

Conflicts in Infrastructure Development

A case study of the planned highway extension of the A100 in Berlin



Msc Environmental and Infrastructure Planning
1st of July 2024
Max Leon Striefler S3730972
Supervisor: Christian Lamker
Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, Faculty of Spatial Sciences

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my gratitude to all those who supported me in the process of writing this thesis, which marks the end of my time in Groningen.

First of all, I would like to thank my thesis supervisor Dr. Christian Lamker for the great guidance during this project. The advice was always invaluable and your constructive feedback helped me dismiss my not so great ideas and encouraged and cheered the better ones. From refining the topic to guiding me through the ups and downs of this process I am grateful for all the support.

I also want to thank all the individuals who took the time to participate in this research in one way or another. First of all, thank you to all the interviewees who made it possible to add empirical findings and enriched the discussion of this thesis. Next to the interviewees, I want to thank everyone who provided insights and ideas through conversations and discussions.

Lastly, I am especially grateful for my family and friends and everyone involved in this academic journey who made this possible.

Abstract

Large-scale infrastructure projects around the world are often criticised for their poor selection and administration. The cause for this is generally a lack of stakeholder involvement and management at the local scale. Next to that, there is an increased need to rethink the way conventional infrastructure projects are planned and executed due to broader global issues such as climate change. A case study on a planned inner-city highway extension in Berlin is carried out to get insights into how more informal processes of public participation evolve and how resistance against infrastructure projects emerges. The A100 in Berlin is planned to be extended right through an existing residential area. Motives for the strong local opposition towards the project are diverse and are revealed in this research. Semi-structured interviews with relevant stakeholders alongside participatory observation and stakeholder mapping serve as the basis for an analysis. Results suggest that formal public participation processes are superficial and too late in the project phase. Various informal, community-based processes have emerged as an alternative to formal processes. These might have the power to shift the discourse and exert co-determination in the decision-making process.

Keywords: *highway planning, public participation, social protests, mobility transition, common good*

Table of Contents

1. Introduction	7
2. Literature Review	9
2.1 Urban Governance Approaches and Infrastructure Planning	9
2.1.1 Technical rationality	9
2.1.2 From central “governing” to fragmented “governance”	10
2.1.3 Complexity in infrastructure planning	10
2.2 Public Participation and Stakeholder Management	11
2.2.1 Public Participation	11
2.2.3 Stakeholder Management	13
2.3 Interest Groups	15
2.3.1 Opposition	15
2.3.2 Strategies for Opposition	15
2.3.3 Advocacy	16
2.4 Urban Development for the Common Good	16
2.5 Transitions	17
2.6 Conceptual Model	20
3. Methodology	21
3.1 Case study	21
3.1.1 Case Selection	22
3.1.2 Historical Background	22
3.1.3 Case description	23
3.2 Data Collection Methods and Sampling Strategies	23
3.3 Research Instruments and Data Analysis	24
3.4 Ethical Considerations	25
4. Results	27
4.1 Stakeholder Mapping	27
4.1.1 National and Supranational Governmental Level	28
4.1.2 Federal and Local Governmental Level	29
4.1.3 Local Civil Stakeholders	30
4.2 Interview Analysis	33
4.2.1 Long life-cycle of the project	33
4.2.2 Political uncertainty and communication	33
4.2.3 Public Participation	35
4.2.4 Strategies of opposition	37
4.2.5 Alternatives	38
4.2.6 Urban development (common good)	39
4.2.7. Mobility transition	40
4.3 Participatory Observation	40
5. Discussion	43
5.1 Political contexts and Governance approaches	43
5.1.1 Flexibility and Adaptability	43
5.1.2 Symbol Politics	43

5.2 Public Participation	44
5.2.1 Opposition and Strategies	44
5.2.2 Informal Processes of Public Participation	45
5.2.3 Referendum	45
5.3 The Common Good and Mobility Transitions	45
5.3.1 What is urban planning for the common good in the case of the A100?	45
5.3.2 Urban development and Identity of Berlin	46
5.3.3 Sustainability and the Common Good	46
5.3.4 Mobility Transitions	46
5.3.5 Political Willingness	47
5.4 Alternative Solutions	47
5.4.1 Holistic Vision	47
5.5 Reflections and Limitations	47
6. Conclusion	48
7. References	50

List of Figures and Tables

Figure 1: Arnstein's Ladder of Participation (Arnstein, 1969).

Figure 2: IAP2 Spectrum of Public Participation (IAP2, 2018) (simplified version by author)

Figure 3: Power grid of Stakeholders (Ackermann & Eden, 2011)

Figure 4: Conceptual Model created by author

Figure 5: Map of Berlin, with planned inner-city highway (theberliner.de,2023)

Figure 6: Proposed route of A100's 17th section, crossing the river Spree and tunnel below trainstation Ostkreuz (Source: rbb24.de).

Figure 7: Stakeholder Map (created by author, based on Ackermann & Eden, 2011)

Figure 8: //: About Blank Berlin

Figure 9: Zukunft am Ostkreuz

Figure 10: Map freight depot S Frankfurter Allee

Figure 11: Picture of freight depot

Figure 12: Poster promoting demonstration

Figure 13: Poster promoting demonstration

Figure 14: Invitation flyer

Figure 15: Invitation flyer

Table 1: Overview of Interviewees

List of Abbreviations

BVWP: Bundesverkehrswegeplan - National highway plans

BMDV: Federal Ministry of Transport and Digital Infrastructure

CDU: Christian Democratic Party

DDR: German Democratic Republic

FDP: Free Democratic Party

SPD: Social Democratic Party

1. Introduction

Infrastructure is what connects us and forms the foundation for the societies we live in. Infrastructure, as in railways, waterways or roads, facilitates the movement of goods and people and determines how we can move in space. At the same time, infrastructure has the potential to bring about change in the ways humans get from one place to another, and the manner we see our environment and interact with it (Broto & Robin, 2023). Road infrastructure such as highways act as connectors but can also bring about issues. Those issues can range from environmental concerns regarding air pollution and emissions over urban development considerations to social conflicts due to the displacement of existing structures. This underlines the ambivalent character of highways that act as crucial connectors on the one hand and as grounds for conflict and dislocation on the other hand side. Various interests arise and may clash when highways are planned and constructed. Clashes of interest are particularly strong within urban areas where many different actors are involved and impacted by urban development in general and highway development in particular. Involvement, coordination and management of involved stakeholders is therefore a crucial undertaking in the planning process of highway projects (e.g. Matu et al., 2020). Large-scale infrastructure projects in particular are extensive projects requiring long periods of planning and construction, comprehensive financial costs, and a variety of different competencies. This makes such projects highly complex and calls for adequate stakeholder involvement and management to mitigate social challenges and dilemmas. Additionally, there is a need for flexibility in infrastructure planning approaches to be able to adapt to changing circumstances (Ulbig & Andersson, 2015). The complexity and long project life cycles of large infrastructure projects lead to increased uncertainties to which there is no way of knowing how to respond (Erkul et al., 2016).

The Autobahn GmbH of the German federal government states on their website: "...the corporation is in constant communication with all our stakeholders - both internal and external. The interests of our target groups are as diverse as the target groups themselves" (Die Autobahn GmbH, 2021). This statement reflects the attitude towards the importance of stakeholder involvement and management in infrastructure projects. While the need for extensive stakeholder management is widely acknowledged as shown by this statement, it remains unclear whether infrastructure planning provides enough flexibility to adapt to contemporary issues such as climate change and social conflicts that might emerge as a response to infrastructure projects. Involved stakeholders express the mentioned issues and provide insights into e.g. socio-cultural dimensions and changing contexts that go beyond conventional planning approaches. The aim of stakeholder management should therefore be to facilitate the diverse and sometimes conflicting interests of all stakeholders while also considering broader trends, frameworks and guidelines.

Considering existing literature on stakeholder management and public participation in infrastructure projects the focus usually lies on large-scale projects of national importance. However, as the impact of such projects is felt most at the local level, the question of how stakeholder management and public participation are carried out at lower levels of governance and beyond formal processes is less investigated. Examples of unsatisfactory infrastructure project execution and management around the globe are countless, which reflects the urgency for revised governance. Furthermore, an enhanced role for stakeholders at the local level as crucial players throughout the project is essential (Maddaloni & Davis,

2017). To gain a better understanding of this a case study of a highway extension in the city of Berlin is employed. The extension of the A100 is an example of how diverse interests can clash and how large-scale infrastructure projects planned on the national level need increased political steering from local governments. The project will be discussed from a sustainability perspective and in light of the mentioned stakeholder engagement. As opposition against the extension is vehement, it becomes clear that concerns regarding public interest are not completely met. The following research question will therefore be explored.

How have processes of public participation affected local opposition towards the planned highway extension of the A100?

Additionally, the following sub-questions are considered and discussed:

1. What informal processes of public participation are in play and what is their role in decision-making?
2. How has the communication between national authorities and local stakeholders influenced the perceptions of the proposed extension?
3. How can opposing interest groups achieve their objectives of successfully developing and implementing alternatives?

The questions are aimed to be answered by qualitative research methods which will consist of interviews with stakeholders who are based in Berlin and are involved in one way or another with the extension of the A100.

This thesis can be read as follows: First, a literature review is presented, which includes various theoretical considerations on (urban) governance, public participation, resistance to infrastructure projects, urban development for the common good and mobility transitions. The next section is dedicated to the methodology of this research, where the research design and strategy of a case study are discussed. Following this, the case study of the A100 is described from various perspectives. In the next step, the results of the data analysis are debated. This section ends with a discussion of various considerations. A critical reflection on the work with possible future research possibilities and limitations is followed by a conclusion.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Urban Governance Approaches and Infrastructure Planning

2.1.1 Technical rationality

Urban planning as the practice of purposeful interventions in public space is traditionally concerned with being in control and making decisions from a top-down perspective. The planner as a professional is assumed to be an expert who possesses all the knowledge necessary to come to decisions affecting many people's lives. Professionals and government actors have reserved the right to carry out such interventions. This sentiment was partially embedded in the post-war era where the reconstruction of European cities was prioritised and a high degree of certainty and government control were desired. This resulted in a technical rationality approach in which the (national) government sets clear planning objectives and urban planners function as the actors in implementing those interventions, seeing themselves as the experts informed by above all scientific and technical knowledge (De Roo, 2013; De Roo, 2018). Politicians or experts dominantly steered the discourse and decision-making process on urban interventions, leaving little room for engagement from the wider public and other actors (Healey, 1996). It was assumed that urban planning was constructed around universal laws implying that successful spatial planning practices in one context can be applied and transferred to other contexts (Allmendinger, 2017). The planning and governance approach during most of the 20th century was defined by a "rational model", where planning followed strict, science-like structures that emphasised preciseness and "the measurable" (Innes & Booher, 2014, p. 197). Facts and figures are usually the basis for decision-making in this approach. It is applied in settings where the desired objectives are straightforward and values are determined beforehand. In other words, such top-down approaches to planning following "the rational model", provide little regard for the engagement of the wider community, the involvement of various stakeholders and the local context in which interventions take place. Generally, it can be outlined that the more complex a project is, the more it is required to take that complexity into account and address it adequately. Top-down approaches usually fail to achieve that by default as targets are fixed beforehand and therefore don't allow for open frameworks that present alternative solutions. Top-down planning is usually carried out in "routine-like" situations (De Roo, 2018, p. 15).

2.1.2 From central "governing" to fragmented "governance"

Since the 1980s, there has been a shift away from the modernist notion that urban planning is a universally applicable science and that technical solutions alone can solve spatial issues. Instead, there has been a growing recognition of more flexible approaches to urban development, acknowledging the complex and fragmented nature of urban governance. Those approaches also recognise the substantial roles played by private and individual actors (Lemos & Agrawal, 2006; Özogul, 2019). This shift was initiated by the realisation that in some situations the government's power and capabilities are not sufficient to tackle (spatial) problems on its own, resulting in governance approaches emphasising more communicative rationalities, which foresees that not a single governmental entity is responsible for decision-making (De Roo, 2007). The term "governance" embodies this shift reflecting on the increased involvement of multiple actors and the fact that the central state is

no longer the sole decision-making authority (Alexander, 2005). Decentralisation, political decentralisation in particular, as the emerging form of governance is concerned with transferring authority and responsibility from central levels of government to lower levels (Rodinelli et al., 1983). This is also reflected by Healey's (1999; 2005) texts on the emergence of new governance and alternative forms of local planning, in which power is transferred to the local level. Innes and Booher (2004) stress the relevance of consensus-building and advocate participatory processes and governance delegation at the local level.

2.1.3 Complexity in infrastructure planning

Infrastructure developments, such as highways, can be characterised as purposeful interventions in the public space. Overall they are considered "routine-like" activities, even though they are of high complexity (Edwards, 2017). Development and implementation of (large-scale) infrastructure projects are usually carried out in a top-down manner, coordinated by a national, central state entity (Niekerk & Voogd, 1999; Semeraro et al., 2020). Claims of benefits of road infrastructure and what societal purposes it supposedly serves, frequently overcloud the concerns arising from various other stakeholders (Legacy et al., 2023). Additionally, infrastructure projects are usually met with a variety of uncertainties and complexities. Leendertse et al. (2022) identified and categorised a variety of different complexities such a project might face. Those include social, legal, financial or organisational complexities which call for increased flexibility in project management (Leendertse et al., 2022). Flexibility to react to changing circumstances and societal pressures is crucial, while a certain degree of control is equally as important (Koppenjan et al., 2011). Once the project objectives are set and all agreements are made there will be less room for flexibility. This is the execution phase of a project in which control is not delegated to other stakeholders (Leendertse et al., 2022). Therefore, it becomes evident that flexibility from the early phases of the project onwards is essential. Due to the growing acknowledgement of the high complexity of infrastructure projects and the varying stakeholder interests, there might be a need to reconsider the approaches of traditional infrastructure planning. This entails more involvement of actors from various governmental levels, the public and private domains. Increased cooperation between a variety of stakeholders is an approach to project management that can enable flexibility from early on (Eriksson et al., 2019). Furthermore, the need for an open approach that allows for stakeholder inclusion is outlined by Verweij (2014). Such an approach will further enable flexibility in the management of a project. External management, including stakeholders in the management, might also lead to increased project satisfaction (Verweij, 2014). The ultimate goal is to reach a consensus and bring about more public acceptance while ensuring just and equitable involvement of various population groups (Woltjer, 2000). Employing consensus-driven planning processes with the objective of public acceptance, public participation, and stakeholder engagement can be a crucial tool.

In conclusion, the practice of urban planning and infrastructure planning in particular, have been characterised by a top-down rational model, in which the centralised authorities together with expert planners made the decision based purely on scientific and technical knowledge. This approach has a tendency to not adequately consider complexities and contextual specificities of urban areas. Since the 1980s there has been a significant shift to more decentralised and flexible governance models. Those recognise the importance of

public participation and inclusion of multiple actors based on more communicative rationalities. Considering however the high complexity and the external impacts that infrastructure projects often have there is an increased need for more participatory and flexible pathways to infrastructure projects. There seems to be a move away from top-down or bottom-up planning towards more co-production of urban space.

2.2 Public Participation and Stakeholder Management

2.2.1 Public Participation

The solely technical approach to spatial planning has been challenged over the last decades. This is due to a variety of components increasing the complexity of large-scale infrastructure projects. Social factors such as equity and justice as well as rising environmental awareness are, next to the shortage of space, main contributors to higher complexity resulting in complications of planning processes (Arts, 2007). The recognition of social as well as environmental values implies the inclusion of sustainability objectives. This marks a need to consider such beliefs and attitudes at least equally as crucial as economic concerns. The emergence of governance fragmented the organisation of urban spaces and participation became an essential manner to increase democracy and enhance the quality of decision-making (Kooiman, 1993).

