Workers, Football, Neighbourhood:

Schalke between Tradition and Re-Invention

MSc European Urban Studies
Bauhaus-Universität Weimar
2019

I Foreword

On the next pages, you will find the results of a study project that has been looking at the neighbourhoods of Schalke & Schalke-Nord in the city of Gelsenkirchen.

The study project is part of the master programme “European Urban Studies” at the Bauhaus-Universität Weimar. This programme aims at researching the change of cities in Europe with a holistic approach including different disciplinary views. As it especially tries to include social and physical aspects of urban life, the programme intends to provide insights into urban life beyond the focus on urban design. Instead, with a broader understanding of urban development as being contextualized into society at large the programme wants to enable perspectives for complex challenges in cities.

As an English-speaking programme, the project is realized with a particular international approach which benefits from a variety of professional and cultural experiences by the participating students. The team of this project consists of students from Brazil, Honduras, the United States, Australia, Germany, Ghana, Iceland, and Italy. Besides, disciplinary knowledge from urban planning, history, architecture, anthropology, geography, transport planning and journalism were brought into the project.

We consider the discussion the situation of Schalke in the light of this diversity of perspectives as a potentially fruitful experience for both sides, the students and the people of Schalke. Nevertheless, we are well aware of the limitations given by the short period of work that was available and thereby the limited insights that have been gained. Despite this, we hope that our external view might be refreshing, and the possible irritation caused by it might be leading to more discussion – for the sake of a necessary improvement of this very remarkable neighbourhood!

We would like to thank the Foundation Schalker Markt and especially Olivier Kruschinski and Michael Voregger for working with us. Also, we would like to express our thankfulness for all other persons who helped us to understand more about Schalke. It has been a rich experience for us and hopefully, this report offers some food for further thought.

Weimar, 1st of August 2019 Frank Eckardt

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01 I Introduction

Prof. Dr. Frank Eckardt

When we started this project, the football team of FC Schalke 04 started to slip into a concerning crisis. After having finished the last season as vice-champion in the Bundesliga and playing in the European Champions League, the steep fall came as a shock for the supporters and the people of Gelsenkirchen, which identify with the team so intensively.

Attending one game in April 2019 gave us the chance to dive into the vivid football culture that is still attached to the club which has been set up once by coal workers. As we noticed further in the run of our stay in Gelsenkirchen, the symbols of S04 show how much this is not only true on days of the Bundesliga but also is part of the everyday life and identity of many people. Apparently, football is rooted into urban life beyond the Veltins Arena.

Meanwhile, the football club has found a wide range of supporters from out of town and some supporters travel far to see the games. It is honest to say that the teams' play has not been very nice to see for quite some time now; there are other factors that motivate people to stick to the club. Generally spoken, the club still embodies the lost tradition of the working class and represents something authentic in times of over-commercialized sport business.

While Schalke is identified with the name of the football club by most visitors, the local origin of it – the neighbourhood of Schalke – has received less attention. When the new stadium was built in the adjacent quarter of Erle it seems, the connection between club and neighbourhood has increasingly been lost. With the establishment of the Schalker Meile, a first step has been undertaken to relink both together. The setup of the Foundation Schalker Markt in 2018 was another step into this direction.

The neighbourhood of Schalke has been declining over a long period, so far. It is visible even from a short visit that problems of all sort are accumulating here. Rotten down buildings and inhabitants suffering from degrees of poverty and unemployment far above national and even local average can be identified as the most important subjects that any policy for this deprived neighbourhood needs to address.

The slow but frustratingly ongoing process of decay has left many planners, politicians, and citizens with perplexity, anger, resignation and despair. It is clear that in Schalke many problems become visible which need to be framed into the urban and regional transformation taking place since decades. Schalke as a quarter of Gelsenkirchen and lying in the Ruhr area is a mirror of a process that has often

been described as a process of transition from the coal and steel area to a service industry-oriented economy.

There is already a long history on this process of post-industrialisation and many political and planning programmes have been answering on the challenges caused by this transition. The city and responsible actors in NRW have not stopped to engage into offering new ideas, projects, and plans to improve the situation in neighbourhoods like Schalke. While some of the affected cities have been coming out of this process better until now, however, it seems that Schalke has not made the progress necessary to cope with the negative effects it has on its inhabitants and the built and social environment.

The situation in Schalke – and even more in Schalke-Nord – leaves therefore many questions open. For the project that is documented here, the main objective was to follow a path of research that starts with exploration of the situation in Schalke by taking different views from a variety of people into account. With a visit at the beginning of April, we had the chance to meet different actors and talk to citizens, to have a first-hand insight view and some own observations about life in this quarter.

As outcome of this exploration, we identified subjects on which we wanted to continue working. The choice of selected problems is always a crucial moment in any research project. The criteria for selection were multiple: firstly, the problem must have been indicated by persons we talked to in the explorative phase, so that it can demonstrate some relevance in real life. Secondly, we have chosen according to our expectation that we could deliver some understanding and hopefully some ideas for further debate. Thirdly, it is necessary to see the lines between the selected topics and its place in a holistic view on the quarter. This means also that the chosen subjects need to be already present in the academic discourse which we wanted to look at for a deeper understanding of the urban problems addressed.

The project followed thus a logic of a systematic approach, which on the one hand side explored the local situation with the qualitative methods of observation, interviewing, surveying, and documentation. On the other hand, it mirrored its findings in the lights of existing knowledge by comparing with similar cases elsewhere and by evaluation general knowledge on certain themes. To enable this comparative work, a contextualisation of the neighbourhood is required (as will be worked out in the next chapter).

The complexity of local case studies always forces observers as us to choose a certain language on how to describe the situation. Choosing a certain discourse prepares concepts for identifying the causes of decline and potential strategies for improvement. There are dominant qualifications on how to describe Schalke already. In many ways, the more public they become, the more prejudiced. Terms like “decline” or “disintegration” are politically sensitive. However, in the academic discourse terms are necessary to enable the discussion and to come to insights. In Chapter 3, the state of the art on “urban decline” in urban studies will be critically discussed and filtered with the questions that are motivating this project.

The overarching question of this project focusses on the complexity of the social and built problems of Schalke-Nord. It is looking at this quarter by asking the question, how the neighbourhood can benefit from its famous football club. To achieve this goal, a series of sub-questions need to be answered first. These questions can be divided in two blocs: Firstly, understanding more deeply the social and built situation and identifying more precisely the problems and their origins. Secondly, looking at the interference between local identity, work and neighbourhood in its contemporary state.

Accordingly, in the chapters 5 till 8 the results of the four working groups will be presented. The topic of chapter 5 is “Football and Identity”. Guided by the noticeable loss of identity and social cohesion in the neighbourhood through the structural transformation and its long-term effects, the working group is asking if these characteristics can be re-established through the local commitment of the football club. A comparative study of the neighbourhoods Schalke and Schalke-Nord in Gelsenkirchen and Anfield in Liverpool is used to assess what impact a football club can have on its neighbourhood of origin in terms of identity and social cohesion.

Chapter 6 addresses public space within Schalke, defining criteria for the assessment of their potential for success. These criteria are categorized and compiled into a matrix, which is used to generate graphic representations of the success potential for individual spaces and categories of spaces. Comparison of the results reveals trends within the neighbourhood spaces, demonstrating relationships between historical importance and control as well as overall deficiencies in governance. Categorical comparison also reveals a surprising consistency among the ratings for different types of spaces on average.

Chapter 7 deals with the topic of urban mobility through an exploratory study in Schalke and its surrounding areas. After describing the current situation concerning urban mobility in the neighbourhood through maps, graphics and photos, a theoretical framework on the topics of land use, physical segregation, mobility poverty and sustainable mobility infrastructure is presented. Moreover, the chapter analyses different case studies and presents some suggestions for Schalke, which are in line with previous studies developed by the municipality Gelsenkirchen.

Chapter 8 examines critically the topic of work opportunities, to tackle the decaying post-industrial situation affecting Schalke-Nord. Under the conditions of high unemployed rates, low levels of working skills and education, and the huge fluctuation in the area of Schalke, the working group completed the formulation of a recommendation for a sustainable transition in Schalke, including the provision of workplaces and educational hubs. Therefore, the limitations found have been converted into potentials that allowed us to process the concept of Urban Agriculture, as well as to propose the implementation of farming sites in the district

We are offering our conclusions in Chapter 9 in reference to our theoretical starting points and a summary of our main findings in Chapter 10. With much humbleness in the light of the limited time we had, some recommendations are formulated at the end of this report.

02 I Urban decline

Potential explanations and their political implications

Prof. Dr. Frank Eckardt

1. Urban decline: potential explanations and their political implications

Every place is different and unique as people are always individual beings. Neighbourhoods can be also seen as not comparable and as outstanding. This is mostly the view from within; the place where we are at home or where we at least spend the most of our time. Being attached to a place, however, is not something specific and a key competence which citizens need to have to make a neighbourhood "their own".

When the economic, social, and cultural conditions are in favour of the neighbourhood, this process of place attachment appears much easier than in times when everything seems to run against it. Alienation becomes a key concern for a neighbourhood that does not function in this way. Signs of alienation are often identifiable with regard to the behaviour of inhabitants. Those who can afford to are leaving the stressed area. Those who cannot leave are either falling into resignation and despair or are trying to react to those factors which are assumed to cause the unwished situation.

When a neighbourhood reaches such a state of development, as the obvious impressions suggest has been reached in Schalke, there are different explanations for why this has happened and what needs to be done accordingly to improve the quarter again. In this chapter, some main discourses on urban decline will be presented and critically discussed. It will be shown, that the way we think about the situation in quarters like Schalke implies very different understandings and consequences for politics and urban planning.

1.1 Decline as a stage of development

The enduring most powerful explanation for this phenomenon, which can be seen as "mainstream" in urban studies relates the decline of a city or a neighbourhood to a kind of phased logic of development. Most prominently, David Clark has worked out this perspective in his book on "urban decline" in 1989 for the first time. This book has been reprinted as "Routledge Revival" in 2013 and thus claiming a status as a reference and "classical". Based on empirical data from British cities, Clark follows in his book the scheme of urban development, which is formulated in four stages according to the population development of cities (urbanization, exurbanization, counterurbanization, reurbanization). Population, employment, and commut-

ing are the driving forces of this scheme. Urban decline in this model appears as "counterurbanization" meaning that the inhabitants are not lost to the suburbs or the region, but the population shrinks in total. Lower birth rates are not compensated by migrants. The loss of population is characterized by social polarization as the younger and more educated inhabitants are leaving the neighbourhood. Economic decline, measurable by the loss of jobs, is a second indicator for urban decline according to Clark. Taking different reasons into account, he sees corporate restructuring and the low level of industrial regeneration as its main causes. Population and economic decline are not linked to each other in a simple way. For Clark, population loss is basically behavioural. Already a slight increase in birth rate can change the decline. With regard to the economic decline, he notices important differences among the affected inner cities despite the fact that a general loss of industry nationwide can be observed. To stop this trend, urban environment have to be changed radically. In total, the decline of the inner cities of the former industrial age is a symptom of a new urban geography, which is shaped by out-of-town economies and depopulated urban quarters. In following the American view prevalent in the 1980s, Clark supports planning concepts which are supportive to this transformation of economic geography and argues for an appreciation of urban decline. People who want to move out should be supported and only historically and architecturally valuable buildings would be preserved. The basic idea is that the fourth stage of urban development (reurbanisation) would be coming sooner, if the state money was spent on the abandoning and not on in vain attempts to re-establish work and economy.

1.2 Shrinkage, not decline

A large body of literature has been joining in Clark's approach by problematizing the loss of population in the first place. Especially in Germany, the term "shrinkage" has become a prominent label to address the situation in cities losing inhabitants. Although first accounts on shrinkage have been made at the end of the 1980s and with reference to the situation of the Ruhr area, it was the situation in East Germany after the German reunification which brought the discourse of shrinkage to the top of first the national agenda and, with the establishment of the Shrinking Cities International Research Network in 2004 to the international agenda.

In a review article (Hollander et al., 2009) on the state of research about shrinking cities, a critical position has been formulated: "The phrase 'shrinking cities' implies that these afflicted places are following an inevitable trajectory, from something to nothing. But perhaps they are simply moving from one kind of urbanism to another." (233) The role of planners is regarded as crucial "in exploring alternatives to stabilise transitional cities and neighbourhoods and point the way to a more sustainable future. Shrinkage offers planners the opportunity to reimagine cities and their development." (233).

The development stage approach and the shrinking city discourse share that they mainly look at the number of inhabitants and that they are both thought of as a kind of trajectory idea for cities, there are important differences between both of them: the authors in the discourse on shrinking cities do not argue for abandonment or supported leaving of inhabitants. In contrast, they see a strong need for revitalization and support (Couch et al. 2012). This has to do with a more European perspective on neighbourhoods as something to be preserved (Mallach, Haase and Hattori, 2017). Although most authors following the general terminology have a broader view on the different and entangled processes of shrinkage, it turns out

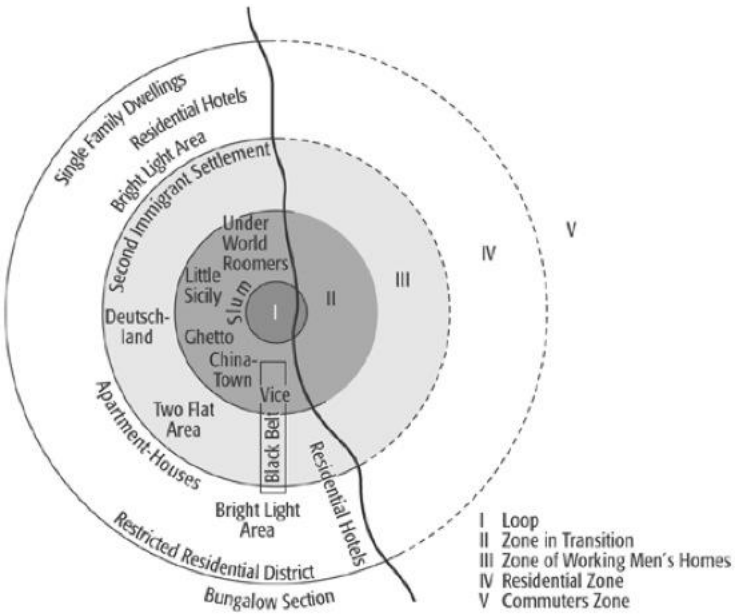
that housing has a strong focus in most studies and consequent political and planning recommendations. In this regard, vacant houses and their potential removal or reuse are at the core of the “shrinkage city” (Oswalt, Overmeyer and Misselwitz, 2013). Most elaborated re-proposals who see the shrinking of cities as an opportunity to set up links with urban ecosystems (Haase, Haase and Rink, 2014). In the line of this perspective, especially ecologically oriented projects like urban farming or gardening, greening, water and energy services and others are suggested to fill up the gap left over by shrinkage.

While many of these projects have been criticized for not providing a long-term perspective and as isolated solutions delinked from the economy and other important aspects, they are strongly motivated by the thought that urban life quality should be at the core of neighbourhood redevelopment and that alternatives (like re-industrialisation or even re-urbanisation in general) are unlikely. In principal, the idea of a next stage (reurbanisation) is also concluded to be not as desirable. However, parts of the discourse on shrinking cities have acknowledge that a broader and more holistic approach is needed. Cristina Martinez-Fernandez et al. (2016) have formulated three areas of required political and planning programmes: “1. Community resilience calls for measures tailored to a comprehensive territorial strategic approach employing a multitude of efforts, such as greening, revitalisation, economic development, social cohesion.” (40) The authors emphasise that in industrial areas the greatest need might be the boosting of the local economy and the utilisation of the natural resources. 2. Regeneration strategies: Incentives for regeneration are crucial and should encourage creative solutions aiming at a long-term focus with quick-winning responses. Interactions between actors and participation are important: “While cities easily focus on the transformation of the built environment, the maintenance of employment is critical.” (40) 3. Social dynamics: local conditions of living (housing, public space) needed to be improved “to serve the needs of the existing population and attract new inhabitants” (40). The culture climate and quality of life are important features. Simple modes of governance and age-friendliness are cornerstones of local empowerment.

1.3 Social disorganisation

Both above paraphrased approaches are mainly focussing on population decline – with a focus on its relationship to economy in the “staged development” approach and a focus on land and housing use in the shrinkage discourse. Only to some extent, social processes are regarded as main factors of decline. That is why a third research area needs to be brought to attention, which can be summarized as theory of “social disorganisation”. In urban sociology, the idea of disorganisation derives from the very first works that have been undertaken on cities. Already in the 1890s, sociologists from Chicago witnessing the massive growth of their city at that time, have observed a change in society. Especially, the arrival of young women who left the countryside out of despair to find a job in the promising metropolis were confronted with the challenge of rebuilding social bonds away from family and community life. In the next three decades, the so-called “Chicago School of Sociology” (Hennig 2012) has tried to find out how the process of integration of mass migration has been realized in social and spatial terms.

What has been found out by innovative forms of social research at that time, was generalized from the results of Chicago for a model that intended to explain the



Tab. 1: Burgess' model of urban development (Hennig 2012).

relationship between cities and migration by describing different roles of neighbourhoods ("areas"). According to their studies, the Chicago sociologist explained the growth of the modern city with a diagrammatic scheme (see Tab. 1).

They witnessed an urban development from the inside to the outside, where migrants start in the "zone of transition" and those who can make it in the fabrics of the city and who acculturate are moving then to the third zone. The more the migrants move up the economic and social level, the farer they move out of the city. The "zone of transition" in this diagram is a necessary area in each city offering cheap accommodation, help from fellow countrymen, and an easy cultural integration. This does not say that the living conditions are well and desirable from a human point of view. The problem of this segregation from the rest of the city, however, lies in the fact that some are not able to move further into the already existing urban society, to assimilate and to move out to better housing estates.

Much of this model has been criticized in later studies, but certain aspects have seemingly been considered of value for explaining contemporary urban development as well. In many recent studies, the issue of places where migrants can arrive in low-end conditions have been reoccurring in debates about the "arrival city" (Meeus, Arnault and Heur 2019) and has reached the planning discourse in Germany (Schäfer 2018). It is apparent that migrants start their way into a new society at the low level and that they are depending on conditions that enable them to survive this way. For the Chicago School, migrants are marginalized, which means that they are under pressure to fulfil the requirements of the hosting society and their community at the same time. While this can pressure the individual, the sociologists saw as well that some of these migrants are innovating urban culture and economy. Because of their lifestyle combining American and foreign competences, thoughts, habits and ideas, the so-called "marginal man" brings together things formerly dispersed in the different communities.

These “zones of transition” are characterized by poverty, exploitation, and what was then called “deviant behaviour”. Especially the difference to the general norms is what has often called stigmatization and a bad reputation of these areas. In the review on the studies from Chicago, this point was the most controversial. One can divide the commentators in two camps: For some, so-called “structuralist” authors, these areas are solely disordered because of their poverty and as a result of segregation. For them, these zones of transition should be abolished totally by state intervention and provision of jobs and housing. The behaviour of the migrants is not “deviant” and qualifying it this way is an expression of prejudices already. Also, the arrival areas are not to be misjudged as disordered or declining just because of the presence of migrants fighting against their inequality.

A second “behavioural” reading of the zone of transition does not question that the observation of disorder is correct. Authors who want to stick to the classification of disorder are linking it to still to decline by focussing on visible conditions in the neighbourhood, which need to be understood as a loss of social order. Often quoted signs for this are junk and rubbish, public drinking, graffiti or vandalism (Ross and Mirowsky, 1999). Disorder of this kind does not necessarily affect the life of a community, but it is generally assumed that the social disintegration and disorder are mutually enforcing each other. Both together are working as a downward spiral (Skogan, 1990).

While structuralists readings can be critiziced by ignoring the spatial and visible aspects of urban culture and thus neglecting the negative effects of missing feelings of being at home for the non-migrants, the behavioural approaches are leaving out the analytical aspects of non-place bound social inequalities like exclusion from work and school. In the last twenty years or even more, most political and planning approaches have been lending towards a rather behavioural understanding of social decline. As Guido Lauen (2014) has already worked out, most cities in Germany have been implementing policies regarding public spaces, which are reinforcing cleanness and safety. German cities followed thereby an international trend that is based on the idea that “broken windows” are creating a sense of fear, which makes inhabitants leave the area and offers place for crime. Again, “structuralist” thinkers like Bernd Belina (2017) are rejecting this concept as criminalizing the poor and as neo-liberal ideology. Jurdicial and behavioural studies are coming to a different understanding and are focussing on multi-level effects on the perception of inhabitants and that the way inhabitants define their surrounding is crucial (Link et al. 2017). This does not necessarily imply that “broken windows” are automatically leading to social disintegration as a Detroit case study shows,but can be an activate moment for engaging for a less disordered neighbourhood (Johansen, Neal and Gasteyer 2015). Perceiving disorder like garbage mostly however has negative effects on the process of social integration. As a wide ranged study on Dutch neighbourhoods showed, disorder and the spread of racism – although the mechanisms of this relationship are not clear so far - are often interfering (Havekes, Coenders and Dekker, 2014).

2. Conclusion

Urban decline requires a careful discussion for identifying the subject of concern. It is recommendable not to limit the topic to the loss of inhabitants or vacant houses. As well, the economic transition of industries as such is not necessary an all-encompassing indication for decline. A broader definition appears to be more ade-

quate, which “define neighbourhood decline as any negative development in the physical, social, and economic conditions of a neighbourhood as experienced by its inhabitants or other stakeholders.” (Kempen, Gideon and Ham, 2016: 656)

It is apparent that such a wide understanding of decline enables to address different states of decline but therefore cannot offer one-fits-all solutions. As a general consideration, the more serious forms of decline are those, which are physical, economic and social at the same time. Different discourses, as worked out above, have focussed on certain aspects like disorder, segregation and poverty, loss of jobs, life quality and housing. The quoted studies have made a strong case for each of the mentioned problems of a decaying neighbourhood. Most of the cited sources were agreeing on the view that there are endogenous and exogenous aspects of decline. While some authors emphasize more the “structural” causes of decline like the post-industrialisation and therefore the need for a new economic basis of the city or quarter, others believe that service industries and inhabitants will only come or stay, if the neighbourhood offers attractive conditions with regard to housing, schools, facilities, shopping, medical services, culture, public spaces and more.

Despite the apparent different emphases, a realistic approach requires a strategic planning that takes both levels of decline into account. A pure aesthetisation and commodification of a declining neighbourhood will not tackle the physical disorder. A solely socially oriented upgrading with more social offer will improve the life and career chances of the inhabitants, but it will force them to leave, if they do not find any local opportunities for work. Finally, a focus on the re-industrialisation or the settlement of new companies only might offer jobs for some local inhabitants. It is unlikely however that economic strategies solely will match the needs of the neighbourhood in total.
In other words, the basic idea for responding on urban decline remains an economic strategy, which is based on the needs of the inhabitants but which produces a general value for the market. Local politics and urban planning need to be regarded as a major field for experimenting actively for a general strategy entangling the local needs for social support, physical improvements, and an integrative and economic and professional upgrading.

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03 I Football & identity

A comparative study of the neighbourhoods Schalke and Anfield and their relation to football

Magdalena Köhne & Leona Sandmann

1. Introduction

Throughout Europe, football is a sport of immense historical and cultural importance. In the 20th century, it played a particular role for the working-class – not only as a spectator event but as an active sport. Football clubs used to consist predominantly of industrial workers, were as such deeply related to coal mining industries and served along with football as a strong basis for regional and social identity. Examples of football clubs with a working-class identity are numerous: From Northern English clubs to clubs from the Netherlands, Spain and Germany (Blecking, 2019, p. 24). In Germany, the coal mining companies consciously encouraged the formation of football clubs and the active engagement of the miners. It was regarded as a salutiferous leisure activity with the additional benefit of fostering social cohesion and integration of guest workers (Kift, 2014). From the 1960s onwards, the Ruhr Area in Germany was severely affected by structural change. The closure of the coal mines equalled the loss of regional and personal identity. FC Schalke 04, which originates from the neighbourhood Schalke in Gelsenkirchen, is one example of a football club with a strong connection to the coal mining and migration history of the region. As one of many cities in the Ruhr Area, Gelsenkirchen suffered from rapid population decline and out-migration and is characterised today by high unemployment and child poverty rates. The neighbourhoods Schalke and Schalke-Nord are ethnically diverse, socially and financially deprived and stigmatised as such. Especially Schalke-Nord experiences a high fluctuation of residents (Stadt Gelsenkirchen, 2018, p. 58). The urban decline is evident in the urban environment through high vacancy rates, dilapidated buildings and a lack of retail stores, gastronomy and meeting points for the community. A negative image and the lack of social cohesion and local identity are challenging conditions for the neighbourhood. The research interest takes up on this: What role do football and club identity play in this neighbourhoods today? Can social cohesion be fostered and a local identity be sparked by football club engagement?

To examine these questions we will first introduce the theoretical frameworks relevant to this research. The concepts of identity and social cohesion will be explained and related to the topic of football (ch. 2). This is followed by a brief overview of the state of research on the historic evolution of football in Germany, its relevance for the industrial working class during the 20th century and the role of football clubs in terms of creating local identities (ch. 2). A special focus will be placed on the Ruhr Area. In chapter three, the research interest will be explained. The research is designed as a comparative study of two neighbourhoods and football clubs – FC Schalke 04 from Schalke, Gelsenkirchen and FC Liverpool from Anfield, Liverpool. The aspects relevant to the comparison are drawn from the literature review and will be highlighted in

the methodology chapter (ch. 4). This is followed by chapter five where the two cases will be analysed concerning the chosen comparative characteristics. For the case of Liverpool, the regeneration project in Anfield will be exemplarily presented. After that, the main findings will be discussed under consideration of the research question (ch. 6). We conclude with a final statement (ch. 7).

