

Urban Planning by referendum:

Evaluating the outcome of the 2014 Tempelhofer Feld referendum in Berlin and exploring current visions on the Tempelhofer Feld.



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Summary

The Tempelhofer Feld is a former airport and now big urban void close to the center of Berlin. In 2014, a referendum has been held about the future of the area and a proposal of the local government to build parts of it was rejected.

The main research question is: *“How are different people and stakeholders currently dealing with the Tempelhofer Feld in Berlin and with the future of the site, after the referendum in 2014?”*

To research this, an interview with the organizers of the referendum has been conducted, as well as 50 surveys among citizens. Three quarter of the respondents think a referendum is a good way to involve citizens into urban planning processes. Besides a referendum there are many other tools to provide public participation. The government tries to provide public participation (is obliged to do so) to make sure that people can express their opinions and that the Feld will be an area that is being made in cooperation of people with the government. According to the survey, however, many people do not think the public participation is working. Besides this, the organization that started the referendum in 2014, 100% Tempelhofer Feld (TF100%), expresses concerns over the stance of the government: they argue that the government currently does not seem to have official plans for the area but that they will always try to find ways to eventually built on the Tempelhofer Feld. This thesis finds that many people like the Tempelhofer Feld the way it is and want it to remain a park. There is however a difference between people living close to the area or further away of it. The number of people that want development on the area is higher among citizens that live further away from the area.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Background

On May 25, 2014, a referendum has been held among citizens of Berlin over the future use of the former inner-city airport Tempelhof, located in the district Tempelhof-Schöneberg. The airport has been closed since 2008 and has, since that moment, almost been untouched. Today, the big green area is used as a park (Rossini, 2017). The Tempelhofer Feld is one of the many parks in Berlin, as well as the biggest. Berlin is one of the greenest cities in Europe: public green spaces and forests cover over 30% of its area (Kabisch & Haase, 2013).

Prior to the referendum in 2014, the local government of Berlin announced plans to develop the area. Plans were made to construct 4700 apartments, sports facilities and a library (Rossini, 2017; Kabisch & Haase, 2013). Housing was urgently needed in Berlin, because of the pressing situation on the housing market: there's not enough affordable housing. The housing crisis exists for multiple reasons, one of them being population growth. Additionally, Berlin has a large population in poverty that cannot afford high rents (Rossini, 2017). Kabisch & Haase (2013) argue that providing housing in growing cities is a challenge in urban planning.

These pressing issues, however, were not enough to stop the public from outvoting the plans: 64,3% rejected the plans (Landesabstimmungsleiterin für Berlin, 2014). There was a discrepancy between planners and citizens of the city, the plans to develop the area were made without involving the public (Riechers et al., 2016). In a first response to the referendum result, government officials, among which a senator of the Social Democratic Party, said to regret but respect the result. They stayed however worried about the housing problem (Berliner Morgenpost, 2014). Moreover, the local government already spent € 3,95 million on the cancelled project (Riechers et al. 2016).

In the referendum, also a new law had been approved upon: the THF-Gezetz (Tempelhofer Feld Law) (Rossini, 2017; 100% Tempelhofer Feld, 2018). This law prohibits all forms of building and professional and commercial development of the

area. Only some public amenities like sanitary services can be developed along the edges of the area (100% Tempelhofer Feld, 2018).

The masterplan was thus cancelled, and the new law restricts all parties from making future plans for the area. Problems surrounding the housing situation however remain. Also, opinions and interests of citizens and other stakeholders do. This makes this topic relevant to study. Existing literature focusses a lot on phases prior to referenda. There is a lack of research on long-term effects of referenda about planning issues. The focus in this research will therefore be more on the long-term. The aim of this research is to explore how the outcome of the referendum has impacted current and future plans and visions for the Tempelhofer Feld and how different stakeholders deal with the site today. The problem is that information and literature on current visions of different stakeholders in the Tempelhofer Feld area is missing. Is the discrepancy between visions of the government and citizens gone?

1.2 Research questions

The main research question is: *“How are different people and stakeholders currently dealing with the Tempelhofer Feld in Berlin and with the future of the site, after the referendum in 2014?”*

The following sub questions will be used to answer the main research question:

- 1.** What were the arguments and opinions of advocates and opponents of the government plans for the Tempelhofer Feld in 2014?
- 2.** How did the government react to the outcome of the referendum and how did planning principles change right after the referendum?
- 3. a.** What are, if any, the present government plans and visions for the Tempelhofer Feld and how does the government deal with the THF-Gesetz?
b. What are the present needs and visions of residents of Berlin and users of the Tempelhofer Feld for the area (do these needs and visions differ between groups of residents based on location)? - Do people regret the law because of for example unintended consequences?

c. How do these visions relate to the outcome of the 2014 referendum and are both parties getting closer to each other after this referendum?

1.3 Structure of the thesis

First, important concepts for the research will be discussed and visualized in a conceptual model in the chapter ‘Theoretical Framework’. Then, the organization of the fieldwork will be discussed. In the next chapter, the most important results of the research will be mentioned, visualized and analyzed. Subsequently, readers will find the concluding and reflecting chapter.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1 Literature review

In Berlin, there is a trend of democratization of urban politics and planning procedures (Kemp et al., 2015). This has been the result of more participation by citizens and recent neoliberal practices. Democratization is thus driven by both bottom-up as top-down forces. The referendum in 2014 is an example of democratization driven by bottom-up forces. Democratization is viewed as empowering and is making democracy more effective. According to Kemp et al. (2015), democratization of ‘city making’ gives residents an active role in urban planning and design. Michels (2011) also argues that participation of citizens into decision-making has a positive impact on the quality of democracy. Public participation is therefore often seen as important and valuable in democracies.

Public participation means involving citizens into planning processes. Public participation is important because planners and lawmakers are often unaware of desires and priorities of inhabitants (Riechers et al., 2016). This means that if citizens are not involved in planning and decision-making processes, it can lead to undesirable outcomes for them and have negative effects on them. This has clearly been the case with the Tempelhofer Feld (Rossini, 2017). Renn et al. state in their article that “citizens are potential victims and benefactors of proposed planning measures” (1993, p.189). This suggests that citizens themselves should be able to decide or evaluate on proposed planning measures based on their concerns and the impact of plans (Renn et al., 1993). The plans for the Tempelhofer Feld had an impact on citizens and eventually citizens expressed their concerns and disapproval in the referendum. Ashworth (2001) describes not being involved into planning processes as giving a feeling of powerlessness and exclusion. It is clear that the correct implementation of public participation empowers citizens and increases trust in authorities (Riechers et al., 2016). It gives a feeling of inclusion and gives citizens influence, and moreover increases the legitimacy of decisions (Michels, 2011).

The decision-making process should be transparent to assure that citizens know reasoning behind made decisions (Hassan et al., 2011). Engaging citizens and other

stakeholders into spatial planning processes can provide an exchange of information, knowledge and arguments, that will eventually improve the spatial planning process. It could lead to more agreement between planners and citizens and increases support for plans (Hassan et al., 2011). It is therefore important for fully-developed spatial planning systems to provide public involvement, consultation, representation and general public participation.