Governance approaches based on a more communicative rationality, emphasise the importance of public participation in planning processes. For planning processes to be truly democratic and to promote equity, public participation is a crucial step. Hague and McCourt (1974, 145) described public participation as: "...a means of avoiding accusations of bias and as a means of cutting down the number of planning objections." This statement reflects on the democratic inclusiveness of which participation is a fundamental aspect that is desired in planning processes to be able to achieve the above-described goals and public acceptance. Broadly, the principle of public participation can be outlined as follows going beyond the explanation by Hague and McCourt. It can be described as an overarching term that entails actions by which people's interests, beliefs, attitudes and values are consolidated into decision-making regarding matters of public interest (Nabatchi, 2012). The public call for participation is especially loud for planning and infrastructure projects that affect people's daily lives and physical surroundings.

Each planning situation is distinct and requires its unique approach. Therefore, no guaranteed public participation formula ensures successful outcomes every time. There is a great variety of different modes and different processes of public participation ranging from formal legally required processes in the form of e.g. public meetings over consulting the public towards more direct involvement for instance a "citizen jury", which each implies different outcomes (Jo & Nabatchi, 2020). The term "involvement" is often used as a synonym for participation. This usually refers to formal, legally required participation processes.

Arnstein (1969) developed the widely used "Ladder of Participation" which identifies different forms of participation. This typology entails distinct degrees of participation (see Figure 1), where three categories of participatory power are distinguished: Nonparticipation, Degrees of Tokenism, and Degrees of Citizen Power. Based on Arnstein's model various more extensive models have been developed. The International Association of Public Participation (IAP2) employed the "Spectrum of Public Participation" (see Figure 2). This model goes

beyond degrees of participation and provides an overview of different forms of communication with the public and the impact the participation processes might have on the actual decision. The further the degree of participation goes towards the right on this spectrum the higher the impact on the decision.

While public participation has become an established practice in spatial planning over the last couple of decades, formal processes of participation have become the subject of criticism for being tokenistic and ineffective (Schatz & Rogers, 2016). In many places, such processes are a legal requirement to fulfil for every spatial planning project. It does however appear that oftentimes they are not more than that and are constructed to merely conform to those requirements, which in turn can lead to adverse effects in the public population and sentiments of mistrust and discontent (Innes & Booher, 2004). In other words, formal public participation processes are too frequently not linking the perceived input given by the public and the public planning discourse with the actual planning outcome. Degrees of participation range from inform over consult, involve and collaborate until empowered where the final decision-making lies in the hands of the public and it is promised to the public that their decision is implemented. Informing literally refers to providing information and a promise of updating the information. Especially in large-scale infrastructure projects, formal public participation is almost always considered as not effective and fails to account for their social responsibility. Informal participation processes can be viable and alternative or complementary forms of stakeholder involvement and might foster more inclusive and context-sensitive engagement (Wu, 2023). Neighbourhood mobilisation and public awareness campaigns are examples of informal processes that can influence governance and the outcomes of project outcomes (Cao, 2022). This suggests increased attention on and integration of those informal processes.

Furthermore, there is to be distinguished between individual and collective forms of participation. Individuals taking part in public hearings and meetings are measurable and the more people show up the greater the claim to legitimacy for the decision in question can be. It remains questionable whether an individual actor possesses the ability to be involved in complex planning issues. Collective participation on the other hand benefits from the collective knowledge and expertise non-governmental organisations (NGOs) or local associations hold. The opportunity to intervene in decision-making becomes greater with collective participation (Baum, 2001). A concern that arises from both these forms is that usually only people who are highly educated, have sufficient time on hand and are interested enough in the matter have the tendency to participate (Monno & Khakee, 2012).

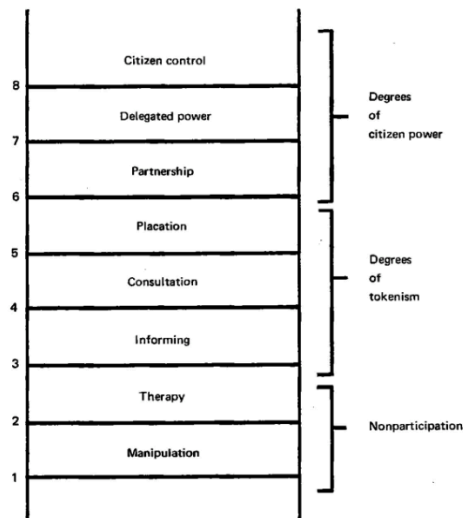


Figure 1: Arnstein's Ladder of Participation (Arnstein, 1969)

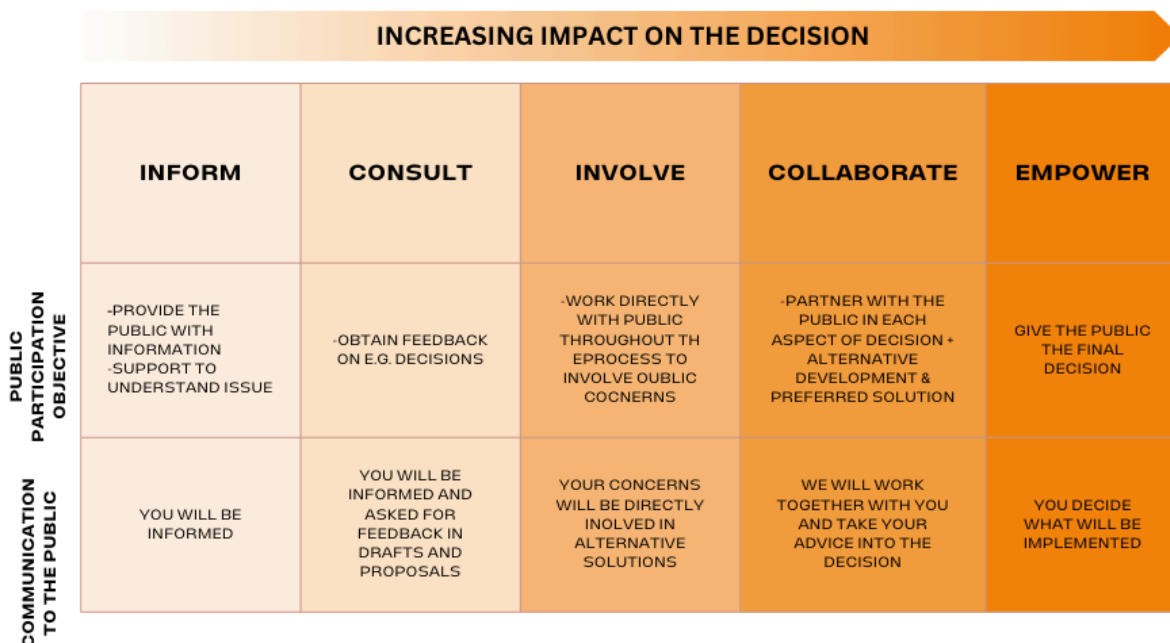


Figure 2: IAP2 Spectrum of Public Participation (simplified version by author)

2.2.3 Stakeholder Management

Stakeholder management is an essential part of urban planning, especially involving projects with considerable impact on the public, such as a highway extension through an urban area. A stakeholder is an individual or a group of people that expresses an interest or concern in the accomplishment (or failure) of a project (Freeman et al., 2010). Managing the expectations and concerns of these stakeholders is crucial to limit disappointment and resistance and increase public acceptance. The process of stakeholder management starts with identifying all relevant stakeholders and stakeholder groups. Ackerman & Eden (2011) state two approaches, namely either appointing stakeholders by the project's managing entity (e.g. the commissioner/contractor of a project) or by consulting already identified

stakeholders for other relevant stakeholders. The former method, where stakeholders are appointed, is often criticised for a tendency of an increased focus on the firm's or the project's perspective rather than the viewpoint of the project's stakeholders (Werhane, 2019; Vuorinen & Martinsuo, 2019). This might lead to the exclusion of stakeholders that have been identified too late in the process. Although more time-consuming, this participatory strategy allows for more comprehensive and inclusive stakeholder mapping (Rotter et al., 2012).

As the stakeholders are identified, they can be categorised by their level of influence as well as interest in the project. Here, there are again two approaches to how to analyse stakeholders. One top-down approach is where the organisation is analysing the stakeholders and the second bottom-up approach is carried out by the stakeholders themselves (Rotter et al. 2012). Furthermore, Ackermann & Eden (2011, p. 183) presented a "power grid" onto which stakeholders can be categorised and analysed. Based on degrees of power and interest towards a project, stakeholders can be divided hypothetically into "the crowd" (displaying low power and low interest), "context setters" (high power and low interest), "players" (high power and high interest) and "subjects" (low power and high interest). Based on this framework, a mapping of involved stakeholders in the A100 highway project is presented as part of the result chapter.

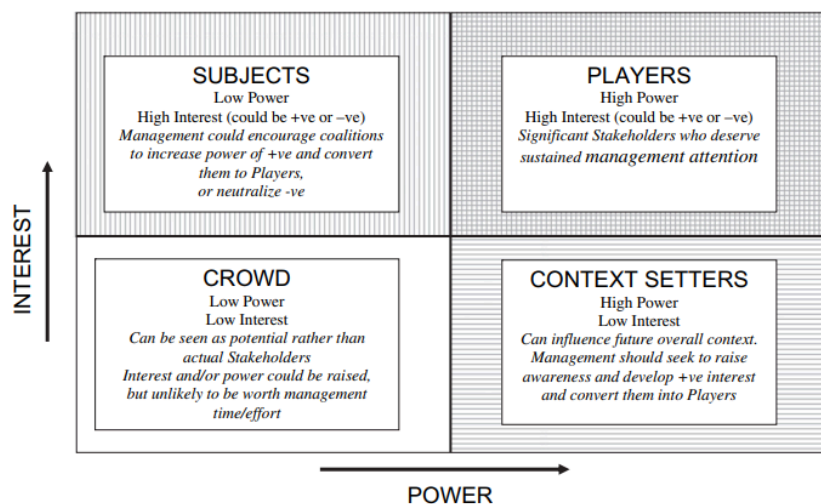


Figure 3: Power grid of Stakeholders (Ackermann & Eden, 2011)

In conclusion of this section, the dominant technical approach to infrastructure planning has been increasingly challenged by growing complexities of those projects. The recognition of diverse stakeholder interests requires a shift from top-down approaches to more participatory ones. Public participation is a crucial part of that. However, formal public participation processes often fail to include those ambitions leading to calls for more informal and inclusive forms of participation. Stakeholder management is crucial in navigating the diverse interests and to ensure comprehensive, integrated and inclusive planning.

2.3 Interest Groups

2.3.1 Opposition

Degrees of complexity, uncertainty and amount of involved stakeholders in infrastructure projects are usually considerably high. Due to their large impacts on society and the environment and their sheer immensity, they more often than not capture public scrutiny. This might lead to opposition towards a given project. Forms of opposition can range from criticism expressed vocally to coordinated resistance. Those can be arranged by a variety of different stakeholders underpinning the importance of adequate stakeholder management (Berechman, 2018). Transportation infrastructure is almost always by default part of a larger network. While the negative impacts mainly remain local, the positive impacts of e.g. a highway extension are often evenly distributed over the whole network (Berechman, 2018). Movements of resistance are therefore mostly forming at the local scale as a direct response to those impacts. Opposition can be distinguished between different categories following Berechman's (2018) findings. There is political opposition, funding opposition and issue-oriented opposition (Berechman, 2018). Regarding political opposition power structures and struggles come into play. Lobbying, media campaigns or legislative action are political tools often utilised to delay or halt a project. Politicians or political parties might cooperate with local or environmental groups. This is common if the broader political agendas match the objectives of the opposition.

Funding opposition is concerned with budget overruns and how the costs of a given project might outweigh the benefits. They often argue for more transparency in budgeting issues and to reallocate funds to other points of interest.

Issue-oriented opposition relates to a specific concern as for instance socio-cultural or environmental concerns. Those could include e.g. historical preservation groups which oppose projects threatening sites that are culturally significant. Such groups often collaborate with other interest groups to amplify their voices.

It is important to note that not every opposition is carried in "bad faith" or to simply be against a certain development or change in general. On the contrary, some public scrutiny of a project might lead to changes that are desirable for increasing acceptability and potential for consensus building (Hudon & Floricel, 2023, p. 154).

2.3.2 Strategies for Opposition

Interest groups employ different strategies to express their concerns and opposition towards infrastructure. Such strategies can be categorised into public engagement and mobilisation (Healy & Hogan, 2012; Fung, 2006), legal objections (Jenkins & Yakovleva, 2006), lobbying and advocacy (Baumgartner & Leech, 1998), media campaigns (Bennet & Segerberg, 2012), and influencing public discourse (Brewer, 2019; Hudon & Floricel, 2023). The desired purposes of varying forms of protest could include spreading information, establishing public awareness, fundraising, attaining publicity, recruiting participants for certain events, exercising pressure directly or indirectly on relevant decision-makers or carrying out direct action that creates disturbances to a particular project (Hanna et al, 2016). Engagement and mobilisation for example would follow the purpose of spreading information about the impacts of a project and by that establishing awareness but also recruiting potential participants and collecting financial support. The strategy of filing legal objections to delay or halt the project implementation based on environmental regulations or violations of community rights is also commonly pursued with the purpose of exercising pressure on e.g.

authorities or highlighting the legal issues at hand. Influencing public discourse includes a broad range of communicative activities to shape the narrative around the project. Evidence from Tur et al. (2018) suggests that different interest groups use different discourses and that groups affected by a project form their argumentation around emotions, identities and real-life experiences of a place. Advocacy groups usually focus on discussions around more economic rationalities as the objectives of projects mainly circle around those.

2.3.3 Advocacy

On the other hand, there is generally also some kind of support for large-scale infrastructure projects even though this is not expressed as frequently as opposition. Advocacy is often shaped and influenced by power structures and political aspects, so coming from politicians or e.g. companies involved or profiting from a project (Flyvbjerg, 1998). The processes that are behind advocacy for such megaprojects are similar to the formation of public policies due to their direct benefits and indirect spillovers, ecological concerns but also for their social resistance (Aaltonen & Kujala, 2010). Characteristic for advocacy of both public policies and large-scale infrastructure projects is stakeholder behaviour. Next to scientific evidence or argumentation based on rationality, stakeholders make use of manipulative discourse, misuse of political power and the forming of alliances and coalitions which is an ability reserved for the more powerful stakeholders (Hudon & Floricel, 2023). Those include the contractor, engineer firms and high level political figures that ultimately make the decisions. A common phenomenon in planning of large-scale projects is the deliberate misinformation on details of a given project including costs, benefits or risk. This is done to disguise potential shortcomings and increase chances of acquiring funding and public confirmation (Flyvbjerg, 2007). Underlying the importance of framing projects, it becomes evident that power structures and how power is utilised are major factors in how projects are planned and how plans and results are communicated with the broader public. This framing was also widely utilised to promote car-oriented urban planning for the sake of the supposedly advantageous common good. This in turn led to the neglect of promoting alternative modes of transportation (Schipper et al., 2020).

2.4 Urban Development for the Common Good

The public interest or the common good are important considerations in communities. It demands that people in a community can be happy and well-off. It is concerned with things like prosperity, equality, community cohesion and justice that can be readjusted (Murphy & Fox-Rogers, 2015). Consequently, this underlines the role of the planning system in facilitating these communal values. The term public interest can be viewed more from an individual perspective. Individual interests come together collectively forming what is then the public interest (Jarenko et al., 2013). Urban planning literature often uses the terms common good and public interest interchangeably. For simplicity reasons, this research treats both concepts as synonymous in the context of urban planning and large-scale infrastructure projects.