2. Football, identity and social cohesion

This chapter provides the theoretical framework for the research. In close reference to football as a sport and cultural value, identity and social cohesion will be established as the main theoretical concepts. This is followed by an overview of the emergence of football in Germany, especially in relation to the migration and coal mining history in the Ruhr Area. The relevance of football club culture for the working class and club identity are focal points here. The chapter concludes with the research question.

2.1 Construction of identities

> *"Identity gives an individual's life meaning by framing it in a social and historical context."*
> *(Thomas, Al-Dawaf, Weißmann, 2016, p. 212).*

Identity is socially constructed. It can be understood as the answer to the question 'who am I, and who are the others?' and describes as such the entity of characteristics of a person or an object in opposition or affiliation to others. Anthony Giddens argued from a sociological viewpoint that **personal identity** is the result of an ongoing process of self-reflection and adaption to cultural and historical contexts (Keupp, n.y.). **Social and cultural identity** refer to how an individual perceives its belonging to a social or cultural group. These aspects play a crucial role for migrants who are often confronted with the differences in their cultural background and the culture of the arrival country. The sense of belonging is strengthened through social networks and the differentiation from other groups (Thomas et al., 2016, p. 216). Belonging to a social group (e.g. sports team, family, social class, etc.) is crucial for developing and fostering pride and self-esteem (McLeod, 2008). **Club identity** of football fans is an example of such a socially and culturally constructed group with a distinct identity framed in sharp opposition to other clubs.

Local identity stems from the aforementioned conceptions of social and cultural identity and extends them by an explicit spatial dimension. According to Kossakowski (2013), the concept of local identity consists of "firstly – the realm of individual identification and collective continuity and uniqueness, and – secondly – a set of values, material objects, cultural symbols and spaces" (p. 113). It is also seen in relation to traditional characteristics and the historical heritage of the region (Shao, Lange, Thwaites, Liu, 2017, p. 25). "Identities are often bound up with a sense of place. This can take the form of a physical entity or an imagined space that evokes a feeling of belonging" (Boyle, 1995, p. 82). In the footballing culture, the stadium can be crucial to its supporters for embodying their sense of tradition and history (ibid.). This means that a place

on its own does not possess an identity; local identity relies on the people who constitute the local community and adapt to their spatial environment, shape cultural patterns and create traditions. Maintaining a collective local identity is, therefore, a con-

tinuous process (Kossakowski, 2013, pp. 110-111). But, once established, it can create a sense of home and community for local residents (Shao et al., 2017, p. 25). In the case of a local football club and its identity, this relies heavily on raising a new generation by encouraging children to actively participate whilst familiarizing them with the traditions, symbolism and history of the club (Kossakowski, 2013, p. 112).

This research focusses on **local identity** and **football club identity**. In our case, we refer to the geographical, administrative entity and the residents of the neighbourhoods Schalke and Schalke-Nord in Gelsenkirchen as well as Anfield in Liverpool as 'local community'. We also take into account that the neighbourhood is not only a district with administrative borders, but also "the area of a town that surrounds someone's home, or the people who live in this area" and form a local community (Cambridge Dictionary 2019). Gómez-Bantel (2016, p. 693) explores the link of football, club identity and regional identity, asking how a football club can demonstrate and strengthen this regional identity. He identifies the five following aspects as substantial:

a) symbolic links with its region, e.g. in form of coat of arms (visual connection)
b) regional pool of players
c) board of directors with public commitment to the home region of the club
d) politicians and officials who confer regional identity on the club
e) body of supporters who establish a regional identity within the club.

Given the limited scope of this research, special attention will be paid to the public commitment of the football club to its home region (c), meaning the way and extent to which the football club is involved in and related to its neighbourhood of origin.

2.2 Social cohesion

There is no universal definition for the term social cohesion. Broadly stated it goes back to the French sociologist Émile Durkheim who described solidarity among society members during the transformation of labour activities. He concludes that "the transformation of societies changes the nature of cohesion" (OECD, 2011, p. 52). It means, that a more open society with new forms of solidarity behave differently amongst themselves.

Social cohesion can today be explained as a holistic concept constituted by three dimensions (see Fig. 1): social inclusion, social capital and social mobility. Social inclusion, or the lack of it, is characterised by the experience of social exclusion, meaning poverty, inequality, social polarisation and marginalisation. Aspects such as trust and civic engagement are part of the understanding of social capital. And social mobility refers to the belief in the possibility of upward movement in society (OECD, 2011, pp.53-54). According to the OECD, a society is 'cohesive' …

> *"… if it works towards the well-being of all its members, fights exclusion and marginalisation, creates a sense of belonging, promotes trust, and offers its members the opportunity of upward social mobility"*
> *(OECD, 2011 p. 53)*

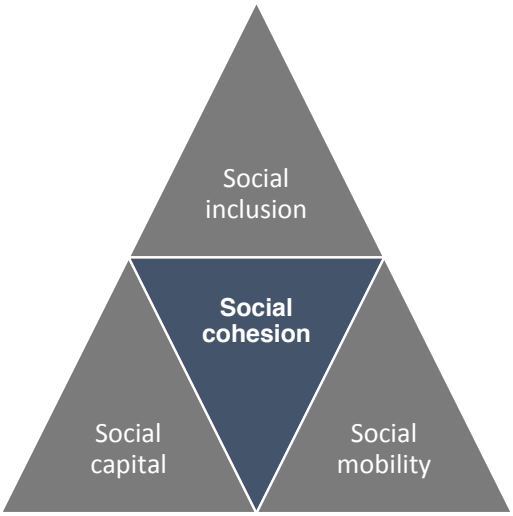

Figure 01: Social cohesion
(source: own graph, compare OECD 2011)

Poor and disadvantaged neighbourhoods are especially affected by a lack of life qualities and services which challenge social cohesion within the respective local community. Following this line of thought, it is the poor people living in poor neighbourhoods who suffer from being dislocated from the mainstream society (Forrest & Kearns, 2001, p. 2126). A lack of social cohesion is expressed in "social disorder and conflict, disparate moral values, extreme social inequality, low levels of social interaction between and within communities and low levels of place attachment" (ibid., p. 2128).

Following these arguments, it becomes clear that identity and social cohesion are strongly connected concepts. Both concern the well-being of an individual as well as a social group or the society as a whole. Social groups and networks, which are fundamental for identity development, play an important role in social cohesion in all three of its dimensions. They themselves have the power and responsibility to form a communal set of values, foster community interaction and therefore create a stronger sense of belonging to a place.

2.3 Structural transformation and football identity

The history of the industrial working class and football is deeply intertwined. As Blecking (2015) notes, "sports, and football in particular, have enjoyed an outstanding status in mining cultures all over the world, both for players and spectators" (p. 275). Numerous football clubs all over Europe stem from an industrial background and traditionally define themselves through its social milieu (Gómez-Bantel, 2016, p. 693). This finds expression in the language used to refer to those clubs. Common associations with the German football club FC Schalke 04 are 'Malocherbrigade' or 'Arbeiterverein' (Blecking, 2019, p. 29) and the fans refer to themselves as 'Knappen' (Gómez-Bantel, 2016, p. 693). Though this is in contrast to the origins of football as a modern sport. Emerging in England, it remained predominated by white-collar workers and the middle class during the 19th century up until the first decades of the 20th century" (Blecking, 2015, p. 287).

In Germany, football as a sport arrived in the last quarter of the 19th century where it was initially met with severe resistance, being dismissed as no part of 'German culture'. In the wake of industrialisation and a general break with social norms, football grew in popularity and established itself as the sport of the working men in the 1920s (Merkel, 2014, p. 242). In between both World Wars, especially the Ruhr Area experienced a boom of football clubs (Blecking, 2015, p. 292).

Migration, integration and football as cultural policy in the German Ruhr Area

The so-called Ruhr Area in Germany is in a constant mode of change since the beginnings of the industrial revolution. It experienced rapid population growth and inmigration in the 19th and 20th century once the coal mines were opened and in need for workers, and severe population decline during the coal and steel crises in the second half of the 20th century which quickly turned into a structural crisis (Kift, 2014, pp. 61-64, 86).

During the prosperous period, the Ruhr Area was a hub for migration, not only within Germany but also from neighbouring European countries, partly a result of the labour recruitment agreements Germany forged. The Polish and Turkish were the most dominant ethnic minorities (ibid.). Since many of the newly recruited miners were underage, the mining companies were required to take care of them beyond simply providing a place to sleep. After-work activities such as football, boxing, excursions etc. were offered as part of the cultural policies evolving around the mining industry. Creating a distinct cultural identity for the comparatively young mining industry in the Ruhr Area was the proclaimed aim of these policies in the 1950s and 60s. Miners choirs, amateur theatre, art classes and competitions, sports and many other activities were encouraged externally and from the inside of the pits as well (Kift, 2014, pp. 72-82).

As a consequence, football, migration and mining are deeply intertwined in the Ruhr Area. There are many examples of football clubs with strong affiliations to the mining industry, such as FC Schalke 04 or Borussia Dortmund. The clubs recruited predominantly amongst the local population but the miners themselves were also key actors in establishing and organising the clubs. Whilst in other parts of the country, football initially targeted the middle-class, the situation in the Ruhr Area was strikingly different; "there, football had a decidedly multi-ethnic and proletarian dimension, turning it into an ever more popular sport among the immigrant population" (Blecking, 2015, p. 287). Since the share of migrants amongst the miners was traditionally high, this multiethnicity was mirrored in the pool of players in the clubs. Even though the Polish and Turkish communities did partly separate themselves in their own clubs (ibid. 276). Still, in terms of social integration football was associated with a bridging function. A substantial share of the newly recruited miners came from rural areas and was neither familiar with an industrial, urban way of life nor the language and culture in Germany. Football offered the migrant minorities a flexible framework for integration and a source for social identity (Merkel, 2014, p. 243). Active participation, as well as club support, conveyed a distinct feeling of belonging and identity, especially for the working-class men (Gómez-Bantel, 2016, p. 692).

The relevance of football club identity

Club identity relies strongly on symbolism. Symbols such as flags, banners, colours, coat of arms, songs etc. are crucial sources of identification – within one's group of

supporters as well as in antagonism to other clubs (Kossakowski, 2013, p. 108; Gómez-Bantel, 2016, p. 692). As a matter of local pride, club supporters refer to themselves as “Tukker” in case of Enschede or “Knappen” in case of S04 supporters (Kossakowski, 2013, p. 115). Gómez-Bantel (2016) argues that one “club that defines itself through its social milieu is Gelsenkirchen-based Schalke 04. Although the club has now developed into a commercially successful enterprise, its origins lie unmistakably within the ambit of the mining community. This is demonstrated, among other things, by the fact that even today the supporters describe themselves as Knappen.” (p. 693).

Football clubs today, especially the higher league ones, tend to be less strongly connected with their local origins unless they regard it as a substantial part of their philosophy as in the case of FC Barcelona or Athletic Bilbao in Spain. These clubs are even understood as local ambassadors and therefore politically charged (Gómez-Bantel, 2016, p. 693). Generally speaking, football today is highly commodified and commercialised. Many clubs are in the first instance economic entities and enterprises. As Boyle (1995) noted already 24 years ago, the commercialisation of football hits those the hardest who are “the sports traditional backbone of support, the workin-class fan[s]” (p. 76) since they are becoming more and more priced out of the game with rising ticket prices. Television and sponsor interests shape the football economy and target more affluent spectatorship nowadays (ibid.). Though a club of this nature cannot serve as “identity-creating object” (Gómez-Bantel, 2016, p. 692). A historical affinity to the region is one prerequisite to convey club identity as regional identity (ibid.). As Merkel (2014) states, “the genuine and intense, economic, social and cultural bonds between club, teams and local communities have largely disappeared. While the early players and supporters knew each other, lived in the same area and shared a social background, nowadays, anonymity and distant admiration determine the relationship between international stars and local fans” (p. 243). At elite levels, players are commonly recruited from around the globe today and local players are an increasing rarity (Houghson, Moore, Spaaij, Maguire, 2016, p. 21).

3. Research Question

It became clear that football and traditional working-class industries such as coal mining are deeply intertwined throughout Europe. The structural change which transformed industries and landscapes from the 1960s onwards equalled a profound loss of common social and local identities which were, partly consciously, created on the basis of these industries. One integral part of the history of the Ruhr Area, next to its coal mining tradition, is its multiethnicity – a result of guest worker recruitment and continuous migration. Even today, the region remains a hub for migration. The integrity of communities and their social cohesion was challenged by the decline and led to unemployment and overall deprivation. Many cities and neighbourhoods still suffer from this today and show strongly visible traces of social and structural dilapidation. So are Schalke and Schalke-Nord, the neighbourhoods were the football Club Schalke 04 was once founded but is not home to it anymore. Club-related stakeholders club now set up a foundation with the aim to help the neighbourhood back on its feet. It is their main intention to reawaken the football identity of the area and its places of identification. Because the social life and the sense of belonging of the residents are crucial for local identity, the social cohesion of the community has to be addressed simultaneously.

The guiding research question therefore is: (How) can the local commitment of a football club serve as a basis to re-establish a common football identity and social cohesion in a neighbourhood that once was the heart of a football culture and now is in a state of severe deprivation?

4. Methodological approach

In its original design, this research was focused on the football club FC Schalke 04 and the neighbourhoods Schalke and Schalke-Nord in Gelsenkirchen as its spatial context. The current socio-economic and physical condition of the neighbourhood and the lack of investments pose a challenge in terms of its future development. Migration, high fluctuation of residents and multiethnicity pose a challenge to social cohesion and local identity within the neighbourhood. With this background, the foundation 'Schalker Markt' sees potential in re-branding Schalke-Nord as 'football quarter' because 'the future of Schalke-Nord is blue' ("Die Zukunft in Schalke-Nord ist blau") (Stiftung Schalker Markt, 2019).

At a later stage of the research project, a comparative approach was chosen to assess how a football club and its club identity can impact local identity and foster social cohesion. This comparison intends to merge knowledge from two case studies with similar pre-conditions in order to draw more informed conclusions on the potential of football and club identity in a context of a deprived and neglected neighbourhood with a strong historical link to a renowned football club (Vogelpohl, 2013, p. 64). This research takes two neighbourhoods in European cities into account which have three basic commonalities:

1) *Spatially*: a globally renowned football club has its origins in the neighbourhood (and remains somewhat related to it)
2) *Culturally*: the local identity derived from a distinct industry lost in the wake of structural change, e.g. coal mining, and is also related to football
3) *Socio-economically*: the neighbourhood is in a current state of severe social and economic deprivation, relative to the country's average standard

The initial case study of this research was the German city Gelsenkirchen which is home to FC Schalke 04 from the neighbourhood Schalke. According to the selection criteria mentioned above, the English case study of FC Liverpool from Anfield, Liverpool was selected as comparison.

Aspects of comparison are the history of city and region with special regard to migration, working class industries and the relevance of football for the local identity. We will therefore look at …

a) the origins of the football club and its relation to the working class
b) the relationship of the football club and the local community of its neighbourhood of origin, today and in the past
c) the location and cultural importance of the clubs' stadiums.

These aspects are derived from the literature review (see chapter 2). Though given the limited scope of this research and the limitation of resources, this research does not claim completeness.

The empirical data is based on two field phases in Gelsenkirchen (April & May 2019), expert interviews (protocols, see appendix B), street surveys (n=19) and mappings. The street survey was conducted with a focus on local and club identity, meaning the relation of the local residents to their neighbourhood and the football club FC Schalke 04 (see appendix A). Furthermore, a small mapping exercise was attempted to prove the hypothesis of a spatial accumulation of visual club support in Schalke-Nord, separated by the Kurt-Schuhmacher-Straße. The comparison with the English case study relies on document analyses and literature reviews. Academic papers, books, newspaper articles as well as photo documentations were taken into account.

5. The neighbourhood and the football club

These chapters provide the analysis of both case studies according to the aspects of comparison which were established in the prior chapter (ch. 4). Each case, Schalke and Anfield, will be introduced and placed into context. A brief overview of today's socio-economic conditions in each neighbourhood intends to create an understanding of the cultural and social contexts. This is followed by historic insights in the evolution of the football clubs FC Schalke 04 and FC Liverpool, their relation to their neighbourhoods of origin and the general impact of football on the local and social identity of the residents. Special attention will be paid to the football clubs' stadiums and today's local commitment of the football clubs. In the case of Anfield, this chapter concludes with an outlook on the neighbourhood revitalisation scheme which is being carried out since 2013.

5.1 Gelsenkirchen, Schalke and FC Schalke 04

The previous chapters of the full report provide an extensive overview of the history and current situation of Gelsenkirchen and put the city in the context of post-industrialisation, urban decline, sports, the worker's culture, economic features as well as social factors and migration. Thus, this chapter will focus on Schalke and Schalke-Nord and the subjects which are relevant for the research question.

5.1.1 Population structure and socio-economic conditions

When studying a specific neighbourhood (or several in our case) it is of great interest to learn as much about it as possible. It is important to understand how the district works, what its history is, who lives there and what are its strengths and weaknesses. The current socio-economic situation of the residents is one factor. While looking at identity and social cohesion, the individuals living in the neighbourhood are the most relevant. This is why special attention will be paid to the composition and living conditions of the population.

Schalke and Schalke-Nord are two districts of Gelsenkirchen which are located in the Southern part of the city adjoining the historical centre (see Fig. 2). Gelsenkirchen represents a total population of around 265,000 inhabitants, whereas about 21,000 people live in Schalke; Schalke-Nord counts about 4,600 residents (Statistikstelle Gelsenkirchen, 2019). The comparatively low population in Schalke-Nord is reasoned by the high share of industrial space in the neighbourhood.

Figure 02: Districts of Gelsenkirchen (source: TUBS)

While the overall gender distribution in Gelsenkirchen conducts 50 per cent male/female, Schalke and Schalke-Nord show a slightly higher share of men in their neighbourhoods (51 % in Schalke and 53 % in Schalke-Nord) (ibid.).

By looking at the ethnical backgrounds of Schalke's residents from 2018 (see Fig. 3), the high share of non-Germans (24 % in Schalke, 30 % in Schalke-Nord) becomes obvious. The five countries of origin with the highest number of migrants in these neighbourhoods are Turkey, Syria, Romania, Poland and Bulgaria. Poles and Turks have a long history of living in the Ruhr-Area since many migrants from these countries came as guest workers for the mining companies. At the end of 2018, 9% of Schalke's and 7% of Schalke-Nord's population have the Turkish nationality and this way form the largest group of non-Germans together with Romanian citizens. The EU-enlargement 2007 made it possible for Romanians and Bulgarians to travel and migrate easily within the EU member states. Since then, a growing population of East-Europeans is visible in Germany. About 550 Romanians settled in Schalke-Nord and represent 14 per cent of this neighbourhoods' residents. Due to the crisis and

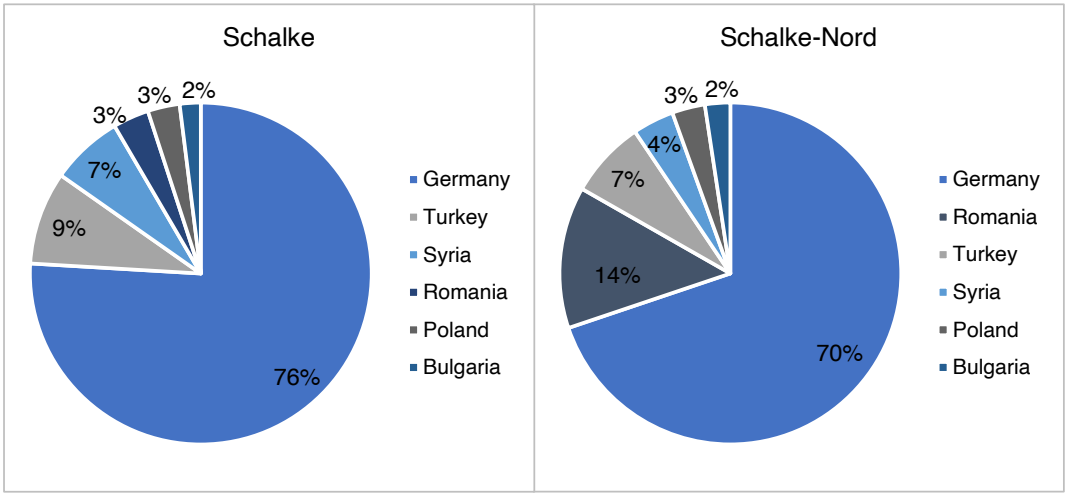

Figure 03: Population distribution in Schalke and Schalke-Nord (31.12.2018)

violence their home countries numerous Syrians came to Gelsenkirchen. The location of refugee homes in Schalke explains the great number of around 1450 Syrian citizens in both neighbourhoods together.

Even though ¾ of the population, and therefore the majority, is German, the great ethnical mix with its various and rich cultural backgrounds, poses challenges to the life and the identity of the neighbourhood. As described in Chapter 2.1, cultural identity, especially for residents with a migratory background, is influencing the personal life, social networks and communities and this way has its impact on neighbourhood life and local identity.

Another factor playing a role in this theory is the moving of tenants. As Mrs. Feldmann says (referring to a study from 2018), 41 % of tenants in Schalke-Nord have a short residence time, meaning they stay up to three years and then move to a different place that can be in a different neighbourhood, city or even country (Interview Mrs Feldman 22.05.2019, Appendix B). This results in a difficult situation for the neighbourhood because the constantly changing formation makes it hard to create social networks and a community. By the time residents get to know each other, build up trust and feel
at home they almost leave again. Frequent moving makes it especially problematic for children to develop their personal identity in relation to a place and to social contacts that are connected to the place.

The age pyramids (see Fig. 4) show two particularities (meaning characteristics atypical in comparison to the German average): A very high share of elderly residents and a high number of children and young people, most notably in Schalke-Nord. Also, three out of four children under 18 years in Schalke-Nord have a migration background (Stadt Gelsenkirchen, 2018, p. 66). Cleary, it brings up more challenges in terms of education, integration, social inclusion and cohesion, further related to the high rates of fluctuation.

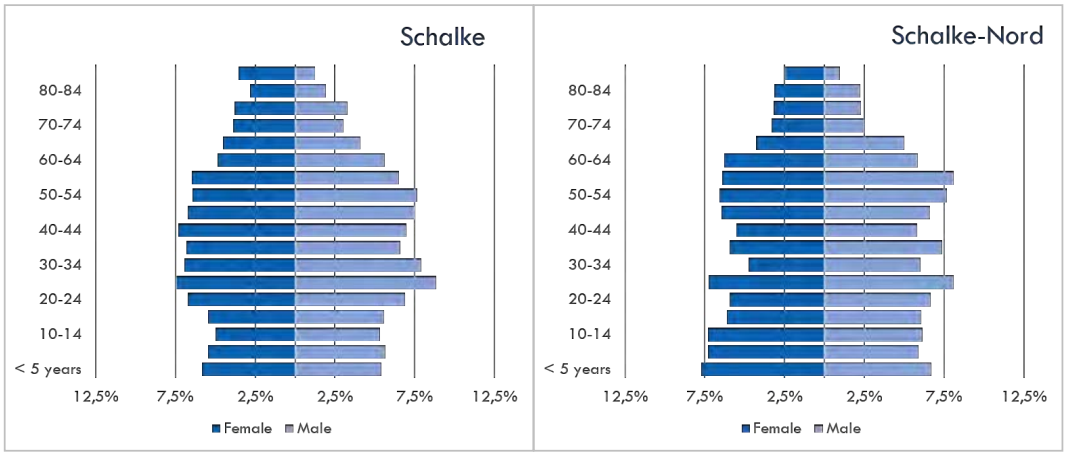

Figure 04: Age pyramid Schalke and Schalke-Nord
(source: Statistikstelle Gelsenkirchen 2019, own graph)

Here, the socioeconomic situation of the parents is of interest. Noticeable is the high number of jobless residents. While the unemployment rate of Germany is 4,9 % (June 2019), the rate for Gelsenkirchen is 12,9 % (June 2019) (Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2019). In Schalke are around 1800 residents unemployed and about 400 in Schalke-Nord. A result from this situation is, that 54 up to 62 % of children under 15 years depend on income support (social welfare benefits), which means they are identified as children living in poverty. It is especially problematic because children who grow up in poverty are less likely receive an adequate education, to be part of a social community (among friends in a better financial situation) and consequently have fewer chances for social upward mobility. Children are therefore a key aspect when talking about social cohesion.

The selection of socioeconomic factors which are related to the analysis of identity and social cohesion of Schalke and Schalke-Nord show in a limited manner the living conditions of their residents. Drawn by these objectives is a picture of a problematic neighbourhood which suffers from deprivation. The preceding analysis shows significantly the lack of social cohesion: Whether concerning social inclusion or social mobility, it becomes obvious, that the neighbourhood lags behind due to the poor socioeconomic conditions of its residents. High numbers of migration, fluctuation, unemployment and poverty also challenge the local community in creating an identity that fits the current situation of a city that still faces the consequences of post-industrialisation.

