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Urban Planning and Transport Policy Integration: The role of governance hierarchies and networks in London and Berlin

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Abstract

This article investigates how the integration of urban planning and transport policies has been pursued in key case study cities since the early 1990s. Focusing on the underlying institutional arrangements, it examines how urban policymakers, professionals and stakeholders have worked across disciplinary silos, geographic scales and different time horizons. The article draws on expert interviews, examination of policy and planning documents, and review of key literature from two cities, London and Berlin. The article presents two main findings. First, it identifies converging trends as part of the institutional changes that facilitated planning and policy integration. Second, it argues that rather than building on either more hierarchical or networked forms of integration, planning and policy integration are linked to a hybrid model that combines hierarchy and networks.

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1 Introduction

This article investigates the integration of urban planning and transport policies that has emerged in two key European case study cities since the early 1990s. Focusing on the case of London and Berlin, the research explores urban practice which developed after key institutional reforms since then. It also inquires about the degree to which new approaches to urban governance have been able to advance planning and policy integration beyond relying on hierarchical decision-making structures and processes.

The research is centrally attached to a prominent subject of public administration, policy and planning: the coordination and integration of collective decision making and action. Approaching this subject through the lens of how urban governance has engaged in steering the physical development of cities over the recent decades, the research focuses on a scale, concern of governance and period, which are contexts that are characterised not only by substantial ambitions in advancing planning and policy integration but by its necessity.

Since the early 1990s, the governance of cities saw an increasing awareness of ‘wicked problems’ (Harrison 2000, Head 2008, Weber and Khademian 2008), above all the environmental crisis, and an accelerated demand for more coordinated and integrated policy responses coupled with a greater popularity of system thinking. Furthermore, considerable cross-sectoral synergies are particularly characteristic of the scale of the city and have been specifically referred to as the so-called ‘urban nexus’ (GIZ and ICLEI 2014).

This research concerns the governance of urban planning and transport, arguably the most fundamental urban policy nexus and one that is commonly addressed by strategic planning efforts. This focus is captured by the following two overarching research questions, which form the central reference for all elements of this article:

1. *How has the integration of urban planning and transport policies been pursued in key case study cities since the early 1990s?*

2. *In what ways do these strategies draw on hierarchical and/or networked mechanisms of integration?*

This article is divided into four main sections. It first presents a literature review of planning and policy integration. It then introduces the methodology based on a comparative case study approach. The main two sections that follow are dedicated to discussing the empirical findings. Section 4 addresses the first research question and covers a perspective on the extent to which converging or diverging trends have characterised the relevant recent institutional changes in the two case study cities. Section 5 focuses on the second research question and presents the analysis regarding the reliance on hierarchical and/or network-oriented means of integration.

2 Revisiting planning and policy integration

Since the early 1990s, often alongside references to the 1992 Rio Declaration with its principle of sustainable development (United Nations 1992), demands for integrated policy making have become ubiquitous. Equally and directly related, in an urban development context, “going beyond sectoral approaches” (CEC 1990, p1) has been a constant theme for some time. Most recently, the ‘urban’ Sustainable Development Goals (SDG 11) make reference to “integrated and sustainable human settlement planning” and target “adopting and implementing integrated policies and plans” (UN 2015, Goal 11.3 and 11.b).

This section covers a discussion of the integrated ideal in urban governance which is followed by a range of definitions of integration. The final part introduces a framework of integration mechanisms which assisted the comparative research approach.

The integrated ideal and urban governance

Demands for introducing or intensifying policy integration are typically related to market and policy failures, alongside political ideology and the inability of existing arrangements to deliver desirable outcomes. At the city level these calls are motivated, for example, by the desire to address the negative outcomes of sectoral policies of previous decades, which have been particularly persistent

for urban planning and urban transport (CEC 1990, EC 1999, Potter and Skinner 2000, OECD 2001, World Bank 2002, EU 2007, Kidd 2007, UN Habitat 2009, UNEP 2011).

Integration is variously seen to: take advantage of synergetic effects and to improve policy coherence (OECD 1996, Greiving and Kemper 1999, Paulley and Pedler 2000); avoid blind spots, inefficient duplication and redundancy (6 et al. 2002, Anderson 2005, Bogdanor 2005, Kidd 2007); overcome poor sequencing (6 et al. 2002); enhance social learning (Nilsson and Eckerberg 2007, UN Habitat 2009, Rydin 2010); and break organisational lock-in to escape institutional inertia and enable innovation (Geiger and Antonacopoulou 2009, Sydow et al. 2009).

Above all, the global environmental crisis has elevated the need for simple coordination to a far more ambitious strategy for integrated governance. Typically, this crisis is coupled with increasing difficulty for governments at all levels to respond to new sets of interdependencies that cut across disciplinary and departmental boundaries (Gillett et al. 1992, Hajer 1995) – the ‘wicked’ problem of our time (van Bueren et al. 2003, Brown et al. 2010) . And while sustainability is often identified as a central reference for policy integration, territorial development has been singled out as strategically positioned for its translation into specific investment programmes and regulatory practices (Albrechts et al. 2003). This directly relates to city-level governance and the opportunities that exist for metropolitan and city governments to address the urban nexus and to steer spatial development. Urban governance tends to be seen as a mode of organising policy around place-based intervention, which requires horizontal integration instead of functionally organised sectors and silos which prevail at higher levels of governance (Stoker 2005).

Furthermore, the recognition of various integrative skills and capacities of local government (Richards 1999) has itself motivated the desire to devolve powers from national to metropolitan and city governments. Spatial planning in particular, a policy field which is usually led by city governments (Rode et al. 2014), is driven by a desire for greater coordination, and contemporary planning has been characterised as ultimately being “about integration and joined-up thinking in the development of a vision for an area” (Rydin 2011, p19). The 2009 UN Habitat report on planning sustainable cities

even points to the potential “to use spatial planning to integrate public-sector functions” (UN Habitat 2009 pvi).

Across various urban governance concerns, the particular dynamics between land use and transport, and related environmental stresses, position the pair at the forefront of the ‘green’ integration agenda (Geerlings and Stead 2003, Kennedy et al. 2005). Within urban transport, related challenges have been specifically linked to a “bad distribution of the responsibilities between the many parties involved” (Dijst et al. 2002 p3). Hence, a range of policy statements have highlighted the role of integration and cooperation across different departments, service providers and different levels of government in helping to ‘green’ the sector (DETR 2000, ECMT 2002, US EPA 2010).

At the same time, integration has also been linked to discredited planning and policy practices. In today’s context, the planning expert John Friedmann emphasises that “the integration of ‘everything’ in policy terms has been a cherished dream of planners as long as I can remember” (Friedmann 2004 p52). He notes that, besides integrating the two traditional dimensions of the social and economic, integrating environmental sustainability and cultural identity as part of territorial policy agendas is hopelessly overambitious.

The importance of recognising the limitations of coherent policy making has been articulated in numerous publications over recent decades (OECD 1996). Having analysed ‘joined-up’ governance in the UK, Pollitt identifies a number of specific costs associated with greater integration (Pollitt 2003). These include lines of accountability that are less clear, difficulty in measuring effectiveness and impact, opportunity costs of management and staff time, and organisational and transitional costs of introducing cross-cutting approaches and structures.

Before moving to the empirical sections of this article, below follows an introduction of key definitions and the framework of integration mechanisms which this study utilised.

Defining integration

Stead and Geerlings (2005) suggest we should regard policy integration as “the management of cross-cutting issues in policy-making that transcend the boundaries of established policy fields” (p446). In

his book on integrating land use, transport and the environment, Westerman (1998) refers to integration as implying “a concern with the whole, agreement on common outcomes, and a commitment to actions and targets to achieve these outcomes” (p.3).

While these characterisations of policy integration make it entirely clear that it is policies themselves that are subject to integration, the actual use of the term in the context of urban planning and transport policies often expands beyond it. For a robust analysis there are at least three important subcategories or forms of integration that need to be differentiated. The first form of integration is concerned with the integration of systems, which includes built form, infrastructure networks and the larger socio-spatial structures of cities. The second form of integration refers to the inclusion of additional policy targets that previously were either not considered or played only a marginal role in the decision-making process. The third form of integration is governance integration, which refers to the joining-up of institutional arrangements that, in most cases, were subjected to a far-reaching division of labour. It is, as Lawrence and Lorsch (1967) have defined it, “the process of achieving unity of effort” (p4). It is the third form of integration related to the spatial governance of cities that this research focuses on.

