

April 2012

Master Thesis

**Citizen participation and the role of Urban Pioneers in
the development of Tempelhofer Freiheit Park in Berlin**

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Master in Public Policy, Class 2012

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Executive Summary

This thesis examines the role of citizen participation in the development of the Tempelhofer Freiheit Park in Berlin. It explores the different participation processes through the analysis of three dimensions: “who participates, how participants communicate with one another and make decisions together, and how discussions are linked with policy or public action” (Fung, 2006:66). New potential forms of participative urban development, namely pioneer projects, are presented and discussed.

First, the focus of the theoretical framework is the three dimensions of participation mechanisms (Fung, 2006) as well as the concept of descriptive representation (Pitkin 1967, Dovi 2011). Then it is presented the empirical case study on Tempelhofer Freiheit Park in Berlin. The different participation mechanisms are assessed according to the dimensions developed by Fung (2006).

Based on the literature review and the empirical case, it is argue that traditional mechanisms of participation have not proven to be successful because first, there is a bias in the participants, and second, there is a lack of commitment from policy makers to implement the outcome of such processes.

However, the less traditional of participatory processes, so called Pioneer Projects, has proven to be an ideal complement to the others by involving citizens in the coproduction of services in the park. The pioneer projects strategy leads to ambivalent outcomes: is it a lesson learned from previous experiences in Berlin in the strict sense of temporary use? Or is this institutionalize form of pioneers a time bomb which will lead to conflicts once they are asked to move? A reflection on these issues is presented.

Finally, in the conclusion the dimensions of the analyzed participation processes are revised. Also, the challenges of new forms of participation in urban development in Tempelhofer Freiheit are discussed.

Citizen participation and the role of Urban Pioneers in the development of Tempelhofer Freiheit Park in Berlin

1. Introduction

This thesis examines the role of citizen participation in the development of the Tempelhofer Freiheit Park in Berlin. It explores the different participation processes through the analysis of three dimensions: “who participates, how participants communicate with one another and make decisions together, and how discussions are linked with policy or public action” (Fung, 2006:66). Finally, a discussion on new potential forms of participative urban development, namely pioneer projects, will be presented as well as the ambivalent outcomes of such strategy.

Based on the literature review and the empirical case, it is argue that traditional mechanisms of participation have not proven to be successful because first, there is a biased in the participants of such processes, and second, there is a lack of commitment from policy makers to implement the outcome of such processes. However, the less traditional of participatory processes, so called Pioneer Projects, has proven to be an ideal complement to the others, by involving citizens in the coproduction of services in the park. The pioneer projects strategy leads to ambivalent outcomes: is it a lesson learned from previous experiences in Berlin in the strict sense of temporary use? Or is this institutionalize form of pioneers a time bomb which will lead to conflicts once they are asked to move? A reflection on these questions will be presented.

The thesis is organized as follows: first the theoretical framework will be developed, the focus is on the three dimensions of participation mechanisms (Fung, 2006) as well as the concept of descriptive representation (Pitkin 1967, Dovi 2011). Then it is presented the empirical case study on Tempelhofer Freiheit Park in Berlin. The different participation mechanisms will be assessed according to the dimensions developed by Fung (2006). Subsequently, an analysis of urban pioneers as coproducers will be presented, as well as its

ambivalent outcomes. Finally, in the conclusion the dimensions of the analyzed participation processes will be revised. Also, the challenges of new forms of participation in urban development will be discussed.

2. Theoretical Framework: Citizen Participation and Representation

According to Fung, “the principal reason for enhancing citizen participation in any area of contemporary governance is that the authorized set of decision makers — typically elected representatives or administrative officials — is somehow deficient”(Fung 2006:67). This deficiency is related with the “lack of knowledge, competence, public purpose, resources, or respect necessary to command compliance and cooperation”(Fung 2006:67) . Therefore, decision makers seek for participation of citizens¹ to remedy one or other of these deficiencies. “According to Smith (1983), ‘public participation’ encompasses a group of procedures designed to consult, involve, and inform the public to allow those affected by a decision to have an input into that decision” (Rowe, Frewer 2000: 6).

Public participation is a useful mechanism that needs to take part in the decision making process of complex issues in the cities. Once the participation, deliberation and consensus building take place, it is more likely to have citizens on board. “Participants, especially those with local experiential information, contribute to and monitor implementation of consensual goals, deepening participatory democracy and making it more efficient” (Silver et al., 2010:459).

Nevertheless, “it is true that in some instances citizens demand more inclusive, responsive and efficient government that equitably redistributes resources, in other cases, ..., people selectively get involved to protest majority decisions, civic action or the public interest” (Silver, Scott, & Kazepov, 2010: 455). On the other hand, Silver et al. (2010) establishes that “states use participatory forums to offload public responsibilities, defuse protest, co-opt opponents, impose social

¹ By citizens it will be understood those “individuals who possess the political standing to exercise voice or give consent over public decisions that oblige or affect them” (Fung, 2006:74).

control and mobilize communities behind a neoliberal agenda” (Silver et al., 2010:455). Arguably, authorities can use participatory mechanism to ratify decisions already taken, which may not seek social justice, and appeal to the legitimacy of them by the solely presence of different stakeholders in such mechanisms.

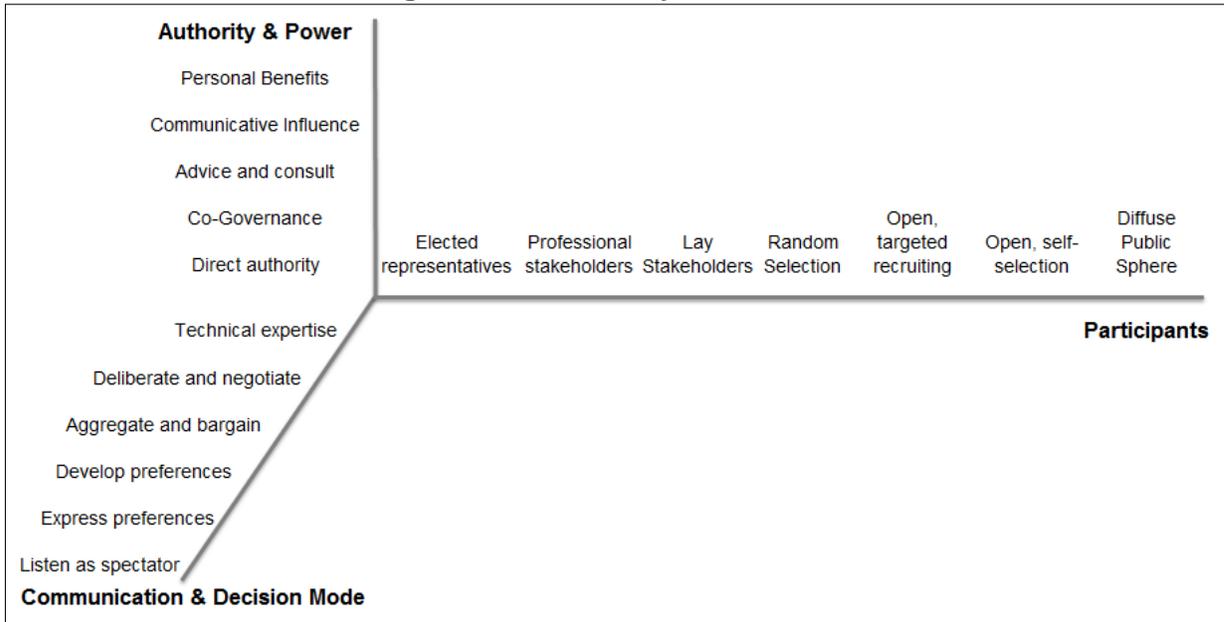
Participation is not the same as empowerment, “Power inequalities between participants remain”(Silver et al., 2010:455). When the upper and middle classes are locally active, it is likely that they will defend their interests. This highlights the importance of empowering members of marginal groups providing them with equal capacities to participate. “Even when forums are open to the public and traditionally excluded groups have access to deliberation and decision making, their voices may not be influential. They lack time, resources and cultural capital” (Silver et al., 2010: 455).

Finally, when analyzing participation it is important to take into account where it is taking place, “Two aspects of this are relevant: spatial scale and specific context”(Silver et al., 2010:456). Many examples of participatory processes have taken place at the city level: “The synergistic benefits of local participation may again transform the urban context into a social laboratory within which increased freedom for the grassroots to experiment encourages social innovation in complex and diversified societies” (Silver et al., 2010:456). Moreover, “Cities themselves are situated within global, regional and national contexts that constrain local government action, but are also the contexts within which people engage in multi-level governance and politics” (Silver et al., 2010:456). Factors related with historical and institutional context play an important role in determining the level of local participation and civic engagement.

Fung (2006) developed a framework in which any particular mechanism of public decision can be located according to three dimensions: “who participates, how participants communicate with one another and make decisions together, and how discussions are linked with policy or public action” (Fung, 2006:66). With these three dimensions, Fung develops the democracy cube (See Figure

1), which is a “ three dimensional space...of institutional design choices according to which varieties of participatory mechanisms can be located and contrasted with more professionalized arrangements” (Fung, 2006:66).

Figure 1 Democracy Cube



Source: Fung, 2006

A description of each of the elements of the three dimensions is presented in Table 1. About the first one, the participant selection methods range from the more inclusive to the more exclusive. Most of the public participation mechanisms are open to everybody, but participants represent a self selected group of the whole population (Fung 2006). According to Perrin and McFarland (2008), “self -selection in voluntary participation results in homogeneous groups ‘skewed toward the upper range of education and socioeconomic status’ and excludes the disadvantaged through practical barriers of time, money, culture and information”(Silver et al., 2010: 455). Within this dimension, there are five mechanisms in the middle part which are conceived as mini-publics that “intentionally gather citizens in discrete bodies to discuss or decide matters of public concern” (Fung 2006: 68).

The second dimension on communication and decision is about “how participants interact within a venue of public discussion or decision” (Fung 2006: 68). It ranges from the least to the most intense (Table 1 b). The third dimension of design (Table 1 c) “gauges the impact of public participation. How is what participants say linked to what public authorities or participants themselves do?” (Fung 2006:69)

The democracy cube helps to map arenas of decision making along these three dimensions: Participants, Communication & Decision Mode and Authority & Power. This framework will allow us to establish the direction taken by the authorities in developing the different participation mechanisms.

As said by Fung, “whether the direct participation of citizens in governance can remedy one or other... deficiencies depends in large measure on who participates: Are they appropriately representative of the relevant population or the general public? Are important interests or perspectives excluded? Do they possess the information and competence to make good judgments and decisions? Are participants responsive and accountable to those who do not participate?” (Fung, 2006:67). To answer these questions it is important to analyze social- economic characteristics of the citizens taking part of the participative processes in order to determine how representative they are.

When talking about representativeness, the concept provided by Pitkin (1967) of “descriptive representation” will be used. It refers to “the extent to which a representative resembles those being represented” (Dovi, 2011). This view of representation is closely related with statistical analysis by which is possible to establish whether participants’ features match with the actual composition of adult population in the selected regions. Special attention will be paid not only to the descriptive representation, but also to the diversity of the participants in such processes.

One of Pitkin’s recommendations is that “representatives should be evaluated on the basis of the reasons they give for disobeying the preferences of their

constituents” (Dovi,2011). However, “Pitkin never adequately specifies how we are to identify constituent's objective interests” (Dovi, 2011). Arguably, the outcomes of participatory processes help to identify constituent’s objective interest, at least to the extent of specific issues such as the one being analyzed.

Table 1. Participatory Designs: The Democracy Cube (Fung, 2006)

a. Participant selection methods			
More Inclusive	Public	Diffuse Public Sphere	Mass media, secondary associations, and informal venues of discussion.
	Mini-publics	Open, self-selection	Open to all who wish to attend. Actual participants are a self-selected subset of the general population.
		Open, targeted recruiting	Open to all selectively recruit participants from subgroups that are less likely to engage.
		Random Selection	The best guarantee of descriptive representativeness.
		Lay Stakeholders	Unpaid citizens who have a deep interest in some public concern and thus are willing to invest substantial time and energy to represent and serve those who have similar interests or perspectives but choose not to participate.
Professional stakeholders	They are frequently paid representatives of organized interests and public officials.		
More Exclusive	State	Elected representatives	Professional politicians elected, they select the technical, expert administrators who staff our public bureaucracies.
b. Modes of Communication and Decision			
Least intense	Listen as spectator		They do not put forward their own views at all, they just receive information about some policy or project.
	Express preferences		Participants express their preferences to the audience and officials.
	Develop preferences		Participants are encouraged to learn about issues and, if appropriate, transform their views and opinions by providing them with educational materials or briefings and then asking them to consider the merits and trade-offs of several alternatives.
	Aggregate and bargain		Participants know what they want, and the mode of decision making aggregates their preferences, often mediated by the influence and power that they bring.
Most intense	Deliberate and negotiate		Participants typically absorb educational background materials and exchange perspectives, experiences, and reasons with one another to develop their views and discover their interests. Participants aim towards agreement with one another (though frequently they do not reach consensus) based on reasons, arguments, and principles.
	Deploy technique and expertise		Officials whose training and professional specialization suits them to solving particular problems. This mode usually does not involve citizens.
c. Extent of Authority and Power			
Least Authority	Personal Benefits		Participant has little or no expectation of influencing policy or action (personal benefits of edification or perhaps to fulfill a sense of civic obligation).