There are different participatory tools (Kemp et al., 2015; Michels, 2011; Rowe & Frewer, 2000). One of these is a referendum. Others are e.g. roundtable conversations, surveys and forums, where different stakeholders will come together to discuss and tackle issues together. Referenda are, according to Michels (2011), more suitable to involve many people into the decision-making process, the others, e.g. surveys and forums, are better for the promotion of the exchange of arguments.

In the case of the Tempelhofer Feld in Berlin, a referendum has been used as a tool to provide public participation (Rossini, 2017). Planning by referendum, however, does not exist. Plans cannot be made, existing plans can only be rejected or approved (Ashworth, 2001). This makes planning by referendum, according to Ashworth “unsatisfactorily negative” (2001, p.371). The result of the 2014 referendum also shows that, referring to Ashworth (2001), planning by referendum indeed does not exist: in the Tempelhofer Feld referendum no new plans were made, the masterplan was just rejected (Rossini, 2017). Ashworth argues this in his research after examining a referendum in Groningen. The Grote Markt, the city’s central square, needed renovations, the city council made a deal with private investors that came with conditions for financial support. This idea concerned many citizens and action groups. It led to a referendum in which the plans were overwhelmingly rejected with 81% of the votes (Ashworth, 2001). There thus was a discrepancy between ideas of the local coalition-government and urban planners and the desires and ideas of citizens of Groningen, just like in Berlin (Riechers et al., 2016).

Many positive points of public participation and its impact on democracy and citizens have been named so far. Elías & Alkadry (2011), however, argue that public participation is not good for the effectiveness of planning. They argue that there is indeed a need for democracy in planning, but that implementing this leads to a

decrease of the ability of a government to efficiently realize its objectives. More politics and public participation are thus contradictory to effectiveness (Elías & Alkadry, 2011). Also, it is hard to determine the quality the outcome of public participation (Rowe & Frewer, 2000)

It can be argued that that the amount of academics that praise public participation and their arguments that are in favor of public participation outnumber the criticism on public participation. It however does make a difference how public participation is implemented, since there are many different ways with different impacts (Michels, 2011; Kemp et al., 2015; Rowe & Frewer, 2000).

2.2 Conceptual model

If proposed plans are not in line with public opinions, it can lead to a demand for more public involvement. This could be achieved in different ways, one of these being a referendum. Implementation of these eventually lead to a new plan or a rejection/approval of the former plan.

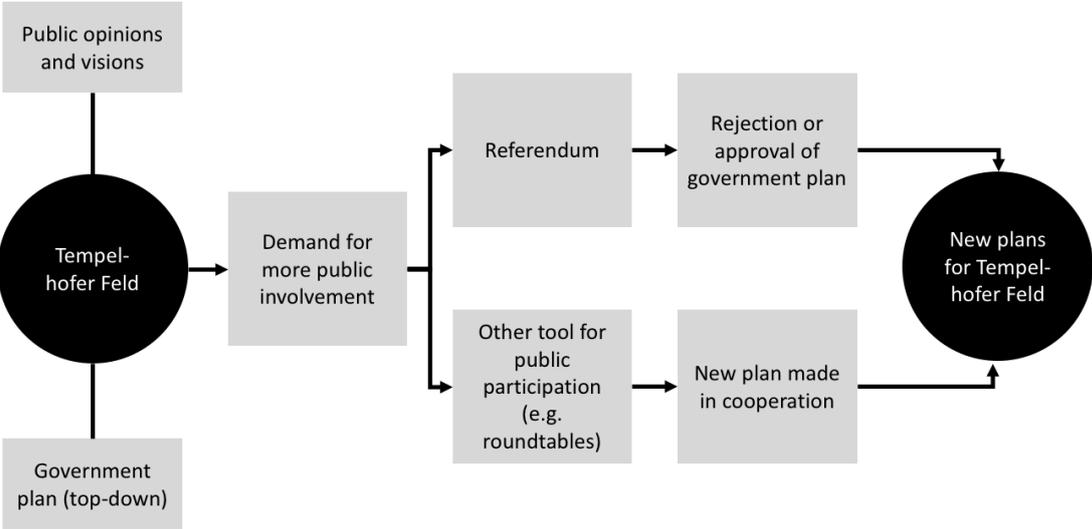


Figure 1: Conceptual model.

3. Organization of the fieldwork

Surveys were conducted, and qualitative data was gathered with an interview and with attending a meeting. Different research methods are thus used. This use of mixed-methods is called triangulation (Clifford et al., 2010). One of the reasons for this, is because multiple research methods can strengthen results. Another is simply that the different research methods are more suitable for answering different questions.

3.1 Surveys

Surveys are used to collect data in larger populations. For the research, viewpoints of citizens are necessary. It is better to collect these in surveys than in interviews. Berlin's population is big, meaning that only interviewing a handful of citizens won't be able to give a representative image of citizens' viewpoints. A survey among a bigger number of people will come closer to achieving this, since the quantity of respondents will be higher. Also, it is hard to find people that are willing to take part into longer interviews, compared to shorter surveys.

The survey consists of 13 questions. Of these, two are open questions that provide qualitative data, these questions are used to assess current visions of citizens and their opinion on public participation. Nine questions are closed questions that provide quantitative data, two additional questions ask for personal data of the participants (age and zip-code). The survey can be found in appendixes 1 and 2. The closed questions are used to gather general voting behavior data (2-6) that could be analyzed later. Questions 7-9 are used to see citizen's visions on the Feld as well as their opinion on referenda.

The surveys were deliberately not conducted on the Tempelhofer Feld itself, since it can be assumed that visitors of the area are more positive towards and engaged with it than average Berliners (distortion). The data collection took place on four predefined places, two close to the Feld and two further away. Conducting surveys on different locations throughout the city increases the chance to include participants from all over Berlin. This is important because all Berliners, regardless of how far away they lived from the Feld, could vote in 2014. By also taking the results of the referendum into

account (Landesabstimmungsleiterin für Berlin, 2014), a diverse set of locations has been defined. The first two (*CH* and *SW*) are far locations, the others (*TH* and *HP*) are close. The locations are visible in figure 2 and appendix 4.

Survey locations and the Tempelhofer Feld

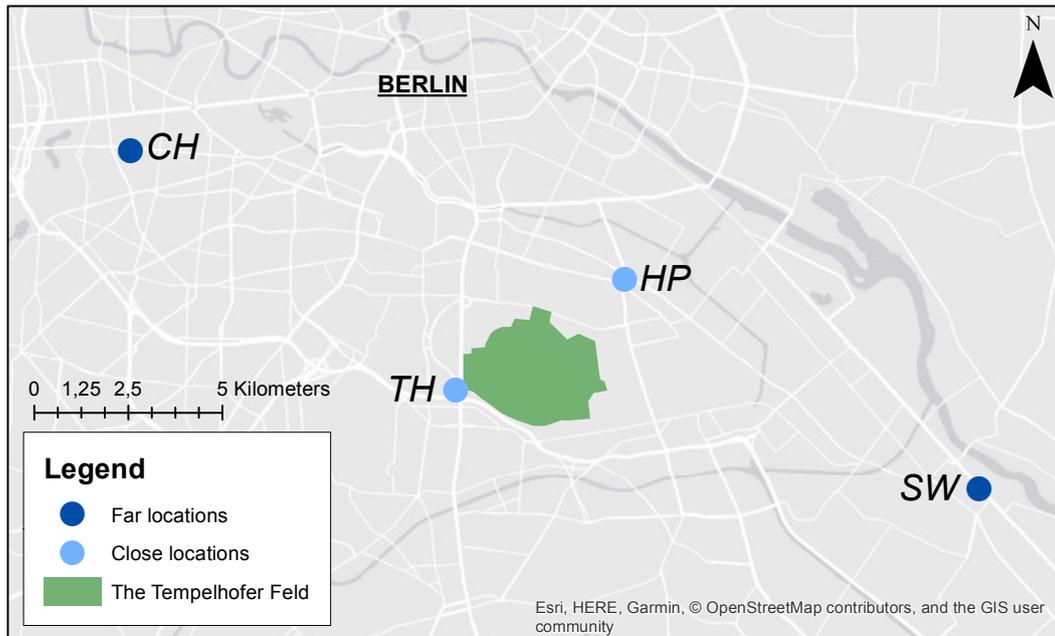


Figure 2: Survey locations in Berlin.