5.1.2 Local identity and the roots of a football club – FC Schalke 04

During industrialisation, a process of identity building began, which is, in the case of Gelsenkirchen, closely related to football and the foundation of the football club Schalke 04 in May 1904 (Feldhaus, 2004). The club has its origins in the neighbourhood Schalke which is today, as well as in the 20th century, characterised by low life quality (compare Chapter 5.1.1). Yet in the middle of the last century, the football club and the sense of local pride, which was connected to it by the local community, achieved an internally positive image of the neighbourhood and conveyed a sense of community and security despite the poor living conditions (Broy, 2008, pp. 63-65).

Ernst Kuzorra, a hero in the history of the club who worked in the mines himself initially, said that work and poverty were ‚siblings' in Schalke and inevitable but football served as balance („Selbst Ernst Kuzorra, der zumindest anfangs noch unter Tage gearbeitet hat, meint, Arbeit und Armut seien in Schalke Geschwister gewesen, der Fußball habe sich als Ausgleich hinzugesellt"; Röwekamp, 2008, p. 32). This image and glorification of the neighbourhood prevailed as the 'myth of Schalke' which served as identity bearer in times of hardship, though it was stronger connected to the club than the neighbourhood. Though this positive internal image of the neighbourhood was lost in the following decades of economic and social decline. This was paralleled by the spatial decoupling of the neighbourhood and the club's football stadium. Formerly positioned in the midst of Schalke-Nord, the Glückauf-Kampfbahn was FC S04's stadium, easily accessible for the local community who walked to the games by foot on Sundays after church (see Fig. 5). Today's Stadium, the 'Veltins-Arena' has its home on the 'Berger Feld' between Gelsenkirchen-Buer und Erle and therefore lost its ties to the neighbourhood (Broy, 2008, pp. 63-65).

The decline of the city, as well as the neighbourhood, was accompanied by a continuously negative representation in the media which fuelled the neighbourhood's and city's stigmatisation especially when Gelsenkirchen was ranked last in a study on "Where to live best" in Germany (ZDF-Zeit, n.y.). Whilst the neighbourhood is in severe decline and deprivation, the football clubs image remains positive and identity-creating for its supporters. On the neighbourhood level, image, as well as identity, are in a crisis and in need of action. To sum up the relation of the club and fan culture

Figure 05: Kampfbahn Glückauf during active times
(source: Zeit-Räume Ruhr, n.y.)

Figure 06: Entrance of the Kampfbahn Glückauf (source: Schalke 04, n.y.)

and the neighbourhood today, the journalist Kai Feldhaus states: „'Schalke' singen die Fans, ‚ist der geilste Club der Welt'. Ein Phänomen. Eine Religion. Nur eines nicht: ein Stadtteil von Gelsenkirchen. (…) Der Klub hat sich freigeschwommen. Die Stadt ging den Bach herunter." (Feldhaus, 2004).

A place of identity – The football stadium

The football stadium is not only a place for football games and other events, but it is also the home of the football club and for the fans a place of identification with their club. The stadium is further seen in relation to its location and the space surrounding it. In the history of Schalke 04 the first stadium, the 'Kampfbahn Glückauf', plays an important role, strongly connected to the club identity. As described in chapter 2.4, football and coal mining is intensely linked. It is not only visible in the stadium's name (the traditional miners greeting) but also through the fact that it was built on the ground that belonged in parts to the mine 'Consolidation' (Goch, 2006, pp. 34-35). Figure 6 shows the stadium's name that is combined with the coal mining symbol (hammer and chisel) and the coal miners greeting 'Glückauf', which was given to the stadium to its opening in 1928 (ibid., p. 37). From this day on the 'Kampfbahn' became an important meeting point for the community every Sunday for a home match (compare also Fig. 5).

Figure 07: Veltins-Arena
(source: Eventlocation Stadion)

In the 1970s, this first field lost its purpose when the club decided to construct its first new stadium, the 'Parkstadion', at 'Berger Feld' – a vacant green area between Gelsenkirchen-Buer and Erle (Broy, 2008, p. 63-65). When a new highway was constructed adjoining the stadium, it became too small and did not bear enough parking space anymore. Simultaneously, politicians made plans for a new large stadium representing the Ruhr area as a metropolitan area, which then became serious when Germany got awarded to host the Football World Championship in 1974 (Goch, 2006, p. 39f.). Infrastructural reasons led to the choice of building the 'Parkstadion' in the green centre of Gelsenkirchen between the districts of Buer and Erle, hence outside of the
neighbourhood of Schalke 04's origin Schalke-Nord. The new name symbolises the end of the coal and steel industry, starting a new, green era (ibid., p. 41). To sum up, the year of 1973, when the last Bundesliga match was held in Schalke-Nord and the 'Parkstadion' was opened, was not only a change of location, it was a cut in the club identity and a break with its historic roots.
But, not even 30 years later, the 'Arena auf Schalke' has been constructed in close proximity to the 'Parkstadion' and the name 'auf Schalke' reminds people again of the coal mining traditions when 'auf Zeche gehen' was the way to say 'going to work'. A few years later though, it was renamed to 'Veltins Arena' for financial reasons (Fig.7) (Goch, 2006, p.44).

Reasons to build another new stadium were the transformation of leisure behaviour as well as financial purposes. Already in the 1980s, first ideas came up to construct a multifunctional stadium, which would not only host football matches but also cultural events. The growing event culture was related to the changing audience, which consisted more and more of the middle and upper class, prominent guests, a higher number of women as well as sponsors who expected a higher comfort (Goch, 2006, p. 42f.). Offering a show and a greater experience than the simple watching of a foot-

ball game supported the transformation of football into a commercially successful enterprise community sport to an economy.

The spatial decoupling of the stadium from the neighbourhood going along with other transformations such as the slow detaching from the coal mining traditions and the transformed experience of watching a football game changed the historical and social context of the football identity. In the neighbourhoods of Schalke and Schalke-Nord, the local identity is seemingly not as much formed through the club identity anymore as it must have been during the 45 years of matches at the 'Glückauf-Kampfbahn'.

5.1.3 The football club and its local commitment

The previous chapter looked at the football club Schalke 04 and the local identity of Gelsenkirchen and Schalke through a historical lens. This chapter shall now shed light on the current situation, relying generally on the findings of the on-site observations and interviews. How is the community connected to the club today? Which role does football and the FC Schalke play in their life? How does the club's commitment to their spatial and historical roots look like?

As discussed in the previous chapter, the 'Glückauf-Kampfbahn' as Schalke 04's first stadium and therefore the most relevant place for fans has moved away from Schalke-Nord. Today, the 'Glückauf-Kampfbahn' is under preservation order and is being used by the club FC Teutonia. Even though it is the most important place of identification representing the origin of FC Schalke 04, it is fenced up and only sparsely open for the public. Though other places of identification with the football club remain as reminders of the past, unfortunately not in a good shape. The 'Schalker Markt', where once the championships were celebrated, is now a parking lot. The 'Schalker Meile', which was and in parts still is a place for fans to meet before and after the games, is for the most parts run down and does not invite many fans anymore. Though, a few traditional fan bars, the official clubhouse, a fan shop, offices of fan associations as well as photographs of former Schalke players, make good efforts to keep the neighbourhood as well as the football identity alive. Some of the displayed heroes of the club history once went in and out on the Schalker Meile because they had lived or grown up in Gelsenkirchen. Originally, many S04 players were recruited from the local context (Blecking, 2019, p. 26), such as Ernst Kuzorra, who played for Schalke from the 1920s until the 1940s, or Manuel Neuer, who started his career in the youth team of Schalke. To have a regional pool of players is one of the characteristics supporting local football identity, but is barely the case anymore today (Gómez-Bantel, 2016, p. 693).

To find out if and how inhabitants of Schalke and Schalke-Nord identify themselves with the football club today and to assess whether there is potential to (re-)establish football as identity in the neighbourhoods, a short street survey was conducted during a second field trip on May 21, 2019 (see Appendix A). Due to the small sample (=19) it cannot be evaluated as a representative, but it gives a first impression on the citizens' thinking.

Out of the 19 interviewees, 13 were residents of one of the two neighbourhoods. The majority were men, but all age groups between 16 and 75 are represented as well as seven different countries of origin, whereupon about half of the respondents are born

in Germany. It can be mentioned, that the language barrier, especially related to women, and bad weather conditions made it difficult to consult more people. In brief, three traits derive from the results: 1) Only very few people consider themselves as Schalke fans or see themselves related to the football club. 2) The knowledge about the club's origin in the neighbourhood is very limited or not present at all. 3) The majority of interviewees was not familiar with any kind of club engagement in the city or neighbourhood.

Open comments made clear though, that the residents see potential in the neighbourhood when investments were made or events were organised to support community-building.

Without putting too much weight on these statements, they are confirming the impressions we got during the first field phase when getting to know the districts: A 'Schalke identity' does not seem to be deep-seated.

Figure 08: Impressions of the visual support of FC Schalke 04 in Schalke-Nord (source: own photographs, 2019)

A second hypothesis from the beginning can be verified with a mapping exercise (see Fig. 8): During a walk through the streets of Schalke-Nord, all noticeable symbols related to FC Schalke 04 were counted and the results show that there is a spatial accumulation of Schalke emblems in the residential area on the west side of the Kurt-Schuhmacher Straße, whereas on the east side barely any coat of arms is visible. One the one hand, it shows that there is a vivid fan culture and on the other hand, it can be argued that there are also many residents who do not support the club or just not in an extensive manner to show it openly at their houses.

Another hypothesis, that in the extent of this research cannot clearly be proved, is, that in the western residential area mainly migrants are located and that especially ethnic majorities have fewer contact points with the local football club. Either, they were not interested in football at all, or they supported clubs from their home countries or such that are internationally better known. Some may not even know about the local club. The fact, that migrants are often financially and socially disadvantaged (specifically in Schalke and Schalke-Nord, see chapter 5.1.1), makes it often difficult to take part in a fan culture that includes regular visits to the stadium and buying fan utensils.

This argumentation underpins the theory of a lack of identity in Schalke and further argues for the necessity of fostering social cohesion. One organisation who is willing to restore the link between the football club and the neighbourhood and therefore wants to spark a process of identity development through football is the Foundation Schalker Markt. It has officially started its work in 2019 and their general theme is ‘retaining traditions - shaping future’ (‘Tradition bewahren – Zukunft gestalten’). Focusing on the relevance of football for Gelsenkirchen, the foundation has social aims as well as the target to stimulate urban development by transforming the built environment. A starting point, which can only be seen as symbolic, is the installation of blue illumination at the Glückauf-Kampfbahn, which is going to be continued with further measures to redevelop the place as a preserved monument and new meeting point. In particular, it is the aim to bring the (former) places of identification back to life and build a new Schalke museum in the neighbourhood in order to attract Schalke fans as well as to give the neighbourhood the ‘blue Schalke identity’ (Stiftung Schalker Markt, 2019).

The aims of the foundation can be evaluated as very ambitious. Following Gómez-Bantel’s argumentation, the public commitment of the Club (here in form of a foundation that is in terms of its identity and values related to the club) to its origins, is a key factor in linking the club and local identity (Gómez-Bantel, 2016, p. 693). Though, it has to be taken into account that a neighbourhood, its community and the values of the residents cannot be shaped only from the outside. Pro-active involvement of citizens is necessary. One stakeholder of the foundation Schalker Markt, who is deeply intertwined with the FC Schalke 04, not only as a fan but also as an of ambassador of the Schalke Myth, is Oliver Kruschinski. During our explorations on-site and in the interviews it became clear that Mr. Kruschinski functions as a connector between the most important stakeholders of Schalke and Schalke-Nord (the urban planning office Gelsenkirchen, the neighbourhood initiative ‘Schalke blüht auf’, the FC Schalke 04, the St. Josef Church with its priest and committed community worker Ingo Mattauch and the district office Schalke), which are necessary to revitalise the neighbourhood in terms of social and economic development. What it needs additionally, is broader

participation of and connection to the residents in the neighbourhood following a socially cohesive approach.

Further engagement linked to the club comes for example from the following associations and foundations: The Supporters Club e.V., the fan initiative 'Schalker Faninitiative e.V., the 'Ultras Gelsenkirchen' and the foundation 'Schalke Hilft' (Schalke Helps), which is directly initiated by the FC Schalke 04. These organisations include social work and projects, initiatives against racism amongst other purposes. This way they add good value to the social and inclusive dimension of the football culture. However, the projects hardly include individuals who are not fans of Schalke 04 and naturally, do not focus on a specific spatial dimension but on a fan base and a national and international level.

To sum up, the relation of the football club and the local communities of Schalke and Schalke-Nord can hardly be measured objectively. But, after analysing various aspects of identity, as the places of identification and the sense of belonging of the residents to the football culture, it can be said that the strong bond of Schalke 04 to the neighbourhood of the past, is not existent anymore. It is to be questioned if it is possible to reawaken the local identity through football by placing measures from the outside and if this can also resolve the lack of social cohesion.

5.2 Liverpool, Anfield and FC Liverpool

> *"Liverpool has "long been associated in popular consciousness with football, a strident working class culture [and] urban deprivation"*
> *(Boyle, 1995, p.38)*

In the 19th century, Liverpool was a striving city with its docks and harbour as the main industry and common source of identity for the working class – the equivalent to coal mining in Gelsenkirchen. Unlike the multi-ethnic and constant migration experienced by the Ruhr Area, Northern England and Liverpool are mainly object of Irish inmigration. From the mid-1850s onwards, the famine-driven Irish migration profoundly altered the socio-economic structure of many Northern English cities, especially Liverpool. The majority of the migrants who stayed in the city were amongst the poorest and mostly low-skilled. They were greeted with despise and discrimination by the host community. (Boyle, 1995, pp. 39-41). Despite the ready availability of workforce, the first signs of decline in the harbour became apparent in the early 20th century already. When Britain's trade patterns shifted from America and Africa towards mainland Europe in the post-war era, "Liverpool found itself on the wrong side of the country" (Couch & Cocks, 2010, p.8).

By the 1960s, deep-sea passenger liners no longer operated from Liverpool which left the city with cross-river traffic and ferry services to Ireland (ibid.). Along with this development, Liverpool suffered severely during the 1970s and 1980s from massive deindustrialisation, economic restructuring, population decline and urban sprawl. Unemployment in the city had reached over 25% by the mid-1980s (Boyle, 1995, p. 71). The city was no longer perceived as a thriving city, but it became a place struggling with its loss of importance and identity, increasing poverty and deprivation (Couch & Cocks, 2010, p. 9). Whilst other cities managed to adopt and rehabilitate, Liverpool declined further. Despite the development funds the city managed to attract from the

Figure 09: Anfield is densely populated with pre 1919 terraced (source: LABM, 2019)

1990s onwards (Rink, Haase, Bernt, Großmann, 2010, p. 22), it was still ranked the 4th most deprived local authority area on the Multiple Deprivation Index (IMD)[1] in 2015 after being ranked 1st in the IMD 2004, 2007 and 2010 (Liverpool City Council, 2015, p. 4). Within Liverpool, the most deprived ward is Everton, the neighbourhood adjacent to Anfield which was ranked the 5th most deprived ward (ibid.).

5.2.1 Population structure and socio-economic conditions in Anfield

Anfield is an inner urban neighbourhood in the Northern part of the city which was regarded as a rather appealing suburb of Liverpool in the first part of the 20th century. With employment opportunities available at the waterfront and other industries in close proximity, it was a sought-after residential area for the working and middle class (see Fig. 9 for visual impressions). Yet along with the overall decline of the city, Anfield suffered from deindustrialization, the restructuring of maritime employment and port trade, population loss, a weakening local economy, dilapidating housing stock and a general disconnection from the thriving parts of the city. This went so far that by the end of the 20th century Anfield was ranked amongst the most deprived neighbourhoods in the whole of England (Southern, 2014, pp. 201-202). Deprivation is accumulated in the northern parts of the city (see Fig. 10.).

The statistical data provided by the City Council reveal that Anfield is below the city and national average in each and every category assessed (see footnote on IMD), except for crime. The average annual income in Anfield in 2017 was only £22.444

[1] The Multiple Deprivation Index (IMD) takes 7 factors into account: income deprivation, employment deprivation, health deprivation, education and training deprivation, crime, living environment deprivation & barriers to housing and services (Liverpool City Council, 2015, p. 2).

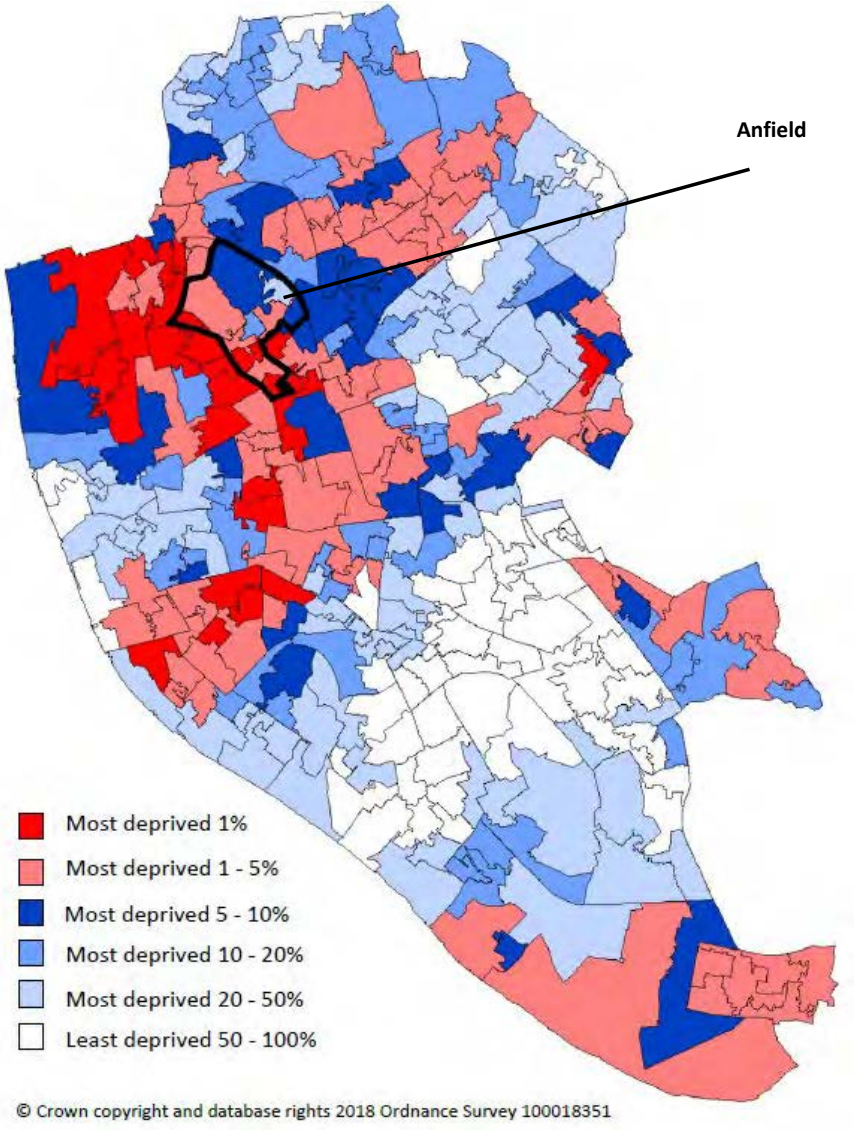

Figure 10: Multiple deprivation within Liverpool in reference to national rankings (source: Liverpool City Council, 2018, p. 5)

(£28,294 Liverpool, £37,476 national average), child poverty rates are alarmingly high with 36,6% (2015), and in 2011 more than one third of the population in Anfield aged 16 and older had no job qualification (Liverpool City Council, 2018, p. 2). With 6,0%, the number of those who claim benefits due to unemployment in the age group 16 to 64 are three times as high as the national average (2,0%) and almost twice as high as the Liverpool average (3,5%) in 2018 (ibid. p. 8). Furthermore, Anfield's residents are older in comparison to the whole population of Liverpool (see Fig. 11). The age groups 40 to 64 are more prominent in Anfield whilst especially the younger generation of 20 to 34-year olds are underrepresented in the neighbourhood (ibid.).

Liverpool has a total population of 466.514 inhabitants whereof 14.510 live in Anfield (Liverpool City Council, 2014). Unlike the high share of non-German ethnic groups in Schalke and Schalke-Nord (see ch. 5.1.1), the white British and Irish are the clearly dominating majority in Anfield. Only 7% (see Fig. 12 left) of the local population be

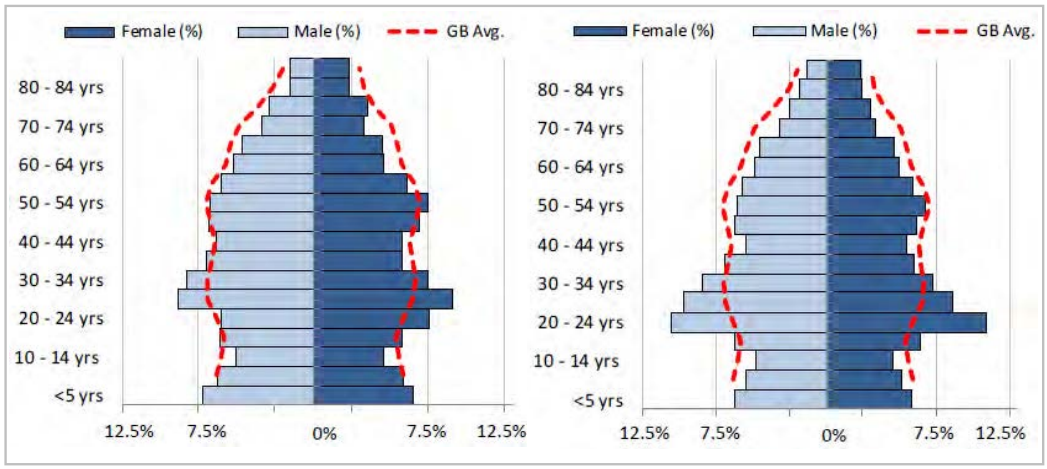

Figure 11: Age structure in Anfield (left) and Liverpool (right) in 2016 (source: Liverpool City Council, 2018, p. 3)

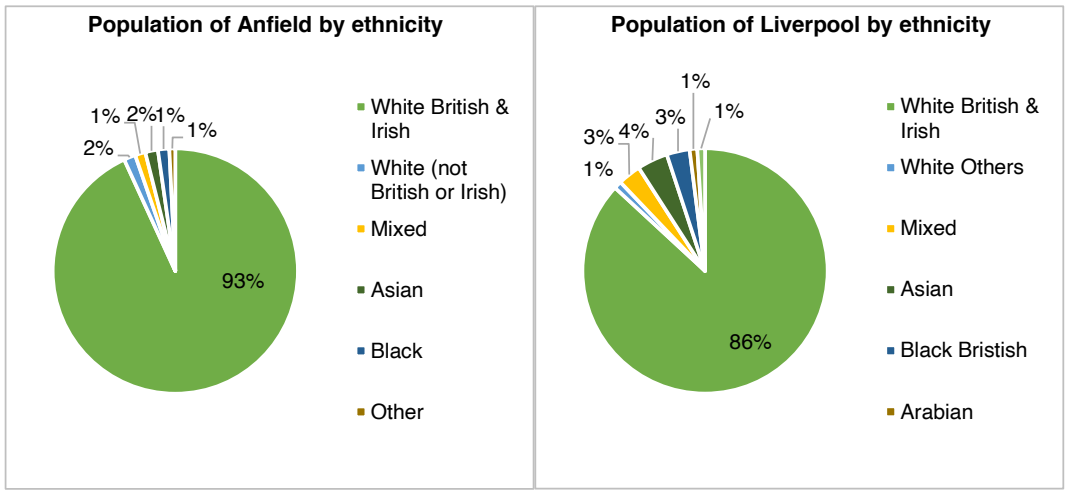

Figure 12: Population by ethnicity in Anfield and Liverpool (source: Liverpool City Council, 2014; based on census data 2011)

long to other ethnic groups. On city level, this share is twice as high with 14% (see Fig. 12 right). This ethnic homogeneity in Anfield, in contrast to the multi-ethnicity and high fluctuation rates in Schalke and Schalke-Nord (see ch. 5.1.1), might have an effect on how easily social cohesion and local and social identity can be created and obtained within the neighbourhoods.

5.2.2 Local identity and the roots of a football club – FC Liverpool

> *"The football has grown as the city has lost its identity, when I was growing up it was a very important port. This has declined and in seeking an identity we've grasped onto football because we haven't got a seaport anymore."*
> *(Boyle, 1995, p. 83; citing a focus group participant)*

During the 1880s and 1890s, professional football became established as a regular mass spectator sport in England, and Liverpool was one of the epicentres from where it emerged (Kennedy & Collins, 2006, p. 762). Unlike the mining background and tradition of many German football clubs, in Britain and Scotland the development of football and football clubs was closely linked to various church organisations. Churches perceived the sport as a valuable recreation activity and a way to install moral values into the newly emerging working class of the 19th century to "keep them away from other less respectable forms of popular culture" (Boyle, 1995, p. 52). The working class was the section of the population which has historically been closely linked to football in Britain, providing not only a majority of active players but also paying spectators (Boyle, 1995, p. 51; Southern, 2014, p. 199). As Kennedy & Collins (2006) note: "By the 1890s football clubs had become important foci of urban community identity, evoking a loyal following from the mainly male fanbase." (p. 762). Club identity, club rivalry, competitions and matches with mass spectatorship became vehicles for local and social identity (Boyle, 1995, p. 52).

