Lost in Translation? – The Bristol Accord and the Sustainable Communities Agenda

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Abstract
The Bristol Accord, agreed at an EU Ministerial Informal meeting in December 2005, was the UK's contribution to the emerging EU urban agenda. Although nominally positioned within contemporary European debates on sustainable urban development and linked to previous Ministerial Informals on urban policy, it can be seen as an example of the 'uploading' of national policy to the EU policy arena. This paper argues that by drawing too closely on domestic policy agendas (as well as the very wide-ranging nature of the sustainable communities agenda) little has resulted from the Accord. This contrasts with the more sustained legacy of the Leipzig Charter, the 2007 successor agreement to the Bristol Accord which, while also an example of the uploading of national policy, has been more successful in tapping into the mainstream of EU urban policy.

Keywords: Bristol Accord, Leipzig Charter, sustainable communities, EU urban agenda, sustainable urban development, uploading, Europeanisation

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[1] This paper draws in part from research carried out for a study for the European Parliament in 2006/07 entitled 'The Possibilities for Success of the Sustainable Communities Approach and its Implementation' (European Parliament, 2007a). The research for the study was carried out together with colleagues at Leeds Metropolitan University – Prof. John Shutt (ERBEDU – European Regional Business and Economic Development Unit), Stratis Koutsoukos (ERBEDU), Michelle Wishardt (CUDEM) and Steve Littlewood (CUDEM).

1.   Introduction

The Bristol Accord was agreed at an EU Ministerial Informal Council meeting held in Bristol, UK, on 4-5 December 2005 towards the end of the most recent UK EU Presidency. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss and agree the benefit to Member States of creating sustainable communities across Europe. Ministers endorsed the Bristol Accord, which set out eight characteristics of a sustainable community and an agreement to compile good practice case studies that exhibit these characteristics. The Accord specifically referenced the Rotterdam Urban Acquis agreed during the Dutch Presidency in November 2004, as well as making the links to the on-going Lisbon and Gothenburg agendas. More generally it can be seen as an attempt to fit into the contemporary European debate on sustainable urban development - the putative EU 'urban agenda'. The agreement also looked forward to the upcoming German Presidency and the planned holding of a follow-up Ministerial Informal meeting. A Ministerial Informal on urban development was duly held in May 2007 in the German city of Leipzig which resulted in the declaration of the Leipzig Charter on Sustainable European Cities. Subsequent Ministerial Informals in this area have been held during the French and Spanish Presidencies which, to a greater or lesser extent, have built on the legacies of these two agreements.

The aim of this paper is to analyse the Bristol Accord – to examine its origins in the UK 'sustainable communities agenda' and to evaluate its legacy – and to compare this with the legacy of the Leipzig Charter. Both the Bristol Accord and the Leipzig Charter can be seen as examples of countries 'uploading' national policy preferences to the European level. However, the paper will demonstrate that the outcomes have been different for the Bristol Accord and the Leipzig Charter.

Following this introduction the paper will outline a theoretical framework in the form of the debates around uploading that have evolved within the literature on Europeanisation. This is followed by an explanation of how this theoretical framework is used in the methodological approach to the research informing this paper. Next, I will examine the development of the sustainable communities agenda in the UK, followed by a brief account of the emerging EU urban agenda, to set the context for the Bristol Accord. The following section examines the Bristol Accord in more detail and considers its legacy for EU Member States and EU policy-making. After an analysis of the Leipzig Charter and its subsequent legacy, the paper concludes with a comparison between the two and discusses the reasons for any differences.

2.   Europeanisation and Uploading

Europeanisation has been closely associated with the new institutionalist literature (Bulmer, Burch, 2005, p. 863), but the proliferation of studies making use of the concept means there is no generally accepted definition (Olsen, 2002). Europeanisation is more usually concerned with the change in national policy and institutions as a result of the influence of the EU – referred to as 'downloading', or the 'top-down' model. This is often related to the idea that there must be some kind of 'misfit' between domestic policies, processes and institutions and those at European level (Börzel, Risse, 2003, p. 61)

The concept of 'uploading' has been part of the Europeanisation literature for the last decade. Börzel (2002) uses the concept to refer to a 'bottom-up' dimension and argues that Member States have an incentive to upload their domestic policies to reduce the implementation costs of downloading European policies. She sees this as a strategy adopted by those Member States engaged in 'pace-setting', i.e. actively pushing policies at the European level (2002, p.

194). Such a strategy reduces Member States' compliance problems as a result of 'policy misfit' (Börzel, Risse, 2003, p. 62). Bulmer and Radaelli (2004, p. 5) see uploading as synonymous with the process of 'governance by negotiation', the first of four stages, or modes of governance, in the Europeanisation of national policy.

Although Liefferink and Jordan (2002) are primarily concerned with the top-down elements of Europeanisation, they refer to EU 'policy makers' and 'policy takers', with the former referring to those countries who consistently upload aspects of their national policies to the EU. In the context of the environmental policy field, they argue that the UK switched from a 'taker' to a 'maker' in the early 1990's, when the UK "took a strategic decision to domesticate the EU by uploading national 'success stories'" (2002, p. 13). Dyson and Goetz (2003, p. 15), too, emphasise the downloading aspect, which they see as a 'defining' property of Europeanisation, with uploading only an 'accompanying' property. Like Bulmer and Radaelli (2004, p. 8) they see uploading more as European integration than Europeanisation.

However, the understanding of Europeanisation as a two-way process of uploading and downloading has been widely used in empirical studies in various fields. For example, in the environmental policy field, Connolly sees uploading as being "based on the argument that states pre-empt domestic adaptation by shaping EU policy in their image" (2008, p. 10). While in the field of European foreign policy analysis, Muller and De Flers see the outcome of uploading as being that of the "projection of national policy preferences, policy models and ideas onto the EU level" (2009, p. 12).

Wurzel (2004) made use of the concept of uploading in relation to research on the differing roles of successive UK and German EU Presidencies. One of his research questions was whether the Presidency allows for the uploading of national preferences, or whether it leads to the Europeanisation of national policies. He sees uploading as related to taking an 'initiator' role, one of 5 roles or functions he attributes to the Presidency. He makes use of the work of Elgstrom and Talberg (2003), who developed an analytical dichotomy applicable to the role of the Presidency – a 'rationalist account' and a 'sociological account'. It is the former that assumes that the Presidency will try to maximise national interests. Though they are not mutually exclusive, the rationalist perspective is associated with the uploading school, i.e. Member States act rationally when trying to upload their national interests and policy styles to the EU (Wurzel, 2004, p. 25). Wurzel concludes that "Member states can use the Presidency only to a limited degree to upload their national interests and policy styles…. The Presidency holder must find a balance between acting as an honest broker while also showing some initiative in driving forward the negotiating process" (2004, p. 29). He sees this as resulting in 'agenda-*shaping*' rather than 'agenda-*setting*' powers.

