

Framing Privatization – A Discourse Analysis on the Privatization of the “Deutsche Bahn”

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Summary

Frames are mental models which are used in discourses to understand the world around us.

Discourses are non-physical spaces in which meaning is constructed. In this thesis, I used the concept of frames to understand how discourses around the privatization of the German railway company “Deutsche Bahn” (DB) in 2007-2008 were constructed. In this privatization effort Astroturf lobbying tactics were deployed. Astroturf lobbying is the faking of citizens support in order to influence policymakers. Using frame analysis, a subfield of political discourse analysis, I analyzed which frames were used in the three discourses of the astroturfing campaign, parliamentary speeches and media and how they were constructed. Based on defining legitimacy as credibility, will of the people and voice, I also analyzed how these frames are constructed in terms of legitimacy. Formulated as analogies, I called the detected frames “an engine needs an overhaul from time to time to work properly again”, “a new heart will provide new life for an otherwise healthy body”, “killing two birds with one stone”, “polishing the paint makes the car shiny”, “the devil is in the details” and “rejecting the premise”. While all three discourses had different frames dominating them, the “the devil is in the details” frame came up often in both the parliamentary speeches discourse and the media discourse. This frame shows nuance in the discussion of the privatization. The astroturfing discourse was dominated by pro-privatization language. Legitimacy frames only played a bigger role in the parliamentary speeches discourse, where legitimacy as credibility was often used. Connections between the discourses or between the general frames and the legitimacy frames could not be identified on a great scale. Being conscious of frames in policy processes could help actors to better understand positions of other actors.

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Introduction

In 2007 and 2008 a fierce debate sprung up in Germany about privatizing the national railway company “Deutsche Bahn” (DB), including the railway network. The company was first partially privatized in the 1990s, but plans about a further privatization, including the listing on the German stock exchange emerged (Müller & Klein, 2009). Proponents and opponents alike presented their arguments in multiple arenas, trying to convince politicians and the public of their positions. What most people, and even deeply involved actors did not know, was that not everyone was playing a fair game.

Astroturf lobbying or astroturfing gets its name from the artificial grass brand Astroturf. It describes the artificial creation of what appears to be citizen support when there is actually none. This Astroturf lobbying can take many forms, the most prolific form, is the outright creation of grassroots initiatives which do not naturally exist. Henceforth, the name of Astroturf, where the grass has no roots (Lits, 2021).

In the debate about the privatization of the DB, such astroturfing tactics were deployed. Probably the most prolific case was the creation of a website, which claimed to be a citizen’s initiative by actual citizens. This was not the case, as a public affairs company who worked for DB was actually behind this initiative, as was later revealed (Müller & Klein, 2009).

This case brings up some broader points which are worth investigating. I am especially interested in what arguments the astroturfing organization used and how their positions are constructed. Therefore, I will discuss this astroturfing initiative in terms of discourse. For the purpose of this thesis, I define discourses as non-physical spaces where meaning is constructed (Donati, 1992). In order to better understand the construction of arguments and positions in discourses I adopt the concept of frames in this thesis. I understand frames as mental models to understand the world we live in. They help to organize and categorize our understanding of the world (Donati, 1992).

Looking only at the astroturfing initiative would bring some important insights. To get a broader picture, though, I will also look at two other discourses. I want to analyze how the privatization was discussed in the German parliament and in the media. *The main aim is to gain insights into how these separate discourses are constructed. A secondary goal of this analysis is to also compare the construction of the discourse with each other.*

Finally, the concept of astroturfing and the presented case specifically bring up some important questions regarding legitimacy. For one, the presented citizens’ initiative is not real, and therefore not legitimate as an expression of the citizen’s wants and needs. This is complicated, though, by the fact that the actors who encounter this initiative do not know that this initiative is not real.

Therefore, they would treat it the same as any other initiative and grant it equal legitimacy. A second point is about how legitimacy is constructed within the arguments that are made. This not only pertains to the astroturfing discourse, but all three discourses. In all of these discourses arguments are made to support the positions taken. To find out *how and in what way legitimacy is used as an argument in itself and to support other arguments is another aim of this thesis.*

Based on what I have laid out above, I choose a diagnostic research design for this thesis. *I am aiming to get insights into the construction of arguments and legitimacy.* This kind of design will support this aim. A diagnostic research design is interested in what causes and factors lead to an outcome (Thiel, 2014). *In this study, I want to analyze what underlying mental constructions lead to certain arguments.* Therefore, a diagnostic research design fits this research aim.

Based on the above I aim to answer the following question with this thesis: *What frames are used in the discourse on privatization of the "Deutsche Bahn" in the timeframe 2007-2008 and the discourse of its legitimacy by different stakeholders in a governance network and how do they relate to each other?*

This research question can be broken down into several components:

- *What frames are used in the discourse on privatization of "Deutsche Bahn" in 2007-2008?*
- *Which frames are used in the discourse of legitimacy of said privatization?*
- *How do the general frames on privatization relate to each other through the discourses?*
- *How do the frames on legitimacy relate to each other through the discourses?*
- *How do the general frames on privatization and the frames on legitimacy relate to each other?*

With this work I aim to firstly show that the focus on discourse can unearth argumentative structures and secondly understand how legitimacy is constructed. The existing literature on astroturfing often focuses on the detection and fighting of such strategies (Lits, 2020; Lits, 2021; Lock, Seele, & Heath, 2016). In this thesis I want to expand on that by suggesting taking a closer look at the underlying constructs which make up the arguments of such initiatives. Also looking at two other discourses on the same topic helps to see if there are commonalities and differences in the construction of said discourses. The same is true for the legitimacy aspect of this study. What kind of legitimacy is used is of rather secondary objective, while the main aim is to deconstruct *how* legitimacy is used.

Combining all these aspects of lobbying, discourse and legitimacy in a diagnostic research design of a real case is quite novel and can open up a path for further research.

In this thesis I look at argumentative structures and how arguments are constructed. All three discourses are related to the same public issue, around which, at the time, a big debate arose. It is

important to critically look at and deconstruct the arguments which were made in order to fully understand what was actually going on. This is even more important, as one of the discourses was deceiving the public of its true nature. Deconstructing this and the other discourses will hopefully widen the toolbox for citizens and researchers alike to understand and deconstruct arguments in discourses on public issues not only after they are done, but while they are going on.

In the next section I will discuss my theoretical framework, focused on lobbying, governance networks, discourse and legitimacy, ending in a conceptual model. In the then following methodology section, I will provide the necessary background to turn this theory into a practical discourse analysis. Focusing on the discourses of the astroturfing initiative, parliamentary speeches and newspaper articles, I will then analyze the frames used in the privatization effort of the DB. My thesis ends with a concluding discussion of the results after which I reflect on the research process and give recommendations.

Theory

In this chapter I will lay the theoretical groundwork for my analysis. After providing a definition on lobbying and explaining some different lobbying strategies, I explain the arenas in which this lobbying takes place in, namely governance networks. Further I look at how these themes interrelate with discourse and legitimacy. The chapter ends with my conceptual model for the upcoming analysis.

Lobbying

First, I will look at how the literature defines lobbying and then develop my definition of lobbying based on that. Definitions of lobbying in the literature have a big spectrum from very narrow to quite broad. One definition would be lobbying as the exchange of information (Chalmers, 2013), which is quite broad, as it does not include actors or arenas. This gets narrowed down by defining lobbying as single or collective actors who try to influence decision-making processes of governments (Hofman & Aalbers, 2017). For this thesis, I will work with a more concise version of this definition which specifies the receivers of lobbying as not only decision-makers, but also the public and the media (Weiler & Brändli, 2015).

Lobbying takes place in different formats and with different strategies. Two rather broad categories of strategies are inside and outside lobbying. Inside lobbying concerns lobbying tactics which take place face-to-face or more or less directly between the lobbying party and the lobbied party. Examples would be private meetings or letters. These strategies are usually not visible for the public (De Bruycker & Beyers, 2019).

Outside lobbying describes lobbying strategies which are visible for outside actors. Examples could be lobbying through the media by having visible campaigns or organizing protests (De Bruycker &

Beyers, 2019). All outside lobbying strategies have in common that a visibility for the (interested) public is given. Tresch and Fischer (2015) further specify outside lobbying strategies by categorizing these strategies into four categories. A media strategy explicitly targets journalists by publishing information through news outlets for example by way of interviews, press releases or news conferences. The information strategy informs the public about the public opinion on an issue. This could be done by polling the public and later releasing the polling data on one's own website. The mobilization strategy directly targets the citizens by calling them to action without requiring much commitment, such as signing petitions. The protest strategy goes even further, as here, citizens are called upon to protest, strike or take similar radical action. The latter three strategies are aimed at generating media attention by involving citizens, while the media strategy aims to garner attention through the media. All strategies have in common that the final goal is to gain the attention of policymakers (Tresch & Fischer, 2015).

Outside lobbying strategies sometimes have the reputation of being inferior to inside strategies as they have the reputation of being employed by actors who do not have the connections or resources to employ inside strategies (Tresch & Fischer, 2015). However, De Bruycker & Beyers (2019) have shown that outside tactics are especially successful if deployed by resourceful actors, as these tactics can take up a lot of resources. Nevertheless, the success of using outside lobbying strategies is dependent on the issue context and the actors involved. Research has found that outside lobbying is more successful on policy-issues which enjoy broad public support. Also, building coalitions which are diverse in the actors involved have more success when using outside lobbying compared to inside tactics (De Bruycker & Beyers, 2019).

Another strategy which can be closely linked to outside lobbying is Astroturf lobbying or astroturfing. Astroturfing is named after the artificial grass brand Astroturf and refers to the simulation of grassroots support for policy initiatives when there is no natural support for it. This can occur in different forms, as Table 1 shows. These include for example writing fake letters from constituents to representatives, staged protests or the setting up of an NGO or similar organization which disguises its true financiers and intentions (Lits, 2020). While the first example is a clear insider strategy, the latter two are outside lobbying strategies. In this paper, I will focus on astroturfing as an outside lobbying strategy. This has mainly practical reasons, as the availability of data is greater when focusing on outside strategies rather than inside strategies.

Astroturfing strategies (examples)
Writing letter from non-existing constituents e.g., the same organization writes letters under different names
Staged protests with hired protesters
Founding of a neutral seeming NGO that disseminated a one-sided message and hides its true financiers
Creating of a neutral seeming information website about a policy-issue which clearly favors one side
Founding of a citizen's initiative, which is not real
Creation of social media account which pretend to be real people

Table 1: Examples of astroturfing strategies

Governance networks as the lobbyists' playground

When lobbying on policy issues occurs, interactions between the lobbying party and the lobbied party take place. In this thesis, I will place these interactions in the context of governance networks. Governance networks are an assembly of horizontally organized, interdependent, but autonomous actors that interact through negotiation within a self-regulating framework, contributing to the creation of public purpose (Sorensen & Torfing, 2007).

In these networks, complexity is persistent. In this thesis, I distinguish two different types of complexity. First, there is the complexity of the policy problem itself, as actors often lack information and knowledge. Furthermore, interactions between the actors create complexity, as each actor has a different perception of the problem, as well as a different perception about what perceptions the other actors have about the problem. This type of complexity is called substantive complexity (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2014). Not only do actors have different perceptions and definitions of a problem, but they also apply different strategies to solve these problems. These strategies might be conflicting, and other actors anticipate and respond to the perceived strategies of the other actors, which is why interactions between the actors are unpredictable. This is called strategic complexity (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2014). Complexity is one of the reasons lobbying exists in the first place. Complexity leads to the need of some actors to make sure their perspective is heard, and lobby for it. Without the lobbying, their perspective might get lost in the complexity.

There are high interdependencies between the actors in a network, but each of them has their own preferred strategy and solution to the presented policy problem. Interdependencies between actors in governance networks arise due to the distribution of resources on different actors. In order to solve a policy problem, the actors need to put these resources together which requires collaboration in the governance network. These resources might be very tangible such as financial resources or

competencies but might also entail more intangible aspects such as legitimacy (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016).

Connecting network governance with the lobbying literature, one can see that interdependencies exist, as the lobbyists are dependent on regulation which is enacted from policymakers, as well as public opinion on their issue and position. The policymakers, on the other hand, are depended on the lobbyists to provide information and expertise, as policymakers often cover not only one issue and are missing the expertise to make informed decisions (Chalmers, 2013).

Klüver (2013) argues that policymakers (in this case the European commission) need “policy-relevant information, citizen support, and the backing of economically powerful actors” from interest groups in order grant them influence in the policy process. Information, citizen support and economic power are resources which the policymakers depend upon (Klüver, 2013). This creates interdependencies in the lobbying process. This need for the exchange of resources is one of the reasons why lobbying exists in the first place.

Discourse and frames

In the exchange of resources there is continuous communication between the actors. These communications are part of a discourse. While this includes interpersonal communication, it also includes the socially institutionalized communication between actors and entities. In that sense discourse is a nonphysical space in which ideologies, opinions and meaning are constructed. Therefore, discourse helps actors understand the world (Donati, 1992).

The theory on discourse also understands interactions as interdependencies in the sense that actors are reacting to one another. Connecting the discourse literature further with the literature on governance networks, specifically the concept of strategic complexity, actors are constantly reacting and adapting to each other and even anticipating the next moves of other actors. This is how policy problems are created (Donati, 1992).

A tool to simplify the discourse and break it down into understandable categories is frames. Frames are mental scripts which are crucial to understand not only interactions and communication, but also guide all kinds of perceptions of the world. Therefore, frames are a tool to understand the world around us through patterns which simplify this understanding (Lindekilde, 2014). Frames are based on past experience, as they are cognitive schemata that actors use to make sense of situations. They use their memory of past situations to understand current problems (Johnston, 1995).

This is aided by the media, who construct their own frames in the political discourse. These frames give the stories which the media reports on structure in a complex world. This enhances the

understanding of the world for the receiver of the news, as they can rely on mental scripts simplifying and categorizing the news for them (Gamson, Croteau, Hoynes, & Sasson, 1992).

Lobbyists are putting forward their unique frame of policy problems in order to influence policymakers. The network perspective gives the insight that lobbyists are not only trying to influence policymakers, but rather the whole network. Interestingly, this connects to astroturfing in an outside lobbying context specifically, as these kind of actions from lobbyists are designed to not only change the perception of policymakers, but of society rid large.

Actors in networks are using the media to different degrees. Some of the actors are not using the media at all, as they see it as working independent from any outside influences and therefore do not see any sense in trying to influence the media in their favor. Other actors see the media as a tool to be used and put forward their frames through the media. Other actors find their view of the media in the middle of those two extremes and acknowledge that the media has their own agenda, but still see the opportunity to put forward their message (Klijn, van Twist, van der Steen, & Jeffares, 2016). This shows that governance networks are never completely closed entities, as they are also interacting with their environment. Actors interact with the environment of the network and receive external feedback from their actions. This brings it back to discourse as, again, actors are interacting with each other in order to construct meaning of the world.

Legitimacy

What I just outlined in connection to discourse, and media is closely linked to legitimacy. Using the media is a way to gain legitimacy. As described above, frames can actively be used to influence the discourse. The goal of this is for the own position to gain legitimacy in the discourse. Therefore, actors can gain legitimacy trough positioning themselves positively in the media (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016). Furthermore, this connects with the outside lobbying literature and Astroturf lobbying, as also here, groups try to gain legitimacy through the media whether the legitimacy is warranted or not.