Liverpool as a city is associated not only with football, but also music – both offered an identity to the city and the promise of social upward mobility for some (Boyle, 1995, p. 86). When Liverpool became synonymous with deprivation, crime and poverty, football and FC Liverpool club identity have proven to be a substitute for the loss of the working-class identity, especially at the peak of the structural crisis in the 1970s and 1980s. Ironically at the time when the city was at its lowest point, its football club was strikingly successful. This offered the Liverpudlians, who had hardly reasons for that otherwise, an object of pride, self-esteem and a sense of belonging (Boyle, 1995, p. 72).

> *"The city seems to have seized on football as its last living totem of greatness. Football is what Liverpool is now famous for, because the real functions of Liverpool have largely disappeared"*
> *(Ian Jack, journalist; cited by Boyle 1995, p. 72).*

The origins of FC Liverpool

The origins of both major football clubs in Liverpool go back to the year 1878 when Everton FC was founded as small chapel club with its original grounds situated in the neighbourhood Anfield. John Houlding, once Lord Mayor of Liverpool, was the driving force of the club. His conflicts and disputes with the Everton Board let to the separation of the club in 1892. From this emerged two local football clubs - FC Liverpool and Everton FC (Kennedy & Collins, 2006, p. 762; Boyle, 1995, p. 86). As a result, Houlding then had the playing ground in Anfield, but no team. He recruited players from Scotland, many of them Irish migrants, and established the FC Liverpool (Boyle, 1995, p. 53). As Houghson, Moore, Spaaij and Maguire (2016) phrase it, "English professional football has rarely been rooted in the locality, with football fans always accepting the fact that their teams will be composed largely of mercenaries" (p. 21). Though despite this lack in locality, football always served as a major source of social and local identity in Liverpool. And this does not only apply for football fans and club supporters; there is a general awareness of the centrality of football for the city's image. And since identities are often bound up with a place, the football stadium in Anfield is of crucial importance for the football culture in the city given that it conveys a sense of tradition and history (Boyle, 1995, pp. 82-83).

Figure 13: Anfield Stadium in the 1920s
(source: stadiumguide n.y.)

A place of identity – The football stadium

Unlike the playing ground of FC Schalke, Gelsenkirchen, the FC Liverpool's Anfield Stadium still remains in the midst of the neighbourhood on its original grounds. Though this is the result of a period of disputed decisions and plans on expanding and relocating the stadium. This has proven to be a challenge for the relationship of the football club and the local community (see ch. 5.2.3).

In 2000, the football club announced plans to construct a new stadium in Stanley Park, 100m of their existing grounds in Anfield. This announcement was met with disapproval from the local residents but as soon as these tensions were relieved and the formal planning application submitted in 2003, cost concerns hindered the realisation of the expansion project. Given the piling debts of the club, the new stadium was deemed "prohibitive" (Southern, 2014, p. 203). Instead of moving away from Anfield, the new club owners decided in 2012 to redevelop and expand the existing stadium. With a major investment of £114m the main stand was reconstructed to increase its capacity to roughly 54.000 (stadiumguide, n.y.; Conn, 2018, see Fig. 14).

The value and importance of the stadium for the club supporters is mirrored in the formation of the Liverpool Supporters Unit (LSU) and their application in 2013 to designate the Anfield Stadium as an Asset of Community Value in accordance to the Localism Act 2011 (Southern, 2014, pp. 195-196). This means that the Liverpool fans will be able to purchase the stadium according to the Community Right to Bid if the club's owners decide to sell it. As motivation for this – successful – listing application the club supporters state: "Safeguarding the long term future of the club is vitally important to us … It also ties in with the Union belief that football clubs are of vital im

Figure 14: Anfield Stadium prior and after the main stand expansion (source: Houghton, 2017, Liverpool Echo)

portance to their local community and are best protected in the hands of their supporters" (Spirits of Shankly, 2013).

5.2.3 The football club and its local commitment

The football club and the local community had a tense relationship for the last few decades. The club started intervening in the neighbourhood in the 1990s when stadium expansion plans were made. In order to expand the stadium, more space was needed. But space was limited given the location of the stadium in a densely populated residential area. The club's intention was to buy up houses, e.g. in Lothair Road adjacent to the stadium, and leave them empty afterwards in order to make demolition procedures easier. Following this practice, the club became the owner of 10 houses alone in Lothair Road from January 1996 until March 2000 (Conn, 2013). Along with the deterioration of houses and streets, fuelled by the conscious intervention of the football club, rates in crime and vandalism in the neighbourhood rose as well as anti-social behaviour. This fuelled anger and resentment amongst the local residents who blame the club for not openly communicating its profit interest-driven intentions (ibid.). Howard Macpherson, a local resident, states: "The area started to decline in the early 1990s with the city's economic problems. But Liverpool football club accelerated the decline, by leaving good houses empty and boarded up. It wasn't a natural decline; it was engineered" (cited by Conn, 2013). This procedure was briefly interrupted by the relocation plans of the stadium, though as soon as these plans were dismissed the club continued to buy houses on Anfield Road. Patrick Duggan, also a local resident, states in reference to FC Liverpool's hymn: "I have always been a Liverpool fan (…) they play 'You'll Never Walk Alone' but they have left their neighbours to walk alone for years" (cited by Conn, 2013).

Though more recently, along with the redevelopment scheme which is being realised in Anfield since 2013 (see ch. 5.2.4), the football club is trying to make amends. The

"Red Neighbours" community scheme is one project initiated by the club to tackle food poverty, improve educational opportunities, offer support for the elderly community and encourage physical activity community. Young people are a main target group of this programme which is a cooperation of FC Liverpool staff, local residents, local schools and community groups around the Anfield area and other key stakeholders (Liverpool FC, 2017). Ann O'Bryne, Liverpool's deputy mayor says that "people are still annoyed with the club after what they suffered but the club has stepped up. They have built a relationship; tensions are still there but not that pathological hatred of the club" (Conn, 2018).

5.2.4 A glimpse at the Anfield Regeneration Project

In 2013, Joe Anderson became appointed mayor of Liverpool and identified Anfield as a priority area. Shortly after that, the Anfield Regeneration Project was announced with the goal to revitalise the neglected and deprived neighbourhood (LABM, 2019). This £260m redevelopment scheme was set up by a pioneering cooperation of the Liverpool City Council and the football club FC Liverpool alongside the public housing agency 'Your Housing Group' and the private developer Keepmoat. Its primary target is the neglected housing stock alongside improvements in public space. A crucial part, and reason for the football club's involvement, is the redevelopment of the stadium (Southern, 2014, p. 205; see Fig. 15). So far, more than 600 new houses have been constructed and roughly 600 existing homes refurbished. The establishment of Walton Breck Road as the new high street is the last phase of the entire scheme (see Fig. 16; Houghton, 2018; Regenerating Liverpool, 2017).

One priority in this regard is it to actively incorporate the existing businesses in Anfield. The redevelopment plans seem to be met with overall approval amongst the residents (Houghton, 2017; Regenerating Liverpool, 2017).

This official development scheme is accompanied by a community-based initiative called 'Homebaked'. Organised as a Community Land Trust (CLT), founded in 2012 and co-owned and managed by local residents, Homebaked began by saving the bakery, formerly known as Mitchell's, on Oakfield Road. They now supply the famous 'Scouse Pie' to the football club on match days (see Fig. 17).

Proclaimed goal of Homebaked it it to reinvigorate Anfield "brick by brick and loaf by loaf" (Humphries, 2018; LABM; 2019). It all started from a sense of anger and despair felt by local residents and their determination to not let their neighbourhood be destroyed by neglect (Pugh, 2017). Homebaked has further plans to develop and the reinvest all their profits in Anfield by providing housing, establishing an urban farming project, educational trainings etc. (Humpries, 2018; Pugh, 2017). Carolyn Starr, Homebaked CLT's project manager, feels the urge to highlight that "this is not about gentrification of Anfield. It's all about working with the community and evolving ideas" (cited by Pugh, 2017).

According to Grodach & Ehrenfeucht (2016, p. 6) there are six dimensions to urban regeneration or revitalization: human capital, social-cultural equity, the built environment, place attractiveness, economic competitiveness and environmental sustainability. The official regeneration scheme under the umbrella of the Liverpool City Council focusses mainly on interventions in public space and place attractiveness around the

Figure 15: Anfield Stadium expansion plans and public space intervention (source: stadiumguide, n.y.)

Figure 16: Vision for public space and high street in proximty to Anfield Stadium (source: Regenerating Liverpool, 2017)

stadium, the built environment via housing refurbishment and construction and the local economy by promoting a new high street whilst encouraging former businesses to stay and cooperate. The Homebaked initiative complements the official planning scheme by community-led actions, educational offers and their general non-profit policy.

What can we take from this for Schalke?

As established already, the neighbourhoods Anfield and Schalke are in similar states of deprivation, lacking social integrity and investments. And both are set apart from other neighbourhoods of this kind by their strong link to football. Deriving from this common starting point, looking at the redevelopment scheme of Anfield, which is in action since 2013, seemed a promising opportunity to develop future visions for Schalke. The key to success in the case of Anfield seems to be the unplanned coincidence and synergies of the official redevelopment scheme set into action by the City Council and the community-led renewal model Homebaked. Theoretically, both have the potential to be replicated. Although this is clearly highly dependent on the context – in the case of the Homebaked bakery and Anfield, the football club, the pie-cooperation and the local community create a unique environment. But as similar as the preconditions in Anfield and Schalke are, the neighbourhoods differ in two aspects which are closely related and of immense importance: the location of the football stadium and the degree of the commitment of the football club. The location of the Anfield stadium in the middle of the neighbourhood was the main incentive for the FC Liverpool to make a major investment in Anfield and take responsibility for its local origins. In Schalke, the spatial decoupling of the stadium as main place of identification and neighbourhood might be too big of a gap to cross, spatially, symbolically and financially.

6. Discussion

Liverpool is almost twice as big as Gelsenkirchen and has a different status in terms of international recognition. But even though both cities differ in many regards, they display a similar historic development and evolution. With the beginning industrialisation, coal mining and maritime employment established themselves as main industries in Gelsenkirchen and Liverpool and served as strong objects of identification, especially for the newly emerging working class. In the 1970s and 1980s, the Ruhr Area and Northern England were hit hard by structural change and deindustrialisation. The inability to adjust quickly to these changing conditions started a downward spiral of poverty and deprivation, both in Liverpool and Gelsenkirchen. The main source of identity, the industries, broke apart and left a vacuum behind. In the case of Liverpool, the success of FC Liverpool partly managed to fill that void. This surprising success of the football club in Liverpool in the 1980s and the revival of local pride and football identity was paralleled by an opposite development in Schalke. The relocation of the FC Schalke 04 from ‘Glückaufkampfbahn’ to the newly constructed ‘Parkstadion’ in 1973 was not only a clear spatial cut but also a symbolic cut: the new name broke with the traditional connection of the club to the neighbourhood Schalke and its mining history. Thereby, an important place of identification was lost and the bond of football club and neighbourhood never re-established. This development has to be seen as part of the general commercialisation and globalisation of football. The initial target group of the sport, the working class, is being priced out of the game. Though at the same time, the traditional working class is on the verge of extinction today as

Figure 17: Football fans at Homebaked bakery near the stadium on a match day (source: photograph by Mark Loudon in Pugh, 2017

modernisation and technology reshape industries and replace this social milieu. Within today's pluralised societies, there is little fundament for a local identity as that of a local football club any longer, especially in the context of growing diversity and multiethnicity.

The neighbourhoods we focussed on, Schalke and Anfield, are in severe states of deprivation and neglect today. Both rank amongst the most deprived in their countries and are heavily stigmatised. Severe population decline and rising unemployment rates had a negative impact on social cohesion in these environments of the overall decline. In the case of Schalke and Schalke-Nord, this is more apparent than in Anfield: its multiethnicity paired with a high fluctuation of residents and the socioeconomic profile of the neighbourhood proves to be a challenge for strong community bonds and a common identity which has to take multiple cultural identities into account. In contrast to that, Anfield consists of a rather homogenous white British and Irish population. Though history has proven that establishing social cohesion and a common sense of identity is possible despite ethnic diversity: football and industrial work used to fulfil a bridging function in this regard. With the economic and social shifts that accompanied the structural change in the second half of the 20th century and the growing distance of the football club and the neighbourhood, this common ground was lost in Schalke. The result is a low level of club identity within the neighbourhood today. Football culture and identity rely on legends and myths of local heroes and successes from the past. Some places of identification such as 'Glückauf-Kampfbahn' and 'Schalker Markt' still remain, but they are not filled with a strong sense of identity any longer. The attempts of the foundation 'Schalker Markt' to change that by enforcing a renewed football identity need to be critically assessed – it is unclear who is to profit from these developments, football tourists or the local residents.

As established prior in this report, local identity is inseparably linked to the local community who creates and shapes traditions and values in adaption to its environment. This means that local identity cannot be invoked from the outside, as attempted by the foundation (given that the local residents are the target group of their intentions). The regeneration project in Anfield highlights that. The official regeneration scheme focusses on improvements of the built environment and living conditions, which is crucial in terms of providing a basis for local pride and a sense of belonging. But it is the community-led and -born Homebaked initiative which managed to channel and spur local activism and reinvoke a sense of responsibility and cohesion. Activism from the inside along external inputs seems to be a successful composition in Anfield to revitalise the deprived and neglected neighbourhood and create a common feeling of belonging amongst its residents. But even though the football club is involved in this redevelopment procedure, football identity is not in the focus of the project. A replication of this scheme in Schalke seems not impossible but it would demand major investments and careful consideration of local conditions and encouragement of community-led action alongside it.

7. Conclusions / Recommendations

In reference to our research question, it can be concluded that renewed efforts of a football club to strengthen the relation to its neighbourhood of origin and its residents by investing in the social and technical infrastructure can serve as a basis to reestablish a common sense of identity and foster social cohesion in a context of current deprivation. Nevertheless, it needs to be clarified that this common local and social identity might be a different one than a football identity; or at least it needs to take a different form than the traditional working-class football identity. To foster social cohesion in the neighbourhood and establish a common identity based on football, it needs the active participation of the residents. As it was briefly mentioned before, children play a key role in constructing and continuing identities. Hence, they should be included in the sport and the general identity creating process. Though especially with the background of multiple ethnicities and a rich variety of cultural identities in Schalke, the question is, how people who do not identify themselves by football as a sport or the football club at all, could be included in this. Investments in Schalke which are directed at the reestablishment of objects and symbols of club identification can be a starting point, for example, to encourage community projects, but need to be considered with care if it is the local community to profit from it.

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04 I Public space

An assessment of success criteria for existing and potential public spaces.

Karoline Brüske, Michael Cocciola, & Philip June

"The movement of humans and non-humans in public spaces is not random but guided by habit, purposeful orientation, and the instructions of objects and signs.

The repetition of these rhythms results in the conversion of public space into a patterned ground that proves essential for actors to make sense of the space, their place within it, and their way through it…"

(Ash Amin, 2008:12)

1. Introduction

The study of public space is an ever-expanding field that must navigate continuously evolving understandings of the way in which space mediates social interaction. Much of urban research related to public space is preoccupied with assessing quality in order to redress poorly understood issues or improve on future iterations, as there is a general consensus that public space is among the most essential functional elements of the city as a unit. This research aims to best evaluate, from an academic perspective, the existing conditions and potential for success of public, open space within the Schalke and Schalke Nord neighborhoods of Gelsenkirchen. Investigations regarding the area suggest that there is a strong desire to improve the quality and serviceability of public amenity. Given the mixture of potential and existing spaces, taking stock of the existing conditions, through a third party, research based approach may assist stakeholders in moving forward. The research was informed by a field study, undertaken over one week within the locality in which time observation and discussion featured prominently. This experience and knowledge informed subsequent research into the rich, existing academic canon concerning public space.

The following chapter will outline the methodology and theoretical basis for the evaluation of public space. This is aimed to best serve stakeholders in the pursuit of revitalization, engagement and asset management. Sites were selected for the analysis based on the existing (current) use as a public space or the identified potential based on the existing attributes. The intention of the evaluation model is to more thoroughly understand the current state of public space use and create additional resources to aid future investment, design or community consultation. A diagrammed, modeling system was adapted to display the outcomes of the research as a means to provide clear and concise data across the multiple assessment criteria; this allows for the visual representation of values and/or observable patterns for discussion.

2. Academic Context

Cities in Europe have always served the public's interest. Smaller populations and towns throughout history have utilized space to deliberate political, economic, cultural needs. (Madanipour 2004:2; Glotz 1929; Ward-Perkins 1974). The public sphere is now, in 2019, " 'metatopical', i.e., it goes beyond physical spaces, and is established through a variety of arenas that may never converge in space or time" (Taylor 1995:191). What does this mean for our current public squares and meeting points in the cities? Academia might suggest its time to evaluate and re-integrate them to the modern day.

Henri Lefebvre (1991:75-79) is perhaps one of the most quoted and referenced authors regarding space. He discusses the notion of cities and social spaces as either a combination of works (absolute) or production (abstract). He is in fact critical, as further outlined by Molotch (1993:890) of the fact that urban planning has a heavy hand in the abstraction of space and the removal of absolute or organically produced space. Lefebvre who had written about the rights to the city, a notion which has echoed through many European social movements championed the influential forces of the working class, economically marginalized and increasingly physically marginalized. Which implied "the right to influence the form and development of the city and the meaning of place (that is, the right to a voice) as well as the right to transgress bourgeois forms of urban life and to rebel against the rationalized and alienated patterns of everyday life" (Sandercock, 2005:437-439) This begs the question whether organized planning mechanisms can construct enduring spaces within the city, or more critically whether the production of space - the influencers, design and intentions; can be favorable to those it shall serve. In a modern, 21st century setting these influencing forces travel vast distances, encapsulate global messages and emphasizes the largest voices.

Thus, the compounding force of globalization presents new challenges and opportunities for the production of said spaces. Popular culture, religion, food, data and electronic infrastructures have connected populations at a level which far exceeds the urban environment prior to the 1980s (Gaffikin and Morrissey 2011:35- 40; Cairncross, 1997). Neighborhoods, as the final frontier for top down global forces, still ooze with optimism as hostile landscapes are cleansed and reinfused with middle class sensibility. This works as an 'annihilating' influence of the aforementioned absolute spaces and reflects a stern appraisal of the available resources – a deliberation on the effectiveness of public spaces in increasingly privatized, aesthetically ambiguous societies (Smith 2005:12).

As noted by Gaffikin and Morrissey (2011:70), "as the world integrates there is, paradoxically, an enhanced valorization on that which differentiates." It is theorized that public spaces should reflect closely the human condition and the human question… which Ramoneda (2010:21-22) suggests is in fact a question of recognition. He goes on to question the role of neoliberalism and totalitarianism in the disappearance of society in the urban realm, enabled by the triumph of money as the normative capacity. Zukin (2009:6) believes that a city loses its soul when its 'continuality' is broken. It is possible that the two observations of society and a city's soul are closely entangled. The effects of this breakdown occur first at a neighborhood level and can be seen clearly in the closing of local businesses, dramatic housing market fluctuations or the upgrading of one's local coffee shop (or its closure). These implications in the spatial composition of cities are seen and felt in a metaphysical sense also. Behav-

iors and patterns through the public realm are also broken…and in time reestablished, for better or worse. We see this with the automobile dominating the 20th century, redistributing space for pedestrians, movement patterns and essentially 'the life between buildings' (Gehl 2011; Zukin 2009:6-12).

Publicness is a difficult word to define, as it denotes so many meanings in an urban setting. Having such an integral word to the urban vocabulary and the spatial aspirations be so diverse serves as a weakness for the scope of this report – therefore the following definitions and literature has been taken to form what will be the adapted variation for the research scope. Madanipour (2013:22-24) outlines several definitions presented within the literature, with the most poignant starting point being that; Public can imply a political entity which represents the interests of the community as a whole (Gove 1976; Brown 1993). This is important as the influence and dynamic the 'public sector' has on public space is changing. Additionally, the noun 'public' can simply be defined as a group of people who share a particular interest or who have something in common.' (Crowther, 1995; Makins, 1998). Marston (1990) as referenced in the works of Staeheli and Mitchell (2007:792-794) asks bigger questions of the term 'public' by engaging in the theorization of questions such as: who are the people? Is the aforementioned government inclusive or exclusive of the public and what then is their position within the public realm…? This opens philosophical questions regarding the lines between public and private contributions to the idea of publicness, which extend beyond the intention of this paper. Whilst the role of private and public contributions can and often has been discussed in the literature.

Varna (2014) sees the public and indeed publicness in her own evaluation research as having two levels; conceptual and practical. *Conceptual* is encapsulating that of an academic review, in fact the very same conceptualization we aim to achieve here; whilst *practical* is the individual interpretations which can be perceived and observed (Varna 2014). Staeheli and Mitchell (2007:799-801) outline that the academic perspective pays particular attention and perpetuate a… "publicity (for) spaces that are open, struggled over and in, and that are sites, or foundations, for identity formation, community building, and social cohesion." It is then easy to understand the dynamic nature of the term publicness on this basis, just as people in social situations struggle, the public is a reflection or perhaps even more plainly the realization of this contestation.

To continue Varna's (2011) explanation of publicness, Figure 01 best visualizes one of the favored evaluation models for public space research. Kohn (2004:9) as referenced in Varna's (2011) discussion states that ""Most of the places that we share with strangers are neither public nor private but exist in a grey area between the two."

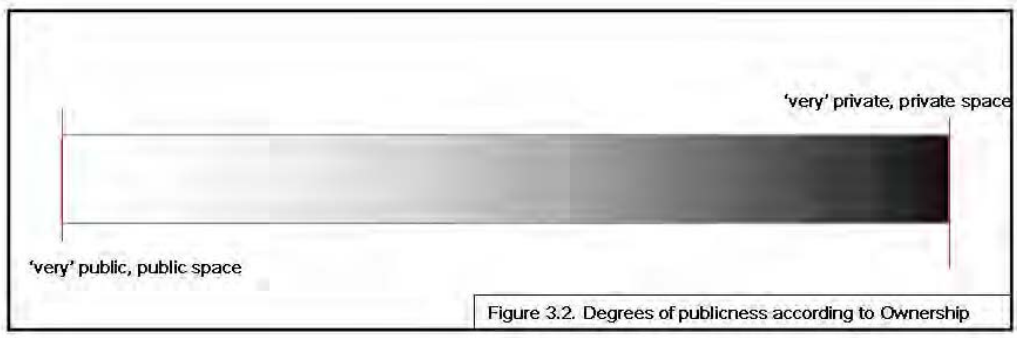

Figure 01 - Degrees of Publicness according to ownership (Varna 2011:55).

When evaluating publicness this recognition is critical. The perfect space, which serves 100% of the population simultaneously cannot be the responsibility of a single public space, for that is a disservice to the diversity enthralling our cities. Donahue (1989:3-8) discusses the inefficiency of public sector in achieving public goals and the balancing between private and public intervention in both financing and performance. This raises questions of intent, targeted demographics and subsequent segregation… which can prevent dispersal or foster solidarity for a localized population (Peach 1996).

As private sector investment rolls out into the physical environment, there is a securing of the public realm which is occurring simultaneously. Cities and neighborhoods must balance traditional, organic public spaces with the public spaces supplanted within mega structures and commercial courtyards. This need for balance marks a decline in urban liberalism (Sorkins 1992:156).

Kohn (2004:62) examined impacts on both public spaces and the public sphere in an American context, and has identified that democratic theorists who resist privatizing public space are misplacing their concerns on the value of free speech, rather than the spatial parameters which they claim to serve. Privatization does not immediately equate to reduced accessibility or publicness. Spaces can serve both interests simultaneously, which is the ideal objective of any neutral, or grey space configuration as demonstrated in Figure 01. Privatized spaces can provide free access, meaning spaces legally open and accessible to all without permission of anyone else. If permission must be granted, it must be done so neutrally and without prejudice (Lessig 2001; Németh 2012:813).

As Goffman (2008:22) states, “public order (at) its face (value) has to do with normative regulation of this accessibility.” If this is not possible, and the publicness is reduced intentionally or subsequently based on any of the aforementioned inputs, there can be, as Ceccato (2016) discusses, lacking symbolic significance within the public space – as both an arena of peace, integration and when necessary expressionism and contestation.

Naturally, this contestation of public space is deeply ingrained in most research of publicness (Sibley, 1995; Jacobs, 1992). Malone (2002) discusses the characteristics of open and closed spaces, looking at elements of design and often focusing on boundaries. Boundaries present barriers of entry for someone. Boundaries are everywhere in the public realm, often a combination of physical and subconscious markers for when one place ends and another begins – they are intended to segregate at varying capacities (Jacobs 1992).

Control is yet another consideration in the assessment of public space. Public space offers a participatory landscape, requiring human action with an attachment of values, feelings and visuals. Yet it is this very engagement which attracts an examination of control as a critical element (Francis 1989:148).