According to the New Leipzig Charter, a document serving as a guideline for urban policies developed by the European Commission and Ministers concerned with urban matters, public decision-makers in urban governance should be concerned with equitable, inclusive and

safe infrastructure that at the same time considers matters of environmental quality and economic productivity (European Commission, 2020). Another crucial point in this document is the emphasis on sustainable development. Development of any kind should therefore be integrated with the existing structures of a city that provide healthy environments and opportunities for identification. For that, the focus should be on knowledge exchange between a variety of stakeholders (European Commission, 2020). At the same time, the notion of the common good in planning is difficult to define, while it is frequently used as a legitimisation tool for decision-making in planning. For many, it is considered to be a fundamental concept and the whole purpose of planning should be centred around the common good. Other literature argues that planning is not constitutionally a practice acting in the public interest but an institution that serves profit-oriented purposes and the social and political elite (Fox-Rogers, et al., 2011). This idea is crucial as it suggests the disguisement of interventions in the public space by governmental or market entities for the alleged common good while the interests are in reality of a rather political or economic nature. Decisions or projects that are especially controversial can be framed and legitimised to the broader public as being common good oriented and in the public interest. Ultimately, however, a great deal of existing literature on planning for the common good and in the public interest emphasises the importance of harmonising interests that are potentially clashing, or so to say aiming to reach a consensus (Murphy & Fox-Rogers, 2015). Here, the essential role of public participation and civic engagement becomes evident as such processes are often a response to injustices and social struggles. There are increased efforts of informal, complementary forms of involvement and participation that are often established by bottom-up civil society organisations. The aims are to create more access to decision-making for the broader public including disadvantaged communities, planning towards the common good and more cooperation and self-governance of communities (BBSR, 2021). Civic organisations cooperate closely with politics and urban administration and aim to include their experience in urban policy. Ideally, this cooperation is set up with back-and-forth learning processes and feedback loops that are the foundation for “socially responsible urban development” and urban development for the common good (BBSR, 2021, p. 18). This includes protection of socio-culturally valuable spaces and institutions. Another critical aspect of urban development for the common good being highlighted here is justice. Referring to rights to the city and questions of planning “for” whom and “with” whom, justice in urban development signifies inclusive urban development marked by active participation opportunities, and protection of urban spaces that are established for and with the common good from displacement (Schneider, 2021). It is repeatedly stressed that urban planning for the public interest revolves around urban transitions towards sustainable development with a focus on integrated and participatory governance approaches (European Commission, 2020).

2.5 Transitions

Transitions are fundamental shifts occurring in the structure, culture and practices within societal systems. Those are mainly aimed at reaching sustainability goals and ultimately fostering sustainable development. Cities play a key role in accelerating transitions towards sustainable development. Transitions remain for the most part however difficult to manage due to e.g. issues in coordinating multiple governance levels or lacking resources at the local level (Khan, 2013). Mobility transitions in particular refer to changes in transportation systems, modes of transport, types of infrastructure, user behaviour and governance.

Drivers for mobility transitions include technological advancements, environmental concerns, policy interventions and changing societal preferences. In urban settings, the objective of such a transition is to create more sustainable, efficient and equitable transportation networks (Geels & Schot, 2007). The transportation sector is an essential sector to tackle in order to reduce CO₂ emissions (Hickman & Banister, 2014). Next to environmental concerns of the car-dominant traffic systems, there is growing recognition that automobility is energy inefficient and demands more and more valuable land within and around urban areas. This underlines the insistence of countless cities to transition towards more cyclable and walkable places, which has strong implications for how urban planning is practised and how land use is managed, as urban mobility and land use go hand in hand (Schipper et al., 2020; Straatemeier & Bertolini, 2020).

Mobility lies at the core of our societies but also poses many challenges for sustainable development. The significant impact of automobiles on climate change, the adverse effects on the local environment through noise and air pollution as well as land use demonstrate a need for structural transitions towards more sustainable urban mobility. This is a core challenge to be addressed: accommodating and providing proper, accessible and affordable mobility for urban residents while staying within environmental limits and reaching sustainability goals. Those are challenges that can be observed globally. And there are many international and national guidelines and agreements committed to tackling these challenges. Germany for instance has concrete objectives to reduce greenhouse-gas emissions in the transportation sector up to 42% by 2030 as compared to 1990, to at least come close to the abided Paris Agreement (BMUB, 2016). This marks the urgency for shifting the way infrastructure is planned and what type of urban mobility should be prioritised, namely cyclist- and pedestrian-friendly infrastructure and expansion of the public transport system. This implies a paradigm shift away from the car-oriented city. Car mobility rapidly became the dominant mode of transport in the twentieth century in many countries including Germany. While mobility mode choices are individual decisions taken by people, the material environment pre-defines the possibilities of coming to a decision (Hunecke et al., 2007). In other words, the infrastructure that is provided and that is accessible and safe is going to be used.

Sustainable development as “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (Brundtland Report, 1987) and the concept of sustainable transport and mobility go hand in hand. One of the earliest definitions of sustainable transportation from the OECD in 1996 is formulated as “transportation that does not endanger public health or ecosystems and meets mobility needs consistent with (a) the use of renewable resources at below their rates of regeneration; and (b) the use of non-renewable resources at below the rates of development of renewable substitutes” (OECD, 1996). A crucial pillar of sustainable development is the enhancement of sustainable transportation. Mobility is to a certain extent a social practice making mobility choices sets of routinized behaviour and dependent on the socio-technical context, the socio-technical infrastructure (Nijhuis, 2013; Reckwitz, 2002). This has strong implications for the practical achievement of a sustainable mobility transition in which decisions on infrastructure development should be well reconsidered.

Transitions might be initiated, forwarded, implemented and also blocked by specific actors. Huiteima et al. (2011) identify those as policy entrepreneurs who can be governmental and non-governmental actors such as politicians or, from outside the government, civil society organisations or individual citizens. They can be understood as advocates of a specific

policy outcome. Those actors employ various strategies such as building coalitions, recognising, profit from and/or creating windows of opportunities. Those windows could be of political nature as for example a shift in the elected government. They could also be “problem windows” which are related to specific events or crises (Huiteima et al., 2011, p. 725). Information and access to relevant knowledge are key factors for those actors to be able to seize such windows (Dente, 2011). Furthermore, ties to relevant policy actors are of importance to influence decision-making. Being part of a broad policy network where alliances with powerful actors can be established, are essential characteristics for policy entrepreneurs next to persistence and access to resources, mainly time and money (Meijerink & Huiteima, 2010). The “transition arena”, where transitions are instigated, are therefore political and imply transitions in governance.

Cities play a significant role in reaching transitions. Factors to implement mobility transitions can be observed predominantly in city environments. Urban mobility, especially road transport, is a major contributor to CO₂ emissions within the European Union (Focas & Christidis, 2017). Alternatives to the conventional mode of transport, the individual car, are best applicable and actionable on various scales of the city. In particular, densely built-up and populated cities provide conditions for providing sustainable mobility opportunities for their citizens. As the cities are usually so densely built-up, decisions in mobility and transportation have almost always direct implications on the built environment and land use pattern in general. The other way around, the existing built environment and land use patterns predefine to a certain extent what decisions on mobility can be made. The user’s choices, so the individual living in a city and making use of the mobility system, are influenced in their mode choices by the urban structure and the transportation system that is provided. Policy frameworks need to be in place to foster transitions which have to be flexible, adaptable and open to new urban mobility solutions. To develop long-term mobility strategies, the involvement of relevant stakeholders and public participation are key aspects of furthering transitions (Tsavachidis & Le Petit, 2022). Many urban planning concepts that offer possibilities to facilitate the mobility transition have gained popularity over the last decades aiming at reversing the car-oriented urban planning approaches of the past. Looking at urban cycling practices for example, the factors that are prevalent to foster cycling include interventions in the “urban form, available alternatives to cycling (and how attractive those are), traffic policy, social movements and cultural status” (Schipper et al., 2020, p. 311). It is important to remember that the status quo of car-oriented cities is not only encouraged by the provided infrastructure, as in road networks, but also by land use, guidelines on safety, traffic authorities or people’s behaviour (Schipper et al., 2020). There are more and more crucial policy interventions implemented marking an increased attention by local (urban) authorities on the (Barber, 2013). This is also reflected in individual mobility patterns showing a decline in public interest for the automobile in many cities (Zipori, & Cohen, 2014).

Although the urgency for a mobility transition is widely recognised and acknowledged on different governance levels (EU, nations, industry and civil society), there have been few approaches that managed to break with the established mobility paradigm. Decisions on mobility and transportation made in the past have led to path dependencies which are difficult to reverse and power structures in planning and politics seem to act as a barrier to implementation of measures that challenge this paradigm effectively (Banister, 2008; Isaksson, 2014). Transitioning to sustainable urban mobility is more tenable for individual

traffic than for transport of services and goods posing additional challenges (Agora Verkehrswende, 2017). Approaches moving in the direction of reaching mobility transitions are also evident however can be observed where policymakers play a significant role in pushing towards that direction. The German city of Karlsruhe is an example of how the management of mobility transition can reach sizable accomplishments where the modal share for public transport takes high percentages as a result of historically embeddedness of public transportation actions in urban renewal (Pflieger et al., 2009).

Concluding this section, mobility transitions are crucial for achieving sustainability objectives and to further sustainable development, and promoting sustainable and equitable urban transportation systems. Cities play an important role in driving these transitions while they face multiple challenges such as the coordination of various governance levels or securing sufficient funding. The foundation to achieve mobility transitions are flexible and adaptive policy frameworks. Despite the recognised urgency, widespread implementation of mobility transition measures are often blocked by power structures and existing mobility paradigms.

2.6 Conceptual Model

The presented conceptual model (see Figure 4) visualises the discussed concepts and their relationships interacting with each other. As the main subject is the process of infrastructure planning, and highway planning in this case, it is at the centre of the model displaying how the different concepts influence the planning process as well as the outcome. There are dynamics and concepts that directly affect the planning of infrastructure. Those are displayed in the bigger boxes. More indirect processes that evolve e.g. as a response to outcomes of other processes are presented in the smaller boxes. Therefore, is citizen involvement a result of “successful” public participation processes and opposition can form as a response, though not the only reason, to artificial non-inclusionary processes or as a result of a lack of participation processes.

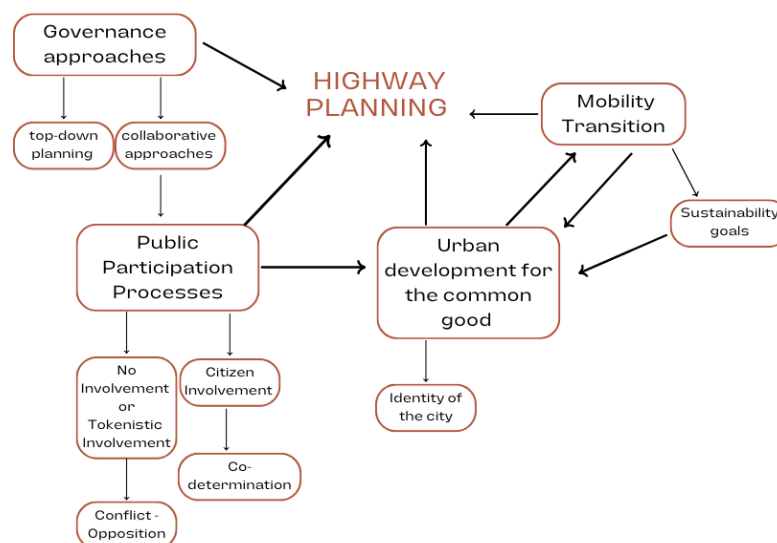


Figure 4: Conceptual Model

3. Methodology

3.1 Case study

A case study is selected as the research strategy. Case studies can be seen as an empirical examination of a certain phenomenon in its real-life context (Yin, 2009). The strategy is beneficial for investigating phenomena such as a particular event, project or process in-depth, where the researcher is able to collect detailed data over a fixed period of time (Creswell, 2014). "The unit of analysis" of a case study provides a specific example of the explored phenomenon (De Vaus, 2001, p. 220). For this research, the planned extension project of the A100 serves as the case and the phenomenon to be investigated is how the public participation processes affect resistance towards the project. This presented phenomenon is of high complexity. Therefore, the ability for an in-depth analysis is favourable. Yin (2014) offers three distinctive forms of case studies. For this study, an *explanatory* approach is selected. The main emphasis of an explanatory approach is to explain the *why* and *how* of the phenomenon at hand (Yin, 2014). In which the *why* is concerned with investigating the opposition movements and their purposes as well as strategies, while the *what* question is related to the public participation processes and stakeholder management.

3.1.1 Case Selection

The case of the A100 in Berlin was selected on the basis of different criteria. First of all, it fits as a current large-scale infrastructure project. The project is also an adequate example of an infrastructure project facing high degrees of complexity as it involves many different stakeholders with diverging interests. Additionally, the selected project showcases many different forms of protest and opposition which is of particular interest for this study. Flyvbjerg (2004, p.127) argues that the more unique or "extreme" cases are, the more suitable for uncovering extra information as likely there is a greater variety of actors involved. Furthermore, the deeper lying reasons for an issue can be revealed better by studying more abnormal cases (Flyvbjerg, 2004). Moreover, the long lifespan of this project is a factor that allows for conclusions regarding management of such projects over long periods of time while offering conclusions arguing for more adaptability and flexibility to changing circumstances. A detailed description of the studied case will follow in the next section.

3.1.2 Historical Background

Understanding the extension of the A100 requires a look at Berlin's urban development history, particularly past traffic plans. This section places Berlin's current issues, political situation, and spatial matters in a historical context. The issue of path dependency becomes evident here as decisions made in the past are now affecting the spatial development of the city while the external circumstances have changed.

World War II devastated Berlin's urban infrastructure, necessitating extensive reconstruction (Bocquet & Laborier, 2016). The city was consequently divided into sectors: the Eastern part governed by the Soviet Union, and the Western part jointly by the US, UK, and France. This division led to distinctive political and economic systems affecting urban development. The western part was influenced by Le Corbusier's principles and the CIAM-Athens-charter, while the DDR (GDR) in cooperation with the Soviet regime developed the Sixteen Principles of

Urbanism, which emphasised traditional street design and rejected extensive zoning plans and urban highways (Bernhardt, 2005; Curl, 2006).

In West Berlin, urban planning focused on car traffic. The inner-city highway was a core element of these plans (tip-berlin, 2022). Before the wall's construction in 1961, plans envisioned a massive highway network in a ring structure (Haid & Staudinger, 2022). The first section of the A100 was completed in 1958. From then until 2004 (berlin.bahninfo, 2006), the ring highway was extended by 15 sections although the Berlin Wall halted these plans, making a comprehensive highway network and a ring impossible for the time being. Plans for a ring structure persisted and formed the basis for the current A100 plans.

During the Cold War, highway plans were sidelined but revived in 1992 when the Berlin Senate commissioned the extension to the Eastern parts of the city to connect the reunified city. The A100 extension was included in the Bundesverkehrswegeplan (BVWP), enabling national planning and financing by the Federal Ministry of Transport and Digital Infrastructure BMDV (rbb, 2023). In the meantime the city has developed in all directions and the area once designated for the highway is now densely built up making a ring structured highway system nearly impossible to realise.

3.1.3 Case description

The first section of the A100 was completed in 1958. Figure 5 shows the proposed 1950s highway network (yellow) and current highways (grey), highlighting that former East Berlin has fewer highways. The 16th section, stopping at Treptower Park, is scheduled for completion by early 2025 (entwicklungsstadt.de, 2024). Delays have occurred due to procurement issues and the need for local authorities to manage increased traffic volumes, leading to complications and postponements.

The planning process, called Planfeststellungsverfahren, is managed federally, not by the Berlin senate. This procedure prioritises national projects over local plans, involving a formal public participation process and a "climate check" as part of the national coalition agreement. The 17th section's procedure is expected to start only in 2027 and only when the 16th section is completed (Deutscher Bundestag, 2024; autobahn gmbh.de,2022).