While Wurzel's empirical work related to the 1990s, Bulmer and Burch (2005) had a wider temporal focus for their study of the Europeanisation of the UK government. Focusing on the institutional response to Europeanisation, they use the concepts of 'reception' and 'projection'. Projection here refers to "the development of machinery for securing an effective voice in the formulation of policy in Brussels" (2005, p. 867), and is a prerequisite for uploading. They report on how the government set up the Step Change Programme in the aftermath of the UK EU Presidency of the first half of 1998, as a way of trying to project the government's influence on EU agenda-setting more effectively and to identify issues where the UK could take the lead (FCO 1999, cited in Bulmer, Burch, 2005).

This article is concerned with two policy initiatives that arose during the most recent UK and German EU Presidencies – that of the Bristol Accord in December 2005 and subsequently the Leipzig Charter in May 2007. It is the contention of the article that these should both be seen as examples of 'uploading' as understood in the discussion above. Moreover, what makes these particular examples interesting is their contrasting outcomes, as the article reveals. The research questions that have guided the paper are, firstly, to what extent is the sustainable

communities approach as set out in the Bristol Accord synonymous with the UK sustainable communities agenda? Secondly, what influence has the Bristol Accord had at the European level? Thirdly, how does this compare to the influence of the Leipzig Charter? Finally, what possible reasons are there to explain any differences?

The Bristol Accord can be seen as promoting a Sustainable Communities approach 'storyline', effectively uploading the UK sustainable communities storyline, to use the approach adopted by Waterhout (2007) in his analysis of the underlying discourses around the development of the territorial cohesion debate within Europe. Waterhout follows Hajer in seeing storylines as essentially political devices to overcome fragmentation by suggesting common understanding, often using the linguistic device of metaphors (Hajer, 1995, p. 62; Hajer, 2000, p. 140). Following this approach, the sustainable communities agenda can be seen as such a storyline (Thomas, Littlewood, 2010), with urban policy as the 'given policy domain'. Within this policy domain an overarching discourse of 'sustainable urban development' can be identified. The Bristol Accord, therefore, should be seen as an attempt to impose a hegemonic interpretation of this sustainable urban development discourse.

The article has been informed by research carried out by the author and colleagues in 2006-07 into the potential of the sustainable communities approach outlined in the Bristol Accord for EU Member States. The research was commissioned by the European Parliament's Committee on Regional Development, and involved an evaluation of the relevance of the sustainable communities approach in the context of sustainable (urban) development in all EU Member States and an assessment of the responses so far to the Bristol Accord. The evaluation was effected by an analysis of key policy documents in each Member State and supplemented where possible by interviews with senior government officials with knowledge of the relevant policy field. Where relevant, further details are given elsewhere in this paper.

In developing the paper this earlier research has been built on by the author using the methodological approach of documentary analysis in an examination of key policy documents covering both relevant UK domestic policy development, and policy development in the area of sustainable urban development at the EU level. The aim of this analysis has been to develop a narrative chronology of the policy process, and for this paper it has been used to track the development of the sustainable communities agenda storyline within UK policy development and to identify both the influence of the Bristol Accord and the associated sustainable communities discourse and, subsequently, the Leipzig Charter, at the European level.

Analysis of policy documents is necessarily a selective process. However, the cross-referencing that exists between key policy documents ensures that important documents of relevance are not likely to be missed. Moreover, reference to relevant academic work, such as Atkinson's (2001) review of the EU urban agenda in the context of the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP) also helps to ensure that a meaningful representation of the policy development process – the narrative chronology – has been obtained. In relation to gauging the extent of influence on domestic policy arenas, it is acknowledged that resource constraints mean that the scope of the research permits only qualified confidence in the results but, where possible, conclusions are verified by comparing with other relevant research. In the following section the development of the UK sustainable communities agenda is examined in more detail.

3.   The Development of a UK Sustainable Communities Agenda

The concept of 'sustainable communities' of course is not new. Local Agenda 21 activity following the 1992 Rio Earth Summit provided the impetus for local authorities in many parts of Europe to develop strategic programmes for achieving local sustainable development, leading to the adoption of the 'Aalborg Charter' – the Charter of European Cities and Towns Towards Sustainability – in 1994. The Bristol Accord, however, promotes a 'Sustainable Communities approach' that, while familiar in many respects to what was understood in the use of the term in the Aalborg Charter, is in many ways specific to the UK context – an agenda that had been developing over a period of years, particularly during the lifetime of the UK Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM).

There are a number of different strands to the UK sustainable communities agenda, but underpinning the agenda is sustainable development at the local level. The term 'sustainable communities' was introduced into the lexicon of the New Labour government in a 1998 consultation paper for the revised UK sustainable development strategy, with the promotion of "sustainable communities for people to live and work in" (DETR, 1998, p. 5) one of the main themes of the document. The following year an umbrella group called the Sustainable Communities Agencies Network produced a document called 'Blueprint for a Sustainable Community' (SCAN, 1999, cited in Warburton, 2003), in which it identified eleven key themes or characteristics of a sustainable community which bore much resemblance to the characteristics of sustainable communities that would eventually appear in the Bristol Accord (see Table 1 later in this paper).

The ubiquity of the community discourse in the UK in recent years is well recognised. Since at least the 1990s the discourse(s) of community has/have been "pivotal in framing the policy agenda for cities" (Imrie, Raco, 2003, p. 4). Under New Labour the term 'community' was regularly linked to that of civic/civil society (Fairclough, 2000, p. 39), while Levitas refers to the "promiscuity" with which the term was used in the policy debates of New Labour (2000, p. 191).

Integrated policy development requiring the integration of programmes from different sectors is also fundamental to sustainable development and to the sustainable communities agenda. However, a 'culture of compartmentalism' has long bedevilled attempts at policy integration in the UK. The New Labour government came to power in 1997 with a policy agenda of 'joined-up thinking' related to a broader agenda of modernising local government.