Substantially richer than basic definitions of planning and policy integration in the reviewed literature are references to various levels, hierarchies or ladders of integration (Westerman 1998, Greiving and Kemper 1999, Potter and Skinner 2000, Geerlings and Stead 2003, Meijers and Stead 2004, Hull 2005, Stead and Geerlings 2005). In this context it needs to be stressed that the three related terms – coordination, cooperation and integration – are often used interchangeably, while subtle differences have been identified with regard to their policy impact and the formally structured processes that they require. Using the example of land use and transport policy, Greiving and Kemper (1999) regard ‘coordination’ as aiming to achieve higher levels of policy coherence, while integration entails the combination of policies.

Besides levels of integration, there are two different directions of integration which dominate: vertical and horizontal integration (Greiving and Kemper 1999, Hull 2005) – a differentiation that has emerged from theories of corporate organisation (Schreyögg 2007). In public administration, vertical

integration is usually required where different tiers of government overlap. A typical example is the coherence of urban policy at the city level with that at the national level impacting the city, or the delivery of major infrastructure such as transport, energy, waste and water projects (Barker 2006). Horizontal integration, on the other hand, is policy integration within the same governance level but across different policy sectors or portfolios such as energy, economic development, housing, transport and planning (Curtis and James 2004).

Towards a framework of integration mechanisms

In political science, discourses on integrated governance commonly identify three generic types of coordination devices: hierarchy, markets and networks (Thompson 1991). Given the focus of this article on public administration rather than the private sector, it mainly considers hierarchies and networks. In such contexts, Scharpf (1997) identifies four principal coordination mechanisms: unilateral action, negotiated agreement, majority vote and hierarchical direction. For this study, four groups of integration mechanisms were identified and differentiated: first, those related to governance structures, second, those that focus primarily on processes of planning and policy making, third, a range of more specific integration instruments and fourth, underlying enabling conditions. Below follows a more detailed description of each of these mechanisms.

In an ideal world, integrated governance is above all facilitated by creating *structures of governments and governance*, including strong legislative frameworks, which are conducive to more coherent planning and policy processes. In that regard it is broadly accepted that institutional architecture and governance structures have a profound impact on the behaviour of actors within them (Powell and DiMaggio 1991, Newman and Thornley 1997, Rhodes 1997, Nee and Strang 1998, Pierre 1999). A first order and defining structural element of governance is administrative boundaries. Beliaeff et al. (2007) emphasise that if these reflect contemporary system boundaries instead of being the result of historic demarcations, they can act as major facilitators for greater policy coherence.

A further structural factor central to integration capacities is the distribution of responsibility, power and oversight across and within different government levels. A basic integration mechanism relies, for

example, on authority bundled in one identifiable coordinator or ‘overlord’ who in turn facilitates the steering of activities at different subordinate units (Bogdanor 2005). But hierarchy as an organising principle and related institutional structures have also led to severe shortcomings and are regarded as unable to cope with more complex conditions (Chisholm 1992, Hansen 2006).

Network structures, on the other hand, are based mainly on informal communication and coordination between experts and divisions with relatively flat hierarchies (Quinn 1992, Snow et al. 1992, Goold and Campbell 2002). Here, authority is replaced by trust, mutual interest and interdependence (Powell 1990) and hierarchical accountability by shared responsibility (Newman 2004). Peters (1998) argues that the capacity of networks to allow for effective coordination is informed by characteristics such as the degree to which networks are integrated with each other, the interdependence of their members and their level of formality.

While broader discourses on coordination and integration underline the critical role of governance structures, related discussions in the context of urban planning and transport policies tend to focus on *integrated planning processes*. Differentiating governance structures and planning processes is not always easy and there is a considerable degree of overlap between the two. One differentiation is a tendency by which structures are conventionally seen as static, and processes as dynamic elements of organisations or institutional arrangements (Hennig 1934, Nordsieck 1972). From this dynamic character of processes follows a temporal dimension: planning processes are defined by steps and stages, which include different interrelated tasks and milestones. The inclusion or exclusion, as well as the sequencing and assignment of these tasks, centrally determine the level of integrated planning.

A defining element of integrated planning processes relates to the collaboration between the most relevant stakeholders (Belaieff et al. 2007) and a cross-sectoral approach reaching beyond the public sector (Greiving and Kemper 1999). It requires persuasion, open information, learning and a culture of support (6 et al. 2002) as well as social bonds, which assist planning and policy integration through informal collaboration (Bogdanor 2005). Some further suggest that the type of collaboration required for integrated planning relies on various forms of public participation and that involving all stakeholders is critical for integrated outcomes (ISIS 2003, Hansen 2006, Innes and Booher 2010).

Both integration structures and processes are usually supported by a range of *integration instruments* and *enabling conditions*. Cutting across all of these is information and communication technology (ICT), which “holds out the promise of a potential transition to a more genuinely integrated, agile, and holistic government” (Dunleavy et al. 2006 p489). A first set of more specific integration instruments includes strategic visions and integrated plans. Visions can offer a great potential for aligning individual policies (Geerlings and Stead 2003), joining them under a ‘highest level holistic strategy’ (Potter and Skinner 2000 p284) and balancing the role of the private sector. Integrated plans, on the other hand, are at the heart of coordinating different policy fields, particularly in a spatial planning context.

Integrated planning is further supported by calculative instruments designed to assess, compare or prioritise various policy options. Such tools may include all kinds of assessments (e.g. financial, economic or environmental assessments), multi-criteria analysis, appraisals and forecasting and backcasting methods which have been developed over time and in each category now include relatively sophisticated, often computer-assisted, approaches. Planning and policy integration also centrally depend on the distribution of resources, in particular finance (Webb 1991, Geerlings and Stead 2003). Over the last decades, Anglophone countries in particular have tried to make use of a budget process targeting multidimensional policy objectives as a key device for policy coordination (6 2005).

A broader set of conditions which enable integration relates to the capacity of individuals, groups and civil society – a form of social and institutional capital (Baker and Eckerberg 2008) – to engage with multidimensional, cross-sectoral policy making. Similarly, leadership has been directly linked to achieving cooperation and coordination within social groups (Calvert 1992). Leadership has also been explicitly highlighted as part of policy integration, particularly in the context of environmental policy (Ross and Dovers 2008, Jordan and Lenschow 2010) and integrated spatial planning (Stead and Meijers 2009). More generally, the quality of senior elected officials play a particularly important role in the context of urban governance where true political will is needed for the integration of complex urban systems (Paulley and Pedler 2000). At a basic level these enabling conditions are concerned

with increasing knowledge and experience beyond a core discipline and expertise. Finally, the plurality of actors also beyond the formal institutions of the state can in itself serve as an important enabling condition particularly for accessing information which is not readily available in professional networks.

3 Research framework and methodology

In response to the above research questions, this article investigates how the integration of urban planning and transport policies has been pursued in Berlin and London since the early 1990s. The analysis presented is based on a comparative, multiple case study method (Agranoff and Radin 1991, Yin 2013) and looks at two case study cities and their regions, London and Berlin. Besides comparing the governance for two different cities, the research evolves around contrasting different institutional arrangements that existed in each of the two cities at different times.

Generalising from case studies for a theoretical understanding is directly assisted by including more than one case (Yin 2013). Essentially, comparison allows for removing “the idiosyncratic nature of many case studies” (Agranoff and Radin 1991, p204). This article is structured around cases of ‘urban governance’. Pierre (2005) defines urban governance as “the process of coordinating and steering the urban society toward collectively defined goals” (p448). Given the particular focus of this research on the strategic level of governance, the analysis involves a particular but not exclusive analysis of ‘urban governments’ – “the reliance on political structures in governing the local state” (p448).

The chosen cases of urban governance and government come from the two cities Berlin and London and their metropolitan regions. In addition the cases are bounded by a temporal focus covering the two decades from the early 1990s onwards, following the introduction of a global commitment to sustainable development. Across that period, particular attention is given to the phases that followed after important institutional reforms. In Berlin, this implied a particular attention to the period from the late 1990s to the mid-2000s while the primary focus in London was on the decade following setting-up the Greater London Authority in 2000 and cutting across the Livingstone administration up to 2008 and only the initial years of the Johnson administration.

Embedded in these cases is the unit of analysis which is defined as ‘integration mechanisms’ facilitating the integration of urban planning and transport policy. The main groups of analysed integration mechanisms are the above introduced governance structures, planning processes, integration instruments and enabling conditions. The effectiveness of these integration mechanisms is considered in relation to planning and policy capacity (as judged by interviewees and other studies) rather than with regard to policy outcomes. The latter would be very difficult to establish given the considerable causal complexity between institutional arrangements and policy outcomes.