Most Au- thority	Communi- cative Influence	The aim of participants is to influence on the state or its agents indirectly by altering or mobilizing public opinion through testimony, reasons, conclusions, or by the probity of the process itself.
	Advice and consult	Officials preserve their authority and power but commit themselves to receiving input from participants.
	Co- Governance	Partnership in which participants join with officials to make plans and policies or to develop strategies for public action.
	Direct authority	Participatory bodies occasionally exercise direct authority over public decisions or resources.

Source: Fung, 2006

3. Case study

Based on the above literature review, the article will now turn to the case study of citizen participation in Tempelhofer Freiheit Park, Berlin. First it will be introduced a short description of the context. Then, a general overview of all procedures with citizen participation will be described. The focus of the analysis will be on four processes: Online Dialogue 2007, Referendum 2008, Citizen Participation 2009 and Pioneer Projects 2010-2011. The following questions will be addressed:

- To what extent has been a bias in the citizen participation in the different processes implemented?
- What have been the modes of communication and decision?
- What is the extent of authority and power of participants and officials?

The case of Tempelhofer Freiheit Park was selected because there has been a change in the planning processes towards more participatory elements in the Senate Department for Urban Development and Environmental Protection of the State of Berlin following the controversial debate on closing down the former airport Tempelhof. Moreover, as part of these participatory elements, it is the first time that the government institutionalizes the temporary use of public space through contracts with the urban pioneers.

3.1 Tempelhofer Freiheit Park

The Tempelhofer Freiheit is a complex of 386 hectares, of which about 330 hectares are solely the former airfield; it is located in the inner city of Berlin. The closure of the former airport was already agreed upon in 1996 by state and

federal politicians through the “Consensus Resolution”. On September 2009, the Federal State of Berlin became the sole proprietor of the former airport complex and airport building. On May 8th, 2010 Tempelhofer Freiheit Park was opened to the public (Tempelhofer Freiheit, n.d. d).

The sensitivity of the airport-closure is constituted by its historical significance: the field hosted a forced labor camp during the Nazi era; during the Berlin blockade 1948-9 it was the airport for the Berlin Airlift. The controversy must be seen as the trigger for change in policy tool application within the Berlin administration. The standard participation mechanisms of planning approval procedures Land Use Planning (*Flächennutzungsplan*) and Zoning (*Planfeststellungsverfahren*) were apparently not seen as sufficient to accommodate the multitudinous opinions of the various interest groups.

In order to reach a sustainable solution, the administration opted for augmenting the planning process by a number of participatory policies. It is hitherto an open question whether this is to be seen as an honest approach of seeking more input for better policies or largely an appeasement policy towards interest groups and the public.

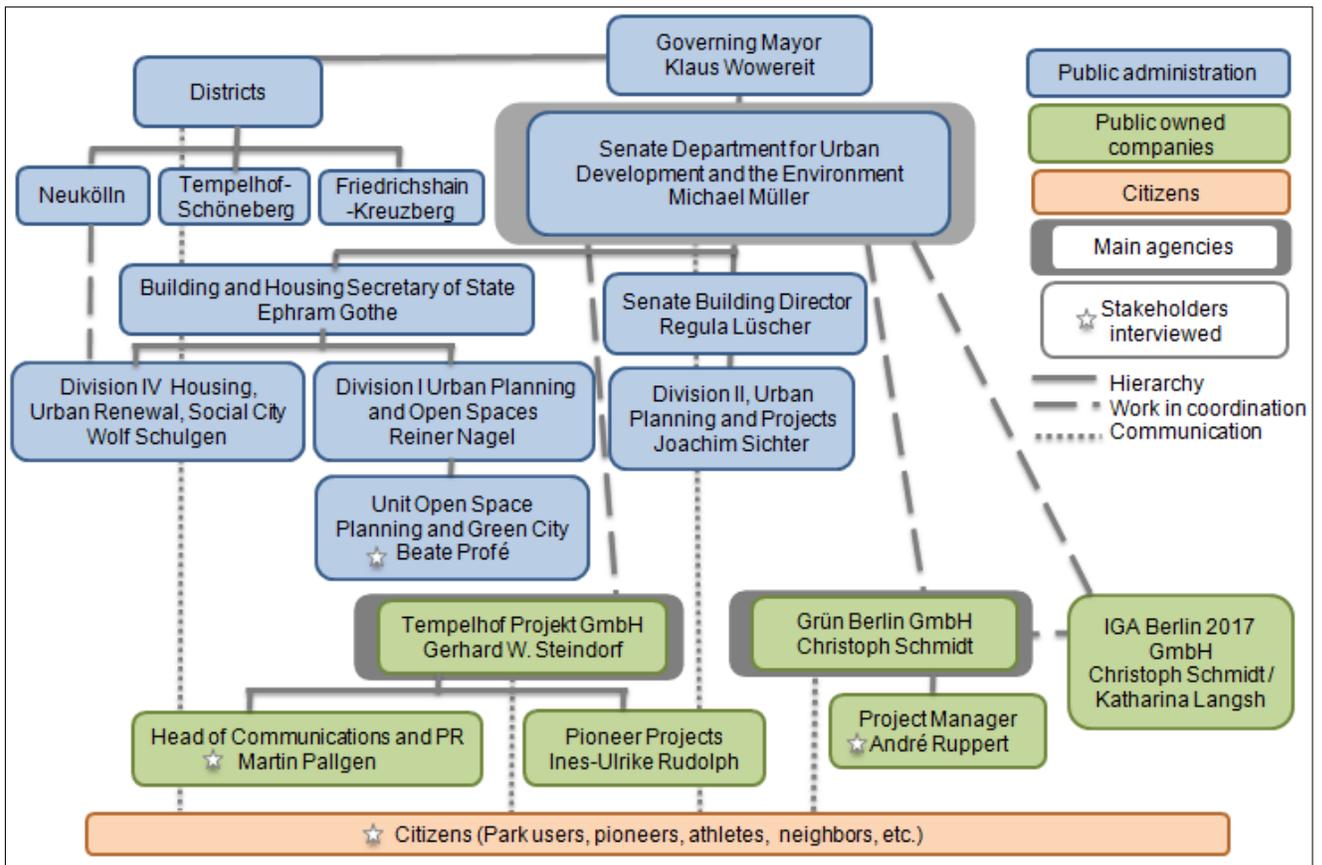
Much of the information needed to analyze the participatory processes can be derived from publicly accessible sources: reports, press releases, public procurement - calls for tenders, etc. Furthermore, interviews with public managers and a specialist were conducted to explore more detailed information². Also, interviews with the pioneers were considered necessary to garner an appreciation of the different projects. A caveat of the case is that it is an ongoing process. Hence, the focus will be on the mechanisms implemented so far, the policies announced to be implemented in the future will be mentioned but not discussed.

² The following stakeholders were interviewed: **Martin Pallgen**, Head of Communications & PR, Tempelhof Projekt GmbH; **Beate Profé**, Head of Department for Urban Green and Open Space Planning in the Senate Department for Urban Development; **André Ruppert**, Project Manager at Grün Berlin GmbH; five different **Urban Pioneers** at the Tempelhof Field; **Ares Kalandides**, Managing Director INPOLIS, Urban planner and consultant in the field of urban development and place marketing in Berlin since 1990. See Appendix 1 to 9.

3.2 Stakeholders Tempelhof Freiheit Park

In this section the most important actors will be described, as well as the role they play in the development of the park. Figure 2 shows the relation between all these stakeholders.

Figure 2. Stakeholders Tempelhof Freiheit Park



Source: Own elaboration with information from Tempelhofer Freiheit (n.d. d) and (Senatsverwaltung, 2012).

Governing Mayor Klaus Wowereit

Klaus Wowereit has been Mayor of Berlin since 2001, even though he was not in power when the decision to close operations of the airport was taken in 1996, he has been governing Berlin during the time when all citizen participation

procedures at Tempelhofer Freiheit have taken place. It is important to mention that he has not lead the project; rather this function has been delegated to the Senate Department for Urban Planning and Environment.

Senate Department for Urban Planning and Environment

As the administrative body responsible for developing the former airport complex, the Berlin Senate Department for Urban Development and Environment (Senate Department) “plays a guiding and coordinating role in the Tempelhofer Freiheit project.” (Tempelhofer Freiheit, n.d. d). The leading actors have been the former Senator Ingeborg Junge-Reyer, who was in charge from 2006 to 2011. Afterwards, Michael Müller took office since December 1st 2011.

Additionally, an additional unit was created; the project manager is Joachim Sichter, who represents the Senate Department vis-à-vis third parties (Tempelhofer Freiheit, n.d. d). Close cooperation is also undertaken with Division I, City and Open Space Planning and Division II, Urban Planning and Projects (Tempelhofer Freiheit, n.d. d).

Tempelhof Projekt GmbH

Tempelhof Projekt GmbH³ works on behalf of the Senate Department for Urban Development and the Environment; it is the development agency responsible for the overall integrated development of the site in cooperation with Grün Berlin GmbH. The Berlin parliament founded this state-owned company on December 2010 (Tempelhofer Freiheit, n.d. d).

Tempelhofer Freiheit “comprises the historical airport building, the future construction sites and the entire park landscape and forms an area of almost 400 hectares” (Tempelhofer Freiheit, n.d. d). For purposes of this thesis, the

³ GmbH stands for *Gesellschaft mit beschränkter Haftung*, which means Limited Liability Company.

focus will be on the park landscape development. The tasks of Tempelhof Projekt GmbH are “strategic planning, the acquisition of appropriate building rights, the creation of infrastructure measures, the operation of properties and preparations for the concrete construction plans of third-party investors”(Tempelhofer Freiheit, n.d. d). Tempelhof Projekt GmbH works together with Grün Berlin GmbH to coordinate the various “pioneer” and interim projects underway at Tempelhofer Freiheit.

Grün Berlin GmbH

Grün Berlin GmbH is a privately organized non-profit organization of the State of Berlin. It is in charge of project development and park management of different park facilities in Berlin. This organization assists the green metropolis in the formulation of urban development strategies. Moreover, “in 2010, the company initiated an international landscape architecture competition for the design of the 300-hectare Tempelhof park landscape under the guidance of the Senate Department for Urban Development” (Tempelhofer Freiheit, n.d. d). Grün Berlin is responsible for the development of the park field, especially in terms of construction and more technical issues.

IGA Berlin 2017 GmbH

Following the positive decision of the the German Garden Show Society (DBG - *Deutsche Bundesgartenschau - Gesellschaft mbH*) in November 2009, the International Garden Exhibition⁴ (IGA - *Internationalen Gartenausstellung*) will be held in 2017 at the Tempelhofer Freiheit field. On June 2010, IGA Berlin 2017 GmbH was created. The agency is responsible for the preparation, implementation and management of the garden exhibition. The Limited Liability Company is supported two thirds by the State of Berlin and one third by DBG (Berlin.de, 2010). IGA 2017 is a 170-day event, the exhibition has an approximate area of 100 hectares and it will be located in the northern section of

⁴The IGA exhibition is awarded only once every ten years in Germany. The history of the IGA started after the Second World War, it was an instrument to rebuild destroyed inner cities in western Germany. (See Appendix 3).

the park. The IGA is the major driving force behind the development and design of the parkland. A new concept of IGA is being developed; it will give answer to modern questions like the economic situation of Berlin, the climate change problem, etc. It is expected that the exhibition will prove a major success in terms of its impact on the marketing of Berlin and its own economic viability (Senatsverwaltung, 2008).

Districts

Tempelhofer Freiheit Park is surrounded by three Districts. The greater part is situated in the District of Tempelhof-Schöneberg, this area correspond the one next to the Tempelhofer Damm Avenue. The north-east and east (Oderstraße) are part of the District of Neukölln. The northern section next to Columbiadamm is in the District of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg (See Figure 3). Detailed data about socio-economic characteristics of population of such Districts will be presented as part of the analysis of the participatory processes.

The neighborhoods surrounding the park present contrasting social characteristics. In the District of Kreuzberg, “neighborhoods around the Chamissoplatz and Bergmannstraße may be seen as average in terms of their social structures and have proven popular with large numbers of tourists” (Senatsverwaltung, 2010), whereas neighborhoods in North-Neukölln “are characterized by an extremely high proportion of residents from an immigrant background, high unemployment and low income or large numbers of people living below the poverty line”(Senatsverwaltung, 2010). This area is also experiencing a gentrification process, in which creative players “move into areas of cheap housing, raise the symbolic value of it, which then is translated into higher land values”(B. B. Lange, 2011).

The north area of Neukölln is part of the “Social City” program⁵, which aims at “empowering local residents and trades people and tapping their previously

⁵ “The Red–Green government (1998 to 2005) launched the Socially Integrative City (Soziale Stadt) and Neighbourhood Management (QM) programmes to encourage citizen participation in ‘Districts with Special Development Needs’ (DIFU, 2003)” in Silver (2010, 469).

unused resources and potential to give their local neighborhood long-term better quality of life” (Senatsverwaltung, 2010). Management and coordination of this program as part of the development of the park takes place in cooperation with the Department IV – Housing, Urban Renewal, Social City.

