

# Territorial Cohesion and Border Areas

---

*Roswitha Ruidisch*

## INTRODUCTION

Border areas are often described as “laboratories” for European cohesion, as places where European policymakers can experiment (KEG 2009: 15; Rippl et al. 2009). Sometimes they are also called “*petites Europes*,” where processes of change common to all of Europe can be seen taking place on a smaller scale (Luschny 2009: 28). Problems of cohesion, too, are more evident on a scale smaller than that of the European Union or nation-states, so border areas and other sub-national levels would seem the appropriate level to direct our observations. Border areas that straddle the old border dividing western and eastern Europe are especially interesting places, for here disparities are stark and easily seen. Differences and disparities offer opportunities for action in politics, economics, culture, environment, and social welfare. Concerning the interests of politics, border areas are crucial test areas for the instruments of European Regional Policy. One of the central aims of Regional Policy is to reduce disparities and contribute to cohesion in the EU. Cohesion, in the understanding of the European Union, focuses mainly on regional development. Given that European Regional Policy received the second largest share of the EU budget between 2007 and 2013, one might expect that EU Regional Policy exerted great deal of influence on cohesion in the European Union.

Cohesion may be interpreted as economic, social, or territorial cohesion. Territorial cohesion is the least well defined of the three. As it is the most recently added goal of Europe’s cohesion policy, there is no clear understanding of what territorial cohesion will mean and no common understanding of which policies best promote it and what effects they have.

In this paper I will therefore analyze the concepts of “territorial cohesion” and “territorial capital,” and I will show how these apply to border areas using the example of the Czech-German border area.

## **TERRITORIAL COHESION: ORIGINS AND SIGNIFICANCE**

“Territorial cohesion” is a relatively new term, coined in the context of European Regional Policy. There has been little time for interpreting the new term and its meaning relative to its two component words “territory” and “cohesion.” Not surprisingly, the term has been interpreted in many different ways. Below, some of the main interpretations are reviewed.

### **Origins**

The term “territorial cohesion” was used in an official document first in the Amsterdam Treaty 1997. At that time, territorial cohesion was associated with services of general economic interest. Territorial cohesion within this context was supposed to counteract the liberalization of public services and therefore contribute to the maintenance of standards of living and help keep less populous regions competitive (Faludi 2009). The term has been used often in European political debates since the early 2000s. The Second Report on economic and social cohesion in 2001, for example, devoted an entire chapter to territorial cohesion. It included a statement supporting balanced development and described the development problems of specific regions. Border regions and their specific development situation were also mentioned. In 2004, the Third Report on economic and social cohesion noted for the first time that there is no clear definition of “territorial cohesion.” Territorial cohesion was torn at that time between the two opposing goals of European Regional Policy, competitiveness and balanced development. The issue of territorial cohesion and how to interpret it as an objective and as a concept had been discussed long before it was anchored in the Treaty of Lisbon (2009) as an objective equal in priority to economic and social cohesion (Article 3 [3], TEU). In 2005, the planners Wil Zonneveld and Bas Waterhout, for example, suggested that territorial cohesion “will feed into existing EU policies by adding a territorial dimension to them, thereby making them more effective and efficient” (Zonneveld/Waterhout 2005: 18). But being nothing more than a “territorial dimension” was for

many interested parties not enough. After territorial cohesion was added to the Treaty of Lisbon in 2009, it became a buzzword for politicians and researchers involved in European Regional Policy. During the preparation of the European constitution, territorial cohesion was the subject of intense lobbying (Robert 2007) and it gained supporters with a variety of interests and views (Böhme 2005; Faludi 2006; Finka 2007; Schön 2005).