In each of the two case study cities, three types of data sources were used for this study: newly generated data was based on expert interviews, and existing data consisted of documentary information and archival records. Data analysis was both part of a ‘collect and analyse’ phase conducted separately for each of the cases and of a ‘compare and conclude’ phase cutting across both cases. The main method for data analysis within each case was based on inductive coding and categorising supported by constant comparison, evaluation and interpretation. For comparing findings across both cases, a cross-case synthesis based on a compare and contrast exercise then led to conceptual generalisations based on pattern matching.

The two case study cities were mainly selected as ‘critical cases’ (i.e. cities that are of particular relevance for a better understanding of integrated urban practice), while also taking into consideration ‘extreme case’ selection (i.e. the largest conurbations within broader geographic regions characterised by significant urban change and a certain degree of urban governance complexity). The decision for selecting only two case study cities seemed a reasonable compromise between dealing with a manageable amount of cases, whilst allowing for an instructive degree of comparative analysis.

Following an information-oriented selection, the most important criterion for selecting the case study cities was the existence of an integrated planning agenda. Based on this criterion, the higher-income European context emerges as a suitable global region for the case study analysis, combining an urban policy focus on sustainable urban development (EU 2007) with ‘strong-state’ traditions, including a significant capacity for public sector-led strategic development (Albrechts et al. 2003). Furthermore, most European countries have a long history of multi-level governance, and European-

level policy on sustainable urban development and city governance holds the cases together even across different national contexts. Also, within the EU, both the United Kingdom and Germany have pioneered cross-sectoral integration as part of urban policy since the 1990s (Gibson 2005, Blatter 2006).

Another criterion differs from the ones above insofar as it seeks to ensure that there is relevant difference between the two case study cities, rather than ensuring further commonalities. This provides instructive insights on how a common set of principles are implemented in different contexts. The most valuable differentiator identified for selecting the case study pair is differences regarding the level of centralisation of urban governance, the overall planning culture and attitudes towards government.

The selection of London and Berlin as the two case study cities for this article follows directly from these criteria. To begin with, the key differentiator related to planning culture identifies the UK as being among the few European countries which operates a discretionary planning system, where planning decisions are taken on a case-by-case basis. Spatial planning in Germany (and in most other Continental countries), on the other hand, is based on a binding system, including legally binding land use plans (Albrechts 2004). In terms of their administrative regimes at the city level, London traditionally represents a more decentralised approach with independent boroughs as core units of local government while Berlin is a more centralised system, dominated by a citywide government (Röber et al. 2002).

Understanding how urban planning and transport policies are related to each other requires access to tacit knowledge not readily available in existing documents and archives. Even though some of the organisational structures of city governments, their agencies and planning processes are formally documented, they do not necessarily represent the day-to-day practice of urban policy making, planning and implementation. It is for this reason that this case study research relied heavily on expert interviews (Bogner and Menz 2009, Littig and Pöchl 2014) with key stakeholders centrally involved with taking the key decisions related to the urban development and transport nexus, as well as experts who have deep knowledge of the related processes and dynamics.

This research included about 20 in-depth interviews with key stakeholders in each city. Most interviews were conducted in batches during two main phases, a first scoping phase in 2007 and an in-depth follow-up phase in 2012 and 2013. Given the role of leadership in integrated governance, a considerable number of political and administrative leaders were included. Interviewees included the former Mayor of London Ken Livingstone, former Minister for London Nick Raynsford and former Berlin Senators for Urban Development Peter Strieder and Ingeborg Junge-Reyer. Interviewed senior executives and civil servants were London's Transport Commissioner Peter Hendy, State Secretary Engelbert Lütke Daldrup and several borough heads (borough mayor/head of urban development) in both cities. Their views and insights were complemented by a range of other experts, civil servants, policymakers and private/third sector representatives. A list of all interviewees who agreed to their name being published is attached in the Appendix.

4 Contrasting planning and policy integration in Berlin and London

This section compares mechanisms that assisted the integration of urban planning and transport strategies in the case study cities and directly addresses the first research question on how integration was pursued in Berlin and London since the early 1990s. Besides a general overview on each city's governance reforms, it includes a more explicit discussion on tendencies towards convergence and divergence of the two city's respective approaches to integration. This discussion is structured by the groups of integration mechanisms introduced earlier. Ultimately, this article contends that converging trends across the two cities feature more strongly, which also establishes the basis for some of the tentative generalisations to follow further below.

Reforms of Berlin's and London's governance

As a result of their particular histories and the path dependent evolution of systems of government, Berlin and London today feature distinctively different arrangements. Above all, it is important to emphasise their distinct national systems: In the case of Germany, a federal state with strong, constitutional powers assigned to state and municipal level governments and in the case of the UK (England), a unitary state with a particularly strong centralisation at the national level. The main

context of recent urban governance change in Berlin has been Germany's reunification while in London it is linked to the UK's devolution agenda.

Arguably, Berlin has undergone one of the world's most radical political and administrative transformations as part of Germany's reunification. Reunification meant the adoption of West Germany's constitution or 'basic law' (Grundgesetz - GG (1983)) for reunited Germany in 1990 (BGBl 1990, Art 3). This law determines the three principal German governance scales and the roles for their respective governments. It defines the powers assigned to the federal government (Art 72 and 73 GG), guarantees default powers in Art 30 and 70 to Germany's 16 Bundesländer (federal states) and to Germany's municipalities (Art 28.2 GG).

In the unique case of Berlin, reunification also meant that two city governments of two distinctively different political regimes had to be merged. The new Land Berlin was created by joining the West German State of Berlin with 2.1 million residents in 12 boroughs (Bezirke) and the former GDR Capital City Berlin (Hauptstadt Berlin) with 1.3 million inhabitants in 11 city districts (Stadtbezirke). This re-established political territory was granted an unusual status, prominently emphasised by the first Article of Berlin's constitution (VvB 1995): "Berlin is a German Land and at the same time a municipality" (Art 1,1, VvB). It implies that one single government is responsible for state level responsibilities such as education, policing and culture, as well as municipal powers typically including water and energy provision, waste management and local planning.

The first decade after re-unification saw considerable reforms of Berlin's administration, which also led to the reduction of the number of departments in Berlin from sixteen to ten in 1994 and then to eight in 1998 (Wegrich and Bach 2014). Berlin's Senate Department for Urban Development and the Environment (SenStadtUm), as it is constituted today, is an amalgamation of portfolios that were initially part of three different departments. Over time, combining these portfolios and including urban planning and design, housing, building, transport and the environment created one of the world's most comprehensive urban development departments. The integrative advantage of this was felt throughout the administration and was emphasised by every single interviewee in the Berlin case study. Jan Eder, Managing Director of the Berlin Chamber of Commerce, identified a relatively

positive ‘interlocking’ and Klaus J. Beckmann, Director of the German Institute of Urban Affairs (Difu), speaks of the ‘Chorverständnis’ (the mutual understanding and comprehension of a choir) which the department created.

A further exception in Berlin’s governance is the city’s two-tier structure. Unlike boroughs in German cities without city state status, such as Munich, Cologne and Frankfurt, Berlin’s boroughs are responsible for a whole range of municipal tasks, mostly linked to service delivery and implementation of city-wide policy. However, legally, borough administrations can only act ‘on behalf of the Land Berlin’ (Land Berlin 2011, Art 2). A more recent reform in urban governance was the reduction of the number of local borough administrations from 23 to 12 in 2001. This also involved granting greater powers to the boroughs and relaxing the procedural standards of certain local planning routines. Primarily motivated by reducing overall administrative costs, interviewees at the borough and state level also confirmed that it made it possible to strengthen and professionalise borough administrations, which ultimately improved planning integration.

While Germany and Berlin were reunited, another major administrative task and reform was re-defining the relationship of the Land Berlin with the surrounding Land of Brandenburg. Berlin’s functional urban region is today associated with a metropolitan region which includes between 5 to 5.8 million inhabitants (Eurostat 2012, Burdett et al. 2014b) with well above 1.5 million inhabitants living in the Land of Brandenburg. After a proposed merger of the two Länder failed in a referendum in 1996, new administrative powers were assigned to a joint-state planning effort. A newly created Joint Berlin-Brandenburg Planning Department (GL) began its work in 1996, charged with steering and integrating spatial development in both Länder. Overall, GL integration and coordination structures in the case of spatial planning appear to compensate for the absence of a single state overseeing spatial developments across the entire metropolitan region.

