Integrated governance as privileging key policy links: The case of strategic planning in London and Berlin

By Philipp Rode

Philipp Rode is Executive Director of LSE Cities and Associate Professorial Research Fellow at the London School of Economics and Political Science.

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Abstract

This paper investigates how strategic planning and objectives of integrating urban planning, city design and transport policies have been pursued in key case study cities over the last two decades. 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 paper draws on empirical evidence from two critical cases, London and Berlin, established through a mixed method approach of expert interviews, examination of policy and planning documents, and review of key literature. The paper 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 integrated governance facilitating strategic planning represents a form of privileged integration, which centrally involves and even relies on the prioritisation of certain links between sectoral policy and geographic scales over others.

Introduction

This paper investigates strategic planning and the integration of urban planning, city design and transport policies that has emerged in two key European case study cities over the last two decades. Focusing on of the case of London and Berlin, the research explores recent urban practice and inquires about how new approaches to urban governance have been able to advance planning and policy integration as actual practice.

The research is centrally attached to a prominent subject of public administration, policy and planning: the coordination and integration of government action. Approaching this subject through the lens of how governments engage in steering the physical development of cities, the research focuses on a period, a scale of governance and policy sectors, 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 spatial governance of cities saw an increasing awareness of 'wicked problems', 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 policy sectors of spatial planning, city design and urban 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 overarching research questions, which forms the central reference for all elements of this paper: "How have objectives for integrating urban planning, city design and transport policies been pursued in key case study cities over the last 20 years? And what are possible implications for reframing the broader debate on planning and policy integration?"

This paper is divided into four main sections. It first presents the point of departure based on a brief literature review on strategic planning and its links to integrated planning and policy making. This leads to identifying the knowledge gap this paper aims to address. It then introduces the methodology based on a comparative case study and a mixed method approach. The main two sections that follow are dedicated to discussing the main findings. Section 4 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 presents the analysis and discussion on how actual integration practices could inform the broader discourses on integrated governance.

The rediscovery of planning and the integrated ideal

The role of government in planning and managing an increasingly complex urban system has become a central theme of urban studies. In this section, the rediscovery of planning through the lens of strategic planning is introduced first. This establishes key links with planning and policy integration as strategic planning capabilities centrally rely on more coordinated and 'joined-up' policy making. An introduction to governance integration is provided in the second part. The final part discusses the paradoxical nature of the debate on planning and policy integration and identifies the degree to which integration is both desirable as well as possible as under reflected.

Strategic planning

Contemporary strategic spatial planning emerged in Europe during the 1990s, where it developed from a tradition of government-led strategic intervention (Healey et al. 1997, EC 1999b, Salet and Faludi 2000, Albrechts et al. 2003, UN Habitat 2009). It is regarded as a cross-disciplinary response to the shortcomings of traditional citywide master planning, as well as the problems of market and project-led urban development. This included concerns about long-term infrastructure development and its links to spatial planning, where market-driven approaches have failed to deliver more sustainable outcomes and the required degree of coordination (UN Habitat 2009). As a result, strategic planning has become an established approach to planning over the last decade and is increasingly used as a central reference for urban

development approaches across the world (Friedmann 2004, UN Habitat 2009).

Strategic planning aims to develop a more coherent spatial policy that connects land use regulation, environmental sustainability, urban regeneration and infrastructure delivery (Albrechts et al. 2003). It aims to recognise place qualities in economic development, integrate investments and establish links with specific development projects. Arguably the most prominent reference to strategic spatial planning is the "Barcelona Model" – denoting the city's successful planning efforts to promote compact city development and urban design quality over different political cycles (Albrechts et al. 2003, Balducci 2004, UN Habitat 2009).

Rather than representing a fixed approach with defined outcomes, strategic planning is usually regarded as a set of concepts, procedures and tools, which require careful adjustment to specific local contexts (Bryson and Roering 1996). Based on an extensive literature review, Albrechts introduces the following general definition of strategic spatial planning: "a public-sector-led, socio-spatial process through which a vision, actions, and means for implementation are produced that shape and frame what a place is and may become" (Albrechts 2004a p747).

Across these diverse general characteristics, there are four particularly important and interrelated qualities of strategic spatial planning. First, there is the 'strategic' aspect of this planning mode, which is derived from prioritising certain aspects over others (Albrechts 2004b). Usually, this priority is given to the linkage between spatial planning and transport infrastructure while taking into consideration broader questions related to socio-economic development (Hyslop 2004, UN Habitat 2009, Rydin 2011). The emphasis here is on a proactive approach, which ensures the provision of infrastructure before or alongside new urban development (Rydin 2011).

The second key characteristic, and arguably the most contested, concerns the long-term perspective of strategic planning. UN Habitat argues that guiding urban development is by definition a long-term process and that it cannot be successful if development directions are significantly altered, for example, each time there are changes of the political

leadership (UN Habitat 2009). Certain infrastructure simply demands extremely long-term planning: big transport and energy infrastructure operate with lead-times of up to 30 years and affect cities for a century or more after their implementation. In this context, Hyslop (2004) suggests that the long-term time horizon of strategic planning can be driven by both these lead times and a long-term vision of the relevant stakeholders for the kind of city desired.