While all these policy initiatives have been an influence on the UK sustainable communities agenda the genesis of the agenda and indeed of the sustainable communities storyline that was to lead directly to the Bristol Accord lies in the broader housing agenda of the ODPM and its predecessor. Early in 1998, the renowned architect, Richard Rogers, was commissioned by the then Deputy Prime Minister, John Prescott, to lead an 'Urban Task Force'. Its remit was to identify the causes of urban decline in England and recommend practical solutions to bring people back into cities, towns and urban neighbourhoods. In the background to this was the need to provide homes for a predicted 19% increase, almost 4 million, in the number of households over a 25-year period, from 1996 to 2021, in the context of pressures to minimise the take-up of greenfield land for new development and an already existing 60% target for development on previously developed land.

The final report, *Towards an Urban Renaissance*, was published in June 1999. Many of the themes that would run through the Bristol Accord are evident here – an emphasis on good urban design, good governance and partnership working, good quality public transport and transport infrastructure, and a sustainable urban environment (Urban Task Force, 1999).

The recommendations from the report provided a strong input into the subsequent Urban White Paper, published in November 2000 (DETR, 2000). In the White Paper we can already see the sustainable communities agenda becoming quite established. It contained what it called a 'new vision for urban living' which has many elements of the characteristics of a sustainable community contained in the Bristol Accord (refer to Table 1 later), together with four 'key steps towards renaissance' in conjunction with a partnership approach, which also have much in common with the sustainable communities agenda.

What became known as the 'Sustainable Communities Plan' was published by the ODPM in February 2003. The primary driver was housing imbalance – a housing shortage in the South East of England, and housing abandonment in parts of the North of England and the Midlands. A 'programme of action' was set out to tackle this problem underpinned by the Government's "strong commitment to sustainable development" (ODPM, 2003, p. 5). In attempting to define what makes a 'sustainable community', the plan listed twelve key requirements that derived from earlier discussions held within a sub-group of the Central Local Partnership (referring to periodic meetings between central government departments and the Local Government Association). These requirements (see Table 1), represent a very comprehensive, and, indeed aspirational, list. Fairclough (2000, p. 28) argues that New Labour political discourse is full of lists. Lists favour a 'logic of appearances' whereby elements are seen as connected as they appear together even if there is no, or an inadequate, attempt at explanation to link them.

The issue of how communities are defined is ignored in the Plan. They are clearly communities of place, and the implication is that the Plan is referring to the local level. But it can be argued that the usage is deliberately vague and ambiguous, helping to make the agenda as inclusive as possible.

In April 2003 the Government commissioned a review of the skills needed to deliver sustainable communities, which was to consider both professional, built environment, skills, and so-called generic skills. The resulting Egan Report was published a year later, and in it twenty-four recommendations were made which led, amongst other things, to the establishment of the Academy for Sustainable Communities (ASC). Egan identified seven key 'components' of sustainable communities (Figure 1 and Table 1).

Two five-year plans, referred to as "the next phase in delivering the *Sustainable Communities Plan*" were published in January 2005 (ODPM, 2005a; 2005b). Housing retained the central importance, but the need for an integrated or holistic approach to solving problems was emphasized. In these documents, sustainable communities are defined as

> "places where people want to live and work, now and in the future. They meet the diverse needs of existing and future residents, are sensitive to their environment, and contribute to a high quality of life. They are safe and inclusive, well planned, built and run, and offer equality of opportunity and good services for all"
> (ODPM, 2005a, p. 74; 2005b, p. 56).

Sustainable communities are recognised as being diverse, reflecting their local circumstances, but, while it is acknowledged there is no standard template to fit them all, eight characteristics, or 'components', are identified (see Table 1).

The first seven of these are the seven components identified by Egan (2004), although the terminology has changed. So 'active, inclusive and safe' relates to Egan's 'social and cultural', while 'well run' relates to 'governance', etc. The eighth component, 'fair for everyone', is new. Each of these components is broken down into a series of sub-components, which cover a wide spectrum of related policy areas.
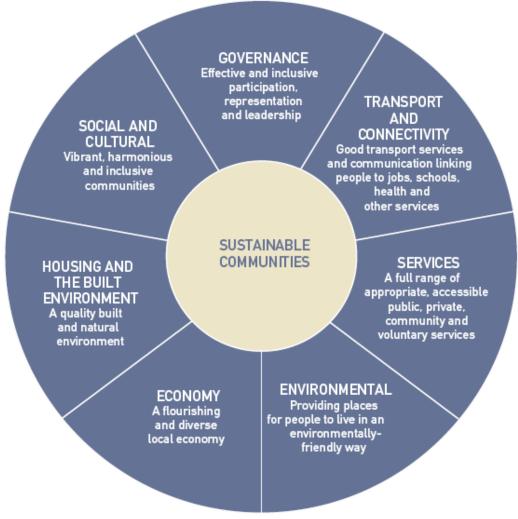
Figure 1: Egan's Components of Sustainable Communities

GOVERNANCE
Effective and inclusive participation, representation and leadership

TRANSPORT AND CONNECTIVITY
Good transport services and communication linking people to jobs, schools, health and other services

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL
Vibrant, harmonious and inclusive communities

SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITIES

SERVICES
A full range of appropriate, accessible public, private, community and voluntary services

HOUSING AND THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT
A quality built and natural environment

ECONOMY
A flourishing and diverse local economy

ENVIRONMENTAL
Providing places for people to live in an environmentally-friendly way

Source: Egan (2004, p. 19).

In summary, the UK sustainable communities agenda became an all-pervasive and wide-ranging agenda. 'Sustainable communities' became a primary policy vehicle through which a whole range of wider government agenda, such as house-building, employment and labour-market policy are delivered (Raco, 2007, p. 167). In broader terms, it reflects a wider shift in the role and function of the state from that of a manager/director to that of an enabler, or insurer (Raco, 2007, p. 174). This is the sustainable communities storyline, so fundamentally linked to the New Labour project, that the UK Government attempted to upload to the European level in the Bristol Accord.