Even though London’s governance has not seen the dramatic changes of Berlin, it too has undergone considerable reform over the last decades and this can certainly be considered radical within its political context. The most relevant change has been the reinstatement of a London-wide government in 2000, with a directly elected mayor. This reform followed the election of New Labour in 1997 and

an election promise to re-establish a London government following the abolition of the Greater London Council by the Thatcher government in 1985.

Among the key powers that were assigned to the GLA, strategic planning and transport were among the most important ones alongside inward investment, policing and overseeing emergency services. Important mayoral powers in relation to the subject of this study evolve around the preparation of the spatial development and transport strategies. For these, the Mayor also needs to guarantee, as highlighted above, cross-sectoral coherence and alignment with other tiers of government (GLA Act 1999, Section 41). An important administrative reform that occurred alongside the Greater London Authority was the establishment of Transport for London (TfL) – still today one of the most progressive institutional arrangements for planning and operating transport at the city level. TfL oversees mobility delivery for all transport modes: walking, cycling, all public transport and road traffic. Ultimately, the main political and executive power within the GLA lies with the directly elected Mayor who also oversees TfL, chairing its board and appointing the transport commissioner and its board members (Pimlott and Rao 2002, Travers 2002).

With regard to the governance of London's wider metropolitan region, which, depending on one's definition, includes between 12 and 21.8 million inhabitants (Eurostat 2012, Burdett et al. 2014a), a formal unified mechanism does not exist. In parallel to setting-up the GLA, New Labour granted some powers to the other two metropolitan regions, the East of England and South-East England (Travers 2003, Allmendinger and Haughton 2009). These were all part of the government's devolution agenda at the time which, besides establishing the GLA, led to the creation of Regional Assemblies and Regional Development Authorities for the two regions outside of London. Widely regarded as performing below expectations, they were abolished between 2009 and 2010 (Pearce and Ayres 2012). One key shortcoming was their weak and indirect electoral representation, mainly through councillors from local authorities.

Overall, the interviews, as well as the relevant literature, clearly suggest that integrative planning capacities were indeed improved in London over the analysed period, particularly at the strategic level. GLA directors emphasised that “we are getting better at it”, with integration having improved

for “big strategies but less so further down the ‘food chain’”, or that integration is “generally better but less clear the more you go down to a lower spatial level.” A clear identification of “new links” and “a particularly positive experience with transport” were referred to by borough and national government representatives. Further acknowledgements referred to integration as “probably a lot more effective than what we would give London credit for” and one interviewee emphasised “that London is in a much better shape in terms of planning and transport integration than it was pre-2000.” The Commissioner for Transport, Peter Hendy, put it simply as “this is the best situation ever.”

Related academic literature echoed such assessments and also identified overall improvements in more coordinated spatial and transport planning (Travers 2003, Thornley and West 2004, Allmendinger and Haughton 2009). At the same time both the interviews and the literature also urged a more nuanced perspective. Some underscore the limits to actual change in the planning system due to its inertia (Allmendinger 2011), persisting fragmentation (Pimlott and Rao 2004, Imrie et al. 2009) or, above all, unsolved vertical integration in London, which in particular has led to tensions between strategy and delivery. More recently, there has also been a reversal of some of the advances in regional strategic planning.

In summary, for both cities, the research revealed one central and relatively consistent view among most interviewees and in the relevant literature: the integration of urban planning and transport strategies has markedly improved from the 1990s onwards.

Convergence: Sectoral integration by citywide governments

Convergence of integrating governance structures, the first of the four general groups of integration mechanisms, in the two cities is greatest for sectoral links at the citywide level. This was centrally informed by administrative reforms that made the overall governance of the two cities more similar (Röber et al. 2002): the decentralised model of London’s governance became more centralised with a new strategic citywide administration while Berlin’s powerful administrative centre became more strategic, reducing costs and devolving some planning powers to the boroughs. Today, both cities

represent urban governance cases that combine and try to balance centralised and decentralised governance (see Figures 1 and 2).

ECONOMY	ENVIRONMENT/ PLANNING	INFRASTRUCT./ TRANSPORT	EDUCATION/ CULTURE	HEALTH/ SOCIAL SERV.	SECURITY	OTHER
GERMAN FEDERAL GOVERNMENT						
ECONOMY AND TECHNOLOGY	TRANSPORT, BUILDING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT		EDUCATION AND RESEARCH	HEALTH	DEFENCE	FINANCE
WORK AND SOCIAL	ENVIRONMENT, NATURE CONSERVATION AND NUCLEAR SAFETY			FOOD, AGRICULTURE, AND CONSUMER PROTECTION	INTERIOR	FEDERAL FOREIGN OFFICE
TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT				FAMILIES, ELDERLY, WOMEN AND YOUTH	JUSTICE	
LAND BERLIN GOVERNMENT						
ECONOMY, TECHNOLOGY AND RESEARCH	URBAN DEVELOPMENT AND ENVIRONMENT		EDUCATION, YOUTH AND SCIENCE	HEALTH AND SOCIAL	INTERIOR AND SPORT	FINANCE
				LABOUR, INTEGRATION AND WOMEN	JUSTICE AND CONSUMER PROTECTION	
12 BERLIN BOROUGHES						
ECONOMY	URBAN DEVELOPMENT		EDUCATION AND SPORT	HEALTH		REGULATIONS
	STREETS AND PUBLIC SPACE			SOCIAL SERVICES		
	ENVIRONMENT			YOUTH		

Figure 1: Structure of Berlin's government

Source: own representation

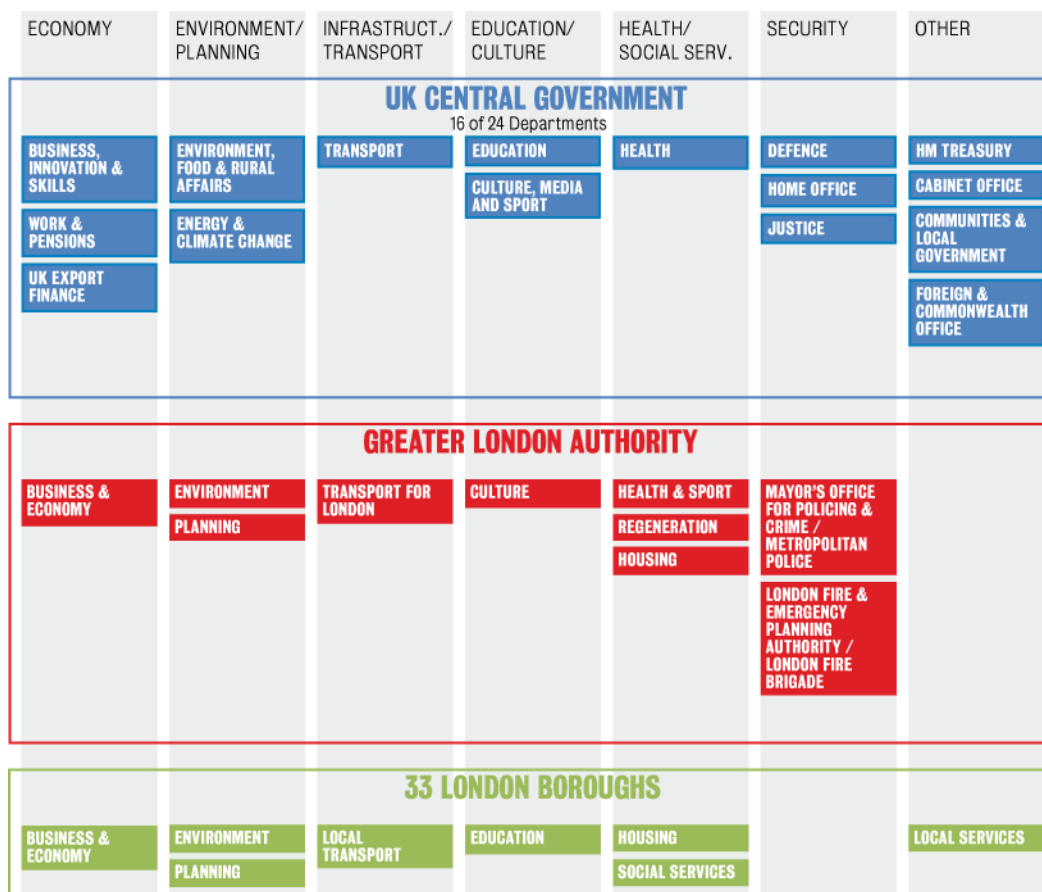


Figure 2: Structure of London's Government

Source: Rode et al. (2014)

As part of these broader shifts, Berlin and London share three principal structural changes, which provide the backbone for planning and policy integration. First, spatial planning functions and transport policy making were concentrated within one larger organisational unit. And, most importantly, this unit is not competing for power, autonomy or legitimacy with another unit with a similar remit. In the case of Berlin, this is the Senate Department for Urban Development and the Environment (SenStadtUm), which was created in its current form in 1999 (see Figure 3). In London, the Greater London Authority (GLA), with Transport for London (TfL), was set up in 2000 and similarly bundled spatial development and transport.