A third crucial characteristic of strategic spatial planning relates to a new focus on co-producing plans by involving not only wider stakeholder groups (EC 1999b), but also weaker interests that were previously excluded from proactive involvement (Albrechts 2004a). In this context, Balducci emphasises that the value of strategic planning is not the strategic plan itself but the process, which mobilises and promotes the commitment of key actors. This is particularly important in cases where strategic planning remains an informal, non-statutory form of planning and where value can only be derived from the involvement and commitment of relevant actors (Balducci 2004). At the same time, it is precisely the involvement of broader stakeholder groups and particularly the direct participation of the general public in strategic planning processes where ambition and actual praxis often diverge.

Fourth, and most relevant for this research, strategic planning gives particular importance to the coordination and integration of policy across sectors and governance levels (EC 1999a, Bryson 2004). Albrecht et al. (2003 p114) emphasise that "the focus on the spatial relations of territories holds the promise of a more effective way of integrating economic, environmental, cultural, and social policy agendas as these affect localities." Or, to put it another way, it is in the context of organising and managing territory that policy integration comes to life and is potentially most effective. But it is argued that this can only be achieved by embedding strategic planning within new institutional relationships (Albrechts 2001), which has resulted in a new emphasis on effective institutional and regulatory frameworks for planning. Below follows an introduction to some of the most relevant debates with regards to planning and policy integration.

Integrated planning and policy making

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 spatial planning, city design and urban transport (EC 1990, 1999b, Potter and Skinner 2000, OECD 2001, World Bank 2002, EU 2007, Kidd 2007, UN Habitat 2009, UNEP 2011). Economists further emphasise that cities are ultimately built around 'integrated returns' by profiting from a range of cross-sectoral synergies, economies of scale and low transport costs (Krugman 1991, Glaeser 2008) – which, one might argue, also demand appropriate policy practice.

In practice, and particularly across the fields of contemporary politics, management and planning, integration is generally regarded as a positive feature, both as a prerequisite for, and as an indicator of, success (Meijers and Stead 2004, EU 2007, Schreyögg 2007, Raisch et al. 2009). Concepts closely related to integration and prominently featured in the literature are 'policy coherence', or 'holistic' and 'joined-up' policy, governance and government (OECD 1996, Wilkinson and Appelbee 1999, UK Cabinet Office 2000, 6 et al. 2002), whilst fragmentation and inconsistency are commonly regarded as its opposite (Lawrence and Lorsch 1967, OECD 1996). With regard to the latter, some scholars stress that fragmentation should not be equated with specialisation (6 et al. 2002) and that high levels of integration can indeed be achieved in contexts that are highly specialised and differentiated (Lawrence and Lorsch 1967).

The new emphasis on integration relates above all to the challenge of managing complex, interrelated issues and the benefits of increased efficiency and effectiveness of policies and governance regimes. A central case for integrated planning and holistic governance emerges from recent demands to orientate policy around problems and challenges rather than policy sectors (6 et al. 2002). It has also been noted that most policy outcomes that matter to citizens are produced by multiple departments and professions (Smith 1996). As a result, governance discourses have, for example, turned away from new

public management and the deconstruction of public agencies towards the reintegration agenda of digital-era governance (Dunleavy et al. 2006).

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, coupled with increasing difficulty for governments at all levels to respond to new sets of interdependencies that cut across disciplinary and departmental boundaries – the 'wicked' problem of our time (van Bueren et al. 2003, Brown et al. 2010) – has elevated the need for simple coordination to a far more ambitious strategy for integrated governance.

The acknowledgement that future development would have to include a far greater systemic approach was introduced at a global level by the UN Rio Declaration on the Environment and Development in 1992 (United Nations 1992b) and the Agenda 21 (United Nations 1992a). Lafferty and Hoven (2003) summarised the integrative requirements of the Rio Declaration as follows: "One of the key defining features of 'sustainable development' is the emphasis on the integration of environmental objectives into non-environmental policy-sectors" (Lafferty and Hoven 2003 p20).

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). The latter 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 recent 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 spatial policy sectors, the particular dynamics between land use and transport, and related concerns about environmental impacts, 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).

Cost-effectiveness and infrastructure funding opportunities also support a more integrated agenda (Lautso et al. 2004, Laconte 2005, Litman 2011), and combining the development of land and transport infrastructure further can lead to unique financing opportunities (Cervero and Murakami 2009). Finally, important arguments for city design and transport integration are put forward by those concerned with the quality of the built environment. The Leipzig Charter on Sustainable European Cities has coined the critical term *Baukultur*: "the interaction of architecture, infrastructure planning and urban planning must be increased in order to create attractive, user-oriented public spaces and achieve a high standard in terms of the living environment, a *Baukultur*" (EU 2007).

At the same time, integration has also been linked to discredited planning and policy practices. The various paradoxical associations of integration, with which the paper continues this discussion below, are important for a broader positioning of the term and related interventions.