Table 1: Characteristics of Sustainable Communities

ODPM 2005a,b	Egan 2004	ODPM 2003	DETR 2000	SCAN 1999
Active, inclusive and safe - Fair, tolerant and cohesive with a strong local culture and other shared community facilities	**Social and cultural -** Vibrant, harmonious and inclusive communities	Safe local environment; good quality leisure facilities; diverse, vibrant and creative local culture; cohesive community	Help for citizens to reach full potential; good quality leisure services; protection from crime	Safe and healthy environment; vibrant and creative local culture; pride in local community
Well run - with effective and inclusive participation, representation and leadership	**Governance -** Effective and inclusive participation, representation and leadership	Strong leadership; effective local engagement and participation, and an active voluntary and community sector; pride in the community	Effective local participation and decision-making; strong and representative local leadership	Thriving community groups; high levels of public participation and decision-making; effective governance and development
Environmentally sensitive - providing places for people to live that are considerate of the environment	**Environmental -** Providing places for people to live in an environmentally-friendly way	Designed to minimise use of resources	Attractive, well kept urban environment; design and planning that makes environmental sustainability practical	Appropriate biodiversity & good environmental quality; low energy use and waste, resource efficient businesses; sustainable lifestyles
Well designed and built - featuring a quality built and natural environment	**Housing and the built environment -** A quality built and natural environment	Well-designed public and green space; sufficient size, scale and density; buildings that are adaptable and minimise use of resources; mix of housing types and tenures; a sense of place	Good use of space and buildings; good design and quality of urban fabric	Good housing and facilities, accessible to all
Well connected - with good transport services and communication linking people to jobs, schools, health and other services	**Transport and connectivity -** Good transport services and communication linking people to jobs, schools, health and other services	Good public transport and other transport infrastructure; good links with wider community	Good quality transport	High quality reliable public transport
Thriving - with a flourishing and diverse local economy	**Economy -** A flourishing and diverse local economy	Flourishing local economy	Creation and sharing of prosperity	Flourishing local economy, both 'mainstream' and social economy
Well served - with public, private, community and voluntary services that are appropriate to people's needs and accessible to all	**Services -** A full range of appropriate, accessible public, private, community and voluntary services	Good quality local public services	Good quality services including shopping	Good shops; good education and training opportunities
Fair for everyone - including those in other communities, now and in the future				
				High quality information enabling monitoring of progress

4. The European Urban Agenda

In this section, I examine the development of the European urban policy background to the Bristol Accord. Although urban policy is not an area of European legislative competence, the Commission has gradually become involved in setting what has been seen as an urban agenda for Europe with the publication of a number of policy documents on urban matters, as well as the creation of the URBAN Community initiatives (Atkinson, 2001; Parkinson, 2005).

Discussion on urban policy in Europe only started in earnest in 1997 with the adoption of the Commission document *Towards an Urban Agenda in the European Union* (CEC, 1997). This was followed by *Sustainable Urban Development in the European Union* (CEC, 1998), presented at the Vienna Urban Forum in November 1998, an event described by Van den Berg et al. as "an important step in the development of the urban dimension of the EU policy" (2004, p. 44). Atkinson argues that the incentive for these initiatives came as a result of increasing concern during the 1990s over the problems arising as a result of the restructuring of Europe's cities due to the effects of wider global forces (2001, p. 385).

Running in parallel with this Commission activity, a sporadic series of Ministerial Informal Council meetings concerned with urban policy have taken place. Ministerial Informal meetings provide opportunities for Ministers to consider and agree to work on non-legislative policy issues. Although they do not have formal status they may suggest work to be taken up by the European Commission or by individual Member States in drawing up domestic policy. Such meetings can be used to launch new initiatives and it is on these occasions that the country holding the Presidency is most likely to push for national priorities (Wurzel, 2004, p. 5). Historically, Ministerial Informals on urban affairs have often been held at the same time and location as those on spatial development/planning, and indeed in many cases it will be the same Ministers who will attend. Initially, many of the spatial planning meetings were concerned with the development of the ESDP, but since November 2004 they have primarily been concerned with territorial cohesion and agreement on the 'Territorial Agenda' – the successor document to the ESDP (Faludi, 2007).

The initiative for the first such meeting on urban affairs which took place in June 1997 came from the Dutch, at that stage one of the few countries in the EU with an explicit domestic urban policy agenda and a country that has tended to push the urban agenda quite vigorously (Parkinson, 2005, p. 9). Subsequently, meetings have taken place primarily on the occasion of the UK, German, French and Dutch Presidencies. At the meeting in Noordwijk, Ministers launched the Urban Exchange Initiative, with the first report being presented by the UK Government at the Ministerial Informal in Glasgow the following year. Subsequent reports were issued during the German and Finnish Presidencies of 1999.

A further urban affairs Ministerial Informal meeting took place in Lille, France in November 2000. This led to the adoption of the Lille Programme (or Lille Agenda) which promoted a common integrated approach to urban policy and sustainable development and a call for greater recognition of urban issues in the work of the EU. Atkinson argues that the programme of cooperation that it established was important for its attempt to bring the ESDP and the urban policy community class together and even develop a common policy agenda (2008, p. 218).

The next significant milestone in terms of agreements took place at the Ministerial Informal on urban policy held in Rotterdam on 30 November 2004 during the Dutch Presidency, the day after a meeting on territorial cohesion. A 'position paper' (MIKR, 2004) was produced for the meeting, together with commissioned research on urban policy in each of the Member States. A direct link

was made with the Lille Programme, particularly the economic competitiveness and social inclusion aspects. Major cities more generally, however, were recognised as being "the motors of regional, national and European economic development…. national assets… not drains upon the national economy" (MIKR, 2004, p. 1).

The Rotterdam meeting resulted in the adoption of the 'Urban Acquis' – described as "a set of common principles that underpin successful policies…. a more coherent approach to urban policy" (MIKR, 2005, p. 2). It also set up an URBACT[2] working group to set up and co-finance the European Urban Knowledge Network (EUKN)[3].

In response to a request from the European Parliament to provide strategic input into the debate on sustainable urban development and its incorporation into the mainstream of Cohesion Policy and the Structural and Cohesion Funds, and also to provide an input to the debate at the upcoming Bristol Ministerial Informal meeting, the Commission produced a Staff Working Paper, entitled *Cohesion Policy and Cities* in November 2005, which the Regional Policy Commissioner Danuta Hübner was given the opportunity to present at Bristol. Its main aim was to "amplify and complete the Community Strategic Guidelines 2007-2013 by elaborating and strengthening the urban dimension" (CEC, 2005b, p. 1). It makes several references to sustainable communities, as indeed had the draft Community Strategic Guidelines (CEC, 2005a). For example, it sees "[l]ocal partnerships including public, private, voluntary and community interests [as] essential to deliver these 'sustainable communities' as referred to in the 'Bristol accord'" (CEC, 2005b, p. 1). It also makes specific references to the "UK's 'Sustainable Communities' concept", which it sees as recognising that "cities, metropolitan areas and other territories, including rural areas, will succeed best when they integrate economic, social, environmental and physical dimensions, alongside public services, leadership and 'quality of place'" (CEC, 2005b, p. 20).