The controversial discussion about the term covers a wide range of concerns, further contributing to a lack of precision in its definition (Faludi 2005b: 3; David 2007: 10). The explanation of the planner Jacques Roberts for this problem is that “[...] a definition cannot be derived from current or past practice, because territorial cohesion has so far hardly been applied concretely as an operational policy concept” (Robert 2007: 23). Another outcome of the discussion that territorial cohesion has taken on a normative coloring, being associated with ideals like equity (Faludi 2005b: 5; Böhme et al. 2008: 1), solidarity (Böhme et al. 2008: 1-3), social welfare, or harmonious development (Battis/Kersten 2009: 10; CEC 2008). Territorial cohesion also has been linked to questions concerning the quality of the territorial structure within the European Union. Achieving territorial cohesion requires accounting for spatial needs like accessibility, governance, sustainability, balanced development, services of general economic interest, or spatial planning (Böhme et al. 2008:3; David 2007: 5ff.). The planner Philippe Doucet is quite disenchanted with the term “territorial cohesion”: “As for those outside this inner circle of specialized planning experts and officials, we can probably assume that they care little about territorial cohesion [...] Territorial cohesion is probably an unimportant esoteric ideal to many ordinary EU citizens” (Doucet 2006: 1475).

The Commission reacted to the critics in 2008 with a Green Paper on territorial cohesion entitled “Turning territorial diversity into strength.” This paper launched a public discussion, inviting interested parties to comment on a set of questions in order to arrive at a definition of territorial cohesion. The effort produced no clear definition, but three narratives associated with “territorial cohesion” dominated this and other discussions: balanced development, competitiveness, and sustainability.

## **Narratives of Territorial Cohesion**

Territorial cohesion has various meanings. However, the basic idea of territorial cohesion is very similar to the basic principles of regional policy:

balance, stability, competition, and sustainability. As territorial cohesion is an aim of the European Regional Policy, it is heading in a similar direction: “[T]he concept of territorial cohesion builds bridges between economic effectiveness, social cohesion and ecological balance” (CEC 2008). Below, the aspects of *balanced development*, *competitiveness*, and *sustainability* are analyzed with respect to their meaning for territorial cohesion.

### **Territorial Cohesion and the Aim of Balanced Development**

Regional differences in living standards increased with every enlargement of the European Union. Therefore, one of the main aims of European Regional Policy is to balance regional disparities. Balanced development is measured in per capita GDP. Another central goal is that citizens and economic stakeholders have equal access to “services of general economic interest” (GD Regionalpolitik 2004: 3), regardless of where they live. The planner Kai Böhme and others state this goal more precisely: “A vital precondition for balanced development is access to a minimum standard of infrastructures and services” (Böhme 2008: 3). The challenge of territorial cohesion is to improve the development of disadvantaged regions, to promote an effective use of the instruments of regional policy, and to enhance territorial capital. All this is intended to contribute to a balanced development and regional cohesion.

### **Territorial Cohesion and the Aim of Competitiveness and Growth**

Since the adoption of the Lisbon Strategy in 2000, EU Regional Policy has focused strongly on competitiveness and growth. Competitiveness as an aspect of territorial cohesion is relatively new. For years, the focus was rather on equity: “the Community shall aim at reducing disparities between the levels of development of the various regions and the backwardness of the least-favored regions [...]” (Article 130a, TEU). Today the most competitive area of the European Union is the “Pentagon” area framed by the cities of London, Paris, Milan, Munich and Hamburg. Although this core area has different potentials for future development, the challenge for territorial cohesion is to increase the global competitiveness of Europe as a whole as well as the competitiveness of individual regions outside the Pentagon (Faludi 2006: 43). In order to generate competitive advantages, the territorial capital of all areas

should be used. Therefore the ball is in the court of the regions themselves: the focus is on regions and their unique, endogenous territorial capital. This contrasts with earlier assumptions in regional policy, whereby cities were seen as the only motors of the economy and of regional development.

### **Territorial Cohesion and Sustainability**

In response to the strongly business-oriented Lisbon Strategy, the Gothenburg Strategy followed in 2001. This strategy is dedicated to sustainable development and takes the European environmental discourse into account. If the idea of sustainable development is transferred to territorial cohesion, it is then often linked to spatial planning. Some authors, like the planner Carl-Heinz David (David 2007: 12), even ascribe to territorial cohesion the role of a new European Spatial Development Policy. Sustainable territorial cohesion promotes the protection of nature and cultural heritage as well as polycentricity. The protection of ecologically sensitive areas in densely populated Europe is thought to be necessary because these areas are often threatened by urban development. To reduce urban sprawl and to enhance sustainable economic development, polycentric spatial structures are thought essential by planners (Battis/Kersten 2009: 11). The task of territorial cohesion is, in this sense, to create good development opportunities for urban areas, small and medium-sized cities, and rural areas. It should contribute to balanced, sustainable development (Faludi 2005a: 107). Polycentric spatial structures are supported by appropriate infrastructure (David 2007: 11) and make use of the territorial capital of the regions.