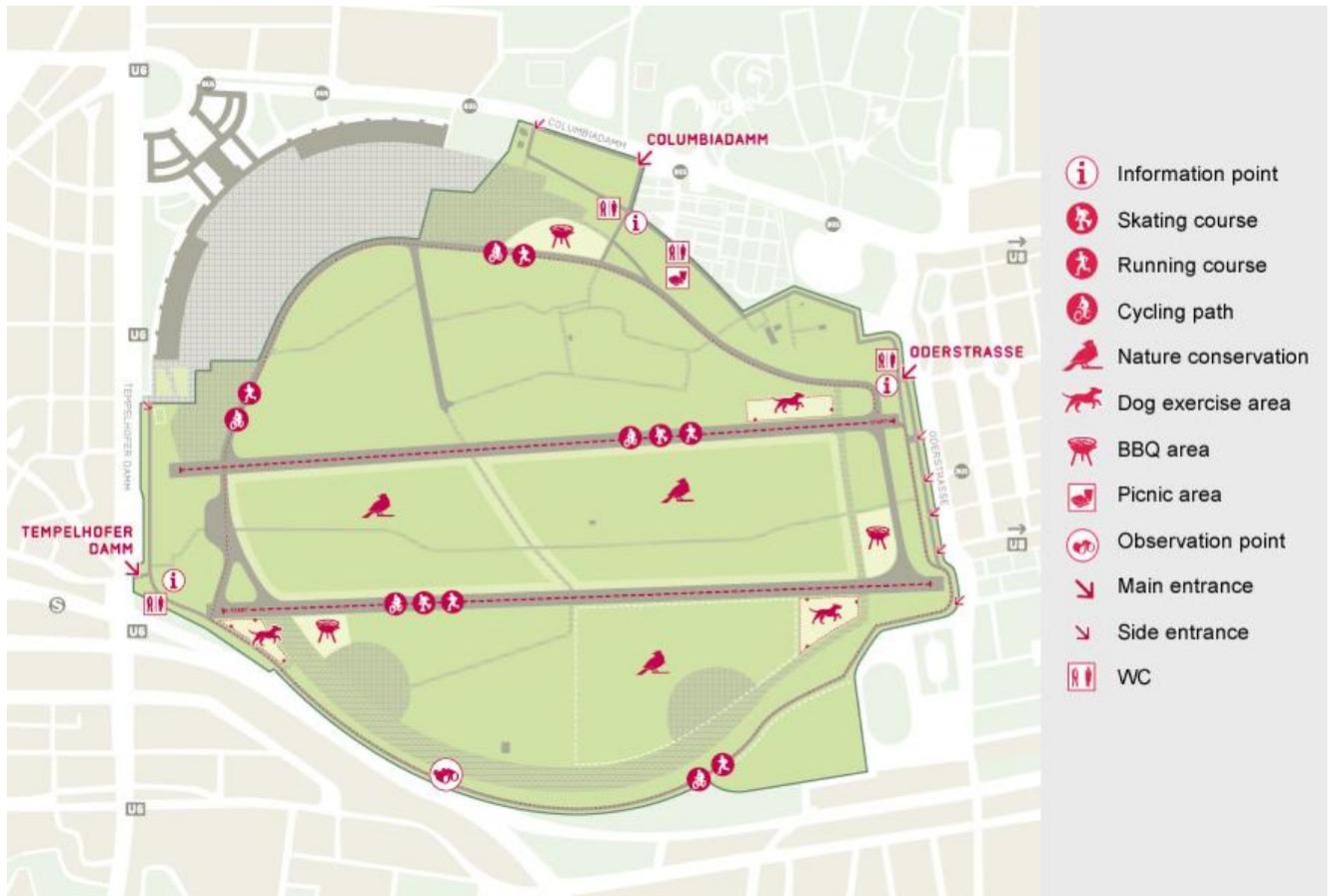
The Districts are responsible for the approval of the Zoning, which specifies details such as building height, lot coverage. The Senate Department is in charge to develop the Land Use Plan for Berlin, after its approval, the process of Zoning takes place. Both processes have elements of public participation (See Appendix 3). The Land Use Plan⁶ is currently being amended, this process has taken a long time; meanwhile nothing can be built in the park. Since 1994, the Berlin Land Use Plan contemplated the closure of Tempelhof Airport and its replacement by buildings and green spaces (*Stadtentsverwaltung*, n.d.).

Citizens

“The citizens of Berlin have always been – and will continue to be – an active and integral part the overall development of the site.” (Tempelhofer Freiheit, n.d. d) There have been many opportunities for civic participation which will be described in the following sections.

⁶ The Land Use Plan (Flächennutzungsplan) is a parliamentary legitimized Master Development and Town Planning Scheme of a municipality. It forms the integral strategic basis on which decisions regarding land use, and management of spatial investment are grounded (*Stadtentsverwaltung* , n.d.).

Figure 3. Tempelhofer Freiheit Park map and current facilities



Source: Tempelhofer Freiheit, n.d. e

3.3 Background - Informal planning and experts discussions

Long before the final decision to close the Tempelhof Airport was taken in 2007, proposals for the reuse of the site were developed. In 1994 the Senate Department commissioned an initial report aimed at examining the essential framework conditions underlying potential urban design concepts for subsequent use of the airport (Tempelhofer Freiheit, n.d. a). In May 1996 the States of Berlin and Brandenburg and the Federal Republic of Germany signed the “Consensus Resolution” by which Schönefeld Airport situated in the south of the city boundaries was to be the only airport to be developed, the Berlin Brandenburg Airport is scheduled to open on June 3th, 2012 (BER, 2012). The reasons for this decision were that the system of three airports in the city was economically

unsustainable; it will also serve to reduce noise pollution from planes in the inner city area (*Senatsverwaltung*, 2008 p.68).

In 1999 it was developed the Masterplan by the Swiss landscape architects Dieter Kienast and Günter Vogt in association with the Berlin architect Bernd Albers (*Senatsverwaltung*, 2008 p.107). The design was inspired by the idea of a "Wiesenmeer", or meadow sea (Tempelhofer Freiheit, n.d.). The proposal by Kienast/Vogt and Albers (1999) was revised and amended in 2005 by the Senate Department for Urban Development (*Senatsverwaltung*, 2008 p.108).

4 Procedure and citizen participation

In 2007 the approach of the Berlin planning department changed by including more participatory elements, "the Senate Department for Urban Development initiated a planning process known as "Tempelhof Freiheit" (Tempelhof Freedom) in which development goals and paths are discussed and determined with broad public participation" (*Senatsverwaltung*, 2010). Oscillation between two extremes is still found: "from a centralistic top-down position where the government predefines solutions (e.g. in forms of master plans), to a processional governance approach where several players are involved in a non-linear arrangement" (B. Lange, Kalandides, Wellmann, & Krusche, 2010).

Moreover, the development of the park has been characterized by a "processual" approach, "a term referring to a gradual realization of the individual sections; this development concept enables to react to changing future conditions, new actor constellations and emerging trends" (*Senatsverwaltung*, 2008:29).

In 2007 an **Online Dialogue** was held, interested people were able to express their opinions on the area's appropriate future use, and discuss the current state of the planning process. When the Online Dialog was held, the Airport was still operating, and its closure remained politically controversial.

In spring 2008, a **public referendum** took place. The votes were held on the resolution of continuing airport operations at Tempelhof. The referendum failed because it represented 22% of population eligible to vote, but the required 25% was not reached.

As part of the first stage of the airport field opening, the strategy **Citizen participation “Parkland Tempelhof” 2009** was held, it included a representative survey of public opinion, a workshop in the hangars and focus groups.

During early March 2010, an international open Landscape planning competition was held. “78 proposals were submitted, of which more than 40% were from outside Germany” (Senatsverwaltung, 2011:2). In mid-June, the jury selected six project teams to further develop their ideas. Before the next stage of the competition, a **Dialogue weekend** on 28/29 August 2010 was held. The event “was attended by citizens (around 2,400), the designers from the selected teams, the jury and representatives from the city administration” (Senatsverwaltung, 2011:3). Information of the participants of such Dialogue was not published. Finally, “the advisory committee which included international experts, representatives of Berlin’s Senate Department and the Districts issued its unanimous recommendation to commission the team of GROSS. MAX. and Sutherland Hussey, Edinburgh”(Senatsverwaltung, 2011:3).

In 2010 the Tempelhof project, former business unit of Adlershof GmbH, evolved into the Tempelhof Projekt GmbH. The staff conducted during twelve months around 150 interviews with representatives from politics, economy, culture, science, religion and sports (Senatsverwaltung, 2010b). Material on the interviews was not made public. As a result of this process, the **Guiding Principles** were presented in September 2010, these are: Stage for the new, Clean future technologies, Knowledge and Learning, Sports and Health, Dialogue of religions, Neighborhood integration.

In summer 2010 and 2011, surveys **Monitoring visitor behavior** in the field were held. The uses of the open field by the citizens as well as their ideas for improvement were collected. Some general results were presented on press releases and during a forum for civic participation. During summer 2010 there were around 20,000 to 35,000 visitors during the weekend and about 2,000 visitors on weekdays. Most visitors come from Neukölln (34,000 visitors per week), and around 20,000 visitors each from Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg and from Tempelhof-Schöneberg (Senatsverwaltung, 2010). Cycling and walking are ranked as the most usual activities. The users are mainly men practicing some sport, relatively few children and elderly people visit the field (Taz.de, 2011). “The lack of pathway connections, limited offerings for children and the elderly, and a minimal infrastructure are among the site's current shortcomings” (Tempelhofer Freiheit, n.d. a). The reports of these surveys have not been made public.

Starting in 2010, authorities implemented the **Pioneers** as an interim form of using the space. It is the first time that they are actively included in planning processes through the concession of temporal contracts. The effective operating time is limited to 2013 or 2016 depending on the pioneer field.

Talks with citizens have been held in the framework of the **Conference Series** called *Zur Sache: Tempelhofer Freiheit* (To the point: Tempelhofer Freiheit). Aspects of the overall development have been presented and discussed. These events will continue to take place in the future. Moreover, in January 2012 the project partners launched a negotiated procedure with public competition for a service provider to create a participatory approach and the implementation of specific measures in the frame of public participation (Tempelhofer Freiheit, 2012a).

5 Analysis of participation processes

In this section, four of the main processes of participation in the development of Tempelhofer Freiheit will be analyzed according to the framework developed by

Fung (2006), which explores the range of institutional possibilities for public participation. The analyzed cases as well as specific features were selected on the basis of publicly available data. The descriptive representation will be analyzed comparing characteristics of participants with the adult population in selected regions, which embodies potential participants of such processes. The analysis will be made at the level of Berlin and the Districts surrounding the park (Neukölln, Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg and Tempelhof-Schöneberg), aggregated and individually.

5.1 Internet dialogue 2007

The first element of public participation in the planning of the park landscape occurred in 2007. The discussion used the Kienast/Voigt and Albers (1999) Masterplan as a basis (Tempelhofer Freiheit, n.d.).

- Objectives

To make available information of the current status of planning while providing the opportunity to participate in the discussion about the future use of the field.

- Target groups

Open invitation to participate in an online dialogue. There were also town meetings and expert conferences, which were used to present information and discuss the main results.

- Process control

The Ideas Workshop was initiated by the Senate Department for Urban Development, which was responsible for setting the agenda and for the supervision of the process. The dialogue was designed and implemented by Zebralog, a specialized agency in e-participation (Zebralog, n.d.).

- Preparation

The Online Dialogue was carried out in two phases, the first one focused on the question “what does Berlin need in this location? The second phase focused on the opportunities that the airport field offers to the city (Tempelhofer Freiheit,

n.d.). There were series of conferences and events where citizens had the opportunity to visit an exhibition with the future plans and also to take a bus tour around the field.

- **Implementation**

During the first phase 1,000 registered Internet users participated and contributed with about 900 ideas (Zebralog, 2007). During this phase the ideas entered where not made public. The second phase of the online dialogue took the form of a moderated open discussion of the ideas developed during the first phase. Visitors could comment on, elaborate, combine or rate previous suggestions (+/ -). A total of 1,400 online users registered their opinions (See Table 2).

Table 2. Online Dialogue: Phases and participation					
Online Dialogue	Date	Focus	Visitors	Registered Internet users	Ideas
Phase 1	23 May- 21 July, 2007	What does Berlin need in this location?	32,000	1,000	900
	(8 weeks)				
Phase 2	6 Oct- 2 Nov, 2007	What opportunities does the airport land offer to the city?	36,000	1,400	400
	(4 weeks)				
TOTAL			68,000	2,400	1,300

Source: Own elaboration with information from Zebralog, 2007

During the second phase, citizens were able to sort ideas by subject, time of implementation, space planning, rating, and most discussed topics. The ideas could then be evaluated in the forum positively and negatively. This form of assessment, however, led to strategic devaluation of ideas. Moreover, during the last day there was a dramatic increase of activity in the website, 44% of all the ratings were entered during the last 4 days (Zebralog, 2007). This can be interpreted as a strategy by which ideas entered near the end of the process are less likely to be responded or contended.

The activity per person was distributed in the case of proposing ideas, but in the case of commentaries there was a shift towards active individuals. Concerning the rating votes, few people had a bigger influence than the active majority: 949 persons gave 3,512 positive votes, whereas 473 persons gave 6,317 negative votes, half of people gave twice negative than positive votes. The majority (467 people) of those giving a positive vote did not give any negative vote (Zebralog, 2007).

