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The place where streams seek ground. Towards a new territorial governmentality: the meaning and usage of the concept of territorial cohesion in the European Union

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Chapter 15 The whole territorial cohesion usage field

Introduction

This part on the usage of the concept of territorial cohesion showed the involved power practices mapped with Roe's *Narrative Policy Analysis* (also see Appendix C until F). After the treatment of the IGCs, (post-)ESDP process, Regional/Cohesion policy, and European Funds usage areas in the previous chapters, the whole territorial cohesion usage field can be outlined here. This according to the concept's collection of metanarratives insofar they make territorial cohesion stand out from its context. Below the four usage areas and their metanarratives are therefore compared to see how much they overlap (§15.1), form a topical order (§15.3), and reveal a battlefield (§15.4). We namely cannot know the ways in which their *auctoritas*, *potestas*, and *pecunia* spheres of action interlink beforehand. Note though, that this outlining is carried out to question the self-evidence of territorial cohesion power practices. This clearly comes forward in the comparison of the concept's "ownness" and its alike context to see in what territorial cohesion stands out (§15.2). That is, does an outlining of the whole territorial cohesion usage field also demarcate power practices that belong to the concept? Before the conclusions point to Part III on the territorial cohesion discourse (§15.6), the self-evidence of territorial cohesion power practices is also questioned through the implications the concept's usage has and could have for changes in government (§15.5).

15.1 The overlaps of metanarratives from different usage areas

15.1.1 The limited and limiting usage of territorial cohesion

The metanarratives in each usage area represent the limited usage of territorial cohesion. Because they mostly come from problem statements that do not have counter- or non-stories, they simply mobilise bias in their spheres of action due to assumptions where the concept is about. The metanarratives therefore form the common ground for decision-making on territorial cohesion. However, together those problem statements result in many circular argumentations, mostly of the shortest kind.^a One might argue that on both the level of stories and the level of them together there is therefore no "the" story to tell (Roe, 1994: 158), and thus no clarity to give on the arena and rules of the territorial cohesion game. This would be too quick though. The assumptions where the concept is about namely do take positions that set the stage, this agenda-setting does bring forward a limiting usage of territorial cohesion. When the collection of metanarratives outlines the whole territorial cohesion usage field, the question then becomes how different these metanarratives (§15.1.2) and their positions (§15.1.3) are in the different usage areas. That is, to what extent do they overlap?

15.1.2 Usage areas that overlap in metanarratives

As no metanarrative appears in each of the usage areas, there is no instance in which all four usage areas overlap. Still, their metanarratives do overlap, especially when it concerns the positions of balance, services, territorial specificities, coordination, and the territorial dimension, as these positions return in the metanarratives of each usage area. Then those territorial cohesion positions are not ordered the same way in each usage area. Yet, these differently ordered positions are similarly ordered in several of the usage areas nonetheless.

Only the territorial cohesion positions with coordination come forward with the same metanarrative in three usage areas: the IGCs, (post-)ESDP process, and Regional/Cohesion policy ones; note that the reason why the metanarratives of the European Funds usage area are not mentioned here is that they are very wide (see the differently appearing positions below). The usage areas overlap less with other territorial cohesion concerns though. Only in the IGCs and (post-)ESDP process usage areas the concerns with the territorial dimension are

^a That is, not so much $A \rightarrow B \rightarrow C \rightarrow A$ or longer, but simply $A \rightarrow B \rightarrow A$, such as 'territorial cohesion leads to polycentrism' and 'polycentrism results in territorial cohesion'.

ordered in the same way, as are those with territorial specificities (although these latter two metanarratives vary in their treatment of territorial impacts and/or specific territories). The case of services then is a particular one, because concerns with this appear in three usage areas, but always a bit different. In the IGCs usage area it is only about Services of General (Economic) Interest (SG(E)I), in the (post-)ESDP process usage area this is with infrastructures combined into accessibility, and in the Regional/Cohesion policy usage area a metanarrative connects these accessibility concerns with the ones of territorial specificities (i.e. mostly in the form of services in specific territories). Furthermore, one metanarrative is peculiar: only the (post-)ESDP process usage area focusses on spatial/territorial structures (especially polycentrism).

Even though these same metanarratives appear in several usage areas, one should keep the different roles of territorial cohesion in mind. That is to say, the same metanarrative (e.g. coordination) could in the IGCs usage area display interests in adding a European Union competency, in the (post-)ESDP process usage area in promoting European spatial planning, and in the Regional/Cohesion policy usage area in a substantive expansion of this European Union policy. Moreover, just as the same metanarrative might show different concerns in each usage area according to the role the concept plays there, the same position could play a different role in different usage areas, that is, a role following on its metanarrative (that accords to the role the concept plays in the usage area).

15.1.3 Metanarratives that overlap in positions

Some territorial cohesion positions almost perfectly overlap in the IGCs, (post-)ESDP process, and Regional/Cohesion policy usage areas because they are part of the same metanarrative in each of them. However, the metanarratives of the European Funds usage area are so wide, that they harbour large parts of – if not whole – metanarratives of other usage areas. The European Funds usage area namely lacks a more specific organisation. The coordination positions for instance appear largely the same in each usage area, in the (post-)ESDP process and Regional/Cohesion policy ones even both in the substantive and processual form, but it is in the European Funds usage area enclosed by the ‘governal organisation of the territory’ metanarrative. The role of coordination is in this usage area thus more instrumental (e.g. for territorial cooperation) than that it is a concern by itself as in the other three usage areas (e.g. as another European Union competency).

Accessibility, the territorial dimension, and territorial specificities as territorial cohesion positions demonstrate the same point more complexly. Accessibility is for instance enclosed in the European Funds usage area, this time in the ‘substantive objectives’ metanarrative. Accessibility therefore shares the stage with several substantive objectives to channel European funding. However, besides this, its role differs between the other three usage areas as mentioned above too (e.g. the promotion of a competency for SG(E)I in the IGCs usage area, the facilitation of mostly services for specific territories in the Regional/Cohesion policy usage area). The European Funds usage area’s ‘governal organisation of the territory’ metanarrative also encloses the territorial dimension positions. The complexity here is, that in the IGCs and (post-)ESDP process usage areas the territorial dimension (often of policies) is with territorial cohesion promoted in its own right, but in the Regional/Cohesion policy usage area contested with territorial cohesion as cohesion objective. The only territorial cohesion positions that are not enclosed by a metanarrative of the European Funds usage area are concerned with territorial specificities, as this is a metanarrative there too. However, two complexities appear: these positions include a lot (i.e. also specific territories, territorial impacts, and/or territorial capital), and often differently so per usage area, and, as mentioned above, in the Regional/Cohesion policy usage it plays a different role (i.e. it facilitates a connection with accessibility). Still, when territorial cohesion is concerned with the positions of coordination, accessibility, the territorial dimension, and territorial specificities, the metanarratives of the four usage areas show much overlap.

Some other territorial cohesion positions show less overlap between the metanarratives of the four usage areas. These positions are concerned with a new cohesion objective, governance, polycentrism, and economic, social, and environmental objectives (mostly competitiveness, balance, and sustainability respectively). Territorial cohesion is in the (post-)ESDP process usage area namely not promoted as new cohesion objective.

Besides that as such it in the European Funds usage area fits amongst the substantive objectives to channel European funding, this cohesion objective just forms a metanarrative in the Regional/Cohesion policy usage area by, as mentioned earlier, being contested with the territorial dimension (often of cohesion objectives). The governance positions, on the other hand, are in the Regional/Cohesion policy usage area promoted just once, and are in the European Funds usage area enclosed by the ‘governal organisation of the territory’ metanarrative. Moreover, only if the framework topic (e.g. for coordination) can be considered as issuing the same, such positions return in the IGCs usage area too; this, just as in the (post-)ESDP process usage area, in the ‘coordination’ metanarrative. In the (post-)ESDP process usage area the interest for territorial cohesion as cohesion objective thus seems to be low, and in the Regional/Cohesion policy the interest for governance.

