects' as 'people who have come to think and act in new ways in relation to the environment'.

The aim of my research is thus to analyze how 'environmental subjects' are formed in the context of participatory project planning for river restoration. I intend to examine the roles institutions and other actors play in creating new forms of identity and a concern for the environment. This is what Arun Agrawal refers to as *disciplinary environmentality (Agrawal 2005)*.

The topic of formation of subjects in the context of participatory planning could be particularly interesting in pointing out its limitations and in analyzing whether the possible change in perception is rather due to the transparent approach itself or if it is in fact awakening a concern for the environment which didn't exist in that form before. So in the context of river restorations, agriculture or actors linked to agriculture (or in broader terms, any individual/entity receiving induced changes of his life / surrounding due to river restoration) are being 'environmentalized' or turned into 'environmental subjects'. **It will be the objective of this research to identify the instruments or strategies employed to achieve this 'environmentalization', be it in the form of 'environmental policy', participatory practices or any other action during the river restoration process**. The terms, definition of involved actors and subjects, as well as the processes for the 'making of environmental subjects' are deliberately described very broadly in order to avoid a premature framing of my objects of research. The methodology part will explain this more in detail.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Participatory environmental planning is a trend which gained more and more importance in recent years all over the world. The Swiss Federal Office for the Environment put it in the official guidelines for river restorations in Switzerland and is thus creating a strong link between participative processes and river restorations – a link that has been acknowledged and discussed by a number of authors. Ejderyan considers that one could say that the restoration policies give simultaneously more space to nature but also society letting a bigger number of actors participate in the decision making process (Ejderyan 2009). This inclusion of concerned actors marks the transition from an integral flood protection to an integrated flood protection which means that the technocratic approach mainly based on expert knowledge successively gives way to a decision making moment that includes diverging social interests in a transparent manner. This change in philosophy in the topic of flood protection took place in Switzerland progressively in the 1980ies (Zaugg 2003, Zaugg Stern 2006). From that moment onwards, the framing of problems and the finding of solutions was not anymore exclusively the task of scientists and other qualified experts. Participation was introduced to test and contest the framing led by the experts (Tsouvalis and Waterton 2012).

Zaugg conducted a comprehensive research on the first two parts of the Thur river restoration. Experiences from the second part of the Thur restoration taking place mainly in the Canton of Thurgau led to an adapted strategy on the national level. Next to new imperatives for quality control, a stronger interconnectivity between the different projects should lead to an increased exchange of know-how. Consequently, the insights from the inclusion of the different interest groups in the Thur project are being embedded in new projects such as the third Rhone correction in the Canton of Valais (Zaugg 2003).

Thus participation as part of a restoration project implementation strategy gradually became the norm and the ideal to attain in the Swiss river revitalization context. However, the forms and modalities as well as the perception of what participation is are different from canton to canton. A collaborative project by the Universities of Lausanne and Fribourg called ESPPACE *('Evaluation et suivi des processus participatifs dans l'aménagement des cours d'eau en Suisse')* conducted an extensive survey among cantonal authorities questioning them about participative processes in their river management projects. Findings confirm the presence of basically three categories of participative processes perceived by the cantonal representatives:

1) The instrumental perspective: this perspective doesn't go beyond information. It sees participation as the means to achieve a certain goal.
2) The normative perspective: making reference to democratic principles of participation. This rationale understands participation as a public good, and as Chilvers puts it 'the right thing to do' (Chilvers 2008).
3) The substantive perspective: a project is better off when including all the actors. This means 'better off' in all different terms and what they entail.

These perspectives have been presented for the first time by Fiorino in 1990 (Fiorino 1990) and are today part of the everyday vocabulary for participation. The type of rationale is important because it is determining the nature and limits of the participatory practices. That means that each perspective poses a different setting of public involvement, decision making and expertise (Tsouvalis and Waterton 2012).

Results of the survey show that the third perspective is the most common view among cantonal representatives; however one perspective doesn't exclude the other. An even more remarkable conclusion of the study is that there is a divergence between the theoretical definition of participation and its realization in practice. Buletti et al. consider that this divergence is due to the complex context of the projects impeding a smooth inclusion of all parties (Buletti, Utz et al. 2014). This complexity goes far beyond the fact that the definition of the concerned actor as such is already a complex task.

As mentioned, it is not only in the Swiss context that participation in relation with river management has been studied. Not surprisingly, in countries or regions with a high probability of flooding of intensively populated areas, studies of this kind have become more and more important. It could be observed that local inhabitants often have a better knowledge of the river and their environment. But the usual pattern is that the public is only mobilized after or through the emergence of problems. An event with a strong impact on the people's lives can thus have a strong mobilizing effect (Donaldson, Lane et al. 2013). But once the public is mobilized or participating there is not just one way of involving the river users and communities in making catchment management decisions. Thus depending on the time and nature of the project, the degree of participation varies a lot. Contrary to flood protection projects, it has been shown that participation is more important in rehabilitation and habitat projects (Maynard 2013). But it is not as simple as it appears, as for participation to take place, the policy structure of the projects needs to allow for it to take place. A very common participation structure in river restorations is the consultation (Eden, Tunstall et al. 2000).

But even though participation is a concept bearing many sympathies, there are also critiques for using it in environmental projects. Judith Tsouvalis and Claire Waterton evoke some disadvantages: one critique is that participation is often used to avoid and anticipate controversy and is thus often a big disappointment for the participants. One might ask the question of what is the point in participation if consensus is the aim. One way of doing this consensus-oriented participation is the so-called 'pre-framing' (Wynne 2007). This means that the problem has already been framed to a certain extent before public participation. Thus if the problem was framed too narrowly, the inputs of the local population have limited power, as the problem can be controlled by the experts. Narrow pre-framing can also clearly define in advance who will be responsible for dealing with the problems thus excluding actors who could help with a larger framing context. Brian Wynne advocates for a 'collective societal definition' of issues of public concern to avoid any particular framing. Another solution is handling a number of diverse framings at the same time in order to be able to open and close down different issues at different times (Wynne 2007). Along with this, Tsouvalis and Waterton also claim that 'participatory research is not inherently progressive'. However, their conclusion is less negative, stating that even not 'inherently progressive' participation can still be worth the effort (Tsouvalis and Waterton 2012).

But what exactly happens at the individual level during these participative processes? Can a change in perception be observed which would form the basis of a sustainable and durable approach to the problem? These are questions which have been left aside by many authors describing participative paradigms. However there is a strand of authors taking up the subject from different perspectives ranging from neoliberal, over structuralist to poststructuralist ones. Fletcher adopts a poststructuralist perspective based on Foucault's analysis of 'governmentality' but also later adaptations of the concept to describe environmental governance (Foucault, Burchell et al. 1991, Luke 1995, Agrawal, Gupta et al. 2005, Fletcher 2010). Still in a poststructuralist perspective, Mike Kesby proceeds in this line. Taking up Foucault's concepts of knowledge/power, governmentality, and biopower he is suggesting that "*even when participation is 'done properly', 'deeply', and is driven by participants themselves, it will nevertheless always already constitute a form of power*" (Kesby 2007). Like Fletcher, Kesby is also claiming that it is possible to reconcile poststructuralism and participatory approaches. Acknowledging that participation must indeed be seen as a form of power, he is suggesting that this power might also be seen as a means for humans offering them facilitated reflection and social transformation (Kesby 2007). Birkenholtz takes on a similar viewpoint, basing his analysis of the production of environmentally aware subjects on Foucaultian inspired 'green governmentality'

approaches and Gramscian notions of hegemony to examine the interrelation of these subjects and state measures and efforts (Birkenholtz 2009).

All of the cited authors link ideas of participation and community engagement to the formation of subjects and environmentality. However their accounts remain descriptive and lack an analytical tool in order to use the concept of environmentality for other studies. This is why it is interesting to treat this subject through the lens of environmentality while trying to build it up systematically on the basis of other authors in order to gain an analytical tool that allows for further use of the concept.

3. THE RESEARCH SITE: THURAUEN



The research site is located in the North of the Canton of Zurich. It is the last part of the Eastern Swiss river Thur to be revitalized. The restoration of the Thur is a process which started in 1983 already mainly taking place in the Canton of Thurgau. The restoration of the Thur is the biggest revitalization project in Switzerland. It is executed by the Canton of Zurich under supervision of the Federal Office for the Environment overlooking the good application of the floodplain meadow regulation. One of the driving factors for this 54-million-Swissfrancs-project is security: the Thur has a history of flooding which led to the first renovation plan in 1978. That plan was elaborated in a time when the technocratic integral philosophy was still predominant in Swiss flood protection policies. In a second step during the 1980ies more and more ecological aspects were included. Thus today the three central elements for the Thur revitalization project are: more safety from flooding, more space for nature, and more experiences for leisure fans. Between 1983 and 2005 the first sectors of the Thur which are situated in the Cantons of Thurgau and Zurich East of Andelfingen, have already been revitalized in five steps. The second sector between Andelfingen and the inflow into the Rhine river has started in 2008 and the projected end of the project is in 2017. This period was divided into two phases, at the time of the research the project was in phase two.

The last kilometer of the Thur before its inflow into the Rhine, the river was just one straight line after the construction of the canal in the 1860s. The canal was built with the intention to quickly evacuate the water masses in the case of flooding and to gain more land to live on and cultivate. Since the upper part of the Thur was also canalized the amount of water has increased. Dams and other containment measures couldn't avoid flooding in the Thur valley. A future-oriented protection from flooding includes nature and doing so achieves better results. Now the Thur is given more space to meander. The area is periodically flooded, which is the characteristic feature of a floodplain. This benefits nature but at the same time acts as a retention area during flooding.



Figure 1 Information paper for the project showing the actual and prospected trajectory of the Thur

3.1. THURAUEN – A FLOODPLAIN MEADOW OF NATIONAL IMPORTANCE

The floodplain meadow *Eggrank-Thurspitz*, also called Thurauen, is presented by the cantonal authorities (Zürich 2011) as one of the most precious floodplain meadows of Switzerland and the largest of its kind in the Midland of Switzerland. Furthermore, it is a unique landscape which is appreciated during all seasons. Due to the great biodiversity and variety of habitats in 1992 the Swiss Confederation gave it the status of an alluvial area of national importance which needs to be protected. Since 2011 the area is also a cantonal protection area.

Floodplain meadows are very dynamic ecosystems where flooding, erosion, deposition, resettlement and ageing play an important role. This ecological system retains its stability and fullness through the instability of its parts (Teuscher 1995). According to the Federal Office for the Environment, the meadows in Switzerland are in poor condition. The most important reasons are intensive land use and the exploitation of natural resources: construction near rivers and their straightening accelerated recess of the riverbeds, and insufficient quantity of residual water. Along with these factors, intense foresting and agricultural activities, gravel collection, infrastructures for tourism as well as traffic roads are part of the constraints. However, from a biological point of view, the meadow plains are one of the richest habitats despite these negative trends.

3.2. A PARTICIPATIVE APPROACH IN THE THURAUEN

The FOEN clearly states the necessity of participative planning in water management and goes even further by proclaiming that a successful participation might lead to a stronger identification of the concerned actors with the river basin and a feeling of responsibility towards it that pushes them to stand up for improvements (FOEN 2013). There is no legal constraint for the use of participatory approaches in river management, except of course

the obligation to inform. Nevertheless projects that include the population more actively may receive additional subsidies for doing so. However these subsidies were introduced only after the beginning of the study case of the Thurauen, which is the reason why the project didn't receive it[3]. Formally, the project fulfills the criteria for the recognition of that kind and one may speak of a successful participative approach[4].

Before the construction works for the project could get started, a lot of meetings with the concerned parties were necessary. These parties ranged from community representatives, farmers, hunters, nature conservationists, cantonal deputies, representatives of the electric power plant, foresters and many other experts. It was crucial to find a consensus and to agree on every detail. One topic which caused heated debates was the fear of mosquitoes (Petrò 2012). Other important questions were about property rights and property acquisition, as well as the financing of the project. The consensus for the project is outstanding which is also represented by the fact that during the entire time no single appeal was lodged against it.

Two groups meet separately in order to discuss the project and make it accessible to the different actors:

- The **Project management group** is composed of the representatives of the different specialized divisions (biology, hydrology, forestry…) and meets every other week in order to lead the project development. This group has more or less 20 members. The moderator of this group is the external project manager.
- The **accompaniment group** meets in a four month rhythm and is informed about the progression of the project through a moderator who is independent of the cantonal administration. The group is composed of about 25 representatives of the concerned communities, the Canton of Schaffhausen and the federal state, inhabitants of the area, the nature protection associations, the electric power station, the planning group, local farmers, foresters, rangers, and other interested parties. During these meetings, the implementation of the project is discussed heatedly and compromises are found. The nature of these discussions varies a lot; some inputs are very practical questions of everyday life, such as the height of the new bridge in order to know whether the ferry can still pass. Other concerns are more complex or physical like the level of groundwater for example.

[3] Interview with a representative of the FOEN, May 2014.
[4] Ibid.

It is the responsibility of the participants of the accompaniment group to inform their respective group of people they represent. This task is more important for some representatives than for others (for example a communal representative is held to inform the entire population of the commune, whereas a forester has less people to inform). Adding to this, some participants are very used to speak for a group of people and it is part of their daily routine and job to pass the information on to the local population (such as a communal representative). However, for others such as farmers or foresters, this task is new to them and they might initially not feel at ease with this new responsibility.

The 'spreading' of the information is a tricky component of the participative process, as the aim of it is not solely to find a solution which appeals to the participants only. As the Thurauen project spanned over more than 10 years, the composition of these two groups changed various times. This also caused difficulties concerning the spreading of the information as some representatives took this task more seriously than others.

Thus it can already be stated at this point of the research, that the participative process in the Thurauen project is a highly complex issue with the interplay of a multiplicity of different factors: power constellations and positions of the different participants, selection of the information to be spread and the actual spreading or not of that information, the instrumental or even manipulative strength of a participative approach and seemingly simple organizational questions such as the agenda and regularity of these meetings. These questions will be treated in more detail later.

4. APPROACH

As Timothy Luke says *"governmental discourses generate 'truths' or 'knowledges' and doing so they are framing the emergence of collective subjectivities"* (Luke 1995). Based on this, I decided to conduct a discourse analysis of the actors that are in charge of project implementation / execution and also the actors directly concerned by the project (inhabitants, farmers). Another strong argument for discourse analysis as a means to analyze the data is that social control and power are more and more often mediated in a discursive way, meaning through symbolic practices and communication (Keller, A. et al. 2001). Thus in order to understand the power constellations, it is useful to analyze the symbolic practices and communication taking place.

Either way careful coding or analysis of the data is a crucial part of the data processing. As a next step the data will be interpreted and conceptual and theoretical work can be done with it. The theoretical work might lead to further specification of the research question and the recognition that additional data are needed.

4.1. DISCOURSE ANALYSIS – THEORY AND METHOD ALL IN ONE

Discourse analysis seems to be an appropriate method in order to answer my question in what measure environmental subjects have been created during the course of the river restoration project of the Thur. In this chapter I will find a definition of discourse analysis and elaborate a way to exploit it in order to use it while analyzing the data. The database for the study will consist of interviews that will be conducted and a selection of written documents. Discourse analysis has some characteristic specificity compared to other data analysis methods. Marianne Jorgensen and Louise Phillips explain well what is meant by this and what this special 'package' of discourse analysis contains:

The package contains, first, philosophical (ontological and epistemological) premises regarding the role of language in the social construction of the world, second, theoretical models, third, methodological guidelines for how to approach a research domain, and fourth, specific techniques for analysis. In discourse analysis, theory and method are intertwined and researchers must accept the basic philosophical premises in order to use discourse analysis as their method of empirical study (Jorgensen 2002).

Thus when opting for discourse analysis, I need to be aware of the theoretical baggage which comes along with it. Still, the term discourse is vague and has various different uses and meanings. Therefore clarification and a clear situation of the research is needed.

Since the late 1980s the term discourse analysis has been used with increasing frequency in social, cultural and political geography (Cresswell 2009). It was mainly Michel Foucault who transformed it into a discourse theory which gained importance in social science. In his theory *"epistemological questions of how we know what we know, where such knowledge comes from, who is authorized to profess it and how, ultimately, 'truth' is established"* (Cresswell 2009) are approached.

4.1.1. DISCOURSE THEORY BY MICHEL FOUCAULT

As the concept of environmental subjects which will form the core of the research is a concept that has been established based on Foucault's ideas of governmentality, Foucault will play a crucial role for us to analyze discourse. It is very important to be aware of the fact that Foucault's ideas on discourse have changed and evolved over time (Revel 2002). Also, his use of the word *discourse* was not consistent at all, as he used it for general, overarching but also intermediate scales. The two most important works to be taken into consideration are: 'The Archeology of Knowledge'(Foucault 2008) and 'Truth and power' (Foucault and Gordon 1980). I will briefly discuss the main concepts of the discourse theory by Foucault as these will be important for the research.