As the analysis of the different interpretations of territorial cohesion shows, there is a wide range of contents but a clear definition is missing.

The related problem is easy to grasp: as there is no clear target, it is not possible to put target-oriented measures, and it is also impossible to accurately evaluate the measures taken and to improve them. There is a curtain drawn over this problem as the European Union creates its own criteria for evaluation and thus purports itself sovereignty over the interpretation of success and failure of its policy for themselves. Good examples for this procedure are the 'Reports of Economic and Social Cohesion' which have been published since 1996.

Every interpretation of territorial cohesion described above stresses the link of territorial capital to successful regional development. But what is territorial capital and how can it be exploited?

## **THE CEMENT OF TERRITORIAL COHESION: TERRITORIAL CAPITAL**

The term “territorial capital” was introduced in conjunction with the term “territorial cohesion.” Very roughly, territorial capital comprises the assets and limits of a territory. As Europe’s territories have very different characters, territorial capital also is associated with “European territorial diversity” (Böhme et al. 2008: 1). This kind of diversity is an important asset, which policy makers wish to transform into strength. This was one of the main points of the Green Paper on Territorial Cohesion in 2008: “Increasingly, competitiveness and prosperity depend on the capacity of the people and businesses located there to make the best use of all territorial assets” (CEC 2008).

### **What is Territorial Capital?**

Territorial capital is the territorial potential of an area: “Each area has a specific capital – its ‘territorial capital’ – that is distinct from that of other areas[...].” (OECD 2001: 15). Therefore territorial fragilities are not seen as potentials at first sight. In a more economic sense, territorial capital might also be described as its “comparative advantage” (Böhme et al. 2008: 3), as territorial capital can make investments in one region more effective than in other regions. Territorial capital is thus the basis for endogenous growth in cities and regions. Economic growth is generated from an area’s potential, and a region’s welfare depends crucially on its ability to make use of its unique regional development potentials. The distinct set of territorial potentials that contribute to territorial capital can be factors such as natural and cultural values. Other factors are an area’s ability to integrate and connect to other areas (David 2007: 10), which implies accessibility and infrastructure. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development has divided these factors into numerous types, all of which are referred to as territorial capital:

These factors may include the area’s geographical location, size, factor of production endowment, climate, traditions, natural resources, quality of life or the agglomeration economies provided by its cities, but may also include its business incubators and industrial districts or other business networks that reduce transaction costs. Other factors may be “untraded interdependencies” such as understandings, customs and informal rules that enable economic actors to work

together under conditions of uncertainty, or the solidarity, mutual assistance and co-opting of ideas that often develop in clusters of small and medium-sized enterprises working in the same sector (social capital). Lastly, according to Marshall, there is an intangible factor, “something in the air”, called the “environment” and which is the outcome of a combination of institutions, rules, practices, producers, researchers and policy-makers, that make a certain creativity and innovation possible (OECD 2001: 15).

Territorial capital is useless without people and businesses that use it locally. It is they who have the best knowledge of their territories, and they who best know how to make the most of its inherent features (Böhme et al. 2008: 2; CEC 2008). In order to get local and regional actors involved, a new approach called “stakeholder policy” has been introduced (David 2007: 8). This approach is, in fact, necessary because the European Union has no legal competence for European Regional Policy and therefore no competence to promote territorial cohesion. The EU gives financial incentives to addressees with the intention of persuading them to voluntarily implement EU territorial cohesion policies.

### **Measures for Actualizing Territorial Capital**

Territorial cohesion lays the groundwork for the political regulation of space. Policy interventions to support regional development do so by “respecting its fragilities” and using its “unrecognized or underexploited potentials” (Böhme et al. 2008: 2). Because European territories possess a great variety of territorial capital, one-size-fits-all development strategies will unlikely achieve territorial cohesion. In order to make the most of their inherent potential, tailor-made measures are necessary.