The integration paradox

Generally, policy integration tends to be associated more with 'designed' development rather than 'evolution or emergence' (Johnson 2001) – both ultimately code words for more government-led versus more market-driven systems. Without rehearsing related arguments, it is clear that a libertarian perspective may argue that greater integration brings a loss of freedom and more power for already mistrusted governments, politicians and professional elites. And from a citizenship theory view it might pose additional challenges for democratic participation as indicated above. It is further suggested that integration and holistic governance may have centralising tendencies (OECD 1996) and rely on hierarchical organisation, which has attracted intense criticism from various academic fields (Jaques 1990, Powell 1990, Thompson 1991, Healey 1997). Centralisation is regarded as even less equipped to deal with 'wicked' problems and, on top, may have adverse effects on devolved units of government (Stoker 2005), potentially even undermining integrative capacities at the local level (6 et al. 2002).

From a more theoretical perspective, it is also argued that the risk of integration being pursued as a 'totalising strategy' (Sennett 2011) deprives it of the advantages of open systems and potentially leads to significant disabling problems (Luhmann 1995, OECD 1996). This is in line with most retrospective commentary on 'the integrated ideal' (Graham and Marvin 2001) of modern city making, seen as a reductionist and mechanistic approach that ultimately fails to deliver desirable outcomes (Sandercock 1998). The static and technocratic character of comprehensive planning and its inflexibility eventually led to its collapse, since it was unable to respond to rapid or large-scale societal changes. 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. Others, as discussed by 6 et al. (2002), also warn that the integrated policy agenda can lead to a focus of governments on organisational arrangements and reorganisation, which rather than being a means of achieving something else becomes an end in its own right.

The importance of recognising the limitations of coherent policy making has been articulated in numerous publications over recent decades. The OECD (1996) calls for "a measure of caution concerning the extent to which coherence can, in practice, be strengthened" and emphasises that, "Governing in a democratic political system necessarily involves a degree of incoherence" (p8). Peters (1998) considers policy coherence the most difficult to achieve of the core dimensions of coordination, which also include addressing redundancy and avoiding blind spots. He argues that this relates to the underlying rationale of how organisations act and their links to particular clientele. As a result, and particularly in the case of network integration, individual positions can simply be too different to come together. 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.

So, how is it possible that the same term is associated with diametrically opposed judgements? Does integrated planning and policy making belong to an outdated model of governing through comprehensive plans or is it a paradigm at the heart of governance for an ecological age and more people-friendly cities? Is integration hopelessly overambitious and unrealistic in an increasingly complex world or is it in fact the most solid response to a new set of interdependencies? Does it reinforce the powers of existing elites or facilitate transformative change with progressive outcomes? Does it require greater centralisation or instead advance greater autonomy for city-level, local governments?

So extreme are the different perspectives on integration that they lead to another set of questions. Is it possible to suggest that there is a difference between 'old' and 'new' ('bad' and 'good') integration of planning and policy? If so, what are the differences? What, for example, are the tools that allow for system integration without resulting in the negative outcomes that have been associated with modernist urban planning? Or is the level to which integration is desirable, just like centrist politics more generally, a consequence of the extent of excessive fragmentation of previous public policy and governance regimes (6 et al. 2002)? And why is it that regardless of the universal emphasis on integration, it ultimately remains more the exception rather than the norm (Challis et al. 1988, Peters 1998)?

The ambiguity of interpreting integration is also characteristic of debates in planning theory, where some associate it with comprehensive, modernist planning (Graham and Marvin 2001) and others with strategic approaches and network governance (Rydin 2011). At times, the relationship to integration in old and new planning approaches seems not all that different, even within the same text: "Modernist planning as a process is characterised by aspirations to a comprehensive approach, taking all factors into account in devising the plan" (Rydin 2011 p18), while the new 'rather different model of planning' "is about integration and joined-up thinking in the development of a vision for an area" (Rydin 2011 p19).

The above discussion of strategic planning and policy integration provides a backdrop for the research focus of this paper. More specifically, this paper is interested in documenting the latest experience in two critical case study cities of addressing the degree of integration across the spectrum from 'fully integrated' to 'fully fragmented' as part of the broader government-led strategic planning process. The next section introduces the methodology on which the empirical analysis in the case study cities was based.

Methodology and investigative framework

The research presented in this paper is based on the comparative case method (Yin 1994) and looks at two case study cities and their regions, London and Berlin. In spirit, this comparison follows what Peck (2015) refers to as a 'new comparativism', which is understood more as a sensibility rather than as a strict systematic method. Besides comparing the governance frameworks of two different cities, the research evolves around contrasting different institutional arrangements that existed in each of the two cities at different times. The two case study cities, Berlin and London, were selected based on the overarching research question and driven by an information-oriented selection as opposed to a random selection.

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 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 a strategic planning agenda. Advancing such a policy agenda places a focus on the relevant institutional structures, planning processes and instruments for integrating urban planning, city design and transport policies. Indicative for this are changes to the planning system and institutional framework facilitating strategic spatial planning and network governance.

Based on these criteria, the higher-income European context emerges as a suitable global region for the case study analysis, combining an urban policy focus on sustainable 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 (6 2005).

