

**TECHNICAL  
NOTE N° 6**

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**COMPARATIVE  
ANALYSIS OF  
TRANSPORT  
POLICY  
PROCESSES**

**BERLIN**

**CREATE PROJECT**

**Congestion Reduction in Europe,  
Advancing Transport Efficiency**

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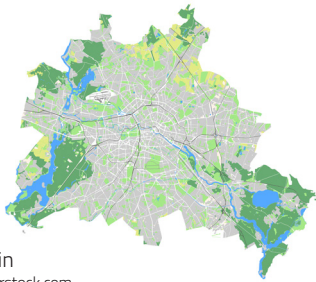


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## THE CREATE PROJECT IN BRIEF

Transport and mobility issues have increased in relevance on political agendas in parallel with the growing share of EU population living in cities, urban sprawl and climate change. In view of the negative effects of car use, there is a renewed interest about the role that transport should play in the sustainable city.

The CREATE project explores the Transport Policy Evolution Cycle. This model is a useful starting point for understanding how this evolution took place, and the lessons that we can learn for the future. Within the CREATE project, the study coordinated by the Sciences Po, CEE team (WP4) explores the historical evolution of transport policies and processes – from ‘car-oriented’ to ‘planning for city life’ – in five European cities (Berlin, Copenhagen, London, Paris, Vienna). Paying attention to case-specific contextual factors, policy instruments and programmes and involved stakeholders, **this comparative analysis unveils the processes and the main drivers for change. This technical note concerns Berlin.**



Map of Berlin  
Source : Shutterstock.com

### DID YOU KNOW? BERLIN TRANSPORT OFFER IS:

#### ROADS



**ROAD NETWORK**  
5.334 km, of which  
73 km of motorways



**MOTORISATION**  
324 cars / 1.000 inhabitants

#### PUBLIC TRANSPORT



**S-BAHN**  
15 lines, 331 km



**U-BAHN**  
9 lines, 147 km



**TRAM**  
22 lines, 294 km



**BUS**  
149 daytime lines, 1.675 km  
63 night lines, 795 km



**FERRY**  
6 passenger lines

#### CYCLING



**CYCLE LANES AND PATHS**  
1.470 km

**BIKE RENTAL SYSTEM**  
150 stations, 1.750 bikes  
(as of end 2014)

## SUMMARY FINDINGS

Berlin constitutes a challenge for the « Transport Policy Evolution Cycle » approach and for the sequencing of historical transport policy developments. The city's unique history between 1945 and 1990 often justifies analyzing it as a single case. The analysis of transport policy developments since the 1960s nevertheless highlights some long-term, robust institutional traditions such as the role of public transport as the backbone of the city's transport system.

Such emphasis was repeatedly confirmed across policy documents since the Reunification in 1990. This was first achieved through infrastructure-led initiatives, which sought to reunite a divided network.

Some years later, socio-political mobilizations pushed for the introduction of the integrated transport approach, which has become the core of the city's policy since the early 2000s. By opening an institutionalized venue for within-sector negotiations, the integrated transport approach helped to develop strong alternatives to car use, for example, negotiating the introduction of traffic mitigation measures.

Over time, it ensured the progressive inclusion of new actors and coordination mechanisms to accelerate the shift away from the automobile-led city. Increased efforts were recently made in order to allocate more policy resources to active modes (walking and cycling) and promote multi-modal travel solutions citywide.

## Before the reunification: two different models (1945-1989)

The War had a devastating effect on Berlin's infrastructure, and its population reduced by 1/3rd. The public transport network reopened gradually – and selectively, partly because it largely exceeded the population's needs at the time and because of the rise of the automobile. New ideas that were very much inspired by the model of the Charter of Athens were applied to the reconstruction of the city centre in both parts of the newly-divided city. Yet in the context of Cold War politics, the implementation of the car-oriented city model remained limited and two different systems developed independently from one another.

**In the East**, public transport (tramway, S-Bahn) was favoured over car use. New motorways, even if planned, were not built due to the lack of funding.

### DID YOU KNOW?

#### MAIN TRANSPORT MEASURES IN WEST BERLIN 1945-1989



**A 100 motorway since the 1960s  
still underway**

Other motorway projects, such as Westtangente, were later abandoned

#### Tramway dismantled

and existing public transport neglected



#### CIVIL PROTESTS

Alternative projects  
e.g. the "Green Tangent"

#### Traffic mitigation policies



#### 1987 Land Use Plan

growing focus on quality of life,  
densification, priority for public transport

**In West Berlin**, the exponential rise in motorization was considered a major policy issue, and as many hoped for Reunification, the main rationale was to conceive efficient traffic flows and urban highways connecting to the East. Up to the 1980s, the construction of major roads and drafts for an inner expressway network were promoted with funding from the Federal government. Many housing blocks had to be demolished.