Political documents of the EU, like the Green Paper on Territorial Cohesion, discuss measures thought to contribute to territorial cohesion such as cooperation, governance, and networks. These measures are supposed to activate territorial capital, but in order to make the most of territorial capital, transportation infrastructure that improves access is crucial (Commission of the European Communities 2008). Better infrastructure reduces travel costs and guarantees access to markets for consumers, workers, and businesses. Therefore, infrastructure development is more popular than ever. As a one-size-fits-all instrument, it seems to fit the goal of territorial cohesion, too. But this idea is not new. Studies (see

for example Biehl 1986) have shown that infrastructure is crucial for the development of regional potentials such as labor. Employment does correlate with better infrastructure, hence Biehl argues that regions cannot achieve their highest potential without infrastructure. Unemployed capital could therefore become employed by the “catalyst power” of infrastructure (Kaufmann 1983: 420). The planner Andreas Faludi (2006: 42) also illustrates in the 1999 document, *European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP)*, that infrastructure was a decisive instrument of “spatial cohesion.” Recent studies show that infrastructure can promote the development of regional potential, but not automatically (Schaffer/Siegele 2008: 130). The European Union thus declared that “a good transport system in itself is not sufficient to ensure regional development. The effect of investment in transport [...] infrastructure on economic performance also depends on the region’s capacity to use it efficiently [...]” (Europäische Kommission 2010: 55). So what is “the region’s capacity,” then? The economist Roberto Camagni (2006: 62) argues for “new models of territorial governance” that integrate various levels of territorial management and control. Territorial governance should involve the public as much as possible in decisions regarding territorial changes. Local bodies and municipal authorities are therefore important institutions because they are in direct contact with the inhabitants of a territory and their needs. The most important element, often neglected, is individual citizen participation (Camagni 2006: 63). The inhabitants of a territory, not infrastructure, represent the region’s true potential because only they can actualize territorial capital. This way of thinking goes beyond classic, distributive Regional Policy.

What has also becomes evident is the advent of a set of measures like new infrastructure within classic, distributive Regional Policy. The new aspect that is added to conventional strategies is the goal of increasing competitiveness, endogenous development, sustainability, and good governance (Faludi 2006: 43). These ambitious aims in the context of territorial cohesion are useless without taking people into consideration. Areas that are affected by transport infrastructures need local players who make use of both transport infrastructure and territorial capital. As infrastructure connections between eastern and western Europe were cut after the Second World War, border areas had only nationally oriented infrastructure for decades. The European integration process has resulted in a rebuilding of cross-border infrastructure connections, making border areas interesting laboratories for territorial cohesion.

## **BORDER AREAS AS LABORATORIES FOR TERRITORIAL COHESION**

European integration and the establishment of the Single European Market have made national borders more permeable. The functions and development perspectives of national border areas have changed as a consequence, as they are no longer at the edges of their respective nation-states. National state borders were constructed as an instrument of political power, and as the borders vanish, old strengths of the border areas become fragile and new potentials emerge. Border areas between western and eastern Europe are particularly interesting to study because very different levels of wealth meet in a relatively small neighborhood. The instruments of European Regional Policy intended to overcome regional disparities are especially challenged in this “laboratory”. Territorial cohesion is under scrutiny especially in the border areas where western and eastern Europe were once divided. The most commonly used instruments in border areas to promote cohesion include the development and expansion of transport infrastructure and business investment subsidies.

### **The Czech-German Border Area as a Policy Laboratory**

The border between Saxony and Bavaria in Germany and Bohemia is one of the oldest in Europe. For decades, people living on both sides of this border used German as their common language. Settlements and infrastructure on both sides of the border were connected. Until 1918, Bohemia was part of the Austrian monarchy and the area was inhabited by persons of many different nationalities. Certain parts of the Czech border area, where many German settlers lived, were known as “Sudetenland.” The Second World War changed the situation in this border area completely. At the end of the war, the German speaking population had to leave Sudetenland and the iron curtain was lowered. This process cut the roots of people and settlements in the border area, and road and railway connections were severed. Whereas the Czech border area of the former Sudetenland was substantially disrupted, there were few changes of population and settlement structures in the Saxonian and the Bavarian border areas. The iron curtain was a strong political dividing line between eastern and western Europe, a circumstance that meant that these border areas took different paths of development over the decades. After the fall of the iron curtain, the territorial diversity of the

Czech-German border areas became visible. This diversity can be regarded as a challenge or as an opportunity (Ahner/Fuechtner 2010: 543).