The fieldwork was done on six days in December 2018 and January 2019. People were randomly asked if they were willing to voluntarily participate in the research. All communication with participants was in German. It was hard finding participants; many people were in a hurry or not interested. 50 surveys have been collected. 25 on both the far and close locations. In the table (figure 3, next page), details about the survey collection are shown.

The surveys were filled out on paper. Some filled it out themselves, others let the researcher do it. Some, for example, couldn't read properly. What respondents said was written down and double checked to be sure they agreed.

Date	Loc.	#	Conditions
Thursday 6-12, afternoon	TH	7	Cold, cloudy and dry. Sun set early. Not busy on the streets.
Friday 7-12, all day	CH	15	Rainy and windy, not cold. Busy on the streets (Christmas market).
Monday 7-1, morning and afternoon	TH and HP	3 and 1	Very rainy. Not busy and busy.
Friday 11-1, afternoon	SW	6	Cold and rainy. Busy.
Saturday 19-1, morning and afternoon	SW	4	Sunny but very cold. Not busy.
Friday 25-1, morning and afternoon	HP	14	Very cold and snowing. Busy on the streets.

Figure 3: Survey collection.

3.2 Interviews and qualitative data

For understanding views of organizations and governments, the best way is to conduct interviews. Lots of information is likely to be found online, but to really understand and learn about the motives and reasons behind choices that have been made, in-depth interviews are helpful. In a survey, it's most of the time impossible to go in-depth. Qualitative techniques, like interviewing, emphasize quality, depth, richness and the necessary understanding. The interviews are semi-structured (Clifford et al., 2010) to be sure that the important questions will be asked but leaving room for gathering additional information.

In order to answer the research questions, it's important to have a government's perspective. It was unfortunately impossible to speak with the *Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung und Wohnen* (Senate Administration for Urban Development and Living) or the *Senatsverwaltung für Umwelt, Verkehr und Klimaschutz* (Senate Administration for Environment, Traffic and Climate Protection). A representative of the latter administration suggested to attend a *Feldkoordination* meeting. On January 9, 2019, the *Feldkoordination* took place. This meeting, which was in German, was a

way of seeing public participation implemented, during the meeting notes have been made.

The interview on January 16, 2019 was with the citizens organization 100% Tempelhofer Feld (TF100%), the initiators of the referendum and designers of the law. This interview guideline can be found in appendix 5. Additionally, Grün Berlin has been contacted, without positive results. The same goes for the Stadtentwicklungsamt (Urban Development Administration) of Tempelhof-Schöneberg. The interview questions for the latter can be found in appendix 6.

3.3 Data analysis

The interview with TF100% has been coded in ATLAS.ti with help of the research questions. The same software has been used to order and count answers on the open survey questions. All survey quotes that are used in this thesis are translated to English from German, the original language. The surveys are mainly analyzed using descriptive statistics in SPSS, the sample is relatively small and descriptive statistics are clear and understandable.

3.4 Ethics

All participants of the survey were informed about the goal of the research prior to participating in the survey. They were informed about the approximate time it would take and that they could refuse to answer questions. Not much personal data has been asked, by not asking too much personal data it is impossible to trace back who the participants are, which respects participants' privacy. No sensitive or controversial topics were covered in the survey. After the survey, there was time for criticism and the researcher listened patiently to what participants told. Many of these points relate back to what Hay (2010) writes about ethical practice in geographical research.

During the interview it was made sure that the participant knew the goal of the research and interview. The participant was asked whether they agreed with what was going to happen with the interview and that is was recorded for research purposes. The

possibility to refuse to answer questions or take back given answers was also mentioned. Names are not mentioned in this thesis.

The data of both the interviews and surveys is stored on the computer of the researcher and will not be spread for purposes other than this thesis.

4. Results

This chapter is divided into multiple paragraphs. Each paragraph relates to a research question or part of it, however the paragraphs are not literally named after them. The paragraphs follow the same order as the questions.

Results of the survey can be found in appendix 3.

4.1 Arguments in favor and against the masterplan in 2014

Since no interview with a government took place, there is no primary data on the motives to support the masterplan from the government's perspective. According to a representative of the Senate Administration for Environment, Traffic and Climate Protection, the masterplan is in the past and information regarding it has been deleted. The main reason, as explained by Rossini (2017), was however the need for housing in Berlin. The great urban void that the closure of Tempelhof Airport left behind was seen as an opportunity to develop in order to partly tackle the housing shortage.

A representative of TF100%, the initiators and organizers of the referendum, gave many reasons for opposition to the masterplan. One of the major reasons was that the masterplan was made without public participation before being presented. Not having public participation can lead to undesirable outcomes for citizens (Riechers et al., 2016). Ashworth (2001) describes not being involved into the planning process as a general feeling of powerlessness and exclusion. Other reasons for opposing the masterplan were the loss of a large green public space, the high costs of the plan and the lack of enough affordable housing in the plan.

4.2 Public participation post-referendum

The government's masterplan was outvoted in the referendum, the way the government looks at the Feld must be changed now. According to the representative of TF100%, the THF-Gesetz (law) states that the Berlin Senate is obliged to provide public participation with regards to the Feld. The establishment of a Feldkoordination is one of the tools, implemented after the referendum, to provide this public participation.

The Feldkoordination is a group of people discussing the Tempelhofer Feld and deciding about what to do with the area based the THF-law. On January 9, 2019, 16 members were present. Of them, many are citizens of Berlin who have been voted in this position (100% Tempelhofer Feld, 2019). Besides these citizens there are representatives from the Senate Administration for Environment, Traffic and Climate Protection and of Grün Berlin, which is responsible for maintenance of the Feld. At the meeting, various subjects in relation to the area were discussed. Topics were e.g. the cleanliness of the area, benches in the park, the interpretation of the THF-Gesetz, refugees, festivals and public participation. Besides the members of the Feldkoordination, a handful of citizens were in the audience. They were encouraged to join discussions, many did so. In contrast to the members of the Feldkoordination, the audience doesn't have the right to decide (vote) about topics.

The implementation of this public participation is according to TF100% something new that has not happened like this before. Because of this it is a learning process. The following quote is from the representative, interviewed on January 16.

“We know that there will be successes and setbacks [...] participation is a learning process that has to happen. [...] All over the world people are really demanding public participation. Future politics have to be open to be successful. That is the lesson of the Tempelhofer Feld referendum.”