In this thesis, I define legitimacy through credibility, will of the people and voice. Based on Levelt and Metze (2014), I define credibility as the “judgement of audiences on the competences (e.g., effectiveness) and the trustworthiness of ... an organisation”. Credibility is also based on previous performance and the reputation of an organization (Levelt & Metze, 2014). While the literature mostly defines credibility in terms of government and public institutions, I will use this definition for private actors within governance networks. Especially, I define credibility in connection with astroturfing, as the success of the Astroturf lobbying operation depends on the perceived legitimacy in terms of credibility that the other actors in the network grant the actors behind the Astroturf group. Of course, other actors do not know that this organization is behind the astroturfing activities,

but through astroturfing activity, credibility can be created by playing up the positive aspects of an organization through neutral seeming outside actors.

Actors within a governance network have to adhere to the will of the people, as in democracies the people legitimize decisions with their choices. Actors within the network try to get on the right side of this will. The problem of the “will of the people” within governance networks is to find out what the will of the people actually is. This is the case because of the unclarity about the fact who “the people” actually are (Sorensen, 2002). Astroturf lobbying exploits this dilemma. By faking citizens support or citizens engagement, “the people” are created out of nothing, as this support did not exist beforehand and did not naturally evolve. In astroturfing, “the people” are just a creation which aims to disseminate the viewpoint of the organization behind the astroturfing campaign.

This connects directly with the concept of “voice”. This type of legitimacy is derived from the real involvement of citizens in the process. The citizens need to not only be involved in the process to give the appearance of them sanctioning the process but need to have a real voice that is heard, considered, and taken into account during the process (Klijn & Edelenbos, 2012). The impact on astroturfing for this form of legitimacy is twofold. First, it is almost needless to say that the appearance of citizen support through astroturfing is not real and has therefore no legitimacy in the sense of voice as a source of legitimacy. The voices which are uttered in the astroturfing campaign are not real voices. To include their viewpoint into the policy process would not further the legitimacy of the process but undermine it, as the actors who are actually making their voice heard are way more powerful actors than ordinary citizens. This connects with the second problem, as it is not always clear for actors within the governance network that the citizens voices of the Astroturf campaign are not real and therefore, legitimacy is lent to the viewpoint of this campaign. Astroturfing campaigns create the illusion of voice, as they create entities which are supposedly voicing their opinions which policymakers think should be taken into account.

Conceptual model

The conceptual framework visualized in Figure 1 follows the structure of my research question. Based on what I outlined in this theoretical framework, I am interested in which frames are present in the discourse on privatization and in the discourse of legitimacy of the privatization. I define discourse as the communication in a non-physical space where meaning is constructed, while I define legitimacy as credibility, will of the people and voice. Furthermore, I aim to find out how the discourses of privatization and legitimacy relate. I place these discourses in the arena of governance networks.

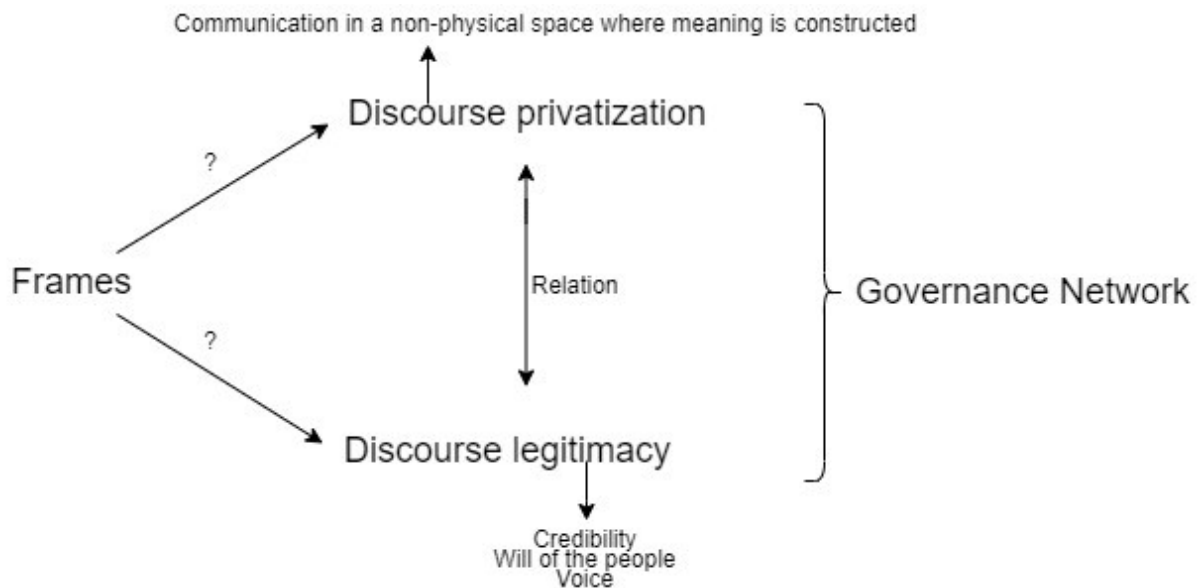


Figure 1: Conceptual model

Method

In this section I will give a short explanation of my methodology followed by the introduction of my case. Then I will describe in detail how I collected the data for this study, before reintroducing the concept of frames and frame analysis as methodology. Afterwards I explain my operationalization and comment on the effects for validity and reliability.

In order to answer my research question, I carried out a discourse analysis. Specifically, I carried out a political discourse analysis. This is a problem-driven form of discourse analysis in contrast to theory-driven or method-driven analysis techniques. While theory-driven discourse analysis is focused on verifying theoretical concepts, method-driven discourse analysis concerns itself mostly with the data gathering of the research process itself. Problem-driven forms of discourse analysis, on the other hand, are interested in the empirical object of the research. This fits with the goal of this thesis, as I present a real case with real problems. I am specifically interested in the case presented below and not interested in proving theory or evolving methodology (Glynos, Howarth, Norval, & Speed, 2009).

Case

I am analyzing the privatization of the German national railway company "Deutsche Bahn" (DB). While the company was originally partly privatized back in 1995, around 2007 plans emerged to further privatize the company, list it at the stock exchange and privatize the railway network. These plans started widespread protests from opponents of the privatization, who organized themselves in citizen initiatives (Müller & Klein, 2009). DB was supporting a full privatization including the railway network as property of DB. The first proposals in the German parliament included a complicated legal construct where the DB would further privatize while the railway network would legally still be under

governmental control, but economically run by DB. After fierce debate and constitutional doubts about this proposal it was eventually dismissed. Finally, on the 30th of May 2008 the German federal parliament passed a regulation which allowed DB to privatize for 24,9%, with the general reasoning being that this would bring an influx of cash and new investors, while the federal government would keep its majority stake. The railway network was kept in the hands of the state. Needless to say, this compromise was quite far from the original position of the DB.

During this process DB started their own PR-campaign. Public affairs and public relations companies were hired to influence public opinion and decision-makers towards a pro-privatization stance. Next to standard public relation strategies such as presenting their plans positively in the media through appearances of high-level executives, the company also employed astroturfing strategies, as was later uncovered. A website, posing as a neutral information site, but clearly leaning towards the privatization, was established. Among other things, polls were published on this website, where the questioning was already biased pro-privatization, which reflected in the polling results. The measure most clearly identifiable as astroturfing was the creation of another website which was supposedly a citizen initiative in favor of the privatization (Müller & Klein, 2009). As I have shown earlier, Astroturf lobbying has a lot of diverse methods. Still, an outright fake citizens' initiative is the most clearcut form of astroturfing. That this has been proven and was later even confirmed by involved actors makes this case easy to focus on. Furthermore, the unearthing of this case means that data about it is available.

Data collection

I will analyze three different discourses during the privatization. The astroturfing discourse, the parliamentary discourse, and the media discourse. For the astroturfing discourse I will analyze the website of the astroturfing campaign. For the parliamentary discourse I will analyze speeches of politicians in the German federal parliament and for the media discourse I will analyze newspaper articles of one big German newspaper on the privatization of the railway company. I will analyze the discourse in terms of language and frames used by the astroturfing campaign, politicians and the media. Furthermore, I will take a closer look onto how legitimacy is framed in these discourses. As the source for the astroturfing discourse, I used the archived website of the fake citizens' initiative "Mobil für die Zukunft" (website: meinebahndeinebahn.de). For the media analysis I will focus on one major national daily newspaper, the "Süddeutsche Zeitung". This choice is a rather practical one, as this is one of the only major newspapers where the online archive goes back to 2007, even when looking at search engines such as factiva or nexis. As the website of the astroturfing campaign only went online during the end of April 2007, the timeframe for my research will start with the 30th of

April 2007 and will end on the 30th of May 2008 when the German federal parliament voted for the partial privatization of the DB.

On the website of the astroturfing campaign, I identified every page in the menu of the website as a separate text. After excluding two texts for irrelevancy, I ended up with a dataset of eleven texts.

For the speeches of the politicians, I used the search engine of the German federal parliament. The search terms was /"deutsche bahn"/. This brought up the three major debates in the German federal parliament on this topic, as well as one debate in the second chamber of parliament. I used all the speeches from three major parliamentary debates on the topic. Otherwise, I choose to exclude all speeches from the second chamber (chamber of the states (Länder)), as the states had very specific demands regarding the financing of the proposal (regardless of governing party) which are outside the scope of this study. The dataset ended up including a total of 29 speeches.

To gain access to the newspaper articles I used the platform "factiva". I used the search terms /"deutsche bahn" and "privatisierung"/ (English: privatization), in the above mentioned time frame for the print version of the newspaper "Süddeutsche Zeitung". I excluded duplicates and irrelevant articles which only mention the privatization of DB in passing, while focusing on a different issue, or not talking about the privatization of DB at all but mentioning "deutsche bahn" and "privatization" as terms in the article, but not in the context of the privatization of the DB. In the end I ended up with a dataset of 28 articles.

Frames

Political discourse analysis looks at the interactions between actors with an interest in societal problems and bringing those problems into the political arena (Donati, 1992). Political discourse analysis is in the vein of social constructivism and therefore sees the environment and its subjects as socially constructed and takes "a critical stance towards taken for granted knowledge" (Gill, 2000). Also, social constructivism posits that our own view of the world is highly biased, and we cannot take our own reality as universal (ibid). This means that people construct mental frameworks to make sense of the world around us.

Furthermore, frame analysis ascribes intention and strategy to the use of frames. Certain ideological constructs are used by actors to frame a topic or object in a strategic manner to change their meaning. Applied to social movements, frames are actively and consciously used to mobilize support and fight the opposition of a cause. Frame analysis aims to deconstruct these frames by analyzing the language they use (Lindekilde, 2014). This is an important point for this thesis, as lobbying activities also actively use frames to frame issues in their preferred way. With my frame analysis I also deconstructed these frames.

In the literature there is a debate about whether frame analysis is a tool or sub-category of discourse analysis or if it is a method standing on its own. Some authors discuss frame analysis as a sub-category of discourse analysis (Donati, 1992). Other authors, while highlighting their similarities, discuss them as related but different methods (Lindekilde, 2014). For this thesis I chose to use frame analysis as a tool of political discourse analysis as Donati (1992) suggests but highlighting for the reader when I use this tool.

I coded the selected texts according to the frames they use. Donati (1992) defines texts as made up of two parts: the frame and the topic. While the frame is the broader structure of the text, the topic is the object this structure refers to (Donati, 1992). One could say the frame is the abstracted formulation of the topic.

A frame reveals patterns that might be implicit within the text. Therefore, when choosing a frame, the definition of such frame should not be too narrow. The name of the frame and the topic should be interchangeable within the text without the meaning of the text changing. This marks the definition of the frame as correct. Usually, texts have only one particular frame as they are used to define the objects of the text (Donati, 1992). For my thesis I added the concept of secondary frames, which says that texts can have two distinct frames (Linström & Marais, 2012). Therefore, next to the general frame, the texts I analyzed for this thesis can also be framed in terms of legitimacy.

Frames should be formulated as analogies. Those analogies should not be analytical in nature, but common-sense categories which everyone can easily understand. With this, the actual understanding of the text can be enhanced (Donati, 1992).

Operationalization

The coding of the frames was done inductively. Frames emerge in the research process, which means that the codes and frames emerge from the data. I used the method of sensitizing concepts. This means that the ultimate concepts emerge from the data and are changing and adapting during the analysis, in opposition to being statically set before the actual research process even starts (Brown, 2006). I applied this method to my frame analysis, as I only came up with the frames during the analysis of the discourses and added new frames throughout the analysis. Through close reading of the texts, where I read the texts multiple times, taking note of how language is used and taking notes on the texts (Linström & Marais, 2012), I identified the frames as shown in Table 2.

Frame (description)	Frame (name)
Privatization leads to more efficiency and less bureaucracy	An engine needs an overhaul from time to time to work properly again
DB is and will be through privatization the backbone of a strong economy	A new heart will provide new life for an otherwise healthy body
The privatization helps to fulfill other policy goals	Killing two birds with one stone
Privatization makes the company more attractive for investors	Polishing the paint makes the car shiny for resale
Nuanced positions towards the privatization are shown	The devil is in the details
Against privatization or the proposed legislation in general	Rejecting the premise

Table 2: Identified frames

After identifying one or a small number of texts with the same frame, I started identifying codes which represent this frame. I adapted these codes in the research process as I went along. Not all codes of a frame have to be included in the text, rather I follow an and/or scheme. If codes from different frames applied, I chose the frame which was dominant in the textual context. Table 3 shows the codes.

Frame (description)	Frame (name)	Frame (code)
Privatization leads to more efficiency and less bureaucracy	An engine needs an overhaul from time to time to work properly again	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The text equals privatization with efficiency - The text equals privatization with less bureaucracy - DB is portrayed as slow moving and inefficient
DB is and will be through privatization the backbone of a strong economy	A new heart will provide new life for an otherwise healthy body	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - DB is portrayed as strong - DB is portrayed as important for Germany or the German economy
The privatization helps to fulfill other policy goals	Killing two birds with one stone	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Other policy goals are used to justify support for the privatization
Privatization makes the company more attractive for investors	Polishing the paint makes the car shiny for resale	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The focus of the text lies on the investment the privatization will bring - A lack of money/investment is the main reason for a bleak future for the DB
Nuanced positions towards the privatization are shown	The devil is in the details	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The privatization is neither portrayed as positive or negative - Pro and con positions are equally portrayed in the text

Against privatization or the proposed legislation in general	Rejecting the premise	- Privatization is not considered under any circumstances
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Table 3: Identified frames with codes

In a next step, I went back to the, in my theory section outlined, definition of legitimacy as credibility, will of the people and voice. In a second reading I identified all references in the texts towards citizens. I chose “citizen” as a marker for legitimacy, as the two definitions for legitimacy, “voice” and “will of the people” are directly connected to citizens. The third definition for legitimacy, “credibility, is not related to citizens, but to the perceived trustworthiness and competences of the company DB. This is already captured in the “heart” frame, as this frame describes the company in a positive light, with it being the backbone of the German economy. This means that there is trust and the company is perceived as competent to fulfill that role. Therefore, I will look at the mentions of citizens in the text and decide whether they are framed as “voice” or “will of the people”. Table 4 shows the codes used for this exercise.