The 17th section will bridge the river Spree, advancing into former East Berlin's Friedrichshain area (now Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg). Options for crossing the river include constructing a new tunnel, using the renewed Eisenbrücke, or building a new bridge solely for the highway. Once the river is crossed, the route will head towards Ostkreuz, a major train station. A proposed two-story tunnel would facilitate traffic in both directions beneath the station. Preparatory construction for tunnel entrances was included in Ostkreuz's renovation. The A100 would then extend towards Storkower Straße, with an intermediate exit on the busy Frankfurter Allee. Traffic plans for the adjacent neighbourhoods of Pankow and Lichtenberg would need to be developed by the respective administrations. Along the way, the construction of the highway would signify the displacement of numerous existing urban structures including residential houses, clubs and other cultural venues, a school and plenty of unused space that could be developed otherwise.

3.2 Data Collection Methods and Sampling Strategies

First, the decision was made to employ qualitative data rather than quantitative data. To gather detailed data the main method is semi-structured interviews. These interviews gather detailed insights from key stakeholders involved in or affected by the highway extension project. An overview of the interview participants can be seen below (see Table 1). The selected method is flexible, allowing exploration of specific themes while letting participants freely express their views. An interview guide ensures all relevant topics are covered, facilitating a natural conversation flow. A predefined interview guide on the other hand would limit the possibilities to provide comprehensive answers for the participants and is therefore more of a quantitative method and not suitable for this research design (Riesmeyer 2011). A purposive sampling strategy is used to select participants for the semi-structured interviews. Participants are chosen based on characteristics that make them relevant to the study, such as their involvement in the highway extension project, their role in local government, or their membership in community or activist groups opposing the project. This strategy ensures that a diverse range of perspectives is captured. For the stakeholder mapping secondary data is used, that is publicly available. Statements of politicians and other civic society organisations regarding the project give an overview of the attitudes and positions of stakeholders and provide a nuanced understanding of the discussion on different political levels. Johnston (2014) emphasises that analysing secondary data involves, similar to the analysis of primary data, systematic course of action. Although such statements might not have been formulated in the context of research, they can provide valuable understandings of broader discourses and perceptions. As the actual number of individual people involved or affected by the highway extension is intangible and beyond the scope of this study, organisations that are acting as representatives of the civil society are examined.

Additionally, participatory observation is used. This involves the researcher immersing themselves in relevant events, meetings, and activities related to the highway extension project. This method provides a nuanced understanding of the context and stakeholder interactions, offering a richer perspective on local resistance and public participation processes (Hammer et al., 2017). A public information and discussion round held by the SPD (Social Democratic Party) in Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg and Lichtenberg, is an example of such participatory observation. The participants were mainly residents of the area impacted by the plans for the 17th section. Guests included a mobility and traffic scientist, a member of the German parliament, local politicians, the chairman of the *clubcommission* and a representative of the civil society initiative *Bürgerinitiative A100*. Notes from such discussions provide context for the collected data next to an overview of the ongoing political and public discourse. Finally, this observation allows to get insights into the procedures of such events and might help to understand informal processes of participation better.

3.3 Research Instruments and Data Analysis

The primary instrument for data collection is the interview guide used during semi-structured interviews. The guide includes open-ended questions designed to bring about detailed responses about participants' experiences and perceptions of the public participation process and the highway extension project. Although the guides were tailored to the participant and their roles, some overlapping questions are included. Those are helpful to make comparisons between different statements. The collected data is subsequently analysed using Atlas.ti, a qualitative data analysis software that aids in coding and thematic analysis. The first step in this analysis process is the transcription of the interviews. This is crucial to ensure the accuracy and completeness of the data. The second step involves

developing a deductive code tree which helps to identify and group patterns and relevant themes related to public participation processes and local resistance. The last step is to compare the data and analyse it to understand relationships and underlying factors influencing stakeholders' perspectives and behaviours and to compare different forms of strategies to opposition and public participation.

Interviewee	Relevance to study
Interviewee 1 - I1 Representative of Changing Cities e.V.	Changing cities e.v. has been involved in organising and participating in protests against the extension. The non-profit civic society organisation is additionally involved in pushing a mobility transition in Berlin and elsewhere. Insights into the practicalities of mobility transitions in Berlin and public participation processes in transportation sectors are valuable for this research.
Interviewee 2 - I2 Representative of clubcommission	The clubcommission Berlin is representing the various clubs that are threatened to be displaced by the A100 extension. Therefore, are the perceptions, perspectives and experiences of these institutions regarding public participation and involvement crucial as important stakeholders.
Interviewee 3 - I3 Representative of AKS Gemeinwohl	The AKS Gemeinwohl is concerned largely with urban planning for the common good and therefore provides perspectives on the common good discussion in Berlin and how cooperation and communication are carried out.
Interviewee 4 - I4 Founder and Representative of "Aktionsbündnis A100 stoppen" (talk on the phone)	Aktionsbündnis A100 stoppen is an organised interest group opposing the extension of the A100. Many protest actions have been organised by this initiative.

Table 1: Overview of Interview Participants.

3.4 Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations are also part of this study. During the interviews, participants revealed potentially sensitive personal information. The collected data is therefore treated carefully. Participants are fully informed about the research purpose, their role, and how their data will be used. Informed consent is obtained from all participants prior to their involvement. Confidentiality is strictly maintained as the identity of the participants is not revealed, and all data is securely stored to protect participants' privacy according to the guidelines of the Rijksuniversiteit Groningen. The selected quotes resulting from the data analysis are also kept confidential and within the context of the interview and this research.

It is important to mention that case study research can be exposed to the researcher's subjectivity towards the topic. This might be induced by an inclination of the researcher to approve assumptions that were held before conducting the research (Flyvbjerg, 2006). This can in turn affect the data analysis process as the qualitative approach of interviews allow for subjective interpretation of the data. A variety of data is used in this research limiting the exposure to a possible bias. It is nonetheless worth mentioning that this subjectivity is omnipresent during qualitative data analysis. It can be assured that the researcher is aware of this and remains as objective towards the data and the research aim as possible.

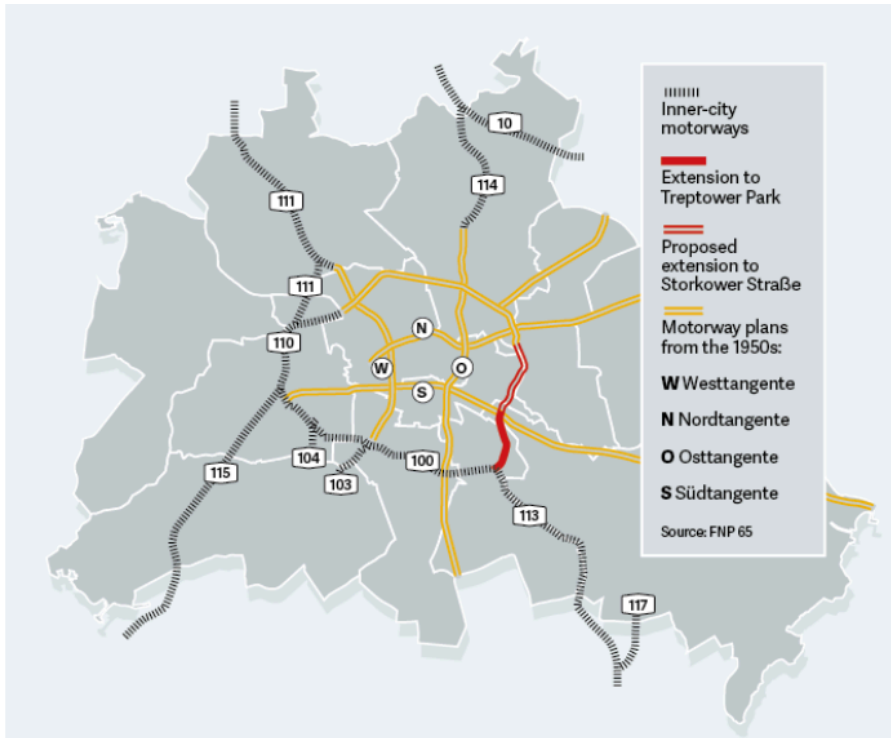


Figure 5: Map of Berlin, with planned inner-city highway network of the 1950s in yellow. Existing inner-city highways in grey and the A100 extension in red. (Source: theberliner.com, 2023)



Figure 6: Exact proposed route of A100's 17th section, crossing the river Spree and tunnel below trainstation Ostkreuz (Source: rbb24.de)

4. Results

The results section of this paper begins with mapping the relevant stakeholders involved in the project of the A100 extension. This is to uncover the stakeholders involved and with an interest and also to get an overview of the complexity of this project. Based on the power grid that was introduced earlier, the stakeholders are categorised in relation to their degrees of power and their expressed interest in the project. ‘

Consequently, the analysis of the collected data follows, where an extract of some of the stakeholders is interviewed and their perception, opinions and narratives are discussed. Quotes from the interviews are supporting the argumentation. This is consequently complemented by notes and reflections resulting from the participatory observation, which will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.

4.1 Stakeholder Mapping

This section provides a comprehensive overview of some of the key stakeholders, their roles and their respective attitudes and positions towards the project. The involved stakeholders are visualised in the form of a model (see Figure 7). As mentioned in previous chapters, this model is useful in categorising involved stakeholders by their degrees of power and their level of interest regarding the project and helps understand the different interests, influences and interactions by the various entities involved better. This represents a selection of political and local civic society stakeholders.

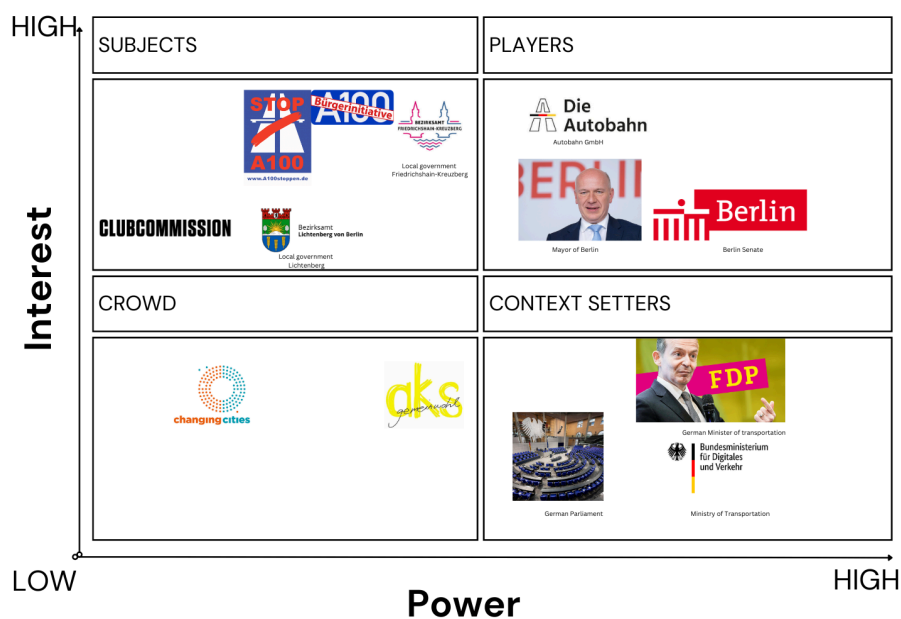


Figure 7: Stakeholder Map of A100 Berlin
(created by author, based on Ackermann & Eden, 2011)

4.1.1 National and Supranational Governmental Level

Beginning on the national level, the overarching governmental entity is the federal German government, the German parliament. Within the parliament there are various ministries, each responsible for a particular sector. The German federal transport ministry (BMDV) is concerned with planning, developing, financing, executing and maintaining the infrastructure network of Germany. Consequently, the BMDV is effectively the main stakeholder on the national scale regarding highways (BMDV, 2022). Both power and interest are high as the ultimate power to conclude decisions lies with BMDV as well as the interest to provide a well-functioning, accessible and safe infrastructure system. The above-mentioned *BVWP* is also developed by this ministry which counts as the basis for all national highway plans.

The federally owned company *Autobahn GmbH* is another national stakeholder. Founded in 2021, it is the national entity planning, constructing and maintaining all highways in Germany. Before that, the federal state held some of those capacities themselves. While this shift fosters effectiveness and efficiency in planning for the highway system, it might fail to consider local concerns and interests. The extension of the A100 is indicated as currently being planned with procedures of project assessment set to begin in 2025 (autobahn gmbh.de, 2022).

The current minister for traffic and transportation is Volker Wissing, member of the “FDP” (Free Democratic Party). The minister stated that following the *BVWP* and “*examination of the plans*”:

“...the demand is evident and is crucial for Berlin’s traffic flow. Residents of existing traffic routes will be unburdened and entire districts of the city better connected. Freight traffic and industry benefit equally.” (abgeordnetenwatch, 2024).

This attitude reflects on the top-down planning approach that relies for the most on numbers, figures and prognoses. A prognosis on traffic volume in Germany for 2051 presented by Dr. Wissing forecast considerable growth over the next few years, mainly in freight traffic (BMDV, 2023).

The A100 extension is not a frequent topic of discussion in the German parliament. The position of the ministry and its minister is evident and is not likely to change. Within the national parliament the extension would have to be contested. Attitudes within the parliament are not clearly expressed. A press release of parliament states the following: “... *there is still no settlement. The traffic committee has declined both requests of CDU/CSU for an extension as well as from the leftist parliamentary group that is supporting a cancellation of the proposed undertaking.*” (Deutscher Bundestag, 2023). This leaves the decision open and “...*it is to be awaited how the new Berlin Senate is going to position itself.*” (Deutscher Bundestag, 2023). This indetermination on the national discussion increases the complexity of the decision-making for this project. The interest of the national parliament as a whole is therefore fairly limited as there are greater national concerns than a highway extension somewhere in Berlin. Wissing’s interest in that particular extension is also not extremely high for the same reasons. Of course the highway network as a whole and its extension is of high interest to the ministry. The national stakeholders contain the highest amount of power while the interest is medium high.

Moreover, there are national and supranational regulations in place that need to be taken into account. Mainly concerned with climate objectives of reducing emissions and reaching carbon neutrality, these regulations are long-term ambitions. The traffic sector did not

manage to reach those in three consecutive years (tagesschau, 2024). The specific sector objectives have been recently reformed allowing for distribution of emissions so the main target can be reached. This does however not mean that the traffic sector can keep emitting on the current scale as the European Union has its “Green Deal” ambitions foreseeing to reach additional regulations. To avoid costly fees, the German traffic sector has to find a way to reduce emissions drastically.

4.1.2 Federal and Local Governmental Level

The Berlin senate, governing the city state Berlin, is elected in five year cycles of legislative periods. The Berlin House of Representatives is currently jointly governed by CDU (Christian-Conservative Union) and SPD (Social Democrats). The elected mayor Kai Wegner, expresses “...*the 16th section makes only sense if the 17th will follow...*” Regarding a potential referendum, the mayor states to “...be confident that a broad majority would vote in favour of the extension” (rbb24, 2023). Interest of the Mayor in completion of the project is rather high. It could be “his” project, showing his voters that he can get things done when the project is ultimately brought under way during his legislative period. The power of the Berlin senate and the Mayor for this project is however more limited as the full decision-making authority lies at the national ministry. It is unlikely that the extension would be pushed through against the will of the local government. There has however not been a concrete positionality, only single voices expressed by different parties, which underlines the contested character of the project (rbb24, 2023).

Recently (2024) the Senator for mobility, traffic and environment was dismissed adding to the uncertainty. The highway was framed as a “climate highway” with “generous solar panels along the way” (taz, 2023) by the former Senator. Since then a new Senator, also a member of the CDU has been appointed. Considering their former position as manager of the local public transport company this new senator might have somewhat different priorities regarding the extension of the highway. Power and interest for this position can be regarded similar to the senate as a whole. The senator holds indirect power in steering the discourse.