5.   The Bristol Accord and its Legacy

1 July 2005 saw the start of another UK EU Presidency. Although not a priority, for much of the 6-month period UK officials worked to prepare the groundwork for the Bristol Informal and to get support for the Bristol Accord before the actual meeting took place through a series of networking events and meetings – common practice when agreements are needed at such meetings.[4] In fact, this process started much earlier, as Deputy Prime Minister John Prescott later revealed when giving evidence to the ODPM Parliamentary Select Committee in February 2006, when he stated that he had suggested to the Dutch Ministry during their Presidency in the second half of 2004 that "why don't we do something about urban development within the regions? Why don't you start it?", with the understanding that the UK would continue the process in 2005 (HOC, 2006). One change the UK made to the agenda inherited from the Dutch, however, was to widen the focus from just cities to cover smaller towns and other settlements too. As Wurzel points out (2004, p. 5) Ministerial Informals represent the best opportunities for Presidency incumbents to push for, or upload, national priorities.

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[2] URBACT is an EU-funded exchange and learning programme that promotes sustainable urban development.
[3] The EUKN is a Europe-wide database of urban information that contains sites for individual Member States containing details on urban policy, examples of good practice, relevant research, etc, that provides a site for the exchange of urban knowledge and experience. It was launched in October 2005.
[4] See Faludi and Waterhout (2005) for an account of a similar process at the 2004 Rotterdam meeting on territorial cohesion.

In the summer of 2005 the UK Government commissioned research into the 'Sustainable Communities approach in Europe' to inform the discussion in Bristol. Networking, meanwhile, took place at a variety of events, including a meeting of the 'Troika Plus' (the two preceding and succeeding Presidencies next to the actual presidency), two meetings of the Urban Development Group (UDG) and a meeting of the 'Working Group on Spatial and Urban Development'. There was also a meeting of the EU Urban Policy Director Generals in October that was particularly significant in this regard, and a meeting of the EU Director Generals on governance in late November. All this meant that by the time delegates came to Bristol, the Accord was effectively ready to be adopted.

The main part of the Bristol Accord comprises a couple of pages of text. Part 1 is concerned with the characteristics of sustainable communities. There is the definition of a sustainable community familiar from the ODPM's Sustainable Communities Plans, as "places where people want to live and work, now and in the future" (ODPM, 2006, p. 12). There is also a list of 'key pre-requisites' for creating sustainable communities across Europe. These are new. They were added probably as a result of the Accord's development process during the UK Presidency period to fit in with current EU agendas. They are:
1. ***Economic growth*** *is of central importance*
2. *Europe's unique tradition of **social inclusion and social justice***
3. *The **role of cities** is key to success*
4. *To **respond to the challenge of social segregation** at all levels*
5. *To embody the principles of **sustainable development***
6. *Recognition that they can exist at **different spatial levels***

It is not difficult to speculate on exactly what agendas influenced the selection of these pre-requisites. Highlighting economic growth clearly acknowledges the overriding goals of the renewed Lisbon Agenda on jobs and growth agreed only nine months earlier. The reference to the role of cities reflects the increasing importance placed on cities in the European policy arena, as can be seen by the *Cohesion Policy and Cities* document presented at Bristol that reinforces the view that cities be seen as the engines of economic growth. The reference to the challenge of social segregation would seem to relate to current concerns in several European countries, particularly in relation to segregation of immigrant populations. The principles of sustainable development refer to the Gothenburg Agenda, while the reference to different spatial levels seems to relate to the UK concern to widen the scope from just cities and to emphasise that 'communities' in this context does not just refer to the local level.

The Bristol Accord sets out eight characteristics of sustainable communities. These are the same as the eight components in ODPM 2005a and 2005b. There is an annex which sets out the full description of these characteristics, which is also identical to that in the earlier ODPM policy documents. Note the comments about lists made earlier in respect of the requirements of sustainable communities in the Sustainable Communities Plan. The logic of appearances of a list encourages the notion of their being seen as connected.

The scale at which the sustainable communities approach is seen to operate is an interesting issue. The Bristol Accord states that sustainable communities can exist at "different spatial levels: neighbourhood, local, city, regional". This mirrors the ambiguity within the UK sustainable communities discourse and distinguishes it from the explicitly urban focus of the Rotterdam Urban Acquis, from the *Cohesion Policy and Cities* document, and indeed from the usual focus of the Urban Affairs Ministerial Informals. It is also probably necessary for the Accord to emphasise

that sustainable communities in this context does not just refer to small-scale neighbourhoods as is commonly understood by the English term 'community'.

The second part of the Bristol Accord is an agreement to compile Good Practice Case Studies. All countries agreed to submit such case studies to the EUKN, according to an agreed template. In addition, there was agreement on enhancing the impact of European Investment Bank (EIB) loan finance, and an Expert Working Group was set up to consider how to do this. Also, there was agreement on the importance of fostering 'place-making' skills, and it was agreed that a European Skills Symposium would be held in 2006, hosted by the UK's ASC in Leeds.

The research that had been commissioned by the ODPM presented eight Sustainable Communities case studies of varying scale from across Europe, including the Thames Gateway and the Northern Way in the UK. The Thames Gateway was an obvious choice as it had been the Government's flagship project in its Sustainable Communities Plan, even though it is on a much larger scale than the European examples. The Northern Way - a government initiative to improve the economic performance of the regions of the north of England - was a much less obvious example. One can only assume the selection of this was influenced by the identity of the client, with the Northern Way being so closely identified with the Deputy Prime Minister himself.

So what has resulted from the Bristol Accord? The European Skills for Sustainable Communities Symposium organised by the ASC was duly held in Leeds in November 2006 and was well attended. The two working parties that were set up carried out their work and reported back at the Leipzig Informal in May 2007. However, good practice case studies were not submitted to the EUKN.[5] A major cause is likely to have been the wide-ranging nature of the sustainable communities agenda and the difficulty of finding case studies that sufficiently illustrate a sustainable communities approach. While, although the Skills Symposium did take place and was able to include some further examples of sustainable communities (even if these fell somewhat short of adhering to the Sustainable Communities model of the Bristol Accord), the skills agenda has quickly been subsumed into a wider EU agenda of 'skills for sustainable urban development', as witnessed by the conference on 'Skills for Sustainable and Competitive Urban Development' organised by QeC-ERAN (European Regeneration Areas Network) in May 2007 that referenced the Leeds Skills Symposium but not its origins in the Bristol Accord. Crucially, research carried out for the European Parliament in late 2006 / early 2007 failed to find any national policy initiatives that had been directly influenced by the Bristol Accord and overall concluded that the response at the Member State level had been "very limited" (European Parliament, 2007a, p. 33).