Frame	Credibility	Will of the people	Voice
Codes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The text presents “Deutsche Bahn” as a company (including its people) in a positive light - The text mentions the performance of the company in a positive light - The text mentions the good reputation of the company 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Arguments are made with the argument that there is support for it by citizens/voters 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The involvement of citizens is mentioned - The opinion of citizens gets room in the discourse - Changes are planned to be made because of citizen involvement

Table 4: Codes of legitimacy frames

With the main part of the analysis being on the general frames of the privatization in the three discourses, these frames serve as the main frames of the discourse. The legitimacy frames will serve as secondary frames of the same text (Linström & Marais, 2012).

Validity and Reliability

The strength of my research approach is its internal validity. Discourse analysis is closely connected to frame analysis. In my research question I ask about the frames which are present in the discourses. Carrying out a discourse analysis with the focus on frames in the three discourses, I can clearly measure what I actually want to measure. Therefore, this is probably the only method which fits this research question. Analyzing the discourse means making certain choices in terms of interpretations. Other researchers might come to different interpretations. Therefore, it is important, that I am transparent in my interpretations, communicate them as such and work directly with the source texts. This should allow others to follow my interpretations and be able to make their own interpretations of the discourse.

The external validity of my research is rather a weakness, as the results will only be generalizable to an extent, as researchers may come up with different interpretations in the analysis. This is another reason to make transparent arguments for the frames I chose. The strength in terms of external validity lies more in the method itself, as a discourse analysis analyzing and comparing frames in different discourses could be a fruitful way to analyze language use at the intersection of lobbying, politics and media.

This leads me to reliability. As this is a qualitative study, reliability is a bit more complicated than in quantitative studies. I make certain choices in my analysis, especially regarding interpretations of the texts. Again, other researchers might take different choices in these interpretations and therefore come to different conclusions. Therefore, my goal in my analysis is to always make these choices very transparent so other researchers can understand and follow these decisions. This will be done by providing ample examples of the texts which I framed and thoroughly explaining my interpretations and frames by referring to these examples.

Analysis

In this section I am going to analyze three different discourses around the privatization of the DB, through the framing used in these discourses. First, I will dissect the discourse brought forward by the astroturfing initiative through their website, analyze how it uses frames and how this connects to legitimacy. Following this schema, the discourse in the political arena is analyzed by using speeches by members of parliament in parliamentary debates. The third discourse is how the privatization is portrayed in the media. In the end I will offer insights in comparing these discourses and reflecting on the use of frames in these discourses. All the quotes I used during this exercise are translated from its original German into English. Full lists of quotes including the original, translations and sources can be found in the annex. The tables throughout the analysis show which quotes are attributed to which sources by showing the identifiers of the quotes next to the texts from which they are taken from.

Astroturfing website “meinebahndeinebahn.de”

The starting off point for this analysis is the astroturfing website “meinebahndeinebahn.de”. This website is built as the website of an apparent citizen initiative called “Mobil für die Zukunft” which directly translates to “mobile for the future”. The website is built as an information source about the planned privatization of the DB. As the initiative is a pro-privatization initiative, the arguments made on the website are also very much pro-privatization. Even though they mention in the description of the initiative that they are pro privatization, generally this position shines more through the arguments made on the website than being explicitly mentioned. The website is structured in different sections which follow different types of arguments the campaign wants to make.

Even though the layout of the website is well structured, the level of writing and argumentation is of very low quality all over the website. Arguments are usually not supported by any evidence and the writing does often not follow coherent argumentation structures, as example (A) shows.

(A) “Basically, the **politicians are the bosses** (emphasis original). Now it's about transforming it (AN: the company) into a truly independent company. It should be borne in mind that the railway sector is not a playground for locusts, which are known to be looking for high returns. A locust fear is unfounded.”

This quote from the website shows that the call to turn the DB into an independent company is immediately followed with an argument trying to dispense of a fear of locusts (private investors taking the company apart to gain high profits). These two arguments are not obviously related. The first one is arguing for the privatization, because politicians are in control of the company. The second argument is about the types of investors who would invest in the company. This second argument is not at all supported by evidence, as neither proof nor examples are presented.

Furthermore, there are a lot of grammatical errors and typos all over the texts of the website, which makes it appear very unprofessional. On the website it is clearly stated that the website is not created by experts, but everyday citizens, as an excerpt from the landing page of the website shows:

(B) “We are not transport scientists or railway experts. We are simply citizens who regularly travel by train **and supporters of Deutsche Bahn** (emphasis original). In the last few months, this group of rail supporters has turned into an initiative that now has a large number of supporters and members nationwide and is supported by committed employees and helpers.”

It is still not entirely clear who is responsible for the actual creation and content of the website, as there is one person mentioned in the credits of the website, but an investigation by investigative journalists revealed that the website was part of the portfolio of the lobbying agency EPPA which was

acting on behalf of DB at the time (Müller & Klein, 2009). This is further corroborated by the fact that the website only has a contact page where readers can send a message, but there is no possibility to join the initiative, nor is there a call for it. Neither is there a member list nor any mentions of specific members. What can clearly be stated though, is that the website looks and feels like it is created by everyday citizens and not by a professional lobbying agency. Even though it is not entirely clear who the creators behind the website exactly are, they are not, as stated on the website, everyday citizens.

The aim to seem like a real citizens initiative also manifests itself when looking at the language which is used when the astroturfing initiative describes itself. When the initiative introduces itself in example (B), words which signify “we” or “us” are predominant. Also, the astroturfing initiative apparently wants to look as big and broad as possible, as they use language which indicates support from all over Germany and a steadily growing movement. This serves the purpose of appearing like a real citizen initiative with influence in the privatization process of the DB.

Frame analysis

I will now turn to the frames which I identified on the website. For the website I chose every section on the menu as a singular text, a decision which is made easy by the fact that the different sections are about specific policy topics. Figure 2 shows a screenshot of the archived website for clarification.



Figure 2: Screenshot of the archived website

Table 5 shows how often which frames were identified on the website of the astroturfing initiative. One can clearly see that the “engine” frame is predominant on the website. As described in the method section, I inductively came up with this frame during the research process. In reading the texts of the astroturfing website closely, the theme of efficiency in contrast with bureaucratic tranquility came up a lot. The name of the frame “an engine needs an overhaul from time to time to work properly again” fits this theme, as the mechanical picture of the engine does invoke mental

pictures of efficiency. Bureaucracy on the other hand is not usually associated with an engine which works properly. In keeping with this image, overhauling this engine renews this associated efficiency and gets rid of some faults that make it go slower. In this picture, the overhaul is the privatization of the engine DB, which gets rid of the faults and leakages brought by bureaucracy to run efficient again.

Frame	Identifiers of examples	Number of frames used
<i>An engine needs an overhaul from time to time to work properly again</i>		7
<i>Home</i>	B	
<i>Politik</i>	A; H; I	
<i>Die Vorteile für den Kunden</i>	J	
<i>Die Vorteile für den Staat</i>	C	
<i>Die Vorteile für die Zukunft</i>	D; G	
<i>Die Argumente: Wettbewerb</i>	F	
<i>Die Argumente: Modernisierung</i>	E	
<i>A new heart will provide new life for an otherwise healthy body</i>		2
<i>Wirtschaft</i>	K; L	
<i>Die Vorteile für den Mitarbeiter</i>		
<i>Killing two birds with one stone</i>		1
<i>Die Vorteile für die Umwelt</i>	M	
<i>Polishing the paint makes the car shiny</i>		1
<i>Die Vorteile für die Deutsche Bahn</i>	N	

Table 5: Distributions of the astroturfing sources to the frames and identifiers of the examples used in the analysis attributed to the texts they are taken from.

This means that the main argument which is made from the side of the astroturfing initiative is that the privatization will lead to major gains in efficiency and less bureaucracy. These concepts were very apparent during the close reading.

(C) “Authorities responsible for private railway companies, such as the Federal Railway Authority, already exist anyway. Thus, the administration of the railways in Germany is unified by the privatization of Deutsche Bahn. **Private companies act less bureaucratically and more efficiently.**” (Emphasis original)

(D) “Deutsche Bahn has been criticized in terms of punctuality, service and timetable. But how is a state company supposed to develop positively if it is forced to stick to its rigid structures?”

The last sentence in example (C) shows this very clearly and explicitly, while example (D) approaches the topic more subtle. Here, the inefficiency is passively criticized by talking about the faults the DB has in its daily operation. By then asking the rhetorical question about the continued existence as a state company, the text makes a connection between this inefficiency and the “rigid structures” of a state-run bureaucracy, implying a causal relation.

As a not privatized, but state-owned company, DB is portrayed as a sluggish, slow-moving company, as example (E) shows.

(E) “The **privatization of Deutsche Bahn** (emphasis original) is intended to replace a sluggish government railway with a competitive railway that will bring significant improvements in rail transport for the citizens.”

This is especially effective in garnering opposition for this state of the company, as no one wants to equate a transportation company with being slow-moving. The privatization is presented as the solution for this problem.

A real sense of urgency can be discovered when the astroturfing initiative mentions the process of the privatization itself.

(F) “Efficiency potentials must urgently be developed in local transport in order to be able to offer sufficient public transport in rural areas in the future.”

(G) “In the future, too, the federal government will order regional transport from railway companies, there will also be route closure procedures in the future, and monitoring by the Federal Railway Authority and the Federal Network Agency will not change as a result of an IPO. **However, the railway needs change.** (Emphasis original) *That is why the company's momentum should now be used instead of postponing and blocking the IPO even further.* (Emphasis added)

This concept of “urgency” is being used repeatedly in this context and being linked to efficiency. For one, this is linked to the privatization itself, as this should happen as soon as possible in the eyes of the initiators of the astroturfing campaign. Another observation is that efficiency and urgency are contextually linked words, as both install a sense of quickness in reaching a goal. This fits with the “engine” frame, as a smooth-running engine (ergo after the overhaul) is also associated with quickness. While (F) makes this urgency explicit by using the word itself, (G) states the urgency a bit

more subtle, by contrasting it with the slowness of “postponing” and “blocking”, as the emphasized section of the example shows.

Sometimes interesting themes emerge, as is the case when addressing politics. In this section the website describes at first their view of the political process regarding the privatization as very slow and bureaucratic (H),

(H) “Countless expert opinions were drawn up and **far too much time** (emphasis original) wasted, and money was invested. This money could have been put to better use, e.g., in new trains or in the railway network.”

just to contrast this theme with the efficiency and lean structures the privatization would provide for the DB and also using the example of politics as a cautionary tale (I).

(I) “Here it is important that the company will be depoliticized. **The private economic spirit must be strengthened.** (Emphasis original) A government railway that only debates instead of finally deciding can only make slow progress. For more efficient action it is therefore necessary that the company also carries full responsibility.”

Even when addressing target groups such as their customers, the argument that the privatization will bring advantages for them is framed in the light of these advantages coming from the newfound economic efficiency and freed resources through less bureaucracy, as example (J) shows.

(J) “In order to be able to offer improved **service for customers** and, above all, **cheaper connections**, privatization is necessary. After all, the customer and train user should benefit from the increased competition and service advantages caused by the IPO. One does not want to be treated as a transport case by a government railway, but rather as a **customer of a private railway.**” (All emphasis original)

For two texts on the astroturfing campaigns website, I chose the “heart” frame. I used this frame when the texts mainly talked about the benefits the privatization of the DB will have for the larger German economy, as the DB is a large logistics company which is very important for the German economy. There is a contradiction in the argument and also within the frame, which is why this frame fits this argumentation. The frame says that a healthy body needs a new heart to survive. It is inherent in this image that the body can neither survive with the current heart, nor without a heart at all. So, the body, at the same time, needs the heart, but also cannot go on living with the heart it currently has. The same paradox is apparent in the identified texts on the website. On the one hand the DB is lauded as the backbone of the German economy, without which Germany would not have the economic success that it does or in its extreme would not even survive, as example (K) shows.

Here, the word “dependent” signifies a certain weight in the point which is made, as the strength of the German economy is at stake here.

(K) “In recent years, Deutsche Bahn has greatly expanded its logistics division. This puts it in **second place internationally** (emphasis original) and already occupies a top position right behind the market leader Deutsche Post. *We live in a Germany that is dependent on raw materials and should take our logistics into our own hands and thus **strengthen the German economy*** (emphasis original)”. (Italic emphasis added)

Another trend visible in the highlighted part of example (K) is the use of language which has connotations to the word “strong”, as well as the usage of the word itself. With this, the initiative wants to highlight the benefits the privatization will have, not only in terms of the economic situation of DB, but the larger German economy. Implicit in this language is the message that the German economy will not be strong (anymore) if the privatization does not happen.

On the other hand, the company is regarded as weak and deteriorating because it is still majority state owned.

(L) “In 2006, rail was the **fastest growing mode of transport** in freight transport and passenger transport also increased significantly. This positive development should be maintained. The goal is to **unleash forces through private enterprise** and move the railway away from the state to **improve prices, jobs and service.**” (All emphasis original)

The example shows that the privatization is framed as being able to revive not only the company but keep the German economy strong. This frame exemplifies a problem which a lot of the texts from the astroturfing website have. They have a very positive attitude towards the DB and the company is lauded as very strong and important. On the other hand, though, the main mission is to lobby for the privatization, for which they need to present the company as fragile and in distress, which can only be solved by the privatization.

The last two frames only appear once each in the texts of the website. “Killing two birds with one stone” is a common saying which makes it not only very suitable for a commonsense category, but also quite easy to come up with inductively during the research process. This frame is used to signify to policymakers that the privatization can be used to follow other policy-goals they have, goals which they might even support more than the privatization itself, but which are worth the negative effects a privatization might have in the view of those policymakers.

(M) “The private railway will be particularly **environmentally friendly and climate-friendly** (emphasis original)!”

It is not surprising that the issue where this frame comes up is the effect the privatization will have on the environment, as this issue is of such importance (especially to some parties on the political left) that a positive impact here might cancel out the negative impact the privatization will have elsewhere in their view. Example (M) shows that particularly being a private company is getting linked with being environmentally friendly.

An economic argument which is more focused on the DB itself rather than the larger German economy is the argument that investors will invest in the newly privatized company. This is encompassed in the “Polishing the paint makes the car shiny” frame. This name was chosen for the frame, because it is about making something look good, rather than improving the substance. The superficial impact is valued higher. It is rather about showing the company in a good light through the privatization than the actual effects of it.

(N) “It is clear that the taxpayer will be **relieved** by privatization and that a railway that is only (sic!) economically strong can also **create** and secure **jobs**. There is therefore **no alternative** to privatizing Deutsche Bahn. One has to keep investing to make **long-term profits**.” (All emphasis original)

Legitimacy frames

The astroturfing initiative website has some explicit mentions of citizens on their “home” page. Here, they introduce themselves as just normal citizens who have an interest in the DB as a railway company which is used by citizens, as the example (B) shows.

(B) “We are not transport scientists or railway experts. We are simply citizens who regularly travel by train **and supporters of Deutsche Bahn** (emphasis original). In the last few months, this group of rail supporters has turned into an initiative that now has a large number of supporters and members nationwide and is supported by committed employees and helpers.”

This displays the legitimacy-frame of “voice”, as here, real citizens apparently make their voices heard. That this is not really true because this is an astroturfing campaign does not matter, as this was not available information for other actors at the time.

In another section, it is argued that privatization has advantages for the citizens.