Both polycentrism and the economic, social, and environmental objectives do not appear in the IGCs usage area; that is, not as three objectives together, as balance alone is promoted in the IGCs usage area (e.g. against territorial disparities). However, their roles differ in the other three usage areas. While polycentrism plays a role as objective in the (post-)ESDP process usage area, it does so in the Regional/Cohesion policy usage as territorial specificity, and in the European Funds usage area in both ways. And while also economic, social, and environmental objectives fit in the European Funds usage area to channel European funding, they interrelate in the (post-)ESDP process (e.g. as in the ‘triangle of sustainability’; see below) and are quarrelled over in the Regional/Cohesion policy usage area. Hence, these territorial cohesion positions with less overlap also seem to portray a wider variety in the roles they play in different usage areas.

15.1.4 From agenda-setting to order and standing out

When you thus outline the whole territorial cohesion usage field according to the collection of metanarratives, you might now arrive at the conclusion that especially the positions of balance, services, territorial specificities, coordination, and the territorial dimension set the stage. Moreover, that the ways in which these positions outline the concept’s usage then often depend on the usage area in question. Territorial cohesion could for instance be seen as an objective that, compared to economic and social cohesion, does more explicitly deal with that economic and social development is concentrated in certain groupings of territories. European funds could for instance be directed more specifically to benefit these territories in this territorial focus. This role does not hold for each usage area though: not in the (post-)EDP process usage area, and contestly so in the Regional/Cohesion policy usage area. The whole territorial cohesion field therefore cannot be outlined solely according to the positions that set the concept’s agenda. Also the way in which the metanarratives form a collection matters, that is, their order. Before this more specific outlining is carried out though, we should know whether the positions set on the territorial cohesion agenda actually make the concept stand out from its context.

15.2 The contested “ownness” of territorial cohesion

15.2.1 Own territorial cohesion features

It is questionable whether the concept stands out substantively from its institutionally complex context. The aspects to consider hereby are: the concept’s own positions and own reorganisation of prior positions. The concept can namely be cut down in size per usage area with the narratives with an own dynamic (§15.2.2) and for the whole usage field be cut down further with narratives from other usage areas (§15.2.3). A first difficulty appears before this though. As shown above, the many territorial cohesion positions make it challenging to recognise the features of territorial cohesion. Because of this the three wide metanarratives in the European Funds usage area for instance do not clarify: i) with which of the loosely grouped substantive objectives territorial cohesion affiliates, ii) for which of the myriad of territorial specificities the concept stands, or iii) which from the interrelated organisational interests it presses. Moreover, the content of the IGCs usage area is not specific enough to see whether each feature of the concept’s usage there is authentic (also see §15.3). The “ownness” of

territorial cohesion features that would make the concept stand out from its context is thus contested already by two extremes: there are too many positions or they are not specific enough.

Still, some features of territorial cohesion stand out in the whole usage field, and these appear in the (post-)ESDP process and European Funds usage areas. From the (post-)ESDP process usage area the connection between polycentrism and economic, social, and environmental policy objectives (e.g. within the 'triangle of sustainability') comes forward as territorial cohesion feature, just as the switch in importance from services to infrastructure does; note though that this switch does not appear in the IGCs and European Funds usage areas, because their metanarratives are, respectively, only concerned with SG(E)I or are too young. From the European Funds usage area comes the strong connection between sustainability and the territorial dimension, territorial cooperation with only an urban bias, and indirect descriptions of territorial reality with a territorial cohesion indicator and/or European Territorial Cohesion Index. Because with these positions territorial cohesion stands out from its context in the European funds, the concept could annex any expansion of this area of action with them. Of course, an allocation of European funding with territorial cohesion would do the same, but as this is contested it is not clear, neither substantively nor financially, how the concept differs from its context in this. Hence, even though the metanarratives of territorial cohesion overlap, the question is in which ways territorial cohesion shows that it lacks "ownness".

15.2.2 Cutting down the size of concept per usage area

Territorial cohesion appears as a topic in itself and with many positions. The concept might merely be a bricolage though. Its linkage to and embeddedness in a variety of already on-going debates (e.g. services, ESDP, cohesion, governance) suggest that the concept does not designate a new area of action, but merely represents prior ones. This comes forward differently per usage area.

The (post-)ESDP process usage area then shows that if an area of territorial cohesion action would be created, it would largely overlap with practices of European spatial planning. The metanarratives namely mimic the self-directed dynamic of the narratives. Both promote spatial and territorial structures, the territorial dimension of policies, and competitiveness and sustainability, and both loosely commit to accessibility positions and the augmentation of coordination interests in this. The concept's context seems to infect territorial cohesion as well. The holistic links between these narratives give spatial and territorial development twists to territorial cohesion quarrels by posing the ESDP as their major cause and by concentrating on (economic) observation in general and territorial capital in particular. This would make the concept more alike its context. Then again, territorial cohesion does advance territorial concerns more than spatial concerns and later on the concept also stands out more in this usage area due to its restraint on spatial and territorial development issues. The ownness of the concept's positions in the (post-)ESDP process usage area is nevertheless almost totally cut down by the narratives there.

In the Regional/Cohesion policy usage area such a cutting down of territorial cohesion could still imply a fortification of new positions. Here the concept and its context namely contest the appropriation of the novel promotion of the territorial dimension and approach, coordination of (all) policies, the usage of information from the European Spatial Planning Observatory Network (ESPON), and rare mention of polycentrism. What is more, these novelties do not only ensue with and without the concept, early on territorial cohesion also campaigns for interests that appeared before its emergence. This are balanced development, specific territories, and the provision of services. Positions for sufficient services in all territories are even sustained in the concept's context while they first rise and then decline with territorial cohesion. Territorial cohesion might on the other hand annex the care for coordinating policies with a territorial impact. Still, this contest over positions, the concept's campaign for prior interests, and its temporary usage lead us to consider the literal pointlessness of territorial cohesion in the Regional/Cohesion policy usage area.

In the European Funds usage area two ungathered masses form a guerrilla-like deployment: the positions of territorial cohesion and those in its context. As here the narratives are stronger than but their order identical to the metanarratives, the concept contests for its reign over these positions. Associated positions also exemplify

this, such as the well-known site of State aid for specific territories (against the Single European Market; see below) or a Cohesion policy for all regions (under threat by promotions for specific territories). Many positions can therefore instrumentally use territorial cohesion opportunistically in the drive to expand the European funds' area of action or, more often, their reinforcement insofar as they lie in its already in/formally established part. Territorial cohesion is thus in the European Funds usage area tremendously cut down to size *qua* substantive objectives, territorial specificities, and share in the governal organisation of the territory. Hence, either in overlap, fortification, or guerrilla, in the usage areas most of the concept's positions are also held by its contexts.

15.2.3 Cutting down the size of the concept through other usage areas

The (small) remaining totality of positions belonging to territorial cohesion after the concept is cut down to size per usage area can be decreased even further by comparing these positions to those in the concept's context in other usage areas. That is, territorial cohesion stands out in the Regional/Cohesion policy usage area and European Funds usage area with positions that appear with and without the concept in the (post-)ESDP process usage area too.