Of course, a major problem here is what the term 'sustainable communities' means in different countries. The term can be directly translated into Europe's languages, but literal translations are not necessarily the way the term would be referred to in individual countries. In Spain, for example, rather than using the literal translation of '*Comunidades sostenible*', the term *un modelo de ciudad integradora y sostenible* – 'a model for integrated and sustainable cities' was used on the Ministry of Housing website in its report on the Bristol Informal meeting. While within European countries, the term 'sustainable communities', or its literal translation, is typically just seen as another term for 'sustainable development' directed particularly at the local level.

At this point some examples of the way that the Bristol Accord was received in individual Member States will be given. The case studies selected comprise the countries holding the EU Presidency for the two years after the UK, and hence who might be expected to take a greater

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[5] In 2007 the EUKN confirmed that no case studies specifically related to the sustainable communities agenda had been submitted (e-mail correspondence 18/7/07).

interest in the agenda – namely Austria, Finland, Germany and Portugal, with the case of Germany being treated separately in the next section on the development of the Leipzig Charter. Austria, with a federal governmental system, has no national ministry responsible for urban affairs or spatial planning, which are the responsibility of the provinces and of individual municipalities. As a consequence, there was no direct response to the Bristol Accord or to the sustainable communities agenda at a governmental level and urban policy was not an issue that Austria focussed on in its Presidency (European Parliament, 2007b, p. 8).

Finland, a country with a long tradition of leading on sustainable development policy, held the Presidency of the EU in the second half of 2006 and took an active interest in the process of the drafting of the Bristol Accord to the extent that it was discussed in the national parliament. However, although the Ministry of the Interior agreed with the holistic approach of the Bristol Accord it felt that the broadness of the agenda, with the eight characteristics ('dimensions') of sustainable communities and absence of differentiation between urban and rural areas diluted its value (European Parliament 2007b, p. 45; telephone interview 10/12/06). In this respect, they considered that the earlier Urban Acquis was a more useful document as it was more focussed.

In Portugal, sustainability is still seen mostly from an environmental perspective and as in initiatives such as Local Agenda 21 (European Parliament, 2007b, p. 124). Increasingly, issues such as social cohesion and local economic development, linked to actions to combat poverty, are on the policy agenda, but these are by and large separate agendas and not linked to environmental issues. The use of the term 'communities' is considered problematic in the Portuguese context, where it would be more conventional to use the word 'local' or 'locality' linking it to the role of the local municipality (telephone interview 19/3/07). The flagship project that Portugal highlighted in relation to the sustainable communities agenda was the 'Critical Urban Areas' programme. This is an urban renewal project that was being piloted in a number of deprived neighbourhoods in Lisbon and Porto, in which the innovative aspect from the Portuguese perspective were the mechanisms set up to ensure collaboration between seven different government departments. This programme was in existence prior to the signing of the Bristol Accord, however.

What influence has the Bristol Accord and the sustainable communities approach had on European policy documents? The *Renewed EU Sustainable Development Strategy* was published in June 2006. "Build[ing] sustainable communities in urban and rural areas where citizens live and work and jointly create a high quality of life" (CEU, 2006, p. 25, para. 29) is seen as the overall aim of the local and regional levels in delivering sustainable development and building up social capital. However, there is no reference to the Bristol Accord in relation to this aim, or indeed in the document at all. Instead, the references are to Local Agenda 21, the Aalborg Commitments and how best to promote the European Sustainable Cities and Towns Campaign (CEU, 2006, p. 25, para. 30).

Although the content of the final version of *Cohesion Policy and Cities*, published in July 2006, is very similar to the earlier Staff Working Paper, it makes only two references to sustainable communities (although admittedly it is a shorter document), both of which are in a footnote concerned with the ASC Skills Conference (CEC, 2006a, p. 11). In other words, the explicit references to the Bristol Accord and the creation of sustainable communities that were contained in the Working Paper have been omitted from the final document.

Likewise, in the final *Community strategic guidelines on cohesion*, published in October 2006, although there is reference to developing sustainable communities in relation to the territorial dimension of territorial cohesion (CEC, 2006b, p. 19), compared to the Draft guidelines the

relationship between Cohesion Policy and sustainable communities has weakened. Building sustainable communities is no longer explicitly seen as a fundamental objective of territorial cohesion as in the earlier document.

6.   The Leipzig Charter and its Legacy

It had always been intended that a further Ministerial Informal on urban policy would be held during the German Presidency. The meeting was duly held in Leipzig on 24 May 2007 at which the Leipzig Charter on Sustainable European Cities was agreed. As the follow-up urban policy initiative to the Bristol Accord, the Leipzig Charter makes due reference to 'building on' the Bristol Accord, as it does to the Lille Action Programme and the Rotterdam Urban Acquis (German Presidency, 2007, p. 1). However, there is only one reference to sustainable communities in the document, and that in relation to the need to improve generic and cross-occupational skills development. This contrasts to the Bristol Accord which made numerous references to the earlier Urban Acquis and included it as an annex, while the Bristol Accord's characteristics of successful places were explicitly seen as complementing the Urban Acquis's principles of effective urban policy making.

In contrast to this, there is little evidence of the Leipzig Charter building on the Bristol Accord. Even the Expert Working Group on the role of the EIB in fostering sustainable communities appears to have had its terminology changed so that its report had become 'The role of the EIB in sustainable urban development'. The Leipzig Charter is a much more tightly focussed document than the Bristol Accord. It makes two main recommendations:
  • To make greater use of integrated urban development policy approaches
  • That special attention is paid to deprived neighbourhoods within the context of the city as a whole

In support of these recommendations, a number of reports were prepared, such as 'Integrated development as a prerequisite for successful urban sustainability' and a number of studies focussed on policy development for deprived urban areas. Policy and implementation programmes for integrated and sustainable urban development is really the key theme here, seen as the urban contribution to the renewed EU sustainable development strategy, and replaces that of 'place-making' and identifying the characteristics of sustainable communities in the Bristol Accord. The Leipzig Charter is concerned with identifying strategies for how to achieve these objectives, and in that sense has more in common with the Urban Acquis and can be seen as an elaboration of the latter's principles of effective urban policy making. In addition, the recommendation to pay special attention to deprived urban neighbourhoods should be seen in the context of the current concerns in Germany over increasing problems related to social exclusion in many of its cities, with the rationale being that by concentrating efforts on the parts of a city with the greatest problems this will help improve the overall well-being of the city.