(J) “In order to be able to offer improved **service for customers** (emphasis original) and, above all, **cheaper connections** (emphasis original), privatization is necessary. After all, the customer and train user should benefit from the increased competition and service advantages caused by the IPO. *One does not want to be treated as a transport case by a*

*government railway, but rather as a **customer of a private railway** (emphasis original)."*

(Italic emphasis added)

In this example (J), the text goes even further in claiming to speak for the citizens. Here, the legitimacy frame of "will of the people" is displayed, as it is directly stated what the citizens want or, more accurately, in this case do not want. Granted the text explicitly talks about its customers and train users, but as the company is as big as it is, with the very strong market position, almost every citizen can realistically be considered a potential customer. Interestingly, the above example shows no type of proof of the validity of the claim, not even anecdotal, when speaking for the citizens. The lack of proof suggests that the citizens and legitimacy they provide are used as a rhetorical device to convince the reader of the argument.

The last mention of citizens on the astroturfing website is a bit harder to frame in terms of legitimacy.

(E) "The **privatization of Deutsche Bahn** (emphasis original) is intended to replace a sluggish government railway with a competitive railway that will bring significant improvements in rail transport for the citizens."

Here, there are neither explicit statements about what the citizens want nor about the actual involvement of citizens. As the arguments is presented in a positive light, with the usage of words such as "significant improvements", I argue that the presented benefits are assumed to be wanted by the citizens. Therefore, I also chose the legitimacy frame "will of the people" for this section of the website.

Parliamentary speeches discourse

For the analysis of the parliamentary speeches, I looked at three different debates taking place in the federal parliament. The debates took place on the 21.09.2007, 08.05.2008 and 30.05.2008 respectively. The last debate was also the one where the watered-down version of the privatization was passed. The first debate on 21.09.2007 was named (translated) "Federal Railways Reorganization Act". The second and third debate took place under the same name (translated) "The future of the railway, the railway of the future - further developing the railway reform". The explanation for the same name is that the same proposal was discussed in these debates, hence why they took place so close to each other.

The actual positions of the different political parties were not very far apart, as all the parties, except the small left party were in favor of some kind of privatization and the differences in their political positions were often quite marginal. Example (O) shows a quote from the first debate, which was

given by a member of parliament for the coalition party (CDU/CSU) describing the proposed law and stating a positive stance towards it.

(O) "The draft law now provides a model in which the legal and beneficial ownership is split for a limited management period and that the shares in the railway infrastructure companies must be transferred to the federal government as security for this period. The Union (AN: CDU/CSU) is ready to accept the present model as an interim model."

Example (P) shows how, in the same debate, a member of the opposition green party describes their stance towards the privatization.

(P) "We Greens clearly stand by the principle of "competition on the rails". We say unequivocally: the infrastructure, the railways, must remain in public hands. That is what the Basic Law wants."

This shows that the greens, even though in the opposition, are not completely against privatization. On the contrary, the speaker even lauds the concept of privatization, but says in the same vein that he does not agree with the proposed law, because the railway network needs to stay in public hands. The difference in the two statements is therefore more of a technical one. This is interesting to keep in mind for the upcoming frame analysis, as frames are not clearly drawn at ideological fault lines but overlap between different parties.

Frame analysis

Frame	Identifiers of examples	Number
An engine needs an overhaul from time to time to work properly again		0
A new heart will provide new life for an otherwise healthy body		13
<i>Wolfgang Tiefensee, Minister of Infrastructure (SPD); 21.09.2007</i>	R	
<i>Klaas Hübner (SPD); 21.09.2007</i>	S	
<i>Dirk Fischer (CDU/CSU); 21.09.2007</i>	O	
<i>Uwe Beckmeyer (SPD); 21.09.2007</i>		
<i>Enak Ferlemann (CDU/CSU); 21.09.2007</i>		
<i>Klaas Hübner (SPD); 08.05.2008</i>	Q; AA	
<i>Wolfgang Tiefensee, Minister of Infrastructure (SPD); 08.05.2008</i>		
<i>Wolfgang Tiefensee, Minister of Infrastructure (SPD); 30.05.2008</i>		
<i>Klaus Lippold (CDU/CSU); 30.05.2008</i>		
<i>Uwe Beckmeyer (SPD); 30.05.2008</i>		
<i>Klaus Hofbauer (CDU/CSU); 30.05.2008</i>		
<i>Klaas Hübner (SPD); 30.05.2008</i>		
<i>Enak Ferlemann (CDU/CSU); 30.05.2008</i>		
Killing two birds with one stone		1
<i>Martin Burkert (SPD); 30.05.2008</i>	Y	
Polishing the paint makes the car shiny		3
<i>Hans-Peter Friedrich (CDU/CSU); 08.05.2008</i>	AB	
<i>Dirk Fischer (CDU/CSU); 08.05.2008</i>		
<i>Uwe Beckmeyer (SPD); 08.05.2008</i>	X	
The devil is in the details		9
<i>Horst Friedrich (FDP); 21.09.2007</i>		
<i>Hans-Peter Friedrich (CDU/CSU); 21.09.2007</i>	U	
<i>Winfried Hermann (B90/Grüne); 21.09.2007</i>	P	
<i>Horst Friedrich (FDP); 08.05.2008</i>		

<i>Winfried Hermann (B90/Grüne); 08.05.2008</i>		
<i>Enak Ferlemann (CDU/CSU); 08.05.2008</i>	W	
<i>Horst Friedrich (FDP); 30.05.2008</i>		
<i>Fritz Kuhn (B90/Grüne); 30.05.2008</i>	T	
<i>Patrick Döring (FDP); 30.05.2008</i>		
Rejecting the premise		3
<i>Oskar Lafontaine (Die Linke); 21.09.2007</i>		
<i>Gregor Gysi (Die Linke); 08.05.2008</i>	Z	
<i>Gregor Gysi (Die Linke); 30.05.2008</i>		

Table 6: Distributions of the speeches to the frames and identifiers of the examples used in the analysis attributed to the texts they are taken from.

Turning to the frames which are used in the parliamentary speeches, one can see some clear trends emerging which I will explain in this section. First of all, I saw each speech made by a politician in the debate as a singular text and framed them accordingly. For the frame analysis, I ignored interventions, be they in the form of shouts or questions, and the answers to such, as these often steer from the topic of the actual speech, which would complicate the framing and steer it outside the scope of this study. Table 6 shows how often which frames were identified, as well as the identifiers for each speech attributed to the quotes.

I identified the “heart” frame the most, having recognized a plurality of the total texts with this frame. This is somewhat unsurprising, given the context of the arena the texts were created in. As the debates took place in the federal parliament, the members of parliament are mostly concerned about the state and the impact the privatization has on the state. Example (Q) shows how this implicit notion of the “German champion” is built.

(Q) “We make the company fit for the future. We will strengthen DB AG (AN: AG=joint-stock company) financially. We will reorganize it and DB AG will soon have the opportunity to succeed in European competition as well.”

Here, even though the quote explicitly mentions the company itself, the argumentative structure leads from making the company “fit” and “strong”, to the company being able to represent Germany internationally on the European market. This implies that only the DB can be the strong logistics company Germany needs to succeed. Therefore, it is deemed the “heart” of the German economy itself, as it is chosen to represent the country internationally.

Probably the most fervent proponent/utterer of the “heart” frame is the minister himself. His speeches are full of mentions of the DB as a strong company and compliments towards this strength.

(R) “As we debate this law, 34,000 trains are running, millions of commuters are being transported, containers are being moved north-to-south, east-to-west, west-to-east and south-to-north on the rails.

Deutsche Bahn AG is *the* (emphasis original) mobility and logistics company in Germany. We want to make it stronger with this reform. We are continuing a journey which was already started in the early 1990s.”

The above shown quote (R) are the opening words from the opening speech of the first debate. This exemplifies how the notion of not only DB as a strong company, but also as a company which is vital for the German economy and Germany in general is created. The use of north, south, east and west in almost all of its possible connections aims to encompass all of Germany, marking DB as a company all of Germany should care for. A slightly different, but related, purpose is served by the emphasis on “the” in the second paragraph. Here, the company is positioned as vitally important to Germany, as its key role in “mobility and logistics” is emphasized. It shows the uniqueness of the company. Importantly, after all the talk of how strong and central in the German economy the DB is, the minister still says that he wants to make it stronger. This is the case as the whole goal of the speech is to push the privatization of the DB, which is why it is argued that the company needs to and will become stronger through privatization. This is again in keeping with the “heart” frame. As laid out earlier, also here two opposing concepts are kept in mind at the same time. On the one hand, the company is strong and, in the “heart” analogy, keeping the body alive. On the other hand, the DB needs the privatization in order to continue to survive, just as the new heart would provide new life for the body.

Furthermore, the DB is often compared to other European transportation companies, especially in connection with the changing regulatory environment in the sector. This serves to show that DB has to get stronger to keep the position as “German champion”.

(S) “In my opinion, the partial privatization of Deutsche Bahn is necessary because we are dealing with enormously growing logistics markets in Germany. Overall, this is an important key to economic growth in Germany. In view of the fact that the freight transport markets have been open since January 1st of this year and that the passenger transport markets will be opened across Europe from October 1st, 2010, we should have an interest in - no matter what we do, we will always be the majority owner of the DB - that Deutsche Bahn AG is able to keep up with the other competitors.”

This is shown by the argumentative structure of the above quote. First, the speaker states that he is in favor of the privatization. Then he addresses the importance of the logistics market within the

country. Afterwards, the changing legislative environment is addressed where it is noted that there is more European competition now. Then, the speaker concludes that this is why the DB needs to keep up with these new competitors and that a privatization is not such a drastic step to take, as the state will keep majority ownership. With this quote, the speaker again constructs the DB as the backbone of the German economy, by using the fear of outside competition taking over as the reasoning the privatization has to happen, otherwise this backbone, or “heart”, might be weakened, which would be bad for the whole economy and country.

The second most identified frame is the “the devil is in the details” frame. I created this frame while framing the parliamentary speeches, as it did not appear in the astroturfing discourse. This frame describes positions which are very nuanced and do not fit with any of the other frames. Even if the speakers are generally pro-privatization, they have some details, which they not quite agree with, or just focus very much on the details of the privatization or the legislative process. Therefore, I chose the name “the devil is in the details” for this frame, a common saying which fits, as the texts which I identified with this frame focus very much on the details. This usually includes positions which are in favor of the privatization in general, but against the specific proposed law.

(T) “There is nothing to suggest that this concept would bring more traffic onto the rails. Anyone who wants more traffic to be shifted to rail in the interest of more climate protection cannot approve of this type of privatization. It can't be our aim to finance trucks with "DB" on them driving around in China or Russia. After all, our goal must be a transport substitution in favor of the ecologically best mode of transport. With what you, ladies and gentlemen of the grand coalition, are proposing, you have clearly failed.”

The above quote shows that the speaker is not opposed to privatization in general, but rather opposes the proposed law. In fact, the speaker specifically criticizes the “concept” which is proposed by the governing coalition. He talks about the “type” of privatization, which is proposed, but implicitly suggests that he would be open to other types of privatizations.

Two speeches which I identified with this frame have been given by coalition government politicians. While they are the minority in this respect, it is still interesting to look at these a bit closer. In these speeches they talk more broadly about the complexity of the policy process regarding the privatization. In the speech given in the first debate, the speaker makes arguments similar to the opposition parties, as he gives a nuanced position on the privatization.

(U) “The goal is: We want a separation of operations and rail, a separation of logistics and infrastructure. I believe that the colleague from the FDP gave a very plausible explanation. Logistics on the rails and on the road - Deutsche Bahn AG also operates logistics on the road

with its subsidiary Schenker - is already taking place in competition today. This is good; because only those who face up to the competition remain competitive. This is important for the competitiveness of rail transport.”

In the above quote, the speaker goes as far as lauding comments made by opposition party politicians. The goal which he describes here is not the goal which is the current status of the bill discussed at that moment, but rather the ideal goal of his party. This all speaks for a frame considering nuanced positions, which is why I chose this particular frame for the speech.

In the other speech given by a coalition party politician which had this frame, the speech was given closer to the actual vote. Here, rather than offering dissenting views on the proposed regulation, the speaker only relives the policy-process, without talking about any doubts on the proposed law, as example (V) shows. Here, the frame was chosen for its focus on the details of the process rather than a nuanced position on the topic itself. As the excerpt (V) shows, this speech relived the legislative process and gives thanks. This is not surprising at all, as this is the closing speech of the second debate.

(V) “There were many confusions and confusions in the discussion – some speakers have mentioned this here – but there have always been colleagues who have maintained a clear regulatory orientation. First of all, I would like to say that I am extremely grateful to my group, especially the transport politicians, for always sticking to this line, even if it was sometimes very controversial.”

Three times I found the “polishing the paint makes the car shiny” frame in the parliamentary speeches. In the context of these speeches this frame is mainly used to highlight the chance for new investment in case of privatization.

(X) “The point is that we want to organize an IPO for the transport company with a 24.9 percent share of private capital, in order to raise private capital for transport services, for investments in the infrastructure, in the routes and stations, and mobilize a part for the federal budget. That's what it's about at the moment. The benefits associated with it are so overwhelmingly good and great that one can only say: These benefits exceed any residual fears that there may be.”

The chosen quote (X) shows how the focus of this frame lies on the investment opportunities which are created through the privatization. The privatization is framed in terms of new money coming in and what can be accomplished with this money. The speaker goes as far as dismissing all fears, as the benefits the investment will bring are so great.

The “polishing the paint makes the car shiny” frame is mostly concerned with the DB itself, as it is about the investment which will come into the company. It is therefore interesting to contrast it with the “engine” frame, which shares the characteristic of being mostly about the DB itself but is not to be found in the parliamentary speeches. Even though efficiency as an outcome of privatization is mentioned here or there, there is no speech which frames the privatization itself in these terms. It is even harder to properly judge the reason of the absence of a frame than explaining its existence. Still, I want to offer the possible explanation that the investment part of the “polishing the paint makes the car shiny” frame has considerable impacts on the larger German economy. Investment in the rail infrastructure does not only benefit the DB itself, but the logistics of the whole economy. That means that the investment argument is more tangible in comparison to the argument for more efficiency. The outcome of more efficiency is quite intangible in comparison to the outcome of having more money to invest.

That the “Killing two birds with one stone” frame does only appear in one speech was surprising to me. I would have thought that this is a frame which would be used quite a lot, as this is a perfect opportunity for politicians to justify their support for the privatization with other policy-goals they have, especially if they are not totally comfortable with the privatization in the first place. In the one speech that uses this frame, this is exactly the case.

(Y) “The essential prerequisite for this development (AN: increased added value of workers over the years) was the unity of the integrated company. That is why the maintenance of the integrated company as well as the job security for the 230,000 railway workers was for us in the SPD an essential basic requirement in the negotiations about the entry of private investors. The SPD parliamentary group therefore expressly welcomes the preservation of the integrated company and thus the company's internal labor market. The SPD parliamentary group also expressly welcomes the conclusion of a collective bargaining agreement between Transnet and Deutsche Bahn AG.”

Here, a social democratic member of parliament argues for the privatization on several grounds related to the internal labor market of DB and the preservation of jobs. How important this point is for the speaker is underlined by the explicit mention of the number of workers whose jobs will be secured. He uses this argumentation to justify the support for the privatization, as he calls it a “essential basic requirement”. Therefore, I chose the “killing two birds with one stone” frame for this speech, as the support for the policy comes not necessarily only from support for the policy itself, but the support for a peripheral effect the policy has.