Territorial cohesion for instance reigns in the Regional/Cohesion policy usage area where it involves the balancing between economic, social, and environmental objectives. Such a balancing instead of quarrelling would substantively restructure this area of action. However, the narratives in the (post-)ESDP process tell us that it is not an innate territorial cohesion position. Another way in which this could come to the fore in the Regional/Cohesion policy usage area is the concept's pursuit of coordination, and thereby the interlocking of positions. The territorial cohesion positions on formal cooperation there namely do not match those on informal substantive coordination. Territorial cohesion's advance in horizontal cooperation on the regional level and governance as a strategic approach for the implementation of policies might then muster these positions. However, because these practices prominently come forward in the (post-)ESDP process usage area, this pursuit of coordination is not innate to territorial cohesion. The same holds for the territorial cohesion positions in the European Funds usage area on direct descriptions of territorial reality (e.g. territorial capital, polycentrism). In these instances the concept less appears with ownness than with a transposition of issues from one area of action into another. That is to say, territorial cohesion then functions as a corridor for Regional/Cohesion policy to cherry-pick topics from European spatial planning and to get the interests of the latter in the European funds (see §15.3).

15.2.4 From own territorial cohesion positions to bricolage

Even though the positions of balance, services, territorial specificities, coordination, and the territorial dimension return in the metanarratives of each usage area, they are not innate territorial cohesion concerns. The concept's contexts namely cut away almost every ownness of territorial cohesion, making it profoundly contested. If the concept's own positions would constitute the whole territorial cohesion field, then only the switch from services to infrastructure and a territorial cohesion indicator and/or European Territorial Cohesion Index outline it, as do the connections between polycentrism and economic, social, and environmental objectives, between sustainability and the territorial dimension, and between territorial cooperation and urban areas. However, one could wonder whether this is not a too detailed and messy embodiment for the concept to stand out. Perhaps the ownness of territorial cohesion therefore lies less in its positions than in its particular re-formation of prior areas of action, that is, in its bricolage.

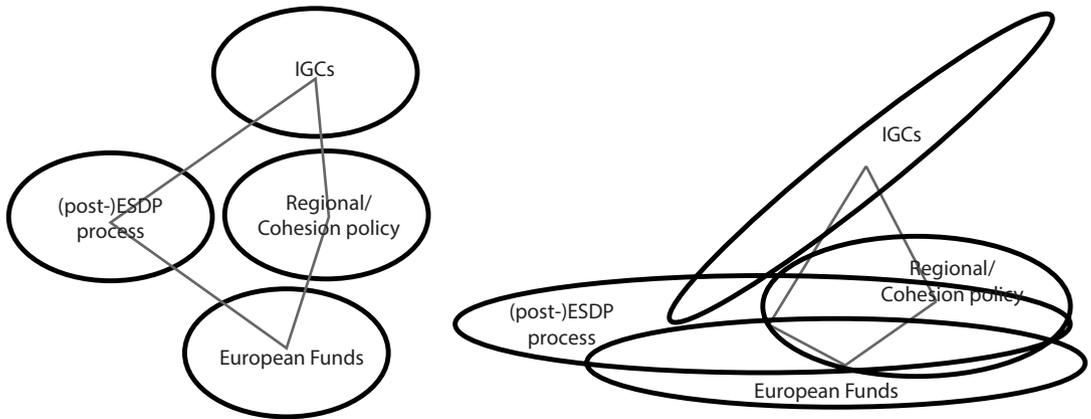
15.3 The topical order of usage areas for metanarratives

15.3.1 Redrawing the analytical quadrangle

Territorial cohesion might organise the various positions that appear in its context of areas of action in a different way. Per usage area the connections between metanarratives would point out such a re-formation. In the (post-)

ESDP process usage area the six metanarratives then form a firm bundle, the four clear-cut metanarratives of the Regional/Cohesion policy usage area a consistent bundle, and the three wide metanarratives of the European Funds usage area connect as a ball of wool. Yet, per usage area no particular territorial cohesion bricolage(s) of positions appears through the connections between metanarratives, the many stories that relate the metanarratives do not organise the concept in one or several clear ways – not to speak of the six metanarratives of the IGCs usage area, as these do not connect regularly. The metanarratives of the four usage areas also overlap, much when it concerns the positions of coordination, accessibility, the territorial dimension, and territorial specificities, less when it concerns the positions of a new cohesion objective, governance, polycentrism, and economic, social, and environmental objectives (see §15.2). Yet again, no particular bricolage(s) appear in this large amount of positions either.

Perhaps territorial cohesion is an order of four usage areas and thereby re/organises some of the power practices in the spheres of action of which they are a part. The concept can form such a bricolage, as *auctoritas* and *potestas* programmes for instance often link as the authority to make policy and the capacity to administer it and *potestas* and *pecunia* programmes with the way in which policies backed by very large amounts of money will be targeted (see Chapter 3). The territorial cohesion bricolage then would not re/organise the complete spheres of action these programmes direct us to, but solely the parts of the concept’s usage. This entails a re/adjustment and/or further structuring of the analytical quadrangle that was used to start the mapping of the usage of territorial cohesion (shown below on the left) to give an impression of how the concept’s usage organises them together according to their overlaps (shown below on the right).



The following paragraph therefore brings forward how the IGCs usage area functions as a filter, the (post-)ESDP process usage area delivers almost all the content, and the Regional/Cohesion policy usage area selects from this. As the European Funds usage area resonates these usage areas, the order of these three is treated (§15.3.3) before the order of the whole territorial cohesion usage field is (§15.3.4). Note though that this topical order is a possible one (i.e. the potential) which is arrived at by speculative reasoning based on the usage of the concept (i.e. the empirical).

15.3.2 Three usage areas in order

The IGCs, (post-)ESDP process, and Regional/Cohesion policy usage area each have their own place in territorial cohesion’s order for power practices. The usage of the concept in the IGCs usage area then unlocks the European Union’s Regional/Cohesion policy and European funding as established areas of action for the

influence of forces from outside. It does not so much do this by creating relations between already existing areas and/or new (conceptual) organisations within these areas, but by officially defining the (potential) formal space for territorial cohesion positions; the concept does not create a totally new (European) area of action due to its lack of ownness (see §15.2). As in the European Union a centre of power also lacks for an overall view of requirements in the case of a territorial cohesion competency, the concept's policy picture could be patchy and ragged as well.

Still, the IGCs usage area does filter how territorial cohesion may appear in the other usage areas. It namely facilitates the concept's realignment of areas of action with the six metanarratives of cohesion objective, spatial planning/territorial cohesion competence, SG(E)I, territorial specificities, coordination, and the territorial dimension; note though, that during the researched period SG(E)I was the only official base for territorial cohesion. The question then is which more stringent restrictions for the concept's bricolage come from the other usage areas.

The usage of territorial cohesion in the (post-)ESDP process usage area locks the European spatial planning area of action in the Regional/Cohesion policy and European funds areas of action. That Cohesion policy would at least partially draw on the ESDP is nothing new though (e.g. Healey, 2001a). Moreover, ESPON reasons that, because the European Union has no specific means in the domain of spatial planning, actions to achieve territorial objectives might go through Cohesion policy as European Union sectoral policy or through (related) national/regional policies on a voluntary basis and according to the subsidiarity principle (BBR, 2003b). Cohesion objectives can similarly go through (voluntary) European, national and/or regional spatial policies as well. However, in the case of territorial cohesion this relationship between areas of action might be hierarchical. General stories on regional/cohesion policy namely frame the (post-)ESDP process usage area and not *vice versa*.

Still, the (post-)ESDP process usage area influences such verging forces by accepting all the usages of concept in it and thereby informally demarcates most of territorial cohesion's substantive limits. Such an implicit promotion of spatial planning interests is conducted multi-purposively *via* the six metanarratives of spatial/territorial structure, economy/society/environment, accessibility, spatial/territorial specificities, coordination, and the spatial/territorial dimension. The question then is how this lock-in and demarcation lead to positions that go from the (post-)ESDP process into the Regional/Cohesion policy and European funding areas of action and/or how this re/assembles (conceptual) corridors within them.