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 allows for exploring different ways in which cities are pursuing strategic planning and 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. Obviously, within a European context, there is a relatively broad consensus with regard to a certain degree of government intervention in urban development, regardless of the changes since the 1980s (Healey et al. 1997). However, important differences have been repeatedly identified between welfare state traditions in the UK (liberal/basic security) and Germany (continental/corporatist) (Nadin and Stead 2008). Similarly, their respective planning systems – for the UK based on land use regulation and in Germany referred to as 'comprehensive/integrated' (Nadin and Stead 2008) – and diverging Anglo-Saxon and Continental planning cultures (Booth 2005) give shape to this final selection criterion. In addition, the Rechtsstaat tradition in administration-dominant Germany provides a considerably different context for policy integration than that of a public interest country such as the UK (6 2005).

The selection of London and Berlin as the two case study cities for this paper 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 2004a). 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). Furthermore, organically-grown London saw continuous reform towards more pronounced models of integrated planning during the 2000s, and Berlin is regarded as a well-integrated compact city with nevertheless considerable levels of institutional reforms affecting spatial governance.

Understanding how urban planning, city design 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 qualitative interviews 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 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 Appendix A1.

Contrasting planning and policy integration in Berlin and London

This section establishes the basis for the main findings discussed in the last section by comparing mechanisms that assisted strategic planning and the integration of urban planning, city design and transport strategies in the case study cities. As will be shown, considerable efforts in this regard emerged in both cities and there are many parallels in the way integration has been pursued over the last 20 years. The section first concentrates on the broader reforms of urban governance in Berlin and London and then on tendencies of these reforms towards convergence. Equally important for the analysis are the differences that exist between the various integration approaches in the two cities, which are presented in the last part. Ultimately, this paper 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

Over recent decades, Berlin and London have both experienced considerable changes in urban governance. Arguably, Berlin has undergone one of the world's most radical political and administrative transformations as part of and following Germany's reunification. Two city governments of two distinctively different political regimes had to be merged. Furthermore East Berlin, with 1.3 million inhabitants, was divided into 11 boroughs each with its own local administration. These were adjusted to the functions and standards of 12 West Berlin boroughs, with a total of 2.1 million residents. Reunification meant the adoption of West Germany's Grundgesetz (Federal Law), which also assigns powers to the Bundesländer (Germany's Federal States).

While Germany and Berlin were reunited, a second major administrative task and reform was re-defining the relationship of the Land Berlin with the surrounding 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. Furthermore, following the decision to re-locate the German Federal Government from Bonn to Berlin, significant federal

investments were allocated to Berlin and coupled to additional oversight by federal government, particularly in relation to strategic developments in the centre and for major infrastructure projects.

In Berlin, the reduction of local borough administrations from 23 to 12 in 2001 was a more recent reform in urban governance, doubling the average size of each borough. This also involved granting greater powers to the boroughs and relaxing the procedural standards of certain local planning routines. The relatively dynamic development and re-adjustment of Berlin's governance is even more astonishing, considering the relative institutional stability that is generally ensured by Germany's approach of assigning some of the most relevant administrative powers through its constitution. The significant institutional changes over the last two decades can largely be explained by the unique circumstances of Germany's reunification coupled with the considerable reform pressures as a result of Berlin's budget deficit (Mäding 2002).

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. The directly elected Mayor of London is voted for by the second largest constituency in the EU after the French president. 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 city level. TfL oversees mobility delivery for all transport modes: walking, cycling, all public transport and road traffic.

Given the considerable degree to which planning in the UK and London is informed by changes in government, it is also important to consider that London has undergone one significant leadership change over the last decade: the transition from the mayoralty of Ken Livingstone (Independent/Labour) to that of Boris Johnson (Conservative) in 2008. This transition has resulted in citywide government-led planning shifting again towards greater involvement of local and borough-scale stakeholders and greater entrepreneurial intervention by the private sector. A parallel shift has happened at the national level, where the coalition government elected in 2010 emphasised localism as a new planning paradigm, abolishing regional development agencies in 2011.

In summary, Berlin and London have both experienced considerable changes in urban governance over recent decades and today are responding to distinctively different patterns of urban development. Both cities have a long history of planning and represent two distinct planning cultures within the European context, largely informed by their national context (EC 1997). For a long time, the difference was particularly pronounced in the case of strategic planning and for the integration of spatial development with transport infrastructure. While post-reunification Berlin is generally regarded as a well-integrated compact city with corresponding planning practices, organically-grown London, particularly in the 1980s and 1990s, stood for developer-led incrementalism that compromised integration in favour of more dynamic growth (Newman and Thornley 1997). However, since 2000, London has seen continuous reform towards more pronounced models of strategic planning based on fundamental alterations to its system of urban governance. The recent experience of strategic planning in the two cities not only offers valuable comparative insight but, put together, leads to a range of general implications of greater importance to the subject of this study.

Convergence: Sectoral integration by citywide governments

In both cities, the research revealed one central and relatively consistent view among most interviewees and in the relevant literature: the integration of urban planning, city design and transport strategies has markedly improved from the 1990s onwards. Furthermore, the research established substantial evidence with regard to the intentionality of this advance in planning and policy integration. Here, the converging trends of the relevant approaches in Berlin and London are discussed by first looking at

governance structures and then at planning processes and instruments.