During this analysis I came across a few speeches which I could not frame in terms of the already existing frames, even after the inclusion of the “the devil is in the details” frame. These were exclusively the speeches of politicians from the far-left opposition party “Die Linke”. While all the other speakers, even if they disagreed with the proposed law or how the privatization was realized, were still in favor of some kind of privatization, the politicians from the far left disagreed with any type of privatization on principle. Therefore, for these kinds of speeches I chose the frame name “rejecting the premise”, as they did not even consider privatization to be a viable option at all, no matter the type.

(Z) “We need the railways to be publicly owned so that we can debate and decide publicly, even with different concepts if you like. Privatization always means that politicians are released from responsibility. If one day you have sold everything, then the chancellor and I will no longer have any say in this matter. To tell you very clearly: I consider this to be a very unfavorable mutuality, because then the choice between the two of us in this respect no longer makes sense for the citizens.”

Aside from just being against privatization in general and stating that the railway should be a public good, the above quote also shows, how the speaker links the privatization to democracy. The aversion to any type of privatization is so deep, that the speaker considers it anti-democratic, because the choice how to rule over the public good is taken from the politicians, which, in his view makes democracy itself dispensable.

Legitimacy frames

The last section directly connects with legitimacy. In only four parliamentary speeches I found relevant mentions of the citizens. This is notable, as members of parliament are supposed to speak for the people, but still do not mention citizens explicitly a lot. The last used quote (Z) was one of the few speeches with some clear mentions of citizens. Here, the speaker laments the loss of the democratic power of the citizens, more specific, the loss of the power of their vote. As voting is a clear expression of the voice of the people, where their inputs have to be taken into account, this speech displays the legitimacy frame of “voice”.

In one other speech, a speaker explicitly mentions that the citizens demanded certain changes regarding the DB.

(AA) “We want to make the train stations and stops more attractive. We want to renew locomotives and wagons, and above all we want to specifically combat rail noise. *This is a demand that has often been made*, and not only in relation to the Rhine line. There is more traffic in Germany and also more logistics; we want that too. *But we want to do justice to it in*

such a way that the citizens can also live. That's why we have to fight the noise at the source. We can do that now with the newly won funds." (All emphasis added)

The above quote from the speech shows a supposed demand made by citizens. Even though the speaker does not explicitly link the demand for less noise to the citizens, by mentioning the demand and citizens so close to each other, it is perceived as the citizens being the ones making the demand. If these demands have really been made by the citizens remains open, as this cannot be proven because no evidence is provided in the speech. The linkage still constitutes the legitimacy frame of "voice", as the supposed demands of the citizens are heard and acted on. Here, it is interesting to observe how the legitimacy frame works in order to legitimize the privatization. The speaker states that there is a specific issue which the citizens demanded a solution for. The presented solution is the privatization, which will bring in the new funds to solve the problem.

Two times I detected the legitimacy frame of "will of the people" in speeches. The frame is applied quite indirect in these speeches, as there is no mention that the people actually demanded something. But, as example (AB) shows, it is argued that there are significant benefits for the citizens. Even though if it is not clear if the citizens really want these benefits, it is assumed by the speaker that they do want it. Therefore, he legitimizes the benefits through privatization with the "will of the people".

(AB) "Ultimately, however, the rail mode of transport and thus those who use local transport – the citizens – benefit from this competition. If a private railway manages to offer eleven instead of ten trains per day on one route for the same price because it has more favorable cost structures, then the people in the country will benefit. Therefore, this area should be privatized."

Analysis of news articles

Frames	Identifiers of examples	Number
An engine needs an overhaul from time to time to work properly again		4
<i>Bahn AG möchte ihre Marken ordnen; Logistiksparte soll den Namen Schenker bekommen / Kabinett will Teilprivatisierung beschließen</i>		
<i>Absage an die Volksaktie; Bahn-Chef Mehdorn bevorzugt bei Börsengang institutionelle Investoren / Umsatz im ersten Halbjahr kräftig gestiegen</i>		
<i>Hoflieferant in Bedrängnis; Siemens muss sich beim ICE auf stärkere Konkurrenz einstellen</i>		
<i>Mindestens 15 weitere Städte verlieren den Anschluss; Um im Fernverkehr profitabel zu fahren, muss ein potentieller Käufer das Streckennetz der Deutschen Bahn weiter ausdünnen</i>	AJ	
A new heart will provide new life for an otherwise healthy body		
<i>Mit dem Güterzug quer durch Europa; Bahnchef Hartmut Mehdorn will nach seiner Vertragsverlängerung Transportgesellschaften in Großbritannien und Spanien kaufen</i>	AF	
<i>Der Weltbahner; Während Hartmut Mehdorn die Internationalisierung seines Konzerns vorantreibt, entscheidet der Aufsichtsrat über dessen Zukunft</i>		
<i>Die bessere Bahn</i>	AK	
<i>Die Schiene muss allen gehören</i>	AG	
<i>Große Pläne, viele Bedenken; Die wichtigsten Fragen und Antworten zur geplanten Privatisierung der Deutschen Bahn / Widerstand von Gewerkschaften erwartet</i>		
Killing two birds with one stone		0
Polishing the paint makes the car shiny		6
<i>Steinbrück gegen Bahn-Volksaktie; Minister hält Idee für untauglich / Abstimmung womöglich erst 2008</i>		

<i>Letzter Anschluss</i>	AH	
<i>Bahn drängt in den Dax; Koalition will Börsengang für „Schienenoffensive“ nutzen</i>	AI	
<i>Bund bleibt auf Bahn-Schulden sitzen; Weil das Schienennetz staatlich bleiben soll, werden bei der Privatisierung Lasten und Vermögen ungleich verteilt</i>		
<i>„Unser Fahrplan für die Bahn steht“; Ohne Privatisierung kein Geld, ohne Geld keine Investitionen – wie Wolfgang Tiefensee den Börsengang retten will</i>		
<i>Aufsichtsrat will Bahn-Privatisierung</i>		
<i>The devil is in the details</i>		13
<i>Bahn verteidigt Bahngesetz</i>	AC	
<i>Staatskonzern günstig abzugeben; Warum die Bundesregierung mit der Privatisierung der Deutschen Bahn ein großes Risiko eingeht</i>		
<i>Die Vernunft bleibt auf der Strecke; Mit einem beispiellos komplizierten Gesetz verspielt der Bund die Chancen der Bahn-Privatisierung</i>		
<i>Haltestelle Föderalismus</i>		
<i>Länder bremsen Privatisierung der Bahn; Verkehrsminister fordern mehr Mitsprache und Aufschub für Entscheidung / Neues Gutachten über Gesetzentwurf</i>	AD	
<i>Vollkommen verfahren</i>		
<i>Gutachten zur Privatisierung; Länder fürchten um Bahnhöfe; Verkehrsminister Tiefensee verteidigt sein Gesetz zum Börsengang / Streit um den Zeitplan</i>		
<i>Geben und nehmen; Gewerkschaft Transnet unterstützt den Privatisierungskurs – der Bahnchef ist dankbar</i>		
<i>Der Scherbenhaufen der Nation</i>	AE	
<i>„Wir müssen aufpassen wie die Schießhunde“; Die Reform der Bahn könnte Bayern und speziell der Münchner Metropolregion erhebliche Nachteile bringen</i>		
<i>Kommunen wehren sich gegen geplante Privatisierung der Bahn; Lücken im Fahrplan; Grüne und SPD in München fürchten</i>		

<i>Verschlechterung des Schienen-Angebots vor allem im Fernverkehr</i>		
<i>Bahn wird noch in diesem Jahr privatisiert; Vorstand und Parteirat der SPD billigen Reform / Schienennetz bleibt in Staatsbesitz</i>		
<i>Bahn frei für die Börse; Seit diesem Donnerstag hat Hartmut Mehdorn das Mandat für den Kapitalmarkt: Der Aufsichtsrat billigt die Privatisierung</i>		

Table 7: Distributions of the news articles to the frames and identifiers of the examples used in the analysis attributed to the texts they are taken from.

For the analysis of the news articles, I looked at the coverage of the privatization in the newspaper “Süddeutsche Zeitung”. In general, it is hard to detect a pattern in the news articles, as they are very diverse in their style and themes. The sample consists of interviews, opinion pieces, features, news reports and so on. Therefore, the establishment of a clear pattern is hard. One observation, which also stands in connection with the frame analysis below, can be made though. There are no positions expressed or featured which are completely anti privatization. Therefore, the “Rejecting the premise” frame has not been found once in the media discourse.

The same is true for the “Killing two birds with one stone” frame, as I did not frame a single article with this frame. The articles in which explicit arguments pro-privatization are being made are in a minority in this dataset. The ones where this is the case, for example interviews with politicians, profiles of executives or opinion pieces, have a more straightforward argument pro-privatization than the “killing two birds with one stone” frame would allow, which is why I chose other frames for those. This frame is about justifying one policy outcome with another one, something which these articles do not do, as their arguments are very pro-privatization in the first place.

Frame analysis

I framed a big plurality of articles with the frame “The devil is in the details”, as Table 7 shows. This is unsurprising, as a big part of the coverage is the reporting on the process. Here, the details of the policy-process take center stage, while coverage which is clearly pro- or contra-privatization has to take a backseat. The below examples show this kind of argumentative structure from different perspectives.

(AC) “The draft law provides for the federal government to retain legal ownership of the railway network, stations and power lines. But the railway should be allowed to account for it. The core issue is now how much influence the federal government has to give up on the rail network so that this construction works in terms of accounting law - and how much

influence it can give up without affecting the Basic Law. Federal influence on the rail network is laid down there.”

(AD) “At the same time, the federal states are demanding a three-week delay for their consultations – and are thus further delaying the federal government. Instead of at the end of September, the second parliamentary chamber would then deal with the privatization of the railways in its meeting on October 12th. Fundamental questions about the IPO would be postponed until then. Especially, the Hessian Minister of Transport, Alois Rhiel, had previously called for the law to be revised in order to separate the rail network and rail traffic "more effectively". The states of Lower Saxony and North Rhine-Westphalia joined on Thursday. The states of Brandenburg, Berlin and Bremen also put fundamental concerns on the record. The Federal Ministry of Transport was nevertheless optimistic. State Secretary Achim Großmann said he was "grateful" that the federal states still wanted to continue working on the draft. "Somehow I have the feeling that we can do it."”

These two examples show two different perspectives of the complex nature of the privatization process. The first quote from a news article with the “the devil is in the details” frame explains the complexities from a legal side. The second quote covers the privatization and its complexities from the side of the states. The language used in both of the quotes is very neutral and matter of fact. There are a lot of details and facts in the quotes which lets the quotes seem very neutral, not taking one or the other position. Also contributing to that picture of neutrality is the fact that quote (AD) gives both sides space in the text, therefore not appearing to be on either side of the discussion. These examples show, why the “the devil is in the details” frame was chosen. Balanced and nuanced reporting on the privatization are the main themes in these articles.

It is quite apparent that even if the type of article is rather an opinion piece than reporting, the positions are never totally against the privatization, just against the type of privatization or the process. This also fits with this chosen frame, as it is the details which are being focused on and not the question if the privatization itself should happen.

(AE) “The shards of railway privatization are a joint production.

Unfortunately, doing nothing is not an option. After saying goodbye to the IPO, the federal government is still the sole owner of a global logistics group. It is easy to understand why the state should be responsible for ensuring that people and goods within Germany reach their destination quickly, even without their own vehicle. But why a state-owned company transports containers from China to the USA is difficult to understand. The coalition quickly needs a better plan for the DB.”

The quote (AE) exemplifies this point. After finding quite strong words for the failure of the privatization, the argument is still made that the company needs to privatize anyway. This shows that even the arguments against the privatization are about the how and not about the if.

Interestingly, the “Polishing the paint makes the car shiny” frame is used quite often in the news articles.

(AH) The privatization of the state-owned company Deutsche Bahn (DB) has been discussed and disputed since the beginning of the decade. A decision should finally be made in the next few months. According to information from company circles and the CDU, the DB and the federal government want to clarify by May whether and how the latest model can be implemented politically. *This is the "last chance" to attract private investors for Deutsche Bahn before the end of this decade.* (Emphasis added)

The example (AH) shows how urgency is created with this frame. The fear of not having money is something readers can relate with. By telling the reader it is the “last chance” for the DB to get investment, the author puts it into a very relatable category which may sway readers to agree with the privatization. This shows, that the “polishing the paint makes the car shiny” frame is not just a frame purely about numbers but has also an emotional component to it.

(AI) Internally, plans for an IPO are well advanced. According to information from company circles, the passenger and freight transport holding company could distribute more than a third of its profits as dividends. According to DB AG's medium-term financial plan, the surplus from these divisions is to increase from EUR 1.6 billion this year to EUR 2.3 billion in 2012. The private shareholders in the holding company could therefore expect a dividend of several hundred million euros per year. As a first step, 25 to 30 percent of the holding company's shares are to be sold to international companies in the transport sector and small investors in October.

The second example shows rather the opposite, as this is a quote very much based on numbers. This is quite common in the texts which are framed with this frame. One explanation could be that “money” is an easy lens through which to report and therefore view and explain the privatization, as the reader will understand the concept of “privatization equals more money” quite easily.

Looking to the language of the texts that use the “heart” frame, the concept of the “German champion” DB comes up again and again often with the dimension that the company has to survive and thrive in a competitive international environment.

(AF) “Mehdorn (AN: CEO of DB) wrote to the Bundestag last autumn that he wanted to open up “strategically important markets” for DB. This applies in particular to freight transport by rail. At the time, the CEO had also expressed his interest in former state railways from Eastern Europe. The DB then recently announced that it wanted to cooperate with EWS and Transfesa in order to create a “European network”.”

(AG) “Now, as originally planned, 49 percent of the entire Deutsche Bahn AG company is no longer to be sold, but only minority shares in the company’s local and long-distance transport, freight transport and logistics divisions. This would give Deutsche Bahn the billions it wanted to be able to finance the expansion of its market position in Europe. On the other hand, the most sensitive area of the company, the rail network, would be exempt from privatization; it would remain in the possession of the still state-owned DB holding company. This is imperative, because the network does not belong to Deutsche Bahn, but to the citizens who have financed it for decades. If you want more competition on the rails, you shouldn't leave it to a private near-monopolist who doesn't want this kind of competition.”

The two quotes (AF) and (AG) show quite detailed how the concept of the DB as the “heart” of the German economy is constructed, without explicitly mentioning it. The first quote, frames the privatization as a means to manifest the company in other European markets, further confirming the status of an important player not only in Germany, but also in Europe. This position would make the company even more important for Germany, hence furthering its position as the “German champion”. The second quote (AG) goes in a similar direction, by saying that the money which would be created through the privatization will be used to further its position on the European market. The reason, I have not chosen the “polishing the paint makes the car shiny” frame for this text is that the text goes on in arguing that the railway has emotional (and financial) value to its citizens. Here, the company is constructed as something more than just a company, which is why I chose the “heart” frame for this particular text. This speaks to the strength of the “heart” frame in this discourse analysis. It is a frame which is not only based on what the article says in terms of words. Rather it is about what is said between the lines in regard to the emotionally connection to the DB and the privatization.