The iron curtain cut infrastructure connections in the Czech-German border area, including the former transportation links between Nuremberg and Prague. There were motorways from Nuremberg to other points in Germany and from Prague to other points in the Czech Republic, but no connector between the countries. Given the EU's interest in cohesion, Eurocorridors become an important instrument linking big cities in eastern and western Europe. Corridors are bundles of railway lines, motorways, and other kinds of infrastructure. Eurocorridor IV connects Nuremberg and Prague and includes the motorway A6 in Germany and D5 in the Czech Republic. The gap in this motorway between Amberg (Germany) and Plzeň (Czech Republic) was closed in 2008, which improved the accessibility of the German-Czech border area significantly.

### **The Economy as a Subject of Investigation**

The main recipients of regional policy measures are private companies. They initiate investments and create jobs in the region and thus have a decisive influence on regional development. They operate under various conditions. They are supported by Regional Policy measures, but they also face the challenges of the global economy. Companies are embedded in the region and its local socio-institutional structures. The specific forms of territorial capital such as labor, infrastructure, resources, and other factors are used by companies to increase their competitiveness (Bathelt/Glückler 2002: 162). In addition, companies benefit from local relationships, conventions, norms, routines, attitudes, and objectives of regional actors (Storper 1997).

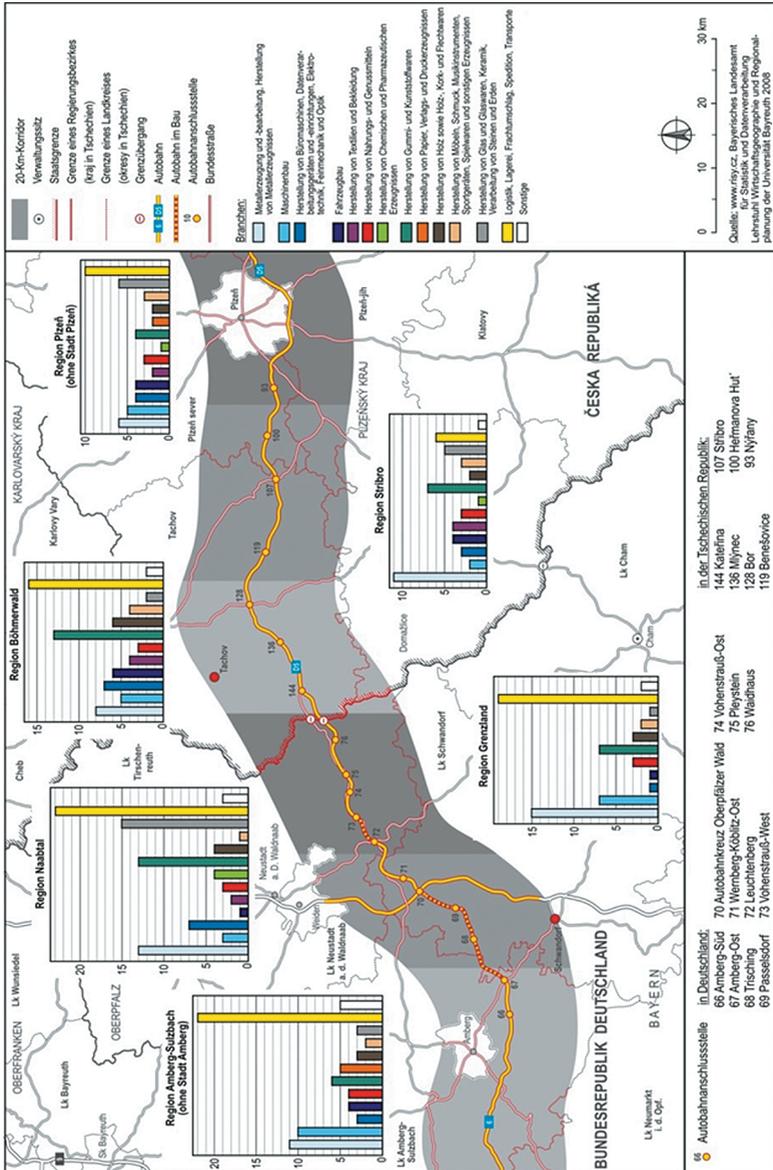
Many entrepreneurs have taken advantage of the particular situation of the German-Czech border area. The economy of the region of Plzeň is dominated by the largest manufacturer in the Czech Republic, Škoda Plzeň. At the end of 1989, more than 33,000 workers were employed there (Toušek 2005: 71). Restructuring and privatization led to thousands of job losses. After 1989, the Plzeň region became attractive for foreign investors due to its location and its labor force. The majority of FDI went into electronics. Panasonic, for example, began the production of televisions, and Alcoa began producing electrical wiring for the car industry. The situation in the German border region Upper Palatinate was slightly