Convergence of integrating governance structures 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 become more strategic, reducing costs and devolve 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).

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.

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

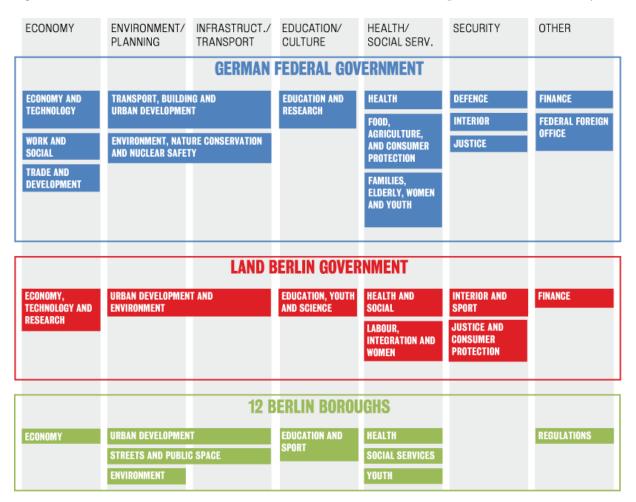| ECONOMY	ENVIRONMENT/ PLANNING	INFRASTRUCT./ TRANSPORT	EDUCATION/ CULTURE	HEALTH/ SOCIAL SERV.	SECURITY	OTHER
GERMAN FEDERAL GOVERNMENT						
ECONOMY AND TECHNOLOGY	TRANSPORT, BUILDING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT		EDUCATION AND RESEARCH	HEALTH	DEFENCE	FINANCE
WORK AND SOCIAL	ENVIRONMENT, NATURE CONSERVATION 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 BOROUGHS						
ECONOMY	URBAN DEVELOPMENT		EDUCATION AND SPORT	HEALTH		REGULATIONS
	STREETS AND PUBLIC SPACE			SOCIAL SERVICES		
	ENVIRONMENT			YOUTH		

Figure 1: Structure of Berlin's government (in 2012)
Source: own representation

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

singled out as the most important structural component for planning and policy integration. Positioned at the heart of London's new government, the Mayor not only oversees a hierarchical bureaucracy within the GLA but is in a unique position to link the GLA with TfL, chairing its board and appointing its commissioner. Berlin's
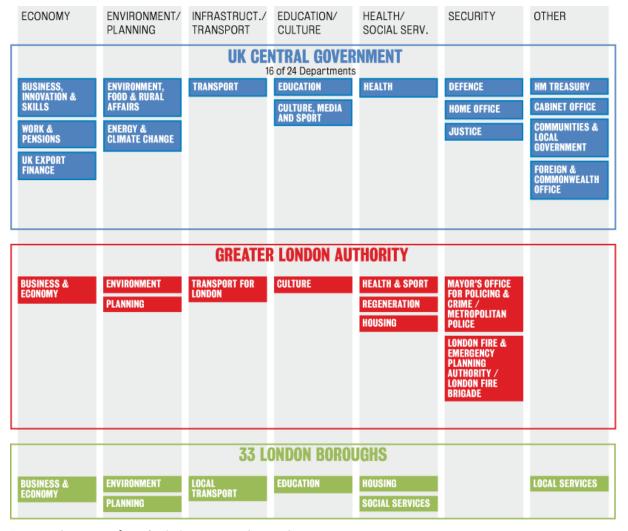
ECONOMY	ENVIRONMENT/ PLANNING	INFRASTRUCT./ TRANSPORT	EDUCATION/ CULTURE	HEALTH/ SOCIAL SERV.	SECURITY	OTHER
UK CENTRAL GOVERNMENT						
			16 of 24 Departments			
BUSINESS, INNOVATION & SKILLS	ENVIRONMENT, FOOD & RURAL AFFAIRS	TRANSPORT	EDUCATION	HEALTH	DEFENCE	HM TREASURY
WORK & PENSIONS	ENERGY & CLIMATE CHANGE		CULTURE, MEDIA AND SPORT		HOME OFFICE	CABINET OFFICE
UK EXPORT FINANCE					JUSTICE	COMMUNITIES & LOCAL GOVERNMENT
						FOREIGN & COMMONWEALTH OFFICE
GREATER LONDON AUTHORITY						
BUSINESS & ECONOMY	ENVIRONMENT	TRANSPORT FOR LONDON	CULTURE	HEALTH & SPORT	MAYOR'S OFFICE FOR POLICING & CRIME / METROPOLITAN POLICE	
	PLANNING			REGENERATION		
				HOUSING	LONDON FIRE & EMERGENCY PLANNING AUTHORITY / LONDON FIRE BRIGADE	
33 LONDON BOROUGHS						
BUSINESS & ECONOMY	ENVIRONMENT	LOCAL TRANSPORT	EDUCATION	HOUSING		LOCAL SERVICES
	PLANNING			SOCIAL SERVICES		