The “engine” frame is also represented in the news articles. The below quote (AJ) shows the effects the privatization will, as per the article, have in terms of efficiency. This example is quite interesting for the “engine” frame, as the efficiency, which is the result of the privatization would not be beneficial for the customers and citizens, but only for the DB itself. This shows the range of this frame, as in the astroturfing discourse, efficiency was touted as something that would benefit

everyone, while in the news sources this is not the case. Nevertheless, the texts still have the same frame, as the privatization is understood in terms of efficiency.

(AJ) According to the study, Deutsche Bahn is already planning internally to generate significantly more returns in long-distance transport. Profit is expected to increase from 110 million euros last year to 570 million euros in 2011. For such a jump, the board would have to take “drastic measures”, the experts predict. Prices would have to rise by at least five to seven percent annually until 2012. Unprofitable connections would have to be canceled, including "a large part of today's IC traffic".

Legitimacy frames

For the news articles the mention of citizens in a legitimacy context is very rare. In only two of the articles, I found relevant mentions. This tells me something interesting in itself. In the other two discourses, people clearly follow certain agendas, as they either do or do not want the privatization to happen. Now, I am far from saying that the media is completely neutral, but even in opinion pieces the authors do not need to bring the heavy argument of legitimacy, as there is no real downside to them if the privatization does not happen, opposed to the DB and politicians. Furthermore, as the legitimacy frames do also not feature very prominent in the other two discourses, there is also no great need for the media to report on it.

Having said this, I will share one example (AK) below, which is taken from an opinion piece and argues with the legitimacy frame of “will of the people”.

(AK) What would Germany be without its railway? How crowded would the streets be if there were no tracks? How would travelers and goods get to their destination in an environmentally friendly way? There is no doubt: the railway is a backbone of this country. It is the most important company that the federal government still owns. No wonder a few hundred SPD delegates had such a difficult time with the partial privatization of the railways last weekend. They speak for millions of citizens who suspect that something is slipping away from them with rail privatization. What is so important to the country cannot simply fall to private investors, even if only in part.

Here, the citizens are framed on having a certain feeling about the privatization, a clear “will”. This argument is not backed-up by the author in any way, but seems to just represent his own feeling, which he projects onto the citizens. While his argument has therefore a certain emotional value to it, the factual basis is somewhat missing.

Discussion on frames and legitimacy

In this section I set out to do two things. First, I want to present an overview of the frames that I have discussed in the above analysis and second discuss commonalities in the different frames, regarding the main frames of privatization and the legitimacy frames.

	Astroturfing	Speeches	Media	Total	% of total frames
Engine	7	0	4	11	<i>16</i>
Heart	2	13	5	20	<i>29</i>
Killing	1	1	0	2	<i>3</i>
Polishing	1	3	6	10	<i>15</i>
Devil	0	9	13	22	<i>32</i>
Rejecting	0	3	0	3	<i>4</i>
Total	11	29	28	TOTAL = 68	
% of total frames	<i>16</i>	<i>43</i>	<i>41</i>		

Table 8: Overview of the number of frames used

As Table 8 shows, the dataset is somewhat unequal. While the parliamentary speeches discourse and the media discourse have an almost equal number of sources, the astroturfing discourse has only less than half the number of sources. In other types of analyses, this might skew the dataset, especially because the engine frame is so prominent in the astroturfing discourse and only plays a small or no role at all in the other discourses. In this kind of discourse analysis, though, the size of the dataset is not of great concern, as the data, no matter the size of the sample, still represents a particular discourse.

All three discourses have different frames dominating the discourse. For the astroturfing discourse, this is the “engine” frame, making up almost two thirds of the frames. In the parliamentary speeches discourse, the “heart” frame is predominant, although the “the devil is in the details” frame comes in at a close second. In the media discourse, the “the devil is in the details” frame is the most prominent by quite a big margin.

This tells me a few things. The first observation is, that a frame (“the devil is in the details”) which I did not identify in the discourse of the astroturfing campaign at all, features prominently in the two other discourses. This shows the strength of the sensitizing concepts methodology, as I could adjust and add the frame as I went along in my research and found the need for other frames. It makes sense, though, that this frame does not appear in the astroturfing campaign, as there is little space for nuance in this discourse, because it has a very set standpoint on the privatization. This is also the reason, why the “engine” frame features so prominently in this discourse and not so much in the

other discourses. Texts with this frame make a very specific argument about privatization leading to efficiency and effectiveness. This lends itself quite easily to a pro-privatization argument, but not so much to more nuanced discussions.

The distribution of the frames of the parliamentary speeches are also quite interesting. Here, I can see two broad trends. The first one, signified by the “heart” frame, is the framing of the DB as a great company which is very important for the country and is doing a great job. As it is a state-owned company, this is also partly self-laudation. On the other hand, I also identified the “the devil is in the details” frame a lot, which shows that the privatization was discussed with a degree of nuance in parliament, overcoming ideological positions.

Now I want to look closer at the relationship between the primary frames on the privatization and the legitimacy frames. Looking at the three legitimacy frames which were used on the astroturfing website, I can observe that all these frames take place in sections which were previously given the “engine” frame as a primary frame. In the interpretation of the meaning of this I have to be careful, as this could be a pure case of chance, because of the “engine” frames dominance in this dataset. Having said that, I do want to share the observation that the “engine” frame deals with notions of efficiency and bureaucracy, which are very mechanic and unemotional categories. Not the least of which is represented in the name of the frame, as an engine is a very mechanic object. The fact that within this “engine” frame, people are given a voice, or their will is heard makes the text less mechanic overall.

Another observation on these legitimacy frames on the astroturfing website is that all the quotes I used on the discourse on legitimacy, ergo the quotes which talk about citizens, I already used to illustrate points in the discourse of the primary frames. Again, not discounting chance, I do want to note that I chose all the quotes in the primary frame discourse on privatization because they illustrated important points which exemplify themes from the larger text. This shows that the discourse on legitimacy is in locations within the text, which are also crucial for the discourse on the privatization.

Even though I only identified four legitimacy frames in the parliamentary speeches, legitimacy is a big through line in these speeches. This is because of the dominance of the “heart” frame. As outlined in my methodology section, I defined the “heart” frame as having a double function in also representing “credibility” as a legitimacy frame. As I identified this frame the most in the parliamentary speeches, this shows that in the parliamentary discourse, legitimacy was used as a constant argument. In my view this very much fits with the arena this discourse takes place in.

Arguments are being made with the intention to convince. Legitimizing these arguments by framing the issue in terms of legitimacy makes sense.

The media discourse, on the other hand, only uses two legitimacy frames at all, plus five times the "heart" frame. Interestingly the two times, I detected a legitimacy frame based on citizens, this frame had the primary frame of the "heart" frame. With this little of a dataset, I would not allow myself to make a definite statement here, but I find it nonetheless interesting that, when I detected a legitimacy frame in this discourse it was framed as two types of legitimacy. Either "voice" or "will of the people", plus "credibility was present. So, if a legitimacy-based argument was made, it was made very strongly. Apart from this, I think it also fits with the arena of a serious newspaper that arguments are not usually based on legitimacy but are presented more carefully and balanced.

As I have laid out above, there are no real connections in how and to what extent legitimacy is framed between the different discourses. For the astroturfing discourse legitimacy is generally framed in connection with the "engine" frame, even though it has only a small number of legitimacy frames in total. In the parliamentary speeches discourse, legitimacy is mostly framed in terms of credibility in connection with the "heart" frame. In the media discourse, there are very little frames in terms of legitimacy at all. Generally, this speaks for the discourses mostly making arguments in their own arenas, rather than taking clues from adjacent discourses.

Conclusions and discussion

In this thesis I showed how discourses, and especially the discourse of the privatization of DB in 2007-2008, are constructed using frames. In this section I aim to wrap up my thesis by concluding and discussing my findings, reflecting on the research process and draw up recommendations for future research and policymakers alike. In this thesis I aimed to answer my research question: *What frames are used in the discourse on privatization of the "Deutsche Bahn" in the timeframe 2007-2008 and the discourse of its legitimacy by different stakeholders in a governance network and how do they relate to each other?*

To answer this question, I adopted a theoretical framework based on the notion of lobbying, governance networks, discourse and legitimacy and chose the method of a political discourse analysis, specifically using the tool of frame analysis.

In my analysis I identified six general frames. In keeping with naming frames as analogies, I called these frames, "an engine needs an overhaul from time to time to work properly again", "a new heart will provide new life for an otherwise healthy body", "killing two birds with one stone", "polishing the paint makes the car shiny", "the devil is in the details" and "rejecting the premise".

In all three discourses different frames dominated. This speaks for the fact that even though the same topic of the privatization of DB was discussed, the discourses were quite heterogenous. One interesting observation is that I found the “the devil is in the details” frame very often in both the parliamentary speeches discourse and the media discourse. In this way, these two discourses have a commonality. This frame describes a nuanced position towards the privatization. That both discourses often use this frame does not mean that they influenced each other in any way, but it shows that the structures of the discourses were somewhat similar, and arguments were constructed in a similar way.

The astroturfing discourse was very much dominated by language which was pro-privatization. The frames which I detected here go along with this observation. I framed the most texts with the “an engine needs an overhaul from time to time to work properly again” frame. This frame promotes efficiency in the running of DB, which is a big part of the astroturfing campaigns argument to privatize the company. Therefore, the frame fits the message in this case.

As secondary frames, I looked at how legitimacy was constructed. Based on the literature I defined legitimacy as credibility, will of the people and voice. In my operationalization, I defined will of the people and voice in terms of mentions of citizens, while I equated credibility with the “heart” frame. In all three discourses, the two legitimacy frames based on will of the people and voice were only found in a few sources. Therefore, the legitimization of arguments based on citizens were not a big factor. The only discourse in which legitimacy came up in a significant amount was the parliamentary speeches discourse. Here, the most used primary frame was the “heart” frame. As this frame also doubles as a legitimacy frame, arguments were indeed quite often constructed with legitimizing arguments through credibility.

Apart from this observation, I detected little relation between the legitimacy frames and the general frames on privatization. This is probably due to the small number of legitimacy frames based on citizens. Therefore, no strong connections can be made between the general frames and legitimacy frames. This is an interesting conclusion as this means that in the astroturfing and media discourse, arguments are seldom constructed with legitimacy in mind, while for the parliamentary speeches discourse the concept of credibility is more important as a legitimizing factor than the citizens.

Reflections on limitations of the study

Looking at the limitations of this study, I first want to focus on the method I applied. As all scientific methods, this method also has its advantages and drawbacks. One of the drawbacks for my method of political discourse analysis is that a certain subjectivity of the researcher cannot be denied. As this is a highly interpretive study, the interpretations and choices made here, are clearly mine and made from my perspective. This is not necessarily a bad thing, as the interpretive nature of this study is

inherent in the method. Still, the interpretations I made here have to be accepted by the reader. I tried to aide this as much as possible by being transparent in my interpretations with giving ample examples of the texts.

Herein lies another limitation of this thesis. I only gave examples of the text which I analyzed. Using the whole texts would be way beyond the scope of this study. Of course, I chose examples which are representative of the text as a whole and provided the links to the sources in the annex. Still, the reader has to trust me as the researcher to pick the right quotes and represent the full text in an appropriate way.

The scope of the study limits it also in other ways. It would have been quite interesting to look at the discourses around the privatization during a longer time span, for example from the beginning of the privatization efforts in the 1990s up until after the unearthing of the astroturfing activities 2009 and see how different events, such as the unearthing, have affected the discourses. Also introducing more discourses such as other newspapers (if available) or looking at TV coverage could have been an option. Respecting the scope of this study, these options were quite unrealistic.

Recommendations

The last paragraph also connects with my first recommendation for future research. Enhancing the scope of this thesis in order to study more discourses of the privatization and a wider timespan would deliver valuable insights into how the discourses have developed and changed. By slightly changing the research design, a timeline element could also be added, bringing insights into how changes in the discourses developed based on certain events. Furthermore, future researchers could use the methodology I established here to study similar cases, where Astroturf lobbying intersects with other discourses.

On a more practical note, I think it is important that actors in governance networks are more conscious about the frames which are used by other actors, but also by themselves. This would facilitate a greater understanding between the actors in the discourse of policy issues, as actors could understand how other actors construct their reality. Therefore, they would understand the mental modes they use in approaching issues. Paying more attention to these frames would make for a smoother policy process, as there is greater understanding of each other.

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Appendix 1 – Sources astroturfing discourse

Number of source	Name of source	Source as used in thesis	Original	Link
A	meinebahndeinebahn.de - Politik	Basically, the politicians are the bosses. Now it's about transforming it into a truly independent company. It should be borne in mind that the railway sector is not a playground for locusts, which are known to be looking for high returns. A locust fear is unfounded.	Im Grunde genommen sind die Politiker die Chefs. Jetzt geht es darum, sie in ein wirklich unabhängiges Unternehmen umzuwandeln. Dabei ist zu bedenken, dass der Bahnbereich kein Tummelplatz für Heuschrecken ist, die bekanntlich hohe Rendite suchen. Eine Heuschrecken-Angst ist unbegründet.	http://web.archive.org/web/20070527131648/http://www.meinebahndeinebahn.de/10/
B	meinebahndeinebahn.de - Home	We are not transport scientists or railway experts. We are simply citizens who regularly travel by train and supporters of Deutsche Bahn. In the last few months, this group of rail supporters has turned into an initiative that now has a large number of supporters and members nationwide and is supported by committed employees and helpers.	Wir sind keine Verkehrswissenschaftler oder Bahnexperten. Wir sind einfach Bürger, die regelmäßig Bahn fahren sowie Anhänger der Deutschen Bahn. Aus dieser Gruppe von Bahnbefürwortern wurde in den letzten Monaten eine Initiative, die mittlerweile eine Vielzahl von Anhängern und Mitgliedern bundesweit zählt und von engagierten Mitarbeitern und Helfern unterstützt wird.	http://web.archive.org/web/20070713232202/http://www.meinebahndeinebahn.de/25/

C	meinebahndeinebahn.de - Für den Staat	<p>Authorities responsible for private railway companies, such as the Federal Railway Authority, already exist anyway. Thus, the administration of the railways in Germany is unified by the privatization of Deutsche Bahn. Private companies act less bureaucratically and more efficiently.</p>	<p>Behörden, welche für private Eisenbahnunternehmen zuständig sind wie z.B. das Eisenbahn-Bundesamt, existieren sowieso schon. Somit wird die Verwaltung der Eisenbahnen in Deutschland durch die Privatisierung der Deutsche Bahn vereinheitlicht. Private Unternehmen handeln unbürokratischer und effizienter.</p>	<p>http://web.archive.org/web/20070714101558/http://www.meinebahndeinebahn.de/12/</p>
D	meinebahndeinebahn.de - Für die Zukunft	<p>Deutsche Bahn has been criticized in terms of punctuality, service and timetable. But how is a state company supposed to develop positively if it is forced to stick to its rigid structures?</p>	<p>Die Deutsche Bahn steht in Punkto Pünktlichkeit, Service und Fahrplan in der Kritik. Doch wie soll sich ein Staatsunternehmen positiv entwickeln, wenn es zum Festhalten an seinen starren Strukturen gezwungen wird?</p>	<p>http://web.archive.org/web/20070714101521/http://www.meinebahndeinebahn.de/19/</p>
E	meinebahndeinebahn.de - Die Argumente: Modernisierung	<p>The privatization of Deutsche Bahn is intended to replace a sluggish government railway with a competitive railway that will bring significant improvements in rail transport for the citizens.</p>	<p>Mit der Privatisierung der Deutschen Bahn soll anstelle einer trägen Behördenbahn eine wettbewerbsfähige Bahn treten, die für die Bürger wesentliche Verbesserungen im</p>	<p>http://web.archive.org/web/20070714101403/http://www.meinebahndeinebahn.de/15/</p>