Inner-city neighborhoods were entirely redesigned by enlarging existing roads and developing intersections and junctions. Public transport was developed although at that point car use was still growing. The Western S-Bahn network deteriorated. It was not widely used due to boycott actions until the transport authority of West-Berlin (BVG) started operating the remaining 40 km of the network. The tramway network was dismantled, but many lines were substituted by underground lines in order to create space in the inner city.

These infrastructure developments led to major protests from local residents and environmental organizations from

the 1970s onwards, which also reflected mobilizations taking place nationwide. In Berlin, alternative projects were developed such as the "Green Tangent". As of the mid 1980s, planning documents highlighted the need for a **better quality of living**. Major road development projects were put on hold. Nevertheless, the **daily management of roads** and the allocation of resources still operated **according to the car-oriented model**. Proposed changes were put on hold in the decade that followed the fall of the Berlin wall.

## Reunification through infrastructure-based policy (1990-1999)

Following Reunification, the main challenge was to reconnect the two transport systems. This was achieved through an **ambitious infrastructure-led policy agenda**. Its planning and implementation took place in a context of rapid socioeconomic transformations, population decrease and urban sprawl in the surrounding cities of Brandenburg. In addition, motorization and car ownership increased significantly.

The Berlin Senate was designated as the city's transport authority, but most infrastructure projects were done by or together with Federal authorities and agencies as part of the Reunification treaty and Berlin becoming capital city. Infrastructure planning was shaped by intense competition across levels of government (Federal, City-Land & Boroughs) and transport agencies (Deutsche Bahn, BVG etc.) over the setting of priorities and the allocation of budgets.

### DID YOU KNOW?

#### MAIN TRANSPORT MEASURES IN BERLIN 1990-1997

#### REUNIFYING THROUGH INFRASTRUCTURE



Investments in public  
transport re-development



S-Bahn extension



Pilzkonzept - local and regional  
railways network



Planned road infrastructures  
(not all of them realized)



#### CIVIL PROTESTS



Parking management  
1995

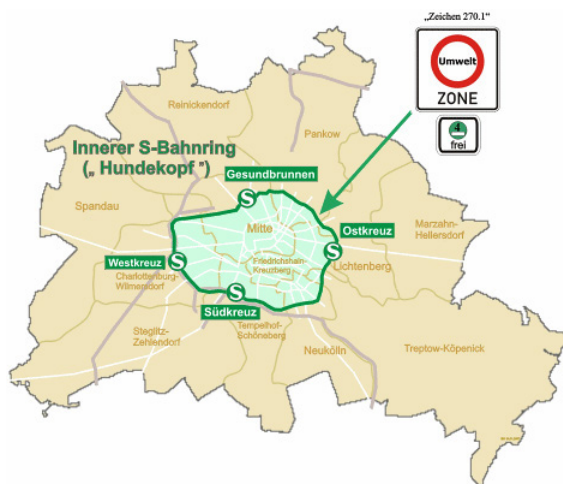
The spatial distribution and socio-environmental impact of proposed capacity investments led to recurring social and political mobilizations against the ruling coalition (CDU-SPD). A number of initiatives were made in order to strengthen the Senate's capabilities and ensure coordination: with civil society (Stadtforum), within the Senate (reorganizing portfolios), and with the Boroughs (administrative reform) etc.

In terms of capacity investments, priority was given to reconnecting and modernizing existing networks, developing new tramway lines and connections with Brandenburg, and more generally reorganizing and extending public transport networks. The Ringbahn and the construction of large interchanges (e.g., Hauptbahnhof) were major flagship projects. New high-speed rail and road infrastructures were developed (e.g., Tunnel under the Tiergarten, A100 motorway). In addition to socio-political mobilizations, the daily management of transport policies, which still prioritized car use, raised growing political and social concerns both within and outside the ruling majority.

## Integrated transport planning: from traffic mitigation to “city-friendly mobility” (1998-2013)

As mobilizations rose against the post-reunification transportation agenda, transport policy objectives were revised in a context of profound socioeconomic changes, demographic stagnation, and fiscal debt.

Drawing on the ideas and principles laid out in the 1980s in West-Berlin, a first series of traffic mitigation initiatives were introduced at city level (e.g., parking management, traffic calming measures, segregated bus lanes) together with a common tariff system at metropolitan level. A number of professionals and policy makers advocated the need to go beyond and develop an alternative to both the ‘automobile city’ and infrastructure-led policies.