Productive force of discourse – it's more than just words

For Foucault discourse lies beyond just words, he goes further seeking to show *"how linguistic and other elements are combined to shape and delineate particular kinds of objects of knowledge, new sets of concepts and categories, new claims about what can be said and what must remain unsaid, and a new set of subject positions".* Thus, what matters is the constellation of words, actions, institutions, and infrastructures which among them are more or less logically coherent and produce new regimes of truth (Cresswell 2009). The word productive is crucial to understand Foucault's idea of discourse: "*discourse is not simply 'about' something (politics, illness, sexuality, etc.) but brings these things into being. In the sense that discourses produce reality they are performative. Discourse does not simply describe something that preexists it; rather it brings it into being. In this sense it is more than a reflection of 'reality' that can be true or false but is in fact performing 'reality' and producing 'truth effects'."* In other words, new 'truths' and new possibilities of being emerge out of particular discursive formations. This productive force is overarching everything, which means that objects and subjects are 'thoroughly constituted through it' and are thus not external to this process (Cresswell 2009).

Truth and reality within discourse

The word 'truth' is very common in Foucault's writings. Truth is not an external objective to be achieved, but it is produced by discourse, thus intimately connected *within* discourse. A discourse does not simply represent reality, it creates reality by producing meaning and sets the boundaries of intelligibility. Contrasting with other ideological analysis, it is not important to find the truth behind the discourse, but rather to uncover the truth produced within discourse. It is important to clearly differentiate discourse from language. Language is only the condition which is necessary for us to 'know' reality (Berg 2009). Thus it is not through language that we see this reality, but it's a condition for us to get access to it. However, this doesn't imply that reality isn't there as such, but through discourse it becomes meaningful for us in our personal and societal framework of thinking.

The process of subjectivization

Foucault rejects theories which are based on a subject situated at the center of the universe. For him, the subject is far from being unitary and knowing and has to be looked at as fragmented and decentered. The subject is not de facto there, but is discursively produced through the process of subjectivization (Cresswell 2009). This is very different from classical top-down approaches, where there is a pre-given subject exercising power over another subject which was already there. Thus subjectivity is not something stable but always in-the-making and it can often be contested and it typically incorporates contradictory elements. The focal point of the research is thus to find out how this subjectivization takes place, or in other words, how group and individual identities are constituted in power relations (Berg 2009). When I know how these identities are constituted I also discover which groups benefit from discursive power.

Power and knowledge

According to Foucault discourses are structures which create order. These structures are like a set of unspoken rules which govern, control, and produce knowledge in a culture (Berg 2009). At the same time discourses represent *"krebsartig wuchernde Momente einer historischen Ereignishaftigkeit und Singularität, die Ordnung aufbricht und jenes ‚unaufhörliche und ordnungsvolle Rauschen des Diskurses' hervorbringt, dem eine diskursive ‚Polizei' dadurch beizukommen versucht, dass sie über die Einhaltung der Regeln ihrer Produktion und Zirkulation wacht"* (Bublitz 2003). Thus historical rules delimit what is possible to say. It is only later during the genealogical work that Foucault developed the theory of *power /knowledge.* Instead of belonging to particular agents (individuals or the state), power is spread across different practices. Power should not be understood as exclusively oppressive but as *productive*; power constitutes discourse, knowledge, bodies

and subjectivities (Jorgensen 2002). The link to discourse can be drawn through the strong connection of power and knowledge and thus knowledge produced in the form of discourse. In relation with discourse analysis it is always important to ask the question of *what were the effects of power generated by what was said. (Cresswell 2009).*

As it is the power constellation underlying the discourse of the institutions implementing the restoration of the Thur which is the focus of this research, the second period of thought of Foucault will be considered more thoroughly. The relationship between discourses and institutions is reciprocal; discourses need to be treated like 'technologies' which don't influence the institutions and technical apparatuses from the outside, but which constitute, go through them and regulate them (Bublitz 2003). Analyzing the context that produces and reproduces institutions, which is in turn sustained by them, is an important feature of discourse analysis (Gee 2014). This shows two very important aspects of working with discourses: they are productive which means that they themselves can generate meaning and they are contextual; the subject[5] has to be seen in the context of society.

Importance of the context

Instead of making general claims, discourse is always the product of a particular moment in time and also a surrounding causing the particular truths, practices, and realities. Thus a good knowledge and a thorough study of the context is the basis for discourse analysis. *(Cresswell 2009)*

Discourse is implicated in the production of places and, in particular, in the judgment of people's practices within places. What counts as acceptable, appropriate behavior, for instance, is often determined by a nexus of place and discourse. Subjects are not simply constituted anywhere but on a particular terrain. (Cresswell 2009)

So in practical terms, what will be important for the study of discourse in the Thur project is a good knowledge of the context and the frame in which the actors are located. Furthermore, the structures and interplay as well as the power relations – be they implicit or explicit – have to be taken into account. As Gregory puts it, a discourse is a way of rendering visible certain relationships, practices and subjectivities that constitute a framework of knowledge, a *"vast network of signs, symbols, and practices through which we make our world(s) meaningful to ourselves and others"* (Gregory, Johnston et al. 2009).

[5] The way Butler and Foucault see the subject, is that it is fragile and 'fehlbar' and rather characterized through the discursive limits than its sovereignty. Bublitz, H. (2003). Diskurs, Transcript.

Discourse doesn't solely consist of written and spoken words, it also includes images, sounds, gestures, habitual thoughts and practices, and so on (Wylie 2007). However, the spoken or written discourse always lags behind what one wants to say, and if you are to understand what was said, you have to derive it from the inner speech lurking behind it (Bondarouk and Ruel 2004).

From the theory to the method

Accepting the theoretical premises of discourse analysis, I now proceed to a more operational level: the method. However, there is no such thing as *the* discourse analytic method and Foucault himself was very reticent about outlining his methods. Burman and Parker get to the heart of the issue:

The maxim is 'learning by doing'. Through practice, discourse analysis is typically held to become intuitive. Scholarly passion seemingly underpins critical textual analysis. The methodology is often left implicit rather than made explicit. Undermining the very basis of discourse analysis is research that is too systematic, mechanical, and formulaic. (Burman and Parker 1993, Waitt 2005)

Nevertheless in order to perform a valid analysis it is important to have a consistent approach, independently of its implicit or explicit nature. I decided to use the *seven key methodological components to discourse analysis* in order to have a tool and basis for analysis. These components have been developed by Gillian Rose for visual materials and Gordon Waitt then adapted them for other materials and wider analysis. Berg made a comprehensive summary of both and I will mainly base myself on his text (Berg 2009). A Finnish researcher, Sanna Talja, developed three useful stages in the course of discourse analysis (Talja 1999). They mostly overlap with the *seven key methodological components of discourse analysis*, but in some aspects they bring forward interesting points, which was the reason why I decided to combine them.

1. *Suspending preexisting categories*

When starting with a discourse analysis, it's important to start fresh, meaning to step out of the hegemonic discourses and read the texts as if the topic in question is completely new and unknown to you.

2. *Absorbing oneself in the texts*

Through reading and re-reading of the text the aim is to get wholly familiar with it and starting to figure out what themes are constantly coming back and what topics seem to be more important than others.

3. Coding Themes

As soon as one has a good feeling for the texts the coding process can begin. Coding is putting different recurrent themes in categories. Here it is important to be clear about the positioning of the producer and the consumer of the text. Furthermore, the textual position of the objects discussed in the text (people, places, and things) needs to be identified. Berg asks helpful questions for the coding: do the producers use third person narrative, distancing themselves from their text? Are there particular stereotypes drawn upon or reinforced in the text? What role does space play in the constitution of subjectivities and subject positions? For discourse analysis it is more usual to start with detailed analysis and making the way to broader analysis. Thus starting 'breaking-open' the text and exploring every word and phrase for meaning helps the researcher to focus on the text instead of one's own preconceptions (NVivo 2007).

4. Identifying 'regimes of truth'

This component is about identifying and understanding the mechanisms by which a particular discourse is seen to have both validity and worth. Who is talking about the particular 'truth' at stake? Who is expert and who is not? Is the 'truth' always communicated in the same patterns?

In her three stages Sanna Talja uses a different term for these 'regimes of truth': *regular patterns in the variability of accounts*[6] *(Talja 1999).* This means that one is looking for repeatedly occurring descriptions, explanations, and arguments used by different participants (Potter and Wetherell 1987).

5. Identifying inconsistencies[7]

Inconsistencies, contradictions, and paradoxes are part of any discourse and this is the reason why their identification is important to understand the totality of the message. Also, knowing how such inconsistencies might contest or reinforce the dominant meanings constituted in a given discourse is an important step of the analysis. However for my study the most important component is that these inconsistencies allow for the creation of new subject positions and identities in discourse.

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[6] Corresponds to Sanna Talja's second phase
Talja, S. (1999). "Analyzing qualitative interview data: The discourse analytic method." Library & information science research **21**(4): 459-477.

[7] Corresponds to Sanna Talja's first phase
Ibid.

6. Identifying absent presences

In discourse, silences say often more than words and thus their identification is very meaningful. Silences create or also erase a particular subject which makes it interesting how this process is put in place.

7. Identifying social contexts

As evoked previously, the social as well as spatial context is crucial to situate and understand the discourse. The aim is to be able to link the production of discourse with the production of key subject positions and to think about how power operates in these contexts to (re)produce social relations and subject positions for social actors (Berg 2009).

As the discourse analysis has a very subjective edge to it, it is important to clearly state the qualities of this method and also its validity compared to other methods. Trustworthiness of the study is essential meaning that the discourse analysis *"must be intelligible in its interpretations and explanations"* (Titscher and Jenner 2000). It must be very clear and transparent, how the data has been collected, analyzed and interpreted. Lincoln and Guba (Lincoln and Guba 1985) propose a member check for qualitative studies. That means that the findings will be shared with the interview participants in the end of the study.

4.1.2. COLLECTION OF DATA

As described above awareness about the position of the researcher but also the producer of the discourse is a key component of a successful analysis. Careful selection of data is also crucial. In order to get an exhaustive insight of the participatory process of the Thurauen project, qualitative interviews are the most direct and rich way of representing the situation. As compared to unilateral sources of information such as texts or newspapers, qualitative interviews have the great advantage of being produced in the moment. This means, that the interviewees are at the same time bearers and producers of discourse and the aim while doing discourse analysis is to uncover this discourse. The interviewer is able to see what themes are more important than others and in real time adapt the questions accordingly. Based on this, I decided to conduct seven qualitative semi-structured or sometimes open-ended interviews to capture a diversity of viewpoints on restoration and expectations towards the latter. The semi-structured or open-ended structure for interviews is the only way to let the discourse unfold.

For the selection of interviewees I used the maximum variation sample. This means that they are all key personalities in their own fields and they have been referred to each other reciprocally, which further justified their choice. Thus, I have a selection of interview

partners which were themselves all considered relevant reciprocally by the others. The very first interview was conducted with the external project manager which is of course a key personality in the project. Adding to the seven interview transcripts I selected three written documents to be considered in the research. These documents include suggested material by the interview partners: the results of a questionnaire conducted by the community of Marthalen in a concerned village, the official publication from the cantonal side forming the very basis of the participatory approach and one newspaper article. All of the data will be treated with the help of the Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software NVivo, which is not only a tool to efficiently store and treat the data, but also enables analysis of the data through the software.

4.1.3. CONDUCTING INTERVIEWS IN DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

The way interviews are conducted is very different when doing it in discourse analysis compared to traditional interviews. As Boundarouk and Ruel note, the goal is more complex as the researcher aims to obtain both consistency and diversity (Bondarouk and Ruel 2004). Thus the researcher will play the role of an active participant in the conversation rather than of being a 'speaking questionnaire' (Potter and Wetherell 1987). The following table which is based on Boundarouk and Ruel's ideas summarizes well the main differences and important points of traditional and discourse-oriented interviews.

As discourses have always particular contexts in which they arise, I will define the microgeography of the Thurauen project as the context of the research. Thus the participants of the interviews will all be part of this microgeography. The microgeography is the context for discourse, but also part of it (Cresswell 2009).

Traditional interviews	**Interviews for discourse analysis**
Goal – to obtain consistency in responses, this is one of the main evidences.	Goal – to obtain both consistency and diversity in responses. Apparent contradictions are important to find meaning in the interviewee's way of justifying and constructing coherence. Feedback and member check are important evidence.
Techniques are oriented to support consistency.	Techniques are oriented to support diversity: - active intervention - (provocative) questions that call for justifications - informal information exchange - facilitating disagreements
All interviews are independent	Every interview is interrelated with the previous ones

from each other.	and the context.
An atmosphere during an interview is neutral, business-oriented.	The atmosphere can be business-oriented, but informal tones are important.
An interviewer is a 'speaking questionnaire'.	Active role of an interviewer.

Table 1. Comparison of main principles in traditional and discourse-based interviews.

During the data collection, the points evoked in the table will be of crucial importance. Questions will be posed in a semi-structured way or sometimes also open-ended questions which call for a narrative. For the interviews one needs to be aware of the fact that interview talk is, by nature, *interpretation work* concerning the topic in question. The object of talk (here the restoration of the Thur) is not an abstract, ideal entity everyone sees in the same way: the description of it by the interviewees is *reflexive, theoretical, contextual and textual.* The speakers do not only produce a neutral description and express their opinion about the restoration. Rather they produce a *version* of it and at the same time an evaluation of the latter (Talja 1999). These are important factors that need to be taken into consideration during the interviewing process already.

With my data at hand I started the analyzing process with the tools provided by Berg and Talja. After having acquired a good feeling for the texts, the next step was to move on to the Coding part.

4.2. CODING THEMES WITH NVIVO

NVivo is a very popular qualitative data analysis (QDA) computer software with a variety of tools and functions and the choice to use it in the frame of my study was based on these characteristics of the software. For the approach I chose, the following functions of NVivo will be useful:

storing of data, treating of data (preparing the interview transcripts for coding), coding, making some text analysis (frequent word clouds, etc.), keeping a Memo to keep track of the question marks, difficulties, reflection…

It can thus be seen that the use of Nvivo is limited to the earlier stage of the data analysis and can form a basis for deeper analysis. This is also the recurrent opinion of discourse analysts claiming that this type of qualitative data analysis software cannot bring about *"the kind of organization of materials required for an in-depth, in-context analysis of the level required for a detailed analysis"* (MacMillan 2005). Furthermore, this tool and the

choice of this tool have significant implications for the nature of the study. One needs to always be aware of the tool at hand and the way it may have an influence on the results one sees. To be prepared for this, certain precautions need to be thought of[8]:

- Understand the approach well
- Adapt the NVivo functions to be used to the analytic approach and not the opposite way round. It is important to not let oneself be 'imprisoned' by the analytic approach proposed by NVivo which is based on the Grounded Theory.
- Not to hesitate to work outside of NVivo if needed. If one chose to use Nvivo for certain steps in the frame of discourse analysis, this does not mean that one needs to do everything with NVivo.
- One needs to think about NVivo as an instrument with all its possibilities but also limits. One needs to be well aware of what one is "doing" when using an NVivo function.

[8] After discussion with O. Ejderyan 02.09.2014.

5. RESULTS

I started off directly with multiple coding for all the interview transcripts. I decided on two main node types, inductive and conceptual nodes. For each interview I started coding it on inductive nodes and then going through the same interview coding for conceptual nodes. I didn't proceed with coding with an *a priori* fixed theoretical framework in mind, I decided to start inductively. That means that I let codes emerge from the data which is appropriate to my choice of using a discourse analysis for the data. This idea of emergence of the data is also referring to the *seven key methodological components to discourse analysis* discussed above: the coding process can only be done once one was able to suspend preexisting categories. As Potter and Wetherell put it, the aim here is not to find a border or limit the data through coding, on the contrary, everything should be included, even parts which seem initially only vaguely related (Potter and Wetherell 1987).

After the first round of coding through all the data I ended up with a multiplicity of different nodes. The next step was thus to bring some order and a structure into the coding part, creating 'trees of codes' consisting of categories and subcategories containing different subthemes.

After 'breaking-off' the data through rigorous coding as discussed in point *3. Coding Themes*, the next step is now to put the different pieces together again and this in a way in line with my research question. Thus I established a step-by-step approach which will serve to approach the multiplicity of data at hand in an organized fashion.