The results in figure 4 can show different things. One is, for example, that public participation is indeed a learning process and that it is not yet working the way it should in order to satisfy citizens. This could mean that the Feldkoordination, the current form of public participation surrounding the Tempelhofer Feld, is not working for citizens of Berlin. A 49-year old participant says for example:

“I often do not participate because I do not feel I can influence anything”

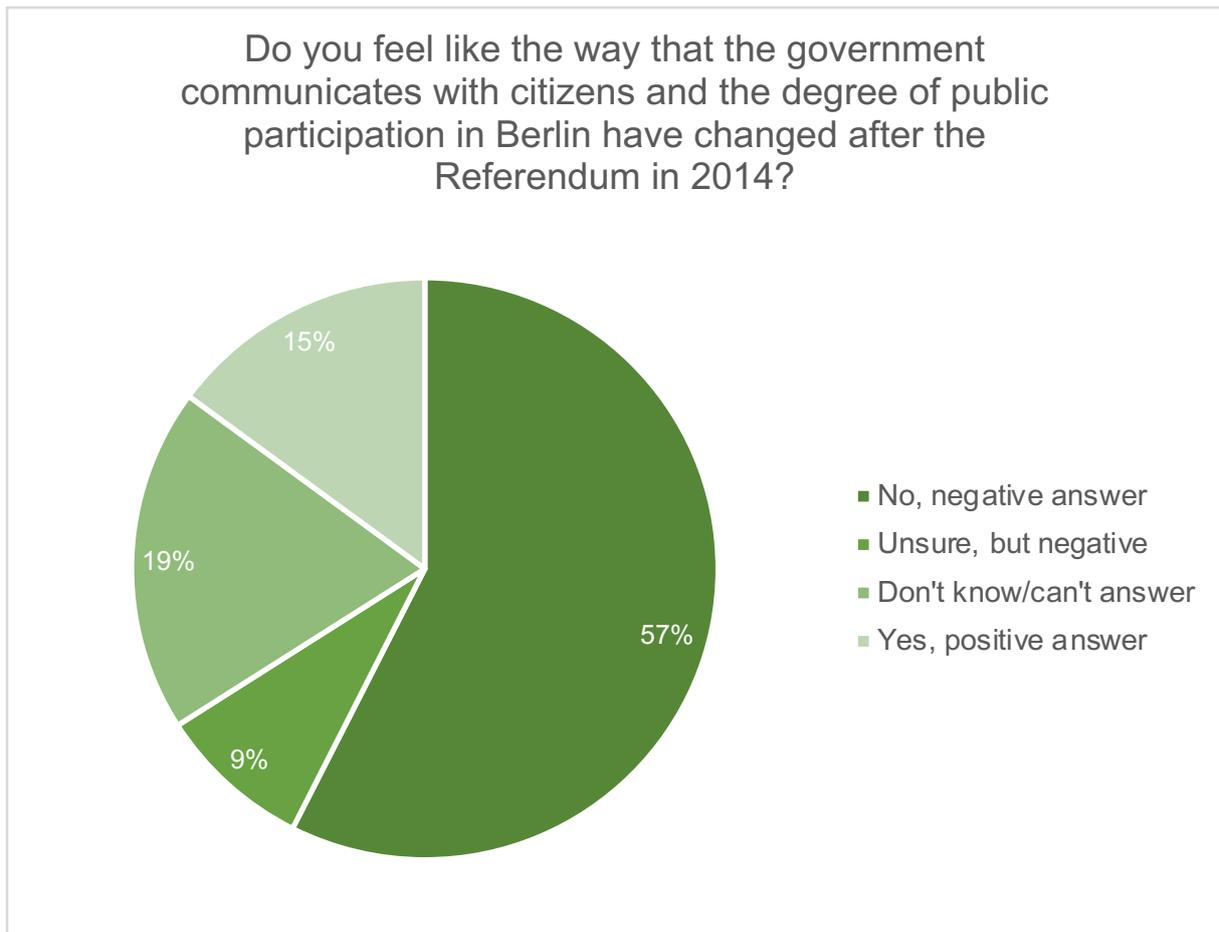


Figure 4: Answers on survey question 10.

Something else that the survey could show it that people are not aware of existing public participation. At the meeting of the Feldkoordination it was visible that citizens are given a tool to participate, one can attend these meetings and discuss actively. However, if people are not aware of this, and thus probably not informed enough, they can have the feeling that public participation is not working or improving. This may indicate that the problem is not with the public participation but with information and communication.

The problem with the satisfaction with public participation can be illustrated with a quote of a 23-year old participant:

"Unfortunately, public participation in such matters is still very low. Many citizens are very uninterested in their environment and their city."

This shows that some people are simply not interested and therefore also give more negative answers on question 10.

According to literature, public participation is important and a lack of this can have negative effects on citizens (Ashworth, 2001; Riechers et al., 2016). Riechers et al. (2016) state that it is clear that the correct implementation of public participation empowers citizens and increases trust in authorities. Looking at the survey, it can be said that in the case of the post-referendum Tempelhofer Feld, there is no correct implementation of public participation.

That public participation is not correctly implemented or not implemented at all in the case of post-referendum Tempelhofer Feld is confirmed in the interview. The law was modified in 2015, without public participation, to be able to build refugee-housing on parts of the Feld. The change is temporary and will be reversed in December 2019, but it shows that the senate still not always implements public participation. This relates to a quote of a 23-year old respondent:

"The Berlin Senate does not consider the results of the referendum."

4.3 Current visions of the government on the Tempelhofer Feld

The Senate Administration for Environment, Traffic and Climate Protection has made the organization Grün Berlin responsible for the development and maintenance of the Tempelhofer Feld. The view of Grün Berlin for the Feld is to maintain the park-character that is has today, keep the Feld open for citizens and develop it as a green public space in cooperation with the Feldkoordination (Grün Berlin, 2019). Ideas for the Feld are thus made and discussed in the Feldkoordination. The senate expresses their visions here but does not have the sole right to just implement what they want. An exception is the refugee-housing on the Feld. This was deemed necessary by the senate, so the law was changed.

This caused lots of criticism, among which from the side of TF100%. The interviewed representative argues that many people within TH100% think the housing of refugees is a first step in eventually allowing construction on the Feld. According to them, this