More locally, there are attentive bureaus (Bezirksregierungen) for the districts of Berlin. Here, mainly the district Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg is affected as the major parts of the A100 would go through that district. Additionally, the districts of Lichtenberg and Prenzlauer Berg (Pankow) are concerned with the highway as it would end on the edge of those two districts implying increased traffic and a need for adapted mobility concepts for those areas. The respective districts are governed separately and by politically alternating parties than the senate. Friedrichshain-Kreuzbergs local mayor Clara Herrmann, member of the party *Bündnis 90/Die Grünen* (Green Alliance, with priorities on environmental concerns) for example states that: “*Berlin has to be designed for climate resilience... to build new highway sections in times of the climate crisis is insanity*” (Berlin.de, 2022). SPD representative in the district Lichtenberg Tamara Lüdke shares this perception of the extension and adds to the discussion: “...*the extension ultimately supports an increased usage of the individual car.*” Furthermore concerns regarding the common good are put forward: “...*we will not improve the common good for our city if we add additional incentives to the individual car traffic.*” (Tamara Lüdke.de, 2024). Voices of politicians in the district Pankow (of which Prenzlauer Berg is part of) describe the undertaking as “*absurd*” and “*the necessity for the highway is not contemporary anymore...*” (Prenzlauer Berg Nachrichten, 2023). Local political interests

are high as the impact is mainly felt at the local level where the highway route would take place. The actual power that can be exercised from the local government is low in this matter. Increasing public awareness by information and discussion events can be a way to increase awareness.

4.1.3 Local Civil Stakeholders

Local civil stakeholders hold the most interest in the project. Opposition is expressed and organised by those stakeholders. Various strategies for opposition are employed. The different civic organisations involved in opposing the project put forward differing concerns that are prioritised to varying degrees.

The civil society organisation Changing Cities e.V. for example is mainly concerned with sustainable mobility transitions in Berlin. The focus is on fostering measures for a liveable city by “...getting our expertise into the political discourse to create frameworks on the federal and national level to implement the mobility transition locally.” (changing cities.org, n/a). The direct power that can be exercised is not evident but the indirect power of this strategy is undeniable as successes such as the implemented *Radentscheid für Berlin* (cycling law for Berlin) prove.

Another local stakeholder organisation is the clubcommission. This association acts as a representative organ for nightclubs and cultural institutions in Berlin and supports them on various matters. As the A100 threatens at least 21 clubs and cultural facilities' existence, the interests of the clubcommission are high. “The 17th construction section destroys cultural spaces, social projects and community collectives that have grown over decades with barely foreseeable consequences.” (clubcommission.de, 2023). One of those clubs is the *//: About Blank* (see Figure 8), which was also specifically represented during previous demonstrations. The clubcommission observes already a broad trend within the city where more and more of established clubs and cultural institutions are displaced and destroyed. The term “clubsterben” (dying of clubs) is a general concern. This “clubsterben” is oftentimes taking place for the sake of urban development. Marcel Weber, chairman of the clubcommission describes this issue with regards to the 17th section as follows: “...it's based on an assumption from the 1990s that the necessary space is mostly not utilised. Since then, however, a diverse and lively cultural landscape with clubs of international publicity established itself on the fringes of the Berlin train system.” (clubcommision.de, 2023). This underlines the cultural significance of the established institutions in the area and the consequences this displacement would entail for the city's identity and liveability from a socio-cultural perspective.



Figure 8: Picture of //: *About Blank*



Figure 9: Picture of open air cinema *Zukunft am Ostkreuz*

The civil societal organisation AKS Gemeinwohl (AKS common good) functions as an intersection between initiatives, administration and local politics in the district of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg (see Figure 7) with the objective of fostering urban development for the common good. It actively supports common good oriented projects and spaces while offering a platform for experimentation with cooperative urban development. Another aim is to further the dialogue on common good oriented urban development. An example of a recent event organised by AKS was a workshop series “Spektakel auf der Autobahn” (spectacular on the highway) where numerous initiatives invited local residents and interested people to participate in discussions around alternative plans for the free spaces that are reserved for the highway. One of those initiatives is *Zukunft am Ostkreuz* (Figure 9), an open air cinema and alternative cultural venue that recently had to move to an unused space near the Ostkreuz but its existence is threatened again. Interests of AKS are broad and, considering the common good aspect and local impact of the A100, also high regarding the extension. The degree of power is somewhat higher due to the semi-governmental character of the organisation.

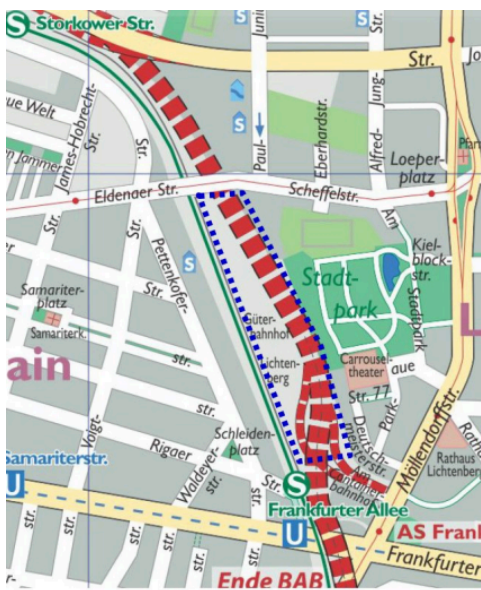


Figure 10 & 11: Area of the old freight depot, with the planned route of the A100 marked in red on the map (Aktionsbündnis A100 stoppen, 2024).

One of the most present initiatives is the “Aktionsbündnis A100 stoppen” (action initiative stop A100). It actively opposes the construction of the highway. Their website presents detailed demands. There is a great variety of collected arguments that discuss the A100 extension from various perspectives. In the past, the initiative organised and promoted a number of protests such as for example a bicycle demonstration back in 2022 (see Figure 8). This grouping is not merely opposed to the extension on the grounds of opposition to car mobility, environmental concerns or to protect the clubs. Those are all important factors but the group’s aims extend beyond them as they are actively concerned with developing alternative land use opportunities for the free space along the current trainline. Those old, mostly former industrial spaces are countless along the way as for example the old freight depot in Lichtenberg (see Figure 7) for which possible solutions have been proposed.



Figure 12: Poster promoting the bicycle demonstration in 2022 (a100stoppen.de)



Figure 13: Poster promoting demonstration in 2024 (bi-a100.de)

It remains to mention that this is only a small selection of civic society organisations active in the resistance and involved in the discussion around the A100 in Berlin. There are of course many more such groupings dedicated to stop the construction and develop alternative solutions. To name another major interest group, the *Bürger*inneninitiative A100* is constantly organising protest actions see e.g. Figure 13). The interest of civic organisation goes also beyond the local scale. National level organisations such as *BUND* (a german environmental activist group), *WaldStattAsphalt* (also german environmental organisation concerned with protecting mostly forests threatened by highway planning) or the international environmental activist organisation *Extinction Rebellion* support for example demonstrations as can be seen on the posters (Figure 12 & 13).

4.2 Interview Analysis

The collected data revealed various findings which are presented in this section. The findings are displayed in categories which were distinguished based on the thematic code tree which was developed during the analysis of the data. Those categories represent different factors influencing the opposition towards the A100 and reflect on public participation processes.

4.2.1 Long life-cycle of the project

The long time span of the A100 extension has put it in a context of changing circumstances and increased uncertainties. Implications of climate change are growing in urgency and there are increasing calls for planning for urban resilience. Plans have not been revised or checked up on since they first got adopted in the BVWP.

“...20, 30 years or so? But I think, kind of. Um, What are the CO2 prices? Um, At that time. It will be so expensive, alone the construction.” (I1, 2024)

This relates to the time that has passed since development of the plans and the time that is going to pass until the project would be finished in “20 or 30 years”. There hasn’t been much emphasis on adapting the plans to changing circumstances, so the sentiment is that this is not likely to change.

“...are organising over a longer period of time such events and are constantly active regarding the highway.” (I3, 2024).

Referring to active oppositions of various groups, this statement shows that resistance is also quite old just as the plans for the extension. There have always been concerns and those have always been expressed.

“Yeah, then it started to get more and more attention and the information events started and then when some concrete plans were there some protests began to form.” (I4, 2024)

Around 2007 was when the awareness began to spread more rapidly. A few years later more accurate plans got presented, and protests began to get organised. During that time the concerns were still directed towards the 16th section. It symbolises the deep embeddedness of resistance to the extension. The long life-cycle of the project caused a lot of uncertainty which is reinforced by the political uncertainties regarding the A100 extension.

4.2.2 Political uncertainty and communication

The current political situation and outlook for the years to come have been mentioned various times during the interviews as a factor of uncertainty. Adding to this uncertainty is the often ambiguous communication by political stakeholders.

“I can't imagine them doing that. But I'm saying that now, because I couldn't imagine a lot of things before the re-election last year. So, of course, you don't know, but it doesn't really speak for it.” (I1, 2024).

This statement relates to the changing power structure in Berlin which brings about a lot of uncertainty. The previous coalition had a differing attitude towards the highway and positioned themselves against it. It is likely that some kind of decision on the highway is ought to be made within the next few years. The uncertainty regarding this decision is high, while hope for a shift in attitudes prevails.

Additionally, there are trust concerns and a disbelief in the ability of being taken seriously by the authorities even though supposedly formal and binding agreements were set up.

"...totally questionable, because there are so many of these referendums... such as with Tempelhof, um, which are all, in principle, not really taken seriously. And that's a huge problem, because if I have the possibility of citizen participation, or something like that, and then nothing happens or they are not taking it seriously. Then this is a disaster. People lose their trust. So, this effectiveness gets lost and that is a big problem for public participation."
(11, 2024)

Referendums held in the past can be contested which was mentioned again by the new senate. This implies the invalidity of previously made decisions with decision-making power at the public's hand. This underlines the sentiment of not being taken entirely seriously.

"It was not that easy for the other coalitions to find a consensus on how to proceed. It would be nice if the senate would communicate with the Federal Government and not support the project. Although I don't think that the SPD and the CDU are that much opposed to it." (12, 2024).

Former coalitions in Berlin as well as on the other political levels had differing views towards the A100 in the past. This has led to disconnected objectives and potentially measures that reverse previous efforts.

"Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg is a green governed district. That means, um, that the interest in the expansion of the motorway is very low and the interest in the involvement and traffic planning of, which is necessary for such larger construction sites, is in the current political situation to be observed to be high. This is also known from the case of Goerlitzer Park, so to speak, where there was a different political level and that did not cooperate with the local level or made the decision anyways." (12, 2024).

Adding to that uncertainty is the different political orientation on the different levels. As the district of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg is governed by *Die Grünen* ("a green governed district"), the Berlin Senate however by the *CDU*, and the federal ministry for transportation by the *FDP*, the different political levels hold different attitudes to the highway extension leading to clashes between them.

"...that is extremely difficult. Well, we as a civil society don't get involved at all. I don't know... if we try to participate on the federal level, we are simply ignored. So, there are very few areas where you have possibilities." (11, 2024).

This resonates with the characteristics of how communication of national entities on the A100. Being planned from a top-down approach the communication and involvement of civil society organisations is clearly not a priority of the decision-makers regarding this project.

“But these are such ridiculous events, um, where the associations are invited. And, um, These are mostly one way events, where you... if you go there two or three times and then you say, no, what are we doing here, this is total nonsense, we just sit there and stuff is getting dumped on us, but we are actually not listened to.” (I1, 2024).

“Ah come on, stop with this. This was never even possible to get through there. If you would get an appointment maybe with someone in the ministry or something, then you would tell them, okay yes this are our concerns, let’s talk about other options etc. and they would be like yes, great and you would never from them again.” (I4, 2024).

Reflecting on events and the communication with the ministry and *Autobahn GmbH* the sentiment of not being listened to and their opinion not being taken into account prevails here.

“That is what they said but they have done nothing yet. Nothing. I don’t know what they think will happen but this is a problem.” (I4, 2024).

This statement reflects on the contract of coalition for the period of 2023-2026 in the Berlin Senate in which the elected government made promises to present a comprehensive traffic plan for the termination of the 16th section. This has not been presented yet.

“That would be desirable in this case if the, yes, the government district, district of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg could somehow oppose it, the proposal of the federal government. But, well, that is, that is probably very difficult.” (I2, 2024).

Recognising the responsibility of the Berlin senate to take an active stance in this development, the demands for them to communicate that to the national government and influence the decision therefore are expressed by this statement.

*“It’s actually unfortunate that these areas are not well coordinated and communicate with each other...That they don’t necessarily always work well together (...)
(I3, 2024).*

Here it is referred to the disconnection of the department of traffic and the department for general urban development within the Berlin government making the development of an integrated plan increasingly difficult.

4.2.3 Public Participation

*“...so participation is not a legally binding measure in Berlin, but it is something that, uh, virtually all offices have voluntarily committed to. (...) It’s more of a voluntary obligation.”
(I3, 2024)*

Looking at how public participation is carried out in Berlin, the experience of being involved from both sides, the civil society side and the political, shows that such processes are often treated as an irritating obligation by the administration.

“Because involvement is, uh, how should I say, it's basically a set of words from an administrative perspective. (...) So sometimes it is made for the documents, so to speak, just to prove that it was done. And then they say, um, yes, uh, exciting, but we can't fulfil all of this, what the people here want.” (I3, 2024).

Expanding on the attitudes of public participation processes in Berlin, this statement illustrates the feeling that those processes and their outcomes are not really taken seriously, especially when it comes to implementing the inputs.

“It doesn't make sense for nobody this way, the planners already made the plans, the deadlines are approaching, construction firms are contracted and paid, so the participation has to happen at a point where there is the sense that you can actually have a say. (...) The participation, as long as it is not politically implemented, stays nothing more than an opinion toll. (...) yes it can't take forever but also have to start early enough. You don't have to wait to start with the participation or co-determination or involvement of the people, those processes if you already decided the projects.” (I3, 2024)

Additionally, the timing of the processes is perceived as not adequate. As they happen in a stage, where the plans are already decided on, the processes of participation come across as tokenistic and with no actual impact at all. The processes are seemingly oftentimes rushed in time which limits the effectiveness and the possibility to get involved.

“I think co-determination is in this context a way more fitting word Um, to say that people desire more co-determination. Because co-determination means to make decisions, to have an active role in what actually happens.” (I3, 2024).

What the affected people, so the residents of Berlin, actually want is a say in the decision and that their words have some weight and are not getting lost in the process is crucial for inclusion of the supposed common good.

“...so this is what we did. There was just an announcement basically. This will be done now. You like it? Good. You don't like it? Well, too bad. So, um, so initiatives formed that said we need to do something and make ourselves heard. And this started then with doing information events and getting more and more people, uhm, to be part of it” (I4, 2024).

Here it is reflected on how initiatives started to form as a response to the announcement of the construction of the 16th section which then later on turned into protests.

“...it's also a question of how this discussion, this participation should be carried out. Because, of course, there are enough people who maybe live a little bit in the outskirts, who would say, hey, I need this motorway, because I have to drive from Marzahn (a district in the northeastern fringes of Berlin) to Steglitz (a district in the very southwestern parts of Berlin) every day to work. And I do that with my car (...). and then there would be enough people in

Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, who would say, yeah, it doesn't make any sense. So yeah the discussion is great, but in the end it has to be part of a concept that is how the city should be developed, that is, that is timely, and, to build a highway in the middle of a residential area is no longer timely.” (I2, 2024).

This stresses the disconnection of the people who are directly affected and the people for whom it is planned and who would supposedly benefit from this extension. The lack of a holistic concept for Berlin's urban development is also mentioned as a factor that might lead to propositions that do not pay sufficient attention to the affected residents (of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg).

4.2.4 Strategies of opposition

“So, our basic strategy is always to make the conflicts visible. (...) And that is also part of our success, that we manage to constantly shift this discourse.” (I1, 2024).

Experiences showed that an ongoing discourse shift can have the power to spread awareness and gain support that it ultimately can influence decision-making and have an impact.

“And that's where we went a little more in the direction that we also say that we really have to look forward to what we can do very concretely. Find points that can be implemented quickly. (...) We started with monitoring, because they don't monitor themselves anymore, how the expansion is progressing.” (I1, 2024).