1st Step: get an idea of the 'linguistic context'
2nd Step: get an idea of the main themes and players
3rd Step: get an idea of how to reply to the research question

This approach is particularly useful and necessary in order to be ready for the next of the *seven key methodological components to discourse analysis: 4. Identifying 'regimes of truth'.* The transition from "simple" codes to 'regimes of truth' is a very tricky moment and seeing the multiplicity of data moving gradually away from my research question I was certain that a minimum of rigor – with my step-by-step approach for example – will help to see more clearly.

1ST STEP: GET AN IDEA OF THE 'LINGUISTIC CONTEXT'

As described in the theory part, a profound understanding of the context is the basis of discourse analysis. It is only possible to wholly grasp the ideas if the context in which the subject is situated is taken into account. In the first step it is not the classic understanding

of the context which will be treated, but the context in the frame of the analysis with NVivo: the linguistic context. This means I intend to get an idea of the themes which occur frequently and I use the term context, because I will represent them spatially in a word cloud. Thus a Word Frequency Query has been conducted in order to find the words which have been mostly used in the coded data under conceptual nodes, including both the interviews but also the written documents. The Query has been carried out with words with a minimal length of 4 letters and a number of words have been selected to be excluded (such as small filling words, connectors, articles, verbs…).



The results in the word cloud already show some interesting points: the two most occurring words are *project* and *people* followed directly by the institutions *canton* and *community*. This represents the main players conceived by the interviewees, the people and the big role of the canton as an executor of the project. Temporal words and expressions are also very current and among the most used terms: years, time, beginning, at the time, sometimes, today. Of course the river Thur was mentioned often and nature, protection of the nature as well as the mentioning of the alluvial area are recurrent. The dam is important; however the flooding protection seems less mentioned. Words linked to farmers and agriculture are also mentioned quite often, but still less than the institutions. Other themes which seem important are: mosquitoes, trust, population, solution, problem, forest, patience and compromise. I will certainly see in further analysis how these different terms and expressions are linked and articulated within the texts.

2ND STEP: GET AN IDEA OF THE MAIN THEMES AND PLAYERS

In the first step I have seen in what context the research is situated but I still don't know what I'm really talking about. In order to understand the different terms which were prominent in the word cloud, it is useful to execute a text search query to be able to grasp the mentioned terms and know what is really meant by them and in what context they were used. A text search query allows finding all occurrences of a word, phrase, or concept in the project. Furthermore it will show whether there is an idea or concept which is prevalent.

I will thus run a text search query on some of the topics which stood up from the word frequency query.

Canton: the first text search query is about the use of the word canton and the query shows that this term is used mainly in relation with three main themes:

1) Money and financing: it is mentioned several times that the Canton of Zurich "is very rich" and "has a lot of money". Also the topic of selling a communal forest to the Canton for a "good price" is repeatedly mentioned in different sources.
2) Exchange of land: this shows that the Canton had a very active role in the process of proposing the farmers to exchange their lands in order to be able to liberate their lands for conservation practices. Furthermore, this active role was also conceived as important from the outside.
3) Authority: the verbs used around the mentioning of the Canton, indicate a perceived authority of the Canton. In order words, strong and determining verbs are used in relation with the Canton, such as: have to, push somebody to do something, to order something, to ask somebody to do something, to force…

Nature: the second text search query will analyze in what context the word nature has been used.

The text search query also shows interesting results concerning nature. The most obvious relationship is the one between nature and time. There are repeated mentions of nature in relation to time, how nature needs (more) time, how people don't give nature the time it needs. Thus a certain critic in the realization of nature protection can be felt. Furthermore another recurrent topic is the 'artificial' / 'manmade' characteristic of nature, which is also mentioned quite often. The relationship 'Mensch – Natur' is more than obvious and will also form the basis for further analysis.

Farmer: the third text search query is looking for the different words used to describe farming, agriculture and farmers. This tool is too weak for clear indications but as has been done with the 'canton' text search query, the verbs used are giving some indications about the perceptions of farming. Verbs used in relation with farming are: trying to, minimize, get a benefit, want to stay, exchange (land), be afraid, make big eyes, be angry.

Through the various conducted text search query I now have a solid idea of the main players and themes and I will thus be able to go one step further and put it in direct relation with my research question.

3RD STEP: GET AN IDEA OF HOW TO REPLY TO THE RESEARCH QUESTION

As evoked previously the aim of this research is to find out how environmental subjects have been created in the frame of the participation in relation with the Thurauen restoration in the northern part of the Canton of Zurich. Environmental subjects are formed through the process of disciplinary environmentality which represents an effort to create environmental subjects through diffusion of ethical norms. As the main players and themes have been discovered in the previous step it is now a question of how to bring the different topics together in order to find dynamics and relations linked to the research questions. As the very first point of departure of the research was the proclamation on the FOEN website not wanting to play agriculture and restorations against each other, I will again start this phase based on this proclamation. I created one node each for the inductive and conceptual nodes referring to this proclamation and I will now make a Word Frequency Query in the nodes representing "playing off agriculture and restoration against each other".



Again the institution *canton* seems to play an important role and other outstanding subjects are: nature protection, dam, people, luck, perimeter, problem, alluvial plane, forest… It would now be interesting to see whether there's a different discourse depending on whether it is an 'outsider' speaking or an 'insider'. I decided to work with these attributes as other classical attributes, such as gender, age etc. don't play a determining role here (all interview participants were male). I define 'insiders' as a person living in the area and thus directly feeling the consequences of the river restoration project. An 'outsider' at the other hand, is a person not living there but in relation to the site anyway (participating in the participatory processes). A Coding Query for both attribute values in relation to the nodes describing agriculture versus river restoration gives the information for the attributes, insiders and outsiders.

The second important topic is subject formation. According to Arun Agrawal environmental subjects emerge as a result of involvement in struggle over resources, in relation to new institutions and as changing calculations of self-interest and notions of the self. I have coded data in relation to these different factors on a number of different places and I will make Coding Queries for the following codes:

Kampf ums Überleben: struggle over resources

Seilziehen von beiden Seiten: struggle over resources

Begleitkommission: new institutions

Landwirtschaft erhalten, Schaden minimieren: struggle over resources

As a result I was able to draw together the different factors for the emergence of environmental subjects in separate nodes which will allow me to make a discourse analysis on those nodes.

5.1. IDENTIFICATION OF 'REGIMES OF TRUTH' AND 'REGULAR PATTERNS IN THE VARIABILITY OF ACCOUNTS'

As described in the coding part, the actors and positions were identified based on the linguistic context. The question is now to see how these truths are established discursively and by whom. It will be interesting to see whether the previously defined 'insiders' and 'outsiders' talk about the same truth. *Regular patterns in the variability of accounts* (Talja 1999) are being sought in order to identify the predominant regimes of truth.

"We fought well"

Reading and rereading through the interview transcripts, one often recurring discourse is striking: the participants as well as the leader of the participatory structure showed some pride about the way they – either individually, or the group they represent – fought for the achievement of their goals and ideas. A feeling of satisfaction is evident and the good and constructive discussions were seen as a personal achievement. Thus there seems to be a narrative pattern of how the discussions and events are told during the interview, and a regime of truth may be identified: the discourse turns around the fight for what one stands for. This fight implies that one has values to adhere to. Adhering to values moves one's position from fighting to agreeing as this is what 'civilized', 'good' people do. This subjectivity is illustrated with the following examples:

… gegen das hat man dann eigentlich vor allem einfach angekämpft, und hat dort relativ viel erreicht mit ähm, mit Projektänderungen, mit ökologischen Begleitplanung, mit Gebieten wo man gar nicht hart verbauen musste… (II – 1)

… und dort ähm habe ich eigentlich unseren Einfluss als recht stark erlebt und das hat, ich weiss, das hat die Verwaltung auch ein bisschen unter Druck gebracht… (II – 2)

Und dort hab ich das Gefühl gehabt, da sind wir schon recht wichtige Players gewesen und konnten den Finger draufhalten, dass es da mit einer grösseren Sorgfalt gehandelt wird. (II– 3)

This is only a selection of the parts in which this interviewee mentions the achievements of himself or his group, concerning different themes, be it mosquitoes, deadwood or visitor traffic. The interviewee was an 'outsider' to the project, thus a person not living in the area and not directly concerned by the outcomes. The way he formulates this influence he had suggests that there was considerable resistance which had to be overcome.

When looking at the perspective of an 'insider', thus a person living in the area, her perception of participation and achievement is different but still based on satisfaction with the outcome.

Ja, in eigener Sach, eigentlich so aus Sicht von mir für die Gemeinde Flaach, denke ich haben wir eine Situation, eine Lösung herangebracht, die jetzt den heutigen Anforderungen gerecht werden kann und die aber auch die Vergangenheit nicht ganz ausser Acht gelassen hat. (I2 – 1)

Rather than talking about *fighting for something*, the person estimates that he and the community *achieved a situation / solution*. This shows a rather reactive position, instead of fighting against resistance; this party is trying to get as far as possible to find a good and livable situation for the community.

The second 'insider' interviewee, the farmer living near the Thur, shows a similar tone in his discourse:

Und wir haben uns dann gewehrt und nach etwa 2 Jahren haben sie begriffen, dass sie bei uns nicht weiterkommen. (I3– 1)

Or:

Dann haben wir gesagt, ja halt mal. Wir haben hier unten zusammengezählt wie viele Leute es hier hat zusammen mit dem Camping und hier unten hat es mehr Leute gehabt und dann haben es wir geschafft, dass sie da unten beim Rhein einen Damm gemacht haben. (I3 – 2)

This person uses words like *to defend oneself, to resist* and on the other side *to manage to*… This choice again contrasts with the very first quote by the outsider who used more direct and demanding words. Compared to the first 'insider' interviewee, the farmer seems to be less open for compromise and bear more skepticism on behalf of the project. The variability in the regular patterns of these discourses gives clear indications about the subject positions.

The following quotes are from the project leader. He didn't participate in all the participatory processes but is leading the group where specialists are elaborating the project planning together.

Da haben wir gut gestritten, sehr intensiv auch und am Schluss haben wir nun aber eine Schutzverordnung die geht. (*I4 – 1)*

Or:

Dann haben wir die eingeladen, wir haben glaube ich 4 Sitzungen. Und dann haben wir wirklich gut miteinander gestritten und wie das jetzt weiter geht und jetzt haben wir gerade in der letzten Sitzung eine Lösung gefunden und gesagt, jetzt warten wir mal 10 Jahre und schauen, wie sich das entwickelt oder wir schlagen nicht drein. (I4– 2)

Or finally:

Die haben eben genauso gut gestritten miteinander. Der Bodenschützer will nicht dasselbe wie der Naturschützer. Und wenn man sieht was der von der Abteilung Landwirtschaft mit demjenigen von der Fachstelle Naturschutz für Streit hat! (I4 – 3)

The interviewee uses the exact same wording in the three quotes. In his opinion, it's about "fighting well" with each other. As the project leader his interest is the good execution of the project and a smooth realization based on a participatory process. Thus fighting well means that the participatory process is ideal, as the different parties are bringing up their interests and doubts and a good discussion is able to accommodate them. The interviewee is not only saying that the discussions were good, he is going one step further saying that the fights were good. This gives an impression that the critical points were on the table and through a profound and good discussion the group was able to resolve it. Fighting well makes a more robust impression than just discussing.

5.2. IDENTIFYING INCONSISTENCIES AND INTERNAL CONTRADICTIONS

Sanna Talja uses the metaphor of the jigsaw puzzle to describe the interpretative analysis. In this way, the texts at hand cannot be interpreted as accounts with a clear and distinguishable message, instead, all the accounts produced need to be taken into consideration with the contexts in order to find patterns of consistency and variation (Talja 1999). Thus the different bits and parts need to be taken together and looked at in combination. I will start with the general question of how the people perceive the Thurauen project.

*Wir haben sicher versucht, den lokalen Leute das als **sehr** positives Projekt zu verkaufen, darum ja auch von Anfang an diese Betitelung als Auenschutz- und Hochwasserprojekt oder also. Und der erweiterte Perimeter! Also ich meine, das sind ja alles auch so Kompromisse, also man hat nie nur die Aue revitalisieren wollen und man hat von Anfang an eigentlich fast unwidersprochen den Hochwasserschutzperimeter viel weiter gefasst als das Auengebiet oder. (II – 4)*

In this citation about the communication around the project it can be seen clearly that not only the official communication of the project, but also the individual perception of it bears inconsistencies and contradictions. The project 'was sold' to the local population as a very (emphasized) positive one, even though it's full of compromises. The statement shows that the speaker is not fully satisfied with the outcomes of the project as for him the nature conservancy part hides in the shadows of an in his opinion exaggerated flood protection perimeter. Using the third indefinite person 'man' (one) he distances himself from it, blaming somebody else. The following citation illustrates this line of thinking:

Das haben, das ist auch eine Konzession gewesen, also ein grosses Entgegenkommen, wo man gesagt hat also gut wir machen diese Auenrevitalisierung, aber wir geben euch auch diesen Hochwasserschutz und und ja.. die einen haben's dann eher wegen dem Hochwasserschutz geschluckt und die anderen haben gesehen, moll es ist auch etwas Positives wenn diese Aue nicht immer weiter degradiert, was jetzt wirklich fachlich vom Schutz her passiert, das ist noch recht schwierig zu sagen. (II– 5)

In contrast to the first quote, the second one suggests that the project has been done as a sort of concession or coming-towards (Entgegenkommen in German) with the project, whereas in the first quote the person suggests that the project has been 'sold' to the population. Even though the alluvial plane protection is a central pillar of the project, the speaker doubts the real effectiveness of the protection which is also in contradiction to him communicating the project in a two-fold way: nature protection and flood protection.

The project leader also talks about this two-axe-project:

Wir haben eigentlich den Bauern immer gesagt, 'schaut es ist ein Gesamtpäckli, wir machen einen Hochwasserschutz mit dem Material da draus, wir können das nur machen, wenn wir alles miteinander machen. Entweder Ihr nehmt alles, oder es gibt nichts'. (I4– 4)

The speaker later admits that it would in fact be possible to do the two things separately, but as it is easier to get the project through with a combined formula, the communication was done that way.

Haha, ist kombiniert!! Wir haben eine Kombi-Packung geschmiert, wir haben gesagt, es gibt einfach das eine nicht ohne das andere. Wenn ihr einen Hochwasserschutz wollt, dann müsst ihr den Naturschutz fressen. Und wenn ihr den Naturschutz wollt, dann müsst ihr den Hochwasserschutz fressen. Wir haben möglichst viele Abhängigkeiten konstruiert, wir brauchen dieses Material dort, um Dämme zu bauen. (I4 – 5)

The words used "Gesamtpäckli" and "Kombi-Packung" show different signs: on one hand it's presented like a present, something positive which goes back to the first interviewee who also wanted to present the project as positive as possible. The diminutive form presents it as something positive and harmless. The second term "Kombi-Packung" makes allusion to an advertisement or special offer, representing a take-it-or-leave-it offer. Both words represent something which is constructed artificially, as the two components could have very well been realized separately.

We can thus already observe that the 'truth' about the way the project was presented is not unitary and preexisting, it's created through discourses of the different actors.

Recurrent inconsistencies could be found in the discourse of the person representing the nature protection when talking about participation and information of the local population. On one hand he indicates that the communities didn't inform the local population enough (due to lack of time, resources…), on the other hand he claims that it is the Canton of Zurich that is responsible for misinformation and resulting revolts. Finally, he refuses a participation scheme which has been established in a village where dissatisfaction was spread, he asks the administration to be clear and firm about decisions. These inconsistencies are spread across the entire discourse with the different text blocks and paragraphs being more or less consistent with each other in this regard. However, some expressions used are deliberately open and fuzzy; a good example is "*wo (…) die Verwaltung durchaus relativ Klartext reden könnte*" (II – 6). The blurry language could be due to a reticence of expressing his negative thoughts about the recent development of the subgroup for participation. As this group was relatively new and a lot of hopes were attached to it, the interviewee is more careful with expressing his opinion. This subgroup which was created to resolve a conflict in the small village Ellikon was mentioned very often and contradictions and inconsistencies can be found repeatedly. The following quote by the project leader illustrates this:

Ich habe gesagt, wir haben nun eine Chance, wir können nun das miteinander verhandeln und eine Lösung finden. Wenn wir keine Lösung finden, dann machen die Landeigentümer das, was sie wollen. Und dann gibt es halt einfach Meis. Nicht sicher, dass es eine Lösung gibt,

aber wir probieren es. Und jetzt ist es gegangen, da hab ich den Plausch. Ich hoffe es hält, Holz anfassen. (I4 – 6)

He starts off stating that they have the possibility to find a solution. However, he's not sure whether there is a solution to the problem. Especially as the scenario for failure to find a solution is that the landowners do what they want to.