			Schienenverkehr bringt.	
F	meinebahndeinebahn.de - Die Argumente: Wettbewerb	Efficiency potentials must urgently be developed in local transport in order to be able to offer sufficient public transport in rural areas in the future.	Effizienzpotentiale müssen im Nahverkehr dringend erschlossen werden, um perspektivisch auch in ländlichen Räumen ausreichenden öffentlichen Verkehr anbieten zu können.	http://web.archive.org/web/20070714101250/http://www.meinebahndeinebahn.de/16/
G	meinebahndeinebahn.de - Für die Zukunft	In the future, too, the federal government will order regional transport from railway companies, there will also be route closure procedures in the future, and monitoring by the Federal Railway Authority and the Federal Network Agency will not change as a result of an IPO. However, the railway needs change. That is why the company's momentum should now be used instead of	Auch in Zukunft wird der Bund den Regionalverkehr bei Bahngesellschaften bestellen, auch in Zukunft wird es Streckenstilllegungsverfahren geben und auch die Überwachung durch Eisenbahn-Bundesamt und Bundesnetzagentur wird sich durch einen Börsengang nicht verändern. Die Bahn braucht jedoch Veränderung. Deshalb sollte jetzt der Elan des Unternehmens	http://web.archive.org/web/20070714101521/http://www.meinebahndeinebahn.de/19/

		postponing and blocking the IPO even further.	genutzt werden, statt den Börsengang noch weiter hinauszuschieben und zu blockieren.	
H	meinebahndeinebahn.de - Politik	Countless expert opinions were drawn up and far too much time wasted and money was invested. This money could have been put to better use, e.g. in new trains or in the railway network.	Unzählige Gutachten wurden erstellt und viel zu viel Zeit verredet und Geld investiert. Dieses Geld hätte man sinnvoller z.B. in neue Züge oder ins Streckennetz stecken können.	http://web.archive.org/web/20070714101538/http://www.meinebahndeinebahn.de/10/

I	meinebahndeinebahn.de - Politik	<p>Here it is important that the company will be depoliticized. The private economic spirit must be strengthened. A government railway that only debates instead of finally deciding can only make slow progress. For more efficient action it is therefore necessary that the company also carries full responsibility.</p>	<p>Hierbei ist es wichtig, dass das Unternehmen entpolitisiert wird. Der privatwirtschaftliche Gedanke muss gestärkt werden. Eine Behördenbahn, bei der nur debattiert statt endlich entschieden wird, kann nur langsam vorankommen. Daher ist es für effizienteres Handeln notwendig, dass das Unternehmen auch die gesamte Verantwortung trägt.</p>	<p>http://web.archive.org/web/20070714101538/http://www.meinebahndeinebahn.de/10/</p>
J	meinebahndeinebahn.de - Für den Fahrgast	<p>In order to be able to offer improved service for customers and, above all, cheaper connections, privatization is necessary. After all, the customer and train user should benefit from the increased competition and service advantages caused by the IPO. One does not want to be treated as a transport case by a government railway, but rather as a</p>	<p>Um verbesserten Service für die Kunden und vor allem günstigere Verbindungen anbieten zu können, ist eine Privatisierung notwendig. Denn schließlich soll der Kunde und Bahnfahrer vom durch den Börsengang verstärkten Wettbewerb und dessen Servicevorteile profitieren. Man möchte eben nicht von einer Behördenbahn als Beförderungsfall sondern als Kunde einer</p>	<p>http://web.archive.org/web/20070714101527/http://www.meinebahndeinebahn.de/21/</p>

		customer of a private railway.	Privatbahn behandelt werden.	
K	meinebahndeinebahn.de - Wirtschaft	<p>In recent years, Deutsche Bahn has greatly expanded its logistics division. This puts it in second place internationally and already occupies a top position right behind the market leader Deutsche Post. We live in a Germany that is dependent on raw materials and should take our logistics into our own hands and thus strengthen the German economy.</p>	<p>In den vergangenen Jahren hat die Deutsche Bahn ihre Logistik-Sparte stark ausgebaut. Sie steht damit international auf dem zweiten Platz und belegt schon jetzt eine Spitzenposition direkt hinter dem Marktführer der Deutschen Post. Wir leben in einem rohstoffabhängigen Deutschland und sollten unsere Logistik selbst in die Hand nehmen und damit die deutsche Wirtschaft stärken.</p>	<p>http://web.archive.org/web/20070714101437/http://www.meinebahndeinebahn.de/9/</p>

L	meinebahndeinebahn.de - Wirtschaft	<p>In 2006, rail was the fastest growing mode of transport in freight transport and passenger transport also increased significantly. This positive development should be maintained. The goal is to unleash forces through private enterprise and move the railway away from the state to improve prices, jobs and service.</p>	<p>Die Schiene war im Jahr 2006 der am schnellsten wachsende Verkehrsträger im Güterverkehr und auch der Personenverkehr nahm kräftig zu. An dieser positiven Entwicklung sollte festgehalten werden. Ziel ist es, Kräfte durch Privatwirtschaft freizusetzen und die Bahn vom Staat wegzuführen um Preise, Arbeitsplatzangebot und Service zu verbessern.</p>	<p>http://web.archive.org/web/20070714101437/http://www.meinebahndeinebahn.de/9/</p>
M	meinebahndeinebahn.de - Für die Umwelt	<p>The private railway will be particularly environmentally friendly and climate-friendly!</p>	<p>Die private Bahn wird besonders umweltschonend und klimafreundlich sein!</p>	<p>http://web.archive.org/web/20070714101448/http://www.meinebahndeinebahn.de/20/</p>
N	meinebahndeinebahn.de - Für die DB	<p>It is clear that the taxpayer will be relieved by privatization and that a railway that is only economically strong can also create and secure jobs. There is therefore no alternative to privatizing Deutsche Bahn. One has to keep investing to make long-term profits.</p>	<p>Klar ist, dass der Steuerzahler durch eine Privatisierung entlastet wird und eine nur wirtschaftlich starke Bahn auch Arbeitsplätze schaffen und sichern kann. Eine Privatisierung der Deutschen Bahn ist daher alternativlos. Man muss weiter investieren, um langfristig</p>	<p>http://web.archive.org/web/20070712034903/http://www.meinebahndeinebahn.de/11/</p>

			Gewinne zu erwirtschaften.	
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Appendix 2 – Sources parliamentary speeches discourse

Number of source	Speaker and date	Source as used in thesis	Original
O	Dirk Fischer (CDU/CSU); 21.09.2007	The draft law now provides a model in which the legal and beneficial ownership is split for a limited management period and that the shares in the railway infrastructure companies must be transferred to the federal government as security for this period. The Union is ready to accept the present model as an interim model.	Der Gesetzentwurf sieht nunmehr ein Modell vor, in dem das juristische und wirtschaftliche Eigentum für einen befristeten Bewirtschaftungszeitraum aufgespalten wird und dem Bund für diesen Zeitraum die Gesellschaftsanteile an den Eisenbahninfrastrukturunternehmen zur Sicherheit übereignet werden müssen. Die Union ist bereit, das vorliegende Modell als Übergangsmodell zu akzeptieren
P	Winfried Hermann (B90/Grüne); 21.09.2007	We Greens clearly stand by the principle of "competition on the rails". We say unequivocally: the infrastructure, the railways, must remain in public hands. That is what the Basic Law wants.	Wir Grüne stehen eindeutig zu dem Prinzip "Wettbewerb auf der Schiene". Wir sagen klipp und klar: Die Infrastruktur, die Schiene, muss in öffentlicher Hand bleiben. So will es auch das Grundgesetz.

Q	Klaas Hübner (SPD); 08.05.2008	We make the company fit for the future. We will strengthen DB AG financially. We will reorganize it and DB AG will soon have the opportunity to succeed in European competition as well.	Wir machen das Unternehmen fit für die Zukunft. Wir werden die DB AG finanziell stärken. Wir werden sie organisatorisch neu aufstellen, und die DB AG wird die Möglichkeit haben, demnächst auch im europäischen Wettbewerb zu reüssieren.
R	Wolfgang Tiefensee, Minister of Infrastructure (SPD); 21.09.2007	As we debate this law, 34,000 trains are running, millions of commuters are being transported, containers are being moved north-to-south, east-to-west, west-to-east and south-to-north on the rails. Deutsche Bahn AG is the mobility and logistics company in Germany. We want to make it stronger with this reform. We are continuing a journey which was already started in the early 1990s.	Während wir hier dieses Gesetz beraten, fahren 34 000 Züge, werden Millionen von Pendlern transportiert, werden Container von Nord nach Süd, von Ost nach West, von West nach Ost und von Süd nach Nord auf den Schienen bewegt. Die Deutsche Bahn AG ist das Mobilitäts- und Logistikunternehmen in Deutschland. Wir wollen es mit dieser Reform stärker machen. Wir setzen einen Weg fort, der bereits Anfang der 90er-Jahre beschritten wurde.

S	Klaas Hübner (SPD); 21.09.2007	<p>In my opinion, the partial privatization of Deutsche Bahn is necessary because we are dealing with enormously growing logistics markets in Germany. Overall, this is an important key to economic growth in Germany. In view of the fact that the freight transport markets have been open since January 1st of this year and that the passenger transport markets will be opened across Europe from October 1st, 2010, we should have an interest in - no matter what we do, we will always be the majority owner of the DB - that Deutsche Bahn AG is able to keep up with the other competitors.</p>	<p>Die Teilprivatisierung der Deutschen Bahn ist meines Erachtens deswegen notwendig, weil wir es in Deutschland mit enorm wachsenden Logistikmärkten zu tun haben. Das ist insgesamt ein wichtiger Schlüssel für das wirtschaftliche Wachstum in Deutschland. Angesichts dessen, dass die Güterverkehrsmärkte seit dem 1. Januar dieses Jahres offen sind und dass die Personenverkehrsmärkte ab dem 1. Oktober 2010 europaweit geöffnet werden, sollten wir ein Interesse daran haben - egal was wir machen, wir werden immer Mehrheitseigentümer der Bahn sein -, dass die Deutsche Bahn AG in der Lage ist, mit den anderen Wettbewerbern mitzuhalten.</p>
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T	Fritz Kuhn (B90/Grüne); 30.05.2008	<p>There is nothing to suggest that this concept would bring more traffic onto the rails. Anyone who wants more traffic to be shifted to rail in the interest of more climate protection cannot approve of this type of privatisation. It can't be our aim to finance trucks with "DB" on them driving around in China or Russia. After all, our goal must be a transport substitution in favor of the ecologically best mode of transport. With what you, ladies and gentlemen of the grand coalition, are proposing, you have clearly failed.</p>	<p>Es spricht nichts dafür, dass sich mit diesem Konzept mehr Verkehr auf die Schiene bringen ließe. Wer im Interesse von mehr Klimaschutz will, dass mehr Verkehr auf die Schiene verlagert wird, kann diese Art von Privatisierung nicht gutheißen. Unser Ziel kann es ja nicht sein, zu finanzieren, dass in China oder Russland Lastwagen, auf denen „DB“ steht, herumfahren. Unser Ziel muss doch eine Verkehrssubstitution zugunsten des ökologisch besten Verkehrsträgers sein. Mit dem, was Sie, meine Damen und Herren von der Großen Koalition, vorlegen, haben Sie ganz klar versagt.</p>
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U	Hans-Peter Friedrich (CDU/CSU); 21.09.2007	<p>The goal is: We want a separation of operations and rail, a separation of logistics and infrastructure. I believe that the colleague from the FDP gave a very plausible explanation. Logistics on the rails and on the road - Deutsche Bahn AG also operates logistics on the road with its subsidiary Schenker - is already taking place in competition today. This is good; because only those who face up to the competition remain competitive. This is important for the competitiveness of rail transport.</p>	<p>Das Ziel heißt: Wir wollen eine Trennung von Betrieb und Schiene, eine Trennung von Logistik und Infrastruktur. Sehr einleuchtend begründet hat das, so glaube ich, der Kollege von der FDP. Logistik auf der Schiene und auf der Straße - die Deutsche Bahn AG betreibt mit ihrer Tochter Schenker Logistik auch auf der Straße - findet heute schon im Wettbewerb statt. Das ist gut; denn nur wer sich dem Wettbewerb stellt, bleibt wettbewerbsfähig. Das ist für die Wettbewerbsfähigkeit des Verkehrsträgers Schiene wichtig.</p>
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W	Enak Ferlemann (CDU/CSU); 08.05.2008	There were many confusions and confusions in the discussion – some speakers have mentioned this here – but there have always been colleagues who have maintained a clear regulatory orientation. First of all, I would like to say that I am extremely grateful to my group, especially the transport politicians, for always sticking to this line, even if it was sometimes very controversial.	Es gab bei der Diskussion viele Irrungen und Wirrungen – das ist hier von einigen Rednern angesprochen worden –, aber es gab immer Kolleginnen und Kollegen, die eine klare ordnungspolitische Orientierung gehalten haben. Ich möchte als Erstes sagen: Ich bin meiner Fraktion außerordentlich dankbar, insbesondere den Verkehrspolitikern, dass sie immer diese Linie gehalten haben, auch wenn es manchmal hart umstritten war.
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X	Uwe Beckmeyer (SPD); 08.05.2008	<p>The point is that we want to organize an IPO for the transport company with a 24.9 percent share of private capital, in order to raise private capital for transport services, for investments in the infrastructure, in the routes and stations, and mobilize a part for the federal budget. That's what it's about at the moment. The benefits associated with it are so overwhelmingly good and great that one can only say: These benefits exceed any residual fears that there may be.</p>	<p>Es geht darum, dass wir mit einer Beteiligung privaten Kapitals in Höhe von 24,9 Prozent einen Börsengang des Verkehrsunternehmens organisieren wollen, um auf diese Art und Weise privates Kapital für Verkehrsleistungen, für Investitionen in die Infrastruktur, in die Strecken und Bahnhöfe, und zu einem Teil für den Bundeshaushalt zu mobilisieren. Darum geht es zurzeit. Die Vorteile, die damit verbunden sind, sind so überwältigend gut und groß, dass man nur sagen kann: Diese Vorteile übersteigen alle Restbefürchtungen, die es möglicherweise gibt.</p>
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Y	Martin Burkert (SPD); 30.05.2008	<p>The essential prerequisite for this development was the unity of the integrated company. That is why the maintenance of the integrated company as well as the job security for the 230,000 railway workers was for us in the SPD an essential basic requirement in the negotiations about the entry of private investors. The SPD parliamentary group therefore expressly welcomes the preservation of the integrated company and thus the company's internal labor market. The SPD parliamentary group also expressly welcomes the conclusion of a collective bargaining agreement between Transnet and Deutsche Bahn AG.</p>	<p>Wesentliche Voraussetzung für diese Entwicklung war die Einheit des integrierten Konzerns. Deshalb war die Beibehaltung des integrierten Konzerns genauso wie die Beschäftigungssicherung für die 230 000 Eisenbahnerinnen und Eisenbahner für uns von der SPD eine wesentliche Grundvoraussetzung bei den Verhandlungen über den Einstieg privater Investoren. Die SPD-Fraktion begrüßt deshalb ausdrücklich den Erhalt des integrierten Konzerns und damit des konzerninternen Arbeitsmarktes. Die SPD-Fraktion begrüßt ausdrücklich auch den Abschluss eines Sicherungstarifvertrages zwischen der Transnet und der Deutschen Bahn AG.</p>
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Z	Gregor Gysi (Die Linke); 08.05.2008	<p>We need the railways to be publicly owned so that we can debate and decide publicly, even with different concepts if you like. Privatization always means that politicians are released from responsibility. If one day you have sold everything, then the chancellor and I will no longer have any say in this matter. To tell you very clearly: I consider this to be a very unfavorable mutuality, because then the choice between the two of us in this respect no longer makes sense for the citizens.</p>	<p>Wir brauchen die Bahn in öffentlichem Eigentum, damit wir öffentlich darüber streiten und entscheiden können, meinetwegen auch mit unterschiedlichen Konzepten. Privatisierung bedeutet doch immer, dass man die Politik aus der Verantwortung entlässt. Wenn Sie eines Tages alles verkauft haben, dann haben die Kanzlerin und auch ich diesbezüglich nichts mehr zu entscheiden. Um Ihnen das ganz klar zu sagen: Das halte ich für eine sehr ungünstige Gemeinsamkeit, weil dann die Wahl zwischen uns beiden in dieser Hinsicht für die Bevölkerung keinen Sinn mehr macht.</p>
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AA	Klaas Hübner (SPD); 08.05.2008	<p>We want to make the train stations and stops more attractive. We want to renew locomotives and wagons, and above all we want to specifically combat rail noise. This is a demand that has often been made, and not only in relation to the Rhine line. There is more traffic in Germany and also more logistics; we want that too. But we want to do justice to it in such a way that the citizens can also live. That's why we have to fight the noise at the source. We can do that now with the newly won funds.</p>	<p>Wir wollen die Bahnhöfe und die Haltepunkte attraktiver machen. Wir wollen Lokomotiven und Wagen erneuern, und wir wollen vor allen Dingen den Schienenlärm gezielt bekämpfen. Das ist eine Forderung, die oft gestellt worden ist, und zwar nicht nur die Rheinschiene betreffend. Es gibt in Deutschland mehr Verkehr und auch mehr Logistik; dies wollen wir auch. Aber wir wollen dem so gerecht werden, dass die Bürgerinnen und Bürger auch leben können. Darum müssen wir den Lärm an der Quelle bekämpfen. Das können wir jetzt mit den neu gewonnenen Mitteln.</p>
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AB	Hans-Peter Friedrich (CDU/CSU); 08.05.2008	<p>Ultimately, however, the rail mode of transport and thus those who use local transport – the citizens – benefit from this competition. If a private railway manages to offer eleven instead of ten trains per day on one route for the same price because it has more favorable cost structures, then the people in the country will benefit. Therefore, this area should be privatized.</p>	<p>Letzten Endes profitieren aber der Verkehrsträger Schiene und damit diejenigen, die den Nahverkehr in Anspruch nehmen – die Bürgerinnen und Bürger –, von diesem Wettbewerb. Wenn es gelingt, dass eine Privatbahn, weil sie günstigere Kostenstrukturen hat, auf einer Strecke für den gleichen Preis elf statt zehn Züge pro Tag anbieten kann, dann profitieren davon die Menschen im Land. Deswegen soll dieser Bereich privatisiert werden.</p>
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Appendix 3 – Sources media discourse