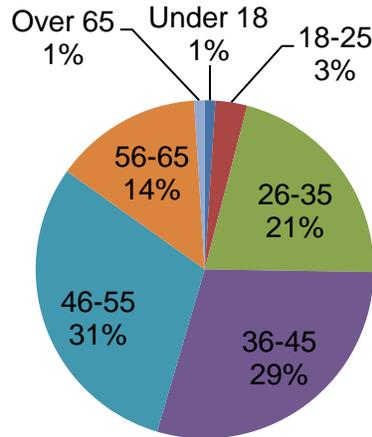
- **Socio-demographic Analysis of Participants**

Information about socio-demographic characteristics was only available for around 10% of the participants. It is presumed that providing this information was optional. Nevertheless these characteristics were presented in the final report, arguably the agency considered it as meaningful data.

In 2008, more than three-quarters (79%) of the households in Berlin owned a PC. A total of 71% of households had internet connection. It is found a positive correlation between internet connection and net household income, and also a negative correlation with age (*Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg*, 2009).

About gender of participants, 62% were male and 38% female. The population of Berlin in 2007 was almost equally divided by gender (49% male and 51% female), (*Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, n.d.*). Therefore, men were over-represented during such participatory process. (See Figure 4).

Figure 4. Age of participants Online Dialogue 2007



Leaving aside the people under 18 years (1%), 61% of participants were between 35 and 54 years old. The percentage of adult population in this group in Berlin is 36% as well as in the surrounding Districts (See Table 3). Therefore, this group was over-represented. Also, stands out the little participation by the younger group (18 to 24) with only 3% of participants and the older one (65 and older) with only 1%. The latter could be related with the negative correlation between age and technology, but it is contradictory to explain the low participation of younger people.

Table 3. Adult population by selected regions and participation in the Online Dialogue 2007 (%)

Age group	Online Dialogue Participants (N=133)	Berlin Population (N=2,916 thousands)	Districts surrounding the park (N=768 thousands)	Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg (N=228 thousands)	Tempelhof-Schöneberg (N=285 thousands)	Neukölln (N=255 thousands)
18-24	3	10	10	12	9	10
25-34	21	17	21	32	16	15
35-44	30	20	21	23	20	20
46-54	31	16	15	14	16	16
55-64	14	15	15	9	18	17
65 and older	1	22	18	10	21	21

Source: Own elaboration with data from ZebraLog (2007) and *Mikrozensus 2007 Berlin/Brandenburg*, Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg (n.d.)

About the education of participants, 88% studied *Abitur* (Secondary school examination after grade 12 or 13 for pupils preparing for university education), 11% *Realschule* (Secondary school for intermediate students) and 1% *Hauptshule* (Secondary school that prepares pupils for vocational education). Therefore, the overwhelming majority (88%) of participants were highly educated people, even though in Berlin only 38% have this level of education, moreover in the District of Neukölln it is only a percentage of 24 (See Table 4). In terms of the participation having just 1% of population with *Hauptschule* certificate excludes the representation of a big group of citizens, which in Berlin accounts for the 26% of the adult population.

Certificate*	Online Dialogue Participants (N=133)	Berlin Population (N=2,916 thousands)	Districts surrounding the park (N=768 thousands)	Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg (N=228 thousands)	Tempelhof-Schöneberg (N=285 thousands)	Neukölln (N=255 thousands)
<i>Hauptshule</i>	1	26	29	20	29	38
<i>Realschule</i>	11	30	24	20	27	25
<i>Abitur</i>	88	38	38	54	38	24

Source: Own elaboration with data from *Mikrozensus 2007 Berlin/Brandenburg, Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg (n.d.)*

- **Results**

The outcome of the first phase was the development of 10 categories to be used in the second online phase. During the second phase, another 400 ideas emerged; the final result was a top 10 list (See Table 5). During a town meeting the results were discussed and the three favorite ideas were rewarded. The category of ideas protesting against the closure was left aside to expand the room for ideas emphasizing the potential of the re-use of this open space (L.I.S.T, 2011 p.215). From this substantial pool of ideas, four themes emerged, which remain components of the plan today: Tempelhof as open green space, sports and exercise, creative industries, and housing (Tempelhofer Freiheit, n.d.).

Table 5. Online Dialogue 2007 Top 10 list by ranking (+) and (+/-)							
Ranking		Subject	Title	+	-	=	Comments
(+)	(+/-)						
1	2	Art, culture, social projects	Adventure-oriented youth playground	169	144	25	51
2	1	Sport, leisure	Baseball & Softball field	136	106	30	40
3	8	Housing	Car-free and ecological city district (10 ha in the south-western area)	66	71	- 5	32
4		Aeronautic uses	Continue operations of the Airport	59	75	-16	43
5	6	Green space, gardens	Permaculture and Community Gardens	56	59	- 3	8
6		Other topics	Synergy park Tempelhof (rehabilitation for low-skilled young people)	52	58	- 6	31
7		Education, library	International Campus Berlin	40	45	- 5	6
8		Aeronautic uses	Kite field	40	46	- 6	n.a.
9		Aeronautic uses	Tempelhof remains as an airport	39	53	-14	n.a.
10	4	Aeronautic uses	Continue operations of the Historical Airport	36	36	-	5

Source: Own elaboration with information from Zebralog 2007

- Evaluation

The Online Dialogue helped to reach awareness among citizens. Nevertheless, participation was biased given that the majority of participants were men (62%), also they belonged mainly to the age group of 46 to 55 (31%) and 36 to 45 years (29%). Younger and older people almost did not take part of it (3 and 1% respectively). The online nature of the process can explain the low participation of older people, other reasons must explained this behavior in the younger population, arguably can be related to the lack of motivation to involve in these administrative procedures. Moreover, an overwhelming majority (88%) of participants were highly educated people. Therefore, the first dimension about who participates can be described as an open, self-selection method, where the important groups of society were in a way excluded.

About the interaction of participants within the venue of public discussion, participants were encouraged to develop their preferences. Setting topics to discuss helped to moderate participation; the possibility to rate ideas was a modest way of deliberation which allowed them to consider other alternatives. Nevertheless the design was not flawless: allowing negative ratings led to a voting strategy against any project different from the continued airport operations, leading to counterproductive results in the already controversial situation.

Regarding the extent of authority and power, a communicative influence overshadowed the process. Many citizens took part of the project not because they wanted to advice the authorities about future developments of the park, but because they were against the decision taken by the authorities, they wanted to mobilize public opinion. While a number of ideas were developed in different subject areas, the reviews however showed general disapproval. Nevertheless, if only the positive rating is taken into account, the top list with specific projects represents a tangible outcome.

The winner of the online dialogue was the "*Erlebnisorientierter Spielplatz*", the project will be implemented during the course of 2012 (See Appendix 9). The second-place idea, to bring the American GIs' softball fields back into use, was realized in the fall of 2009 (Tempelhofer Freiheit, n.d.). The third place about Housing was politically discarded in 2011, the initial attempt was to provide affordable housing but this concept does not fit from a real estate perspective (See Appendix 2). Other ideas from this list were taken into account when designing the strategy of urban pioneers (community gardens, synergy park, etc.).

5.2 Referendum 2008

On December 4 2007, the Federal Administrative Court of Germany (*Bundesverwaltungsgericht*, 2007) made the final decision as court of last instance to close Tempelhof Airport. In spring 2008, the Community of Interest

ICAT City-Airport Tempelhof (ICAT- *Interessengemeinschaft*) along with the conservative opposition parties, the Christian Democratic Union and the Free Democratic Party initiated a referendum to prevent the closure. The referendum was held on April 27 of 2008. A referendum does not have any binding legal force on the Berlin Senate (*Bundesverwaltungsgericht*, 2007).

- **Objectives**

The votes were held on the following resolution: "The city airport Tempelhof supplements and relieves the commercial airport Berlin Brandenburg International (BBI). The Berlin Senate is asked to immediately abandon the closure intentions and to abandon the revocation of the operating license. Tempelhof airport traffic must remain! Do you agree with this decision? (yes/no)."(*Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg*, 2008:1).

- **Target groups**

The target was all population eligible to vote in Berlin. In order to put forward the proposal, the votes casted in favor of the resolution must represent the majority of participants and also at least the 25% of the population eligible to vote (*Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg*, 2008).

- **Process control and Preparation**

On the voting day, around 12,000 volunteers worked in the counting of the local and postal voting. In addition, many employees in the Berlin administration and the Office of Statistics were involved full time with the preparation and conduct of the vote (*Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg*, 2008).

- **Implementation**

Overall, 2.44 million Berliners are eligible to vote. A total of 881,035 Berlin citizens cast their vote, which represents a turnout of 36%. The final official results were announced on May 6, 2008.

- **Socio-demographic Analysis of Participants**

The Districts that had the highest turnout are those where the majority of people voted in favor of the resolution (See Table 6), all of these Districts are located in the West of Berlin. The participation of citizens in the Districts located in the West of Berlin represented the 60% of all votes casted; the 33% came from Districts in the East and 7% from the District in the Center. About the answer to the resolution, in the Western Districts 44% said “yes”, 16% “no”; in the Eastern Districts 12% said “yes”, 21% “no”; finally in the Center 4% said yes and 3% said “no”. In total, 60% of participant answered “yes” and 40% “no”.

Regarding the participants of the three Districts surrounding the park, there was a turnout of 41% of the people eligible to vote, which represents the 27% of the people that casted their vote. 65 % of all participants in these Districts voted in favor of the resolution.

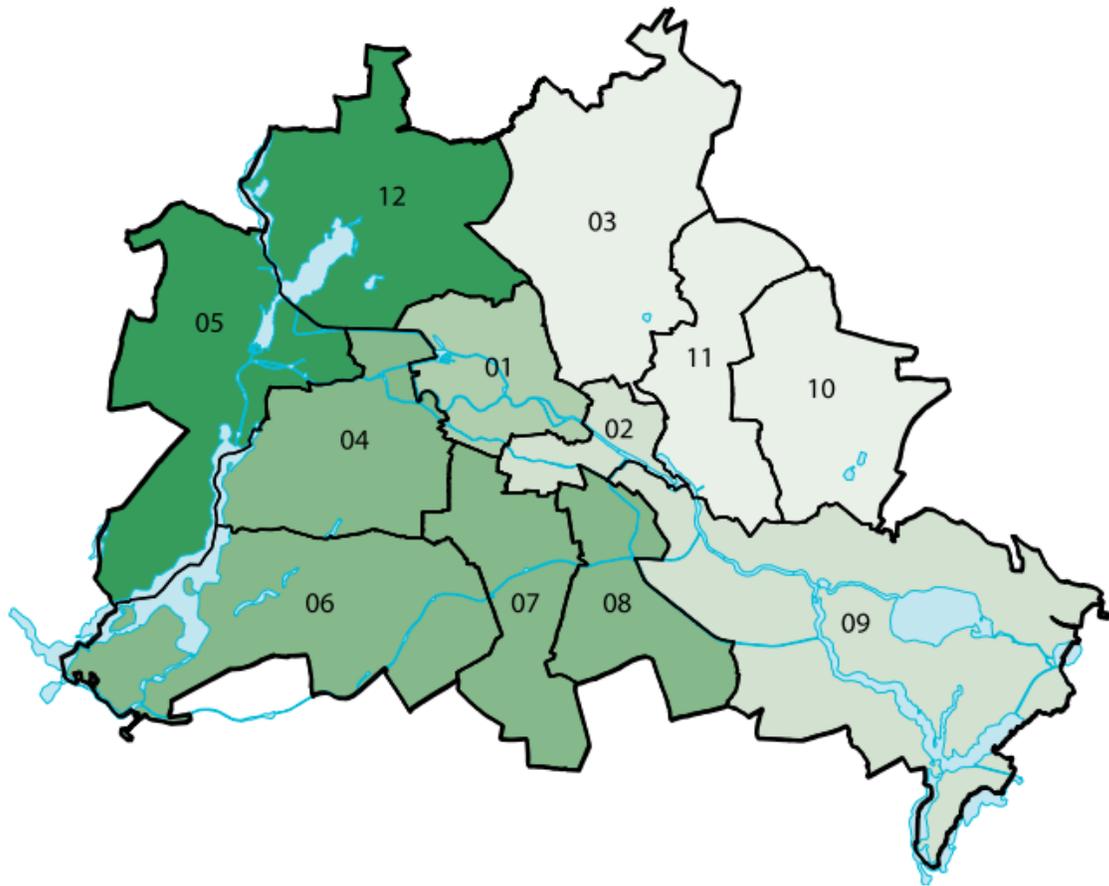
Voting patterns clearly revealed that interest for the continued maintenance of Tempelhof Airport was significantly lower in the eastern part of the city than in the western part, which reflects the different emotional attachments people can have in a formerly divided city (*Senatsverwaltung*, 2008 p.68). This pattern can be seen in the Figure 5.