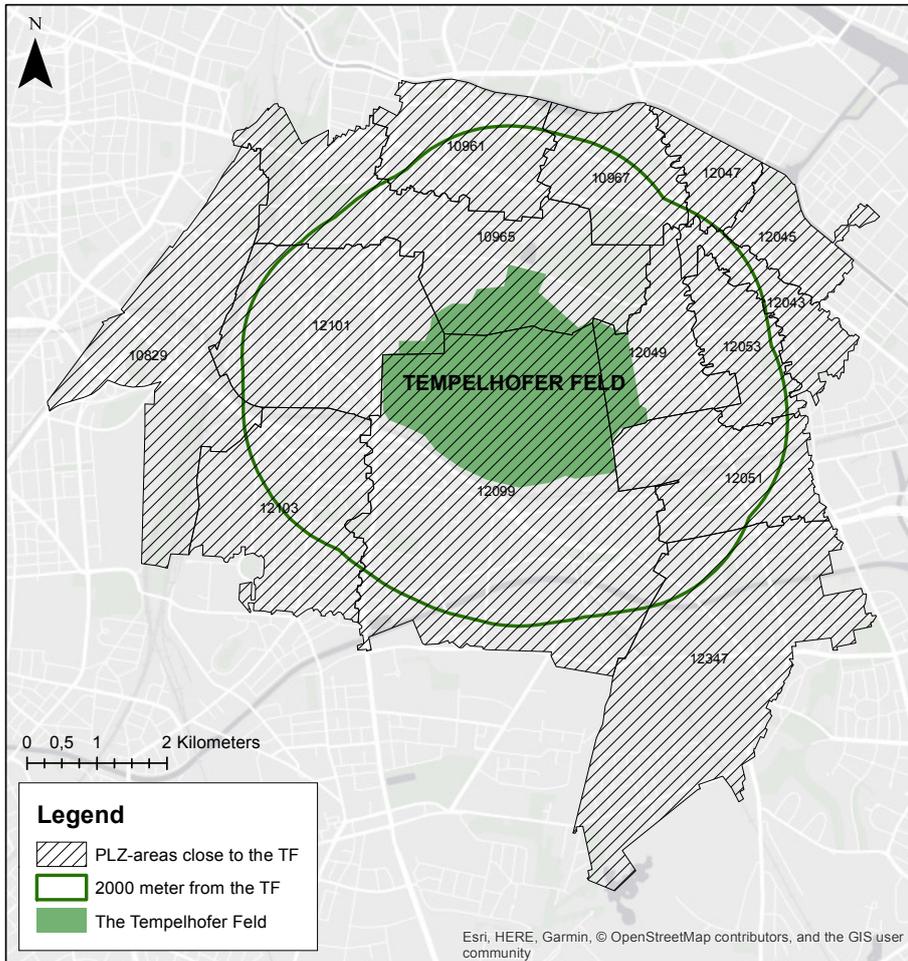
is an “attack” on the Feld by the social-democratic party, which is accused of working against the citizens and having an agenda to allow construction on the Feld.

At the time of writing, the main plan for the development of the field is to place benches along the edges of the Feld and to organize events. It is currently discussed in the Feldkoordination.

4.4 The aspect of location and proximity

The participants can be classified into two groups: those living close to the Tempelhofer Feld and further away from it. On figure 5, zip-code areas that are close to the Feld are shown. These have been chosen by drawing a buffer of 2 kilometers around the Feld. An average adult, walking a normal pace, walks 4,8 km/h (Waters et al., 1988). This means that a distance of 2 kilometers could comfortably be walked within half an hour. It can be argued that this is close in a big city like Berlin, especially since the Tempelhofer Feld is well-connected within the city through underground trains (S-Bahn Berlin, 2019). All zip-code areas that fall partly within this buffer are classified as being close to the Feld.

Postal codes close to the Tempelhofer Feld



List of close PLZ-areas:

10829; 10961; 10965; 10967; 12043; 12045; 12047; 12049; 12051; 12053; 12099; 12101; 12103; 12347

Figure 5: Zip-codes close to the Tempelhofer Feld.

4.5 Current visions of citizens on the Tempelhofer Feld

50 participants provide 50 different visions and outcomes. The visions will be grouped into two groups: 1) keep the Tempelhofer Feld open for citizens and keep it the way it is right now or improve the green public space; and 2) building activity, either on the entire area or along the edges, other large-scale developments. Results of survey question 11 are visualized in figure 6.

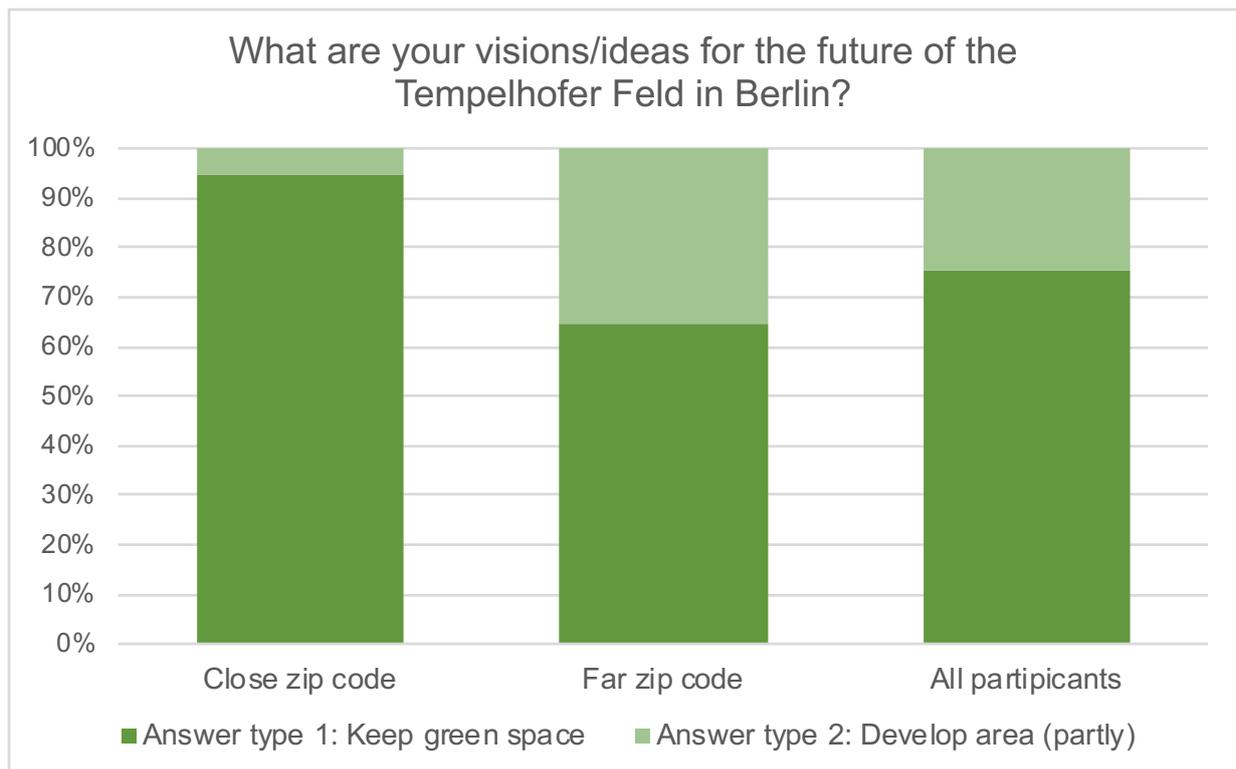


Figure 6: Answers on survey question.

A quote of a 45-year old inhabitant of zip-code area 12049 summarizes the general vision of people living close to the area:

“They should just leave it [Tempelhofer Feld] alone. The emptiness is what’s important.”

A 29-year old inhabitant of zip-code area 10961 says the same:

“No residential development. A place for everyone!”

For people living further away, the image is more mixed. Using the same two codes to group the visions of residents, about a third of them would like to see the area built with houses or other large-scale developments, entirely or partly. However still, most people think of keeping the area the way it is or want to improve it as a public park-like space.

A quote from a 50-year old participant from zip-code area 12439 shows the visions of a significant number of participants that live further from the Feld:

“I’d like to see it partly built. [...] The area is big enough for both: buildings and green.”

But, as mentioned before, also within this group, most want to keep the area an open green space. A quote from a 55-year old participant from zip-code area 13469 illustrates this:

“Should stay the way it is. Free time activities and possibilities for all.”