Adapting to a lack of implementation after the decision was made, a shift to emphasise accountability and monitoring measures is going a step further. This refers to the passed bicycle law which was initiated by *changing cities e.V.* of which only “a fraction” was yet implemented.

“...when we did our first actions with that flash mob on Oberbaumbrücke. And the protest actions kept coming the following years. (...) We did different things...we occupied trees together with, uhm, Robin Wood, or A100 wegbassen together with the clubs there, with the clubcommission.” (I4, 2024).

Public, organised protests against the extension have been widespread and repeatedly took place over the last decade. The cooperation of different initiatives is a common sight to collectively mobilise people and to illustrate the varying concerns.

“...try to build more and more coalitions that go beyond the expected. (...) But it is extremely important, because you get a completely different resonance, if it's not just, oh well, the mobility. So, that makes a huge difference.” (I1, 2024).

This highlights the crucial aspects of cooperation between the different initiatives and its potential to reveal the complexity of the extension and its many-fold negative impacts.

“for example, propose to build this tunnel, that the clubs stay over it, or that the clubs are briefly relocated and then can be withdrawn or rebuilt. (...) think it would be good to get into a conversation to find out how realistic these proposals are. Does it have anything to do with reality at all? And regarding feasibility, I can imagine, would be an something to think about for the operators.”

Here the openness to look at altering solutions and get into a discussion about feasibility is pointed out. Also, the clubs are prepared to find a consensus.

4.2.5 Alternatives

“...so it was not about stopping something or wanting to block something, but also to point out that there are so many other demands for land use that could be facilitated here.”
(13, 2024).

“I’m not anti-cars or something, uhm, I mean I also have a car which I use sometimes in the city. It is not like we want to get rid of car traffic but this is just not the way to use this space. There are so many more issues in this city.” (14, 2024).

Many comments as a response to the resistance are arguing that those protests are merely ideologically oriented, led by “left-wing, green people” and miss the point of the extension as a blessing for the whole city of Berlin slowing down the inner-city car traffic. This is vehemently declined as the opposition goes far beyond that.

Next to the already discussed land uses of clubs and cultural venues, the area of the 17th section includes great amounts of unused land. The vacant land that partially passes the train tracks but also a lot of green spaces provide opportunities for redevelopment. Some of the pressing issues mentioned here are shortages of affordable housing or environmental concerns such as urban heating in the form of urban heat islands which are becoming increasingly problematic.

“...and yes just looking at the city and the countryside it is sometimes almost ten degrees warmer in Berlin. Yes, 10 degrees. That is a lot and, uhm, that’s crazy and then, uhm, then, we think about urban sealing, sealing the city more and more with concrete.” (14, 2024).

The environmental concerns are becoming more pressing and developments like the highway extension would accelerate those trends. There are designated ventilation routes that should only be built up scarcely and mostly left to be green spaces and forests.

“...as many groups as possible and not only from Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg but also from Neukölln as much as possible that they get together so that alternatives can be developed and that for the neighbourhood there is more attention because this area was not necessarily very popular and I think it still is not very popular. But with this series of events we definitely tried to say: Hey, here are those demands and also here is this space and beyond that it is from a climate and sustainability perspective just not reasonable to build the highway there.” (13, 2024).

As many people in the city are affected beyond Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, and there could be public space developed, it is important to also consult people from other parts of the city who express their interests and concerns.

“There should be attractive, publicly accessible and sustainable public spaces as in between usage for those areas. With the current situation, nobody is benefitting, really (...) they could develop a residential area, this can be a prime location for investors and developers. Well accessible by public transport, some greenery nearby and cultural stuff and other amenities all there (...) it would be such a waste” (I4, 2024).

“Berlin has so much space. ... Because you can really do this here, do that there, this is possible. Because there's so much space there, there are these huge, wide boulevards, they're everywhere. If you wouldn't leave them all for the Kfz, you'd have so much more space.” (I1, 2024).

The potential for this area is enormous and to construct a highway there seems to be a waste of this potential.

4.2.6 Urban development (common good)

The framing of large-scale interventions in the urban structure as being for the common good or in the public interest is a familiar practice. It is true that the society as a whole does usually benefit from such projects in one way or another (e.g. increased car mobility). It does not portray the whole story however as this legitimization in advance fails to account for a large variety of concerns.

“...and as a citizen, you can get insights in the plans and can react accordingly and say, we are for the mice that can no longer live there, or whatever. (...) But most of the time, a project like the A100 is understood as a project for the public interest. It serves the community, the common good. And that means that every mouse or social disadvantage, when houses are demolished, they don't count so strongly because they are only of particular interests versus this common good. It's just, they have to listen to you, yes, but afterwards,... it doesn't count as much...” I (I1, 2024).

The justification in the name of the common good is the dominating assumption. This leaves little room for other concerns to be considered.

“The other thing is how I understand common good and I think how common good also in the sense of the association and this project is understood is that it is a very wide and broad term that definitely is not emphasising individual traffic. So that does not fit within the common good. (...) To use so much public and open spaces for individual mobility is not really common good oriented. Especially if all the damage to the climate etc. is created with the highway construction and because the increased traffic passing through there then.” (I3, 2024).

Definitions and understandings of urban development for the common good might differ but following the evaluation of this expert, individual car traffic promoted by a highway extension

is not part of it. This highlights the many underlying concerns that are actual in the public (local) interest.

4.2.7. Mobility transition

“Well so, transport traffic is super, or economic transport is super exciting, so there are a lot of possibilities. (...) it’s only a question of organising and of having a will to actually change it. I don’t really see it as a problem, to be honest.” (I1, 2024).

A major, often mentioned reason to extend the highway is the problem of expected increases in economic traffic as the city will grow. The highway could be a solution but there are countless other, small scale solutions that could be implemented if there would be the political will to do so.

“But if you want to steer things well in a certain direction, then you have to make regulations.” (I1, 2024)

This reflects on how a mobility transition could take place and that sometimes it is necessary to implement top-down measures such as regulations.

“But at the moment, with the current government Or the senate, they sell it as if they were doing something for the cars. When they actually do that, they have to reduce the cars, the numbers. Then they would do something for the cars, for those who are really dependent on the car. They would then get ahead faster. They don’t sit in traffic. But they don’t do that. They say they’re doing something and then change, for example, 70 metres on a main street of speed limit 30 and then change it back to speed limit 50. It’s just pure symbolic politics.” (I1, 2024).

Achieving a mobility transition can not happen without reducing individual car traffic. There are many people in Berlin who are dependent on the use of a car. This displays the concerns that the measures taken in Berlin including the highway extension are symbolic interventions that do not really further a mobility transition while neither supporting car traffic.

“...it is really a low-threshold change. That means it is fairly easy for the administration to implement. And with that do the people who are actively working for it feel that they can achieve something.” (I1, 2024).

This reflects on small-scale local measures that can be taken to further the transition with the involvement of the local community. It additionally points out that feedback loops of participation can be created in which successful implementation enhances confidence for future suggestions.

4.3 Participatory Observation

Next to demonstrations and active opposition, information events with open discussions and presentations are widely held in Berlin regarding the A100 extension. Those are mostly organised by civil society organisations and/or local level politics. Being a form of spreading

public awareness and shifting the discussion, such events are part of the opposition and play their role as semi-informal forms of involvement. Events of this kind advocating for the highway could not be identified. Oftentimes, interested stakeholders such as representatives of initiatives are among the invited guests together with politicians from various governmental levels and academics or other experts. Such events can serve different purposes and can evolve for example around sustainability and sustainable development for which the A100 is a pressing issue (see e.g. Figure 14). They can be also more specific on the highway extension discussing its direct effects and possible ways to hinder the project from being constructed (see e.g. Figure 15).



Figure 14: Invitation to discussion organised by KAOS (Zentrum für Demokratie, 2023)



Figure 15: Invitation to information and discussion organised by SPD Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg

A striking point of observation during an event visited in May 2024 was that many of the visitors (in total approximately 50 people) of whom a large majority lived right in the affected area were generally unaware of the highway extension. It was an information event aiming to spread awareness. Nevertheless, the unawareness of the residents underscores a lack of information and involvement beforehand. The issue of “information channels” was indeed a topic that was addressed right at the beginning when it was asked how the guests became aware of this event and what ways of communication for mobilising such an event can be useful. The discussion began by looking at the traffic prognosis forecasting an increased traffic volume in Berlin by 2051. This was published by the ministry of transport BMDV as to justify the extension. These prognoses were put into perspective by a traffic scientist, pointing out that these prognoses are already wrong as factually the numbers of registered cars is increasing but the number of kilometres driven by car are decreasing over the last couple of years. That is also and particularly true for the years after the pandemic. Furthermore, trends in other cities globally were discussed where urban development moves in the opposite direction. The example of the South Korean city Seoul was mentioned where a highway was removed and the stream that was flowing there before was restored. This underlines that if the political will is there, decisions for alternative solutions and towards a mobility transition are possible.

A representative of the ministry of traffic, member of the SPD, gave insights into the discussions within the ministry and the parliament on the BVWP. This document from 2016 with highway projects plans that have priority status to be constructed, is to be readjusted and reformed. As the extension of the A100 is marked as fixed in this document and technically ready to start constructions, it is not likely that a reformation of the BVWP would change the plans for the A100. A point of uncertainty expressed by this representative was the changing attitude from the Berlin Senate. Initially commissioned by the city of Berlin, and later on declined and readopted again. For the process of reforming the plans, clear positioning would have been desirable and helpful in making a decision.

The chairman of the *clubcommission* appearing as another guest emphasised the importance of looking at all the different relevant concerns for that area of the city and trying to combine them. This should be part of a holistic future vision for the whole city of Berlin. More fundamental questions regarding how we want Berlin to look in the future, what do we want to preserve and what do we want to stand for as a city arise. Berlin is globally an attractive city and has a reputation for its alternative scene, nightlife and comparably cheap opportunities for development and housing. The city is changing though and might lose some of its character along the way to growth oriented projects like a highway extension. A highway at the expense of valuable urban space with established land uses does not seem to fit in that vision for a liveable and attractive city of the future.

For the pending *Planfeststellungsverfahren*, the planning procedure in which city and potentially individual citizens get involved again in adjusting the definite plans, strategies that can be helpful are to delay the process with legal objections from different angles. In the meantime, it remains to keep the discourse going and further spread awareness. The unawareness of many residents was an observation shared by a local politician of the *SPD* who is part of the house of representatives in Lichtenberg. During election campaigns when going from door to door, people often had no idea about the highway extension potentially passing through their neighbourhood. To keep the discourse going and expanding is crucial because it can create pressure on the Berlin government to take an active stance against the extension of the highway. If the voices are getting louder and numbers in opposition increase the senate can not ignore those voices anymore. The spreading of awareness is additionally important in the case of a referendum.

Experiences of other parts of the city where previous sections of the A100 pass were shared as a point of discussion. It was illustrated as one of the worst places in the city, "just smelly, loud and dirty passageways especially below the bridges where all the pigeons are." A suggestion was made to organise an excursion to those places for the ministers of traffic to for once experience the everyday realities of the residents. This underlines the sentiment that there is no thought and consideration for the people directly affected by such a highway, people that live right next to it and experience it every day.

5. Discussion

5.1 Political contexts and Governance approaches

Political contexts and the governance approach have strong implications for the process of planning the A100 and highways in general. High complexities and uncertainties in this project require more attention to detail and differing concerns than can be provided by a solely top-down planning approach.

The disconnection between the stakeholders involved, that operate on different levels was identified as a recurring issue. Local stakeholders do not feel included nor listened to which leads to sentiments of discontent and ultimately opposition. Communication happens to a large extent on a one-way basis in which the local stakeholders were so far only informed and no co-determination in decision-making can be enabled. This reflects on the usual characteristics of highway planning and infrastructure planning in general preferring top-down approaches for increased effectiveness and efficiency in implementation. Much of the diverse concerns and interests get lost in this way. A fixed objective is set in place for this project. That is the improvement of the federal and urban highway network and enhance car mobility in the city of Berlin. This was the goal when the plans were developed for the first time and those ambitions have prevailed since then.

5.1.1 Flexibility and Adaptability

The long-term planning of infrastructure projects requires some form of flexibility to changing circumstances as this research shows. Environmental concerns, social and cultural considerations and an increased call for a shift in urban traffic planning and urban development in general, mark the changed circumstances surrounding this project. As the plans were developed first in the 1950s and later readopted in 1990s, the approaches to urban planning and traffic planning differed to contemporary concepts. A shift in the governance could be observed emphasising more collaborative manners of making decisions. Furthermore, it was recognised that car-oriented urban planning had adverse effects on the liveability and attractiveness of cities, enhancing various societal issues such as urban sprawl, and public health implications. The shift to car-reduced planning practices is marked by a change in beliefs and attitudes in the field of urban planning that rely on different concepts of mobility, measures and instruments of implementation (Schröder & Klinger, 2024). Actors of change play a significant role in this shift, which can be identified as the “policy entrepreneurs” discussed in chapter two. Moreover, the role of local stakeholders and initiatives should get increased attention as they are a major driver of the changing circumstances. In the case of the A100 extension, the long time span allowed for the development of diverse land uses that would be displaced. Those local stakeholders did not exist to a large extent when the plans were first developed but now are of undeniable importance and need to be involved in the decision making process.

5.1.2 Symbol Politics

A sentiment that is shared by many is that politicians often seem to make decisions that are quite disconnected from what people who are directly affected by the outcome of those decisions feel and want. Those decisions are often implemented to prove to their voters that they are getting things done as a sort of symbolic gesture, which works better when the

project at hand is large in size. The financial factor might play a role here too as it adds to the effect of how massive the project is perceived and proves the successful allocation of federal funds “for our city”. Smaller, but also very necessary or even more so interventions, like constructing a bicycle path, don’t weigh as much in the political arena. The A100 is one of the things the current governing mayor of Berlin will be remembered for, so he wants to shift the narrative in a way that leaves a positive image of him as a project like this can indeed be “his heritage”. This might be an assumption, but on the other hand side it was communicated by the mayor in 2023 that:

“They are doing it anyway because they can because now they have the power and they just do it. They tell us that right away. Just accept that you have lost.” (I1, 2024).

While the election results might justify such positions and give the elected officials the power to do so, they also bring the possibility to govern democratically and act in the interest of the whole population of Berlin.

5.2 Public Participation

Directly related to the governance approaches is the involvement of the public in decision-making. The assumption was that the highway is planned in a top-down manner, which implies little consideration for extensive public participation processes. There is no room for deviation of the fixed goals which are predefined and based on pure numbers and calculations. This is reflected in this study as well. The A100 is planned from top-down with the federal ministry making the definite decisions. The more local, the less power is do the political stakeholders hold even though the impacts can mainly be felt at the local level. This counts also for civic society stakeholders and initiatives who are active on the local level. As they are not effectively involved, their possibility to gain power is very limited. During later stages there will be more forms of public participation but the sentiment that those are merely informing and only allow minor changes in the plans remains as experience from the past shows. The formal characteristic allows for a justification of claiming that public participation was carried out, while the fixed goals are not adapted on the basis of public inputs.

5.2.1 Opposition and Strategies

As a result of little possibilities to give input and get involved, opposition towards the project has formed and grown over the years. It can be said that the initiatives have formed as an answer to the format of public participation processes and the frustration of not being able to be involved in the decision making process. The widespread concerns regarding the highway extension are made visible by the opposing initiatives. The forms of opposition range in practice as the interests and motivations of the initiatives do. Cooperation between different initiatives is a key factor, however that is increasingly applied to increase the potential to address more people by combining the different concerns. Influencing the public discourse, spreading awareness and mobilising people are all forms of active opposition that ultimately aim to apply pressure on the decision-making process and get involved in some way. This was stated various times during the interviews.