The concept's usage in the Regional/Cohesion policy can be seen as a selection of its usages in the (post-)ESDP process usage area. Note hereby that Cohesion policy does not necessarily with territorial cohesion draw on the ESDP. Likewise, DG Regio does not take everything from the ESDP, as other DGs might deal with other ESDP issues. When ESPON for instance maps out the ESDP application and spatial orientation per Directorate-General in a table, territorial cohesion is, amongst many other issues, for DG Regio only categorised in the column of 'Attention to spatial issues'; the other time territorial cohesion appears is for DG Environment in the column of 'Cross-cutting concepts' (Nordregio, 2006b: 88-89). The concept would thereby reassemble the corridor from the (post-)ESDP process towards the Regional/Cohesion policy areas of action: positions on spatial issues are then taken by territorial cohesion; note that the concept more advances territorial than spatial concerns in the (post-)ESDP process usage area (see §15.2.2), but that this leads to a similar conclusion (i.e. in the corridor between those areas of action, positions on territorial issues are then taken by territorial cohesion). The question is of course what these positions on territorial issues are.

In the Regional/Cohesion policy usage area the territorial cohesion positions on territorial issues are delineated by the four metanarratives of cohesion objective/territorial dimension, balance/economy/environment, coordination, and territories and accessibility. These positions iterate many of those in the (post-)ESDP process usage area, as much of the metanarratives overlap (e.g. with coordination, accessibility; see §15.1.2 and 15.1.3). Because most of these positions appear in both usage areas' contexts, only some fit from the (post-)ESDP process into the Regional/Cohesion policy usage area though. That is, only those that balance

economic, social, and environmental objectives or advance horizontal cooperation on the regional level are transposed thus (see §15.2.3).

When territorial cohesion merely remobilises prior positions from the Regional/Cohesion policy usage area (see §15.2.2), such cherry-picking of course plays no role. Instead, they are re/grouped, as the concept gathers balanced development, specific territories, and the provision of services (closer) together. Such re/assembled positions already were formal. Those that the Regional/Cohesion policy usage area selects from the positions in the (post-)ESDP process usage area, however, would become formal due to this. Territorial cohesion namely provides opportunities to formalise positions in the Regional/Cohesion policy area of action. As shown by much iteration, which could lead to the formalisation of the prior overlaps of the (post-)ESDP process and Regional/Cohesion policy usage areas, and little transposition, which could lead to formally establishing positions in Regional/Cohesion policy that come from the (post-)ESDP process usage area.

15.3.3 The order of three usage areas in action

The order of the IGCs, (post-)ESDP process, and Regional/Cohesion policy usage areas consists of a corridor with a filter in it. Before the descent of services and the ascent of coordination are treated as exemplary developments in this, below the order as a whole, instead of per usage area, will be laid down.

The territorial cohesion positions in these three usage areas then form a corridor for practices and interests between the informal (post-)ESDP process and formal Regional/Cohesion policy areas of action. The concept therefore opens a door for Regional/Cohesion policy to select positions from informal ways of doing and sources of information in the (post-)ESDP process and for European spatial planning to put forward positions for formalisation – if not as new area of action, then as new part – in Regional/Cohesion policy. The IGCs usage area could filter such selections and formalisations by broadening the official base of the concept's usage (i.e. beyond SG(E)I, e.g. with coordination or a new cohesion objective). It is hereby important to keep in mind that even territorial cohesion's functioning as corridor between in/formal areas of action seldom stands out, as the same positions often appear in both the concept's formal and informal contexts (see §15.2 and 15.4).

Still, territorial cohesion presents ways for the established Regional/Cohesion policy area of action to expand and for the European spatial planning area of action to (partly) formalise into a European Union policy. However, the latter would come at the cost of substantive transformation. That is to say, while the context of territorial cohesion in the Regional/Cohesion policy usage area does not change substantively following the concept's positions, this does happen in the (post-)ESDP process (e.g. less about polycentrism, instrumentalisation of spatial development). In the corridor between the two areas of action the direction of influence therefore goes one-way from the Regional/Cohesion policy towards the (post-)ESDP process usage area, but in two-ways *vice versa*. How can this be?

The territorial cohesion positions do not move, but the concept as corridor does. Its positions could therefore change from usage area. Cherry-picked positions which are *via* territorial cohesion transposed from the (post-)ESDP process usage area in the Regional/Cohesion policy usage area (see §15.3.2) then formalise. For the former this would entail one of the two directions of influence (i.e. a formalisation of a part of European spatial planning), for the latter that single one (i.e. an expansion of Regional/Cohesion policy). Also with the iteration of positions between the (post-)ESDP process and Regional/Cohesion policy usage areas (again, see §15.3.2) the concept could lead towards their formalisation, even if these positions do not stand out as territorial cohesion ownness (i.e. show prior overlaps between areas of action); especially when the IGCs usage area officially backs up such an usage of the concept. When such iterations change the context of territorial cohesion in the (post-)ESDP process usage area (e.g. use processual structures of spatial planning for coordination), this would entail its other direction of influence (i.e. a substantive transformation of European spatial planning). For the Regional/Cohesion policy usage area, however, this again entails the same single direction of influence (i.e. and expansion of Regional/Cohesion policy). Hence, due to territorial cohesion as moving corridor positions become part of the European Union's Regional/Cohesion policy.

The descent of services and ascent of coordination in the usage of territorial cohesion could exemplify this. In the Regional/Cohesion policy usage area SG(E)I are partly followed as the concept's official base from the IGCs usage area by tying the accessibility of services to the formal task of reducing the backwardness of specific territories. In the (post-)ESDP process usage area, however, the official line of services differs from the concept's context, while accessibility through infrastructural ways is more familiar but deviates from territorial cohesion's juridical base. In the Regional/Cohesion policy usage area territorial cohesion then leaves the provision of services in all territories in its context (i.e. it remains part of this policy) and more infringes coordination (e.g. of policies with territorial impacts). Although positions on this are thus also well-established in the (post-)ESDP process usage area, the IGCs usage area did not yet established precincts for such an usage of territorial cohesion. These developments thus show the concept as moving corridor in action. Yet, this merely orders three of the four usage areas.

15.3.4 The order of the whole territorial cohesion usage field

Just as the IGCs, (post-)ESDP process, and Regional/Cohesion policy usages areas, the European Funds usage area has its own place in territorial cohesion's order for power practices. It thereby resonates almost all positions of each of the other usage areas through financial concretisation. The moving corridor between the (post-)ESDP process and Regional/Cohesion policy (e.g. positions on coordination) and its filter from the IGCs usage area (e.g. positions on a new cohesion objective) therefore return here too. However, the picture of the ways in which territorial cohesion practices might develop as a bricolage of those in the concept's context changes by accounting for the complex and elusive European Funds usage area. The question then is how these four usage areas order the concept's whole usage field.

Also in the European Funds usage area the set down usages of territorial cohesion in the IGCs and Regional/Cohesion policy usage areas define formality. The European Funds usage area deviates and adds to this though. Besides that the official limit of services is disregarded here, the concept engages in the margin of agricultural funding too. As the watershed between the Structural Funds and the agricultural funding widens (see §5.5) but this usage area mostly structures (in/formal) positions for the former while the latter has a marginal role, such existing formal usages risk a schisming and complexing of the concept.

The concept could then schism when it takes familiar positions (e.g. on competitiveness and balance), which are apart too, because they are for agricultural funding (e.g. with specificities of rural areas). Especially positions on sustainability (in connection with the territorial dimension) might lead to such schisming, because this is the only path towards formality that the European Funding context of territorial cohesion upholds. The concept could complex due to the stress its agricultural funding context lies on tense substantive horizontal coordination, as many positions interrelate in various ways, and the many choices this leaves for lower governmental levels (e.g. in the Leader approach). Due to this additional engagement of territorial cohesion in agricultural funding in the European Funds usage area, besides its resonance of the positions of the other three usage areas that is, the concept appears to order the four usage areas more as a three-way crossing than as a corridor. How so?