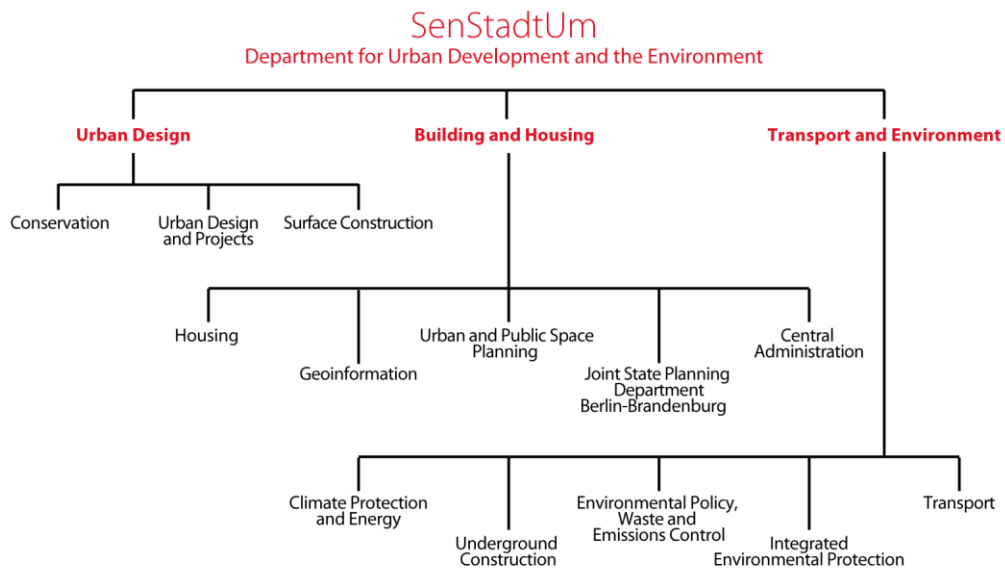


Figure 3: Organogram of SenStadtUm

Source: own representation based on SenStadtUm (2015)

Second, hierarchical organisation was coupled to effective leadership as part of planning and policy coordination. In London, the directly elected Mayor who first came to power in 2000 can easily be singled out as the most important structural component for planning and policy integration. Berlin's constitutionally endorsed 'portfolio principle' establishes a hierarchical and monocentric organisation of senate departments and the strong line management within SenStadtUm continues to function as a critical integration mechanism. Top-level leadership is provided by the Senator for Urban Development, who has also been identified as key integrative force alongside his/her state secretaries and the department's directors.

Third, newer forms of network governance have emerged as additional factors, which have ultimately improved planning and policy integration. But rather than more inclusive notions of deliberative democracy and participation by the general public, the form of network governance mostly referred to consisted of professional public and private network actors which represent a form of 'networked technocracy'. These advanced the quality of collaborating with each other and increasingly co-produced more integrated urban and transport development.

In Berlin, network integration was helped by a constitutional requirement for ‘public authorities participation’, the ‘collegial principle’ between senate departments and the recognition of ‘organisations of public interest’ as a critical network actor. More recently, these have been complemented by a range of boards and advisory committees, and a substantial increase in project-based work. London’s network governance advanced particularly throughout the 1990s when a citywide government did not exist and, as a result, unusual coalitions had to be developed. The legacy of that period continues to facilitate a more fruitful exchange between different tiers of government, public, private and third-party actors.

Besides changes to governance structures two other analysed groups of integration mechanisms displayed converging trends: a wide range of planning processes and instruments were enhanced or set up following a similar approach to assist the integration of urban development and transport. Four high-level commonalities can be identified with regard to planning processes and instruments that broadly assisted integration.

First, there is the capacity of strategic plans – the London Plan and Berlin’s FNP in combination with the urban development concept – to set a holistic agenda for urban development and to commit to a clear vision for the city. Second, there is a certain consistency of targeting mainly strategic issues at the level of citywide planning processes, while allowing for a degree of flexibility necessary to adjust to specific local conditions without compromising overall strategic objectives. Third, strategic planning in both cities is a continuous process, with ongoing engagement of a range of network governance actors and frequent updates of the most relevant planning frameworks. And fourth, subsequent and parallel sectoral planning efforts, above all those related to transport, directly build on and inform strategic citywide planning. In addition, various concrete and similar technical integration instruments cutting across monitoring, modelling, forecasting and various assessment methods were advanced to assist planning and policy integration.

Divergence: The vertical alignment of urban planning and implementation

Overall, diverging approaches to integration in Berlin and London relate to ongoing, stable differences rather than cases of increasing dissimilarity. Most of these differences can be linked to path dependencies created by the above mentioned broader institutional and cultural context within which the two cities operate. Hence they are mostly related to the first group of integration mechanisms, those related to governance structures.

Furthermore, London's government is based on a mayoral system with a strong, directly elected mayor and a relatively weak assembly, which mainly fulfils a scrutiny function. Berlin's government is cabinet-based with currently eight Senators and a Governing Mayor. The Mayor is elected by Berlin's powerful House of Representatives and appoints all Senators, who prior to changes in 2006, were also elected by the House of Representatives. In the case of London, top-level integration of planning and transport strategies is provided by the Mayor who is balancing transport and land use integration with other policy objectives, above all economic development. In Berlin, top-level integration is provided by the Senator for Urban Development, which allows for a 'purer' form of integrating the core agendas of spatial development and transport, which are both assigned to one department.

A case of actually diverging trends relates to integrating the broader metropolitan region. In the absence of an administrative boundary that corresponds with the functional urban region, Berlin has implemented a joint-planning institution that deals effectively with the most relevant requirements for cross-boundary synchronisation and vertical planning integration. This has enabled Berlin to play a proactive role in planning its hinterland. By contrast, there is no dedicated institution responsible for planning in the London metropolitan region nor does the region have a metropolitan-wide planning process (John et al. 2005).

The differences in integration efforts linked to planning processes, the second group of integration mechanisms, are largely determined by the substantial differences between spatial planning in the two cities. The most relevant one is the degree to which strategic planning translates into legally binding

building regulation. The Berlin Land Use Plan is a legally binding document for all subsequent plans, including building development plans (BPlans), which are in turn legally binding for private actors and therefore exercise a degree of planning power that is entirely unknown to the London Plan. The latter relies on sending strong strategic and political messages to boroughs, which themselves are responsible for local planning and have to separate plan and planning permission as stipulated by UK planning law.

Finally, there are several enabling conditions for greater planning and policy integration, which play very different roles in London and Berlin. London has established various funding arrangements which have acted as an important integrative force and which play a less important role in Berlin. More notably in London as well were changes of skill sets, knowledge and capacity as a key factor enabling integration. The newly created GLA and TfL relied to a significant degree on hiring staff who would bring along considerable levels of individual and collective knowledge. And they were very successful in doing so as they could offer attractive working environments and job packages. Berlin, on the other hand, had far fewer changes to its public sector workforce and primarily continues to reduce the relatively large number of public sector employees.

To summarise, the considerable level of convergence of Berlin's and London's integrated governance comes along with deeply rooted and pervasive differences. However, with the one big exception of metropolitan-wide institution building and planning, these differences have remained static and not significantly increased the differences between the two cities. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that, overall, integrating urban planning and transport strategies in the two cities has become more rather than less similar. This begs the question whether these converging trends represent the enhancement of conventional integration based on hierarchy and centrism or whether new, networked forms of integration are beginning to emerge. This point is addressed in the section to follow.

5 Hierarchies and networks: The meta-governance of integration

This final section presents relevant insights that relate to the second research question about the role of hierarchical structures and networks in facilitating integration. First, it discusses the extent to which

hierarchies continue to provide the organisational basis for planning and policy integration and then moves to the role of network arrangements. In the final part it is argued that it is indeed a hybrid model of coordination and integration which delivers the integrative capacity in London and Berlin and that this combination of hierarchy and networks can be linked to the emerging framework of meta-governance.