As mentioned already, there are many contestations, stakeholders and geographic confines which all influence the control and social hierarchy within public spaces. Previous discussions regarding loitering have been examined by Skogen (2006), Armborst, D’Oca, Theodore and Gold (2017) as a marker of control in public space. Loitering is difficult to define term across municipalities and even more obscure concept to regulate – consistently. Thus, the judgement and localized definition of loiter-

ing is in its essence a form of control. Mitchell (1997:312) scorns public officials and policy makers in their pursuit of legislative controls within public space. The sacrifice of true freedoms in the pursuit of aesthetic and middle-class recognition. Twenty years later, Mitchell (2017) revisits the public spaces (parks specifically) with the same concerns under similar conditions: “pressurizing forces of order, quality-of-life and protest policing, and privatization (in its many guises) …” (Mitchell 2017: 507) which create inauthentic space.

These pressurizing forces come fundamentally from a dominant value system, as theorized by Malone (2002: 161-162). She describes the fickle nature of control and the public opinion as a ‘wobbling’ embodiment of the current ‘flavor of the month.’ This choice visualization represents a notable perspective regarding the capricious opinion held by some researchers of control, which can be observed throughout history as an inconsistent model of authoritarian evolution in public space (Buck-Morss 1986)

In 2019, one can observe the current wobbles of control exerted across many Western cities – surveillance. Cornish and Clarke (2003) outline formal surveillance, passive surveillance and place managers as some key assertions of control. These are more traditional, socially oriented methods for defending spaces – which are still of high relevance to implementing control tactics.

Spatial and design elements, naturally, have a strong influence on the behavior within a space. Shaw (2015) talks in a transferable context about the spatial relationships amidst light and darkness. The paper discusses the transformation of space – perceptual shrinkage, low visibility and altered pathways are elements which see people change their behavior, in comparison to illuminated periods of use. To build further on this Shach-Pinsly, Fisher-Gewirtzman, and Burt (2011) evaluated visual exposure and openness. The examination of subjective tolerances for the two variables was observed. Additionally, variables such as age, gender, intent and time all influence how much people wish to be seen and to see. Those who rely more heavily on public spaces, such as the youth and homeless (as prominent examples only) have a stronger visibility in these spaces – their interactions are less flexible and more visible (than often desired) as their dependence on the amenity is more urgent (Malone, 2002:162).

The research paper by Yavuz and Welch (2009:2493-2494) indicates that women have a higher level of anxiety regarding safety in public spaces, which will often alter they transverse throughout the city. The article illustrated behavioral tendencies which are indeed altered based on other personal details such as age, race, personal experience etc. Improved design regarding spaces, such as supporting infrastructure i.e. public transport reliability, amenity and surveillance are critical in successful spaces. CCTV integration, lighting and technological means of assistance (available during the research period), accessibility to authority (police) are all ways to aid the mitigation of crime, fear and points of provocation Carter (2005).

Cost Effectiveness is another emergent theme in literature concerning the assessment of public space. As stated by Goonewardena & Brenner (2012), “proximity to capital… renders space eminently amenable to rigorous political-economic conceptions that are more economic than political…” (Goonewardena & Brenner 2012:96). It would be remiss to assume that producing new public amenity or improving an existing space – in a design and spatial sense is a costless process. Continual themes

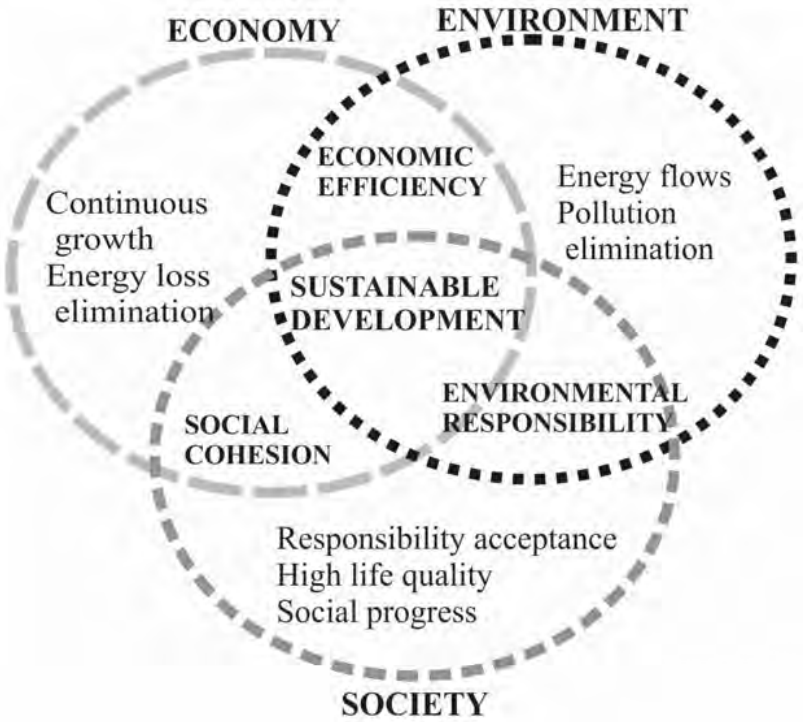

Figure 02: Agendas for cost effectiveness in public space (Cafuta 2015:13691)

which exist beyond this research scope, such as private investment, stakeholder contributions and governance, are applicable to public space in a generalized sense. Whilst green space and brownfield projects may have minimal cost requirements, the ongoing, maintained and enduring infrastructure needs cannot be dismissed. The priorities of municipalities are ever divided. Cities have shifted paradigms to entrepreneurial, competitive enterprises (Harvey, 1989; Hall and Hubbard, 1998; Rosol, 2010).

Passive investments such as public spaces and parks in low-income areas of the city garner reduced attention and the landscape of limited grants and contributions from governing bodies is ultra-competitive (Elwood, 2002). Rosol (2010) discusses the community garden model in Berlin as a means to improve the quality of urban green spaces and ensure longevity, maintenance and user satisfaction. These alternative actors elevate the costing of critical social infrastructure and also seize opportunities for social cohesion.

Cafuta (2015), as seen in Figure 02 discusses the inputs into sustainable development and highlights the relationships between environment, economy and society. Whilst this notion is by no means groundbreaking, it highlights the need for cost effectiveness across three different agendas.

This notion of cost effectiveness in design is not considered to require large levels of literature support. As the notion of sustainable, affordable design is inherently an objective of a neo liberal or finite budget strategy. The literature on maintenance and focuses on larger urban revitalization projects, such as social housing. Newman (1995:154) in his comparative study of social housing projects notes the importance of providing residential investment in spaces. Suggesting that the community investment (time, money and personality), again, promotes social cohesion but also can

create more pressure on the municipalities to maintain and preserve the investment long term, given the political and social pressures applied.

One additional consensus among literature the body of literature regarding public space is its essential role in the establishment of the urban fabric (see Jacobs 1992; Baycan-Levent & Nijkamp 2004; Pasaogullarri & Doratli 2004). It is an open area where individuals can participate and allow conventions as diversity and tolerance that shape a basis for democracy (Koca and Yılmaz 2017 in Yılmaz 2018). Following the urban history, spaces such as plazas, markets, streets have been the heart of community life for urban residents. In this way, public spaces also contribute to increasing social interaction and to the development of community sense (Pasaogullarri & Doratli 2004).

> *"They provide opportunities for gathering, socializing, recreation, festivals, as well as protests and demonstrations. As parks and plazas, urban open spaces provide relief from dense urban districts and structured everyday life. As civic architecture, they become collective expressions of a city as well as depositories of personal memories. . As places where important historical events tend to unfold, public spaces are imbued with important, collective meanings – both official and unofficial."* (Hou 2010:2)

From the perspective of socializing, it must be taken into account, the opportunity these areas bring to develop intercultural communication. Some authors (e.g. Nesdale and Todd 2000; Mingione and Oberti 2003; Johnston and Shimada 2004) points that public spaces are important in encouraging the mixing among any type of residents. Consequently, it decreases hostility, segregation and avoidance attitudes (Seeland, Dübendorfer & Hansmann 2009)

A research project in Zurich, completed by Seeland et al. (2009) demonstrates how public spaces have been played a significant role for children and youths in making contacts and friends between different cultures. According to their findings for both natives and immigrant juveniles, open public spaces, such as parks and playgrounds, are crucial places for developing new friendships. The research found that parks and playgrounds are frequented by foreign and Swiss teenagers to an equivalent degree. This implies that these areas have a significant capacity for bringing social inclusion across cultures (Seeland et al. 2009). As the authors state:

> "To see and be seen among one's peers and to make friends are essential for the social cohesion that is a prerequisite for social inclusion. Sports and other leisure activities in convenient and attractive outdoor environments such as parks, playgrounds, and urban forests that are free and geographically accessible provide occasions for youngsters to meet and make new friends" (Seeland et al. 2009:16).

3. The Situation in Schalke

This brings us to the area of study - the neighborhood of Schalke and its satellite Schalke Nord, in the German city of Gelsenkirchen. During a field visit from the 4th to the 11th of April 2019, several observations were made about the current state of public spaces in the neighborhood and the city at large. These impressions were the product of an intensive research stay in Schalke, during the authors observed the

neighborhood's functioning and intersectionalities from a variety of different locations, and with contextualization via conversation with various local organizations. The relevant findings of this field work can be summarized into the following three points:

- Formal public open spaces are apparently infrequent in Schalke
- The network of actual public spaces demonstrates an apparent lack of coherence
- Street life among residents is apparently less than in other sections of the city.

The first observation was a general conclusion based on the observed accessibility to public spaces in the neighborhood of Schalke and its satellite Schalke Nord. The authors observed that formal, truly public spaces were more difficult to happen upon than in other parts of the city, especially when sticking to more heavily trafficked circulation routes. The City of Gelsenkirchen reports that it has 7 million m^2 of green space within its entire administrative area, accounting for 45% of the city's total land use (Stadt Gelsenkirchen 2019). This was not observed in Schalke, where hardscape and industrial facilities appear to predominate open spaces - public or otherwise.

The second observation is contextualization of the first one discerned through conversations with local actors in Schalke and the neighboring area of Bismarck. A common theme emerged from these discussions – Schalke has no meeting place, or central public space. The authors observed this to be apparently true, as the public spaces that do exist are spatially disconnected and lack an implicit hierarchy. A key, albeit counterintuitive barrier is the Berliner Brücke, the bridge that carries Kurt-Schumacher-Straße north from Schalke proper to Schalke Nord. The challenges and opportunities associated with this bridge are discussed in a separate chapter (see Maciel, Opoku, & Teitsson).

The third observation was a cumulative one, based on a cross-sectional review of field notes on the vibrancy of street life during the observation period. Despite pockets of activity in disparate sections of the neighborhood, the number of pedestrians utilizing sidewalks and seen interacting with available retail was considered by the authors to be fewer than was witnessed in more central parts of the city. There is one notable exception to this observation - on days where the FC Schalke 04 play a game at the Veltins Arena in Gelsenkirchen, many fans converge on the *Schalker Meile* section of Kurt-Schumacher-Straße in Schalke Nord and animate the areas outside the fan clubs. It is worth noting that, as of this writing, there are 17 home games scheduled for the 2019-2020 season, making this a coincidental use (Deutsche Fußball Liga 2019). The implications of the football club on neighborhood identity are discussed in a separate chapter (see Köhne & Sandmann).

There are some mitigating factors to acknowledge as further contextualization of these findings. First, the weather was unfavorable for outdoor activities for approximately 60% of the field observation period, with rain and colder temperatures potentially diminishing the visible street life. Secondly, not all areas of the neighborhood were observed directly, meaning that the findings are not fully representative of the mosaic that comprises Schalke in its current form. Lastly, it must be acknowledged that a single field work period is insufficient to form a full picture of public space use year-round in a city. That said, the observations were sufficient to hone the research

focus and goals, as well as reaffirm that public space was a topic worthy of study within Schalke.

4. Methodology

The following section outlines the methodology selected and utilized for the research, taken from the research and literary basis outlined in the previous sections, the methodology for both site section and the analysis itself borrows from a broad range of tools and criteria, which has preceded it.

4.1 Site Evaluation

The generation of an empirical model for the evaluation of public space is a frequent preoccupation in research on this topic (see Baycan-Levent & Nijkamp 2004, Varna 2011, Bonenberg 2014). Space, especially shared space, is demonstrated to be exceptionally multi-faceted and difficult to measure. Thus, it was essential for us to concentrate our research goals on the definition of success in the context of public space, and the development of a metric that bridged the divide between the subjectivity of space assessment and the delivery of actionable outcomes. This was primarily achieved through the development of a rating system for the potential success of public spaces, adapted from the Star Model of Publicness designed by Varna (2011). This rating system utilizes criteria for/indicators of potential success in public space extracted from the literature analysis, which are given values on a Likert scale and converted into visual diagrams in order to provide a picture of the potential for success in a space.

Numerical rating systems are an accepted tool to narrate the subjective nature of public spaces' characteristics, providing a quantifiable data point that is descriptive of the standing of a qualitative topic. In order to generate an evaluation matrix, the authors trawled literature on public space to collect and define indicators of potential success which could be used as value-based criteria. The resulting list of relevant factors was narrowed to (8) representative criteria that appeared as recurring themes or distinct units of measure in the literature analysis. These meta-criteria are described as follows.

1. *Publicness* - based on Varna (2011), this meta-criterion addresses the perception of public spaces by their users through various qualities. Of principal importance for this criterion is the physical and perceptive appearance of the space, with more 'public' spaces having better potential for success.
2. *Physical Access* - based on Pasaogullari & Doratli (2012), this meta-criterion covers accessibility at a multitude of scales including physical and social barriers. Of principal importance for this criterion is the ease of access for citizens, both in terms of distance from centers of activity and impediments to entry. In general, more accessible spaces were deemed more likely to be successful.
3. *Historical Importance* - based on Freestone, Marsden & Garnaut (2008), this meta-criterion associates the longevity of spaces with association to historic themes or events. Of principal importance is a communal sense of place attachment, which can be associated with greater community investment and better potential for success.
4. *Control* - based on Malone (2002) and Francis (1989), this meta-criterion addresses the balance of perceived safety, active security, and place ownership as an intersectional dimension to public space. Of principal importance to this criterion is negotiating the tensions between the right to use public space and

the need to provide for overall public safety; overall, a balance of both was deemed as a positive indicator for success.

5. *Cost Effectiveness* - based on Cafuta (2015), this meta-criterion addresses the physical longevity of public space. Of principal importance are the site-adaptation strategies employed and the expense associated with maintaining the space. Better adapted spaces with lower maintenance costs were considered to have better chances for success in this dimension.
6. *Planning* - based on Baycan-Levent & Nijkamp (2004), this meta-criterion addresses the process of public space creation and engagement with target communities. Of particular importance to this criterion is the robustness of the planning process and the participation of more local stakeholders as a precondition for success.
7. *Adaptability* - based on Tomalin (1998), this meta-criterion addresses the ability of spaces to change over time and according to competing or unplanned uses. Of principal importance to this criterion is assessing the presence and flexibility of active space management frameworks, with more active and flexible governance being an indicator for success.
8. *Localization* - based on Baycan-Levent & Nijkamp (2004), this criterion addresses the orientation of public space to its context. Of particular importance to this criterion is the thoughtfulness of design and assessment standards, along with the degree of organization local stakeholders have in the management of the space. Spaces with more localized standards and stakeholder organization were seen to have better potential for success.

This method of scoring often relies on data aggregation in order to increase reliability, as in Bonenberg (2014:126). In order to reinforce the reliability of rating system for this research, the authors subdivided each of the (8) *meta-criteria* further into 2-5 *sub criteria*, which were rated in turn based on a series of value-based questions: totaling (104) distinct indicators. In the assessment of each space's potential for success, the questions were given a score of 1-5. These scores were averaged into the scores for the sub criteria, which were then averaged into the score for the meta-criteria. The end result was a single value for each of the meta-criteria, which was then mapped onto a target diagram adapted from the Star Model of Publicness created by Varna (2011). The diagrams depict the meta-criteria rating of each space as a single line, allowing for visual comparison of the spaces.

4.2 Site Selection

In addition to developing a method of analysis for public spaces, the authors sought to choose spaces for analysis with an empirical basis. It was important that the site selection criteria were, intentionally, broader for the analysis. This is for two reasons specifically: because the research locality was relatively small in a geographic sense; and that the criteria for the evaluation would not be directly impeded by the selection process. As stated previously, a week-long field visit to the Schalke and Schalke Nord area presented an insight into the current functionality of public, open spaces. The level of engagement each space had with the community and immediate surroundings garnered relentless discussion amongst the research team.

Accordingly, a walking tour, map analysis and literature review aided in the development of five criteria for site selection. It was important that each site nomination register some score to be deemed suitable across the five categories, in a qualitative review. The criteria are as follows:

Figure 03 – Map of selected sites
(Authors' own diagram using Google Earth imagery)

1. *Scale* - It is firstly acknowledged that open space, as it pertains to neighborhood uses, can be vastly different in size and suitability. The activities and intentions within the space are diverse and therefore an offering of equal suitability would be ideal. In 1906, The Open Space Act of Britain provided the first clear definition of open space as follows: *"'open space' pertains to "any land, whether enclosed or not, on which there are no buildings or of which not more than one-twentieth part is covered with buildings, and the whole or the remainder of which is laid out as a garden or is used for purposes of recreation, or lies waste and unoccupied."* (UNESCO, 2015). On this basis, the sites under evaluation must have been largely unimpeded by built form. However, this was under the knowledge that several built, historically significant locations (e.g. Glückkauf-Kampfbähn) had been emphasized during the site visits by the local stakeholder groups as possible points of interest.
2. *Delineation* - Each public space should have the capacity for its own identity, a noteworthy quality which attributes value to the user base. Additionally, image enhancement is an understated goal of investors in public space. Being able to tangibly reflect an ideal or characteristic which will galvanize the locality and ultimately improve the longevity or success (Carr 2010:12; Cullen 2012 [1961]:29). Furthermore, a varied setting provides those with less physical, circumstantial or financial mobility additional public resources. (Madanipour 2014).
3. *Availability* - It is assumed that this criterion requires little explanation. When evaluating site possibilities there was some consideration given to the likelihood of obtainment for public interest. Thus large, private estates were less favorable than those which are already owned or controlled by the state. Additionally, the historically significant sites within Schalke and Schalke Nord which

are currently operating with a different use were given more favorable consideration.

4. *Balance* **-** Chen, Liu, Xie and Marušić (2016) found through respondent surveys in Shenzhen, China, that was empirical to the viability of selecting among different open spaces with different characteristics is important because different open spaces complement one another. The intention for this balanced approach, is to not replicate spaces within relative proximity, but rather capitalize on unique aesthetic or functional values within Schalke. Therefore, it may be possible to create consistent neighborhood engagement for multiple stakeholder groups with varied interests.
5. *Robustness* **-** It was considered that a robust site would be able to support multiple stakeholders and activities in a typical day. Gehl (2011) categorizes three main activity types within a public space. Optional activities are the most convergent indicator of a good or bad space in this metric, as there is a choice to engage which derives interaction through a desire, rather than necessity. Noting specifically that "the rejection of monofunctional areas is a prerequisite for the integration of various types of people and activities," (Gehl 2011:107). There is a possibility that a resilient and robust public space selection can evolve and adapt with the community around it. As generations or migration patterns change there is an adaptability to the social dynamic which can be possible. This notion is applied in a cyclic reading of a place's robustness – which is ongoing. (Degros, Madanipour & Knierbein 2014).

On this basis twelve sites were selected, as illustrated in Figure 03. The four existing public spaces, shown in green were Grilloplatz, Glückkauf-Kampfbahn, Möntingplatz and the Platz an der Kapellenstraße. The three existing Spielplatz (playgrounds) were the 'Spielplatz an der GGS,' 'Spielplatz Ruhrstraße' and the 'Spielplatz an der Hüttweg.' Finally, the potential sites selected were the Schalker Markt (carpark), an industrial warehouse adjacent to the Berlin Brücke, a river side carpark named the 'GelsenKirchet Parkovisko', an open area called the 'Platz an der Caubstraße' and a private, vacant lot on Uechtingsstraße.

Once the spaces were nominated and evaluated, they were further categorized based on general use groups in order to provide a frame of reference for comparison. The aim of parsing the spaces into these groups was to aid in the observation of trends, as well as to allow the comparison of the categories as whole spatial types.

5. Findings

The following diagrams are the visual representations of the analysis outcomes undertaken across all twelve public space nominations. Each of the three aforementioned categories is isolated to best identify patterns or trends based on the type of public space, but the categories are also compared as averages of their constituent spaces.

Figure 04 shows a relatively consistent clustering of score values amongst the twelve sites. It can be observed that categories such *Planning, Adaptability* and *Localization* criteria are clearly outlying attributes, despite the inclusion of seven functioning public spaces. Categories such as *Physical Access*, *Publicness*, *Cost Effectiveness* and *Control* exhibit the highest scores within the evaluation.

The results for **Existing Public Spaces** are shown in Figure 06. The four current public spaces have in common generally good results regarding their *Physical Ac-*

cess, *Control* and *Cost Effectiveness*. However, they have scored medium or low numbers in terms of *Adaptability*.

The most visible patterns for **Potential Spaces**, which include currently non-public spaces**,** are related to the low levels of *Planning*, *Adaptability* and *Localization*. This outcome is predictable considering the fact that, in this case, the areas under assessment are not yet public spaces.

In the **Spielplätze** category of spaces, all the three playgrounds evaluated, have presented overall low scores in terms of *Localization*, *Adaptability*, *Planning* and *Historical Importance*. They diverge only slightly in *Physical Access, Control* and *Cost Effectiveness,* with medium numbers. However, they present a significant difference in their *Publicness* scores.

Interestingly, when the average scores of each of the three categories (Existing Spaces, Potential Spaces and Spielplätze) were compared the analysis showed very similar results among each. It can be seen that in all categories, except *Historical Identity* and *Localization* there are very tight groupings. Whilst this finding will be discussed in section 6 of the report, it is evident that the Spielplätze lacked most noticeably in *Historical Importanc*e (as defined by this evaluation methodology) and *Localization*. Potential Spaces in terms of their current circumstances proved very competitive in many categories, despite having an alternative function.

In summary, the three kinds of spaces have indicated comparable potential for success on average. While there are particular high performing public spaces within the locale, these appear to be outlying amidst the evaluation. The evaluation also shows that the variance between all twelve spaces, amidst three categories is marginal. It must also be noted that no scoring averaged beyond a 4.0 in any circumstance. Finally, three specific criteria across the twelve sites show the highest level of disparity (*Planning*, *Adaptability* and *Localization*); however, this is an anticipated outcome given the inclusion of 'non-spaces' in the dataset.

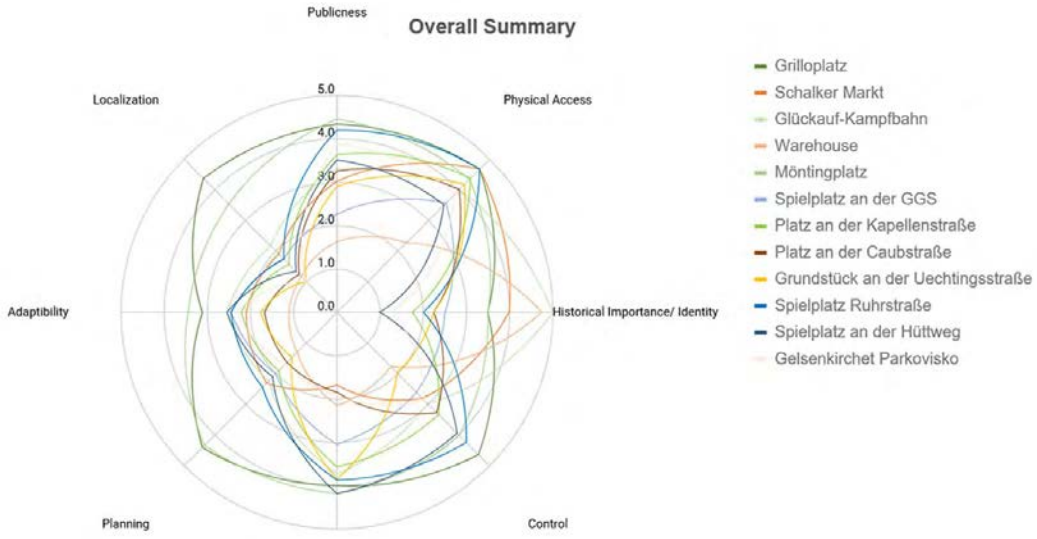

Figure 04 - Overall evaluation scoring diagram
(Authors' own diagram adapted from Varna 2011)

7. Discussion

With the principal findings for each space and each spatial category mapped onto the target diagrams, the authors assessed several trends which were discussed in order to develop further insight into their impact on the potential success of public spaces within Schalke. Three observations stood out as particularly relevant outcomes for this research, as enumerated in this section.

First, **the three different types of spaces all demonstrate similar potential for success on average.** This was the most surprising finding, as the non-spaces were included in the dataset and performing on average similarly to actual public spaces and playgrounds. This suggests that although individual outliers with higher potential for success were present, such as Grilloplatz, there were enough spaces with low potential to balance these out. Furthermore, it can be surmised given the generally low ratings of non-spaces that the actual public spaces and playgrounds are underperforming in terms of success potential, rather than the non-spaces demonstrating high potential.

Some literature suggests that this observation could be suggestive of an overall decline in the importance of public space. As Varna & Tiesdell (2010) note, "attitudes to contemporary public space and its future range from more pessimistic to more optimistic. Proclaiming the 'end of public space', the pessimistic voices observe the declining significance of public space and of the public realm generally," (576); this would seem to coincide the apparent deficiency of public spaces rather than high performance among non-spaces.