Figure 2: Structure of London's Government (in 2012) Source: Rode et al. (2014)

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. Together, they have softened very strict hierarchical arrangements and facilitated greater cross-sectoral fertilisation. 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. Similarly, project-based work as part of development corporations or for large-scale urban redevelopment
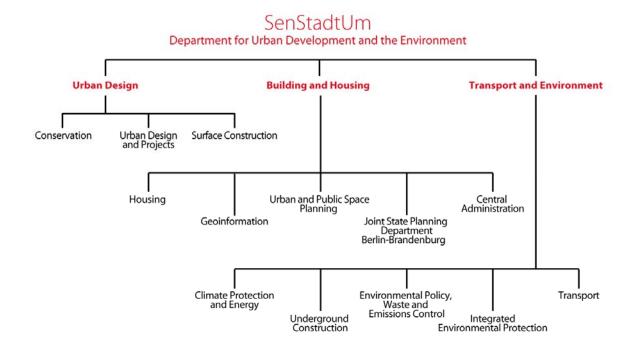
Figure 3: Organogram of SenStadtUm
Source: own representation based on SenStadtUm
(2015)

has increased considerably and helped to establish a platform for cross-sectoral and interdisciplinary exchange.

The recognition that 'project-based work works' to strengthen integration is a common thread in both cities. In this regard, city officials stressed that getting to 'on-the-ground action questions' and more 'innocent project topics', rather than being stuck with political ideology at a general level, helped in building a cross-sectoral consensus. In Berlin, according to several urban development officers, this has recently pushed skills and skills development related to project-oriented leadership much higher up on the agenda.

Besides changes to governance structures, 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. This research suggests that both cities have established a system for strategic citywide planning that is able to integrate urban form and transport to a considerable degree. Strategic planning in both Berlin and London is structured around one anchor: their respective citywide plans.

Berlin's Land Use Plan (FNP) and the London Plan mirror the prevailing planning cultures in each city and represent a pragmatic adjustment to a governmental framework that essentially determines the scope and procedures that shape these plans. 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 (besides governments and various public bodies, these include business groups, transport operators and several influential civil society interest groups) and frequent updates of the most relevant planning frameworks. And forth, 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.

This short illustration of shifts in governance structures and planning approaches in London and Berlin already points towards a considerable level of convergence related to planning and policy integration. However, before reaching any further conclusions, the discussion now turns to the key differences in the relevant integration approaches to identify patterns of divergence in the two cities.

Divergence: The vertical alignment of strategic 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 broader institutional and cultural context within which the two cities operate. Several underlying and fundamental differences in urban governance therefore need to be re-emphasised upfront.

Berlin is characterised by comparatively high levels of autonomy in a federal 'Rechtsstaat' system and its government holds constitutionally protected powers as one of Germany's Bundesländer as well as a municipality. By contrast, London's government operates within a unitary 'public interest' state and was created by national government legislation, which gave it far more selective powers and limited autonomy (Pimlott and Rao 2002, Salet et al. 2003a). And, overall, there is a significant local-central tension that has dominated London government historically (Hebbert 1998). Therefore, the principal authorship of reforming governance structures, planning processes and instruments in Berlin has emerged from within Berlin's government while in London this authorship lies primarily with national government.

As is often the case with structural reforms that are initiated 'from within' in contrast to those emerging 'from the outside', the first are more closely aligned to actual practices on the ground and can potentially evolve in a way that is more closely related to plan implementation. This pattern can be recognised for many of Berlin's governance changes, including the reform of Senate departments with the important merger of the urban development and transport portfolios that created SenStadtUm, the upgrading of the FNP and the establishment of a broader range of sectoral planning frameworks such as the StEP Verkehr (Berlin's Urban Development Plan for Transport). By contrast, London's reform 'from the outside' is based more on a theoretical ideal of imagining integrative practices without specifying actual routines on the ground. Thornley and West identify the policy integration processes presented in the GLA Act (Part II, section 30, 33 and 41), which established the legislative basis for establishing the GLA, "as a highly rational process" (Thornley and West 2004 p97). Less clear, however, is how integration objectives can be operationalised as part of implementing urban development on the ground, which requires a clearer view of vertical policy integration.

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 since 2006 appoints all Senators, who before were also elected by the House of Representatives. In the case of London, top-level integration of planning, city design 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). In fact, regional governance was recently weakened as a result of abolishing regional assemblies and planning in 2010. Instead, the coordination between the Greater London area, the 1,570 km² covered by the London Plan, and its larger regional hinterland of up to 30,000 km² rests with national government (Salet et al. 2003b) and an unspecified 'duty to cooperate' between local authorities. National government facilitates the required integration mainly through its green belt policy and by overseeing and funding selected transport projects.

The differences in integration efforts linked to planning processes 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 individuals 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 have to separate plan and planning permission as stipulated by UK planning law. Ultimately, the power of the London Plan is linked to its legitimacy as the central strategy of a directly elected mayor coupled with the potential threat of local planning permission being vetoed by the Mayor. Overall, planning in London is far more politicised as it always leaves options for adjustments at the borough level, which increases overall flexibility but risks compromising the overall strategic cohesion of different spatial and transport strategies.