different. During the Cold War, Upper Palatinate was a marginal location in Germany. Companies investing there received financial subsidies (*Zonenrandförderung*). The region was known as “the poor house of Bavaria,” as the economy was dominated by agriculture and glass and porcelain manufacturing. Although the region suffered from structural changes in the 1980s and 1990s, some family businesses prospered. Quite a few of them have become hidden champions and some of them are world market leaders today. The study, “Zukunft Deutschland 2020” now calls Upper Palatinate a “high-flyer region” (Invest in Bavaria 2008).

Not the region or the border area is the addressee of infrastructure investments, but companies. Thus, it is vital to know who these companies are. Different branches draw on different territorial resources. Today, we have little knowledge about the structure of economic sectors in the German-Czech border area. To generate an overview of the companies located along the new motorway A6-D5, I have mapped the industrial areas at a distance of up to 20 kilometers from the exits. The area I investigated lies between Amberg and Plzeň, the two cities that frame the Czech-German border. I have divided this stretch into six sectors. In the far west is the “Region Amberg-Sulzbach,” which is close to the city of Amberg. The “Region Naabtal” is characterized by the intersection of the motorways A6 and A93. Next to it is the “Region Grenzland,” adjacent to “Region Böhmerwald” across the border in the Czech Republic. This area belonged to the “Sudetenland” areas mentioned above. During the Cold War, it was mainly occupied by Russian military. The “Region Stribro” is dominated by the city of Stribro, and the “Region Plzeň” is the area next to the city of Plzeň. Roughly speaking, there is a great difference in the age of companies in both countries. In Bavaria, family businesses have been in the region for years. Some of them have expanded their production locations and built new sites close to the new motorway. There has been nearly no FDI. In the Plzeň region there exist many new companies that came from outside the region. Most of them have settled in locations close to the new motorway and were financed by foreign capital.

Apart from Region Stribro, all sectors are dominated by logistics (yellow). The second biggest branch apart from Region Böhmerwald is the metal processing industry (light blue). Region Böhmerwald’s second biggest branch is plastics processing (dark green), which is also dominant in the neighboring German sector Region Naabtal. Even more companies in Region Naabtal belong to the glass processing industry (grey).

Industrial Structure in the Czech-German Border Area



Source: Mapping by Roswitha Ruidisch, 2008-2010

In sum, it is interesting that all regions are dominated by more or less the same economic sectors. One reason for this phenomenon is cross-border investment by a few German, family-owned businesses. In the plastics processing industry the companies Gerresheimer or Inotech for example have their headquarters in Germany's Upper Palatinate but have built production sites just across the border in the Plzen region. They use the territorial potential of easy access to use resources, especially low-wage labor. Logistics is a relatively new branch on both sides of the border. Logistics companies also use the locational advantages of easy access to bigger cities like Nuremberg or Prague.

## CONCLUSION

As stated at the beginning of the article, border areas are quite often described as “laboratories” of European cohesion. But “the region” or the “border area” is not the addressee of European Regional Politics and their infrastructure investments. Therefore, discussions among EU actors regarding “regions” or “areas” are misleading. As the addressees are companies interested in making profit from resources associated with territory, the discussion about territorial cohesion must take them into account. Companies are very much interested in profiting from infrastructure investments, but they are not necessarily interested in territorial cohesion. Yet, the success of subsidies depends on how they are used by companies. Whether transport infrastructure helps to overcome regional disparities in border areas is questionable. Transport infrastructure is used differently by different companies. Companies choose the location of investment for various reasons, motivated in the end by the goal of profit. Regional disparities may therefore be useful for companies, for example in holding down wages. Territorial cohesion as such is a construction of EU politicians. Therefore the term has been used by different lobbyists to follow a range of interests. Planners want territorial cohesion to signify support for their interest in European spatial planning. Economists want territorial cohesion to signify support for competitiveness. Private firms want territorial cohesion measures to subsidize their production processes.