Number of source	Date	Name of Source	Source as used in thesis	Original
AC	16.05.2007	Bahn verteidigt Bahngesetz	The draft law provides for the federal government to retain legal ownership of the railway network, stations and power lines. But the railway should be allowed to account for it. The core issue is now how much influence the federal government has to give up on the rail network so that this construction works in terms of accounting law - and how much influence it can give up without affecting the Basic Law. Federal influence on the rail network is laid down there.	Der Gesetzentwurf sieht vor, dem Bund zwar das juristische Eigentum an Schienennetz, Bahnhöfen und Stromleitungen der Bahn zu lassen. Die Bahn soll es aber bilanzieren dürfen. Im Kern geht es nun darum, wie viel Einfluss auf das Schienennetz der Bund preisgeben muss, damit diese Konstruktion bilanzrechtlich funktioniert – und wie viel Einfluss er preisgeben darf, ohne das Grundgesetz zu beeinträchtigen. Der Bundeseinfluss auf das Schienennetz ist dort festgeschrieben.

AD	03.08.2007	Länder bremsen Privatisierung der Bahn; Verkehrsminister fordern mehr Mitsprache und Aufschub für Entscheidung / Neues Gutachten über Gesetzentwurf	At the same time, the federal states are demanding a three-week delay for their consultations – and are thus further delaying the federal government. Instead of at the end of September, the second parliamentary chamber would then deal with the privatization of the railways in its meeting on October 12th. Fundamental questions about the IPO would be postponed until then. Especially, the Hessian Minister of Transport, Alois Rhiel, had previously called for the law to be revised in order to separate the rail network and rail traffic "more effectively". The states of Lower Saxony and North Rhine-Westphalia joined on Thursday. The states of Brandenburg, Berlin and Bremen also put fundamental concerns on the record. The Federal Ministry of Transport was nevertheless optimistic. State Secretary Achim Großmann said he was "grateful" that the federal states still wanted to	Gleichzeitig verlangen die Länder einen dreiwöchigen Aufschub für ihre Beratungen – und bringen den Bund damit weiter in Verzug. Statt Ende September würde sich der Bundesrat dann in seiner Sitzung am 12. Oktober mit der Bahn-Privatisierung befassen. Grundsätzliche Fragen zum Börsengang würden solange zurückgestellt. Vor allem der hessische Verkehrsminister Alois Rhiel hatte zuvor gefordert, das Gesetz neu zu fassen, um Schienennetz und Bahnverkehr „effektiver“ zu trennen. Dem schlossen sich am Donnerstag die Länder Niedersachsen und Nordrhein-Westfalen an. Auch die Länder Brandenburg, Berlin und Bremen gaben grundsätzliche Bedenken zu Protokoll. Das Bundesverkehrsministerium äußerte sich dennoch optimistisch. Er sei „dankbar“, dass die Länder dennoch weiter an dem Entwurf arbeiten wollten, sagte Staatssekretär Achim Großmann. „Irgendwie habe ich das Gefühl, das kriegen wir hin.“
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			<p>continue working on the draft. "Somehow I have the feeling that we can do it."</p>	
AE	29.10.2007	Der Scherbenhaufen der Nation	<p>The shards of railway privatization is a joint production. Unfortunately, doing nothing is not an option. After saying goodbye to the IPO, the federal government is still the sole owner of a global logistics group. It is easy to understand why the state should be responsible for ensuring that people and goods within Germany reach their destination quickly, even without their</p>	<p>Der Scherbenhaufen Bahnprivatisierung ist eine Gemeinschaftsproduktion. Leider ist Nichtstun keine Alternative. Nach dem Abschied vom Börsengang ist der Bund immer noch Alleininhaber eines weltweit tätigen Logistikkonzerns. Warum der Staat dafür zuständig sein soll, dass Menschen und Güter innerhalb Deutschlands auch ohne eigenes Fahrzeug schnell ans Ziel kommen, lässt sich noch verstehen. Warum aber ein Staatsunternehmen Container von China in die USA transportiert, ist schwer zu begreifen. Die</p>

			<p>own vehicle. But why a state-owned company transports containers from China to the USA is difficult to understand. The coalition quickly needs a better plan for the DB.</p>	<p>Koalition braucht rasch einen besseren Plan für die Bahn.</p>
AF	16.06.2007	<p>Mit dem Güterzug quer durch Europa; Bahnchef Hartmut Mehdorn will nach seiner Vertragsverlängerung Transportgesellschaften in Großbritannien und Spanien kaufen</p>	<p>Mehdorn wrote to the Bundestag last autumn that he wanted to open up "strategically important markets" for DB. This applies in particular to freight transport by rail. At the time, the CEO had also expressed his interest in former state railways from Eastern Europe. The DB then recently announced that it wanted to cooperate with EWS and Transfesa in order to create a "European network".</p>	<p>Mehdorn hatte dem Bundestag im vergangenen Herbst geschrieben, er wolle für die DB „strategisch wichtige Märkte“ erschließen. Das gelte insbesondere für den Güterverkehr auf der Schiene. Der Konzernchef hatte damals auch sein Interesse an ehemaligen Staatsbahnen aus Osteuropa bekundet. Kürzlich teilte die DB dann mit, man wolle mit EWS und Transfesa kooperieren, um ein „europäisches Netzwerk“ zu schaffen.</p>

AG	09.02.2008	Die Schiene muss allen gehören	<p>Now, as originally planned, 49 percent of the entire Deutsche Bahn AG company is no longer to be sold, but only minority shares in the companys local and long-distance transport, freight transport and logistics divisions. This would give Deutsche Bahn the billions it wanted to be able to finance the expansion of its market position in Europe. On the other hand, the most sensitive area of the company, the rail network, would be exempt from privatization; it would remain in the possession of the still state-owned DB holding company. This is imperative, because the network does not belong to Deutsche Bahn, but to the citizens who have financed it for decades. If you want more competition on the rails, you shouldn't leave it to a private near-monopolist who doesn't want this kind of competition.</p>	<p>Nun sollen nicht mehr, wie ursprünglich geplant, 49 Prozent des Gesamtunternehmens Deutsche Bahn AG verkauft werden, sondern nur noch Minderheitsanteile an den Konzernsparten Nah- und Fernverkehr, Gütertransport und Logistik. Damit erhielte die Bahn die gewünschten Milliarden, um den Ausbau ihrer Marktposition in Europa finanzieren zu können. Auf der anderen Seite würde der sensibelste Firmenbereich, das Schienennetz, von der Privatisierung ausgenommen; es bliebe im Besitz der weiterhin staatseigenen Bahn-Holding. Das ist zwingend geboten, denn das Netz gehört nicht dem Unternehmen Deutsche Bahn, sondern den Bürgern, die es jahrzehntelang finanziert haben. Wer mehr Wettbewerb auf der Schiene will, darf diese zudem nicht einem privaten Fast-Monopolisten überlassen, der diesen Wettbewerb nicht will.</p>
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AH	28.01.2008	Letzter Anschluss	<p>The privatization of the state-owned company Deutsche Bahn (DB) has been discussed and disputed since the beginning of the decade. A decision should finally be made in the next few months. According to information from company circles and the CDU, the DB and the federal government want to clarify by May whether and how the latest model can be implemented politically. This is the "last chance" to attract private investors for Deutsche Bahn before the end of this decade.</p>	<p>Seit Anfang des Jahrzehnts wird über eine Privatisierung des Staatsunternehmens Deutsche Bahn (DB) diskutiert und gestritten. In den nächsten Monaten soll endlich entschieden werden. Bahn und Bundesregierung wollen nach Angaben aus Unternehmenskreisen und aus der CDU bis zum Mai klären, ob und wie sich das neueste Modell politisch durchsetzen lässt. Das sei die „letzte Chance“, noch in diesem Jahrzehnt private Investoren für die Bahn zu gewinnen.</p>
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AI	14.02.2008	Bahn drängt in den Dax; SPD möchte Privatisierungserlöse in Netz und Züge stecken	<p>Internally, plans for an IPO are well advanced.</p> <p>According to information from company circles, the passenger and freight transport holding company could distribute more than a third of its profits as dividends.</p> <p>According to DB AG's medium-term financial plan, the surplus from these divisions is to increase from EUR 1.6 billion this year to EUR 2.3 billion in 2012. The private shareholders in the holding company could therefore expect a dividend of several hundred million euros per year. As a first step, 25 to 30 percent of the holding company's shares are to be sold to international companies in the transport sector and small investors in October.</p>	<p>Intern sind die Pläne für einen Börsengang weit gediehen. Nach Angaben aus Konzernkreisen könnte die Personen- und Güterverkehrs-Holding mehr als ein Drittel ihrer Gewinne als Dividende ausschütten. Laut dem mittelfristigen Finanzplan der DB AG soll der Überschuss dieser Sparten von 1,6 Milliarden Euro in diesem Jahr auf 2,3 Milliarden Euro im Jahr 2012 steigen. Die privaten Anteilseigner an der Holding könnten demnach mit einer Dividende in Höhe von mehreren hundert Millionen Euro pro Jahr rechnen. Im ersten Schritt sollen im Oktober 25 bis 30 Prozent der Holding-Anteile an international tätige Unternehmen aus der Verkehrsbranche und an Kleinanleger verkauft werden.</p>
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AJ	09.04.2008	Mindestens 15 weitere Städte verlieren den Anschluss; Um im Fernverkehr profitabel zu fahren, muss ein potentieller Käufer das Streckennetz der Deutschen Bahn weiter ausdünnen	According to the study, Deutsche Bahn is already planning internally to generate significantly more returns in long-distance transport. Profit is expected to increase from 110 million euros last year to 570 million euros in 2011. For such a jump, the board would have to take "drastic measures", the experts predict. Prices would have to rise by at least five to seven percent annually until 2012. Unprofitable connections would have to be canceled, including "a large part of today's IC traffic".	Die Deutsche Bahn plant laut Studie intern bereits, im Fernverkehr deutlich mehr Rendite zu erwirtschaften. Der Gewinn soll von 110 Millionen Euro im vergangenen Jahr auf 570 Millionen Euro im Jahr 2011 steigen. Für einen solchen Sprung müsse der Vorstand „einschneidende Maßnahmen“ ergreifen, prognostizieren die Gutachter. Die Preise müssten bis 2012 jährlich um mindestens fünf bis sieben Prozent steigen. Unrentable Verbindungen müssten gestrichen werden, darunter „ein Großteil der heutigen IC-Verkehre“.
AK	30.10.2007	Die bessere Bahn; Von Michael Bauchmüller	What would Germany be without its railway? How crowded would the streets be if there were no tracks? How would travelers and goods get to their destination in an environmentally friendly way? There is no doubt: the railway is a backbone of this country. It is the most important company that the federal government still owns. No wonder a few hundred SPD delegates had such	Was wäre Deutschland ohne seine Bahn? Wie voll wären die Straßen, gäbe es keine Gleise? Wie kämen Reisende und Waren umweltfreundlich ans Ziel? Kein Zweifel: Die Bahn ist ein Rückgrat dieses Landes. Sie ist das wichtigste Unternehmen, das der Bund noch besitzt. Kein Wunder, dass sich ein paar hundert SPD-Delegierte vergangenes Wochenende so schwertaten mit der Teilprivatisierung der Bahn. Sie sprechen für Millionen Bürger, denen schwant, dass ihnen mit der Bahn-Privatisierung etwas entgleitet. Was so wichtig ist für das Land, kann nicht einfach privaten Investoren

			<p>a difficult time with the partial privatization of the railways last weekend. They speak for millions of citizens who suspect that something is slipping away from them with rail privatization. What is so important to the country cannot simply fall to private investors, even if only in part.</p>	<p>zufallen, und sei es nur zum Teil</p>
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