Table 6. Referendum "Tempelhof airport traffic remains!" on 27 April 2008 - Final result -									
District		Participation		Votes cast					Former East/ West Berlin
		Voting eligible population	Turnout %	Yes	in % of participants	in % of voting eligible population	No	in % of participants	
1	Mitte	191,609	31	34,563	58	18	24,474	41	Center
2	Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg	167,835	31	20,112	39	12	31,045	61	East
3	Pankow	279,123	28	26,908	34	10	51,992	66	East
4	Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf	216,236	43	66,952	72	31	26,369	28	West
5	Spandau	160,770	36	44,339	76	28	14,038	24	West
6	Steglitz-Zehlendorf	214,455	51	80,505	74	38	28,343	26	West
7	Tempelhof-Schöneberg	230,190	47	76,033	70	33	32,199	30	West
8	Neukölln	193,472	42	59,781	74	31	20,768	26	West
9	Treptow-Köpenick	196,930	33	28,923	44	15	36,304	56	East
10	Marzahn-Hellersdorf	202,645	23	15,602	33	8	31,010	66	East
11	Lichtenberg	202,203	25	15,280	30	8	34,806	69	East
12	Reinickendorf	182,567	43	60,882	77	33	18,036	23	West
Districts surrounding the park		591,497	41	155,926	65	26	84,012	35	
Berlin		2,438,035	36	529,880	60	22	349,384	40	

Note: The invalid votes account only for the .2% of participants.

Source: Own elaboration with data from Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2008

Figure 5. Proportion of “yes” votes at the Referendum 2008, by Districts of Berlin



	Under 35%	1 Mitte	7 Tempelhof-Schöneberg
	35 up under 50%	2 Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg	8 Neukölln
	50 up under 65%	3 Pankow	9 Treptow-Köpenick
	65 up to 75%	4 Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf	10 Marzahn-Hellersdorf
	75 and more %	5 Spandau	11 Lichtenberg
	Berlin: 60%	6 Steglitz-Zehlendorf	12 Reinickendorf

Source: Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2008.

- Results

The majority of participants (60%) agreed with the resolution. Nevertheless, the referendum failed because it represented 22% of population eligible to vote, but the required 25% was not reached (*Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2008*).

As scheduled, Tempelhof Airport was finally closed for air traffic on 31 October 2008.

- **Evaluation**

Regarding the participant selection method, it was an open, self-selection process. It is possible that some kind of targeted recruiting took place given that the parties in the opposition were supporting the referendum, they might have tried to mobilize people. A turnout of 36% shows on the one hand a culture of citizen participation and on the other, it reflects the level of controversy and disagreement between citizens of Berlin regarding the closure of the airport.

It is expected that participants of this processes are mainly those in favor. Participation was biased towards the Districts in the West of Berlin (60% of all votes casted), 44% of participants from these Districts were in favor of the resolution. Nevertheless the participation of those supporting the closure of the airport was significant (40%).

It is possible to argue that this mechanism addressed the interest of the older groups of the population, given that traditionally they are those more likely to involve in electoral procedures. Moreover, the nature of this formal procedure excluded citizens not eligible to vote. This is important especially due the composition of Neukölln and Kreuzberg where many citizens have an immigrant background and may not have participated.

About the mode of communication, citizens express their preferences. Arguably some forms of aggregation and bargaining took part, mainly when the opposition tried to mobilize people, but at the end it was just expressing the individual vision of participants. As mentioned in the introduction, factors related with historical and institutional context played an important role in determining the level of local participation and civic engagement.

Finally, regarding the extent of authority and power, the referendum fits in the communicative influence mode. Participants were trying to influence officials by

mobilizing public opinion. It is important also to remember that a referendum has no binding power. Even though the decision of closure was taken in 1996 and already the Land Use Plan of 1994 contemplated closure of Tempelhof Airport, this was the first time the opposition and citizens used a formal procedure to resist the decision. This situation leads to a consideration about the authenticity of the initiative, in terms of the belief that the decision might have actually been reversed in case of a successful referendum, or if it was just a strategy to discredit the political actors in power. These arguments support the idea that the Mayor explicitly chose not to lead this project, which if not treated carefully, can trigger many problems and loss of prestige.

5.3 Citizen participation “Parkland Tempelhof” 2009

As part of the first stage of the airport field opening different elements of public participation were held in 2009.

- Objectives

The purpose of the citizen survey was to assure that aspirations and views of all social classes and age groups are included (Senatsverwaltung, 2009).

- Target groups

The electronic survey had as target group all citizens visiting the workshop. For the Household survey the focus was on residents of the catchment area (approx. 1.5km around the Tempelhof Field) and citizens from Berlin-wide. The focus groups aimed to reach people with immigrant background, which judging by past experiences rarely participated in such surveys (Senatsverwaltung, 2009).

- Process control

The representative survey 2009 was implemented by the Senate Department in the framework of the design of the guiding principles by Tempelhof Projekt

GmbH and in preparation to launch the international landscaping competition "Parkland of Tempelhof".

- **Preparation**

A workshop-exhibition on the history of the airport and planning ideas was held at one of the airport hangars during two weekends of October. Different activities took place such as tours around the airfield and roundtable discussions. Visitors were able to answer a digital questionnaire, which served as basis for the Household Survey. A written form survey was selected in order to ensure the broadest possible demographic outreach. Around mid June, the questionnaires were sent directly to the mailboxes of a random sample of people in the surrounding Districts as well as Berlin-wide. The questions of the catchment area were not exactly the same as the ones for the residents Berlin-wide. For the focus groups, the participants were addressed by associations, religious communities or with the help of the Neighborhood Management (*Senatsverwaltung*, 2008:117).

- **Implementation**

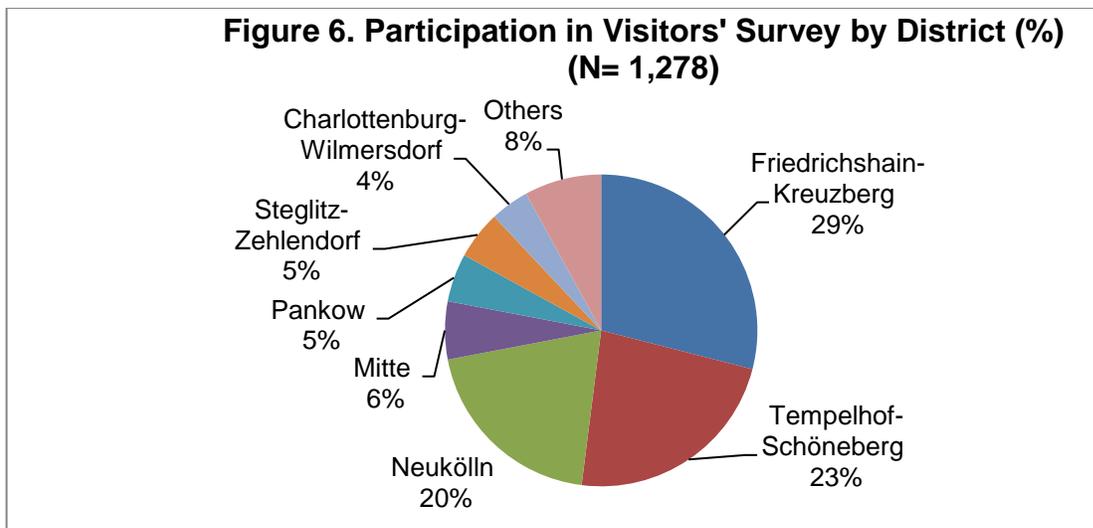
A total of 1,278 surveys were gathered during the workshop (Argus GmbH, 2009). For the Household survey there was a turnout of 22% in the catchment area and 28% Berlin-wide (See Table 9). In the questionnaire three topics were discussed: the use of parks and green spaces, ideas and wishes for the design of "Tempelhofer Freiheit" and the acquisition of park grounds through civic engagement (L.I.S.T 2010). The campaign additionally included 17 focus groups with a total of 138 participants from which approximately 60% were persons with immigrant background.

Table 9. Components of citizen participation “Parkland Tempelhof” 2009				
Activity	Date	Focus	Visitors	Response rate (%)
Visitors Survey (in situ)	03-04 Oct 2009	Workshop-exhibition	3,500	1,278 (37%)
	10-11 Oct 2009			
Activity	Date	Focus	Sent out questionnaires	Completed questionnaires
Households Survey (written form)	Summer 2009	Catchment area	6,000	1,346 (22%)
		Berlin-wide	1,000	278 (28%)
Activity	Date	Focus	Number of groups	Participants
Focus groups	2009	Capture citizens with immigrant background	17	138

Source: Own elaboration with information from Argus GmbH, 2009 and *Senatsverwaltung*, 2008.

- **Socio-demographic Analysis of Participants**

The vast majority (71.6%) of respondents in the Visitors Survey came from the neighboring districts of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg (29%), Tempelhof-Schöneberg (23%) and Neukölln (20%), (See Figure 6).



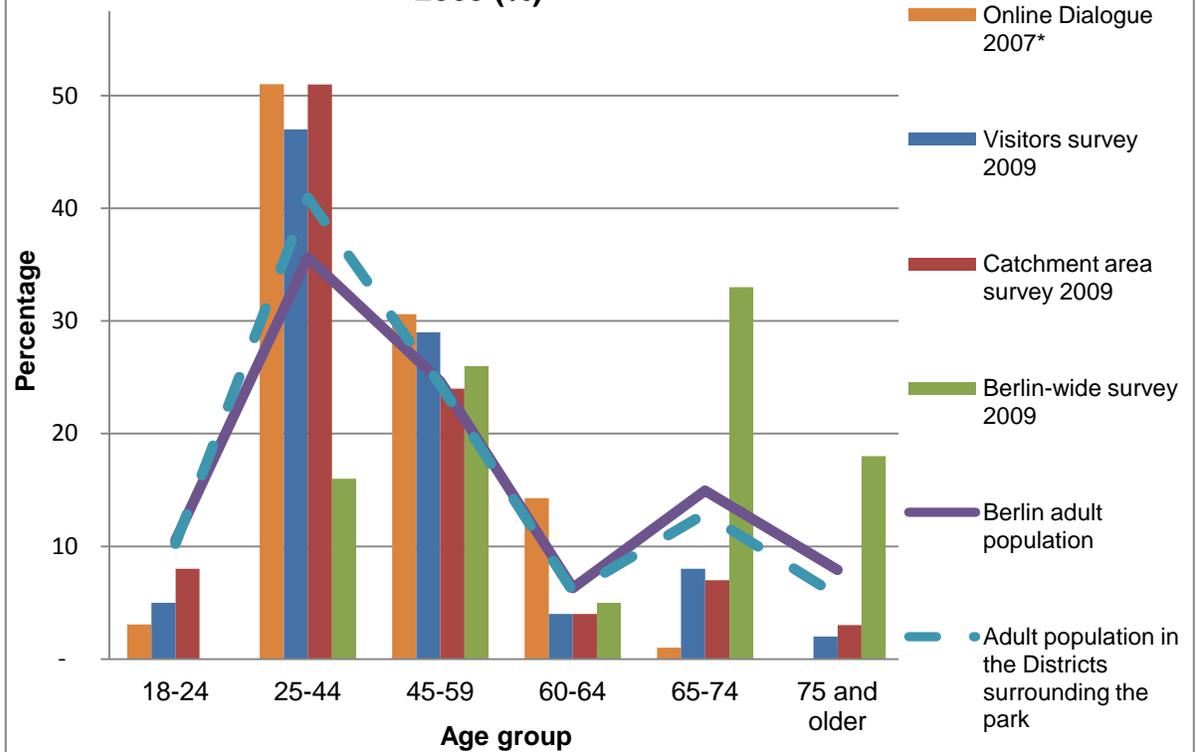
Source: Argus GmbH, 2009

Similar age groups of people participated in the visitors and catchment area surveys. The majority (Visitors Survey, 47% and Catchment area, 51%) is in the age group of 25 to 44⁷. These results are widely different to those of the Berlin-wide Survey where the majority (51%) is older than 65 years. Again, stands out the low participation of the youngest group of 18-24 years in all three surveys, even though 11% of people in Berlin belong to this group. The average age of respondent visitors is 43 years, for participants in the Catchment area survey it is 42, whereas in the case of Berlin-wide survey it is 60 years (Argus GmbH, 2009:5).

If we compare the age groups among the different Surveys in 2009 and the similar cohorts of the Online Dialogue in 2007, it is possible to establish that the use of technology affected the participation of the older groups in 2007, but the traditional format of 2009 helped to gather information about this group (See Figure 7). In general there is an over-representation of the group of people between 25 to 44 years old. The group that has not actively participated is the youngest one; it has never reached the same proportion of people of that age in Berlin (11%) or the surrounding Districts (10%).

⁷ A group with a smaller range of ages could have better stated the involvement of younger people, but this information was not included in the report.