With territorial cohesion the IGCs usage area filters positions in the European Funds usage area through the Regional/Cohesion policy usage area – as Treaties set out this policy as task for European cooperation – and “negatively” so through the (post-)ESDP process usage area – as it is informal. Through the European Funds usage area there therefore runs a line of in/formality, as it resonates positions of both of these two usage areas.

Also the relationship between the Regional/Cohesion policy and European funding areas of action is rather straightforward: this policy targets were much of this funding goes. Regional/Cohesion policy could for example have been redefined in such a way that the European funds would also have gone to Member States (and their regions) from before the Enlargement in 2004 instead of only to the (regions of the) new Member States (e.g. with a territorial policy that also caters for “strong territories” in a globally competitive Europe). In the European Funds usage area territorial cohesion then clings with substantive objectives to positions on economic and social cohesion that resonate those in the Regional/Cohesion policy usage area. As economic and

social cohesion are formal objectives but territorial cohesion is not, the concept thus fiddles with in/formality. Then again, the movement of the corridor as territorial cohesion order seems to return here. That is to say, the concept's context in European funding places economic and social cohesion largely outside the usage area (while these objectives keep targeting European funding of course). Moreover, insofar these formal objectives are inside the usage area, their relationships to the 2007-2013 Structural Funds objectives of convergence and (regional) competitiveness and employment are challenged. When territorial cohesion orders the four usage areas as a three-way crossing, it then remains on the line of in/formality, also when this line moves.

The relationship between the European spatial planning and European funding areas of action is not straightforward. Still, one could say that the ESDP has influence with Interreg programmes (i.e. territorial cooperation), this directly or through Regional/Cohesion policy, but always informally or in the margin of formality. Also of importance for territorial cohesion is to note that in 2001 the Committee on Spatial Development (CSD), a "comitological think tank", was substituted with a subcommittee to the 'Committee of Development and Reconversion of the Regions' (CDCR), that is, the Subcommittee on Spatial and Urban Development (SUD). The brief of this subcommittee namely 'is to advise the [European] Commission in matters of 'territorial cohesion' (Faludi, 2003b:128). This CDCR then forms a linkage between the (post-)ESDP process and European Funds usage areas, as it was also called the "Structural Fund Committee". This makes it less surprising that the usage of territorial cohesion in the European Funds usage area resonates many of the positions taken in the (post-)ESDP process.

Territorial cohesion therefore does not only function as a corridor between the (post-)ESDP process and Regional/Cohesion policy usage areas, but also as one between the (post-)ESDP process and European Funds usage areas. The concept thereby for instance transposes direct descriptions of territorial reality (see §15.2.3) and re/assembles polycentrism as such a territorial specificity besides only as an objective. Moreover, these two corridors overlap for a large part, as positions often run in each of the three usage areas (e.g. on balance, territorial specificities, coordination; see §15.1.2 and 15.1.3). This makes the concept a three-way crossing.

The line of in/formality also returns here. Territorial cohesion namely does not only station European spatial planning outside the European funds' formality, but also inside it, when the Structural Funds are concerned with processual coordination, and at the European funds' margin when both are narrowed down to substantive integration that is. Less advanced positions for European spatial planning dwell between these sides (e.g. occasions for territorial development *via* the territorial dimension). Moreover, the organisational positions the concept takes could even dissolve the line of in/formality. To be exact, those on governing both handle the informal and formal conduct of the Structural Funds and those on territorial cooperation could breach the line with a formal room to debate territorial cohesion (as this room by itself does not limit territorial cohesion positions taken in it). The line of in/formality on which the three-way crossing of territorial cohesion lies is therefore a fuzzy one.

15.3.5 The topical order of territorial cohesion

The functioning of territorial cohesion as a moving three-way crossing on a fuzzy line of in/formality orders the IGCs, (post-)ESDP process, Regional/Cohesion policy, and European Funds usage areas together. However, the question is how this outlines the whole territorial cohesion usage field. When the way in which the metanarratives form a collection does so, then this order of the usage areas lays out how they can do so. That is, this bricolage is not of but for the metanarratives. Through the three-way crossing for instance similar metanarratives from different usage areas might connect (e.g. with positions on coordination), as can more different ones (e.g. with positions on a new cohesion objective). However, what obviously comes to the fore in the European Funds usage area, is that not even the interest territorial cohesion displays for coordination markedly organises the chaotic positions. The metanarratives thus form but do not clearly organise the common ground for decision-making on territorial cohesion. As a bricolage the concept thus does not so much create a new area of action, but more a topical order, that is, belonging to a particular location, arranged by or relating to particular topics, and contemporary.

15.4 The territorial cohesion battlefield

15.4.1 Locating territorial cohesion battles

An essential feature of territorial cohesion as topical order is that it is a contested bricolage. The concept namely forms a battlefield for power practices. Even though there are hardly any counterstories to show for it (by forming a metanarrative with the dominant story it opposes), battles appear over the concept's positions and order. These respectively come forward within and between metanarratives (§15.4.4) and between usage areas (§15.4.5). Before these battles are treated below, their place in larger struggles (§15.4.2) and the concept's contested nature (§15.4.3) will be treated to further unfold the territorial cohesion battlefield (§15.4.6).

15.4.2 Situating territorial cohesion battles

Battles over territorial cohesion positions do not stand on themselves, as they are framed and structured by larger struggles. The usages areas can thereby be divided into two sets of two usages areas that in a different way bring less and more struggle forward with their general stories. Although those of the IGCs usage area bicker about the ratification of the Constitutional Treaty, they are mostly straightforward for the importance of competencies. Although the general stories of the (post-)ESDP process are not that general but specific, as multi-shaded patchwork they bring puzzling promotions forward (e.g. of coordination, economic causes) without much struggles too. The general stories of the Regional/Cohesion policy and European Funds usage areas contest this undisturbedness though.

The Regional/Cohesion policy usage area is framed by the struggles between political, economic, and social interests (e.g. balance or balance and growth). The more detailed European Funds usage area is on the other hand framed by struggles for European interests, whereby some of these struggles fit in the structure of the Regional/Cohesion policy usage area; as frames are more fundamental than structures, this suggests nestedness. The combats against national control and towards an alliance of regional/cohesion policy with the Lisbon Strategy which structure the Regional/Cohesion policy usage area namely also structure the *peaceful* frame of marches in the European Funds usage area. These marches are for instance for European politics and in/formal policies (i.e. not for national control) and also show a friction between the official Cohesion policy and Lisbon Strategy (i.e. instead of only an alliance). In this usage area contest even pervades the specificities of how to decide on the European funds, the Structural Funds' cause and reforms, and the allocation(s) for official policy directions. Hence, not only the undisturbed frames for usages of territorial cohesion are contested, the concept's battles could also play a (minor) role in these larger struggles that frame and structure its usage.

15.4.3 Territorial cohesion's contested nature

While territorial cohesion might play a role in larger struggles, the concept is itself contested beyond its ownness (see §15.2). In the IGCs usage area the importance of territorial cohesion is for instance defied, and that the European Union should have a competency for it as well. Although the concept is not defied in the European Funds usage area and even promoted in the (post-)ESDP and Regional/Cohesion policy usage areas, this does not change that it is contested. Moreover, in the European Funds usage area the un/definedness, existence/possibility, and in/formality of the concept's usage are contested, as is its precise relationship to these funds (e.g. which funds, what effects). Even the Regional/Cohesion policy usage area adds to this, as it is contested whether territorial cohesion belongs or adds to this policy, and the metanarratives thus show the settled amalgam of positions to fight this out. The concept seems to be contested in enough ways to call this its nature.

15.4.4 Battles in and between metanarratives

Since battles over territorial cohesion positions automatically pick a side in the contestedness of the concept (i.e. for it), the question becomes what role these play in larger struggles. We thus need to know what the battles in and between the metanarratives are, as the latter signify grouped territorial cohesion positions. In the IGCs usage area the metanarratives denote two battles with positions for and against: whether a European Union

competency for territorial cohesion entails one for spatial planning (also see §15.4.5) and whether territorial cohesion entails the territorial dimension. These battles thus take place in metanarratives.