It can thus be seen that visions of citizens differ slightly when comparing visions of people living close to and further away from the Feld. Almost all participants close to the Feld want it to stay the way it is. Most people living further away from the Feld share this vision, but there is a small group (about one third) that wants the area to be built.

The survey also assessed the degree to what the respondents are satisfied with the Tempelhofer Feld today. In question 9, participants were asked to choose on a scale from 1 to 5, with 1 meaning ‘totally agree’ and 5 ‘totally disagree’. Figure 7 shows the results.

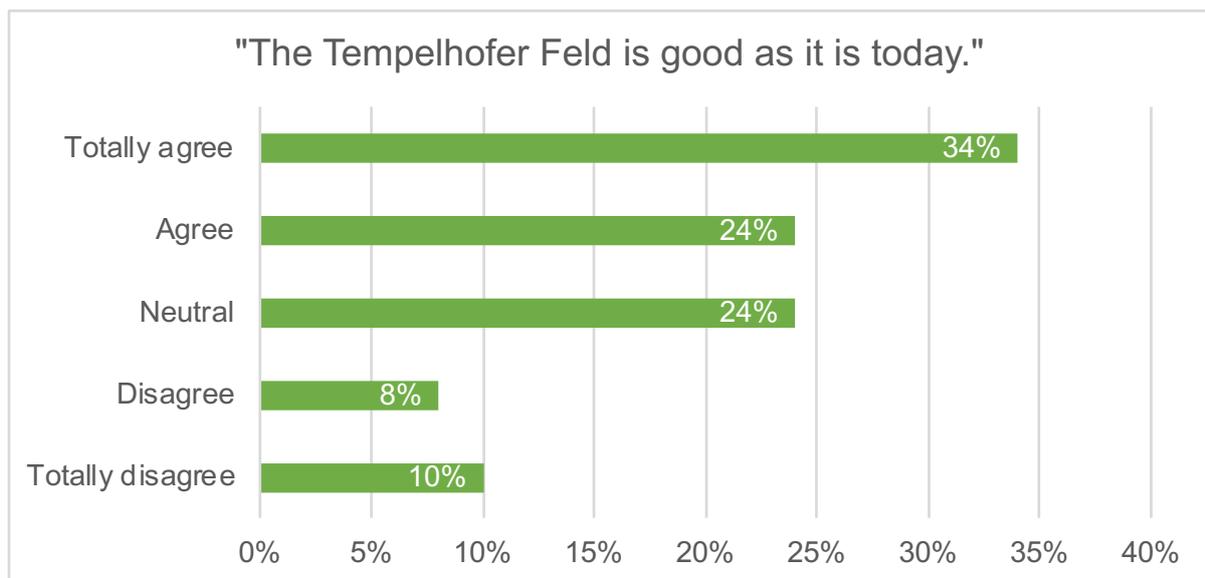


Figure 7: Answers on survey question 9.

The graph adds to the answers given on question 11, that made clear that most participants are satisfied with the Feld. This graph confirms this and shows that indeed most people (82%) are satisfied or neutral with the Feld. The low number (18%) of negative feelings about the Feld corresponds with the relatively low number of people stating that they prefer building development on the area.

The current vision of TF100% is mainly to keep protecting the area and promote the area so that future generations will like it and protect it as well.

4.6 Voting behavior

In the referendum, 46,1% of all voters voted. In the sample this was 64%. Of the voters, 59,3% voted against the masterplan, in the sample this about 80%. In favor of the THF-Gesetz (law) were in the referendum and the sample respectively 64,3% and over 80% (see appendixes 8 and 9). This shows that participants of the sample showed up at the polling stations above average and voted a bit more 'extreme', the outcome however would've been the same: no to the masterplan; yes to the law.

In the sample, there is no significant difference between people living close to or far from the Tempelhofer Feld when it comes to whether they have voted in the referendum in 2014 or not. This can be concluded after performing a chi-square test between 'zip-code' (close/far) and 'did you vote?' (yes/no). This test can be performed here. The 2-sided significance level is above 5% and therefore the tested zero hypothesis is accepted, which states that there is no difference in 'did you vote?' (yes/no) between the two groups of people living close or far. For the SPSS output, see appendix 7.

4.7 Referendum as a tool for public participation

According to Kemp et al. (2015), there are many tools to provide public participation. One is a referendum. The participants of the survey were asked what they think of using of referendum as a participatory tool: 37 out of 50 (74%) participants believe a referendum helps involving citizens into urban planning processes, 14% think this is not the case. Another question asked whether having a referendum will lead to better

outcomes for citizens, since Riechers et al. (2016) state that not having public participation leads to worse outcomes for citizens. Less people, but still a majority, seem to think this is the case, 29 out of 50 (58%). 20% think that a referendum won't make planning outcomes better for citizens.

4.8 Synthesis

Are citizens and the government getting closer to each other after the referendum? Both parties did not have the same ideas prior to the referendum. Today, with the implementation of public participation (Feldkoordination), one can expect that both come closer to one another. However, many citizens don't think that public participation as it is implemented today is sufficient (Q10). Officially, the government does not have plans for the area other than keeping it a public green space (Grün Berlin, 2019), the law makes this difficult. There are however signs that they do have plans, with for example refugee housing as a first step (representative 100% Tempelhofer Feld). Also, citizens have many different visions for the Feld (Q11). Keeping the Feld the way it is, is most prevalent, but it's hard to speak of citizens as having one common vision. Therefore, it seems hard to say whether both parties are getting closer, but at least steps are made within the Feldkoordination to listen to each other, because both citizens as the responsible Senate Administration are represented.

5. Conclusions

5.1 Referendum and public participation

This thesis explores visions of different people and organizations on the Tempelhofer Feld after the referendum in 2014 and how the outcome of the referendum in 2014 has impacted these visions. This referendum had a big impact: a masterplan to develop the area as residential area, proposed by the Senate of Berlin, was outvoted and a law to protect the area, introduced by the citizens organization TF100%, was approved (Rossini, 2017).

Public participation is important, planners and lawmakers are often unaware of citizens' desires and priorities (Riechers et al., 2016). If citizens aren't involved in planning and decision-making processes, it can lead to undesirable outcomes for them (Renn et al., 1993). An example is the masterplan for the Tempelhofer Feld, this was made without public participation, which caused dissatisfaction and demand for public participation. With the referendum, citizens eventually decided on it. The main argument for building the area was the housing crisis in Berlin (Rossini, 2017). The arguments for preserving the area were diverse. According to the representative of TF100%, the main reason was the lack of public participation and information in developing the Masterplan.

According to the law that was approved upon in the referendum, citizens should be involved in all decisions that are made regarding the area. To achieve this, the Feldkoordination was established in 2016: citizens and government representatives come together each month to discuss the area, make plans and interpret the law. According to literature, correct implementation of public participation empowers citizens and increases trust in authorities (Riechers et al., 2016). It can however be questioned whether this form of public participation (the Feldkoordination) is the correct one. In the survey, it became clear that only 14% think something has changed after the referendum and that the public participation is good.

According to literature, public participation is empowering and beneficial for citizens (Michels, 2011; Riechers et al., 2016). This research finds other results. The public

participation that implemented right now (Feldkoordination) is not seen as good and is not appreciated. This can be seen as contradictory to the literature but doesn't have to. It could be argued that the form of public participation here, is not the right one, but that people do not necessarily disclaim the value of public participation, as argued by different academics.