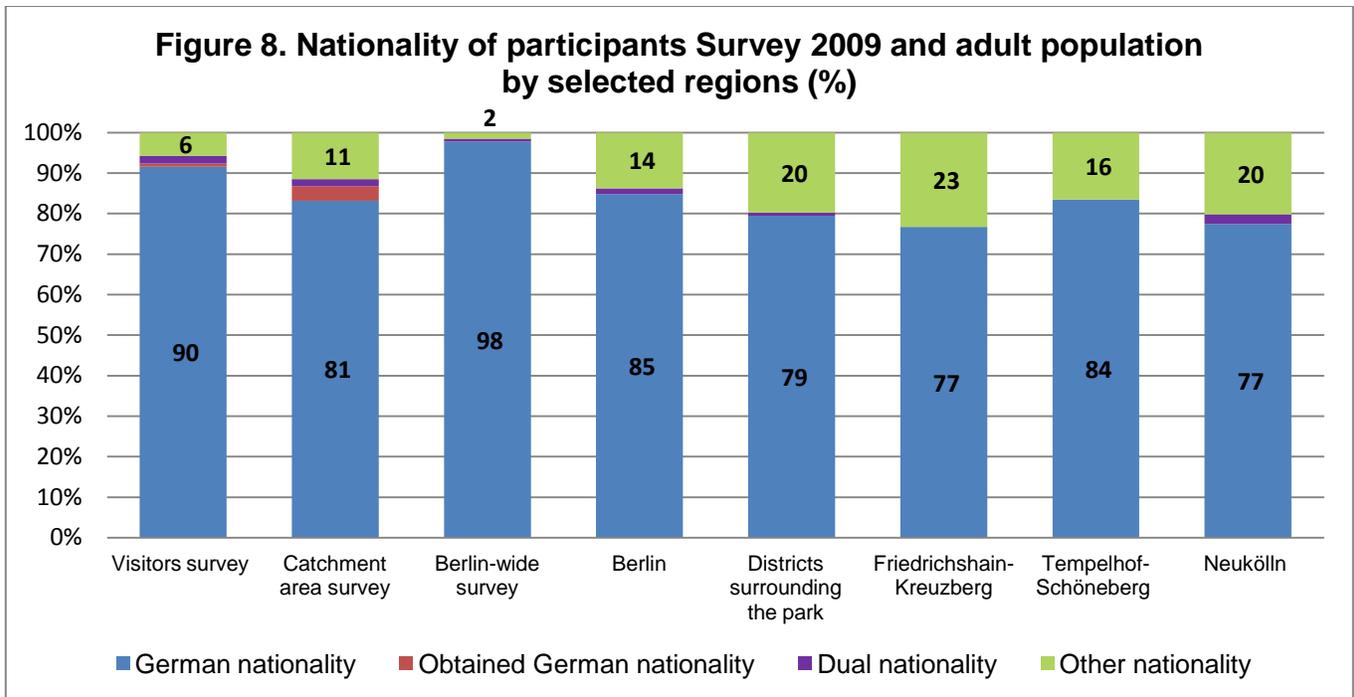
Figure 7. Age groups in comparison: Online Dialogue 2007, Surveys in 2009 and adult population in selected regions 2009 (%)



*Note: The age groups in the Online Dialogue are slightly different: 18-24, 25-44, 46-54, 55-64, 65 and older. Disaggregated information is not available.

Source: Own elaboration with data from *Mikrozensus 2009 Berlin/Brandenburg*, Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg (n.d.), Argus GmbH, 2009 and Zebralog, 2007.

About the gender of the Visitors Survey participants, there was a balanced representation, 51% are female and 49% male. Regarding the nationality, an overwhelming 98% of respondents of the survey Berlin-wide were German nationals, although this group accounts for 85% of the population in Berlin (See Figure 8). Even though the percentage of people with other nationalities in the surrounding Districts is 20%, only 6% participated. People with a different nationality were more represented in the catchment area survey (11%). The catchment area of the planning field is characterized by an above- average proportion of non-German residents, particularly in Kreuzberg (23%) and Neukölln (20%).



* Note: Information about obtained German nationality is not specified in the *Mikrozensus*.

Source: Own elaboration with data from *Mikrozensus 2009 Berlin/Brandenburg*, Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg (n.d.) and Argus GmbH, 2009

About the education, 45% of respondents in the catchment area and 48% of the Berlin-wide respondent group have a university or college (*Fachhochschule*) degree, in whole Berlin only 18% of people have this level of education. (*Senatsverwaltung* 2008:117). The participants of the focus groups were generally composed of migrants, mainly of Arab and Turkish origins, along with families, residents, “Social City” neighborhood advisory committees, amateur athletes (of mixed age and ethnicity) and senior citizens (*Senatsverwaltung* 2008:117).

- Results

The focus of the first part of the questionnaire was on the design elements and facilities that visitors would like to have in the new park. Three profiles of users were identified: recreation and nature (walking, nature observation), sport activities (jogging / walking, cycling / skating, ball games or other recreational sports) and the park usage as social interaction and communication (meet

friends, family picnic, playground visits, festivals and cultural events). The results of the visitor survey reflect a more active user profile than the one in the Household survey. This might be related with the age of the Berlin-wide respondents, which was significantly above average.

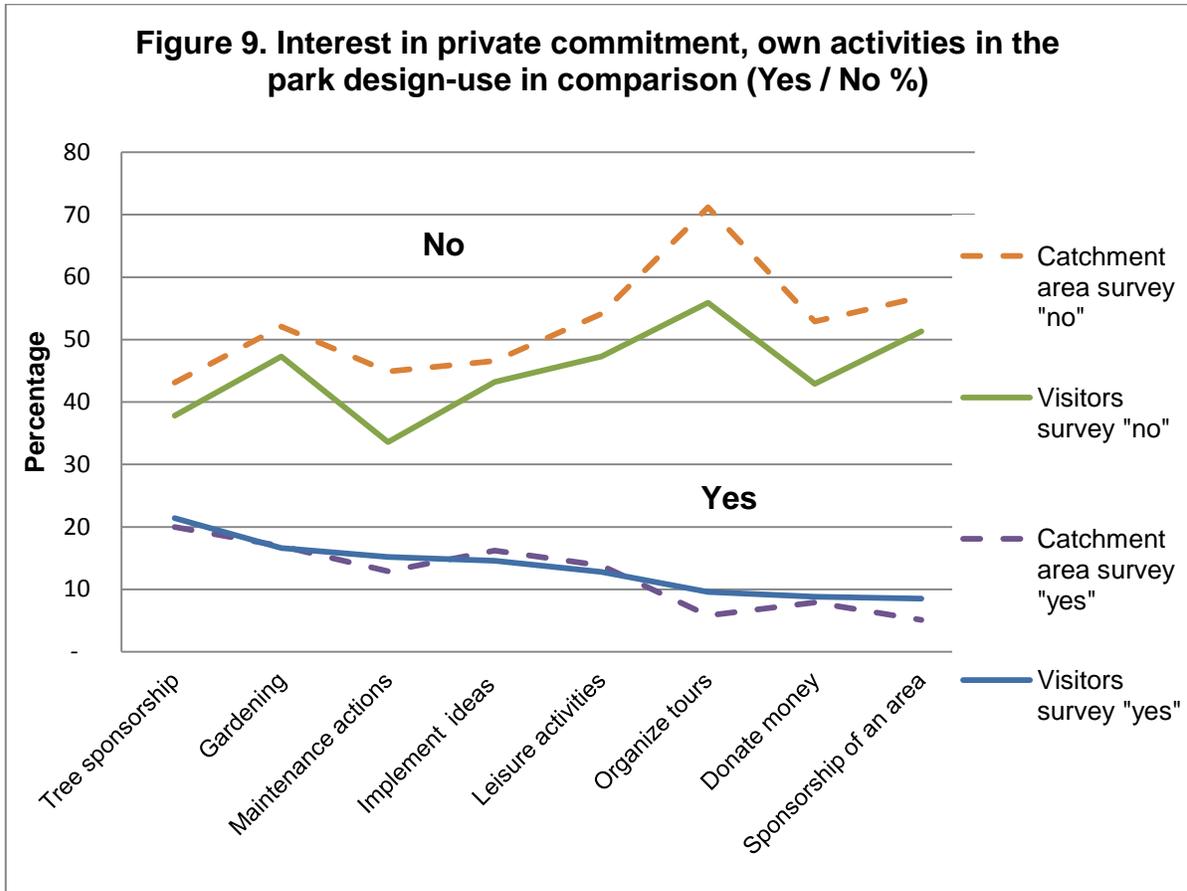
During workshop the overriding expectation of the parkland is that it should provide peace and quiet and opportunities for relaxation. Also the protection of natural and historical features was endorsed by the majority. Repeated calls were made for the traces of the use of the site as an airport to remain visible (Senatsverwaltung, 2008:41).

Given the densely built-up nature of the residential Districts in the surroundings of the park, Tempelhof Field is of outstanding importance in terms of local recreational opportunities. A total of 84% of all respondents in the catchment area view the future park as important for their leisure and recreation (Senatsverwaltung 2008).

In the second part of the questionnaire, citizens were asked to give grades to four types of parks. Participants in all three exercises gave higher average grades to conventional types of parks: park with groups of trees, followed by wide, open field and park with sports offer. The worst average grades were for individual design options. These preferences are consistent among all age groups, gender and Districts (Senatsverwaltung 2008).

Participants were also asked about their interest to involve in activities to design or use the park requiring active involvement from their part, this question was asked only in the Visitors survey and Catchment area survey (See Figure 9). The tendency of the answers in both processes is similar, nevertheless in the Visitors survey there is a less negative attitude towards own commitment in these activities. This might be related with the fact that participants were more motivated when they were answering the survey at the park facilities; also some elements of deliberation were present. Of special interests are the commitment in the Visitor and Catchment surveys to activities like gardening (17%,17%),

implementing ideas by oneself or with others (15%,16%), and organizing leisure activities (13%,14%). Arguably these were the foundations to develop the next mechanism of public participation, namely Urban Pioneers.



Note: Missing percentage to 100 = no information

Sources: Argus GmbH citizen survey THF 2009; analysis of visitor survey in October 2009

Evaluation

Even though there were different participation processes, it is possible to argue that the most important was the Household survey in the Catchment area and Berlin-wide, the others were used to raise awareness (Visits Survey) or to include traditionally excluded groups. The latter was an open, targeted recruiting method. Overall, the participant selection method was random selection, which is the best guarantee for descriptive representativeness. Nevertheless some self-selection occurred given that not all people that received the questionnaire

answered it. A response rate of 22% in the catchment area and 28% Berlin wide is still a good indicator of citizen participation given that it was on a voluntarily basis, there were transaction cost involved and there were not highly interested parties mobilizing public opinion to achieve some goal.

Moreover, the Visitors surveys succeed to balance the representation by gender. The Catchment area Survey and Visitors survey also reached considerable percentages of participation on non-Germans (11% and 6% respectively). Nevertheless, some characteristics of bias prevailed: the overrepresentation of participants between 25 to 44 years, and the low participation of the youngest group of 18-24 years. In the Berlin-wide Survey there was an over-representation of the elderly people (51% was older than 65 years old). The majority of the Catchment area and the Berlin-wide Surveys respondents were highly educated people.

The negative attitude towards the development of the Park diminished considerable once people were able to visit the park. Furthermore, the workshop, guided tours and exhibition contributed to create awareness among citizens of the potential uses of the former airport.

About the modes of communication, participants expressed their preferences in the survey. There were modest efforts to develop preferences during the workshop, but during the survey the citizens just communicate their wishes. Arguably that is one reason why traditional forms of the Park were the most selected; it is easier to accept old forms than new ones like the one of the park with "individual design option".

Regarding the extent of authority and power, the process was one of advice and consult given that officials wanted to get input from participants, but still preserve their authority. The effort to start with the workshop to raise awareness, to address people randomly selected, and to organize the focus groups revealed an improvement in the method selected. Nevertheless, still factors of deliberation and negotiation are missing.

As described in the results, the ideas of the citizens living in the surroundings of the park are still strongly related to the historical attachment to the park. The project partners have taken this into account and in several occasions have announced that the airport atmosphere of the parkland will remain. This includes the wide, open field, nonetheless some clusters of trees providing shadow might be integrated; it is not certain how this will be developed. So far, authorities have not been able to provide recreational facilities at the park, especially for children, even though this preference was supported in these processes. Presumably the questions regarding their commitment to involve in activities to design or use the park were related with the future implementation of pioneer projects. It is possible that the concept was not very popular due to its new character.

5.4 Integrated Urban Development through Pioneer Projects

The Online Dialogue 2007 set the basis of a concept for integrated urban development that recognized the role of pioneers and interim forms of usage. According to the State of Berlin, “its new ‘pioneer process’ – an open process that, if successful, will transform Tempelhofer Freiheit into a model location for participative urban development” (Tempelhofer Freiheit, n.d. b). These projects are temporary, while the final construction of the permanent design is carried out. Nevertheless, “some tried-and-tested pioneers will be able to move later to the park landscape”(Senatsverwaltung, 2011: 5).

- Objectives

The objective is to support sustainable projects that promote the development of Tempelhofer Park to create attractive offers for recreation and leisure use and implement new business, social and cultural ideas. Pioneers are expected to “use existing resources and work with a local approach to generate a reciprocal link between Tempelhofer Freiheit and its adjacent quarters” (Tempelhofer Freiheit, n.d. b). Furthermore, “In a best-case scenario, the development of pioneer projects would run parallel to the development of the location ... In some cases, the pioneers will have to make way for other planned usages. For this

reason, all participants are expected to have a high degree of attentiveness and a sense of responsibility for the entire process – even beyond their individual projects” (Tempelhofer Freiheit, n.d.b).

- **Target groups**

Individuals, institutions, associations and companies who want to realize the social, cultural and entrepreneurial projects. They are invited through press releases, presentations to citizens, ads in newspapers and the internet.

- **Process control**

Tempelhof Projekt GmbH coordinates together with Grün Berlin GmbH the interim and “pioneer” projects (Tempelhofer Freiheit, n.d. b).