The reliance on hierarchy for integrating urban planning and transport

This study has identified a considerable reliance on hierarchical structures as the backbone of coordinated planning and policy making in Berlin and London. Furthermore, both cities share an increasing role of hierarchies in the specific case of urban planning and transport integration. This presents a rather intriguing finding as hierarchical structures have long been subjected to intense critical analysis as part of academic work cutting across political science, organisational science and planning theory (Jaques 1990, Powell 1990, Thompson 1991, Healey 1997).

However, a certain persistence of hierarchy is generally accepted by the relevant literature (Jaques 1990) and, at times, its virtues are acknowledged (Peters 1998). Thompson further notes that “in practice we can hardly escape the notion of hierarchy as an organisational technique” (Thompson 1991, p9). And Peters identifies one specific advantage of hierarchies over networks: “Hierarchies or even markets are able to allocate resources in a single interaction, but for networks to form there must be some repetition and stability” (Peters 1998, p306). It is therefore difficult to imagine that real decision-making power can be given to an organisation without applying a certain degree of hierarchical organisation.

Furthermore, a range of typical deficiencies of hierarchical integration did not emerge through the study as a clear problem. For example, one of the most fundamental technical critiques of integration facilitated by hierarchy is the risk of overwhelming coordination at the top. As Rhodes notes: “When you are sitting at the top of a pyramid and you cannot see the bottom, control deficits are an ever present unintended consequence” (Rhodes 2000 p161). Based on the evidence collected for this investigation, however, there are hardly any instances where efforts of greater planning and policy

integration targeted the reduction or dismantling of centralised structures at the city level. If anything, London and Berlin have both witnessed a strengthening of centralised decision-making for strategic planning and transport policy.

City-level centralisation is observable not only in the case of the Mayor of London and the Berlin Senator for Urban Development, as well as for the concentration of all transport portfolios within TfL, but also for urban planning and transport portfolios within Berlin's Department for Urban Development (SenStadtUm) and the vertical integration efforts of the Berlin-Brandenburg metropolitan region. In the last case, this become particularly clear as part of joint state planning which follows a clearly defined and hierarchical escalation path (see Figure 4). The real risk appears more with regard to what is outside a pyramid of hierarchical organisation rather than how to link the top with the bottom within that pyramid.

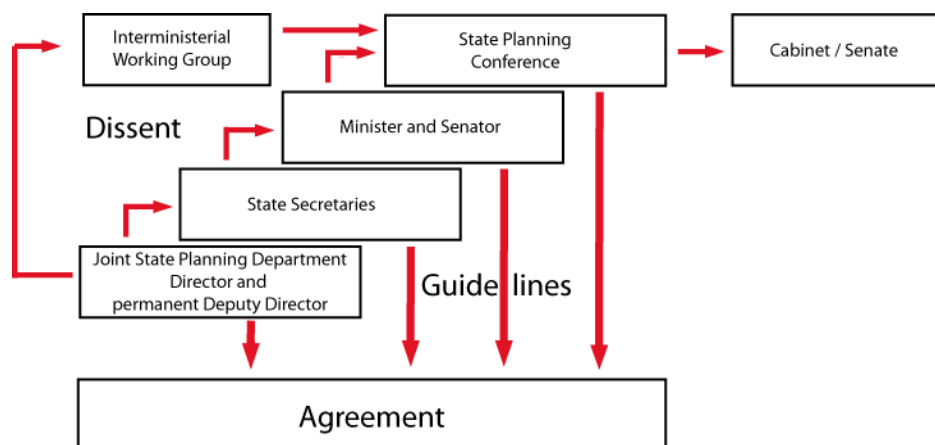


Figure 4: Joint State Planning escalation path (Konflikttreppe)

Source: Krappweis (2001)

Similarly, the risks of hierarchical systems operating based on narrowly defined policy silos (Allmendinger and Houghton 2009) is considerably mitigated in both cities by ensuring that the flow of hierarchical authority connects at critical nodes where urban planning and transport strategies are integrated. In London, newly created oversight within TfL, which combines all surface transport modes, provides an example of hierarchical integration aiming to overcome a too-departmentalised structure (see Figures 5 and 6). Several interviewees referred to the governance of transport as the context in which the biggest changes towards more integrated and collaborative practices emerged

alongside a more fundamental attitude change. And still, this change ultimately happened within a conventional, hierarchical bureaucracy, while arguably profiting from innovative leadership.

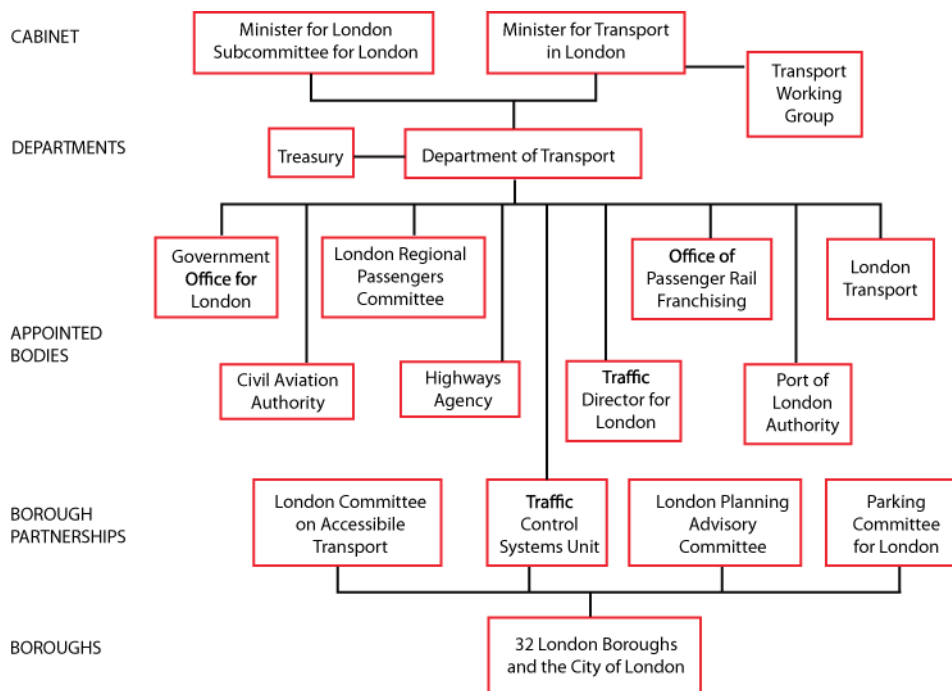


Figure 5: The governance of transport prior to setting up TfL

Source: Buseti (2015) adapted from Travers and Jones (1997)

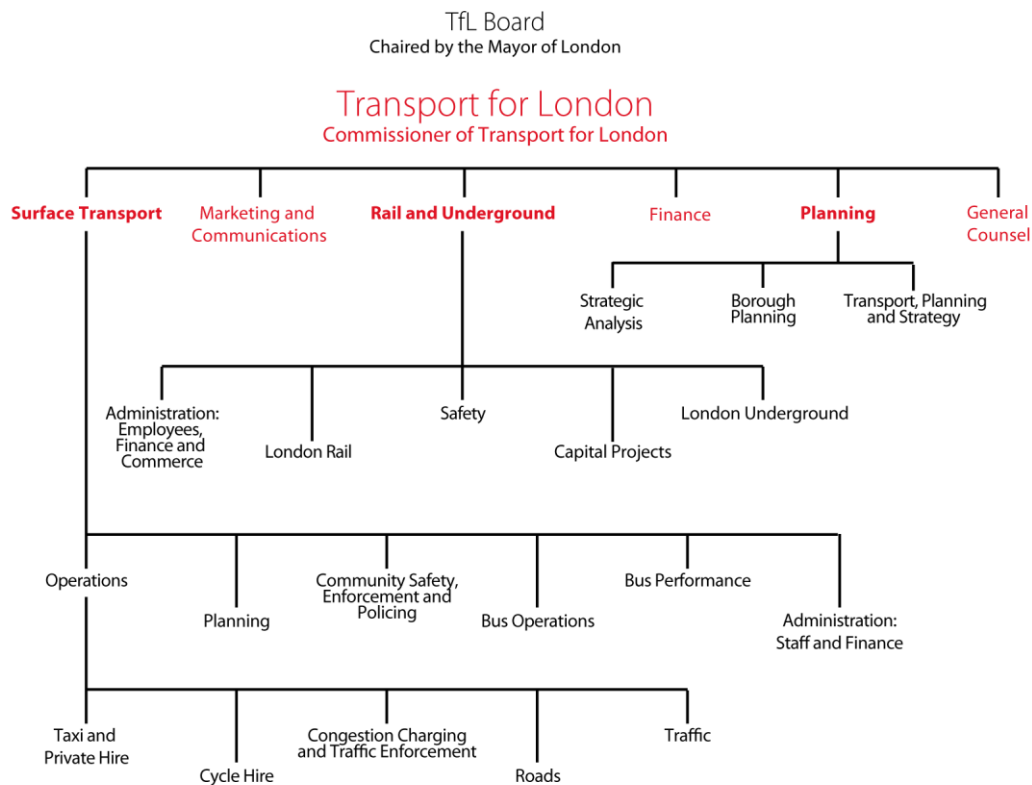


Figure 6: TfL internal structure 2013

Source: own representation based on TfL (2013)

Nevertheless, there were instances where hierarchical structures were identified as integration barriers. Line management and reporting within SenStadtUm compromised project team work and matrix structure arrangements. Berlin's portfolio principle and related portfolio egoisms (Nissen 2002) can have fragmenting effects if different portfolios are not assigned to the same department. For example, considerable problems exist with regard to tax policy, which is often entirely decoupled from urban development. In London as well, governance structures based on narrow silos are regarded as a major impediment to integration as, for example, in the case of the hierarchical organisation of more narrowly defined central government departments with responsibilities for development in London.