Speaking to the challenges facing existing public spaces in industrial cities, Pasaogullari & Doratli (2004) also note that "in rapid developed [sic] cities, similar to the general lay- out of the cities and the characteristics of the built structures, open spaces faced with a change in their physical structure, lost their significance and the quantity and the quality of public spaces started to decline," (225). This speaks volumes for Gelsenkirchen, a city in the industrial Ruhrgebiet and therefore part of a massive urban agglomeration developed rapidly for industry. Especially in Schalke - a neighborhood divided by private and commercial transportation infrastructure and industrial sites - this can lead to the demotion of public spaces to 'left-over spaces', hastening their decline in the absence of renewed public interest (Pasaogullari & Doratli 2004: 226).

Second, **a relationship between historically significant spaces and higher levels of control was uncovered**. Such spaces as the Glückkauf-Kampfbähn, which hold specific historical value within the community are less accessible and exhibit stricter levels of control to residents, particularly those with no long-term association. To elaborate, the data shows some tendencies for historically significant sites to have lower levels of tolerance, exhibited through higher levels of control, such are secure perimeters and selected user groups. Appleyard (1980:109) sees this notion as a *"... middle-class concept of a street as a sanctuary rather than a social center is taking over, tranquilizing many of these historic centers."*

A 2005 study by the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge) observed immigrant populations in Germany have been observed to be heavily influenced in some cultural categories. Religion and Sport were

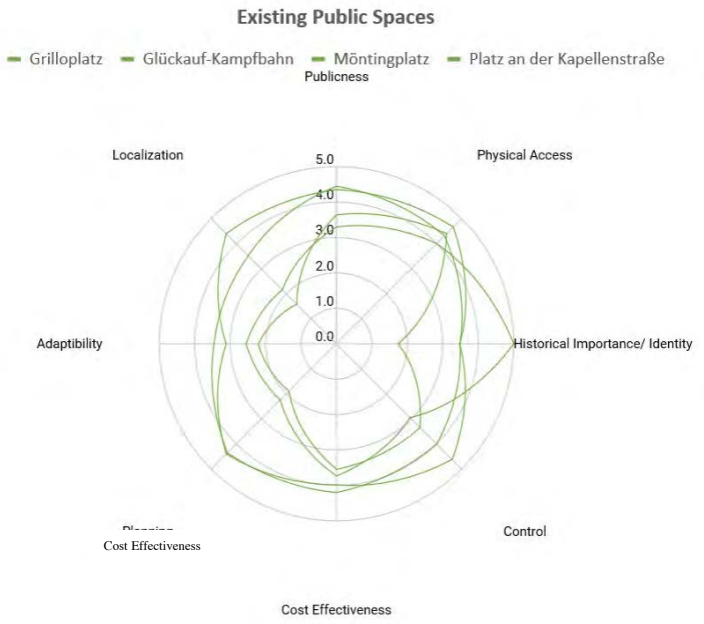

Figure 05 - Existing public space scoring diagram.
(Authors' own diagram adapted from Varna 2011)

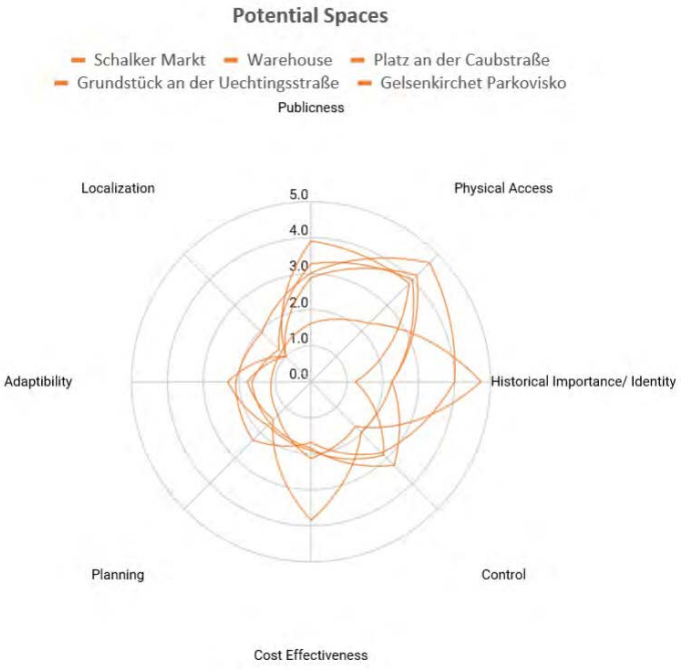

Figure 06 - Potential space scoring diagram.
(Authors' own diagram adapted from Varna 2011)

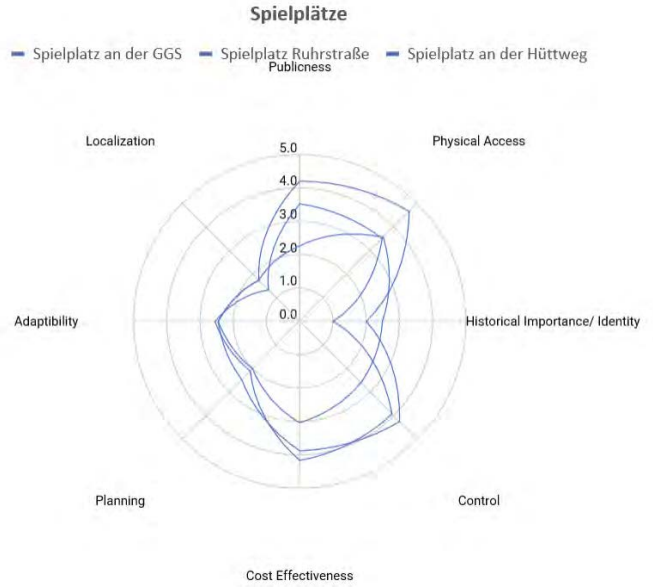

Figure 07 - Spielplätze space scoring diagram.
(Authors' own diagram adapted from Varna 2011)

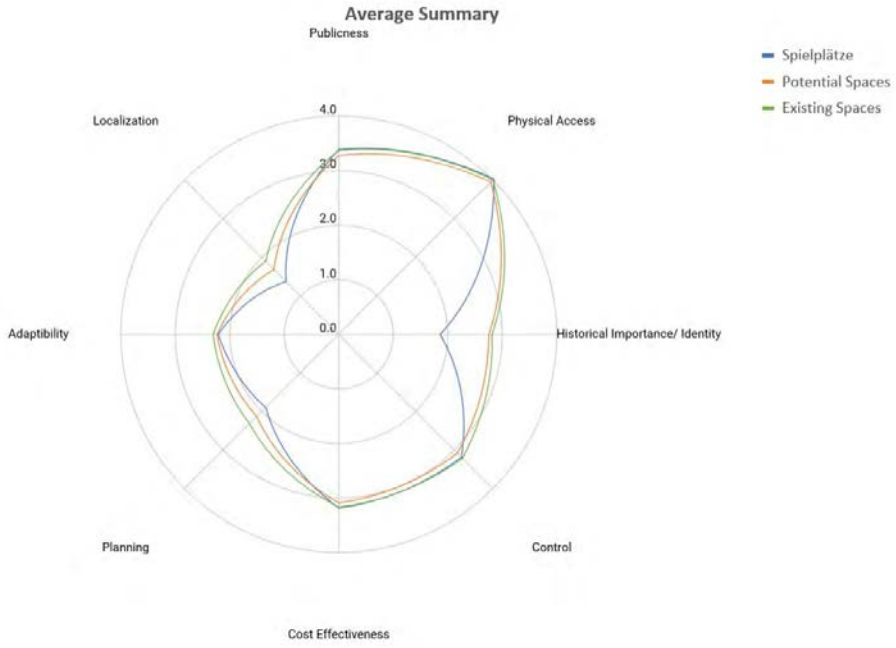

Figure 08 - Average category scoring diagram.
(Authors' own diagram adapted from Varna 2011)

noted as the top followed by food culture which has evolved in the past several decades substantially (Kothy/Klein 2000).

The topic of football, which is fundamental to the history of Schalke, is as Müller and Mutz (2018) argue of crucial importance for marginalized young men's social and self-esteem. This can be currently observed within the Schalke FC youth clubs and specialized programs. However, this connection to football is inherently male orientated. Accessibility to sporting facilities, historically significant landmarks and importantly the programs and functions within, for all principled stakeholders promotes alternatives norms and values which ideally enable improved contributions. This broadens social interactions, employment opportunities and alternatives approaches based on varied talents, ideals and perspectives (United Nations, 2007:2-4). It can be perceived that, whilst a limited sample size is applicable in this instance, that *"...spatiality and sociality are inextricably intertwined; space is socially constructed as the social is spatially constructed"* (Lefebvre, 1991; Massey, 1993; Dovey c/- Woodcock, & Wood; 2009:2611) . Another difficulty confronted is one which was verbalized in interviews with social workers within the neighborhood – that the migrant population has a weak affiliation with Schalke FC itself, not necessarily just the sport of football. Having a weak or negative affiliation with the club does within the Schalke Miele means that the aesthetic, color scheme and functions are ill suited to one's value system. Passive disassociation is of course a mild outcome in this area, but fans of other Bundesliga or sporting teams may feel genuine discomfort or agitation.

Additional research would be required to validate this assertion regarding the club, but it does raise valid considerations for the scope of this report. Firstly, what facilities are available to the local migrant and German populations to engage in recreational football or sports in general? Secondly, what can be done at spatial and cultural level to introduce sport as a more engaging instrument of interaction?

During the observation and research period in Gelsenkirchen there was a consistent dialogue regarding accessibility for young children in Schalke to attend games and build a rapport with the local pastime. This was largely a financial issue, but it is compounded with the assurance that historical and secondary club facilities are accessible, to a standard which could be defined as free. Forest and Kearns (1999/2001:2130) note that *"we should not underestimate the importance of physical change, physical boundaries and local landmarks in creating a sense of belonging and identity."* creating freedom of movement and access to critical neighborhood infrastructure can have a possible impact on the unity and endurance of community.

Lastly, **a general lack of governance was observed across all spaces, suggesting that frameworks for stewardship are missing.** This is indicated by the generally low scores of all spaces in the Planning, Localization, and Adaptability criteria; despite some notable exceptions in the existing public spaces, these criteria consistently ranked lowest out of all. The absence of publicly available planning and assessment documents is one reason for the low performance, but the literature suggests that thoughtful and thorough governance of public space is missing more often than it is present.
Tomalin (1998) describes this absence from the perspective of planning policy, discussing the tendency of local governments (in Western contexts) to focus on rapid development rather than reflexive governance. Contemporary planning structures often fail to consider deeply the long-term governance of a space, omitting the inevitability of change that comes with the dimension of time. Including long-term mainte-

nance in planning processes is especially important when considering the amount of investment in public spaces and the level of reliance on them as passive or active social mediators. According to Tomalin, “in many cases, the focus of policies will need to shift from land use development (or redevelopment) to the management of the public realm,” (Tomalin 1998: 34). Tomalin also highlights the ongoing assessment of public space as an indicator of its potential, stating that “monitoring is seen as critical to the successful implementation and management of projects, sustaining the value of urban spaces through time and space,” (Tomalin 1998:32).

Carmona (2014) also stresses the progress of time as an essential consideration in the development of public space. Speaking to urban design strategies and policy making, Carmona notes that the process “represents an on-going journey through which places are continuously shaped and re-shaped—physically, socially and economically—through periodic planned intervention, day-to-day occupation and the long-term guardianship of place,” (Carmona 2014: 34). Here we see the recurrence of the temporal dimension as an indicator of successful management in public space, with the acknowledgement by governance frameworks and structures of potential for change as a critical factor in the outcomes associated with public space development and management.

These observations underpin the value of empirical analysis of potential for success in public space by demonstrating the ability to elucidate trends for further study. Further analysis of the findings and expansion of the dataset would serve to reinforce those discussed here and perhaps reveal even more for consideration.

8. Conclusion

The chapter has demonstrated a method for evaluating and modeling the potential for success of public spaces across three categories within Schalke and Schalke Nord. As suggested by the literature review, with the methodology and results there must be an acknowledgement of the subjective nature of public space analysis. Objective analysis is difficult, when the ideal outcome of public space is to serve a diverse range of subjective and qualitative needs. Trying to eliminate bias and remain cognizant of the academic rationale presents a difficult research objective. The broad and multifaceted criteria selected for the site analysis improved this function of the study. Further research would benefit considerably from additional public consultation and a larger sample size of observational, primary sourced data to further validate these findings.

It is considered however, that the outcomes and relationships between the eight assessment categories was able to identify opportunities and weaknesses moving forward. The consistency in outcomes, when averaged, suggests that the localized public spaces have existing attributes and ongoing potential for improvement. Some potential spaces which measured favorably suggest that under suitable economic, political and social conditions the possibility for growth and improved performance is possible. The aim of creating additional, academically examined data was achieved within a limited scope, which may serve as a foundation for additional research on this topic.

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05 I Urban mobility

Urban mobility as a tool for the promotion of street life and social activity

Luiza Maciel, Derrick Opoku, & Björn Teitsson

1. Introduction

Urban mobility can be defined as the conditions in which people and cargo move in urbanized areas. It is not synonymous with transportation since it takes into account the quality and the availability of different transport options and their accessibility despite physical or economic limitations. In order to promote high-quality mobility, some important aspects are time, affordability and safety. (Fortunati, 2018)

Walking is not only a mobility alternative, but a social urban activity. It can foster social cohesion, local identity, and the local economy. In this context, street life, urban form, land use, and transportation can together contribute to urban sustainability. Moreover, walking can encourage integration between neighbours and contribute to the feeling of belonging to a community. (Porta, 2003; Hall *et al*, 2018)

Schalke and Schalke-Nord are neighbourhoods that, despite their central location, have strong characteristics that differ and isolate them from other districts in Gelsenkirchen. For urban mobility, the main issue identified and the focus of this chapter is the absence of street life, physical urban barriers, and access to diverse forms of mobility.

Schalke-Nord, especially, has clear symptoms of seclusion, with many physical barriers such as roads, rail lines and a concrete bridge. The neighbourhood lacks proper infrastructure for sustainable modes of transport, particularly when compared with other regions of the city. Moreover, it is characterized as an industrial area, with a few residential and commercial uses, mainly in low-quality buildings. Thus, besides physical isolation, social segregation is also an issue in the area.

In order to understand the reasons behind the current state of urban mobility in Schalke and Schalke-Nord, both land use and the lack of attractive destinations inside the neighbourhood were considered as hypotheses. Likewise, the physical segregations and the lack of proper infrastructure for sustainable modes of transport, historically focusing on cars, possibly influence this scenario. Concerning the study field of mobility poverty, the lack of social integration and exclusion of the migrant population that have made the area their home in recent years are aspects that possibly have a strong impact in resident's mobility.

By developing an exploratory study on urban mobility in Schalke and its surrounding areas, this chapter aims at presenting the mobility patterns of residents and their perception concerning urban mobility, while evaluating the currently offered

infrastructure and existing proposals developed by the municipality of Gelsenkirchen. Furthermore, different case studies were analysed, which were the inspiration for some suggestions in the fields of land use and sustainable mobility infrastructure that are in line with ambitious goals of sustainability and emission reduction that have already been set forth by the municipality Gelsenkirchen.

2. Causes for the absence of social activity and strategies to promote street life

Concerning urban mobility, the main issue identified and the focus of this study is the absence of street life, on the grounds that, during the field visits in the analysed neighbourhoods, it was identified that there were only a few people walking or cycling on the streets in Schalke and Schalke-Nord, resulting in low social interaction in public spaces. As stated by Jacobs (1961), “The trust of a city street is formed over time from many, many little public sidewalk contacts... Most of it is ostensibly trivial but the sum is not trivial at all.”

In order to better understand the lack of street life in Schalke and Schalke-Nord, some aspects that could possibly influence this scenario were considered: sustainable mobility infrastructure, land use, physical barriers, and mobility poverty. A brief theoretical framework on each of these topics is presented below.

2.1 Sustainable Mobility Infrastructure

Ritchie and Thomas (2009, p. 22) define sustainable transport as a system that promotes human health and provides the opportunity for social interaction. It is a system capable of meeting today's needs, without compromising the future.

Today, cities around the world have been facing urban problems because of planning that has prioritized the automobile for many years. After experiencing the conflicts and impacts resulting from such policies, society has sought more sustainable alternatives to move. Considering that “most energy and material use occurs in cities and much of this is attributable to transportation” (Rees, 2003, p.10), there is an urgent need to change travel patterns. Therefore, “cities (and the inhabitants of cities) are both the drivers of global ecological change and an essential key to sustainability” (Rees, 2003, p.7).

As stated by Rees (2003, p.11), there was a time when transportation was just a way to get around and access destinations. The so-called "automobile culture", however, made owning a car more important than doing the journey itself, with “the perceived right to unlimited personal mobility”. As a result, “the community now serves the demands of the automobile. Urban health, safe on the streets, neighbourhood design, environmental quality and city form have all given way in the service of the private car”.

Knowing that the car is an inefficient and expensive transport option, both socially and environmentally, it is important to stimulate other forms of urban mobility. According to Rees (2003, p.13), “walking and bicycling are the most energy-efficient, healthy and generally sustainable modes of urban transportation”. In this chapter, they will be treated together, because, as stated by Roberts-James (2003, p. 292), “walking and cycling, whilst having many different needs and requirements, are also closely linked as major non-motorised transport modes”.

Rees (2003, p. 13) affirms “positive policies towards mass transit, pedestrians and cycling work best in combination with economic constraints on the car”. Thus, the sustainable urban policies should focus on offering good alternatives to the car, while reflecting the social and economic costs of private cars to its users.

One of the strategies for discouraging private cars is parking management. Parking occupies a space on the track that would be intended for social coexistence and circulation, therefore it is a fundamental component of any mobility policy. Moreover, it is known that the greater the number of parking spaces in a given area and the lower its cost, the more attractive will be the use of the automobile in this region. Thus, parking management is an instrument of mobility policy which supports a more sustainable urban environment. Restrictive parking measures in certain areas in cities that are well served by public transport or that are suitable for walking or cycling, can contribute to more efficient mobility patterns, reduction of the space required for parking infrastructure and better conditions for pedestrians. (Litman, 2006)

Moreover, strategies to avoid through-traffic in residential and commercial areas are important to reduce the volume of vehicles in the streets and stimulate non-motorised traffic. The traffic calming technique consists of the introduction of physical interventions into the road system aiming at conditioning the behaviour of drivers, so that they travel at moderate speeds. It regulates and creates physical measures to control speed and improve safety while discouraging vehicles that use the street only as a passageway.

According to Hass-Klau *et Al* (1992), Germany and the Netherlands were the first countries to use the concept of traffic calming in the 1970s. In Germany, this concept was mainly demonstrated by the increase in pedestrian areas in the central regions of cities and public awareness of environmental issues.

However, restricting the use of cars and limiting their speed is not the solution to promoting more sustainable mobility systems. In order to promote sustainable modes of transport, it is also important to provide appropriate alternative infrastructure, considering both safety and comfort.

According to Hass-Klau (2003, p. 191-194) density, size, car ownership and the quality of public transport are factors that can influence walking in a city. Public transport can promote an increase in walking, by encouraging intermodal trips. If the system is bad, however, it may force some people to choose to walk, even over long distances, which can turn walking into an unpleasant activity.
It is possible to promote a people-friendly environment through “good design, imaginative management, persuasive promotion, efficient maintenance and by understanding the sometimes-conflicting needs of everyone likely to be affected”. (Roberts-James, 2003, p. 291)

Gehl (2010, pp. 242-245) lists some strategies that planners must adopt when aiming to reorder priorities in order to promote a better city. Among them, he mentions the need to improve the pedestrian experience, to respect pedestrian desire lines and to promote an equal distribution of space, with wider sidewalks.
Ritchie and Thomas (2009, p. 26) affirm, “Design has a vital role to play in making places feel good for pedestrians and cyclists.” The authors mention some aspects

that can contribute to the cyclist and the pedestrian experience, such as reducing street widths, changing the treatment of different streets, and improving the frontages. Moreover, they affirm that routes that are easy to use and well located, as well as adequate cycle parking, are also important.

2.2 Land Use

Land use refers to the activities of humans on the land and is related to physical and functional characteristics of space (Madanipour, 1996, cited in Meurs and Wee, 2003, p. 222). This space can be related to the use of mobility and how to connect it to the environment.

It is ideal to create a neighbourhood where walking, cycling, use of public space, local commercial, workplaces, and housing are all connected. This form of land use creates a more conducive atmosphere and energetic environment. Land use is very essential whereby places can be connected, not only for the automobile, but also by making the city more mobility friendly through cycling and walking. These activities are connected to public places, shops, business, residential apartments, and even offices.

Rogers (1998) presents the concept of the Compact City, a dense and socially diverse city where economic and social activities overlap and where communities are focused around neighbourhoods through mobility. The diverse use of land at different times keep the streets animated and safe. They also encourage walking and cycling activity and also support the extended hours of transit service. The creation of the modern Compact City demands the rejection of single-function development and the dominance of the car. It proposes to reduce the over-reliance of cars and accept the use of other modes of mobility, bringing people closer to public spaces and other relevant places in the community. The Compact City is a network of these neighbourhoods. Each with its own parks and public spaces and accommodating a diversity of overlapping private and public activities.
It is known that the denser and more compact the city, the greater the number of walking trips which, due to their nature, are limited to short routes. Rogers (1998) presents diagrams demonstrating that compact and mixed-use cores reduce displacement requirements and create sustainable and dynamic neighbourhoods. According to the author, the calculation developed by traffic engineers and the environment of Ove Arup & Partners demonstrates that "the broad diversification of activities and greater emphasis on public transportation could reduce the need for commuting by automobiles and therefore reduce roads by about 60%."

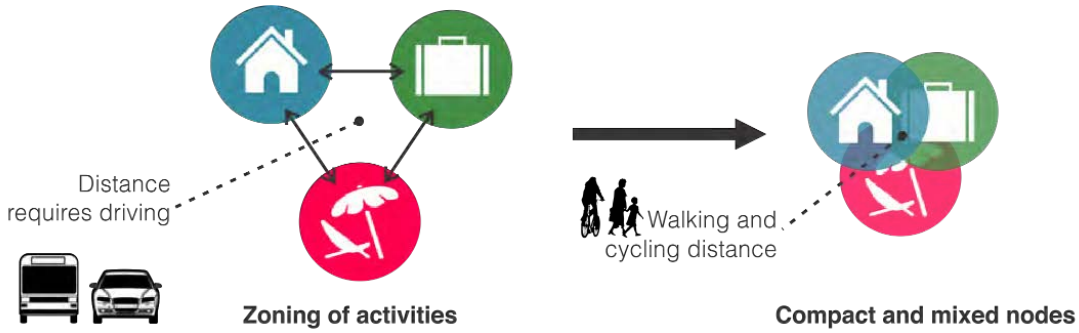

Figure 01 - The reduction of journeys through compact mixed-use nodes. Adapted from Rogers, 1998.

The Institute for Transportation and Development Policy (ITDP) promotes this principle known as TOD (Transit-Oriented Development), which means planning integrated urban places designed to bring people, activities, buildings, and public space together with easy walking and cycling connections between them and near-excellent transit service to the rest of the city. The principle has eight objectives, which are to Walk, Cycle, Connect, Transit, Mix, Densify, Compact, and Shift. These objectives are defined by ITDP (2010, pp. 20-29):

- Walk: developed to make neighbourhoods more walking-friendly. Walking can be a potentially safe, enjoyable and productive way of getting around. It also connects people to public spaces and other infrastructure available. (ITDP, 2010, p. 20):
- Cycle: It helps to prioritize non-motorized transport networks and not depend solely on cars. The main aim is to create a safe cycling network, which will connect buildings and destinations by the shortest routes. (ITDP, 2010, p. 22)
- Connect: was simply to connect dense networks of streets and paths. The idea was to create a connection for both walking and cycling path to have them more connected to the street activity and have them direct and short. (ITDP, 2010, p. 23)
- Transit: to create a more reliable connection between the pedestrians and their mode of transit which is a walkable distance. (ITDP, 2010, p. 24)
- Mix: the balance of a mix of complementary uses and activities within a local area. Thus, mix of residences, workplaces, and local retail commerce. They will make daily trips short and walkable and make the streets animated and safe. This idea encourages walking and cycling activity and attracts people of all ages to live and interact within the public spaces. (ITDP, 2010, pp. 25-26)
- Densify: urban density represent a demand that will support rapid, frequent, well connected and reliable public transport, reducing the over-dependence of the car. (ITDP, 2010, p. 27)
- Compactness: to have all necessary components and features fitted close together, conveniently and space-efficiently. Compact cities with shorter distances require less time and energy to travel to one activity to the other and also less costly (ITDP, 2010, pp. 28)
- Shift: the above principles will promote a shift from a dependency on cars to the use of the other forms of mobility, such as walking, cycling or the use of public transit. (ITDP, 2010, p. 29)

In conclusion, there is an intrinsic relationship between mobility and land use. Just as dispersed land use can generate a demand for travel flexibility and stimulate transport by private cars; it can also ensure the liveliness of public spaces and promote the mixed use of non-conflicting activities, making distances shorter and stimulating non-motorized transport. It can also enable higher quality public transport to distant regions, due to the higher demand resulting from an increase in population density.