## REFERENCES

- Ahner, Dirk/Fuechtner, Natascha-Miriam (2010): "Territoriale Kohäsion: EU-Politik im Dienste regionaler Potenziale", in: Informationen zur Raumentwicklung (8), pp. 543-552.
- Bathelt, Harald/Glückler, Johannes (2002): Wirtschaftsgeographie. Ökonomische Beziehungen in räumlicher Perspektive. Stuttgart: Eugen Ulmer.
- Battis, Ulrich/Kersten, Jens (2009): "Europäische Raumentwicklung", in: Europarecht 44 (1), pp. 3-23.
- Biehl, Dieter (Ed.) (1986): The Contribution of Infrastructure to Regional Development. Final report. European Communities. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.
- Böhme, Kai/Eser, Thiemo/Gaskell, Frank/Gustedt, Evelyn (2008): The Territorial Cohesion Principles. Position paper to the EU Green Paper on Territorial Cohesion. Hannover Akademie für Raumforschung und Landesplanung ([www.spatialforesight.eu/tl\\_files/files/editors/dokumente/ARL-Position-Territorial\\_Cohesion.pdf](http://www.spatialforesight.eu/tl_files/files/editors/dokumente/ARL-Position-Territorial_Cohesion.pdf)).
- BMVBS (Bundesministerium für Verkehr, Bau und Stadtentwicklung) (Ed.) (2006): Territoriale Ausgangslage und Perspektiven der Europäischen Union. Stärkung der territorialen Kohäsion in Europa unter Berücksichtigung der Lissabon- und Göteborg-Strategien. Ein Hintergrunddokument für die Territoriale Agenda der Europäischen Union. ([www.bmvbs.de/cae/servlet/contentblob/29702/publicationFile/2621/territoriale-ausgangslage-und-perspektiven-der-europaeischen-union.pdf](http://www.bmvbs.de/cae/servlet/contentblob/29702/publicationFile/2621/territoriale-ausgangslage-und-perspektiven-der-europaeischen-union.pdf)).
- Camagni, Roberto (2006): "The rationale for territorial cohesion: issues and possible policy strategies", in: Luisa Pedrazzini (Ed.): The process of territorial cohesion in Europe. Milano: Francoangeli, pp. 53-67.
- CEC (Commission of the European Communities) (2008): Green Paper on Territorial Cohesion. Turning territorial diversity into strength. Brussels (SEC(2008) 2550) (<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2008:0616:FIN:EN:PDF>)
- David, Carl-Heinz (2007): "Status and Perspectives of Territorial Cohesion with Respect to European Spatial Development Policy (ESDP) – Normative and Governance Aspects", in: Dietmar Scholich (Ed.), Territorial cohesion. Berlin: Springer, pp. 5-22.