5.2.2 Informal Processes of Public Participation

As those opposition activities result from a sentiment of frustration towards the formal, legally required public participation processes, actions of opposition can be considered as formats of informal participation. The strategies described above are taking form in discussion rounds organised by civil society initiatives, workshops or active protests. The objectives are to reach co-determination in the decision making process. Applying pressure and letting themselves be heard might be a lengthy process, but it can have the power to influence this process effectively. The goal is, as expressed in the interviews, to gain so much support and be so visible in the public discussion that the local government can not ignore the opposition anymore and take an active stance against the extension in front of the German parliament and BMDV.

5.2.3 Referendum

A possible referendum to decide on the A100 extension is a topic of discussion that became more present in recent years. Referendums can be an instrument of direct democracy potentially fostering public involvement in decision making and increase legitimation and acceptance of a project as it was decided on the basis of a public poll. There are, however, also concerns that referendums fail to fully account for the complexity and various dimensions of the issues at hand by merely providing a binary answer model of yes or no (Del Monte, 2022). Additionally, there is a chance that advocates of the highway within the local government use their coalition building abilities which are arguably more powerful than those of civil society initiatives and can include public political campaigns.

5.3 The Common Good and Mobility Transitions

The discussion on urban planning for the common good is extensive and widespread. Both theoretically and empirically, there is data suggesting that the common good or the public interest is used misleadingly to justify projects and urban planning interventions. On the other hand, it can be utilised to oppose the same projects or interventions implying that those are not done for the common good but with other interests in mind which could be of political or economic nature. Common good initiatives form around local stakeholders that aim to really enhance participation and put forward the interests of the community. Actions and initiatives regarding the common good are in the case of the A100 also involved with opposing the project. In the name of the public interest of the city, arguments against the extension are advanced while developing alternative land use solutions that are common good oriented. Such common good oriented events in the form of workshops or podium discussions can be an active form of self-organised involvement as insights from the interviews suggest.

5.3.1 What is urban planning for the common good in the case of the A100?

To answer this question it is important to look at what is not entailed in urban development for the common good. As described in the interviews, in Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg the enhancement of individual car traffic is not part of the understanding of the common good. Alternative solutions that were presented by common good oriented events emphasise the need for developing the open space that is reserved for the A100 but in a different way. Propositions include public green spaces and space for recreational activities, residential

buildings or even suggestions for an integrated traffic model that does not restrain from car traffic completely but offers integrated solutions for a variety of modes of transport. Some also indicated the desire to not develop the area and leave it as it is to allow for organically evolving land uses as was the case for the clubs that are located in that area. Even though this proposal is not very realistic as the area is very attractive and valuable for development, it displays the appreciation of the existing land use and the characteristics of the area.

5.3.2 Urban development and Identity of Berlin

This leads directly to the next point of discussion which is urban development with the identity of a place and liveability in mind. Berlin has always been a bit different from the rest of Germany as a place of political disruptions, conflicts and historical events that made the city stand out to other big German cities. These events include World War(s) and the Berlin Wall which both led to a lot of destruction but also allowed for many alternative land uses. The past of the city and its development, enabled unique urban structures to flourish including many unused spaces which were developed organically by the city's residents (Emmerink, 2012; Cochrane & Passmore, 2012). This unique and troublesome history made Berlin the city that it is known for today and adds to its popularity. This is changing and it is changing fast. Many popular and beloved places and public spaces are being displaced at the hands of profit-oriented urban development leaving the city stripped of its unique characteristics and converting it into another generic metropolis. Examples of the last two decades are countless including the redevelopment of the alternative, once squatted cultural institution *Tacheles* or the *RAW* area that hosts a variety of institutions on a former industrial space and to be displaced shortly too.

The clubs and venues threatened by the A100 are an integral part of this discussed identity of the city. "Clubsterben" is already a common issue as mentioned. The displacement of over 20 establishments for a highway would mark a massive loss. This could signify an increased perception of destruction of Berlin's identity. This is an important consideration for the future of the city and whether it is going to stay attractive to new residents and visitors but also to potential investors and firms for their relocation.

Alternative considerations for land use might in reality portray solutions and opportunities for urban development that could keep Berlin attractive and competitive as well be in the common good.

5.3.3 Sustainability and the Common Good

Environmental concerns are more frequently part of the common good discussion. Long-term planning should therefore take sustainability factors into account to develop cities for the common good. The mentioned environmental issues in Berlin would be accelerated by the extension of the A100 and potentially increase the pressure on the city climate and liveability. Efforts in that direction can be observed but a coherent and integrated vision is lacking. The debate around the A100 suggests that the political will is lacking in this regard.

5.3.4 Mobility Transitions

The mobility transition is desired, supposedly also in Berlin as for example the passing of the bicycle law points out. This requires that certain measures are taken. Implications for the

development of the transportation infrastructure are therefore crucial. There are concrete alternative solutions to the alleged traffic problem that the A100 extension is supposed to address. Those solutions are within the pursuit of the mobility transitions. Smaller scale solutions to tackle the traffic problems are there. The only hindrance is the political will to explore those options and implement them.

5.3.5 Political Willingness

As mentioned both urban development for the common good as well as mobility transition require adaptations in governance approaches. Decision making should incorporate the ambitions for mobility transformations while also prioritising common good values. Public participation plays an important role in achieving this. Especially the discussed informal forms of public participation can be a valuable instrument.

5.4 Alternative Solutions

The development of alternative proposals is a pivotal part of those more informal processes. Opposition is more likely to be taken seriously and be listened to if concrete alternative solutions are presented. The data reveals a variety of propositions and demands representing the diverse interests and concerns for the area in question as well as for urban development and traffic planning in Berlin.

5.4.1 Holistic Vision

A comprehensive concept that brings together all the input is lacking. This is a challenging task as there are so many different concerns but it is crucial to ensure the implementation of the ambitions. Combining urban mobility concerns with preservation of social spaces and the city's identity, while addressing climate change challenges, sustainable development and urban development for the common good. Additionally, there are concerns regarding the future of the city that go beyond some prognosis for potentially increased car traffic in 2051. The character of the city is getting lost and the need to address societal challenges is more prevalent than ever. Extending an inner-city highway is certainly not the solution for such a complex issue.

5.5 Reflections and Limitations

Some limitations have to be acknowledged in the scope of this study. There is potentially a lack of representation of the variety of stakeholders. As the project is so high in complexity the involved and interested parties are countless. This research might not be able to address and represent the entirety of these stakeholders adequately.

Furthermore, even though case studies can serve as a valid source for generalisability, this case is rather unique in its specific context. Therefore, some of the findings might be limited to the context of this study.

The limited time scope of this study is another factor of limitation for more extensive research.

6. Conclusion

The high complexity and uncertainty surrounding the extension of the A100 requires a reconsideration of governance approaches. A wide range of stakeholders is involved representing a variety of interests and concerns. Increased complexity is added by broader societal trends such as mobility transitions and urban development for the common good as well as threats of climate change and consequently urban adaptation to climate change. The common top-down governance approach for highway planning is observed in the planning of the A100 project. High degrees of complexity and uncertainty ask for more collaborative approaches. As a result of the clashing interests and a sense of no meaningful involvement in the decision-making, local opposition initiatives towards the project is widespread.

The study reveals that more informal processes of public participation as opposed to the legally required formal arrangements, can be an instrument to get involved and claim co-determination in decision-making. Strategies of protests are combined with involvement strategies to influence the public discourse, spread awareness and develop alternative solutions.

The findings of this study indicate that governance approaches in highway planning should put increased attention towards adaptability and flexibility of plans to react to the changing uncertainties. This is particularly crucial for highly complex projects and those with long-life cycles. Failure to account for these complexities sufficiently and to engage in meaningful forms of public participation leads to local opposition and discontent, which in turn undermines the legitimacy of the decision-making processes and the planning process itself. Communication between different levels of stakeholders is another pivotal aspect in shaping the perceptions of a project. This directly relates to the different forms of public participation. Participation only focused on informing is not sufficient communication in such a highly complex project.

Identified strategies towards achieving the objective of opposition are multidimensional ranging from applying political pressure over shifting the discourse to actively propose alternative solutions and can potentially lead to forms of co-determination. Political willingness is often identified as a hindrance of successfully implementing measures.

Implications for infrastructure planning and urban planning in general are diverse. The importance of aiming for consensus in planning approaches becomes clear as well as the need for adaptive approaches of governance and project management. Furthermore, important considerations regarding urban development for the public interest in relation to socio-cultural perseverance versus profit-oriented urban development were revealed that inclusive and integrated urban planning approaches should aim to address.

The political uncertainty regarding the extension of the A100 will likely remain a point of conflict. When the 16th section is completed, which is uncertain, the discussion might get readopted and if opposition keeps growing and manages to keep shifting the discourse there might be new considerations for public participation. It is however unlikely that different forms of participation will be introduced as long as the political constellation remains as is. One thing is fairly certain and that is that until a final decision is made some time will pass and until construction, if approved, would be completed, a lot of time will pass by. The question of whether the inner-city highway will be needed from an urban mobility perspective is to be answered in the future. This will have to depend to a large extent on the political willingness and preparedness to adapt in decision-making.

Future research could be concerned with how to bring about more adaptive governance approaches and what, next to political willingness blocker of more adaptability could be. A similar case study in a different political context can provide additional insights on public participation processes in highway or infrastructure planning in general. Another point of interest could be to further explore the dynamics of displacement justified by allegations of the common good and further investigate urban planning for the common good and its framing.

7. References

- Aaltonen, K. & Kujala, J. (2010). A project lifecycle perspective on stakeholder influence strategies on global projects. *Scandinavian Journal of Management*, 26(4), 381-397.
- Ackermann, F. & Collin, E. (2011). Strategic Management of Stakeholders: Theory and Practice. *Long Range Planning*, 44(3), 179-196.
- Agora Verkehrswende (2017). *Transforming Transport to Ensure Tomorrow's Mobility - 12 Insights into the Verkehrswende (short version)*. Berlin: Agora Verkehrswende.
- Alexander, E.R. (2005). Institutional Transformation and Planning: From Institutionalization Theory to Institutional Design. *Planning Theory*, 4(3), 209-223.
- Allmendinger, P. (2017). *Planning Theory*. London: Palgrave.
- Arnstein, S. (1969). A Ladder Of Citizen Participation. *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 35(4), 216-224.
- Arts, J. (2007). *Nieuwe Wegen? Planningbenaderingen voor duurzame infrastructuur*. Groningen: Rijksuniversiteit Groningen.
- Banister, D. (2008). The sustainable mobility paradigm. *Transport policy*, 15(2), 73-80.
- Barber, B. (2013). *If Mayors Ruled the Worlds. Dysfunctional Nations, Rising Cities*. New Heaven: Yale University Press.
- Baum, H. (2001). "Citizen Participation". In *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 1840-1846.
- Baumgartner, F.R. & Leech, B.L. (1998). *Basic interests: The importance of groups in politics and in political science*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- BBC (2020). *How our daily travel harms the planet*. Retrieved on 20th January 2024 from: <https://www.bbc.com/future/article/20200317-climate-change-cut-carbon-emissions-from-your-commute>
- Bennett, W.L. & Segerberg, A. (2012). The logic of connective action: Digital media and the personalization of contentious politics. *Information, Communication & Society*, 15(5), 739-768.
- Berechman, J. (2018). Interest Groups: Advocacy and Opposition. In: *The Infrastructure We Ride On*. Palgrave Macmillan: Cham.
- Bernhardt, C. (2005). Planning Urbanization and Urban Growth in the Socialist Period: The Case of East German New Towns, 1945-1989. *Journal of Urban History*, 32(1), 104-119.
- Berlin.de (2022). *Clara Herrmann zur Weiterplanung der A100 - Pressemitteilung Nr. 69 vom 29.03.2022*. Retrieved on 20th of February 2024 from: <https://www.berlin.de/ba-friedrichshain-kreuzberg/aktuelles/pressemitteilungen/2022/pressemitteilung.1191210.php>
- Berlin.bahninfo (2006). *Stadtautobahn in Westberlin 1965-1989*. Retrieved on 15th of June 2024 from: <http://berlin.bahninfo.de/a100.html>
- Berliner Mietverein (2015). *Abriss wegen A100-Verlängerung*. Retrieved on 20th of February 2024 from: <https://www.berliner-mieterverein.de/magazin/online/mm0415/041508a.htm>
- Bloomberg/Cantrill, A. (2023). *The Plan to Bulldoze Hipster East Berlin to Pave a New Autobahn*. Retrieved on 23rd of February 2024 from: <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2023-09-07/berlin-plans-a100-autobahn-link-to-the-former-east-despite-local-opposition>
- BMDV (2022). *Aufgaben und Struktur*. Retrieved on 23rd of February 2024 from: <https://bmdv.bund.de/DE/Ministerium/Aufgaben-Struktur/aufgaben-struktur.html>

- BMVD (2016). *Bundesverkehrswegeplan 2030*. Berlin: Bundesverkehrsministerium für Verkehr und digitale Infrastruktur.
- Bocquet, D. & Laborier, P. (2016). *Sociologie de Berlin*. Paris: La Decouverte.
- Brewer, A. M. (2019). A bridge in flux: Narratives and the policy process in the Pacific Northwest. *Review of Policy Research*, 36(4), 497-522.
- Broto, V. & Robin, E. (2023). Embracing Change in Infrastructure Landscapes. *Landscape Research*, 48(2), 165-173.
- Bundesministerium für Umwelt, Naturschutz und nukleare Sicherheit (BMUB) (2016). *Climate Action Plan 2050. Principles and Goals of the German Government's Climate Policy*. Berlin: Bundesministerium für Umwelt, Naturschutz und nukleare Sicherheit.
- Cao, L. (2022). Participatory governance in China: Informal public participation through neighbourhood mobilisation. *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space*, 40(8), 1693-1710.
- Changing Cities.org. (n/a). *Lebenswerte Städte, die für alle gleichermassen offen, sicher und gesund sind*. Retrieved on 10th of May 2024 from: <https://changing-cities.org/verein/>
- Clubcommission (2023). *Kultur erhalten. Umwelt schützen - A100 stoppen*. Retrieved on 18th of February from: <https://www.clubcommission.de/kultur-erhalten-umwelt-schuetzen-a100-stoppen/>
- Cochrane, A. & Passmore, A. (2001). Building a national capital in an age of globalization: The case of Berlin. *Area*, 33(4), 341-352.
- Creswell, J.W. (2014). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative and mixed method approaches* (4th ed.). SAGE Publications.
- Curl, J. (2006). *A Dictionary of Architecture and Landscape Architecture*. 2nd Edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dente, B. (2011). *Le decisioni di Policy*. Bologna: Il Mulino (eds.)
- Deutscher Bundestag (2022). *Antrag der Abgeordneten: A 100 qualifiziert beenden*. Drucksache 20/1913. Berlin: Deutscher Bundestag.
- Deutscher Bundestag (2023). *Weiterhin keine Einigung über Weiterbau der A100*. Retrieved on 6th of June 2024 from: <https://www.bundestag.de/presse/hib/kurzmeldungen-940686>
- Deutscher Bundestag (2023). *Antrag der Fraktion der CDU/CSU: A 100 fertig bauen*. Drucksache 20/5545. Berlin: Deutscher Bundestag.
- De Roo, G. & Porter, G. (2007). *Fuzzy Planning*. 1st Edition. London: Routledge.
- De Roo, G. (2013). *Abstracties van Planning*. 1st Edition. Groningen: Coöperatie In Planning UA.
- De Roo, G. (2018). Ordering Principles in a Dynamic World of Change - On social complexity, transformation and the conditions for balancing purposeful interventions and spontaneous change. *Progress in Planning*, 125(2018), 1-32.
- Del Monte, M./EPRS - European Parliamentary Research Service (2022). *Referendums on EU issues. Fostering civic engagement*. 978-92-846-8875-3. Brussels: European Union.
- Deutscher Bundestag Wissenschaftliche Dienste (2024). *Planfeststellungsverfahren für Infrastrukturvorhaben*. WD 7 - 3000 - 031/24. Berlin: Deutscher Bundestag WD.
- De Vaus, D. (2001). *Research design in social research*. SAGE Publications.
- Di Maddaloni, F. & Davis, K. (2017). The influence of local community stakeholders in megaprojects: Rethinking their inclusiveness to improve project performance. *International Journal of Project Management*, 35, 1537-1556.