The moderator for the participatory process in the Thurauen also shows some inconsistencies about the same topic of inclusion of the local population in the process. On one hand he laments a lack of initiative and involvement of the communities even in their basic task of keeping their population well informed. On the other hand, he himself sees his role in getting the opinions of the local population directly. Who is really in charge of keeping the information passed around and informing? He accuses the participants of being lethargic and at the same time describes how the inhabitants could get furious about construction phases they've not felt adequately informed about. Another topic where the speaker is not fully consistent in his accounts is when discussing the special situation in the village where there were some discussions.

Und wir haben ja dann eine spezielle Arbeitsgruppe Ellikerfeld gebildet, wo Röbi Bänziger präsidiert, um zu schauen, ob wir dort einen Konsens finden, weil am Anfang haben wir eigentlich gemeint, wir hätten ihn, weil die Bauern haben einer Landabtretung zugestimmt, weil sie in Rheinau Land bekommen haben. Und jetzt ist ja die Frage, jetzt müssen sie dieses Land bewerten, berücksichtigen, dass sie ein bisschen weiter fahren müssen usw. (I5 – 1)

As seen in the quote by the project leader, it's about the same moment in time where a solution was sought. They are looking for a solution, or here a consensus, however the way the situation is described, it is still not clear: do we have a consensus? Were the farmers unhappy with the estimation of their properties? What is exactly the problem? This blurry description shows that the solution or consensus is not clear or stable; it is still to be found and fortified.

The last example of inconsistencies and contradictions will be shown through this quote by a farmer who received a compensation for the land he wasn't allowed to use for 2 years.

Und ich als Gemüsebauer konnte nach 2 Jahren Wiese wieder einsteigen. Und wir haben dann auch eine Lösung gefunden für die Entschädigung. Also mich haben sie eigentlich auf die Gemüsekulturen bezogen entschädigt, da sind sie also sauber gewesen. Aber wir mussten also wirklich um alles kämpfen. Am Anfang haben sie gesagt, kein Problem, du hast ja noch Direktzahlungen, so hat es getönt. Und es ist eben einfach so, dass du auf einem intensiv

geführten Betrieb, Direktzahlungen ist so viel. Also du lebst eigentlich von der Produktion. Und da hat dann auch... und man konnte dann immer wieder Fachleute zuziehen, die konnten es dann diesen erklären und dann ist es gegangen. (I3 – 3)

In the beginning he says that they compensated him for the 2 years he lost income as he could not use some of the land as a result of the restoration project. He says they did it in a 'clean' way. The way he accentuates one could deduce that they compensated him over his expectations. However right after this, he remembers (as he says it several times in the interview) that they had to fight for everything, and how they even tried to silence him reminding him that he receives direct payments from the confederation and is thus not in need to be compensated for the inability to farm on part of his land. He finishes explaining that with the help of some experts they were usually able to explain the issues and resolve them. This contradiction of the behavior of the project execution side perceived by the farmer shows that the interplay was ambivalent. On one hand the positive aspects were put to the front, but behind this there were a lot of discussions and strenuous attempts to come to terms.

It is important to note here that inconsistency – as well as consistency – is a highly negotiable phenomenon. Depending on the occasion some variations in accounts may be seen as inconsistent whereas in others they could be seen as sensible and rational after all. Potter and Wetherell suggest that *"consistency and inconsistency are variable states themselves and one of the things which interest the discourse analyst is how they are used, variably, as argumentative or rhetorical strategies"* (Potter and Wetherell 1987).

5.3. IDENTIFYING ABSENT PRESENCES

The 6th of the seven key methodological components of discourse analysis claims that silences say often more than words. To identify these so-called 'absent presences' I scanned the data for obvious omissions or unequal accounts and mentions of certain subjects.

The interviews conducted showed some interesting elements in relation with absent presences. Maybe the most meaningful example was an absent presence linked to a physical presence – or not – in the participatory process. Talking to the different actors involved in the participation the absence of one specific interest group becomes evident: there is nobody representing the tourism and leisure sector. This is even more striking considering that the slogan of the project involves tourism as one major factor of the success of the project. But it is not only the physical absence of this interest group which is interesting but also the silence around that subject through the interviewees. The

'insiders' say that the exclusion of this party was done on purpose, whereas the 'outsider' and project leading groups respond that they weren't included due to a lack of central organization of the tourism interest group. This absence, discursively and organizationally, becomes problematic with the increased interest and discussions around public transports and parking spaces around the project. Opinions diverged concerning parking spaces: some participants expected the project management group to plan parking spaces on communal land, whereas others clearly felt the need to limit parking in order to avoid heavy traffic. This directly led to the question of public transport: some inhabitants and locals felt that an additional bus is needed to make the place accessible. However, the main reason behind this wish was the personal interest of different villages to get access to a new bus line. The confusion and also the importance of these subjects for the interviewees shows us that the absent presences do indeed have an effect and implications for the perception of problems. The example of tourism has undergone what Wynne calls the 'pre-framing' (Wynne 2007). The frames have been set in advance which left no room for this topic to come up and be officially part of the agenda and in the end become a 'hot topic'. Tourism and leisure plays a role in almost any rehabilitation project. The example of the Loweswater Care Project described by Judith Tsouvalis and Claire Waterton shows a different approach to avoid 'pre-framing': a forum-like structure was put in place in order to be open to *"exploring diverse 'framings' of Loweswater's problems, so that the group can open up and close down different issues at different times"* (Tsouvalis and Waterton 2012). Thus the participants of this forum were themselves capable of deciding on salient issues. It can be concluded that in relation with absent presences the process of framing is important and an awareness of the existing frames is necessary to understand and see through these absences.

5.4. IDENTIFYING SOCIAL CONTEXTS AND THE PRODUCTION OF SUBJECT POSITIONS

As the aim of this part of the discourse analysis is to link the production of discourse with the production of key subject positions (Berg 2009), this will form the crucial part of my analysis in order to treat my research questions. The aim is to figure out what influence power has in these contexts to (re)produce social relations and subject positions (Berg 2009). The relative power of discourse participants is organized in the wider social formation and its institutions, in which text producers, distributors and receivers act in particular roles (Koller 2009).

The aim of this research is to find out how environmental subjects are formed in the frame of the river restoration project. For environmental subjects to emerge a number of conditions need to be fulfilled. The following chapter briefly presents Arun Agrawal's emergence of environmental subjects.

The formation of environmental subjects

Inspired by Foucault, Arun Agrawal developed the concept of 'environmentality' which brings together a concern with power/knowledges, institutions and subjectivities. He draws on the Foucauldian governmentality, which is the view that modern governments have expanded their power over individuals by exerting "a positive influence over life" (Agrawal 2005). Positive, because power is viewed as to be more than coercion and can take a positive role by producing subjects sympathetic to the government. Agrawal combines this notion with the environment in order to be able to study environmental politics with a strong interconnection of the key concepts of governmentality.

However, Foucault makes little reference to how governments form subjects or how transformations of subjects can be explained. Thus Agrawal makes an important contribution with his environmental subjects, representing *"people who have come to think and act in new ways in relation to the environment"* (Agrawal 2005).

Agrawal evokes the passage from a 'technology of domination' to a 'technology of the self' in the policing of nature by the state and thus the articulation or continuum between the meaning of 'subject' as a function of subordination and its meaning as a function of action. In more concrete terms, the institutions have a critical role in creating new forms of identity and a concern for the environment. What Agrawal describes as disciplinary environmentality is an effort to create environmental subjects through diffusion of ethical norms. Other ways in which new environmental subjects emerge are: as a result of involvement in a struggle over resources, in relation to new institutions, and changing calculations of self-interest and notions of the self.

Thus the questions that can be asked now are:

How do people come to a sense of commitment to their local 'environment'? How are subjects formed which move away from opponents of the restoration projects which take away their land to advocates of projects and active participation in its realization?

Arun Agrawal's study took place in the Kumaoni forests in India were the institutional structure changed from being an early colonial model of exclusion, expertise and

domination to a more inclusive model which is based on community participation in governance and local management. This decentralization of environmental regulation has led to a shift in the attitudes towards the forests because the community now has significant managerial responsibility. Environmental subjects form in the context of this decentralization of environmental regulation which produced what Agrawal describes as *governmentalized localities.* Governmentalized localities describe the devolution of authority to local inhabitants in exchange to or as a reward for enhanced conservation and control of the resource in question that needs protection (Agrawal 2005, Raymond 2006). Thus Arun Agrawal is not saying that a heightened awareness of the value of the forests is the reason for the greater 'environmental subjectivity'. It is rather the experiences and practices that accompanied the new regulatory regime, associated with plural, stakeholder-led, participatory governance, that preceded and facilitated the shifting consciousness and the emergence of new political subjects (Mawdsley 2009). This intends to secure the participation of the local population. Agrawal has observed in his field studies in India that villagers who participate more intensely in the enforcement of environmental protection also seem to care more about the environment. *"The process of subject formation, implicit in most studies of environmental government, is crucially connected to participation and practice."* (Agrawal, Gupta et al. 2005) Agrawal is against the conception of a direct relationship between identity, interests and beliefs and continues stating that too often particular social identities, such as gender and casts, are simplistically correlated with particular interests. Rather he is suggesting that the degree of involvement of individuals within specific regulatory practices is more likely to correlate with their enhanced environmental subjectivity than their structural-social positioning (Agrawal 2005, Mawdsley 2009). According to him, *"socially defined identity categories are a poor predictor of interests precisely because they objectify and homogenize their members, ignoring the very real lives people live in the shadow of their social identities"* (Agrawal 2005). Thus the only category I used as an attribute value for the interviewees is not a socially defined one, such as gender or age; it's the position of the person in relation to the project: 'outsider' or 'insider'.

There are some criticisms to Arun Agrawal's study that are worth mentioning at this point in order to be prepared to eventual implications for this research. Concerning his described passage from a 'technology of domination' to a 'technology of the self' a prevalent critic claims the work of Agrawal as not being based on enough proves in data. This means that with the ethnographic information being scarce, the ground for the analysis of the practice of subordination due to 'technology of the self' is weak. Also, according to some critics the analysis has not been embedded in a fuller history of forest

politics and cultures in the region (Narotzky 2005). Even though the same critics could be made for the paper at hand, as the findings are based on a very restricted number of interview participants and the interviews have been conducted in only one moment in time, I consider these criticisms as being of little relevance for this research. First of all, the scope of this paper and of the study area is in no comparison to Arun Agrawal's study in India, which took place over several years and covers a much greater surface. Secondly, conducting interviews for discourse analysis my focus lies in the quality of the individual interviews and interpretations rather than on quantity of so-called proves in data. And finally, the aim of this thesis is to give an insight of the process of environmental subject formation, an insight that could indeed form the basis for further broader and deeper research.

Arun Agrawal was further criticized on his deployment of Foucauldian ideas of governmentality (Gupta 2006) and concerning his methodological techniques and analysis (Godsworthy 2006). Godsworthy further claims that Agrawal is insufficiently attentive to power relations and how some people might be more powerful or easily heard in a group than others. Another weak point which is particularly important for my study as I transposed some of his ideas and parameters to a completely different context is that Agrawal doesn't refer to research that has been done in other parts of the world about environmental values and behavior. An ever increasing body of work is elucidating values and has been reflexively and critically examined by many in turn. It is suggested that environmental values are contingent, complex and often contradictory (Mawdsley 2009).

Thus I want to be clear about the fact that I use Arun Agrawal's conception of environmental subjects and his description in the case of the Kumaoni forests as a basis and pillar, but not as a rule or fixed concept. This means that the methodological approach and theoretical framework have been elaborated apart and specifically tailored for the study area of the research.

In the following I try to identify the ways in which environmental subjects emerge in the participatory process connected to river restoration of the Thur through analysis of the discourses.

6. ENVIRONMENTAL SUBJECTS EMERGE…

6.1. … IN RELATION TO NEW INSTITUTIONS

The modalities for the planning and the realization of the Thurauen project were put on paper in the decision of the cantonal government of November 4, 1998 (Zürich 1998). The decisional paper explains that the project is executed in response to the federal ordinance concerning the protection of alluvial plains of national importance. The perimeter for the project has also been fixed through the federal ordinance. On the cantonal level, it is the department for waste, water, energy and air (AWEL) who has the administrative direction. Furthermore, the inclusion of communities and concerned organizations has been considered to be necessary. In order to bring together these different interest groups an independent spokesperson was selected who is in charge of the moderation of the accompaniment group where the different stakeholders are to be included. The moderator invites the accompaniment group whenever necessary and after each new planning decision in order to inform the communities. A participatory process should make sure that the different viewpoints and interests are represented and whenever there's a disagreement, the moderator is expected to find a consensus. If no consensus can be found, the moderator may prompt an intermediate decision to be discussed with the cantonal government representatives (Zürich 1998).

The new institution created through the Thurauen project is on one side the participatory body (accompaniment group) and on the other side, in the background but there for settlement of enduring disagreements, the cantonal government. The Federal Office for the Environment is only indirectly involved: they participate in the accompaniment group, but there is little direct contact to the site.

It is important to make the link to Agrawal's notion of decentralized government. In his book on Environmentality, he argues that centralized guidance and regulation is unsuitable for local governance because of the diversity of these localized forms of government (Agrawal 2005). *New loci of decision making* describe the formation of new forms of authority in the villages which are based on the principle of local, community-level regulation of forests (in the case of Agrawal's case study) (Agrawal 2005). For Agrawal it is clear, that *"the flexibility in internal decision making that the rules[9] granted to villagers was no more than a recognition of the fact that the state could not ultimately control all the interactions within the locality"* (Agrawal 2005). Based on this, I can now

[9] Forest Council Rules: in the case of the Kumaon forest, Forest Council Rules regulated the recognition and formation of village forests.

analyze the emergence of *new loci of decision making* in the context of the Thurauen project. When I talk about new loci of decision making they imply changes in power relationships. Thus it is these changes, and more particularly, the process leading to these changes and accompanying these, that will be important in the following.

6.1.1. "THE ACCOMPANIMENT GROUP WAS CLEARLY A POLITICAL INSTRUMENT!"

The discourse used in the decisional paper of the Canton of Zurich makes clear reference to the instrumental nature of the participatory process:

*Für die bevorstehenden Projektierungsarbeiten ist es **zweckmässig**, dass die Gemeinden und die beiden Vereine ihre Vorschläge und Anliegen im Rahmen einer Begleitkommission einbringen können. (Zürich 1998)*

The word *zweckmässig* can be translated with suitable, practicable, but these translations are not entirely satisfying. The word is even stronger than this deriving from the noun *Zweck: purpose.* So the accompaniment group has been done for a purpose: to find consensus.

Sie leitet die Begleitkommission, ist für die angemessene und faire Berücksichtigung der verschiedenen Interessen besorgt und strebt einen Konsens an. (Zürich 1998)

So the people living in the region where the Thur flows into the Rhine, observed the emergence of a new institutional body, the accompaniment group, who met every now and then to discuss on the new project updates. Each community was able to send a communal representative and a representative of the agricultural sector and local NGOs. Foresters and other stakeholder were also invited. From the administrative side, cantonal deputies of different departments were invited to participate, as well as one delegate from the Federal Office for the Environment.

6.1.2. "ONE MAN, ONE WORD SEEMS TO COUNT ONLY OUT HERE…"

A general problem of the accompaniment group mentioned by the majority of interviewees – 'insiders' as well as 'outsiders' – was the ever changing composition of the group. This is of course to a great degree due to the duration of the project: as it spanned over 15 years, it is normal that the personnel especially in the administration changes. However, as it is mostly the administrative personnel that changed again and again and the local representatives stayed the same, it was very unbalanced and the local population suffered from the fact that a new person also comes with new ideas and ideals and intends

to change plans all over again. This lack of regularity and consistency weighed heavily on the participants. The following is a quote by the representative of the community:

Das Problem war, dass jedes Mal, wenn ein Amtswechsel stattfindet, auch innerhalb der Ämter, wenn eine Person wechselt, gibt es nicht nur einen neuen Namen, sondern auch eine neue Idee. Und das war ständig immer das Problem, das wir auch hatten, Vereinbarungen wurden gemacht, man hat miteinander Gespräche geführt, man hatte miteinander Lösungsansätze, es wechselte eine Person und die hat wieder von allem nichts mehr gewusst oder wollte nichts mehr davon wissen, weil es vielleicht nicht mehr entsprochen hat. (I2 – 2)

A local farmer sees it the same way:

Ja, ja, aber das sind natürlich auch gerade wieder, das sind wieder andere Köpfe dort drinnen und dann heisst es einfach wieder, ja wir haben's jetzt neu beurteilt. Also ein Mann, ein Wort, das ist eben, das gilt nur draussen auf dem Land... hat man manchmal das Gefühl. Ja. (I3 – 4)

The project leader is also aware of this problem:

Soo mühsam, sobald man neue Leute hat. Nicht weil die neuen Leute schlecht sind, sondern weil sie die Gesamtheit nicht wahrnehmen können, schon gar nicht mehr bei Dingen, die schon gebaut sind. (…) Die zuständigen Fachstellenleiter haben z.T. sogar schon 2x gewechselt, die zuständigen Sachbearbeiter haben schon gewechselt. ES SIND ALLLLES NEUE LEUTE. Immer jedem wieder erklären und wenn man Glück hat, dann sind die offen und wenn man Pech hat, dann finden sie einfach... (I4 – 7)

This changing composition of the accompaniment group had as a consequence a stronger attachment to what had been decided on, because it's a result, it's decided and it shouldn't be turned upside down again. But this attachment to internal decisions hasn't been there from the beginning. This farmer talks about his first experiences with the accompaniment group:

Also, wenn ich nun zurückdenke, ganz am Anfang, wo die ersten Pläne gekommen sind, da war ich glaub gerade frisch wieder im Gemeinderat und ich musste das dort dann ein bisschen vertreten. Und das Kopfschütteln war am Anfang sehr gross bei der Bevölkerung, wirklich das Kopfschütteln, weil man das einfach nicht verstanden hat. Je weiter dass es gegangen ist und konkreter geworden ist, desto eher ging es. (I3 – 5)

He insists on the head-shaking to accentuate the disbelief, disapproval and skepticism. This is a point I will treat more in detail in the second part of the emergence of environmental subjects.