All this points to a certain conundrum: integration inside the pyramid might be facilitated by hierarchies but they certainly act as barriers for issues located outside that pyramid. Having the top of the pyramid at the urban, citywide level appears essential for the case of integrating urban planning

and transport strategies. But if the bundling of urban policy portfolios within one large hierarchical structure exceeds certain thresholds, i.e. if a pyramid is becoming too big, then the likelihood of stronger and more divisive sub-pyramids might increase and the situation is similar to a structure that is more departmentalised from the beginning.

I now continue by synthesising the experience in the two case study cities with regard to the role of newer, networked forms of integration.

The complementary role of network governance

The ongoing reliance on hierarchical integration and organisation presented so far demands some discussion with regard to a wide body of literature that has consistently argued that hierarchies are increasingly replaced by networks (Powell 1990, Rhodes 1997). Directly related accounts have identified a retreat from traditional top-down planning (Klosterman 1985, Innes 1996, Hall 2006), a shift from government to governance (Rhodes 1997, Stoker 1998) and the communicative turn in planning and policy (Healey 1992).

Where network arrangements assist planning and policy integration in London and Berlin, their characteristics correspond with generalisations in the literature. Instead of structures of authority, network organisations are of a more social nature and rely on personal relationships, mutual interest, trust and interdependence (Powell 1990). They also depend on a more reciprocal exchange between network actors (Powell 1990).

The study detected such relationships for a range of critical sectoral boundaries, for which a negotiation style that “trades off control for agreement” (Rhodes 2000, p161) appears to be slowly emerging. The in-house collaboration within Berlin’s SenStadtUm, particularly in those instances where working groups were set up, is one clear example. Similarly, collaboration in London between TfL, the GLA and London’s boroughs represent reciprocal approaches. Many interviewees also emphasised the importance of personal relationships, by and large following Powell’s observation that “the most useful information ... is that which is obtained from someone whom you have dealt with in the past and found to be reliable” (Powell 1990 p304).

Several examples where integration in Berlin and London is achieved or at least supported by networks have also increased acceptability and thereby improved compliance among the most relevant actors – another key benefit usually highlighted as part of network governance (Rhodes 2000). A good example is the key stakeholders who are part of the preparation of Berlin's Land Use Plan (FNP) and the Urban Development Plan for Transport (StEP Verkehr). In London, an improved relationship between the boroughs and the GLA over the first ten years of its existence had similar effects. In the case of the GLA, this is even more important as legal frameworks for implementing strategic planning are loose enough for local actors to have certain flexibility regarding compliance.

By contrast, the findings here bear little opportunities for a framing through a communicative planning model as presented by Healey (1992, 1996, 1997) or Sager (1994). Overall, the integration of urban planning and transport strategies in London and Berlin is characterised by a relative absence of a proactive citizenry beyond professionalised interest groups. Similarly, the role of deliberative and discursive forms of democracy has been marginal in that regard. A related study for the case of Swiss cities even concluded that the openness of policy networks presents a considerable risk to coordinating urban development and transport (Kaufmann and Sager 2006).

In most instances, the general public is represented by governments and their bureaucracies and a few effective pressure groups at various levels. And they are given the role as critical observer whose input is usually confined to processes of consultation rather than participation. Notable exceptions are some local-level efforts of integrating street design and transport strategies, but even then, complicated legal and planning frameworks are considerable barriers for a proactive engagement of the general public. At least for the specific context of this study, the idea to use the democratic process itself as an opportunity to aggregate dispersed information (Stoker 2002) appeared more the exception than the norm.

Tensions between post-modern planning theory and integration praxis in the two cities also emerge with respect to the role of experts. Here, the actual practice in both cities points towards a more technocratic form of planning as defined by Faludi and van der Valk (1994), far from Friedmann's notion of a 'non-Euclidian mode of planning' (1993). What may have possibly changed, however, are

the personal and professional backgrounds of politicians, experts and others involved in the professional planning process, which can be characterised as more diverse and representing a broader cross-section of society. But concrete evidence for this claim would have to be established by future research.

Still, several aspects of Healey's characteristics of communicative planning (1992) can be used to describe the changes that happened within the spheres of professional planning and policy making. For example, the research detected a "mutual process of learning" and "collaboration to achieve change" as part of the integrative processes addressed in this study. Both were most notable in Berlin's Department of Urban Development (SenStadtUm) after bundling urban development and transport portfolios, as well as for integration processes led by the GLA and TfL.

In summary, new network integration does play a clear role in both cities but not necessarily the way it is sometimes portrayed in some of the key literature. Below follows a discussion of its relationship with persistent hierarchical forms of coordination identified earlier.

Integration through meta-governance beyond the classic trade-offs

A theorisation of the integration practices encountered here may have to be based on more hybrid perspectives, which combine hierarchical integration with network integration. The way in which the two can potentially reinforce each other can be understood when considering some of the shortcomings of network integration and how hierarchies may help in these instances. This can be illustrated by going back to the above introduced three preconditions for networks as identified by Rhodes (2000) and, based on the case studies, argue that these may be created through the existence of hierarchies.

The first precondition is the existence of cross-sector, multi-agency cooperation, which confronts disparate organisational cultures. Arguably the best example of how hierarchy has enabled this precondition is the merging of urban development and transport portfolios in one new Department for Urban Development in Berlin. It was ultimately the requirement for a new institutional culture across all sectors of urban development and transport that allowed cross-sectoral and interdisciplinary project

groups to flourish. Similarly, the organisational cultures of the GLA and TfL were adjusted through substantial interference from the top (i.e. the Mayor of London), which then allowed for pragmatic and fruitful exchange.

The second precondition consists of actors who perceive the value of cooperative strategies. This precondition can be broken down into two components. On the one hand, the existence of institutionalised advantages, which may be derived from cooperation and which are related to the principal objectives of actors. An alignment of these objectives across cooperating actors is therefore the best starting point. This is where strategic plans and principal visions, which actors in a hierarchical regime have to comply with, can help (as in the case of the GLA and its functional bodies). On the other hand, this concerns the ability of actors to cooperate, which is more difficult to achieve if basic skills are absent. Once again, hierarchical structures can help by ‘governing through’ and targeting related skills or making these a requirement as part of recruiting practices.

The third precondition involves long-term relationships, which are needed to reduce uncertainty. This may be the one which is most supported by the hierarchical structures that lay behind the integration of transport and urban development in London and Berlin. Ultimately, this is due to the underlying stability that is provided by hierarchical organisations, as opposed to more fluid organisational structures. It is hierarchy which can better assist with the provision of long-term and stable relationships.

A further test regarding the existence of a hybrid model of integration is a discussion of how typical trade-offs between hierarchical and networks models play out in the cases studied here. A central theme is the trade-off between technocratic efficiency, which hierarchies can provide, and endogenous and exogenous flexibility facilitated by network governance (Salet et al. 2003). Others have expressed this dilemma as a tension between governability, i.e. the maintaining of influence and ensuring strategic objectives are implemented, and flexibility, which is taking account of different circumstances (Jessop 1998, 2000).

And indeed, on the one hand, there are several examples in the case study analysis, which correspond to this trade-off. The flexibility of London's boroughs to interpret the strategic guidance of the London Plan for their specific local condition has compromised the governability of the Greater London Authority (GLA) and its spatial strategy. This can be seen in the case of the Thames Gateway development (lower density of new developments) or for parking standards (higher than intended by the London Plan). Similarly, in the Berlin-Brandenburg metropolitan region, the governance of transport infrastructure (which is not part of the formalised joint state planning process) allowed the two Länder as network actors to flexibly pursue their road building strategies but compromised efficiency in those cases where road infrastructure upgrades were not synchronised across Land boundaries.