In terms of the legacy of the Leipzig Charter, the contrast with that of the Bristol Accord could scarcely be greater. At the time of writing developing mechanisms for implementing the Leipzig Accord is still the principal agenda item in official EU urban affairs fora. There have been two Ministerial Informals concerned with urban affairs since Leipzig, while every EU Presidency since then has featured meetings of the UDG, usually one 'working-level' meeting and one at the level of Directors-General, where the Leipzig Charter has been discussed. Moreover, significantly, since the Leipzig meeting the Leipzig Charter has been incorporated into the Territorial Agenda as part of the debate on territorial cohesion. With territorial cohesion seen as

complementary to economic and social cohesion, it has entered the mainstream debate on EU cohesion policy. The development of integrated and sustainable urban development policies is seen as contributing to the enhancement of territorial cohesion, with the Leipzig Charter viewed as the vehicle for doing so.

The notable success of the Leipzig Charter in maintaining its salience since May 2007 deserves to be examined in more detail. Although there was no Ministerial Informal devoted to urban affairs during the Portuguese Presidency, there was one on spatial planning and development held in the Azores in November. While the main concern was to discuss territorial cohesion and the implementation of the Territorial Agenda (also agreed at Leipzig) and to agree on a First Action Programme (FAP) for its implementation, the Leipzig Charter was seen as part of the Territorial Agenda. Indeed, the first action of the FAP, Action 1.1, specifically called for "policy actions to foster coordination between spatial and urban development in the light of the Territorial Agenda and the Leipzig Charter" (Portuguese Presidency, 2007, p. 3). Moreover, the Ministers set up a 'Territorial Cohesion and Urban Matters' Expert Committee, which in January 2008 was matched by a similar unit set up within DG Regio.

During the Slovenian Presidency in the first half of 2008 the themes of territorial cohesion and urban development were carried on with some enthusiasm. As Faludi (2009, pp. 10-11) notes, Slovenia maintained the trend towards the closer integration of urban and regional policy agendas at EU level that had started at Leipzig. Slovenia had taken over responsibility for developing Action 1.1 of the FAP for the Territorial Agenda and hosted two meetings of the UDG, where the main agenda item in both cases was the implementation of the Leipzig Charter.

During its Presidency, France organised a 3-day Ministerial Informal in Marseilles from 24-26 November 2008, with the second day reserved for 'urban development'. As would be expected from a high-profile Presidency such as France, the French had their own ideas for making a lasting mark in this area, but even so the first item on the agenda on the second day was implementation of the Leipzig Charter, and the Charter, linked with the Territorial Agenda, figured prominently in the Final Statement agreed by the Ministers present (French Presidency, 2008a). The 'big idea' of the French in terms of taking forward the Leipzig Charter was to propose a 'reference framework' as a tool for implementing sustainable cities. This is something of a long-term project and indeed is still on-going. Working groups were set up to drive the process forward – one led by France and another set up as part of the URBACT II Programme.

There was no Ministerial Informal concerned with urban affairs during the Czech or Swedish Presidencies in 2009, but there were three meetings of the UDG where, again, implementation of the Leipzig Charter was high on the agenda, together with reporting on progress on the setting up of the working groups for developing the Reference Framework.

Urban development was also high on the agenda of the Spanish Presidency in the first half of 2010 and UDG meetings in March and April were followed by a Ministerial Informal meeting on housing and urban development on 21-22 June held in Toledo. On the second day of the meeting, ministers responsible for urban development agreed on the Toledo Declaration (Spanish Presidency, 2010). The main elements of the declaration were:
- Achieving a smarter, more sustainable and socially inclusive urban development
- Supporting the continuation of the Marseille Process and the implementation of the European Reference Framework for Sustainable Cities (RFSC)
- Consolidating a future European urban agenda

Throughout the text of the declaration there are numerous references to the Leipzig Charter and it is clear there is the intention (as there was to a large extent in Marseille in 2008) to build upon the Leipzig Charter. Indeed this is made explicit in the Urban Development Working Paper prepared for the start of the Trio Presidency of Spain, Belgium and Hungary, covering the period January 2010 to June 2011, where it states, "in our opinion, the principles established in 2007 in the Leipzig Charter (LC) are still in force and need no revision…. the actual need is not to revise these principles, but to implement and to follow up them [sic.] in the Member States" (Trio Presidency, 2010, p. 3). Interestingly, in the light of Atkinson's (2001) doubts over the likelihood of an explicit 'EU Urban Policy' emerging over the ensuing ten years, the development of a 'European urban agenda' is still seen in the Toledo Declaration as being some way off.

Also at the meeting a prototype for the Reference Framework was presented, and over the course of the following twelve months work has continued on its development. The URBACT II project set up to facilitate the implementation of the principles espoused in the Leipzig Charter has recently been completed and the full-scale testing of the RFSC was lauched in March 2011, with the participation of 66 towns and cities, a process which is expected to be completed by the end of 2011 (Hungarian Presidency, 2011).

In addition to inter-governmental action, the European Parliament too has shown an interest in the Leipzig Charter. After the Leipzig meeting a study was immediately commissioned by the Committee on Regional Development, entitled 'Follow-up of the Territorial Agenda and the Leipzig Charter' (European Parliament, 2007c) that was presented at a Committee Hearing in May 2008 (in a similar way to the study that was commissioned after the Bristol Accord.) In the case of the Leipzig follow-up report, however, there was also a resolution based on the study report passed by the full Parliament in February 2008, which called on Member States and local and regional authorities to pursue comprehensive integrated development strategies to help promote the objectives of the Territorial Agenda and the Leipzig Charter.

7.   Bristol and Leipzig – two initiatives, two different outcomes

The argument has been made earlier in this paper that the Bristol Accord represents a very explicit attempt by the UK government to upload national policy preferences to the EU level. The fact that the extended definition of sustainable communities within the Bristol Accord is reproduced word-for-word from a national policy document is a clear indication of that. To what extent does the Leipzig Charter represent an uploading of German national policy? The first part of the Charter, that relating to integrated urban development policy, is a key aspect of the way Germany sees sustainable urban development. Of course, this could be said for many other countries, as the promotion of horizontal and vertical integration has become one of the dominant normative concepts in European urban policy documents and in the spatial development field in general. However, the degree of fit of the Leipzig Charter with German domestic concerns is explicitly acknowledged in response to a survey of Member States' views on the importance and relevance of the Leipzig Charter to domestic priorities that was conducted by France in 2008. An integrated urban development policy is seen as essential for dealing with the "difficult political, economic and social challenges" faced by German cities, and the German response acknowledges that the Leipzig Charter was, "on the political platform, very useful for us in Germany… [and consequently] two days after the end of the German Council Presidency, Federal Minister Tiefensee gave the go-ahead for the establishment of a national urban development policy" (French Presidency, 2008b, pp. 24-25).