6.1.3. THE SPECIAL CASE: ELLIKON

There is one village that had a special status in the project: Ellikon. It is part of the community of Marthalen and didn't have a representative sent to the accompaniment group because the community of Marthalen chose other people to take part. Ellikon is situated on the banks of the Rhine and is therefore the village which is closer to the water than any other village in the region. However, based on the alluvial plane perimeter fixed by the ordinance by the Federal Office for the Environment, Ellikon is not part of it and not directly concerned by the project outcomes. Still, in the course of the project, the nature protection department of the canton decided to include the case of Ellikon in the discussions proclaiming that it is an alluvial plane area and needs proper protection. Thus in response to this, a special accompaniment group was founded only to resolve the problem in Ellikon, as the protection of this area led to land exchange measures of many local farmers. The moderator of the accompaniment group explains the situation:

Und das Ellikerfeld ist gar nicht im Auenperimeter drin und dort wurde der Naturschutz, vor allem vom Kanton her, sehr aktiv und man hat im Projekt drin, 2 Sachen festgelegt, A) man macht dort für den Naturschutz dann etwas, wenn man eine freiwillige Vereinbarung mit den Bauern und Eigentümern findet, es gibt keine Expropriation, es gibt keinen Zwangskauf, es gibt nichts dergleichen. (I5 – 2)

One of the farmers in Ellikon is not happy at all with the course of the project; according to him Ellikon should have been able to participate from the beginning on:

Es wäre sicherlich sinnvoll gewesen, wenn die Elliker von Anfang an dabei gewesen wären. (I6– 1)

Furthermore, the way he experienced the participatory process it was far from participatory for him:

Die Fachgruppe wurde einfach für SEIN Ziel informiert und schneidet anderes aus. Die Partizipation ist insofern einfach Mittel zum Zweck. Ein Problem war, dass zu wenig Details ausgearbeitet wurden. Die vom Projekt hatten einen Plan und ein Ziel und akzeptierten keine Abweichung. (I6– 2)

Concerning the presence of new institutions, I may already conclude three things: first, the accompaniment group can certainly be seen as a new institution in the region. Second, the inhabitants are looking for regularity, safety and consistency. Thus the initial skepticism could be overcome with direct involvement and participation in order to arrive at results to which participants could hold on to. Third, the problematic case of Ellikon can be

directly linked to the fact that it was excluded from the participatory process in the beginning. We will see in a later chapter, if it is for that reason that there were no environmental subjects formed in that village.

The example of Ellikon illustrates well that the 'new' institutional structure brought about by the participatory accompaniment group is something in between classical instances of representative democracy and the emerging structures of participatory processes. The accompaniment group is not only new in terms of a 'newly formed institution'; it also offers new forms of operation. Thus, for the case of Ellikon, this new form allowed the 'emergency-like' formation of an additional group to externalize certain problems. The question of what makes the articulation of participative forms possible with former ways of decision making and bureaucratic structures is common for many participative processes. Thus offering a 'new' structure with the accompaniment group, it can be supposed that more dynamic and adapting measures may be possible.

It could be shown that institutionalization through the accompaniment group influences people's intentions and the inferences they draw from their actions. Furthermore, the strategies associated with and at the same time resulting from the participative approach transforms those who participate in it.

6.2. … AS A RESULT OF INVOLVEMENT IN STRUGGLE OVER RESOURCES

The second reason or cause for the emergence of environmental subject is an involvement in the struggle over resources. Arun Agrawal bases his theory on a case study conducted in India where the resource which was the cause of struggles was a forest. For the case of the Thurauen project I will adapt the struggle over resources to the local specificities. Thus resources in this special case are not exclusively natural resources, but they include also private property, communal land, and the rivers Thur and Rhine.

6.2.1. "IT'S OUR THUR!"

What stands out discursively for the material coded under the node 'struggle over resources' is the repeated use of possessive pronouns and other forms to show possession.

Der Rhein gehört allen! (Umfrage Gemeinde Marthalen)

Aber für mich kommt der Mensch hier unten zu kurz. Das war auch ein wichtiger Punkt, dass, für uns als Gemeinde zum Beispiel, als Flaachemer, die Thur, wir sagen, das ist unsere Thur, das ist nicht die Thur des Kantons, oder von einem Amtsvertreter. Und es war schwierig, diese Einstellung ein bisschen ändern zu können und sagen zu können, es ist halt nicht nur unsere

Thur, aber eben auch. Und das 'eben auch' das wollen, dann vor allem eben wieder Amtsvertreter, sehr ungern hören. Sie möchten am liebsten eigentlich gar niemanden in diesem Gebiet drin haben, das kann man schlicht und einfach nicht eingehen. Also ich denke vor allem eben dieser Punkt Naherholung, Besucherlenkung. Das ist etwas, das zu kurz kam. (I2 – 3)

The two quotes above show the argumentation with possessive forms very clearly. Insisting on the fact that something is *mine* the intrusion through somebody else becomes even more obvious. The use of the possessive pronoun 'our' is a well-known component of Conservative rhetoric (Van Dijk 1993). The very strong attachment to their own territory and habits was felt by the 'outsiders' as well.

Jede hat das Gefühl, das ist mein Gebiet, die haben hier nichts zu suchen. (I5 – 3)

Also die Gemeinde Flaach hat dem Kanton 205 Hektare Wald verkauft per Gemeinderatsbestimmung. Haha, das ist nicht eine Frage des Geldes, das ist eine Frage auch der Tradition, des Herzes, des Herzblutes. 'Das ist unser Wald, den verkaufen wir doch nicht dem Kanton, spinnt Ihr??? Vielleicht werden wir das Holz eines Tages noch gebrauchen.' (I4 – 8)

Bestandesgarantie, man will uns jetzt nicht nur, weiss ich was, das Pilzsammeln verbieten und wir müssen jetzt dem Weglein entlang laufen im Auengebiet und unser Wald haben wir auch dem Kanton müssen zu einem Spottpreis verkaufen und und und und jetzt nicht auch noch unsere Badeplätze und unsere Parkplätze, wo man den Grill herunterfahren konnte, und das Böötlein und so wegnehmen, also das ist ganz psychologisch delikat, also das mit dem Wegnehmen. (II – 7)

As the project leader mentions it's about tradition, heart, lifeblood and passion. And of course the institution responsible for the induced changes being the canton doesn't alleviate the situation. It is largely acknowledged that the intrusion into the daily lives and habits of the inhabitants is a very sensitive matter and needs to be tackled with greatest care.

Also, ich finde, es ist schon gut, dass man sorgfältig umgeht mit den Leuten und insbesondere Grundbesitz ist in der Schweiz halt ein Heiligtum und sie können niemandem irgendwie einen Quadratmeter Land wegnehmen, oder nicht mal wegnehmen, oder irgendwie unnützen, ohne dass es ein riesen Geschrei gibt. (II– 8)

This quote shows that the explosive nature of the issue is given and the speaker respects it. Nevertheless, the exaggerated formulation (one square meter leading to a giant protest) might point to a subtle accusation of the rural population of being obstinate and not able to see the big picture.

6.2.2. "TRY TO MINIMIZE THE DAMAGE…"

On the other side of the discussed psychological and ideological questions of ownership and communal property, there is the more practical consequence in the daily lives of the farmers in the region. The plans of the restoration project had as a consequence that some farmers were forced to abandon or change some of their lands or to accept the loss of two or more harvests to leave some room for meadows or other nature protection measures (but of course receiving compensation for the missed yields).

The project leader is aware of the pressure that the farmers were facing:

Also sie haben, - es ist halt natürlich schon so eine Art ein Rückzugsgefecht - sie sehen eindeutig, dass man was machen muss - das ist übrigens auch bei anderen Projekten - sie versuchen einfach den Schaden zu minimieren für sie, diese Bauern oder. Die Naturschützer versuchen möglichst viel herauszuholen für die Natur. Eben, jeder muss ein bisschen für seine Kundschaft schauen. (I4 – 9)

For him, the farmers are fighting a rearguard action trying to minimize the damages. On the other side of the battlefield there are the conservationists who are trying to gain as much room as possible for nature. Visually, with the words he's using, the conservationists are intruding and forcing the farmers to retreat. The situation of the farmers is a weak one, illustrated by the following series of quotes:

Ja, dann ist diese Abhängigkeit, einerseits sagen sie, sie seien Unternehmer, und andererseits sagt man ihnen wie lange der Kuhstall sein muss, damit er Subventionen... Er weiss es auch selber. Ich glaube das ist ein Versuch irgendwie in einer Welt, wo noch einigermassen geht, nicht so zu machen, dass sie dann einfach Angst haben müssen, dass sie gar nicht mehr geht. (I4 – 10)

He's evoking the double-edged position of the Swiss farmers: on one hand they want to stand as independent entrepreneurs and on the other hand the Federal Office tells them how long their cow barn needs to be in order to receive direct payments. Even though the farmers are well aware of their dependence they want to stress the fact that they are doing productive agriculture and are not living off the direct payments.

Aber wir mussten also wirklich um alles kämpfen. Am Anfang haben sie gesagt, kein Problem, du hast ja noch Direktzahlungen, so hat es getönt. Und es ist eben einfach so, dass du auf einem intensiv geführten Betrieb, Direktzahlungen ist so (shows how small the part of direct payments is: a small distance betweeen his index finger and thumb) viel. Also du lebst eigentlich von der Produktion. (I3 – 6)

The farmer is insisting repeatedly that he sees himself as a productive farmer.

Ich war eben für Produktion. Weil man wollte uns dann auch wieder mit ökodingen kaufen, schon damals. Und mit Geldern einfach und ich hab kategorisch immer abgeblockt. Weil ich bin für eine produzierende Landwirtschaft, also für Unternehmertum. (I3– 7)

The power relations and the pressure from the side of the canton and the conservationist become palpable:

Aber eben ich denke, es war gut, dass ich hier unten aktiver Bauer war, dass ich weiter Bauer sein wollte. Wäre jetzt vielleicht ein anderer da gewesen oder einfach, sag ich jetzt mal, ein Politiker, dann hätten wir wahrscheinlich keinen Damm hier unten. Weil der Druck, der ist nicht nur von Naturschutzseite, vom Rheinaubund[10] und von Pro Thur[11] gekommen, sondern auf Kantonsseite war's gerade etwa gleich. Das war also fast unerträglich. Ich hatte bald das Gefühl es habe keine vernünftigen Menschen mehr da im Amt. (I3 – 8)

The different players tried to influence the farmers in order to bring them to lend their land for meadows or to sell their land directly to the canton. The main discussion point was around the flood protection measures. The struggle is thus not only taking place over resources but over the livelihood of farmers all together. Through active engagement in the accompaniment group the farmer was able to minimize the damages and receive adequate compensation. The farmer is convinced that it is indeed thanks to his active engagement and straight-forward communication that he spared him and his neighbors from land exchanges and other measures along the way of the river restoration and more importantly for him and his colleagues: they got a flood protection which guarantees them and their crops enough safety.

Aber wir haben jetzt heute, dank dem, dass wir das geschickt verhandeln konnten, haben wir wieder einen Schutz den uns genug Sicherheit gibt. (I3– 9)

[10] The conservationist NGO that was also participating in the accompaniment group.
[11] Pro Thur is a working group composed of representatives of different environmental protection associations.

The farmer is thus using the platform of the accompaniment group to stand up for his issues and is satisfied by the results he achieved. This means that he sees the advantages of participating in this structure and he himself uses it as an instrument for his needs. The struggle over resources is thus taking place inside the participatory process which hints to the emergence of environmental subjects. In the third cause for this emergence, the micro-level, the individual level of the subjects will be analyzed more in depth.

6.3. … AS A RESULT OF CHANGING CALCULATIONS OF SELF-INTEREST AND NOTIONS OF THE SELF

The main questions to be answered in order to proceed to the analysis of this chapter are the following: How is the state trying to transform the participants into self-regulating subjects? In what practices does the state engage to produce a sense of environmental awareness and hence subjectivity among farmers (Birkenholtz 2009)? This is the point where reference to Arun Agrawal's disciplinary environmentality needs to be made: he describes disciplinary environmentality as an effort to create environmental subjects through diffusion of ethical norms (Agrawal 2005). Through this the 'technology of domination' gives place to the 'technology of the self'. In order to attain this passage from one technology to the other, the first step before self-conduct (in the Foucauldian sense) is to secure consent (Gidwani 2008, Birkenholtz 2009). Interestingly, as Birkenholtz explaines, it is still not clear which conditions enable the government to gain this consent and which lead to protest and disputes (Birkenholtz 2009).

In the following I will introduce some discourse excerpts showing the importance of consent for the process and contrasting to this some other excerpts where consent was more difficult.

6.3.1. "YOU CAN NEVER SUIT EVERYBODY"

The farmer participating in the accompaniment group was aware of the fact that in the frame of a project of this amplitude it would never be possible to please everybody:

*Wenn man so ein grosses Projekt hat und so viele Wünsche, da kannst du es nie allen gleich recht machen. Man muss irgendwie **miteinander** eine **Lösung finden** und man muss sagen, moll, wenn man es so macht, können alle ein bisschen damit leben, alle haben etwas davon. (I3 – 10)*

The characteristic of this quote is that it could have been said by anyone of the interviewees. It shows that the necessity of the accompaniment group and the participatory discussions has been acknowledged and accepted and **being part of it**, the

common goal now is to find a solution **together**. Thus we're already one step further then simple consent. The participants feel to be part of the process and it is also in their interest to find a solution **together**. The combination of **finding a solution** and **together** suggests a uniqueness which poses further constraints: it's not just working together; it's working together for one solution. The quotes by the moderator of the accompaniment group describe the steps before this moment:

Und ich habe oft gesagt, das Entscheidende ist das, wenn sie 2 oppositionelle Gruppierungen haben und sie suchen einen Konsens und wenn die Partner irgendwann mal den Eindruck haben, 'ja Moment, wenn ich nun hier ein bisschen nachgebe, dann gewinn ich insgesamt mehr, weder wenn ich einfach Fundamentalopposition mache, dann verliere ich vielleicht mehr, weder...' (…)

Und wenn Sie die Leute so weit haben, dann ist das gut, dann kommen Sie weiter. Das braucht viel Kommunikation, das braucht viel Sitzleder, Geduld, viel Geduld, alle ernst nehmen, alle Partner ernst nehmen und wirklich auch auf sie eingehen und mit ihnen gemeinsam nach Lösungen suchen. Und ich höre darum den Begriff Moderator nicht so gerne, weil das ist immer der Berühmte der einfach ein bisschen Karten schiebt und schaut usw. also ich glaube das reicht einfach nicht. Das geht tiefer. Und eben es braucht durch das Zeit, es braucht Geduld und ähm, der Vorteil war auch, dass es ein langfristiges Projekt ist und wir nicht auf einer sehr knappen Zeitachse hockten. (I5 – 4)

The magic words are: communication, patience, time and comprehensive overview. The second part of the quote is very repetitive and the speaker is insisting on the different points. The way he formulates, slightly limping and repeating, gives the impression also semantically of a tiring and difficult process. In contrast to this, the representative of the Federal Office for the Environment goes further than just consent – probably not being aware of the difficulties to get only a simple consent.