A referendum is seen as a good tool for urban planning by most respondents. Ashworth (2001) however states the opposite. He argues that a referendum doesn't help with urban planning because no new plans can be made. An explanation for this difference between the literature and the results, can be a different understanding of urban planning. Ashworth sees this as the making of new plans, respondents probably also see outvoting a proposed plan as urban planning. Here, indeed, no new plan is made but respondents also see this as planning.

5.2 Visions

The visions of citizens on the future of the Feld differ. Most people want it to remain a green open area. Other people have visions that look more like the plans of the government before 2014: building the area (partly). Interesting to notice is that of all participants that live close to the Tempelhofer Feld, only one wants the area to be built on. Of people living further away, the percentage is higher, but still a minority.

The government cannot make plans by themselves right now, since they are obliged to comply with the law. The Senate Administration for Environment, Traffic and Climate Protection made the organization Grün Berlin responsible for the development and maintenance of the Feld. Their view is to maintain the area as it is: keep the Feld open for citizens and develop it as a green public space in cooperation with the Feldkoordination (Grün Berlin, 2019). The interviewed representative of TF100% however also argued that some people (e.g. members of that organization) don't trust the ones in charge of public participation. They see the changes to the law in 2015 (temporarily allow refugee housing) as an example of the continuing threat from the government to develop the Feld.

It is hard to say whether the government and citizens, are getting closer to each other in their visions for the area after 2014. Steps are made within the Feldkoordination to cooperate and listen to each other. The Feldkoordination could thus be a vehicle to come closer. Important note however is that many people are not satisfied with the public participation, don't know about it or are not interested.

5.3 Concluding paragraph

The main question that is tried to be answered in this thesis is: *“How are different people and stakeholders currently dealing with the Tempelhofer Feld in Berlin and with the future of the site, after the referendum in 2014?”* It can be argued that it has become clear that all different people and organizations remain to have different visions for the future of the area after 2014. What binds all of them, however, is the law that provides a framework for participation and how to deal with the Tempelhofer Feld.

5.4 Reflection

The case of the Tempelhofer Feld referendum is important to study, others can learn from it and use good parts of the process. This case shows the importance of open democracy, but this thesis also tells that there has to be made sure that after a referendum the public participation remains. Here, it's tried with the Feldkoordination, this however does not lead to a feeling of more or better public participation among most citizens. This shows that choosing the right tool to implement public participation is important. The Tempelhofer Feld and other cases can learn from each other.

Critical reflection on this research is needed. E.g. lacking an interview with a government makes the results weaker. It is important for a research that tries to cover multiple perspectives and visions to also have a clear picture of the government's perspective. This has now been done using alternative sources. Another point of critique is the sampling method: going out on the streets won't cover the population. Many people don't want to help and only the more enthusiastic or active persons are reached (explaining the sample's higher voter turnout than average). The sample is

also small. The mean age of the participants is high, almost 50 years, which is not the case in Berlin.

I would recommend other researchers on the topic to focus more on the public participation after the referendum. Many people are not satisfied with this and this could and should be improved. This can be possible if further research is done on how to reach satisfaction in this case.

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Appendixes

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Appendix 1: Survey in English



Survey for citizens of Berlin about the Tempelhofer Feld

- How often do you visit the Tempelhofer Feld?
 - Never
 - One time per year
 - 2-10 times per year
 - 1-4 times per month
 - Multiple times per week
- Did you vote in the Tempelhofer Feld referendum in 2014?
 - Yes
 - No, reason: _____

If answer is no, proceed to question 7

- Did you in favor or against the masterplan?
 - In favor of the masterplan
 - Against the masterplan
 - I can't remember what I voted for/prefer not to answer
- Did you vote in favor or against the THF-Gesetz (law)?
 - In favor of the THF-Gesetz (law)
 - Against the THF-Gesetz (law)
 - I can't remember what I voted for/prefer not to answer
- Did you know about the masterplan for the Tempelhofer Feld before voting in 2014?
 - Yes
 - No
- Did you know about the THF-Gezetz (law) before voting in 2014?
 - Yes
 - No

I will present three statements now. I will ask you to select the degree in which you agree with that statement on a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 being 'totally agree' and 5 being 'totally disagree'.

- "A referendum helps to involve citizens into urban planning processes."

	1	2	3	4	5	
Totally agree						Totally disagree
- "A referendum makes planning outcomes/results better for the citizens."

	1	2	3	4	5	
Totally agree						Totally disagree
- "The Tempelhofer Feld is good as it is today."

	1	2	3	4	5	
Totally agree						Totally disagree

The next questions are open questions. The answers do not necessarily have to be long.

- Do you feel like the way that the government communicates with citizens and the degree of public participation in Berlin have changed after the Referendum in 2014?

- What are your visions/ideas for the future of the Tempelhofer Feld in Berlin? (short answer)

- Where in Berlin do you live? (ZIP CODE)

- Age

Thank you very much for participating in this survey! You have helped me a lot.

Appendix 2: Survey in German

Umfrage über das Tempelhofer Feld



1. Wie oft besuchen Sie das Tempelhofer Feld?
 - Nie
 - Einmal pro Jahr
 - 2 bis 10-mal pro Jahr
 - 1 bis 4-mal pro Monat
 - Mehrmals pro Woche
2. Haben Sie 2014 beim Tempelhofer Feld-Referendum abgestimmt?
 - Ja
 - Nein, weil: _____

Wenn die Antwort nein ist: weiter mit Frage 7.
3. Haben Sie zugunsten oder gegen den Masterplan gestimmt?
 - Zugunsten des Masterplans
 - Gegen den Masterplan
 - Ich kann mich nicht erinnern, wofür ich gestimmt habe / Ich möchte nicht antworten
4. Haben Sie zugunsten oder gegen das THF-Gesetz gestimmt?
 - Zugunsten des THF-Gesetzes
 - Gegen das THF-Gesetz
 - Ich kann mich nicht erinnern, wofür ich gestimmt habe / Ich möchte nicht antworten
5. Kannten Sie den Masterplan schon bevor Sie am Referendum 2014 teilgenommen haben?
 - Ja
 - Nein
6. Kannten Sie das THF-Gesetz schon bevor Sie am Referendum 2014 teilgenommen haben?
 - Ja
 - Nein

Ich werde jetzt drei Aussagen machen. Inwieweit stimmen Sie diesen Aussagen auf einer Skala von 1 bis 5 zu bzw. nicht zu, wobei 1 „Trifft völlig zu“ und 5 „Trifft überhaupt nicht zu“ bedeutet?

7. „Ein Referendum hilft, Bürger in städtebauliche Prozesse einzubinden.“

	1	2	3	4	5
	Trifft völlig zu				
	Trifft überhaupt nicht zu				
8. „Ein Referendum verbessert die Planungsergebnisse/das Ergebnisse für die Bürger.“

	1	2	3	4	5
	Trifft völlig zu				
	Trifft überhaupt nicht zu				
9. „Das Tempelhofer Feld ist gut so, wie es jetzt ist.“

	1	2	3	4	5
	Trifft völlig zu				
	Trifft überhaupt nicht zu				

Die nächsten Fragen sind offene Fragen. Die Antworten müssen nicht unbedingt lang sein.