- DW (2022). *Berlin musicians protest highway expansion*. Retrieved on 16th of February from:
<https://www.dw.com/en/germany-musicians-strike-note-of-protest-against-highway-expansion/a-62711759>
- Edwards, P. (2017). The Mechanics of Invisibility: On Habit and Routine as Elements of Infrastructure. "In" Ruby, A. & Ruby, I. (Ed.), *Infrastructure Space* (327-336). Berlin: Ruby Press.
- Emmerink, M. (2012). *Restraum Entdecken - An explanatory Spatial Research on In-Between Space at the Inner City Fringe of Berlin*. Msc. Delft University of Technology. Available at:
<https://repository.tudelft.nl/islandora/object/uuid:2126b59a-c47a-4bcf-83f8-ee6d40b347a4> (Accessed at: 25th of November 2023).
- Entwicklungsstadt (2021). *Gegen den Weiterbau der A100 formiert sich breiter Widerstand*. Retrieved on 18th of February 2024 from:
<https://entwicklungsstadt.de/gegen-den-weiterbau-der-a100-formiert-sich-breiter-widerstand/>
- Entwicklungsstadt (2022). *A100-Ausbau: Berliner Senat stellt sich gegen die Bundespläne*. Retrieved on 20th of February from:
<https://entwicklungsstadt.de/a100-ausbau-berliner-senat-stellt-sich-gegen-die-bundesplaene/>
- Entwicklungsstadt (2024). *A100 in Treptow: 16. Bauabschnitt wird im ersten Halbjahr 2025 eröffnet*. Retrieved on 20th of April from:
<https://entwicklungsstadt.de/a100-in-treptow-16-bauabschnitt-wird-im-ersten-halbjahr-2025-eroeffnet/>
- European Commission (2020). *The New Leipzig Charter - The transformative power of cities for the common good*. Brussels: European Commission.
- Eriksson, P.E., Larsson, J. & Szentes, H. (2019). Reactive Problem Solving and Proactive Development in Infrastructure Projects. *Current Trends in Civil & Structural Engineering*, 3(2), 1-3.
- Erkul, M., Yitmen, I. & Celik, T. (2016). Stakeholder Engagement in Mega Transport Infrastructure Projects. *Procedia Engineering*, 161, 704-710.
- Exberliner (2023). *Roads to nowhere: How Berlin protest can stop the A100 extension*. Retrieved on 16th of February from:
<https://www.exberliner.com/politics/roads-to-nowhere-how-berlin-protest-can-stop-the-a-100-extension/>
- Federal Institute for Research on Building, Urban Affairs and Spatial Development - BBSR (2021). *Glossary of urban development for the common good*. 978-3-98655-000-4. Bonn: Federal Institute for Research on Building, Urban Affairs and Spatial Development (BBSR).
- Flyvbjerg, B. (1998). *Rationality and Power: Democracy in practice*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2004). Five Misunderstandings about Case-Study Research. *Sociologisk tidsskrift*, 12, 117-142.
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2007). Policy and planning for large-infrastructure: problems, causes, cures. *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, 34, 578-597.
- Focas, C. & Christidis, P. (2017). *What drives Car Use in Europe?* Joint Research Centre Science Policy Report. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union.

- Fox-Rogers, L., Murphy, E. & Grist, B. (2011). Legislative change in Ireland: A Marxist political economy critique of planning law. *Town Planning Review*, 82(6), 639-668.
- Freeman, R., Harrison, J. Wicks, A., Parmar, B., & De Colle, S. (2010). Stakeholder theory. In: *The State of the Art*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Fung, A. (2006). Varieties of participation in complex governance. *Public Administration Review*, 66(1), 66-75.
- Geels, F., Sovacool, B., Schwanen, T. & Sorrel, S. (2017). Sociotechnical transitions for deep decarbonization. *Science*, 6357(357), 1242-1244.
- Hague, C. & McCourt, A. (1974). Comprehensive Planning, Public Participation and the Public Interest. *Urban Studies*, 11(2), 143-155.
- Haid, C. & Staudinger, L. (2022). Yesterday's Utopia and Today's Reality: Post-War Housing Models in West Berlin. In Scopacasa, A (Ed.). *The Social City: Urban Development and Housing Projects in Berlin and Naples in the Post-War Era - A Comparison: Theoretical Models, Implemented Projects, Social and Political Impacts Today*. (237-248). Berlin: Universitätsverlag der TU Berlin.
- Healey, P. (1996). The communicative turn in planning theory and its implications for spatial strategy formation. *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, 1996 (23), 217-234
- Healey, P. (1999). Institutional analysis, communicative planning, shaping places. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 19, 111-121.
- Healey, P. (2015). Citizen-generated local development initiative: recent English experience. *International Journal of Urban Sciences*, 19(2). 109-118.
- Healy, N. & Hogan, A. (2012). Community Engagement strategies in large-scale infrastructure projects. *Journal of Community Development*, 43(2), 208-226.
- Hudon, P. & Floricel, S. (2023). The development of large public infrastructure projects: integrating policy and project studies models. *Policy and Society*, 42(2), 148-163.
- Hunecke, M., Haustein, S., Grischkat, S. & Böhler, S. (2007). Psychological Sociodemographic, and Infrastructural Factors as Determinants of Ecological Impact CAused by Mobility Behavior. *Journal of Environmentally Psychology*, 27(4), 277-292.
- Huitema, D., Lebel, L. & Meijerink, S. (2011). The strategies of polic entrepreneurs in water transitions around the world. *Water Policy*, 13, 717-733.
- Innes, J. & Booher, D. (2004). Reframing public participation: strategies for the 21st century. *Planning Theory & Practice*, 5(4), 419-436.
- Innes, J. & Booher, D. (2014). A turning point for planning theory? Overcoming dividing discourses. *Planning Theory*, 14(2), 195-213.
- Isaksson, K. (2014). Mobility Transitions - The necessity of Utopian Approaches. "In" Bradley, K. & Hedren, J. (ed.), *Green Utopianism* (112-128). New York: Routledge.
- Jarenko, K., Puustinen, S. & Mäntysalo, R. (2013). *The multifaceted public interest: making sense of Finnish planner professionals' conceptions*, 5th AESOP-ACSP Joint Congress: *Planning for Resilient Cities and Regions*. Dublin: Ireland.
- Jenkins, K. & Yakovleva, N. (2006). Corporate social responsibility in the mining industry: Exploring trends in social and environmental disclosure. *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 14(3-4), 271-284.
- Jo, S. & Nabatchi, T. (2022). Different Processes, Different Outcomes? Assessing the Individual-Level Impacts of Public Participation. *Public Administration Review*, 81(1), 137-151.
- Kallenbach, T. (2020). Narratives of urban mobility in Germany: on the threshold of a departure from the car-oriented city? *Transportation Research Procedia*, 45, 356-365.

- Khan, J. (2013). What role for network governance in urban low-carbon transitions? *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 50, 133-138.
- Kooiman, J. (1993). *Modern Governance: New Government-Society Interactions*, London: Sage.
- Koppenjan, J., Veeneman, W., van der Voort, H., ten Heuvelhof, E. & Leijten, M. (2011). Competing management approaches in large engineering projects: The Dutch RandstadRail project. *International Journal of Project Management*, 29(6), 740-750.
- Legacy, C., Gibson, C. & Rogers, D. (2023). Infrastructural gaslighting and the crisis of participatory planning, *A Economy and Space*, 0(0), 1-18.
- Lemos, M. & Agrawal, L. (2006). Environmental Governance. *Annual Reviews*, 31(2006), 297-325.
- Matu, J., Kyalo, D., Mbugua, J. & Mulwa, A. (2020). Stakeholder participation in Project Planning: Prerequisite to Effective COmpletion or Urban Road Transport Infrastructure Projects in Kenya. *Journal of Building, Construction and Planning Research*, 8, 73-91.
- Meijerink, S. & Huitema, D. (2010). Policy Entrepreneurs and Change Strategies: Lessons from Sixteen Case Studies of Water Transitions around the Globe, *Ecology and Society*, 15(2), 17.
- Monno, V. & Khakee, A. (2012). Tokenism or Political Activism? Some Reflections on Participatory Planning. *International Planning Studies*, 17(1), 85-101.
- Murphy, E. & Fox-Rogers, L. (2015). Perceptions of the common good in planning. *Cities*, 42(2015), 231-241.
- Nabatchi, T. (2012). Putting the "Public" back in Public Values Research: Designing Participation to Identify and Respond to Values. *Public Administration Review*, 72(5), 699-708.
- Niekerk, F. & Voogd, H. (1999). Impact Assessment for Infrastructure Planning: Some Dutch Dilemmas. *Environmental Impact Assessment Review*, 19(1), 21-36
- Nijhuis, J. (2013). *Consuming mobility - A practice approach to sustainable mobility transitions*. Wageningen University: Wageningen.
- Özogul, S. (2019). *Transformative Spatial Governance: New Avenues for Comprehensive Planning in Fragmented Urban Development*. (Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam).
- Pflieger, G., Kaufmann, V., Pattaroni, L. & Jemelin, C. (2009). How Does Urban Public Transport Change Cities? Correlations between Past and Present Transport and Urban Planning Policies. *Urban Studies*, 46(7), 1421-1437.
- Prenzlauer Berg Nachrichten (2023). *Letzte Ausfahrt Storkower Strasse*. Retrieved on 20th of May 2024 from: <https://www.prenzlauerberg-nachrichten.de/2023/01/12/letzte-ausfahrt-storkower-strasse/>
- Rbb24.de (2022). *Wie die geplante Autobahnverlängerung Bund und Berliner Senat entzweit*. Retrieved on 20th January 2024 from: <https://www.rbb24.de/politik/beitrag/2022/03/berlin-autobahn-a100-ausbau-bund-17-baueabschnitt.html>
- Rbb24.de (2023). *Wegner will über Tempelhofer Feld und A100 abstimmen lassen*. Retrieved on 20th of February from: <https://www.rbb24.de/politik/wahl/abgeordnetenhaus/agh-2023/beitraege/wegner-cdu-plan-berlin-tempelhofer-feld-bebauen.html>
- Rbb24.de (2023). *Drohenedes Aus für Clubs: Mehrere Tausend Menschen demonstrieren gegen A100 Ausbau*. Retrieved on 16th of Februar from:

- <https://www.rbb24.de/politik/beitrag/2023/09/berlin-a100-demo-wegbassen-autobahn.html>
- Rbb24.de (2023). *Wie es nun mit der A100 weitergeht*. Retrieved on 1st of March 2024 from: <https://www.rbb24.de/politik/beitrag/2023/03/berlin-autobahn-a100-verlaengerung-cdu-spd-wie-geht-es-weiter-faq.html>
- Reckwitz, A. (2002b). Toward a theory of social practices. A development in cultural theorizing. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 5, 243-263.
- Rondinelli, D., Nellis, J. & Cheema, S. (1983). *World Bank Staff Working Paper: Decentralization in Developing Countries: A Review of Recent Experiences*. Washington DC. World Bank.
- Rotter, M. Hoffmann, E., Hirschfeld, J. Schroeder, A. Mohaupt, F. & Schaefer, L. (2012). *Stakeholder participation in adaptation to climate change - Lessons and experience from Germany*. 1862-4359. Germany: Institute for Ecological Economy Research (IÖW).
- Schatz, L. & Rogers, D. (2016). Participatory, technocratic and neoliberal planning: An untenable planning governance menage à trois. *Australian Planner*, 53(1), 37-45.
- Schipper, F., Emanuel, M. & Oldenziel, R. (2020). Sustainable Urban Mobility in the Present, Past, and Future. *Technology and Culture*, 61(1), 307-317.
- Schneider, T. (2021). Justice. "In" Nationale Stadtentwicklungspolitik. *Glossary of Urban Development for the Common Good*. (71-76). Bonn: Federal Institute for Research on Building, Urban Affairs and Spatial Development - BBSR.
- Schröder, A. & Klinger, T. (2024). From car-oriented to car-reduced planning practices: The complex patterns of actors' mobility-related beliefs in developing a new neighborhood.
- Semeraro, T., Nicola, Z., Lara, A., Cucinelli, F. & Aretano, R. (2020). A Bottom-Up and Top-Down Participatory Approach to Planning and Designing Local Urban Development: Evidence from an Urban University Center. *Land*, 9(4), 1-25.
- Straatemeier, T. & Bertolini, L. (2020). How can planning for accessibility lead to more integrated transport and land-use strategies? Two examples from the Netherlands. *European Planning Studies*, 28(9), 1713-1734.
- Tagesschau. (2024). *Verkehr hat Klimaziel auch 2023 deutlich gerissen*. Retrieved on 10th of June 2024 from: <https://www.tagesschau.de/inland/expertenrat-klimaziel-verkehrssektor-100.html>
- Taz (2023). *Berliner Verkehrssenatorin Manja Schreiner "Ich will niemanden umerziehen"*. Retrieved on 20th of February from: <https://taz.de/Berliner-Verkehrssenatorin-Manja-Schreiner/!5932876/>
- Taz (2023). *Ein bisschen Lärm muss sein*. Retrieved on 20th of June 2024 from: <https://taz.de/Koalitionsvertrag-fuer-Berlin/!5924852/>
- Tipberlin (2022). *Berlin und die Autobahn - Geschichte des urbanen Autobahnverkehrs*. Retrieved on 20th January from: <https://www.tip-berlin.de/stadtleben/geschichte/berliner-autobahn-geschichte-urbaner-schnellverkehrs/>
- Tipberlin (2021). *Vermieter kündigt Zukunft am Ostkreuz: Noch mehr Kulturorte betroffen*. Retrieved on 20th of June 2024 from: <https://www.tip-berlin.de/kultur/zukunft-am-ostkreuz-mietvertrag-gekuendigt/>
- Tsavachidis, M. & Le Petit, Y. (2022). Re-shaping urban mobility - Key to Europe's green transition. *Journal of Urban Mobility*, 2(2022),
- Umweltbundesamt (2023). *Emissionen des Verkehrs*. Retrieved on 15th of February 2024 from:

<https://www.umweltbundesamt.de/daten/verkehr/emissionen-des-verkehrs#verkehr-belastet-luft-und-klima-minderungsziele-der-bundesregierung>

- United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (2016). *The Paris Agreement*. New York: UNFCC.
- Verweij, S. (2014). Achieving satisfaction when implementing PPP transportation projects: a qualitative comparative analysis of the A15 highway DBFM project. *International Journal of Project Management*, 33(1), 189-200.
- Vuorinen, L. & Martinsuo, M. (2019). Value-oriented stakeholder influence on infrastructure projects. *International Journal of Project Management*, 17(5), 750-766.
- Werhane, P. (2019). Globalization, Mental Models and Decentering Stakeholder Approaches. In: Bevan, D. Wolfe, R. & Werhane, P. (Ed.), *Systems Thinking and Moral Imagination. Rethinking Business Ethics with Patricia Werhane* (129-144). Springer: Cham.
- Woltjer, J. (2000). *Consensus Planning: The Relevance of Communicative Planning Theory in Dutch infrastructure development*. Reissued 2018. New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.
- Wu, L. (2023). Effects of informal institutions on stakeholder and public participation in public infrastructure megaprojects: a case study of Shanghai. *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, 66(8), 1655-1674.
- Yin, R. (2009). *Case study research: Design and methods* (4th ed.). SAGE Publications.
- Yin, R. (2014). *Case study research and applications: Design and methods* (6th ed.). SAGE Publications.
- Zipori, E. & Cohen, M. (2014). Anticipating post-automobility: design policies for fostering urban mobility transition. *International Journal of Urban Sustainable Development*, 7(2), 147-165.