Da müsste man den Kanton natürlich fragen, was seine Strategie gewesen ist jetzt bei der Kommunikation. Aber ich glaube schon in dem Sinne, dass es nur gelingen kann, wenn man auch ein bisschen weit auch kann Sensibilisierung erreichen und ein bisschen eine Begeisterung wecken für das was man da überhaupt schaffen möchte, oder erreichen kann. Und das ist glaube ich immer im Zentrum gewesen. (I7– 1)

He is talking about sensitization and even enthusiasm. The speaker repeatedly regretted during the interview that he felt he was rather far away from the developments through the project, as he only came to the accompaniment group meetings and is based in Bern.

This quote also shows us his distance and he's not aware of the complexity of achieving consent in a project like that. He is representing the FOEN's position concerning river restoration which is the one of an idealized participation, a guideline for different restoration projects across the country.

Es ist natürlich schon immer ideal, wenn man auch eine Motivation fürs Projekt wecken kann, indem die Leute direkt beteiligt sind und ihre Wünsche auch einbringen können. (I7 – 2)

The ideal would be to awaken a motivation for the project, to take the population in instead of having to work against them. This ideal to be attained is very much in line with the idea of the forming of subjects through diffusion of ethical norms. It is the very explicit aim of these norms to build collectives around them, because only when doing so they can be truly efficient. The interviews show that the awareness about the necessity of finding a solution together is well grounded in the mindset and expectation of all participants. But what exactly happens at the individual level when a consent or even enthusiasm for the project is found?

6.3.2. RABBITS AND SNAILS

The farmer uses many animal images and metaphors to illustrate the process he underwent in the course of the participatory consultation.

Und wir haben eigentlich dann am Anfang, wir hatten dann natürlich am Anfang schon ein bisschen Mühe, um uns ein bisschen zu... weil das sind einfach ein bisschen andere Welten wenn so etwas abläuft... und als kleiner Bauer bist du es dir gar nicht gewöhnt, so global zu denken. Und bis du mal ein bisschen merkst, wie der Hase läuft, das ist am Anfang nicht so einfach. Aber ich denke, es hat sich gelohnt, dass wir uns selbst vertreten haben. (…)

Ja nein du bekommst eben, wenn du nicht direkt dein Zeugs vertreten kannst, kommst du immer wie die Schnecke, kommst du immer hinten nach. Und das ist immer ein Mist. Und das andere ist, wenn du selbst etwas vertreten willst in so einem Rahmen, du MUSST dich engagieren, du bist unter Dauerstrom. Und du bekommst automatisch mehr Drive. (I3 – 11)

He mentions something very important: think globally. As the project moderator also evoked, the comprehensive overview and a global openness is crucial to find consensus and compromises. The visual aspects are strong in these quotes and go well with the content as it's about opening one's eyes to new ways of reflecting. The farmer makes allusion to the power relations in the accompaniment group describing himself as a 'small farmer who is not used to 'think globally'. According to him, if you stay outside of the

participatory process, you crawl along like a snail. In contrast, if you're in, you need to be actively engaged and automatically you gain more drive. It's a learning process, also to learn to defend oneself against something:

Ich habe viel gelernt in diesen 13, 14 Jahren. Vor allem habe ich gelernt, mich zu wehren. (I3 – 12)

Another local interviewee, the representative of one of the communities, is also aware of the importance of engaging in the accompaniment group:

Ich meinte aber, es sei wie überall auch, je nach dem, wie man sich in einer Arbeitsgruppe einbringt hat man besseres oder schlechteres Gewicht. Und ich denke, dass die Gemeinde Flaach sich nicht schlecht verkauft hat. (I2 – 4)

It is interesting how he is making reference to the way the village Flaach 'sold' itself for a good prize metaphorically speaking, and achieved positive publicity. Thus for him participation in the accompaniment group was more than just contributing to the process of finding a consensus by bringing the community's interests forward. On top of that he perceived it as a platform to get attention and leave a good impression for the community.

6.3.3. TIME HEALS

Time is a concept that has been mentioned by all the interviewees repeatedly throughout the conversations. However, in relation to changing conceptions of the self, it is clearly the 'outsider' group who used the time argument more often. The before – after situations are crucial for the public perception of the region and it takes time to get accustomed to the new view.

Ich hoffe eigentlich, dass - das hat sich auch an anderen Orten gezeigt - dass sobald sich das ein bisschen einpendelt und eigentlich sich ein Gebiet so ein bisschen entwickelt die Leute mit der Zeit dann auch wieder stolz auf ihr Gebiet sein können und man ein bisschen vergisst was vorher gewesen ist und dass auch wieder gute Sachen kommen. (II – 9)

The interviewee is hoping that after some time, the locals can again be proud of their region and that they forget what has been and look forward to new good things. This quote implies that there were some crises which need to be overcome. He is talking about the special case in Ellikon which will be treated later. The project leader is also taking up the time argument and is suggesting that new experiences need to replace old ones:

Und ich glaube diese Zeit muss man sich auch geben. Ich bin überzeugt, dass... Jaa, dann hat es geheissen, 'unsere Kinder konnten Schleifschuhfahren, das war doch wunderschön'. Dann sag ich, 'und jetzt können sie baden. Jetzt können sie pflantschen'. (…)

ja, das muss man zuerst mal erleben, bevor man sieht, dass das auch etwas ist, wo vielleicht gerade so schön ist wie Schleifschuhfahren, oder. Ich kann nicht, man kann das, diese Erfahrung, oder diese Kindheitserfahrung, die grossen Bäume, wo man konnte... weiss ich was. Die sind einfach und die müssen zuerst ersetzt werden durch etwas anderes. Und es kann ja auch sein, dass es früher besser war, ich meine, diese Möglichkeit besteht ja. (I4 – 11)

He is saying that the imaginary and the experiences need to be replaced and adapted to the new situation. He is not implying that the new situation is better; he's just saying that the collective imaginary needs to be changed and adapted to the context. This is a difficult process, even more, as the rural population is not inclined to many and frequent changes:

Ich meine, das sind ja nicht Leute, die starken Veränderungen ausgesetzt werden. (…) Ich meine da hat man ihr näheres Umfeld auf den Grind gestellt. Und zu erwarten, dass jetzt da jeder 'Hurra, endlich' ruft, ist einfach zu viel erwartet. Der Mensch ist konservativ und die ländliche Bevölkerung erst recht und die landwirtschaftliche Bevölkerung, die sowieso weder erstens sehr dynamisch erzogen ist, noch auch eher verletzlich, sag ich jetzt mal. (I4– 12)

This context needs to be taken into account and thus the rhythm of the project needs to be adapted to it. The local population needs time to ingest the idea and to digest it in a second step. The more time has passed the less dangerous and intimidating the situation appears. Thus the project planning group played with the time factor on purpose to wait until the heat of the situation passed and then slowly but surely implement the plan.

Je mehr Zeit, dass ins Feld geht, desto eher gewöhnt man sich an die neue Situation, desto weniger gefährlich, oder gfürchig kommt es einem vor. Und gegen aussen kann man immer kommunizieren - und das stimmt auch - wir sind dran, wir sind miteinander dran. (I4– 13)

Luckily, the project was planned with a very open time window which allows some time for reflection and adaptation – not to forget that the natural processes themselves also need time to develop.

Summarizing these different elements in the formation of environmental subjects, it can be stated that the diffusion of ethical norms (which is part of disciplinary environmentality) took place on different levels. The macro-level, with the Federal

Ordinance on Alluvial Plane Protection, the meso-level with the decisional paper by the canton proclaiming the necessity of a participative process for the project, the micro-level with the yes-vote from the community assembly accepting and enforcing the forest sale giving the green light for the project and finally the personal level or nano-level where the participants actively engage and spread the information. One may talk about diffusion of norms because these were all moments in time which pointed into clear directions and were set to change actions and attitudes, or even rules. It will now be interesting to see where the limits to this diffusion lie.

7. FORMS OF RESISTANCE TO THE SUBJECT FORMATION

Arun Agrawal states that beliefs towards environmental protection, and the regulation of the self, follow from (rather than precede) state institutional change (Agrawal 2005). In the previous sections I could observe that there was indeed a knowledge formation and to a certain degree an environmental subject formation as a response to institutional change, more specifically the implementation of the accompaniment group. During the interviewing process, it became evident, nonetheless, that there are also other forms of reaction to this participatory approach and the communication in the frame of the project. Reactions which didn't lead to an appropriation of the participatory process by the subjects and consequently also led to a different position towards the project. This reaction is what will be called 'forms of resistance' in this chapter and will be analyzed discursively. I will thus try to answer the question of why state or institutional efforts are being resisted by some and not others, and what the specific counter-moves to these strategies are (Birkenholtz 2009).

As already mentioned in a previous section, the village of Ellikon had a special status in (or one could also say outside) the project. Even though it's the village that would be the most affected from a flooding event (and was already in the past), it wasn't officially included into the participatory process from the beginning. This leads us to the first cause for the formation of environmental subjects: new institutions.

7.1. THE MOST AFFECTED OUTSIDER

The initial absence from the accompaniment group of a representative of Ellikon was felt by all the interview participants. However, there were many different ideas for the reason of this absence. The farmer in Ellikon didn't exclude that it might have been tactics:

In die Begleitgruppe bin ich erst später durch das Versterben des Bauers in Alten herein gerutscht. Vielleicht hätte man, wenn man von Anfang an dabei gewesen wäre, das Projekt besser in eine Richtung orientieren können. Es ist schon komisch, dass das Dorf das so stark betroffen ist, nicht in der Begleitgruppe vertreten ist und nur die Gemeinde Marthalen. Ob es vielleicht Taktik ist, kann sein, weiss nicht. (I6 – 3)

He finds it strange that Ellikon, the village that is most affected by the risk of flooding, is not represented directly. He mentions two times, that it would have certainly made sense to be included into the participatory process since the beginning:

Es wäre sicherlich sinnvoll gewesen, wenn die Elliker von Anfang an dabei gewesen wären. (I6– 4)

The farmer on the other side of the Thur is sympathizing with the unhappy situation of the people from Ellikon and for him the process was crooked:

Und Ellikon hatte nie einen direkten Vertreter, weil Ellikon politisch zur Gemeinde Marthalen gehört und dort hat der Gemeinderat das vertreten. Und genau das war krüks. Die Leute haben dann eigentlich immer die Pläne gesehen und sich vielleicht wieder ein bisschen geärgert, aber hatten nie den direkten Einfluss. Und darum denke ich, ist es auch nicht ganz gut gelaufen. (I3 – 13)

He is saying that it was exactly for this reason that not everything went well during the project implementation. As we've seen, for him, the participative process worked out well and he is thus concluding that if the people in Ellikon participated since the beginning like he did, the results would be in the interest of the people.

The moderator of the accompaniment group sees the source of the problem rather in the history of the village: being part of the community of Marthalen Ellikon has always felt a bit disadvantaged by Marthalen.

Die Elliker haben sich benachteiligt gefühlt und auch das hat offenbar ein bisschen eine Geschichte. Weil Ellikon ist ein Aussenteil von Marthalen, die fühlen sich sowieso immer ein bisschen benachteiligt von Marthalen. (I5 – 5)

Thus, according to him, the fault is not the lack of efforts from the side of the accompaniment group to contact and include representatives from the village; rather it's the historical relationship between the two villages that is responsible for Ellikon's unpopular position. To make this clear, he insists saying that Ellikon is not even in the perimeter of the alluvial plane.

But this perimeter of the alluvial plane caused exactly the upheaval in the small village. The communal representative of the neighboring village brings it to the point:

Man muss einfach wissen, dass das Gebiet in Ellikon, das jetzt vor allem der Streitpunkt ist, wo auch da dieser Dammbau ja oder nein. Das ist nicht von Anfang an Bestand gewesen vom Thurauen-Projekt, sondern das ist relativ eigenmächtig von (Herr / Frau Naturschutz) einfach erweitert worden. Sehr ungeschickt, sie /er hat irgend in einer Form ein Arbeitspapier in den Kreislauf gebracht, das dann enorm Reaktionen gegeben hat. Berechtigte Reaktionen. Und dann mussten sie zurück krebseln und haben dann auf langen Umwegen und auch wieder mit nicht immer nur schönen Mitteln das erreicht, was sie jetzt heute haben. (I2 – 5)

Thus in a second step, after the initial definition of the alluvial plane protection perimeter, the conservationists realized that the plane around Ellikon shows the characteristics of an alluvial plane and should thus be protected. But instead of introducing this topic into the accompaniment group for discussion in a straight forward way, they used the backdoor and dropped information leaflets here and there with the idea of the ideal development of the area. The leaflets showed how the old river courses and ponds were to be revitalized and this on lands of intensive agriculture at the time[12]. The conservationist interviewed wasn't part of this action and sees the highly problematic nature of actions of that kind:

Aber einfach mal so Versuchsballone starten lassen und irgendwelche Pläne, die dann plötzlich kursiert sind, wo man aber nicht mit den Leuten geredet hat vorher, also das ist ganz schlimm oder, das ist ganz... das verärgert und verunsichert dann die Leute und sie haben das Gefühl man plane über unsere Köpfe hinweg, diese Schreibtischtäter da in Zürich oder. Das ist, aber das hat auch relativ... (II – 10)

This backdoor action was very counterproductive for the whole organization around the project because it was another big step backwards in the interaction with this village. It was already difficult enough to gain their trust but with this action the public perception of the village towards the project was very negative. Thus the situation in the village of Ellikon is very complicated, as they haven't been included in the accompaniment group since the beginning and as the definition of the alluvial plane perimeter changed over time, they were like 'outsiders' to their own territory. Information didn't pass directly to them and they only heard of actions affecting their surroundings the roundabout way.

These difficulties and discontentment didn't pass unnoticed. The project management group was aware of this and decided to organize a sub-accompaniment-group (Fachgruppe Ellikerfeld) that concentrates only on issues concerning the village of Ellikon and its surroundings. To this group, inhabitants of the village, conservationists, experts and cantonal deputies were invited and the facilitation was under the external project leader. One of the interviewees alludes to the manipulative nature of such a proceeding. According to him it gives the impression as if the tactic or intention behind the formation of this subgroup is to minimize the participants in order to maximize the chances for an agreement. He asks where the real decisions are made.

Aber das ist hmm ja-a, für mich hat dann dort auch der Prozess nicht mehr 100% gestimmt. ähm, dass man jetzt zu so einem Unterpunkt nochmals eine Begleitgruppe machen muss, wo eigentlich auch da wieder die Verwaltung durchaus relativ Klartext reden könnte und dann

[12] Information from the interviews conducted in May 2014.

die aber eigentlich in der grösseren Begleitgruppe Rechenschaft ablegen müsste. Also wo fallen dann wirklich die Entscheidungen? Also das ist eigentlich nicht mehr so ganz klar. Jetzt sind eigentlich wichtige Entscheidungen sind wie an diese Untergruppe delegiert worden und das hat für mich so ein bisschen den Touch, wie irgendein Gemeinderat, wo sobald es um ein delikates Geschäft geht, bildet man mal eine Unterkommission und dann nochmals. Und dann, ja man hat dort einfach die Gewähr, dass vielleicht ein paar Leute untereinander sich einigen können und wenn man Glück hat, mischt sich von den anderen niemand mehr ein, oder. Weil sie dann sagen, ja ok, das hat ja der Köbi dort ausgehandelt, das wird schon richtig sein oder. Und das ist so ein bisschen, hm... (II – 11)

The instrumental nature of such an accompaniment group stands out: it's a tool to externalize some decisions to a restricted number of stakeholders. The quote above represents well the fuzzy aspects of such an approach. The speaker himself uses unclear words and doesn't say straight out that he's against it. Instead he again hints to the fact that there are some facts/matter of facts which needn't be discussed, as they are based on cantonal decisions and he thus expects the canton to stand up more clearly for these issues.

In summary, one could state that the new institutional body that emerged in Ellikon came too late for the making of environmental subjects. The inhabitants already had the impression through the years before that they've been excluded from the participatory process, thus willingness and openness for discussion were limited. In the next chapter, the second cause for the emergence of environmental subjects will be discussed: as a result of struggles over resources.

7.2. FLOWERS AND BUTTERFLIES INSTEAD OF CORN OR POTATOES

As a consequence of the late inclusion of the community of Ellikon into the participation project, the struggle over resources also took a different form from the one seen before for the case of the village of Flaach. The more or less sudden discovery of the value of the surrounding lands as alluvial planes of national importance led to precipitated actions rather than long participative processes. The farmers were asked / forced to exchange their lands with cantonal terrains in a neighboring village, because their lands around Ellikon are 'morphologically' alluvial planes. One could say that they were forced because they received an offer they just couldn't refuse. The project leader calls it a 'generous estimation' of the value of their lands. But of course this generous estimation was not solely generosity of the Canton of Zurich.