- Doucet, Philippe (2006): "Territorial Cohesion of Tomorrow: A Path to Cooperation or Competition? European Briefing, in: *European Planning Studies* 14 (10), pp. 1473-1485.
- Europäische Kommission (2010): *In Europas Zukunft investieren. Fünfter Bericht über den wirtschaftlichen, sozialen und territorialen Zusammenhalt*. Amt für Veröffentlichungen der Europäischen Union. Luxemburg. ([http://ec.europa.eu/regional\\_policy/sources/docoffic/official/reports/cohesion5/pdf/5cr\\_de.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/docoffic/official/reports/cohesion5/pdf/5cr_de.pdf)).
- Faludi, Andreas (2005a): "Polycentric territorial cohesion policy", in: *Town Planning Review* 76 (1), pp. 107-118.
- Faludi, Andreas (2005b): "Territorial cohesion: An unidentified political objective", in: *Town Planning Review* 76 (1), pp. 1-13.
- Faludi, Andreas (2006): "The uncertain future of EU territorial cohesion policy", in: Luisa Pedrazzini (Ed.), *The process of territorial cohesion in Europe*. Milano: Francoangeli, pp. 41-52.
- Finka, Maroš (2007): "Territorial Cohesion – Between Expectations, Disparities and Contradictions", in: Scholich (Ed.), *Territorial cohesion*, pp. 23-39.
- GD (Generaldirektion) Regionalpolitik (2004): *Territorialer Zusammenhalt. Zwischenbericht. Vorläufige Ergebnisse der Studien von ESPON und EU-Kommission*. Amt für amtliche Veröffentlichungen der Europäischen Gemeinschaften. Luxemburg ([http://ec.europa.eu/regional\\_policy/sources/docoffic/official/reports/coheter/coheter\\_de.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/docoffic/official/reports/coheter/coheter_de.pdf))
- Invest in Bavaria (2008): *Current 'Zukunft Deutschland 2020' Study rates Upper Palatinate as one of the top locations in Germany* ([www.invest-in-bavaria.de/cn/news/pressemitteilungen/archive-cn/details-cn/archive/2008/august/list/current-zukunft-deutschland-2020-study-rates-upper-palatinate-as-one-of-the-top-locations-in-g/](http://www.invest-in-bavaria.de/cn/news/pressemitteilungen/archive-cn/details-cn/archive/2008/august/list/current-zukunft-deutschland-2020-study-rates-upper-palatinate-as-one-of-the-top-locations-in-g/))
- Kaufmann, Lothar (1983): "Verkehrspolitik und regionale Entwicklungsmöglichkeiten", in: *Internationales Verkehrswesen* (6), pp. 419-423.
- KEG (Kommission der Europäischen Gemeinschaften) (2009): *Bericht der Kommission an das Europäische Parlament und den Rat. Sechster Zwischenbericht über den wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Zusammenhalt*. Brüssel (KOM (2009) 295). ([http://ec.europa.eu/regional\\_policy/sources/docoffic/official/reports/interim6/com\\_2009\\_295\\_de.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/docoffic/official/reports/interim6/com_2009_295_de.pdf))

- Löw, Martina/Steets, Silke/Stoetzer, Sergej (2008): Einführung in die Stadt- und Raumsoziologie. 2. aktualisierte Auflage. Opladen/Farmington Hills: Barbara Budrich.
- Mayring, Philipp (2002): Einführung in die qualitative Sozialforschung. Eine Anleitung zu qualitativem Denken. 5. Auflage. Weinheim, Basel: Beltz.
- Meidl, Christian N. (2009): Wissenschaftstheorie für SozialforscherInnen. Wien/Köln/Weimar: Böhlau.
- OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) (2001): OECD Territorial Outlook, 2001 Edition. Paris: OECD.
- Rippl, Susanne/Petrat, Anke/Kindervater, Angela/Boeneke, Klaus (2009): "Zur Bedeutung 'transnationalen Sozialkapitals': Sind Grenzgebiete Laboratorien sozialer Integration in Europa", in: Berliner Journal für Soziologie 19, pp. 79-103.
- Robert, Jacques (2007): "The Origins of Territorial Cohesion and the Vagaries of Its Trajectory", in: Andreas Faludi (Ed.): Territorial Cohesion and the European Model of Society. Cambridge, Mass.: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, pp. 23-35.
- Schaffer, Axel/Siegele, Jochen (2008): "Regionale Potentiale – Bedeutung und Nutzung von Potentialfaktoren in den NUTS 3 Regionen Deutschlands und Österreichs", in: Jahrbuch für Regionalwissenschaft 28, pp. 109-132.
- Storper, Michael (1997): The regional world. Territorial development in a global economy. New York: Guilford Press.
- Toušek, Václav (2005): Czech Republic. Portraits of regions. Praha: Ministry for Regional Development of the Czech Republic.
- Waterhout, Bas (2007): "Territorial Cohesion: The Underlying Discourses", in: Faludi (Ed.): Territorial Cohesion, pp. 37-59.
- Zonneveld, Wil/Waterhout, Bas (2005): "Visions on territorial cohesion", in: Town Planning Review 76 (1), pp. 15-27.