An even clearer battle appears in the Regional/Cohesion policy usage area, as a metanarrative is about whether territorial cohesion is an objective just as economic and social cohesion or their territorial dimension. These positions thus respectively reinforce or undermine positions in the IGCs usage area's battle over whether territorial cohesion entails the territorial dimension, as do positions in this battle *vice versa*. What is more, such a relation between metanarratives exemplifies battles between them. Every time that in other usage areas positions are taken with territorial cohesion as territorial dimension (e.g. in the (post-)ESDP process) or cohesion objective (e.g. in the IGCs usage area), they are therefore contested. There are thus battles between metanarratives from different usage areas

In the nitty-gritty of the (post-)ESDP process usage area do not appear such clear battles. Specificities define it instead, especially in territorial cohesion's unification of policy objectives, full territorial information agenda, and complex territorial governance. Still, specificities of promotions also leave room for contests. That is to say, the way in which a represented concern forges with territorial cohesion is disputed in all the metanarratives in this usage area (e.g. territorial cohesion needs polycentrism or *vice versa*).

Due to its guerrilla-like deployment also the European Funds usage area has hardly a clear frontline. It namely presents camouflaged opportunities for countless small stealthy manoeuvres for or against the concept. However, battles between territorial cohesion positions also come forward in this. Examples of the most belligerent ones are the confrontation between balance and competitiveness as shown by the 'substantive objectives' metanarrative, the clash between Member States and the factions of urban and rural areas as shown by the 'territorial specificities' metanarrative, and the challenged crown of territorial cooperation (as formal room to debate territorial cohesion), as shown by the 'governal organisation of the territory' metanarrative. Hence, although both the (post-)ESDP process and European Funds usage areas just appear to simply promote territorial cohesion in various specific ways, battles in their metanarratives are far from scarce.

Furthermore, in the myriad of the (post-)ESDP usage area, territorial cohesion positions do not only align but also compete for prominence (e.g. more for polycentrism than for coordination). Only accessibility concerns recede thereby, especially when involved with services; even though this is the official base for the concept's usage. Such agenda-setting battles thus occur between positions in the same usage area and thereby between metanarratives too. While they are also fought out in the IGCs usage area, the contests over what territorial cohesion interests are comes forward most clearly in the mass of the concept's positions in the European Funds usage area. This usage area namely resonates the other three (see §15.3.4), what makes the selection of territorial cohesion positions the least clear here. Due to the set-up of the Regional/Cohesion policy usage area, such battles point to an extra operation. The amalgam of positions to fight out whether the concept belongs or adds to this policy namely imposes that battles for prominence between territorial cohesion positions become contests between contextual positions to seize the concept (e.g. for an integrated approach, balanced development, peripheral regions). Either way, when you take battles for prominence into account, then each of the territorial cohesion positions becomes contested because of their multitude.

Notwithstanding these different battles in and between metanarratives, they do not seem to play a role in the larger struggles that frame and structure the concept's usage. The promotion of coordination with territorial cohesion could for instance support the general cause of coordination (a struggle that frames all usage areas except for the IGCs one), and in the concept's confrontation between balance and competitiveness siding with it could support a side in the larger struggle between either balance or balance and competitiveness. Yet, in the role for the concept both instances does not seem to be for a break through, but just another back up in these struggles; besides that these larger struggles which frame and structure the usage of territorial cohesion more influence the concept than *vice versa* of course.

The only larger struggle in which the battles of territorial cohesion appear to play a role is the one for European spatial planning. This struggle frames the European Funds usage area, which is also reflected in its line of in/formality, and the (post-)ESDP process usage area of course arrays for this struggle. The role the

concept plays in this then depends on many outcomes: the battles for competencies in the IGCs usage area, those between positions in the (post-)ESDP process and European Funds usage areas for prominence, and the colonisation of which European spatial planning positions by Regional/Cohesion policy (see §15.4.5). Still, the territorial cohesion battlefield thus shows far more infighting than taking part in larger struggles.

15.4.5 Battles between usage areas

While each territorial cohesion position is contested due to infighting, there appear more structural battles than those in and also those between metanarratives. These more structural battles make the topical order of territorial cohesion contested, because they take place between usage areas. One might argue that this is a consequence of the different role the concept plays in each area of action. That is, to add a European Union competency, promote European spatial planning, expand Regional/Cohesion policy, or channel European funding. Still, these roles can also be complementary. Territorial cohesion could for instance channel European funding when the European Union has a competency for it in the form of partly European spatial planning and a new part of Regional/Cohesion policy.

However, the usage areas' positions that form territorial cohesion as moving three-way crossing on a fuzzy line of in/formality are contested too. The most obvious of the two ways in which this happens is the battle between the IGCs and (post-)ESDP process usage areas. In the (post-)ESDP process usage area territorial cohesion emerges as important concept for the promotion of European spatial planning. In the IGCs usage area on the other hand, the possible unlocking of this informal area of action with the concept is contested in threefold (i.e. a competency for territorial cohesion, a formalisation of European spatial planning, and the relation/overlap of both). The positions in the IGCs usage area against this unlocking therefore contest the whole (post-)ESDP process usage area: each of its positions promotes European spatial planning and territorial cohesion, and a competency for territorial cohesion would then imply a (partial) formalisation of European spatial planning. When there is no such unlocking, the concept is not a three-way crossing. Due to this battle between these two usages areas, this essential part of the territorial cohesion bricolage is therefore contested.

The other more structural battle is between the (post-)ESDP process and Regional/Cohesion policy usage areas. Many territorial cohesion positions namely appear in both, what leads to a more substantive battle on which belong to European spatial planning (e.g. informal, the Ministers responsible for spatial development) and which to Regional/Cohesion policy (e.g. formal, the European Commission). The expansion of the Regional/Cohesion policy area of action with territorial cohesion as moving crossing namely entails that some positions from the European spatial planning area of action become Regional/Cohesion policy, that is, these positions are colonised with the concept.

This substantive battle over Regional/Cohesion policy's colonisation of European spatial planning is exemplified by iterated and transposed positions (see §15.2.3). Regarding the iterated positions on coordination, what might for instance have to be fought out is which policies to coordinate: all spatial ones or those to bring in line with Regional/Cohesion policy. Probably this colonisation of coordination with territorial cohesion would namely move towards the latter; note that the Lisbon Strategy could reposition both this line of Regional/Cohesion policy and alignment of also other policies.

In their turn the transposed positions on economic, social, and environmental objectives for instance balance these objectives, what goes against the structure of Regional/Cohesion policy in which they often quarrel. Fights on this (i.e. balance *versus* quarrel) might then structure tentative outcomes, as shown when the Third Cohesion Report (CEC, 2004a) considered environmental standards as an integral part of economic, social, and territorial cohesion. According to the 'triangle of sustainability', which emerges in the (post-)ESDP process usage area, the environment fits besides economy and society. If so and if territorial cohesion harbours this triangle, then economic and social cohesion are a part of territorial cohesion just as the environment is (e.g. with environmental standards). Therefore the triangle of sustainability would not (yet) be used in Cohesion Policy (i.e. no placement of environmental issues and economic and social cohesion under territorial cohesion)

or incorrectly and instrumentally so (i.e. to get environmental standards besides economic and social issues without placing these three under territorial cohesion).

The positions on coordination and economic, social, and environmental objectives thus illustrate the structural battle between the (post-)ESDP process and Regional/Cohesion policy usage areas. They therefore show another way in which territorial cohesion's topical order is contested (e.g. how particular topics are arranged). Yet, this does not show a way in which the concept's bricolage is contested, as this battle takes place within it. Moreover, when the concept functions as a moving crossing, then territorial cohesion would entail that more of such positions will follow. The battles between usage areas thus do not only portray that an essential part of territorial cohesion's bricolage is contested, but that the concept's bricolage organises a contest over its topical order too.