On the other hand, however, there are multiple examples where flexibility is embedded in governability. Arguably the most representative case is the governance of plan making in Berlin, starting with the joint state development plan all the way down to building development plans. Here, the overall hierarchical structure is supplemented at each planning level with multiple forms of network arrangements such as the two Länder collaborating as part of the of joint state planning and the key stakeholders participating in the process of developing the Land Use Plan. Furthermore, each planning layer has been scrutinised with regard to its level of detail and aims to leave the greatest flexibility possible for the next lower level of governance, while robustly aiming to govern the most strategic and critical issues.

An example of a different kind of combining governability with flexibility can be found in the case of London. Here, the arrangements for governing the long-term development of the Olympic site and its surroundings in East London included leadership through the Olympic Park Legacy Company (OPLC), now the London Legacy Development Corporation (LLDC), the central involvement of four London boroughs and oversight by the GLA, TfL and national government. Flexibility for dealing with the specific local condition was largely guaranteed by the OPLC. At the same time it had to follow the broader strategic direction set out in the London Plan, which was also reinforced by hierarchical oversight of the Mayor of London and by TfL for key strategic transport developments.

These examples, as well as the more general characteristics of planning and policy integration in London and Berlin, support the view that integration is based on a hybrid form of governance combining hierarchical and networked modes of coordination (Röber and Schröter 2002). Such a perspective can build on an entire strand of political science literature that suggests that recent changes in governance structure are moving toward such hybrid models rather than towards network governance (Brownill and Carpenter 2009). Influential work in this regard also talks about meta-governance, the governance in the 'shadow of hierarchy' (Scharpf 1994, Jessop 1997) and the existence of quasi-hierarchical and quasi-networks governance (Exworthy et al. 1999). At a more general level, meta-governance refers to how governments remain centrally involved in organising and guiding the 'self-organisation of governance' (Jessop 1997).

The bigger question that remains is how far hierarchical integration can function when incorporating policy content beyond transport and land use, for example, industrial development, macroeconomics, social policy or other. And even for the case of networks, the level of their internal integration capacity may correlate negatively with coordination capacities across networks (Peters 1998). Privileged integration and preferential treatment of certain components that require greater integration will have to be centrally reflected as part of any future discussion.

Conclusion

This article was structured around a research question inquiring about how the integration of urban planning and transport policy was pursued in key case study cities since the early 1990s. It also investigated the degree to which hierarchical and/or networked forms of integration dominated in these cities.

Overall, the presented comparative research on integrating urban planning and transport policies in Berlin and London provided a fruitful context for framing planning and policy integration more generally. Four general groups of integration mechanisms were identified and analysed: governance structures, planning processes, instruments and enabling conditions. Across these, converging trends whereby approaches to integration in Berlin and London have become more similar since the early

1990s were highlighted while considerable structural differences remain between the two urban governance cases.

The article further argued that a traditional understanding based on the duality of hierarchical integration and network integration falls short of capturing the dynamics that were detected in the two cities. Instead of a shift from hierarchical government to network governance, the research identified a surprising level of persistence, in some cases even of re-establishment, of top-down, hierarchical organisation that facilitated the integration of urban form and transport. At the same time though, network arrangements do play an increasingly relevant role and also may have necessitated a new form of meta-governance to ensure that integration takes place, even in the context of more loosely and self-organised network actors.

While this hybrid form of governance which combines hierarchical and networked modes of coordination is increasingly considered as part of the political science literature, its practical implications for urban governance are less well understood. For example, the critical question of to what extent planning and policy integration ultimately requires centralisation and whether hierarchy equates to centralisation remains open. A key practical debate in this regard focuses on a requirement for either more centrism at the national level or greater support for devolved governments.

Concerning this inquiry, the research suggests that this may ultimately depend on the policy sectors in question. In the case of integrating urban form and transport, it seems to necessitate greater autonomy for the metropolitan level in order to most effectively address the spatial scale of the relevant system boundaries (e.g. commuter belt).

At the city level, and as shown above, integration in London may not be centralised but it is certainly 'nodal' or 'spiky', i.e. there are clearly identifiable points from which integrative and coordinating authority is transmitted through hierarchical networks. At the same time, there is not one overpowering hierarchy with only one central point for coordination. Similarly, integrative governance in Berlin, although more centralised within the Senate Department for Urban Development, includes multiple poles. The experience in both cities seems to suggest that without

these nodes, current communication and decision-making appears unable to deliver more integrated outcomes.

To conclude, network arrangements without political power and therefore hierarchy are meaningless for policy implementation, as the 1990s have proved for the case of transport infrastructure planning in London. The partnership arrangements at the time were simply 'toothless'. What these arrangements did, however, was to effectively build alliances and agreement, trust and a range of other social conditions for integration. For policy implementation, however, hierarchy needed to come back into the picture.

Appendix – List of Interviewees¹

London

Henry Abraham, former Head of Transport, Greater London Authority, 17/05/2013

Peter Bishop, Director, Design for London 2007 to 2011, 20/08/2007

Mark Brearley, former Director, Design for London, 2011-2013, 25/03/2013

Steve Bullock, Mayor of the London Borough of Lewisham, 10/05/2013

Isabel Dedring, Deputy Mayor for Transport, Greater London Authority, 29/04/2014

Michèle Dix, Managing Director of Planning, Transport for London, 10/06/2013 (since 2015 Managing Director of Crossrail 2)

Nicky Gavron, Deputy Mayor of London 2000-2008 and Assembly Member since 2000, 26/03/2015

Peter Hall, Bartlett Professor of Planning and Regeneration, University College London, 21/08/2007

Peter Hendy, Commissioner, Transport for London, 17/08/2007

Ken Livingstone, Mayor of London 2000-2008, 10/06/2013

David Lunts, Executive Director of Housing and Land, Greater London Authority, 26/04/2013

Fred Manson, former Planning Director, London Borough of Southwark, 09/08/2007

Guy Nicholson, Councillor and Head of Urban Regeneration, London Borough of Hackney, 24/04/2013

Stephen O'Brien, former Chairman, London First, 29/04/2013

Berlin

Klaus J. Beckmann, Director, German Institute of Urban Affairs (Difu), Berlin, 17/07/2007

Siegfried Dittrich, Senior Officer Transport Planning, Borough Berlin-Mitte, 19/07/2007

Jan Drews, Director, Joint Berlin Brandenburg Planning Department, Potsdam, 03/06/2013

Jan Eder, Managing Director, Berlin Chamber of Commerce and Industry (IHK Berlin), 17/07/2007

Franziska Eichstädt-Bohlig, Opposition Leader, Bündnis 90/Die Grünen, 06/07/2007

Christian Gaebler, Speaker, SPD Parliamentary Group, House of Representatives of Berlin, 13/07/2007

Ingeborg Junge-Reyer, Senator for Urban Development, Berlin, 23/08/2007

Jens-Holger Kirchner, Head of Urban Development Department and Councillor, Berlin Borough of Pankow, 23/07/2013

Friedemann Kunst, Director, Transport Planning, Senate Department for Urban Development, Berlin, 27/04/2012

Engelbert Lütke Daldrup, State Secretary, German Federal Ministry for Transport, Building and Urban Affairs, 13/07/2007

Hilmar von Lojewski, Head, Urban Planning and Projects, Senate Department for Urban Development, 12/07/2007

Elke Plate, Planning Officer, Senate Department for Urban Development, Berlin, 25/07/2013

Felix Pohl, Director, Planning, S-Bahn Berlin GmbH, 18/07/2007

¹ The individuals below agreed to be named while two to three interviewees in each city requested anonymity.

Ben Plowden, Director of Strategy and Planning, Surface Transport, Transport for London, 27/09/2012

Nick Raynsford, Minister for Housing and Planning 1999-2001 and former Minister for London, UK central government, 22/04/2013

Peter Wynne Rees, City Planning Officer, Corporation of London, 20/03/2013

Boris Schaefer-Bung, Berlin Director Cycle Policy, ADFC (German Cycling Association), 15/05/2012

Marc Schulte, Head of Urban Development Department and Councillor, Berlin Borough of Wilmersdorf-Charlottenburg, 04/06/2013

Hans Stimmann, former City Architect and State Secretary, Senate Department for Urban Development, Berlin, 05/07/2013

Peter Strieder, former Senator for Urban Development, Berlin, 01/07/2013

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