3. Relevant Factors

3.1 Physical Segregation

Geographical or physical segregation refers to the segregating effects of physical structures, barriers between geographic locations. In reference to Kurt-Schumacher-Strasse, there are mainly to segregating entities, the Berliner Brücke on the one hand, and the heavy car traffic on the other. Anciaes, Stockton, Ortegon and Scholes, urban theorists of University College, London, came to the conclusion in recent study that heavy traffic not only reduces the likelihood of people walking, it also severely effects the wellbeing of people near heavily congested streets (Anciaes, Stockton, Ortegon, Scholes, 2019):

Firstly, perceptions about traffic volumes and speeds were formed jointly and depend on traffic composition and on how the speed of traffic varies during the day and relates to historical and reference values. Secondly, participants who perceived the traffic volume as heavy and the traffic speed as fast were more likely to report that the traffic conditions were a barrier to their walking locally and that this was a specific reason why they avoided the busiest road in their area. Thirdly, the participants classed as having the worst combination of perceptions of road traffic conditions, and the reported impacts of them on their walking, had on average, significantly lower wellbeing (Model 1: $p = 0.009$, Model 2: $p = 0.002$), independently of other factors such as demographics and location.

The Danish architect Jan Gehl (1971) also writes about traffic and physical structures as a segregating tool, or more precisely of having repelling effect on human interactions and willingness to walk or stay in a street.

Wieghaus (2016) reported for ARD in 2016 that dust particles and air quality were of extremely poor quality in Kurt-Schumacher-Strasse. The air quality and sound pollution will be determining factors in the streets ability to attract pedestrians or cyclists to create a livable street. Gelsenkirchen Green City Plan (2018) also details dust particle pollution as a major problem in the area of Kurt-Schumacher-Strasse (p. 18-19).

In a presentation from Stiftung Schalker Markt, *Mein Verein, Mein Stadtteil* (2019), the Berliner Brücke is identified as a major barrier between Schalke and Schalke-Nord, so much so that it the dismantling of the bridge is recommended. Furthermore, the heavy traffic in Schalker Meile is identified as a physical barrier between residential areas on either side of Kurt-Schumacher-Strasse.

3.2 Mobility Poverty

According to Ekes (2015), “mobility poverty is a complex issue related to various mobility elements like pricing, accessibility or coverage”. It is “generated by a mixture of society economic, network and service or operations factors”. Mobility poverty can be grouped into either primary or secondary forms. Primary forms are the ones that are direct phenomena or impacts having a strong connection with the presence or lack of mobility services, infrastructures. The secondary form is the one that are additional elements resulting from the impacts of the primary forms of mobility poverty.

Ekes (2015) affirms that an individual is mobility poor if, in order to satisfy their daily basic activity needs, at least one of the following conditions apply: 1) Availability,

when they have no suitable transport option available; 2) Accessibility, when transport options do not reach destinations and opportunities; 3) Affordability, when there is a high-cost burden; 4) Time budget, excessive amount in travel; and, 5) Adequacy, when travel is dangerous, unsafe for individual. All these factors are limitations leading to mobility poverty and sometimes they are geared towards vulnerable groups such as people with reduced mobility, children, elderly, migrants, low income and unemployed people.

The term *accessibility* describes the ease with which all categories of passengers can use public transport. For example, buses with high steps are notoriously difficult to board, particularly if they are one-person operated and there is no assistance. They are also difficult to use for those carrying luggage or shopping or with young children. (Carruthers *et al*, 2005, p. 1)

Moreover, lack of information from the operators to the users is also another factor. Information is an important channel of the mobility process. When information is not provided, not accessible, not passenger-friendly, overcomplicated or false it can cause exclusion. (Ekes, 2015)

Poor service quality is a factor in the poverty of mobility, since poor quality results in unsatisfactory travel conditions, which some users are obliged to undergo. Not by choice, but because they have no other alternatives.

Ekes (2015) stated that poor time coverage can also be considered as mobility poverty. Poor time coverage affects areas far away from a given mobility area. Services are less regulated over the weekend and have poor connections. Mostly people living outside the city are affected by this kind of mobility poverty.

According to Carruthers *et al* (2005, p. 1), “affordability refers to the extent to which the financial cost of journeys put an individual or household in the position of having to make sacrifices to travel or the extent to which they can afford to travel when they want to”.

In order to cut down or eradicate mobility poverty, it is important to make mobility accessible to all. Accurate information to users is very important to make mobility more flexible and people should be able to afford mobility prices despite their incomes. The presence of a good mobility alternative in an area or city makes that place active and more sociable.

3.3 Outcome

The theoretical framework demonstrates the importance of infrastructure for non-motorised transport modes, with the aim of encouraging people to move around. In addition, it indicates the need to integrate land use with transport policies, so that people have motivations (destinations) that lead them to move and that these motivations are close enough so that the displacements can be made by bicycle or on foot. On the other hand, the existence of physical barriers, such as bridges, highways and rivers, or social barriers, such as lack of resources to afford transport expenses, can result in lifeless streets, and consequently lack of social interaction.

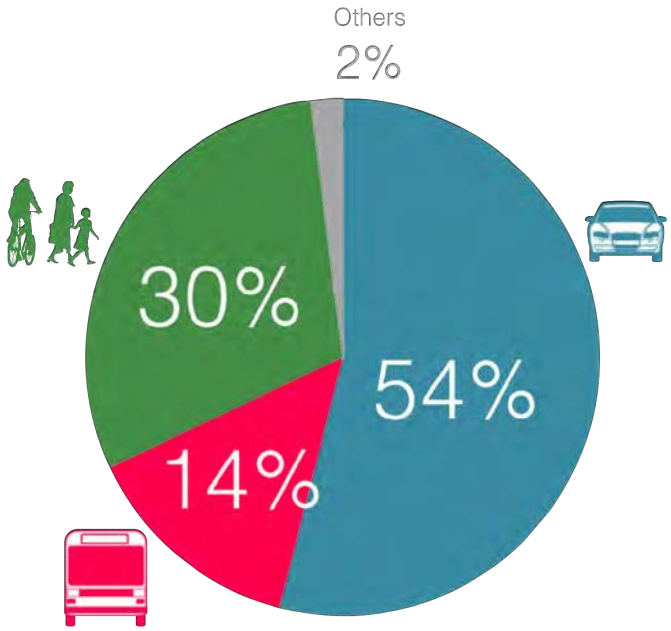

Figure 02 - Modal Split in Gelsenkirchen (2015). Adapted from Stadt Gelsenkirchen, 2018a.

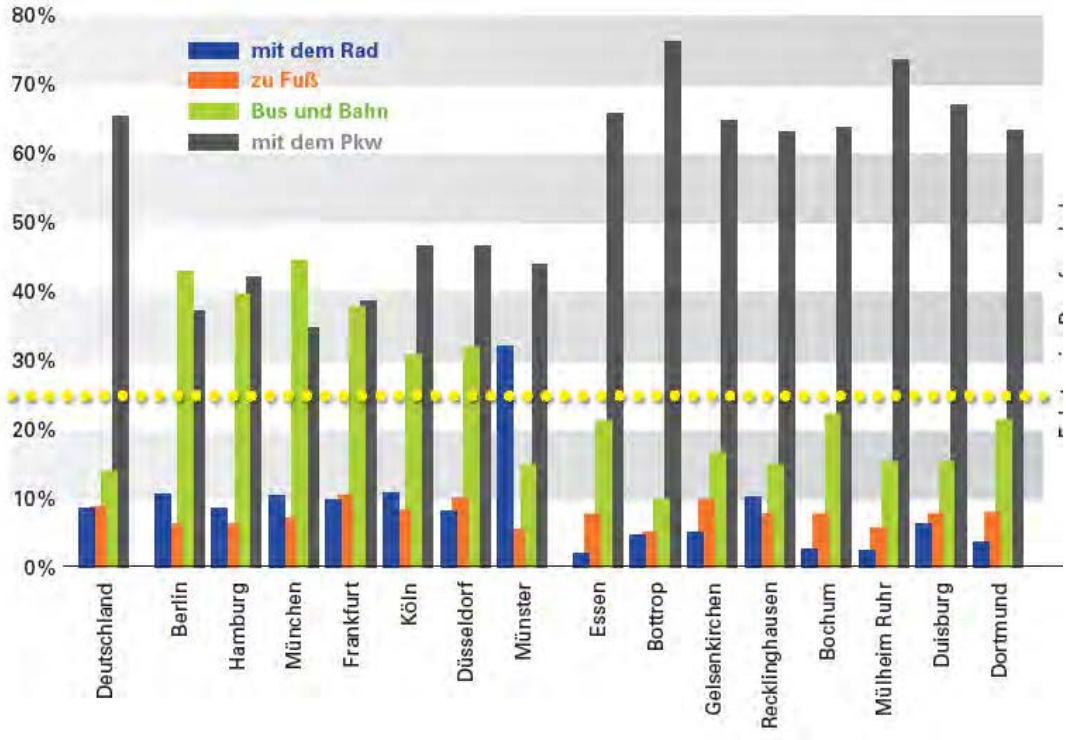

Figure 03 - The modal split in German and in different German cities. Source: Eurostat, 2013

4. Situation in Gelsenkirchen and Schalke

The diagnosis of the current situation of urban mobility in neighbourhoods is the result of field observations, as well as the collection of available data and the analysis of previous studies. The evaluation focused on the themes mentioned in the previous chapter and sought to understand the possible causes of the lack of street life in Schalke and Schalke-Nord.

4.1 Modal Split

In Gelsenkirchen, according to the Green City Plan (Stadt Gelsenkirchen, 2018a, pp. 30-32), 86% of the inhabitants of the age of 18 have a driving license and almost 70% of them have a bicycle. The use of the bicycle in Gelsenkirchen is particularly relevant at smaller distances up to four kilometres and is 12% to 14%.

Concerning public transport, only 27% of respondents have a season ticket, of which most are users of the *SchokoTicket* (33%), which is the ticket for school students. Other season's tickets are the *Ticket 2000* (16%), *SemesterTicket* (15%) and *FirmenTicket* (8%).

Concerning the modal split, around 54% of the inhabitants use the private car, 14% use public transport and 30% use non-motorized means of transport, such as cycling and walking.

A graphic comparing Gelsenkirchen to other German cities (Eurostat, 2013), shows that the modal split of Gelsenkirchen is similar to the average index in Germany, as well as to German cities with similar characteristics, such as Duisburg and Dortmund. However, this modal split differs a lot from bigger cities, such as Berlin, Hamburg, Munich and Frankfurt, in which public transport plays a major role. Therefore, it is important to notice that, as stated by the Mobilität Werk Stadt (2018), in the cities in the Metropole Ruhr, over 50 percent of all journeys in the take place by car. Some cities in the area that have already set goals in order to achieve more environmentally friendly mobility. It is important to mention, Münster, also located in North Rhine-Westphalia, which already stands out with a high rate of bicycle use.

In order to understand the mobility in the neighbourhoods Schalke and Schalke-Nord, a few interviews were conducted during May 2019. Due to the limited time and resources of this study, only 11 persons were interviewed. Among the interviewees, six (6) were Schalke residents. Eight (8) out of eleven (11) respondents mentioned the car as their main mode of transport. When questioned about possible improvements in urban mobility, they mentioned better connections in public transport and the implementation of cycle paths.

4.2 Current mobility infrastructure

During our visits in Schalke and Schalke-Nord, the lack of sustainable mobility infrastructure, as well as the physical barriers, stood out as major concerns. Figure 4 presents the location of the neighbourhoods, which is close to the old town (*Altstadt*). Moreover, it shows the rail lines and the main roads. From this map, it is possible to see that Schalke-Nord is physically isolated and surrounded by major roads with heavy traffic and rail lines, with just a few gates to access it.

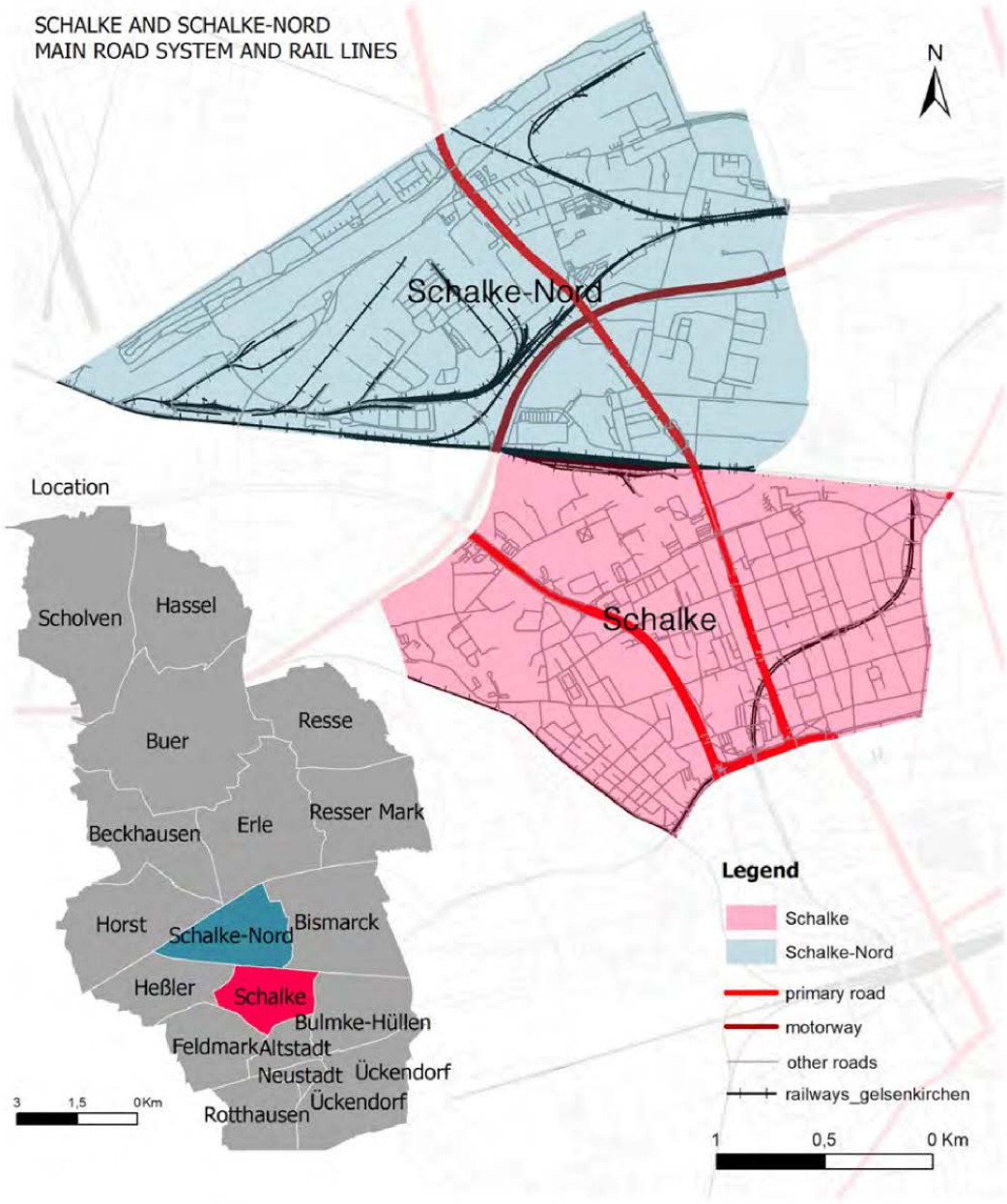

Figure 04 - Main road system and rail lines. Sources: OSM, 2019 and Stadt Gelsenkirchen, 2018c.

Figure 5 presents the current hierarchy of roads in Gelsenkirchen, according to the OpenStreetMap platform. It is likely that the municipality has its official classification, which may differ in some points from the classification presented below; however, it is not possible to obtain the official data for this study. The hierarchy of roads categorizes roads according to their functions and capacities. It is dependent upon the function that the street is required to perform, and the kind of movement and the way it is used

The main road in the area, which also connects both neighbourhoods, is the Kurt-

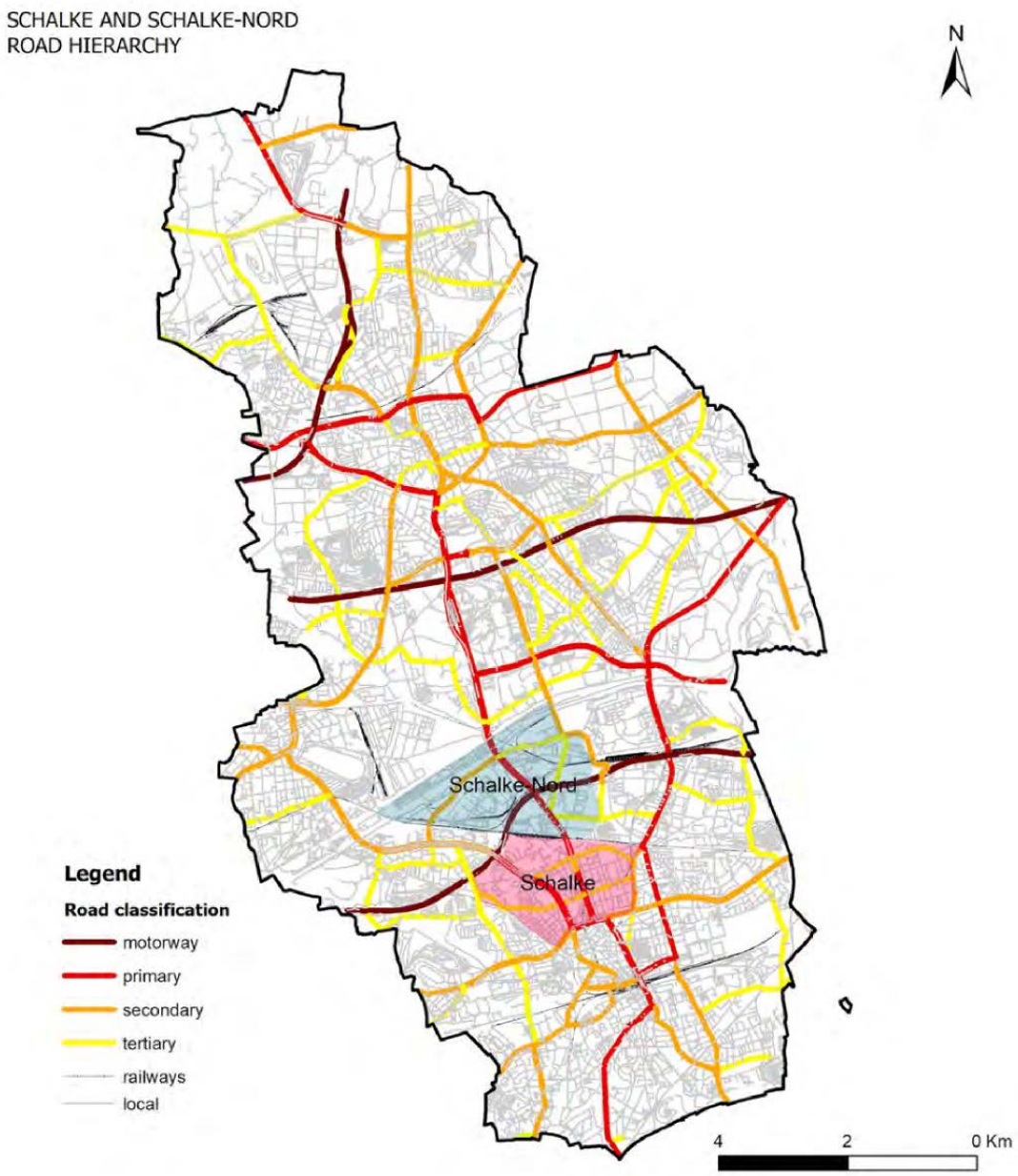

Figure 05 - Road Hierarchy. Sources: OSM, 2019 and Stadt Gelsenkirchen, 2018c.

Schumacher-Straße. It has two (2) lanes in each way, a narrow sidewalk and almost no trees. Although the sidewalk has only approximately 1,5m, it is shared with bicycles. The speed limit on this road ranges from 70km/h to 50km/h, varying in some areas. Moreover, the tramline runs in the middle of the road (line 302).

The Berliner Brücke is a steel bridge built between 1963 and 1964 with the aim of allowing the north-south highway, nowadays known as the Kurt-Schumacher-Straße, to cross the railroad Consolidation-Emscher without level crossings and traffic conflicts arising from these. (Berliner Brücke, n.d.)

Figure 06 - Kurt-Schumacher-Straße (2019)

Figure 07 - Shared sidewalk (2019)

Figure 08 - Berliner Brücke saw from below (2019)

Figure 09 - Berliner Brücke (2019)

At this time, the area underneath the bridge has parking lots, which are mainly unused and the importance and current functionality of the bridge is questioned, once the rail line underneath is mostly deactivated.

The bridge has a narrow sidewalk and pedestrian access to the bridge is possible through stairs or ramps. The neighbourhood lacks proper infrastructure for sustainable modes of transport, particularly when compared with other regions of the city. One example is that, despite the fact that Gelsenkirchen is part of the dock-based bicycle sharing system of the Ruhr Area, called *MetropolradRuhr*, there are no stations in Schalke or Schalke-Nord (MetropolradRuhr, 2019). Moreover, the cycle route network has many discontinuities in the area, as demonstrated by the map entitled *Radverkersnetz* (Stadt Gelsenkirchen, 2017).

4.3 Measure concept Kurt-Schumacher Strasse

Apart from field observation, this study also considered existing projects and programs developed by the municipality. One of them is the Green City Plan (Stadt Gelsenkirchen, 2018a).

One of the programs mentioned in this plan is the Measure Concept (in German: *Das Maßnahmenkonzept*), developed in 2014 aiming at improving reducing air pollution and noise emissions. It focuses on many areas in the city, but especially in the Kurt-Schumacher-Strasse. It consists of a 6 point-plan with practical solutions, and most of its proposals were already implemented. (Stadt Gelsenkirchen, 2018a, p.38)

Unfortunately, due to the timeframe of this study, it was not possible to evaluate the area before the implementation and to perceive the impacts that resulted from the proposed changes.

4.4 The Spatial Structure Concept

Another study developed by the municipality is the Spatial Structure Concept (in German: *Räumliches Strukturkonzept*, RSK). It is, according to the Stadt Gelsenkirchen (2018b, p.40), an informal planning tool that brings together strategies and goals from different areas. It was developed in 2018 and resulted in four areas of specialization for Gelsenkirchen. One of them is focused in this study's target area and it is called Kurt-Schumacher-Strasse and Schalke Nord in which various transport challenges are focused on.

The document *Räumliches Strukturkonzept Gelsenkirchen* (Stadt Gelsenkirchen, 2018b) presents a description of the characteristics of the area. It relates land use, quality of buildings and urban mobility. It defines it as an area essentially characterized by industrial and commercial uses and highlights the existing conflicts between them. It identifies the low quality and vacant buildings as issues. Moreover, the document mentions the high level of noise and air pollution and the unattractive street design in the Kurt-Schumacher-Straße. Besides, it describes the Kurt Schumacher-Straße as a road with an important visual function, because visitors to the city often reach it through this street and therefore their perception of the road can influence their image of the city.

The RSK is not a plan. Instead, it sets the Kurt-Schumacher-Strasse and the Schalke Nord areas as priorities, pointing out the need to develop an action plan in the future with the aim to tackle the identified issues. It states that an urban planning development concept integrating all problematic situations should be created for this area of specialization.

5. Case Studies

5.1 Methodological approach

In order to find case studies that are relevant to this project, there were certain things to consider. Interestingly, Kurt-Schumacher-Strasse could both be considered a two-way central street or a transit street, per definitions by NACTO, National Association of City Transportation Officials, both of which are displayed in The Global Street Design Guide (National Association of City Transportation Officials, 2016).

The first thing that needs to be addressed when confronting any restructuring of the street itself is the bridge, Berliner Brücke, which has been a cause for much debate in recent years in Gelsenkirchen. The main argument is that to revitalize the street, the bridge needs to go. This, in fact, a political objective and agenda for the Green Party officially since as recently as 2018. By removing the bridge, people are due to enjoy better amenities, better air and sound quality and safer a safer street, according to vice-chairman of the Green Party in Gelsenkirchen Burkhard Wüllscheidt (Ansahl, 2018).

However, removing the bridge does not seem likely in the near future due to logistical and political realities. There have also been some changes made during the last few

years that need evaluation, such as traffic speed reduction and, most recently, a ban ordered by the German Administrative Court on “older” diesel powered automobiles and lorries effective from July 2019 (Beenen, 2018.) This could mean substantial changes in traffic patterns, moving away from a 55 thousand cars per day capacity to a smaller number and creating even more space for active mobility.

Therefore, two case studies were chosen to meet a criteria of street regeneration. One specifically of increasing street life and foot traffic, while also providing a healthier environment for establishing new businesses and supporting the businesses already in place. The second is to prove that a bridge capacity can be maintained or even increased while dedicating a portion of it for active transport modes, namely, walking and cycling.

5.2 Götgatan, Stockholm, Sweden.

Classification: Central two-way street.

Götgatan is chosen as a case study because of certain similarities with Kurt-Schumacher-Strasse (KSS). It stretches 0,8 km, roughly about the same length as KSS does from Magdeburger Strasse to the Gluckauf-Kampfbahn. It is 28 meters wide, the same as KSS in the Schalker Meile. It is a mixed-used street, with residential housing with retail and service on ground floor level. It has, however, relatively more retail and services, although those had been in decline, much like KSS.