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 such as competitive bidding, grants attached to conditionality, land value capture and infrastructure levies which have acted in several cases 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 factors enabling integration. 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, city design and transport strategies in the two cities has become more rather than less similar.

Beyond identifying overall converging tendencies, the degree to which London and Berlin have developed similar as well as differential approaches to improving planning and policy integration for the urban form and transport nexus indeed suggests a certain 'return of the integrated ideal'. This begs the question how this return can contribute to reframing discourses on integrated governance and address the question on the degree of integration target and achievable. This question is addressed in the section to follow.

From total to privileged integration

This final section considers the degree of integration across the spectrum from 'fully integrated' to 'fully fragmented'. The particular question it explores concerns the actual integration content and the extent to which certain sectors, disciplines or geographic scales are more integrated with each other than others. It first re-emphasises below the impossibility of total integration and its theoretical ideal to consider any possible interrelationship. It then moves on by arguing that the type of integration analysed in this study is a form of privileged integration, which centrally involves and even relies on the prioritisation of certain links between sectoral policy and geographic scales over others. It concludes by exploring the implications of this privileging for the hierarchical integration of urban planning, city design and transport strategies.

The paralysing nature of integration

It is self-evident that there exists a natural limit to the level of integration and the extent that integration content can be considered equally as part of integrated planning and policy making. First, the wider the spectrum of policy issues and their interrelationships to be considered is, the narrower become the policy options. As Friedemann Kunst, Berlin's Transport Planning Director, put it "if I want to service economic, ecological and social objectives equally, the more reduced are the possibilities to optimise compared to a narrower approach by a sectoral policymaker."

And secondly, the more integrated policy making aims to be, the more complex it becomes, with significant risk to the effectiveness of related measures. This can be best observed in the case of sustainability objectives and the related policy ideal of integrating the social, environmental and economic dimension. In this regard, two alternative critical perspectives on integration for sustainability are often referred to. First, a view which stresses the impossibility of complete and optimised system design which would require a 'totalising strategy' (Luhmann 1995, Sennett 2011) and second, a perspective which argues that economic, social and environmental targets may indeed be irreconcilable (Brownill and Carpenter 2009).

This study touched upon modalities of integration beyond the integration of policy sectors. Above all, these included: integration across geographic scales; integration between policy development and implementation; and integration across time scales, linking short, medium and long-term objectives. What characterises these modalities of integration is their inherent interdependency. For example, the more long-term a policy target, the more it tends to acknowledge integrated perspectives. The most extreme form is once again deep sustainability. In this idealised case, sectoral integration merges fully with horizontal integration and process integration with system and target integration. The result is an overwhelming and potentially paralysing recognition of integrated policy making that 'everything is connected with everything'.

The research was able to detect such problems of scope already in the specific case of transport and urban form integration, a much narrower but nevertheless ambitiously wide-ranging policy field. For example, complex interrelationships may explain the difficulty of engaging the general public. The trade-offs, path dependencies and interrelationships, which are part of the urban form and transport nexus, make it extremely difficult to subject them to a more deliberate and communicative approach of decision-making.

Considering the above, it is no surprise that this investigation detected various forms of privileging the integration of particular geographic scales and policy links over others. In fact, even within an already privileged integration nexus of transport and urban form, specific relationships mattered more than others. The discussion in the next subsection will build on this perspective and argue that actual integration praxis is inherently about privileging certain connections.

Integration as the privileging of certain relationships

This study focuses on strategic planning and thereby implicitly privileges the integration of urban planning, city design and transport strategies. And while these areas of urban policy making have a considerable breadth, it is not difficult to identify alternative combinations with and of other areas of policy making for cities, which are not directly addressed. But urban form and transport are characterised by a particularly strong interrelationship, a relationship that has also received substantial attention as part of urban governance targeting a more integrative approach in London and Berlin. This special and privileged relationship is important to consider when drawing broader conclusions on policy and planning integration.

To begin with, the choices related to governance geographies require a certain degree of prioritisation of certain policy content over others. As Allmendinger notes, deciding on administrative or political boundaries privileges certain relations and interests (Allmendinger 2011) and may even link back to the broadest sectoral prioritisation, such as putting economic interests over social and environmental ones (Healey 2009). Re-establishing London-wide government within the boundaries of Greater London indirectly built on historical demarcations that were originally drawn as a

reflection of the extent of the built-up area of the city. Therefore, central considerations may have been related to the delivery of urban infrastructure and related services but not, for example, to the relationship between the city and its rural hinterland with framing activities such as the provision and distribution of food and other natural resources.

Broadly speaking, the choice of city boundaries in London and Berlin supports the governance of the urban form and transport interrelationship. This is not to say that administrative boundaries are matching the functional boundaries of this relationship. Far from it, as shown above, Greater London may only cover, depending on the definition, between 5 to 20 per cent of the land of the functional urban region, while Berlin's joint state planning area stretches more generously across the metropolitan region but has limited authority over transport infrastructure development. Still, the political boundaries in both cities may service the overall urban from and transport relationship far better than many other links between other policy sectors, which are more peripheral to the transport-urban form nexus.