Environmental zone Berlin  
Source : SenStadtUm

<http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/umwelt/luftqualitaet/umweltzone/en/allgemeines.shtml>

Between 1998 and 2001, the election of a red-green majority, the reshuffling of portfolios within Senate and administrative reform provided the Senate with increased political capacity, and within it, a balance of those in favour of the **integrated transport planning approach**. Drawing on the principles elaborated in West-Berlin within the urban planning professional community, it promoted **a shift in both policy processes and objectives**.

A strategic policy framework for sustainable mobility (StEP Verkehr) was designed in cooperation with the work done collaboratively within the Round Table for Transport. Rather than stigmatizing car use policy priorities were **reshuffled according to the principles of the “city-friendly mobility”**.

This consensus-seeking strategy also led to prioritizing and expanding traffic mitigation initiatives: emission level control (noise, air pollution, CO2 emissions, etc.), traffic calming and road safety.

By adopting a strategic, long-term planning perspective (2020), it introduced “lock-ins” at implementation stage. A new generation of policy tools was introduced in order to monitor and assess performance in public transport. These policy objectives were revised a decade later according to the same methodology and taking into account new issues and players. Critically assessing the work achieved since 2003, it was considered that major institutional and organizational barriers had slowed down implementation of traffic mitigation and parking management within Boroughs. The new StEP also took into account the impact of initiatives introduced outside transport (e.g., environmental zones) and at Federal level. In public transport, the S-Bahn crisis highlighted the need to strengthen the city’s regulatory powers over transport companies. A new set of monitoring tools were introduced as part of the 2011 walking and cycling strategies. Non-motorized transport was encouraged.

### DID YOU KNOW?

MAIN TRANSPORT MEASURES IN BERLIN SINCE 1998



#### INTEGRATED TRANSPORT PLANNING

#### StEP VERKEHR 2003 and 2011

€ 800-900 million/year, 2003-2013

Roads  
40%

including  
cycle lanes,  
sidewalks



Public Transport  
60%



Low emission zone



Cycling strategy  
2003, revised 2011



Walking Strategy  
2003, revised in 2011



Car sharing  
2011, planned

Even though the integrated approach demonstrated its robustness, it also faced a number of limits. Civil society organizations are pushing for more radical cycling measures and for abandoning urban motorway projects (A100). Car-sharing services are developing, together with increased social demands for individualized travel solutions. The automobile industry advocates optimising smart city solutions in order to reduce congestion, as well as a differentiated set of priorities outside the core urban area. Together, these demands challenge the idea of the “city-friendly mobility” and have fuelled recent socio-political controversies over transport.

## The Berlin case: a challenge to the Stage 1-to-3 linear approach

A number of changes have been taking place since the mid-1990s in a unique institutional, political, demographic and socioeconomic context. Yet in Berlin, more than in any other cities in the CREATE project, there is no clear-cut demarcation between traffic mitigation (Stage 2) and planning for city life (Stage 3) policies. This shift away from the automobile city (Stage 1) has been gradual, and negotiated as part of the integrated approach. In terms of transport policy objectives and policies, traffic mitigation initiatives have been prioritized and the pivotal role of public transport as the backbone of the city's transport system was confirmed.

## Current and future challenges

Implementing the integrated transport planning approach has resulted in **increased capabilities and resources at city level**. So far, it has demonstrated its effectiveness in fostering consensus over policy objectives and processes. Yet at the implementation stage, resource-seeking strategies from a wide range of stakeholders also highlighted the limits of the “city-friendly mobility” principles in fostering a middle way between pro-public transport and pro-car groups, who still hold important resources and veto-powers. More precisely, civil society organizations are pushing for more radical pro-cycling measures, increased quality in public transport services and banning new urban motorway projects. In the meantime, the automobile industry advocates the use of optimising smart city solutions in order to reduce congestion, as well as a differentiated set of policy priorities outside the core urban area. Car-sharing services are developing rapidly together with increased social demands for individualized travel solutions.

Beyond transport, another set of challenges now constrains transport policy developments and their pressure is expected to grow in the near future. For the first time in several decades, the population is expected to grow rapidly up to 3,828,000 by 2030 – some 7,5% growth in total – with an average yearly increase of some 135,000 residents.

Urbanization patterns show, on the one hand, a growing re-urbanization of the inner city and on the other hand, continued urban sprawl at the fringes. New urban areas are currently being developed outside the inner-city area, with a specific focus on housing and transport.

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*This note reflects only the authors' view and the agency is not responsible for any use that may be made of the information it contains.*

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