10. Finden Sie, dass sich nach dem Referendum im Jahr 2014 etwas in der Art und Weise, wie der Berliner Senat Projekte mit den Bürgern kommuniziert sowie an der öffentlichen Bürgerbeteiligung in Berlin, etwas verändert hat?

11. Was sind Ihre Visionen und Ideen für die Zukunft des Tempelhofer Feldes in Berlin? (Kurze Antwort)

12. Wo in Berlin wohnen Sie? (Postleitzahl)

--	--	--	--

13. Alter

--

Vielen Dank für Ihre Teilnahme an dieser Umfrage! Sie haben mir sehr geholfen.

Appendix 4: Survey locations

The locations where surveys have been collected are shown in the text in figure 2, the following location are on the map:

- *CH* = Near S-Bahn station Charlottenburg (Wilmerdorferstraße)
- *SW* = Near shopping center Zentrum Schöneweide
- *TH* = Near S+U Bahn station Tempelhof (also one of the entrances to the Tempelhofer Feld)
- *HP* = Around market square Hermannplatz

Appendix 5: Interview guideline 100% Tempelhofer Feld

The questions:

1. What was your role (personally and the organization) in the referendum in 2014?
2. How did 100% Tempelhofer Feld react on the results of the referendum?
3. Do you feel like something has changed after the referendum (e.g. relations between planners and citizens in general and in the case of the Tempelhofer Feld; role of different stakeholders; communication of government plans)?
4. What do you think of using a referendum as 'tool' for urban planning in the case of the Tempelhofer Feld?
5. What are the current visions of your organization when it comes to the area (how do you see the future)?
6. How do you deal with the THF-Gesetz, is it restricting?
7. What would you have done differently if you look back on the referendum?

Appendix 6: Questions for the Stadtentwicklungsamt Tempelhof-Schöneberg

Die Fragen:

1. Denken Sie, dass die Bürger ausreichend an der Erstellung des Masterplans (Bebauung des Feldes) beteiligt waren? Wie waren die Bürger beteiligt und informiert?
2. Wie haben Sie als Regierung/Verwaltung/Behörde/Bezirk auf das Ergebnis des Referendums reagiert?
3. Was halten Sie davon, ein Referendum für Städtebauliche Prozesse einzusetzen?
4. Hat sich nach dem Referendum im Jahr 2014 etwas verändert in der Art und Weise wie der Senat/Bezirk mit den Bürgern kommuniziert sowie an der öffentlichen Bürgerbeteiligung?
5. Was sind ihre aktuellen Visionen und Ideen für das Tempelhofer Feld?

Appendix 7: SPSS output chi-square test

Case Processing Summary

	Valid		Cases Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Did you vote? * PLZ	50	100,0%	0	0,0%	50	100,0%

Did you vote? * PLZ Crosstabulation

Count

		PLZ		Total
		Far PLZ	Close PLZ	
Did you vote?	Yes	17	15	32
	No	10	8	18
Total		27	23	50

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	,027 ^a	1	,869		
Continuity Correction ^b	,000	1	1,000		
Likelihood Ratio	,027	1	,868		
Fisher's Exact Test				1,000	,552
Linear-by-Linear Association	,027	1	,870		
N of Valid Cases	50				

a. 0 cells (0,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 8,28.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Appendix 8: Voting behavior participants

Did you vote?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	32	64,0	64,0	64,0
	No	18	36,0	36,0	100,0
	Total	50	100,0	100,0	

THF-law: Voted against or in favor?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Against the law	5	10,0	18,5	18,5
	In favor of the law	22	44,0	81,5	100,0
	Total	27	54,0	100,0	
Missing	System	23	46,0		
	Total	50	100,0		

Masterplan: Voted against or in favor?

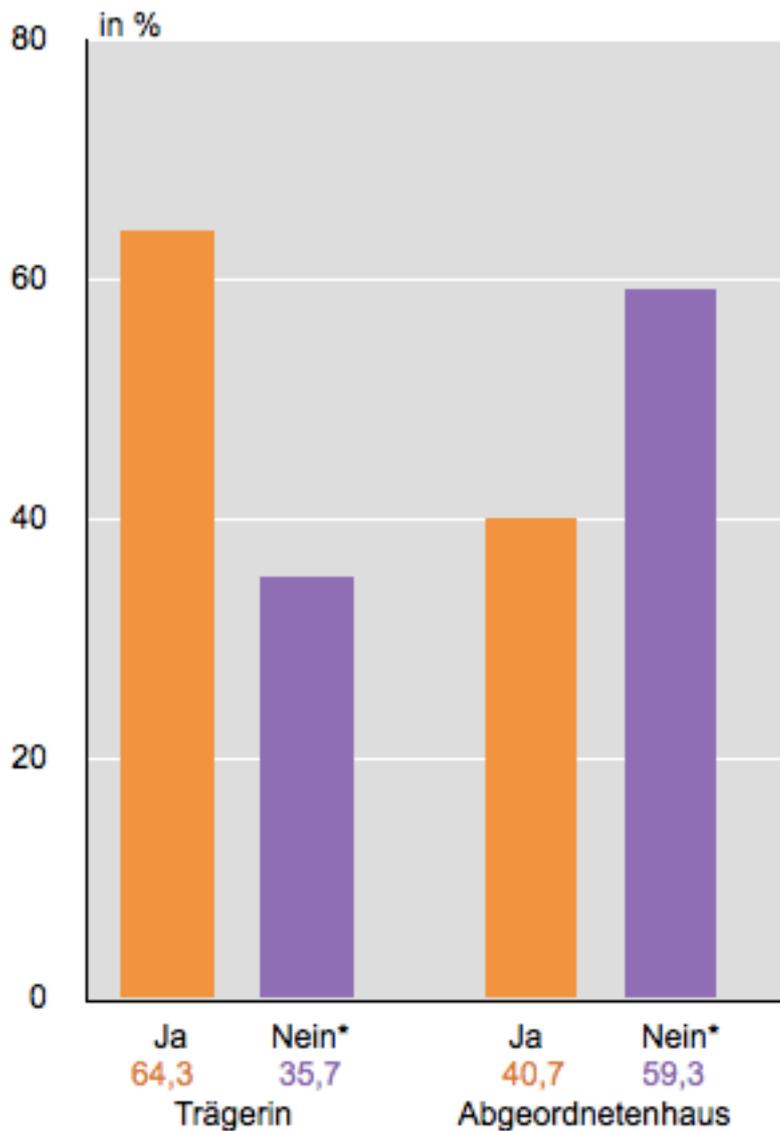
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Against the MP	22	44,0	78,6	78,6
	In favor of the MP	6	12,0	21,4	100,0
	Total	28	56,0	100,0	
Missing	System	22	44,0		
	Total	50	100,0		

Appendix 9: Official result Tempelhofer Feld referendum 2014

Zustimmung zum Gesetzentwurf der Trägerin/ des Abgeordnetenhauses in Prozent der Teilnehmer

Berlin

Engültiges Ergebnis



Turnout: 46,1%

Trägerin = THF-Gesetz (law)

Abgeordnetenhaus = Masterplan

Source: https://www.wahlen-berlin.de/Abstimmungen/VE2014_TFeld/Ergebnisprozent.asp?sel1=6053&sel2=0798