Man hat einfach... man hat eigentlich so umgetauscht, dass kein Bauer nein sagen konnte. Und das ist ihnen dann fast auch ein bisschen zum Vorwurf gemacht worden, man hat gesagt, 'ihr habt eure Seele verkauft an den Teufel', von der Bevölkerung. Das ist so ein bisschen deren jetzige Position, fast schon ein bisschen in diese Richtung. Darum dürfen sie gar nicht mehr so richtig. Ja sie sind jetzt eigentlich ein bisschen elend dran. Sie haben zwar einen grossen Profit gemacht, sie haben etwas davon, aber die anderen, die dort wohnen, oder... Aber ich glaube das wird sich ergeben, wenn wir nun ein paar Jahre warten. (I4 – 13)

This exchange of land put the local farmers in an ambiguous situation: on one hand, it's good for them as they've received a generous sum for it, but on the other hand, it put the local population against them accusing them of having sold their soul to the devil… The speaker brings up the time argument again, time will heal and the people will get accustomed to the new situation. The way truth is produced here is clear: the farmers are the ones who put themselves in this situation and the canton has nothing to do with it, the speaker doesn't even feel obliged to propose a different scenario. The impersonal expression 'one' (*German: man*) further stresses this point. The canton is not even mentioned; the land exchange was done – just like that – and these are the consequences. The finish line is in line with this: just wait and it will resolve…

This resoluteness could already be felt in the same speaker's discourse before the above quote:

Und dann haben wir anschliessend mit den Bauern das Land getauscht, weil die Fachstelle Naturschutz das sowieso extensivieren will, das ist ausserhalb des Auenschutzgebietes. Aber das möchten sie extensivieren, weil sie sagen, morphologisch ist das Auenboden. Null Interesse hier irgendwie Mais zu produzieren oder Kartoffeln, sondern von mir aus Blümlein und Schmetterlinge. (I4– 14)

Zero interest whatsoever to plant potatoes or corn, but for all I care flowers and butterflies! The case is clear it's a highly valuable area and it is out of the question to continue to produce corn, potatoes and other crops here. There is almost no room here for the struggle over resources; the weight of the farmers was largely diminished through the exchange of lands. Despite (or because of) the resoluteness from the part of the authorities resistance in the village grew and a petition was signed by almost all inhabitants demanding the construction of a dam (instead of leaving the area to periodical flooding which is a characteristic of alluvial planes).

‚Wir wollen den Damm'. Es ist eigentlich eine weltanschauliche Frage. Die einen wollen einfach nicht überall nur die grünen Frösche, sondern sie wollen's einfach so wie's immer war. Oder vielleicht auch, wir essen auch Kartoffeln oder. Die anderen wollen einfach überall Blüemli und Schmetterlinge. Und sagen, benehmt euch nicht so saudumm! Dann hat man jetzt, also da gab es eine Petition, die praktisch alle unterschrieben haben, die gesagt haben, wir wollen diesen Damm! Obwohl jetzt das ganze Land, das vom Damm beschützt wär, unterdessen dem Kanton gehört und jeder Bauer, der das gegeben hat, hat gesagt, ich verzichte auf den Damm. (I4 – 15)

The speaker says that it's an ideological question that keeps the two competing fronts apart. Some are more traditional and like things the way they've always been. Others almost dogmatically want to see nature at the first front. He again mentions the potatoes, little flowers and butterflies to make his case clear and visual and to show that it's a very simple and understandable question. For the speaker, it seems absurd as the land affected by the construction or not of the dam already belongs to the canton. Ultimately it's the decision of the owner, thus the canton.

7.3. *"WE ALREADY HAD A BEAUTIFUL PLACE BEFORE THIS"*

The last form of resistance to the process of environmentalization in the frame of the Thurauen project is about the perceptions of the self. It's the question whether the discourse and the interplay of the different players led to a changing calculation of one's self-interest and notions of the self. It is also about the positioning of oneself in relation to the project and the change of one's own perception, impression or maybe prejudices. Did the participative process 'do' something with the subject? Was the process able to 'intervene' on a personal level?

Since the very beginning of the conversation with the person living in the village of Ellikon it becomes very clear, that the project is not seen as something positive – on the contrary. He leads the conversation swiftly to the experienced difficulties and conflict of interests. This was to be expected as an interviewee beforehand already described his position and the sources of conflict.

Der ist Bauer und ist auch noch Jäger und Fischer. Er versteht also sehr viel von der Natur. Wirklich. Also der kennt jetzt die Zusammenhänge und hat dann auch nach der ersten Überschwemmung vom Rhein, die ja dann eigentlich so hervorgerufen war weil sie ja den Damm weggenommen haben, der hat dann eben Dinge kritisiert und fachlich begründet, die schlecht gelaufen sind. Und bei diesem, muss ich sagen, dort hat sich das Amt ein bisschen hinten herausscharwänzelt. Ist nicht sauber. War nicht sauber. (I3– 14)

The interviewee talking about the farmer in question starts off stating that he really knows the nature very well. This automatically gives him more weight and justifies his position. In other words, this is not just an unsatisfied citizen who likes to protest against anything that's new or unusual, no; it's someone who knows nature well, just as well or even better than the conservationists. He might know nature even better, as he sees the links and the region as a whole also due to his activities as a farmer, but also hunter and fisherman. The authorities again took the backdoor, they didn't confront or constructively discuss the critic and inputs, rather they cowardly walked away from it. But what exactly went wrong?

Wir hier im Dorf hatten ein Hasenprojekt. Es gab in Ellikon immer Hasen, wo sie an anderen Orten schon lange verschwanden, sind sie in Ellikon immer geblieben. Das war der Stolz von Ellikon, diese Hasen. Der ganze Hasenbestand verreckte als das Wasser kam. Und es dauert x Jahre bis sich ein Hasenstand wieder erholt, das ist nicht wie beim Fuchs, der sich schnell wieder etabliert. (I6 – 4)

The village put up a project for the conservation of the hare and this very successfully. The success and uniqueness of the project (in many places the hare disappeared a long time ago already) was the pride of the village. Due to the flooding that resulted because they took down the dam now that the terrains belonged to the canton, the entire hare population died and it takes years to recover. This is a very adverse effect of the restoration and so-called conservation of the environment and it is not the only one: hares are not the only victims, roe deers and fishes also died when the water came. As fishes always swim against the current, they swam directly into the fields when the flood water went down[13]. However, this represents perfectly the general problem the interviewee sees with this restoration project:

Jeder hat sein eigenes Gebiet und sieht nur das. Statt mal das Ganze zu sehen, sieht jeder nur sein eigenes Ziel und setzt alles dafür ein, um es zu erreichen. (I6 – 5)

This lack of general overview was recurrent in many interviews. But there is the overview of the project and its modalities, but there is also the overview of the different processes and relationships in a natural system. The interviewee is rather referring to the second one calling the entire concept of revitalizing an ecosystem and its naturalness into doubt.

Ich wünschte mir, dass sie mehr abwägen, sich fragen, machen wir nicht mehr kaputt? Man muss auch der Natur mehr Zeit lassen. Wir haben den Prozess manchmal ein bisschen zu bremsen versucht. (I6 – 6)

[13] Interview May 2014.

Contrary to what ‚outsiders' say in relation with time, it's not the local population who needs time to adapt to the restoration, it is rather the nature itself that needs time. It is thus not surprising that the interviewee closed the interview stating that he preferred it the way it was before and that what we have now has nothing to do with nature; it's nature constructed artificially for the human eye. But what is the meaning of all the discussed points in relation to the third resistance?

The positioning of the subject and his idea of nature and mostly his experiences with the surrounding environment are all reasons why he didn't change his notion of the self. More specifically, for his case environmental protection preceded the new institution and his efforts for the protection of the fauna (hare project) got destroyed through the restoration project. His ecological consciousness was pre-existing and innate and there is an evident material self-interest in the well-being of the surrounding environment. Thus he shows the opposite features of Arun Agrawal's example of an individual's conversion into environmental subjects (Mawdsley 2009). His negative view of the project reflects the continued failure of the institutions behind the project to change the beliefs of farmers on that side of the river. At no time, the restoration and its necessity and utility entered the 'common sense' and this is also the reason why its 'enforcement' or realization didn't happen spontaneously (Birkenholtz 2009). In other words, the subject in question did at no point show consent or another sign of agreement for the project and as seen previously consent is the very first step to make the emergence of environmental subjects possible (Gidwani 2008).

The identification of forms of resistance to the making of environmental subjects stresses the validity of the analysis. These forms of resistance are manifested discursively and fulfill the necessary criteria, meaning that the key components necessary to the formation of environmental subjects were absent. One could even say that they were not only absent, but that they were directly confronted and circumstances were contradictory to the ones allowing for the key components to appear.

8. CONCLUSION

The study was set out to explore the concept of Environmentality and the making of environmental subjects in the frame of a restoration project in the North of the Canton of Zurich. The study has furthermore sought to elucidate what role participatory processes have in the formation of these subjects or more broadly of the people's perception of the project and what this participation is 'making' with the subjects. Answers to the following questions were sought:

1. How are 'environmental subjects' formed in the context of participatory project planning for river restoration?
2. What role do institutions and other actors play in creating new forms of identity and a concern for the environment?

The formulation of the questions shows that it is not the end result, the environmental subject that was sought to be identified. It is rather the mechanisms behind the process of the making that were at the center of interest. How is discursively sense made? What are the discursive patterns that emerged during the participative process? How is environment *produced*? What are the dynamics of the process that influence the people? This is just a selection of questions which guided the research and led to a framework that allowed to answer the research questions.

Through discourse analysis the different steps and components in the making of environmental subjects could be identified and were summarized in the respective chapters. The conditions that need to be fulfilled for the emergence of environmental subjects could be discussed and analyzed. The discursive dynamics show the importance of power to produce social relations clearly. The new institution in the form of the accompaniment group, as well as the struggle over resources – be it for private property or other habits and resources linked to it – and finally the changing perceptions of the self through the realization of one's influence and power in the participatory process and thus a changing calculation in how to use this power all contribute to the formation of environmental subjects. The forms of resistance on the other hand strengthen the validity of the findings.

The role of institutions and other actors was identified to be a subpart of the making of the environmental subjects as a whole. It was shown that whether or not an institution is including the subject into the decision making process from the beginning is crucial for the success of the process of emergence of environmental subjects. This insight about the role

of institutions could be important for projects in very different disciplines and raise the awareness that the form, shape, size and composition of the participatory body is indeed crucial for the making of subjects.

The study was able to show that there are different dimensions of 'environmental subjectivities' and careful attention to the type of subjectivity at hand is important. Reading Agrawal, environmental subjectivities appear to be something positive, because they represent individuals with greater environmental awareness and who care about their close environment. To be able to create and become environmental subjects is, according to him, something desirable. Thus the process of environmentalization leaves a positive scent and this is in total opposite with other theorists using the concept. A regressive and authoritarian 'environmentalism' has always been one strand of 'green' theorizing and politics (Mawdsley 2009). This ambiguity around the concept of environmentality has been found by many other authors too. Leigh Raymond asks himself similar questions as Mawdsley: *Is environmentality a step toward enlightened conservation or a cynical tool of co-optation (Raymond 2006)?* For him, in Arun Agrawal's approach the former seems to be the answer as the enhanced environmental beliefs among forest or other resource users can be considered a major success. But as the idea of environmentality is based on Foucault's model of power the link is quickly made towards a different interpretation: *"that environmentality is primarily a clever way for authorities to pacify local resource users while obtaining what they want: conservation of valuable resources and the revenue that accompanies them"* (Raymond 2006). Agrawal's use of environmentality is clearly normative and it stays ambiguous until the end. This normative idea of environmentality was also clearly contrasted in some interviews: even though an environmentalization in some form was indeed observable it needs to be nuanced. People participated because it was what was expected from them, what was the best thing to do, however, the subjectivization was not complete and must be differentiated. With *complete* I mean normatively speaking *well done* thus a perfect subjectivization which would mean that the inhabitants have come to care about their surrounding through the process of subjectivization and participation. When stepping away from the normative aspects and aspirations of the concept of environmental subjects this tool becomes much more analytical and useful for my analysis.

Having used Arun Agrawal as a basis for the identification of the different processes and components to the emergence of environmental subjects, it is thus very important to be aware of the normative baggage being carried along with it. It could be observed that using Agrawal's three components to the making of the subjects the basis is laid to fall into

the normative trap. One is inclined to see the process that led to the emergence of the environmental subject as a 'positive' one, because it worked. It is only through the analysis of the resistance to this environmentalization, that the manipulative nature of the process of subjectivization becomes evident and draws a different light on the previous findings.

Also the reasons for participating and aligning with the general line of the project and thus being in the process of becoming an environmental subject may be very different and may be the basis for multiple interpretations, which are not necessarily all 'positive'.

The question of what is an 'ideal' or 'desirable' or also 'functional' restoration is very contested and thus the restoration and a participative agreement concerning that restoration is biased in one single definition of what should be. I rely on Mawdsley's point of the ontological and epistemological uncertainty around what constitutes a collective 'environmental good' (Mawdsley 2009).

Participatory processes open the door for many possibilities and in many cases they prove to be socially empowering, developmentally progressive, and intending to stabilize the ecology. Bearing the ambiguity of the strategies and processes underlying it in mind, the shift towards a more responsive, citizen-oriented approach is no doubt a positive move.

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10. ANNEXES

10.1. AUSZUG AUS DEM PROTOKOLL DES REGIERUNGSRATES DES KANTONS ZÜRICH

Sitzung vom 4. November 1998

2440. Wasserbau (Hochwasserschutz und Auenlandschaft Thurmündung)

A. Der Regierungsrat wurde durch die vom Kantonsrat am 22. März 1993 überwiesene Motion Richard Stucki, Andelfingen, und Mitunterzeichnende (KR-Nr. 25/1993) eingeladen, in Zusammenarbeit mit den Anstössergemeinden und den Grundeigentümern in Anlehnung an die Auenverordnung des Bundes eine Kreditvorlage (Projekt) für die Revitalisierung der Auenlandschaft Thurmündung auszuarbeiten.
Der Regierungsrat hat im Bereich und Antrag zu dieser Motion in Aussicht gestellt, dass der Anteil des Kantons Zürich an der Heimfall-Verzichtsentschädigung für das Kraftwerk Eglisau für den Hochwasserschutz bei der Thurmündung und für den Schutz des Thur-Auengebietes verwendet werden soll und dass dem Kantonsrat zu gegebener Zeit Antrag gestellt werde. Gestützt auf diesen Bericht hat der Kantonsrat die Motion Stucki am 25. August 1997 abgeschrieben.
Der Bundesrat hat auf den 15. November 1992 die Verordnung vom 28. Oktober 1992 über den Schutz der Auengebiete von nationaler Bedeutung (Auenschutzverordnung) in Kraft gesetzt. Im Bundesinventar der Auengebiete von nationaler Bedeutung (Aueninventar) ist das Thurauengebiet unter Nr. 5 Eggrank-Thurspitz enthalten. In der Verordnung sind die Kantone angehalten, innert drei Jahren geeignete Schutz- und Unterhaltsmassnahmen zu treffen, die zur Erhaltung der Objekte geeignet sind. Der Perimeter für die Thurauen ist im Rahmen der Inkraftsetzung der Auenschutzverordnung (inkl. Aueninventar) festgesetzt worden.

B. Der Regierungsrat hat mit Beschluss Nr. 1824/1998 das Eidgenössische Departement für Umwelt, Verkehr, Energie und Kommunikation (UVEK) eingeladen, den NOK die neue Konzession für das Kraftwerk Eglisau auf der Basis des von der Hochrheinkommission am 9. Juni 1998 empfohlenen Konzessionstextes zu erteilen. Die Baudirektion wurde überdies beauftragt, im Rahmen des Thur-Auenprojektes, in welches der Hochwasserschutz integriert wird, dem Kantonsrat die Übertragung des zürcherischen Anteils an der Heimfall-Verzichtsentschädigung von voraussichtlich 7,93 Mio. Franken auf dieses Objekt zu beantragen.
Das Projekt an der Thurmündung wird die Revitalisierung des Thur-Auenwaldes und den Hochwasserschutz der anliegenden Siedlungen und Landwirtschaftsgebiete enthalten.
Beim Hochwasserereignis von 1978 sind unterhalb von Frauenfeld die Dämme der Thur an verschiedenen Stellen gebrochen. Ein grosser Teil des Thurhochwassers ist dann in die thurgauisch-zürcherische Thurebene geflossen und hat eine grossflächige Überschwemmung verursacht. Diese ungewollte Hochwasserspeicherung hat höhere Abflussspitzen im Unterlauf bei Andelfingen, Flaach und Ellikon a.Rh. verhindert. Mit der Fertigstellung der Verstärkung und Erhöhung der Thurdämme zwischen Frauenfeld und Thalheim (voraussichtlich bis im Jahr 2000) ist daher im unterliegenden Bereich in Zukunft mit häufigeren und grösseren Hochwasserspitzen zu rechnen. Eine besondere Beachtung ist bei der Projektierung und der Ausführung des Projektes dem Grundwasser zu schenken.
Das Projekt wird neu als „Projekt Hochwasserschutz und Auenlandschaft Thurmündung" bezeichnet.