Hence, the re/organisation of power practices with territorial cohesion is directly contested, both the concept's influence and how it would do so. Structural battles in this are mostly concerned with European spatial planning,⁹ as the unlocking of this informal area of action with the concept is contested and it is colonised by Regional/Cohesion policy. Territorial cohesion thereby plays a role in larger struggles. The colonisation of the positions on coordination then of course formally supports the general cause of coordination and the colonisation of the positions on balancing economic, social, and environmental objectives sides with balance and competitiveness against only balance. Still, the territorial cohesion bricolage obviously plays a more essential role in the larger struggle for European spatial planning. Moreover, the contests which settle the concept's role in this, and are not territorial cohesion infighting (see §15.4.4), also form the concept's bricolage. The role of territorial cohesion in the struggle for European spatial planning therefore in a large part depends on the way in which the four usage areas are ordered.

15.4.6 The contests of the territorial cohesion battlefield

The contests of the topical order of territorial cohesion in sixfold reveal how the concept forms a battlefield. The concept is namely contested itself (i), and thus it being a battlefield is contested as well, and framed and structured by larger struggles (ii). Also every territorial cohesion position is contested somewhere in some way: if not in its officialness (iii) or ownness (iv), then due to infighting (v). Even the way in which the concept forms a bricolage is contested (vi). As everything appears to be contested, the uncertainty of territorial cohesion's re/organisation of power practices is systemic. This thus outlines the whole territorial cohesion field and the concept's minor role in larger struggles too (i.e. how to have influence without decisiveness). That is to say, the usage of the concept stands for systematic uncertainty.

15.5 Implications of the concept's usage in government

15.5.1 The twofold lack of the self-evidence of territorial cohesion power practices

When territorial cohesion stands for systematic uncertainty, the question becomes what implications the concept's usage has for changes in government. We can already restrict what these might be, as territorial cohesion has hardly a role to play in larger struggles besides the one for European spatial planning. The implications of the concept's usage then primarily hold for government in and through European spatial planning and just territorial cohesion.

The main point is though, that such power practices are not self-evident at all. This also in the straightforward sense that the concept could change the techniques that are employed to 'shape conduct [for] definite but shifting ends' (Dean, 1999: 209). When these ways change they cannot be taken for granted (*idem* for their ends). Yet, when it concerns territorial cohesion such power practices lack self-evidence in twofold.

⁹ Note that this fits the departure-point of the analytical framework of this research (i.e. European spatial planning; see Chapter 3). You could then say that such conclusions are therefore more valid (i.e. findings within the analytical framework) or less so (i.e. this framework led to these interpretations). What again points to the need for reflection on the outcomes of this discourse analysis (see possible future research, e.g. as proposed in §18.6).

Although government always has ‘a diverse set of relatively unpredictable consequences, effects and outcomes’ (Dean, 1999: 209), the systemic uncertainty of the concept’s usage might affect such government itself. That is, also the ways it changes cannot be taken for granted. Below the consequences of this are shown for the concept’s conditional events (§15.5.2), re/organisation of institutional spaces on the European level (§15.5.3) and lower levels (§15.5.4).

15.5.2 Conditional non-/events for territorial cohesion’s systematic uncertainty

Territorial cohesion’s systematic uncertainty leaves much open. It is therefore difficult to point out the conditional events for the concept’s usage. That is, conditional for what? When this uncertainty comes from the contests of the territorial cohesion battlefield (see §15.4.6), one might ask why the agonism is seldom posed as such. An interpretation could be that the *status quo* of non-egalitarian relationships in power practices leads to different considerations of the situation. That is, for the dominating exercise of power there might be no agonism at all – at least not openly so – or a by all wished for picture of reconciliation is enacted, while for the dominated the agonism does exist – and is thus posed as such – or the enacted reconciliation for all does not exist or is not wished for.^a The systematic uncertainty of the concept’s usage might therefore exist because the dominating exercise of power does not consider the territorial cohesion battlefield (e.g. as such, or it is irrelevant). The non-events which fix this dominance then condition the non-decisions that lead to the lack of a clear territorial cohesion usage with its conditional events (see Chapter 17).

Then again, one could also say that there are many conditional events for territorial cohesion’s unclear appearance, that is, for its systematic uncertainty. For starters, the concept is not used in one but different usage areas, which show different examples of such events. From the IGCs usage area could come the non-ratification of the Constitutional Treaty since 2003, what then makes the official base to use territorial cohesion uncertain (e.g. on a par with economic and social cohesion or not). The publication of the ESDP in 1999 could be a conditional event from the (post-)ESDP process usage area. With this document as foot in the door, the continuation of the process that led to the ESDP can be seen as a driving force for territorial cohesion, but the informality of the process might have led to more (complexity and therefore) uncertainty of the concept’s positions (e.g. which are formal and which not). One could see an event from the Regional/Cohesion policy usage area as conditional for that this uncertainty lasts. The Second Cohesion Report namely formally mentioned territorial cohesion in 2001, but did not take a definite position on it. Another event might then have anchored both the concept’s formal usage and its uncertainty. The events in the fierce disputes on the funding streams fundamentally form the European Funds usage area through three tacks: agricultural funding, the Structural Funds, and the Interreg Community Initiative. The mainstreaming of the latter into Territorial Cooperation as the weakest of the three European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) objectives could then be a conditional event too. This objective namely puts forward a formal room for the guerrilla battles on territorial cohesion, making the concept’s usage not important but not lost either, and its positions still uncertain. However, many more events condition this usage. Besides the *status quo*, there appear too many to fathom though.

15.5.3 Re/organised uncertainty on the European level

The concept’s systematic uncertainty also entails an indecision about what are territorial cohesion power practices, both in the sense of which practices these are and whether the concept rules them. The question then becomes how the concept’s usage can re/organise institutional spaces. It is according to Waterhout (in Faludi, 2007) in 2006 ‘even uncertain whether territorial cohesion policy will come about anyway’ – not to mention

^a Korpi (1985: 35) has a similar explanation in his power resources approach: ‘[S]ince manifest conflict requires that both actors use pressure resources, between actors with great power disparities conflicts of interest are relatively unlikely to turn into overt conflicts. In such situations, the weaker actor may not reveal his preferences and various forms of “non-decision-making” and exploitation are likely to occur’.

whether this policy will achieve it.^a Still, although no competency for or formal policy of territorial cohesion re/organises power practices in a certain way, the concept's usage could re/organise them into uncertainty.

European spatial planning might put forward ways in which territorial cohesion can re/organise uncertainty at the European level. The concept's battles namely do not only influence this larger struggle, but the formal institutionalisation this area of action lacks seems to make its practices less certain as well. Giannakourou (1996: 603) then states that '[t]he emerging European spatial strategy is 'concerted' (its options resulting from consensus among member-states and through a 'bottom-up' approach), 'selective' (dealing only with territorial issues which have to be talked about at the European level), 'flexible' (designed for different contexts and depending on the voluntarism of the public or private sector for its implementation), and 'consistent' (promoting the symbiosis of the various Community policies instead of a strict discrimination).' This concertedness, selectiveness, flexibility, and consistency might thus return in and due to the usage of territorial cohesion.

Insofar the concept's usage has implications for government, its systematic uncertainty could for instance level formal hierarchies (i.e. concertedness) and organise European spatial planning and Regional/Cohesion policy into a new indistinct symbiosis (i.e. consistency). This would not be the same uncertainty as organised in the institutional space of European spatial planning though. The selection of issues on the agenda of European spatial planning already differs from those on the territorial cohesion agenda. Moreover, the substantive influence of the concept on European spatial planning could even commandeer the polycentrism campaign out of its strategy and towards research domains. The usage of territorial cohesion thus reorganises the selectiveness of European spatial planning: the selection of issues is uncertain, but the concept does function as a three-way crossing on a fuzzy line of in/formality (see §15.1 to 15.3).