- **Preparation**

Applications for the temporary use of the space are accepted on an ongoing basis. A registration form available on the Tempelhofer Freiheit website, self-declaration and business concept need to be sent via e-mail or post to Tempelhof project, all documentation needs to be written in German. Decisions regarding applications are made in two steps: “The first step examines the essential suitability of the project. An advisory committee made up of local and external advisors and representatives from neighborhood and state administrative bodies advise the project managers at Tempelhofer Projekt and its cooperation partner Grün Berlin GmbH in their selection” (Tempelhofer Freiheit, n.d. b). Finally, “the second step involves a discussion of the selected projects by a political decision-making body, whereupon certain projects are recommended as ready for contract negotiations”.

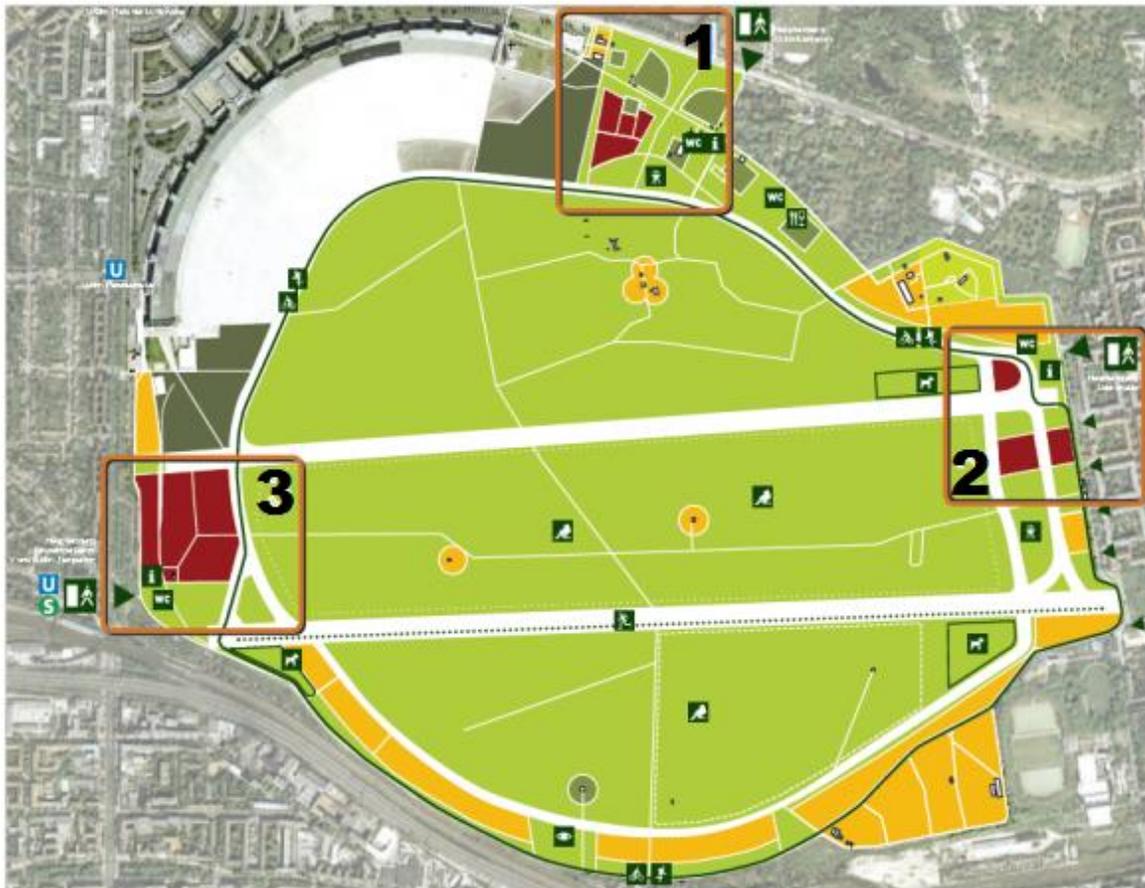
The criteria to evaluate is based on the fulfillment of “the major sustainability criteria (economic, future-oriented, entrepreneurial, resource-efficient, ecological, based on partnerships, integrative, social) and fit into one or more of our six guiding themes: Knowledge and learning, Clean future technologies, Sports and health, Neighbourhood integration, Dialogue of religions, Stage for

the new” (Tempelhofer Freiheit, n.d. b). In the selection process, it is also analyzed the period within which the applicant can implement his/her concept as well as the economic terms of it. All projects must be self-supporting (Tempelhofer Projekt,2010).

In preparation of the pioneer projects, three fields were designated for such uses. Each pioneer project “should ideally fit with the thematic orientation of each individual pioneer field and be able to be implemented successfully within the time period” (Tempelhofer Freiheit, n.d. b). Figure 10 shows the location, time period and thematic orientation of the three areas, which are located at the edges of the field.

The pioneer fields located in Columbiadamm (1) and Tempelhofer Damm (2) and are set to become part of the IGA 2017. The effective operating time of both areas is thus limited to 2013. With regards to the field located in Oderstrasse (3), the effective operating time is limited to 2016. This field borders directly to the neighborhood “Schillerkiez” in the Berlin district of Neukölln. The focus of this area is to support offerings that are popular with neighborhood residents.

Figure 10. Pioneer Fields at Tempelhofer Freiheit



Pioneer field	Time period	Focus	Area aprox. (m ²)
1.Columbiadamm	2010-2013	Combined sports and cultural uses	14,000
2.Oderstraße	2010-2016	Neuköllner Neighborhoods	18,700
3.Tempelhofer Damm	2010-2013	Knowledge creates culture	46,000

Source: Tempelhofer Projekt (2010)

- Implementation

The authorities give a contract⁸ that provides citizens with the temporary right to use a specific area of the field in order to develop the pioneer project. The contract period ranges from one year to maximum three or six years depending

⁸ Contracts are not available to the public. Pioneers interviewed were reserved to specify details of them.

on the location, investment and legal procedures. The State of Berlin has a special right of termination in the case it wants to prematurely realize its long-term use (Tempelhofer Projekt, 2010).

Pioneers are charged with a user fee of €1.00/sqm/ year. For commercial projects, a negotiated revenue share is determined. The pioneer user assumes the project-related operational costs. The pioneer user is responsible for complying with all regulations, such as those of public safety and order; especially not to endanger life, health and natural resources. The pioneer user is responsible for obtaining all necessary permits and project-specific insurance policies. The pioneer users have to adjust to the existing infrastructure resources and requirements (Tempelhofer Projekt, 2010).

To date there have been two selection processes. The first call for applications took place on May 17, 2010 shortly after the opening of the field. In September 2010 the first pioneer users were presented, a total of 138 projects applied, only 19 were selected (Senatsverwaltung, 2010b). The pioneers selected introduced their projects to the public in May 2011. The second competition took place at the beginning of 2011, all projects that were submitted between May 2010 and before January 17 were evaluated at the end of March. By December 2010, they had already around 200 applications (Senatsverwaltung, 2010c). At the present time, there is no public information available about which projects were selected. On April 15th 2012, there will be a booth at the field with information about current pioneer projects.

In an interview Beate Profé⁹ (Appendix 1) from the Senate Department of Urban Development pointed out that there are currently 22 pioneer projects. Nevertheless, in the Tempelhofer Freiheit website only 16 are presented (See Table 8). From the 16 projects described on the website, 14 were announced in September 2010 (Senatsverwaltung, 2010b), arguably the remaining two, i.e. Lernort Natur and Steckdose Kreuzberg - SEGWAY rental, correspond to some

⁹ Head of Department for Urban Green and Open Space Planning in the Senate Department for Urban Development

of those selected in the second competition. From the 19 selected projects in September 2010, only 14 are currently active. One of these projects was an exhibition about the IBA (International Building Exhibition) organized by the Senate Department (Senatsverwaltung, 2010 a), arguably it was a short-term project and that is why it is not current anymore. Nevertheless, it is strange that the Senate Department reported this exhibition as one of the winners of such process, given that the Senate itself was the pioneer.

The range of pioneers is diverse, some are individuals or groups of friends, others are supported by organizations that have been working for many years such as workstation e.V., Freilandlabor Britz e.V., Jugger e.V., etc. Others are start-ups and commercial enterprises. This situation represented a challenge for the first group given that they needed to create a registered association (e.V., *eingetragener Verein*) in order to be able to sign the contract. Moreover, if they want to build something, they also need to get the construction permission (*baubescheinigung*) from the Building Department (*Bauamt*) which can take from 5 to 6 months.

About the urban garden projects, they are not allowed to plant directly in the field, they need to have flowerbeds. André Ruppert (Appendix 3) from Grün Berlin mentioned that “we don’t know exactly what is inside the soil in every square meter, during the Second World War a lot of bombs were thrown on the field and it can be very dangerous...This is a clear part of the contract, not to go inside of the grounds”. About the infrastructure in the field, there is no electricity or constant water provision.

Table 8. Pioneer projects currently active at the Tempelhofer Freiheit Field			
	Project	Pioneer	Activities
1. Columbiadamm			
1	Cultural Players@THF	Berliner Kunsthalle e.V.	Space for creative professionals to develop new games and sport activities.
2	Jugger	Jugger e.V.	Permanent training and contact point for Jugger players.
3	Nuture Mini Art Golf	Nuture-art e.V.	International artists are designing 18 mini art golf courses.
4	Stadtacker/ StattAcker	Albatros gGmbH	Exhibition on the themes of “urban farming,” “transition towns” and “permacultures”.
5	Wohlfühlschneise ("Feel-Good-Lane")	Integrale Medizin e.V.	Offer of services related with healthcare and prevention.
2. Oderstrasse			
6	Allmende-Kontor	workstation e.V. with urbanacker.net	Contact and networking site for anyone involved in community gardens and urban farming.
7	Grün macht Schule	Freilandlabor Britz e.V.	Development of environmental education programs and spaces for kids and young adults.
8	Vogelfreiheit	Freivogelheit GmbH	Granite skateboard sculpture.
9	Rübezahl Garten	Rübezahl e.V.	Community Garden
10	Schillerkiez Neighbourhood Garden	Gerhard Foß and Paul Decruppe	Networking site for resident to provide information on the various opportunities to influence the future development of the neighborhood.
11	Lernort Natur	Jugendwohnen im Kiez GmbH and Globale e.V.	This project gives children, parents, kindergartens and school groups the opportunity to better understand natural phenomena and to experiment and create with natural materials.
3. Tempelhofer Damm			
12	Arche Metropolis	Nama Rupa - Kunst für Geist & Körper e.V.	Art project in which people join together to find common solutions for future social communities.
13	basis.wissen.schafft	Katrin Schwahlen & Dany Krohne	International science shop, the goal is to support the dialogue between science and society.
14	Dingadu Unicycle School	Eywie Wolff	School for unicycles.
15	MD Mix05	Dipl.-Ing. Lilia Beier	This project provides learning games with the goal of teaching German grammar.
16	Steckdose Kreuzberg - SEGWAY rental	Steckdose Kreuzberg	Rent of segway.

Source: Own elaboration with information from Tempelhofer Freiheit (n.d. c) and Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung und Umwelt (2010 a)

The “*Erlebnisorientierter Spielplatz*” (“experience-oriented playground) project was the first place winner of the 2007 “Online Dialogue” competition. The “*Rettet den Granit*” (“Save the Granite”) initiative was launched in 2006 and has attempted to set up an inner-city site for granite sculpture. Both projects came together in 2010, now the project is called “Vogelfreiheit”. In interview the project manager Adam Sello (Appendix 9) mentioned that by integrating the legendary granite, which was taken from the outer area of Berlin’s former “Palace of the Republic” in 2006 with the special permission of Ingeborg Junge–Reyer, they aim for the aesthetic transformation of the entire site. This project does not share the same conditions as other pioneers; it is more a long term project. They are financially supported by the Government.

- **Socio-demographic Analysis of Participants**

In an interview (Appendix 5) Miren Artola, from Allmende-Kontor, mentioned they have registered a total of 700 people interested in the project. Nevertheless they have only around 300 flowerbeds. Regarding the procedure to get a flowerbed, it depends on availability; there are no criteria to choose. Even though there is still some free space, they want to have a community space where all can share their experiences. The members organizing the project are mainly German, but the participants are mixed. There is a small percentage of international members, most of them Europeans and few people with Turkish background. Artola mentioned that there are Turkish families that produce their own vegetables, they rarely communicate with other members. For the majority of the members the project is more like a hobby.

About Rübezahl, also a community garden project, Schaffitzel (Appendix 6) mentioned that they have more than 40 participants. They have some international members, but they do not look too much about this characteristic. It is not about integration, but about enjoying together the space. Given the nature of both urban gardening projects, which requires to be able to visit the place constantly, people come from the adjacent Districts, mainly from Neukölln.

Regarding the composition of participants in the Wohlfühlschneise ("Feel-Good-Lane"), Gesina Restel (Appendix 7) mentioned that the majority are adults around 30 to 60 years old. They come from various neighborhoods such as Schillerpromenade, Tegel, Charlottenburg. Most of them are German and there are some international members from South America, Ireland and Turkey.

In interview Ruben Wickenhäuser (Appendix 8) from Jugger e.V., a new sport with its origins in Berlin and Hamburg, mentioned that the target group are people interested in the sport, they have also approached schools and youth and recreational centers in the area. At Sundays, around 30 to 40 people take part of the games.