The second part, that special attention be paid to deprived neighbourhoods, relates quite specifically to existing German national policy. In Germany, since 2004, the *Soziale Stadt* programme (Neighbourhoods with Special Development Needs – the Socially Integrative City) has been the primary policy for dealing with the recent proliferation of deprived city neighbourhoods suffering from the concentration of a number of inter-related social and economic problems (BMVBS/BBR, 2007, p. 63). Moreover, the defining element of the programme is its integrative approach, both in horizontal terms in the way that it aims to incorporate measures and resource pools across the economic, social, housing and environmental sectors, and in vertical terms between the different administrative scales and institutions involved.

The comparison of the differing influence of the Bristol Accord and the Leipzig Charter on the EU urban agenda as detailed in the previous section suggests that the latter has had much the greater longevity and degree of influence (at least at the European level). For the Bristol Accord and the sustainable communities agenda, after reaching a 'high water mark' with the November 2005 draft *Cohesion Policy and Cities* document there appears to have been a gradual lessening of its influence, with few references to the Accord and to the sustainable communities approach in European policy documents since, particularly noticeable in the case of the Leipzig Charter itself. In terms of its influence on policy development in individual Member States very little direct impact has been discerned. The failure of any Member States to submit sustainable communities good practice case studies to the EUKN is particularly significant as this was an important part of the Bristol Accord.

The Leipzig Charter on the other hand has been, and has remained, an influential document. Four years after its adoption, directly or indirectly (through the RFSD), it continues to dominate EU discussion on urban affairs, while it would also appear to have had some real influence on the domestic policy environment in some Member States. Based on the results of the 2008 survey conducted by France referred to above, a report for the URBACT project concerned with the implementation of the Leipzig Charter asserts that it had had some influence on almost all Member States, or at least that it is in sympathy with existing policy (Stadt Leipzig, 2009, pp. 12-13).

Why might this difference in outcomes be so? As was asserted at the beginning of the paper both can be seen as examples of the 'uploading' of national policy preferences or examples of good practice to the EU level. The rationalist account of the role of the EU Presidency (Elgstrom, Talberg, 2003) suggests the Presidency can be used as an opportunity to promote national agendas, and Ministerial Informals are one of the clearest examples of how that can be done. In the case of the Bristol Accord, the sustainable communities approach contained therein was taken almost word for word from the domestic UK sustainable communities agenda. This produced problems in translatability for Europe and its Member States. Although an attempt was made to link the Accord to the earlier Rotterdam Acquis and also to the growing discourse around territorial cohesion, ultimately this has not been sufficiently convincing. The Leipzig Charter, on the other hand, tapped much more successfully into the mainstream of emerging EU urban policy with its dual focus of integrated urban development and deprived urban neighbourhoods (and the associated emphasis on issues of social exclusion/inclusion). At the same time the Leipzig Charter, being more attuned to the debates around territorial cohesion, managed the elusive trick of bringing together the debates and policy communities around territorial cohesion and urban development, resulting in a 'discourse coalition' with a shared belief in the importance of a wider territorial agenda.

These findings are important because they update Wurzel's (2004) research on the role of the UK and German EU Presidencies in the 1990s in uploading national policy preferences. Wurzel found

this to be the case to "a limited degree", seeing it as resulting in 'agenda-shaping' rather than 'agenda-setting'. This paper argues that the UK and Germany have indeed used the occasion of their most recent Presidencies to attempt to upload national interests. The success of this has varied in the two examples studied, but it seems to concur with the verdict of 'agenda-shaping' or perhaps in the case of the German Presidency 'agenda-strengthening' in relation to the developing urban agenda.

The question remains of what the future holds for the Leipzig Charter. The testing of the RFSC, which was set up as a tool to enable cities to implement the Leipzig Charter, is due to finish in September 2011. The intention is that the finished tool will be approved at either the joint territorial cohesion - urban development Ministerial Informal that Poland will be hosting in November 2011 or at a Directors-General meeting during the Danish Presidency in the first semester of 2012. Then the final version will need to be disseminated at the national level, probably in early 2012. The interest that will be shown in the RFSC of course remains to be seen, but the Leipzig Accord principles contained therein are likely to remain relevant for some time into the future, even if reference to the Leipzig Accord itself is likely to diminish under the weight of successive urban affairs-related Ministerial agreements.

8.   Conclusions

This paper has demonstrated how the Bristol Accord and the Sustainable Communities approach contained therein were derived from UK domestic policy agenda. Ministerial Informals are an opportunity for the hosts to promote their agenda on the European stage, and the Bristol Accord needs to be seen in that light - as an example of the uploading of national policy in its attempt to promote a sustainable communities approach storyline.

Despite the fact that the holistic nature of the sustainable communities approach is broadly in tune with current European thinking on the need for an integrated approach to urban policy, the impact of the Accord both in Member States and in European policy agendas has been very limited. I have argued that this limited impact is due in large part to the fact that it was too closely aligned with domestic UK agendas. In any event, the extremely wide-ranging nature of the agenda made it difficult for policy-makers to get a handle on it. As the European Parliament study was forced to conclude, "Many people recognise that the concept is difficult to implement and deliver and some argue that the agenda is too broad…" (2007a, p. 47).

The Leipzig Charter, with its dual themes of integrated urban development and a focus on deprived urban neighbourhoods, resonated more clearly with the mainstream of European urban policy. Moreover, it has successfully been framed in terms of territorial cohesion, i.e. that the Leipzig Charter and integrated urban development helps to further territorial cohesion. Although the link between the Bristol Accord and the 2005 Draft Cohesion Policy document was made, it was not a long-lasting link and the legacy of the Bristol Accord and the sustainable communities agenda has resulted instead in the relative backwater of the skills agenda, which has had difficulty in being picked up and carried through in the rest of Europe. To use Varró's (2008, p. 958) terminology, the 'spatial narrative' around the integrated urban development of the Leipzig Charter has resonated more clearly with contemporary EU narratives.

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