C. Im nächsten Schritt ist ein Vorlageprojekt mit Kostenvoranschlag auszuarbeiten. Es kann damit gerechnet werden, dass die Konzessionsbehörden (UVEK und zuständige Behörden des Bundeslandes Baden-Württemberg) noch in diesem Jahr den NOK die

Konzession erteilen werden. Damit werden die Randbedingungen für die Projektierungsarbeiten vorgegeben. Im Hinblick auf die veränderte Hochwassergefahr ist die Aufnahme der Projektierungsarbeiten für das Projekt Hochwasserschutz und Auenlandschaft Thurmündung dringlich. Der Gemeinderat von Flaach und der Verein „Rettet das Thurtal vor Überschwemmungen" haben immer wieder auf die Dringlichkeit der Sicherstellung des Hochwasserschutzes hingewiesen.
Mit dem Projekt Hochwasserschutz und Auenlandschaft Thurmündung haben sich zahlreiche Fachstellen der Baudirektion und der Volkswirtschaftsdirektion, die Gemeinden Andelfingen, Flaach, Kleinandelfingen und Marthalen, die Grundeigentümer, die Kantone Schaffhausen und Zürich, die Bundesämter für Wasserwirtschaft (BWW) und für Umwelt, Wald und Landschaft (BUWAL) sowie die Nordostschweizerischen Kraftwerke (NOK) zu befassen. In den Projektierungsprozess sollen auch die Vereine „Rettet das Thurtal vor Überschwemmungen" (Vertreter der Gemeinden) und „Pro Thur" (Vertreter der Umweltschutzvereine) einbezogen werden.
Die Projektorganisation muss auf diese vielfältige und komplexe Situation ausgerichtet und abgestimmt werden. Es erscheint zweckmässig, dass für dieses Vorhaben die Baudirektion die Federführung und in deren Auftrag das Amt für Abfall, Wasser, Energie und Luft (AWEL) die verwaltungstechnische Gesamtleitung übernimmt.
Für die bevorstehenden Projektierungsarbeiten ist es zweckmässig, dass die Gemeinden und die beiden Vereine ihre Vorschläge und Anliegen im Rahmen einer Begleitkommission einbringen können. Die vorhandene Vielfalt der Interessen gegenüber dem Vorhaben bedingt eine sachliche und objektive Leitung. Es ist deshalb vorgesehen, eine verwaltungsunabhängige Person mit der Führung dieser Begleitkommission zu beauftragen. Sie wird von der Regierung bestimmt und ist dem Baudirektor und dem Volkswirtschaftsdirektor gegenüber direkt verantwortlich.
Sie leitet die Begleitkommission, ist für die angemessene und faire Berücksichtigung der verschiedenen Interessen besorgt und strebt einen Konsens an. Bei Uneinigkeit führt sie im Einvernehmen mit dem Baudirektor und dem Volkswirtschaftsdirektor einen Entscheid für die Weiterarbeit herbei. Nötigenfalls veranlasst sie Anträge für Zwischenentscheide an die beiden Direktionsvorsteher oder den Regierungsrat. Sie lädt die Begleitkommission ein, so oft es der Stand der Projektierung nötig macht. Sie prüft Anregungen von Mitgliedern der Kommission für die Projektierung auf ihre Realisierbarkeit und versucht, die Interessen auszugleichen. Sie veranlasst Öffentlichkeitsarbeit. Sie soll mit einem umfassenden Weisungsrecht ausgestattet werden. Schliesslich stellt sie den Informationsaustausch zwischen Begleitkommission und Projektleitung sicher. Die Begleitkommission nimmt Stellung zu Projektgenehmigungsanträgen und allfälligen Zwischenentscheiden zuhanden der beiden Direktionsvorsteher oder des Regierungsrates.
Für diese zentrale Aufgabe stellt sich Prof. Dr. sc. Techn. ETH Walter Meier, Direktor der Eidgenössischen Forschungsanstalt für Agrarwirtschaft und Landtechnik, Tänikon (wohnhaft in Eglisau), zur Verfügung.
Für die Projektleitung soll ein externer Fachmann beigezogen werden. Er leitet das Projektteam, das durch Fachgruppen unterstützt wird (Flussbau, Flora und Fauna, Wald, Landwirtschaft). Fallweise werden Experten aus kantonalen Ämtern und Bundesämtern beigezogen.
Als Vorbereitung der Projektierungsarbeiten sind aufwendige Grundlagen für die gemäss Submissionsverordnung vorgeschriebene Ausschreibung bereitzustellen. Um den Aufwand der zahlreichen Bewerber in Grenzen halten zu können, wird ein Qualifikationsverfahren durchgeführt. Es ist vorgesehen, die Vorbereitungen für die Ausschreibung„ die Auswertung der Offerten und die Projektorganisation in Zusammenarbeit mit einem privaten Büro, das sich für die auszuschreibenden Projektierungsarbeiten nicht bewerben wird, durchzuführen.
Für die Ausschreibung, die Erarbeitung der Grundlagen für das Vorlageprojekt und die Honorierung von Prof. Dr. Meier und weiterer verwaltungsexterner

Kommissionsmitglieder und Experten ist für 1999 voraussichtlich mit Kosten von Fr. 750 000 zu rechnen. Die weiteren Kosten für die Erstellung des Vorlageprojektes können erst im Laufe der Vorarbeiten genauer ermittelt werden. Der entsprechende Zusatzkredit wird zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt beantragt. Die Kosten werden dem Konto 3015.3181 (344), Entschädigung für Planungs- und Projektierungsarbeiter Dritter, Thur-Mündung, belastet.
Der entsprechende Kredit ist im Entwurf zum Voranschlag 1999 nicht enthalten. Die Baudirektion ist zu ermächtigen, den Kontakt mit dem Novemberbrief zur Aufnahme in den Voranschlag zu melden.

Auf Antrag der Baudirektion und der Volkswirtschaftsdirektion beschliesst der Regierungsrat:

I. Von der vorgeschlagenen Organisation „Projekt Hochwasserschutz und Auenlandschaft Thurmündung“ wird Kenntnis genommen.

II. Zum Vorsitzenden der Begleitkommission wird Prof. Dr.sc. techn. ETH Walter Meier, Eglisau, gewählt. Die Baudirektion wird beauftragt, im Einvernehmen mit der Volkswirtschaftsdirektion sein Pflichtenheft auszuarbeiten und mit ihm einen Vertrag abzuschliessen.

III. Für die Vorarbeiten und die Erarbeitung der Grundlagen für das Vorlageprojekt wird ein Kredit von Fr. 750 000 zu Lasten des Kontos 3015.3181 (344), Entschädigung für Planungs- und Projektierungsarbeiten Dritter, Thurmündung, bewilligt.

IV. Die Baudirektion wird ermächtigt, den Kredit mit dem Novemberbrief zur Aufnahme in den Voranschlag 1999 zu melden.

V. Die Baudirektion wird ermächtigt, im Einvernehmen mit der Volkswirtschaftsdirektion die Projektierungsarbeiten im Rahmen der bewilligten Kredite zu vergeben.

VI. Mitteilung an die Gemeinderäte, 8450 Andelfingen, 8416 Flaach, 8451 Kleinandelfingen, und 8460 Marthalen, den Verein „Rettet das Thurtal vor überschwemmungen“, Walter Moser, Gemeindepräsident, 8416 Flaach, den Verein „Pro Thur“, Dr. Hans Sigg-Forycki, Brühlbergstrasse 64, 8400 Winterthur, Prof. Dr. sc. Techn. ETH Walter Meier, Stadtbergstrasse 30, 8193 Eglisau, den Regierungsrat des Kantons Schaffhausen, 8201 Schaffhausen, sowie an die Baudirektion, die Volkswirtschaftdirektion und die Finanzdirektion.

Vor dem Regierungsrat
Der Staatsschreiber:
Husi

10.2. NVIVO RESULTS AND QUERIES

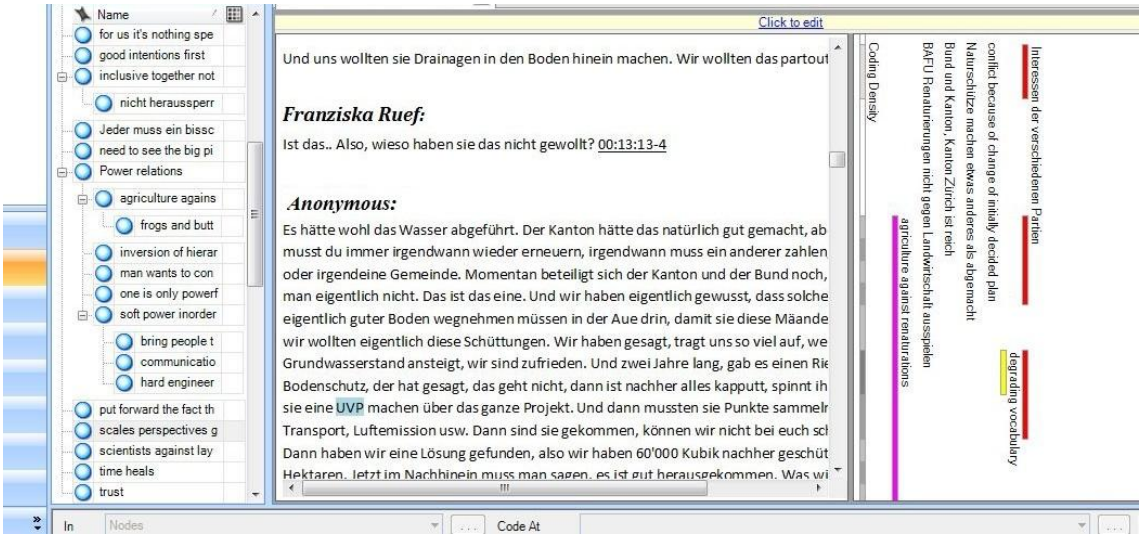


Figure 2 Coding stripes

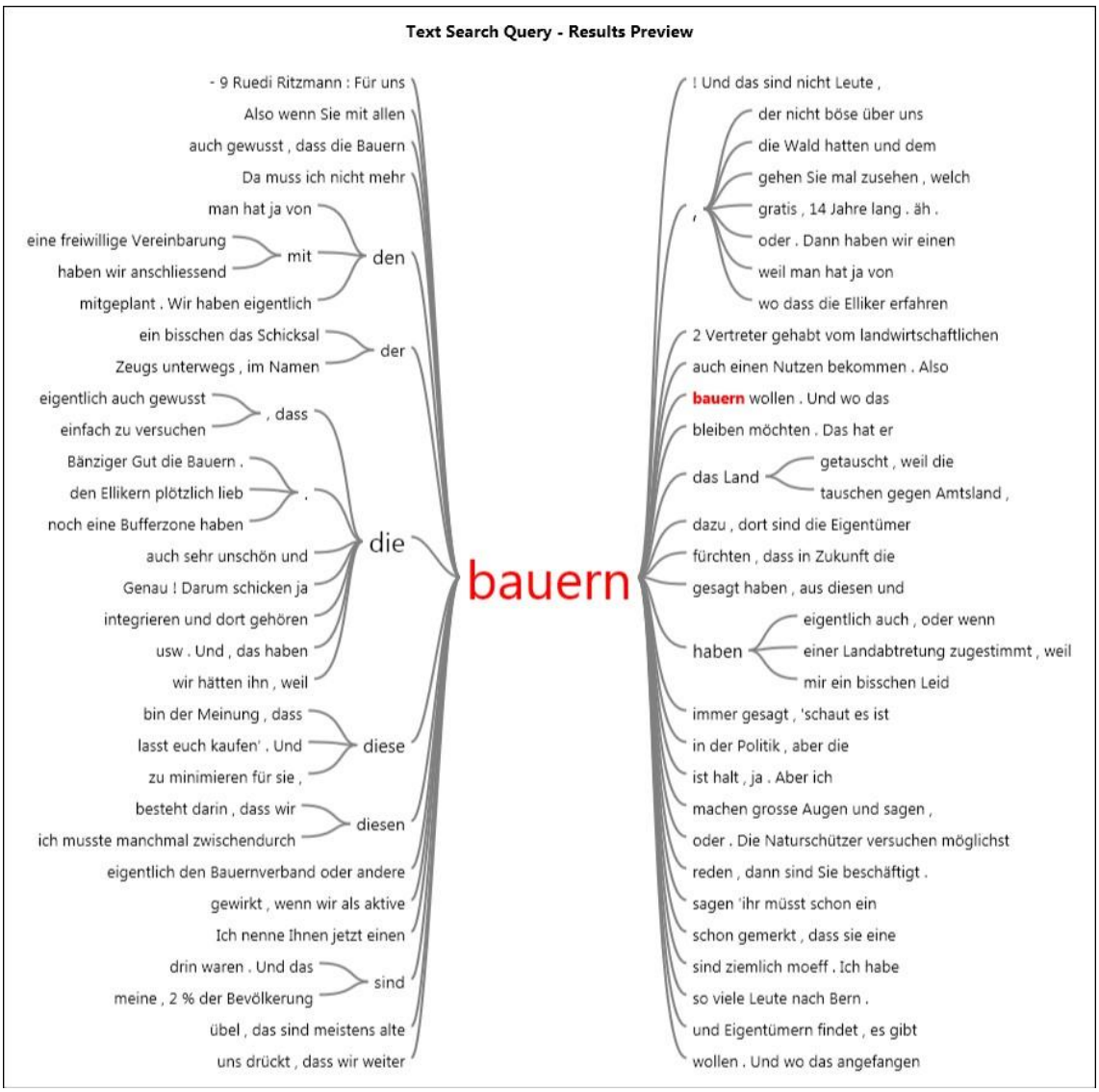


Figure 3 Text Search Query

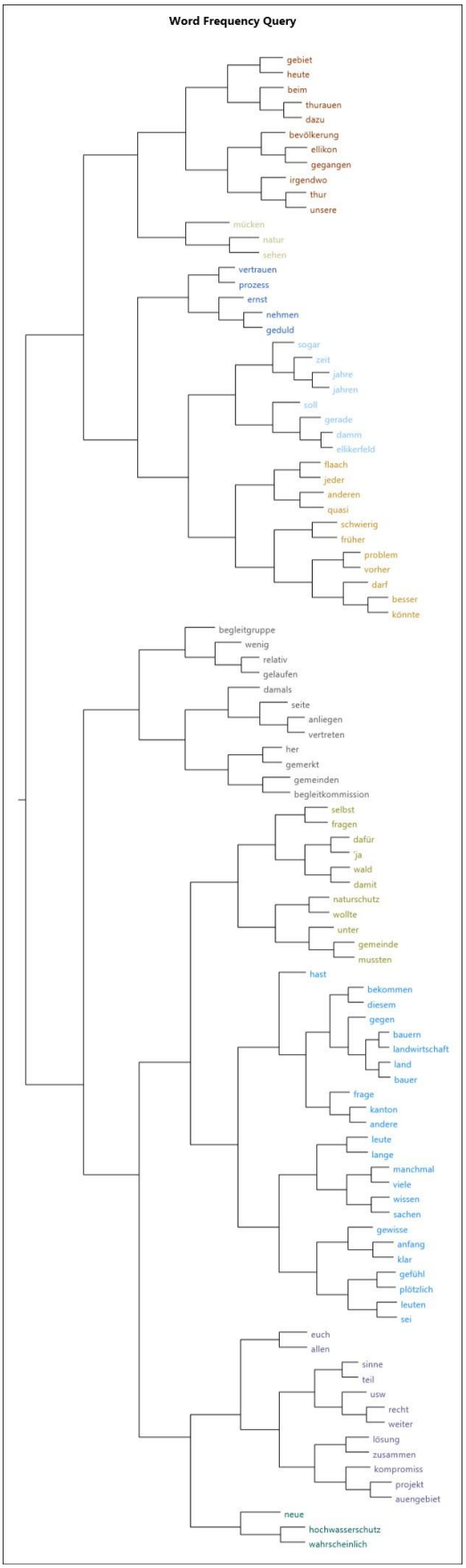


Figure 4 Word Frequency Query