About the skateboard sculpture, Adam Sello from Vogelfreiheit project mentioned that participants are expected to be mostly children and young people. They expect around 50 people a day. Local and international professional skaters have already shown interest.

- **Results**

All of the pioneers interviewed find Tempelhof as a brilliant unique space: "Tempelhof is special, attractive, and sexy"; "It has a nice atmosphere and it is very visible to others"; "It is easy to create awareness about your project"; "perfect to interact with other people". This exposure is an incentive for the pioneers to fulfill their vision.

According to Sello, it has been difficult to keep up the motivation of all organizers given the long time that it has been taken to develop their project (build the sculpture). They won in 2007, they got their contract in 2010 and they will start building in summer 2012 once the public budget is authorized. It will take them only around 6 months to build the whole sculpture.

There were contradicting opinions about the transparency of the selection process. Pioneers also mentioned that at the beginning very often the requirements from the authorities changed. Now it is better, the communication with the agencies has improved. According to some pioneers, the formal

environment in which these projects are taking place prevent the growth of ideas in a fluent way, having to ask permission to initiate some project breaks the flow of activities. At the beginning they felt that the authorities were in a way blocking all of their plans, because they needed authorization for everything. Later some of them realized that officials were just trying to minimize risks of non-compliance of the rules they have to follow. Moreover, over time there has been a trust building between the project and the authorities.

According to Schaffitzel, they realized that the “authorities were acting in an experimental way, in which two things needed to be achieved: certainty that the rules will be followed on the one hand and flexibility to the pioneers to operate in their projects on the other”. Many mentioned that the work of Ines-Ulrike Rudolph from Tempelhof Projekt has been very good in bridging the gap between the pioneers and the administration; she has helped to build trust between them. Ines-Ulrike Rudolph is the first contact to the pioneers, therefore she gets first hand all of the conflicts and complaints related to the pioneers and tries to channel them to find a solution.

Schaffitzel mentioned that “being a regular pioneer is challenging (like those in the RAW-site); it requires vision, creativity, organizational skills. Having a set of rules about what you are allowed to do make the task easier. Somehow a common ground of following the rules has been created and none of the pioneers deviate from the established rules”.

About the external perception of pioneers in the field, Beate Profé from the Senate Department mentioned that even though pioneers projects have many advantages, not everyone wants to participate in these special forms. There are many people that want to make a “normal” use of the park. Moreover, there is a conflict given that having pioneers represents a border between the public and private use, for example, if they want to consume the vegetables they harvested. Nevertheless, it is not allowed to install fences, so all spaces remain public. Moreover, in an interview Ruppert from Grün Berlin mentioned that some people are complaining about why they are giving the right to use these areas to certain

people, therefore he considers that it is very important to communicate why they are doing this.

Also, some people say that pioneers do not really fit with the concept of the park. Nevertheless, it is important to take into account that “Franck and Stevens (2007) ...recognized that ‘messy’ environments are often the result of a strong social order not evident to outsiders” (Zagami, 2009).

- **Evaluation**

Actual participants are lay stakeholders, namely “unpaid citizens who have a deep interest in some public concern and thus are willing to invest substantial time and energy to represent and serve those who have similar interests or perspectives but choose not to participate” (Fung, 2006: 68). Pioneers are highly motivated citizens willing to go through all administrative and organization requirements to develop their projects. Moreover, they are capable to engage more people to participate in the projects they are organizing.

About the mode of communication and decision, it is one of aggregation and bargaining. Currently pioneers are not organize among them, the synergies happening have been mostly in the context of information meetings organized by Tempelhof Projekt. During the contract process, a lot of them were in contact to share experiences and results. Once they got the contract, they stopped having frequent meetings and focus more on their own projects. Some of them think collaborating with other pioneers will certainly offer promising possibilities in the future, but now they have to strengthen their own projects. Even though pioneers know what they want individually, still there is not a shared vision among them and arguably they do not have a strong influence or power. Nevertheless, authorities have been supporting them, for example in terms of the infrastructure needed, or in the communication of their activities to the public through the website or citizen events.

About the extent of authority and power, participants are embedded with great level of authority; it is a co-governance mechanism given that pioneers join with

authorities to develop strategies for public action. Even though there is a personal benefit from the pioneers in the sense that they get to develop their own project, they are also providing services to the public, services that the government is not providing by itself. Therefore, some kind of coproduction of services is taking place.

According to Ostrom (1995:1073), “coproduction is a process through which inputs from individuals who are not ‘in’ the same organization are transformed into goods and services”. There are many advantages that coproduction of public services bring along, for example citizens that had never undertaken collective action can be “empowered by the action of government officials to make real decisions and coproduce an urban service that is highly valued” (Ostrom, 1996:1078). Coproduction can also generate “social capital in the form of urban residents learning how to work with each other and with public agencies. This social capital becomes a potential asset to obtain other kinds of urban goods and services” (Ostrom, 1996:1082). Moreover, and especially important in the context of Berlin as a creative city: “Creative entrepreneurship is itself more likely in environments that encourage innovation and allow for a wide array of options in the organization of public service production”(Ostrom, 1996:1081).

A key element for the success of coproduction is the activation of local citizens to participate from the very start in the planning process, this already happened at Tempelhofer Freiheit. According to Ostrom, a coproduction system depends on three challenges: “(i) the organization of citizens and their fulfillment of promises to undertake collective action...(ii) good teamwork within a public agency..., and (iii) effective coordination between citizens and an agency” (Ostrom, 1996:1075).

Translating this to the case studied, pioneers need to be able to hold to the compromises undertaken by providing their services: distributing flowerbeds, organizing sport tournaments, promoting healthcare activities, providing spaces for skaters, among others. Second, given that many agencies are involved in the

development of the park, it is important to ensure that all share the main objectives regarding the urban pioneers. Finally, given the experimental nature of the urban pioneers there are still many aspects that need clarification; they will be discussed in the next section.

5.4.1 Ambivalent outcomes of the pioneer users approach

Project partners are using the event IGA 2017 as an instrument to concretize and accelerate the development of the parkland. Nevertheless criticism has been raised in the sense that this kind of event does not fit with the park concept: it will attract mainly old people, a lot of resources will be spent just for a short period of time, it breaks with the flow of the development of the park, and it does not give answers to the past participatory processes. This event affects directly to the pioneer projects, because the area where they are allocated is set to become part of the exhibition. Therefore, the pioneer contracts finish either in 2013 or 2016 depending on the pioneer field, and as said by the authorities only some tried-and-tested pioneers will be able to be reallocated.

There are two ambivalent outcomes from the strategy of pioneer users. Berlin has a long tradition with urban pioneers, in different sites of the city they have helped to reactivate spaces promoting the appropriation of the area and providing some kind of service to the community. Nevertheless this temporary uses have never been taken seriously in the long term development of the sites, rather just as a short term real estate strategy against fall in property value. The objective of the pioneers at Tempelhof is to create attractive offers for recreation and leisure use and implement new business, social and cultural ideas. Arguably, this will help to bring people to the site and make it attractive for further investments. Nevertheless, the way it is designed now it is considered as a temporary strategy.

On the other hand pioneers are also plan to become a model for participative urban development, meaning that pioneers will be considered in the long run. In Tempelhofer Freiheit is the first time that pioneers are being institutionalized through the concession of short term contracts. Arguably this institutionalization

can lead to the development of strong roots in the space, leading to conflicts once they are asked to move. Therefore authorities will face the challenge of developing the mechanism and criteria to include or exclude them in the future development of the park. If this is not addressed on time, it might lead to conflicts and blockades in the future.

The majority of the interviewed pioneers would like to be integrated into the concept of IGA 2017 and also for a longer period of time. For others the concept developed is only temporal, it is uncertain how the project will evolve. The current locations they have are privileged given their proximity with main entrances and public transport stops. In case of being considered for the long term, the process of reallocation will not be easy. Synergies between pioneers occurred mainly during the contract process, now they are focusing on their own projects. It is expected that if they need to join forces, they will and this time will not be only with a concept but hopefully with a tried-and-tested project.

This is an experimental approach of revitalization and interim use of public spaces. Project partners have been designing the strategy on an ongoing basis. They are aware of these possible outcomes, but they are also very flexible, just as the processual approach for the whole development of the Tempelhofer Freiheit, which enables them to react to changing future conditions.

Table 9. The Democracy Cube (Fung, 2006): Participatory processes at Tempelhofer Freiheit

Participation processes:		Online Dialogue 2007	Referendum 2008	Citizen participation 2009	Pioneers 2010-2011
a. Participant selection methods					
More Inclusive	Diffuse Public Sphere				
	Open, self-selection	X	X		
	Open, targeted recruiting				
	Random Selection			X	
	Lay Stakeholders				X
More Exclusive	Professional stakeholders				
	Elected representatives				

b. Modes of Communication and Decision					
Least intense	Listen as spectator				
	Express preferences		X	X	
	Develop preferences	X			
Most intense	Aggregate and bargain				X
	Deliberate and negotiate				
	Deploy technique and expertise				

c. Extent of Authority and Power					
Least Authority	Personal Benefits				
	Communicative Influence	X	X		
Most Authority	Advice and consult			X	
	Co-Governance				X
	Direct authority				

Source: Own elaboration, based in Fung, 2006.

6. Conclusions

Based on the literature review and the empirical case, it has been argued along the analysis that traditional mechanisms of participation have not proven successful because first, there is a bias in the participants, and second there is a lack of commitment from policy makers to implement the outcome of such processes. The different processes have been assessed according to the framework developed by Fung (2006), (See Table 9.)

The Online Dialogue 2007 and Referendum 2008 used participant methods of open, self-selection. Attempts to reach a better descriptive representation were implemented in 2009 through the Household Survey which used a random selection process. In the case of Pioneers, the strategy addresses Lay stakeholders, which are committed citizens willing to invest substantial time and energy to represent and serve others with the same interests.

Regarding the modes of communication and decision, in 2007 there were some modest forms of online deliberation by allowing them to comment and rate the ideas presented by citizens, this helped citizens to develop their preferences. The Referendum 2008 and Citizen participation 2009 allowed citizens mainly to express their preferences. The new strategy of project projects has been developed in a mode of aggregation and bargaining, by which pioneers present their wishes and needs and these are addressed by the authorities.

The participatory processes of 2007 and 2008 presented mainly a communicative influence regarding the extent of authority and Power. Participants aimed to influence authorities by mobilizing public opinion. The Citizen participation in 2009 represented a method of advice and consult where officials got input from citizens while preserving the authority. Finally, the Pioneers represent a form of co-governance, in which partnership between participants and officials to make plans and policies are taking place. Pioneers are acting as coproducers by offering attractive offers for recreation and leisure use and implement new business, social and cultural ideas.

There are two ambivalent outcomes from the strategy of pioneer users. Pioneers help to reactivate spaces, they have contributed to bring people to the site and make it attractive for further investments. Tempelhofer Freiheit is the first time that pioneers are being institutionalized through the concession of short term contracts. On the other hand pioneers are also plan to become a model for participative urban development, meaning that pioneers will be considered in the long run. Nevertheless, the way it is designed now it is considered as a temporary strategy. Arguably this institutionalization can lead to the development of strong roots in the space, leading to conflicts once they are asked to move. Therefore authorities will face the challenge of developing the mechanism and criteria to include or exclude them in the future development of the park. If this is not addressed on time, it might lead to conflicts and blockades in the future.

In interview with the project partners they agreed that citizens feel a gap in terms of participation between the Online Dialogue 2007 and now. The project partners are aiming to bridge this gap and they recently selected a new agency in charge to create a participatory approach and the implementation of specific measures in the frame of public participation. This is a signal of the commitment authorities have to continue including citizens in the decision making process.

Nevertheless, many of the outcomes of past participatory processes if not discarded, have been developed in a significantly slow manner. This might be related with the “processual” approach that has been used, a term referring to a gradual realization of the park enabling to react to changing future conditions. Arguably, it is not a coincidence that this approach is taken place in a context of a restricted financial situation of the State of Berlin on the one hand, and the polemic created around the development of the park on the other.

Many challenges in the development of Tempelhof are ahead for both authorities and citizens. The culture of citizen participation in Berlin coupled with the clear commitment of policy makers as well as selection of appropriate methods of participation will help to develop an integral park landscape addressing ideas, needs and wishes of citizens.

Appendixes

1. Beate Profé, Head of Department for Urban Green and Open Space Planning in the Senate Department for Urban Development and Environment
2. Martin Pallgen, Head of Communications & PR, Tempelhof Projekt GmbH
3. André Ruppert, Project Manager at Grün Berlin GmbH
4. Ares Kalandides, Managing Director INPOLIS
5. Miren Artola, Member and organizer from Allmende Kontor (Community Garden)
6. Burkhard Schaffitzel, Operator of the project Rübezahl e.V. (Community Garden)
7. Gesina Restel, Chief executive officer, Integrale Medizin e.V., Wohlfühlschneise ("Feel-Good-Lane")
8. Ruben Wickenhäuser, Press Officer Jugger e.V. (Sport)
9. Adam Sello, Project Manager Vogelfreiheit (Skateboard sculpture)

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Statement of Authorship

I hereby confirm and certify that this master thesis is my own work. All ideas and language of others are acknowledged in the text. All references and verbatim extracts are properly quoted and all other sources of information are specifically and clearly designated.

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