Still, territorial cohesion might less reorganise the institutional space of European spatial planning than subject it: when the concept organises a symbiosis between European spatial planning and Regional/Cohesion policy, it could claim the processual structures of spatial planning. With the subjection of this technology would come the instrumentalisation of its techniques (e.g. spatial development, coordination, framing) to shape conduct. Although, or because, the power practices of territorial cohesion are not clear, the concept's usage could thus make (a small part of) government on the European level more uncertain in particular ways: from distinct European spatial planning and Regional/Cohesion policies to an indistinct symbiosis in which the former is subjected, from a formal hierarchy and informal concertedness to an in/formal concertedness, and with a new selectiveness in the form of territorial cohesion's topical order.

15.5.4 Uncertain re/organisation on lower levels

Territorial cohesion might thus organise power practices on the European level in particular uncertainties. Yet, an organisation of uncertainty still entails an uncertain re/organisation of institutional spaces too. With territorial cohesion this especially appears to be the case on lower levels when it involves the European funds, that is, the most concrete practices in which the concept is used.

A channelling of European funds through territorial cohesion is thereby contested in fivefold due to: i) infighting between existent and/or wished for usages of the concept, ii) battles for and against the concept's in/formality and iii) over its influence, iv) the guerrilla-like deployment for territorial cohesion ownness, and v) that these battles less influence financial dealings than *vice versa*. This could have implications for government with the concept. The new selectiveness of territorial cohesion's topical order then namely comes with an uncertain targeting for funding (i.e. many positions), the concept's in/formal concertedness with an uncertain direction of funds (i.e. no strict prescriptions), and its indistinct symbiosis with an uncertainty about the channels through which the funding should stream (i.e. overlapping areas of action). This multidirectedness of funding would

^a Robert (in Faludi, 2007) for instance poses that '[t]he European society, economy and Europe's natural resources are subject to long-lasting factors of change that will make the achievement of territorial cohesion more difficult', and for this points to an ageing population, increasing energy prices, climate change, and that an acceleration of globalisation pressures employment in Europe.

therefore increase both the uncertainty on and the influence of lower levels, as the European level leaves much undecided.

With such an uncertainty it is not surprising when the financial punching power of territorial cohesion chiefly depends on the concept's context, which electrifies nearby options for territorial criteria for funds, funnels them towards competitiveness concerns, and backs its urban bias. Yet, territorial cohesion might mostly channel European funding downstream by rearranging the practices in the multi-level management structure for it.

One can follow Jørgensen&Nielsen (1997) for an illustration of how territorial cohesion's concerted, selective, and consistent uncertainty on the European level comes with a re/organisation of such institutional spaces on lower levels. Their analysis of the Interreg programme's application in the Baltic Sea Region namely reveals the establishment of a transnational space for spatial planning, one that leads to an institutional frame for the development of future regional and spatial planning policies, but this at a relatively technocratic level and with neither a superstructure of substantial political contents nor reflection of the principal players that are characteristic of national planning (Jørgensen&Nielsen, 1997: 6, 10; Jensen&Richardson, 2003: 143). In this government the indistinct symbiosis of European spatial planning and Regional/Cohesion policy returns (i.e. development of policies), as do the absence of hierarchy (i.e. technocracy) and the uncertain selection of contents (i.e. no superstructure). All might be features of institutional spaces on lower levels when the usage of territorial cohesion re/organises them.

Then again, the main point is that this re/organisation is uncertain. The concept's usage could namely come with various substantive and territorial ways of doing to manage European funding. Besides the informal one of European spatial planning, French territorial ways for instance advance while the more processual approaches, which are more pronounced in the concept's context, can be followed with business-like ways too. For lower levels territorial cohesion thus offers many options for a re/organisation of institutional spaces. This fits in the particular uncertainties that the usage of territorial cohesion re/organises on the European level, as flexibility that is. Government with such a range of ways of doing is then designed (as bricolage) to manage different contexts (e.g. to manage urban-rural relationships). Although you could see this as a limited uncertainty re/organised on the European level, the re/organisation of institutional spaces on lower levels then remains uncertain.

15.6 Conclusions on the concept's usage towards its discourse

15.6.1 Outlining the whole territorial cohesion usage field as castles in the sky

This chapter outlined the whole territorial cohesion usage field from the gathered positions taken with the concept. Those on balance, services, territorial specificities, coordination, and the territorial dimension thereby set the agenda. How they set the stage then depends on whether such usages of the concept appear in the IGCs, (post-)ESDP process, Regional/Cohesion policy, and European Funds usage area. That is, whether the territorial cohesion positions play a role in, respectively, adding a European Union competency, promoting European spatial planning, substantively expanding Regional/Cohesion policy, or channelling European funding.

None of the positions are innate territorial cohesion concerns though. Merely some appear in the details. That is, only the switch from services to infrastructure, a territorial cohesion indicator, and/or European Territorial Cohesion Index belong to the concept, as do the connections between polycentrism and economic, social, and environmental objectives, sustainability and the territorial dimension, and territorial cooperation and urban areas. All the rest is bricolage.

Territorial cohesion only stands out in how it orders the four usage areas together for the ways in which the metanarratives can form a collection. The concept namely functions as a moving three-way crossing on a fuzzy line of in/formality: the IGCs usage area filters how the concept may appear, the (post-)ESDP process usage area delivers almost all the content, the Regional/Cohesion policy usage area cherry-picks from this, and

the European Funds usage area resonates all three in a guerrilla-like deployment. However, due to the many interlaced metanarratives and narratives with a similar or even the same content, it is uncertain about what there should be talked about when it concerns territorial cohesion. This bricolage of areas of action therefore does not organise the common ground for decision-making on territorial cohesion clearly.

Moreover, the concept forms a topical order of a sixfold battlefield in which every territorial cohesion position is contested. They namely reveal infighting (i), the concept itself is contested (ii), as is its built-in bricolage (iii), officialness (iv), and ownness (v), while larger struggles frame and structure these battles (vi). Territorial cohesion therefore stands for systematic uncertainty. That is, the concept might merely represent a promise of castles in the sky, each complexly build on top and through others.

15.6.2 From the concept's game of arbitrariness towards the rules of the territorial cohesion discourse

The systematic uncertainty of the concept's usage has implications for the government in and through European spatial planning and just territorial cohesion. It could imply that both the dominant *status quo* conditions the non-decisions that lead to the lack of a clear territorial cohesion usage and that too many events to fathom condition the particular appearances of the concept.

Another implication could be that the concept's usage re/organises institutional spaces on the European level in particular uncertainties. That is to say, from distinct European spatial planning and Regional/Cohesion policies to an indistinct symbiosis in which the former is subjected, from a formal hierarchy and informal concertedness to an in/formal concertedness, with a new selectiveness in the form of territorial cohesion's topical order, and the flexibility to manage European funding with a range of ways of doing (e.g. European spatial planning, French territorial ways, business-like). As this leads to a multidirectedness of European funding and contextual selection of government techniques, it comes with an uncertain re/organisation of power practices on lower levels too.

Territorial cohesion power practices are therefore far from self-evident. Not only could the concept's usage change the techniques employed in this government, but the ways it will do so cannot be taken for granted either.

With this outline of the whole territorial cohesion field you can start to understand the "territorial cohesion game". That is, the concept's usage is arbitrary in the sense of determined by "subjective" preference, as it plays a role in power practices. Part I on territorial cohesion meaning and knowledge brought forward, however, that statements on territorial cohesion appear arbitrary in the sense of intellectually random. The concept's propositions and positions therefore entail different arbitrarinesses. The relations between them then lead us to the rules of this double game that demarcate the territorial cohesion discourse as "battle arena".