The prioritisation of certain cross-sectoral relationships, which is induced by the choice of governance geographies, is then either mitigated or further enhanced by the governance arrangements that are attached to these territories. In both case study cities, it is clearly the case of the latter with relevant autonomy assigned to citywide government. This includes critical powers related to transport and urban form as well as the specific integration structures, processes and instruments addressing the transport urban form link, as discussed above. The clearest case is Berlin and its Department for Urban Development (SenStadtUm), which combines responsibility for urban development, city design and transport.

More generally, the notion of privileged integration resonates with Perri 6's proposition that rather than breaking down boundaries, integration is about "attempts to put boundaries in different places" (6 2005, p52). This section concludes below by addressing potential implications of this kind of boundary shifting which are most pronounced for hierarchical forms of integration.

Privileged integration and hierarchy

The prioritisation of certain cross-sectoral relationships can easily lead to trade-offs and a potential weakening of other relationships. This is particularly the case for hierarchical integration with its clearly defined boundaries of what is within and beyond its pyramid of control. As shown above, integrating transport and urban form in London and Berlin relies extensively on such hierarchical and centralised integration. In turn, this leads to a significant potential for disconnecting integration content that lies outside this hierarchical authority. And in both case study cities, even important relationships part of the urban form and transport nexus are indeed peripheralised.

In London, above all, it is the link between transport infrastructure and housing which, at least up to 2008, could not be addressed effectively given the limited authority of the GLA over housing. In Berlin, an important component of land policy is the parcelling of public land, which is assigned to the Department for Finance. As a result, there is a disconnection with broader urban development policy by SenStadtUm. Similarly, the price of public land to be sold is also decided by the Finance Department and this tends to prioritise the highest price over many objectives of more integrated planning and policy. And in both cities, the governance of urban form and transport includes blind spots such as a deeper understanding of urban development strategies and their impact on goods movement and city logistics.

The challenge for hierarchical integration in the case study cities, particularly in Berlin, is therefore not so much about connecting the top with the bottom of the pyramid but instead how to link the inside of the pyramid with what lies outside it. The extent to which hierarchical organisation can severely compromise integration was clear during the period when transport and urban development portfolios were assigned to different departments. Whenever Berlin's strict portfolio principle divides sectors in such a manner, it acts as a significant barrier to integration as tasks within each of the organisations cannot be reshaped to include assignments that cut across portfolio boundaries (Süss 1995). Including all senate departments, Berlin has about 60 directors of different units and, according to one interviewee, they have never met together. Given Berlin's

portfolio principle, it remains extremely difficult to integrate policy beyond what is assigned to one department. Links to critical elements that directly relate to urban development such as economic development, the legal structures of land policy and finance and taxation are all peripheralised as a result.

The equivalent challenge in London is the privileging of strategy integration through the Mayor and the GLA over delivery and implementation at the borough level. In some ways, this, in turn, links back to the lack of vertical integration as planning expert Peter Hall emphasised during our interview: "If the Mayor has been given the job of strategic planning, he has to be given the capability to deliver that plan even when the boroughs may not agree with him." Here it is again housing that was singled out as among the least satisfactory policy items with an enormous relevance for spatial planning and transport integration.

In summary, the relative success of integrating urban planning, city design and transport strategies as part of strategic planning efforts in London and Berlin rests to a substantial degree on prioritising their interrelationship over links with and between other policy sectors. In fact, one possible conclusion could even be that the integration of transport policy and urban form is precisely about the privileging of this relationship over one that would look, for example, at mobility and the transport industry. Such a prioritisation requires a shift of our attention to the rationale that lies behind it. At the same time, the particular relationship that exists between the urban form and transport nexus indirectly addresses a much wider spectrum of sustainability goals (UN Habitat 2009, UNEP 2011, 2013, GCEC 2014). And

it may do so without applying a totalising strategy or aiming to achieve total integration.

Conclusion

This comparative research on integrating urban planning, city design and transport strategies in Berlin and London provided a fruitful context for framing strategic planning and policy integration more generally. The paper identified various converging trends, above all the perceived and actual advances in integrative practices linking the shaping of urban form with the development of transport infrastructure since the early 1990s. Overall, convergence of sectoral integration mechanisms at the citywide level were more pronounced compared to vertical integration, for which substantial differences and even diverging trends between the two cities exist. The paper then discussed the tension between 'total integration' and 'privileged integration'. This allowed to emphasise that throughout this study, the research only focused on one particular link of integrating planning and policy, i.e. the link between urban form and transport rather than integration in its totality as advanced by sustainability discourses. From the outset, the study therefore privileges the analysis of a particular relationship over other potential policy links. But the paper was also able to argued that this prioritisation in many ways also guarantees the integrative outcomes in the case study cities, particularly where hierarchical governance structures are involved. Future research may therefore focus on the important discussion about the rationale for privileging certain relationships over others and, in the context of strategic planning, the degree to which these privileges are indeed a core characteristic of integrating urban form and transport.

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Appendix – List of Interviewees[1]

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

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

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

Berlin

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

Siegfried Dittrich, Director 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

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