Götgatan is situated in the island of Södermalm, just south of the city centre and central business district of Kungsholmen and Norrmalm/Östermalm. Historically, Götgatan served as the main traffic artery from the southern suburbs to the city centre and northern boroughs of Stockholm until 1984, when Söderledstunneln was inaugurated. The tunnel has two-way traffic, two lanes in each direction, just like Götgatan continued to do from 1984 to 2014. Both of these streets therefore served as main traffic streets in the Stockholm north-south axis. It had been suspected that the magnitude of car traffic was having a negative effect on foot traffic, air quality and businesses in Götgatan, as the street was estimated as being in decline.

As a part of a grand scheme of The Urban Mobility Strategy for 2030, Götgatan would therefore be redesigned with new priorities. Four major components were identified for a concise and streamlined strategy for the city as a whole (Urban Mobility Strategy, 2012, p. 17).

A. An increasing number of people and amount of goods need to be moved, through greater use of high capacity transportation means; that is, *public transport, bicycles and walking* as well as goods vehicles with a high load factor.
B. *Accessibility* in the road and street network is to be enhanced by increasing speeds for high-capacity transportation means and raising travel-time reliability for all road users.
C. The role of roads and streets as attractive areas is to be strengthened through improved *walkability* in the walkable city.
D. The negative effects of road and street traffic must be minimised through promoting car use for journeys that generate the most public good.

In line with the Urban Mobile Strategy, measures were taken with clear objectives for Götgatan in 2014, for a trial period of one year to begin with. The goals were:

1. Improve the urban environment and performance of a popular street for shopping and entertainment
2. Improve accessibility and safety for cyclists, which outnumber motorists at peak hours
3. Illustrate the principles of the Urban Mobility Strategy and demonstrate the flexibility of the street environment as a part of a wider public engagement process.
4. Collect information on a broad range of metrics to inform decision making for a more permanent reconfiguration of the street (National Association of City Transportation Officials, 2016).

The measures were taken for a trial period, to reduce tensions for residents and business owners who wanted to see the outcomes of restructuring the street before it would be made permanent. The measures which were taken were in line with the Urban Mobile Strategy, to prioritize the street in favour of active mobility. They were:

- Increased sidewalk widths with zones for temporary street furnishing.
- Wider cycle lanes in the former parking lane.
- Cycle parking facilities for 50 cycles in former vehicle parking spaces.
- Green Wave for cyclists set at 18 km/h, visualization through countdown signs.
- Reduction from two motor vehicle lanes in each direction to one in each direction.
- Reduction in speed limit from 50 km/h to 30 km/h.
- Measures to improve deliveries.
- Increased parking charges to ensure turnover.

The results from the trial period were extremely positive. So much so that the changes were made as a basis for permanent street redesign to fit with the Urban Mobility Strategy and the prioritization of active mobility. Among the main findings were that there was a 90% increase in volume of cyclists, 68% of pedestrians declared the

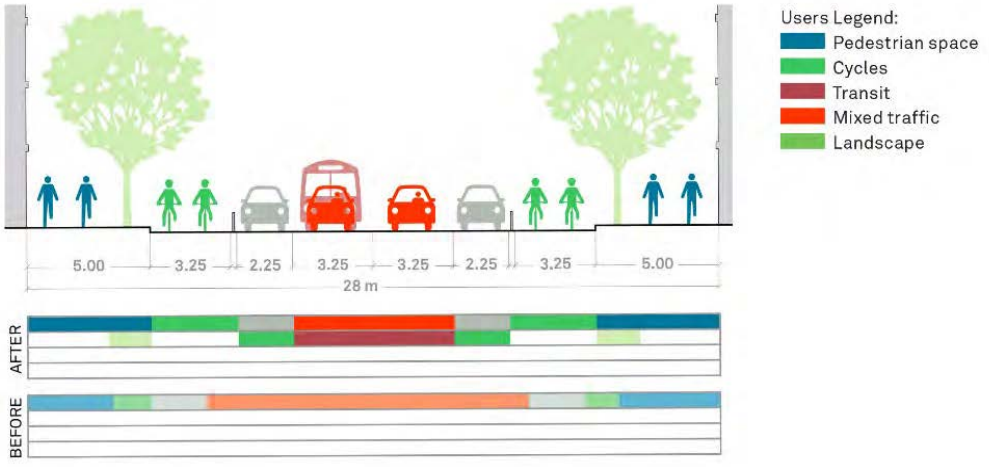

Figure 10 - Changes made in Götgatan (National Association of City Transportation Officials, 2016).

street environment to be better than before, 72% of cyclists felt safer than they did before the transformation and 40% of business owners declared the street to be better than it was.

5.3. Burrard Bridge, Vancouver, Canada.

Classification: Transit Street Bridge.

The second case study is chosen to provide a realistic measure and redesign made to a transit bridge in an urban environment, one that has historically been one of the main transit corridors in the city of Vancouver, Canada. Much like Gelsenkirchen and Stockholm, Vancouver also has a Greenest City Action Plan 2020, of which the reconfiguration of the bridge was a part of (City of Vancouver, 2018).

Burrard Bridge crosses False Creek, an inlet separating the downtown central business district in the north with medium density residential neighbourhoods to the south. Three bridges are used on different points to cross False Creek, the Granville, the Cambie and the Burrard Bridge - historically the busiest one (City of Vancouver, 2018).

Built primarily to accommodate cars and vehicular transport, the role of the bridge has evolved since its completion in 1932. This goes especially for the 21st century, where there has been growing numbers of pedestrians and cyclists who use the bridge on a daily basis. Up until 2009, cyclists and pedestrians had to share sidewalks on each side of the bridge, while there were at the same time three traffic lanes in each direction.

In 2009 a trial period was established to create protected bike lanes in both directions on the east side of the bridge, while at the same time diverting all pedestrian traffic to the west side. This also called for a reduction of one southbound traffic lane. The trial period of protected bike lanes was established after a growing number of cyclists had become problematic in a shared space with pedestrians, often being hazardous.

The trial proved a huge success, although there was a huge protest from motorists who used words like “chaos”, “doom” and “failure” when referring to the bike lane (de Silva, Currie, 2019).

The trial proved to be a success and did not show any significant drop in numbers of car capacity, even though the southbound traffic lane had been sacrificed for the sake of cyclists. The number of cyclists, however, grew significantly, adding to the general bridge capacity.

The trial period for the protected bike lanes was made permanent, in line with the Greenest City 2020 Action Plan, as well as the Transportation 2040. This measure, along with several others made in transportation corridors by the then chief planner Brent Toderian, proved to be a major success. A goal set for increasing the modal share of pedestrians, cyclists and public transport to 50% before the year 2020 (from 40% in 2008) was achieved in 2015, causing a very positive readjustment of the goal up to 55% before 2020 (City of Vancouver, 2018).

When the Burrard Bridge needed some necessary maintenance work in 2015, the city of Vancouver decided to redesign the bridge, this time giving pedestrians their eastern sidewalk back and adding protected bike lanes on either side. This is further

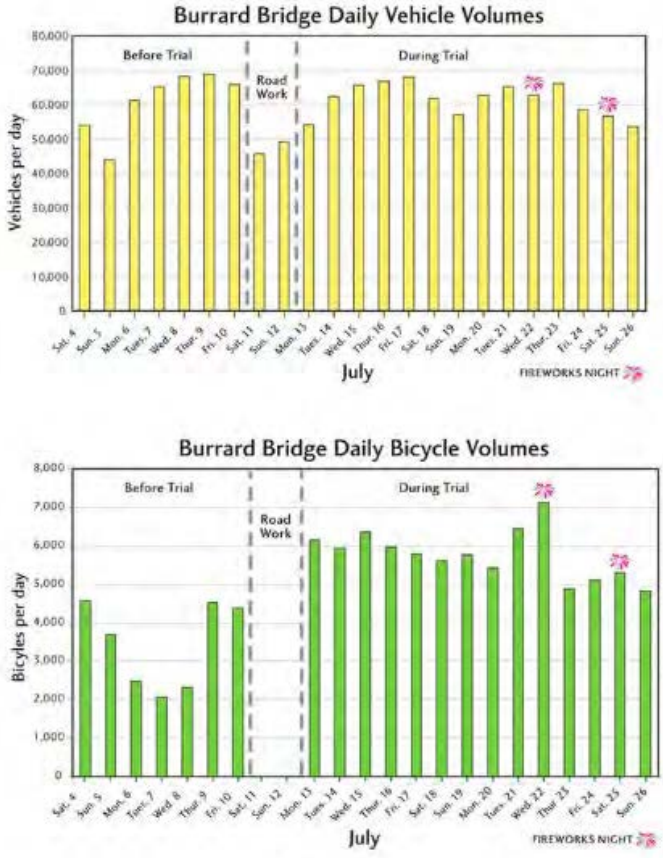

Figure 11 - Daily numbers of cars vs. cyclists during trial period (Price, 2009).

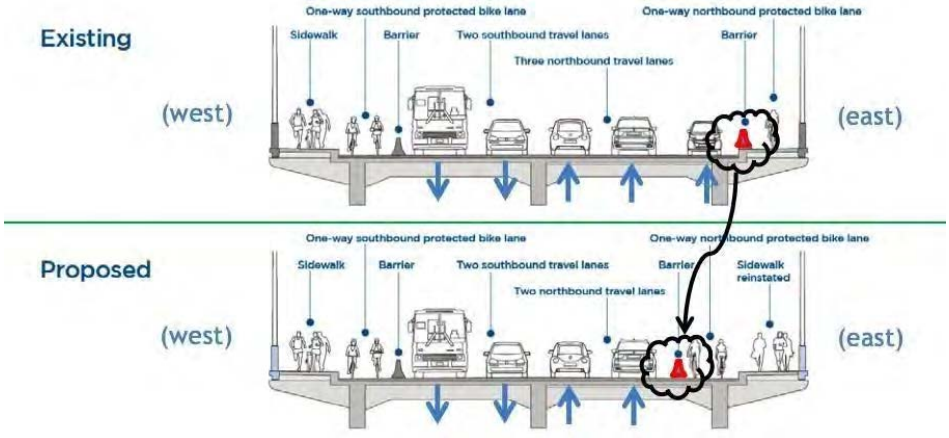

Figure 12 - Fewer lanes for traffic with added space for pedestrians and protected bike lanes (City of Vancouver, 2019).

elaborated in Burrard Bridge Renewal and Transportation Improvement Project (City of Vancouver, 2018).

In July 2015, after extensive public engagement, City Council approved a permanent solution that will provide more space for pedestrians and cyclists, so that both user groups have safe and comfortable spaces as they travel over the bridge. The project converts a second vehicular traffic lane to a 2.5 m wide bicycle lane and reintroduces pedestrians to the east sidewalk for improved walking connectivity, particularly for destinations on the east side of the bridge, and provides enhanced public views of False Creek for people walking. The intersection improvements also include new physically separated bike facilities that extend at least one block in all directions from the bridge. These new facilities will better connect the Burrard Bridge to the downtown area for people cycling and provide an opportunity to extend the protected cycling network further into the downtown in the future. The change can be seen illustrated Figure 12.

The transformation, or renewal, of Burrard Bridge was completed in 2017 and the results have been very positive. The number of pedestrians and cyclists continues to grow and in 2018 Burrard Bridge became the “busiest cycling route in North-America (Perkins, 2018). Furthermore, the renewal project, and its project lead, engineer Ross Kenny, was nominated for the Transportation Association of Canada’s Sustainable Urban Transportation Award 2018 (City of Vancouver, 2018).

6. Suggestions

Taking into account the data collected and the analyses carried out on the current situation in Gelsenkirchen and Schalke, as well as the theoretical framework and the

successful international experiences of redesigning streets prioritizing non-motorised modes, some suggestions were made for the neighbourhood in the field of urban mobility.

The streets in the neighbourhood should be provided with elements of traffic calming, such as chicanes and elevated crossings. Road signs should always alert people to the speed limit of local streets (30km/h), as well as indicate priority for bicyclists sharing the streets. These strategies are able to reduce the speed of cars as well as to make people feel safer when cycling or walking.

For the main street that crosses the neighbourhood, the Kurt-Schumacher-Straße, it is suggested the readjustment of the street design between Florastraße and the Veltins-Arena. This idea incorporates the existing bridge and rejects its removal, both considering political debates, high costs and its historical value for the region. Thus, it will be necessary to change the road hierarchy of the street in the section mentioned, transforming it into a secondary road. Through-traffic will no longer be welcome and should be carried out through alternative lanes, which should have land use compatible with such movement and speed of vehicles. In order for this change to be feasible, in-depth traffic studies are needed.

The suggested street design is presented in Figures 13-16. It includes bicycle lanes in both directions, in addition to widening the sidewalks and afforesting the road.

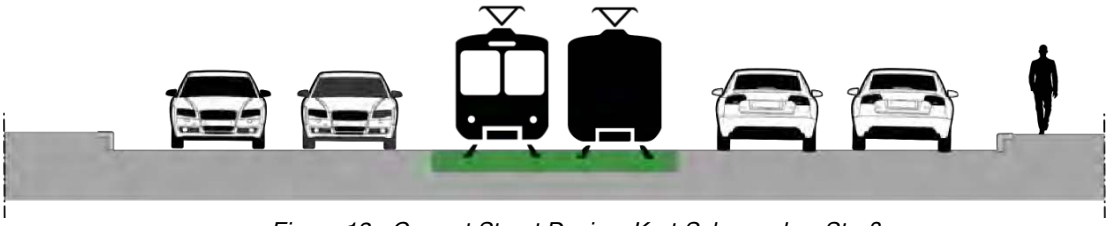

Figure 13 - Current Street Design: Kurt-Schumacher-Straße

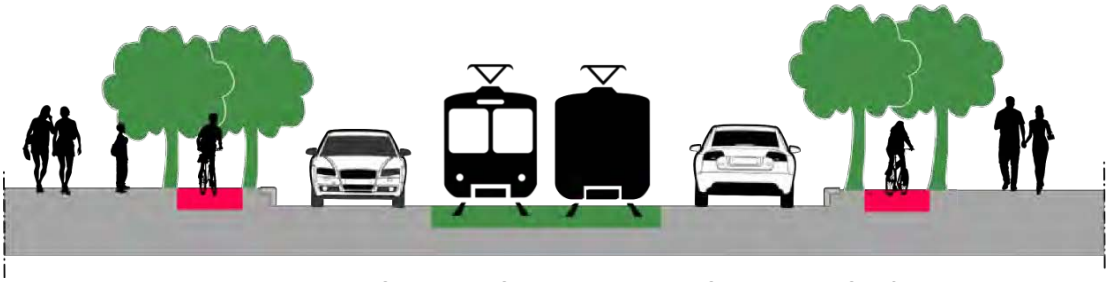

Figure 14 - Suggested Street Design: Kurt-Schumacher-Straße

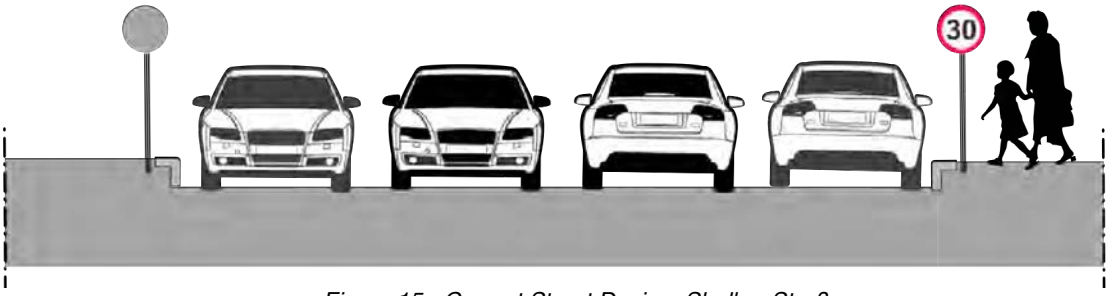

Figure 15 - Current Street Design: Shalker Straße

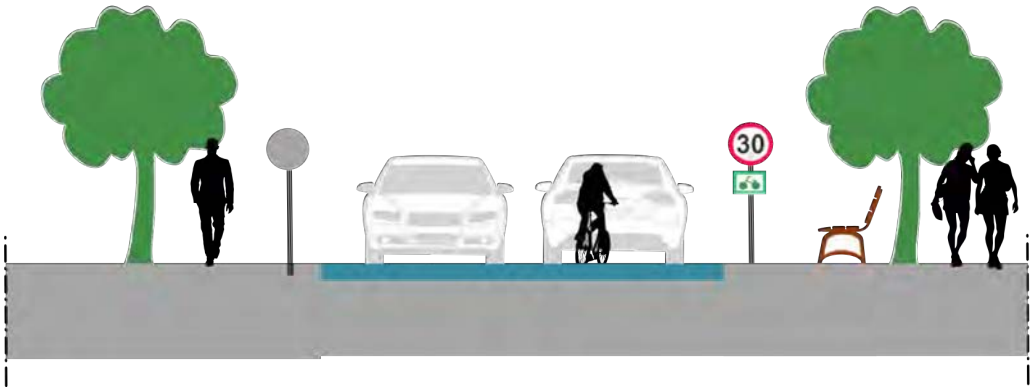

Figure 16 - Suggested Street Design: Shalker Straße.

Schalkerstrasse is a road of historical and social value in the neighbourhood. This road runs parallel to Kurt-Schumacher-Strasse and is currently a local road with a speed limit of 30km/h. It has plenty of parking spaces, both parallel and perpendicular. The suggestion is to improve the quality of public space for people by removing some parking spaces, expanding sidewalks, and encouraging sharing with cyclists through traffic calming and signalling strategies that alert them to sharing and reduced speed. The suggestion is presented in Figures 13-16..

7. Conclusions

The results of this study are aligned with recent municipal policies, such as the Green City Plan and the Spatial Structure Concept, studies that were published in 2018. However, the Green City Plan lacks clear objectives. As for the modal share, for example, Gelsenkirchen already has a 44% use of sustainable modes of transport, versus a 54% share of the private car. In one of our case studies, in Vancouver Canada, an objective was set to increase the share to 50% before the year 2020. Since that was achieved even sooner, in 2015, the goal was reset to a 55%, from a mere 40% in 2008. The numbers in Gelsenkirchen suggest the population is interested in using more sustainable modes of transport, so there is no reason not to be ambitious when setting goals for a more sustainable future in the realm of transport.

As analysed in the Green City Plan, this study comes to the same conclusions in pointing out what is missing. There is a lacking in connectivity and continuity in pedestrian streets but not least in bike lanes/protected bike lanes. According to the map of Gelsenkirchen, there are serious holes in bike-lane connections in Schalke and Schalke-Nord, when compared to other residential areas in Gelsenkirchen. This also suggests mobility poverty, as pointed out in this study.

As for the fate of Berliner-Brücke, there have been some ambitious ideas of dismantling and restructuring the whole street of Kurt-Schumacher-Strasse, as noted by both Stiftung Schalker Markt and campaign promise by the Green Party as a main policy in the last municipal elections. Here, a suggestion was offered by way of a case study that goes a middle ground, retaining the bridge structure but calming streets next to it and restructuring the Kurt-Schumacher-Strasse to accommodate active modes of transport such as biking and walking. Only then, it would be possible to achieve a more liveable area where people will want to walk, and eventually want to stay.

Changes like the ones suggested here, which are still in line with the Spatial Structure Concept as well as the Green City plan, are often viewed as a paradigm shift in transport in urban areas. The changes that need to be are therefore debated, and for a certain group (motorists) unpopular. Experience does show, however, that when acting decisively and firmly, the very positive benefits from those changes are quickly felt, not only by users of public transport or active mobility, but to motorists as well. Prioritizing urban mobility in favour of walking and cycling has numerous positive effects and can serve as a lease of life. That would be our profound wish for Kurt-Schumacher-Strasse, Schalke, Schalke-Nord and Gelsenkirchen as a whole.

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06 I Social cohesion & work opportunities in urban agriculture

A post-industrial green identity in Schalke Nord

Karina Almeida, Giacomo Mateev, Neyde Mendoza, & Charlotte Polak

1. Introduction

Today, the Ruhr Region is a polycentric conurbation marked by memories and linked to the steel and coal industry (Hospers G. et al., 2018: 3). With the closure of the factories, issues and problems of different nature and dimension occurred. Since 1970 cities have been transforming (Belke A. et al., 2015: 11), and the Ruhr "has managed structural changes towards a climate-friendly and modern future" (Hospers G. et al., 2018:2). However, not all the cities and neighborhoods have managed to adopt and follow an effective structural change fully, Schalke and Schalke-Nord could be included in these cases.

Among a declining scenario, the streets of Schalke-Nord display several elements referring to the culture of coal mining in the 20th century. Industrial architecture, railways, the football club and narratives of old residents confirm that coal mining work shaped the identity of this neighborhood, providing social cohesion between its inhabitants. It put together a) opportunities both in terms of employment and social connections; b) built accepted values among workers and their families and c) was supported by a set of institutions (associations, church, and the municipality), generating a sense of belonging. By sharing values in their lived spaces, coal mining workers - who used to live, create associations and engage in recreational activities within their neighborhood (Zukas A., 2015: 36) - also shaped their built environment.

Due to the immense loss of jobs through deindustrialization of Gelsenkirchen (Friedrichs, J. et al., 1996: 146), part of the population moved out and social ties weakened, a consequence that affected the urban space. Now, remaining residents from the former period share community with an oscillating group of migrants and other low-income groups. As users of the leftovers of a prosperous period, they struggle to revitalize their urban environment, overcome poverty, and re-establish community bounds.

Today, Schalke-Nord scores high in terms of unemployment and migrants. Its low-skilled population depends much on social benefits, mainly among women. Despite some industries, many of the old industrial buildings are abandoned and many of

the residential buildings need renovation. Further, job opportunities within the neighborhood are limited. The competitive regional context also represents an essential economic restraint in tackling decay in this area, making it harder for the municipality to develop strategies to attract investments. On the other hand, social programs and projects related to environment and sustainability in the Ruhr region offer some potential perspectives to Schalke-Nord. "*Lernende Stadt*" and "*Urbane Landwirtschaft in der Metropole Ruhr*" are two prominent examples. They provide a framework for requalifying the area. Additionally, findings from interviews, literature review, and case studies indicate that the best chance to succeed in regenerating this low-income community is by taking a participatory approach.

This part of the work aims to understand and explore the district and its social dimension, the connections between social cohesion and job opportunities. We strongly believe that Schalke-Nord could benefit itself from a set of short-term initiatives to induce long-term changes and reverse its current condition. As we have witnessed, the "working paradigm" in Gelsenkirchen can go beyond a simple "mono-economic input", creating a sustainable future for Schalke-Nord.
In this context, the research carried out has focused on the problems related to the social dimension, strictly connected to the personal life experience as perceived by citizens. Our work is based on concepts such as social cohesion, social capital, and participatory processes. Despite various problems we observed and experienced in the neighborhood, issues that highlight the unbalanced regional disparities and abandonment, we consider it as possible to exploit the neighborhood potential for revitalization and improvement of social cohesion. Recognizing workers culture as a distinctive symbol in the landscape is the first step for exploring the potentials and the opportunities in the district.

This research aims first to highlight dynamics and problems underway in Schalke-Nord and then to translate them into proactive ideas. The intention is to leverage the Schalke-Nord's potential, as well as to suggest alternative paths for the public administration. In order to reach the final propositional part of the work, first, we will use the existing literature to define the concepts we have taken into consideration to frame and contextualize Schalke-Nord within Gelsenkirchen and the Ruhr Region. Therefore, for our analysis it is crucial to define the elemental concepts of the analytical and propositional phases, i.e., social cohesion and Urban Agriculture. After that, we report the methodological work relating to the data analyzed, to interviews conducted and to similar case studies. We conclude by listing the findings and providing a proposal resulting from the analysis carried out.

2. Key concepts: social cohesion and urban agriculture

Social cohesion is a broad concept, with different facets and dimensions. It is defined as participation, inclusion, or absence of social exclusion (Jenson J., 2010). Social cohesion can be referred to as social capital and improvement of the quality of life (Berger Schmitt R., 2000). It means the active involvement of citizens; it means communication and a sense of belonging. (World Bank, 2012). According to Dahrendorf et al. (1995),

> "Social cohesion comes in to describe a society which offers opportunities to all its members within a framework of accepted values and institutions. Such a society is, therefore, one of inclusion" (Dahrendorf et al., 1995, as cited in Berger-Schmitt R., 2000: 14)

The same definition is shared by the authors Dragolov et al. (2018: 6) who claim that social cohesion refers to society and is strongly linked with feelings of community and inclusion. Following Forest and Kearns, the concept of neighborhood itself becomes the level at which social cohesion can be measured. The authors affirm (Forest R., Kearns A., 2011: 2140):

> "There is the neighborhood as 'context'—particularly in the negative sense of social reputation, labeling, ill health and the development of perverse social norms and behavior as responses to social exclusion. At the other end of the social spectrum, there is the neighborhood as 'commodity'—a domain of safety and security, of compatible lifestyle packaged and sold as a walled enclave."

Residents living in the same area can have the feeling of being situated in a "*context*" (ibidem: 2140) where they are unlikely to be identified with because of an unbalance of social dynamics and external stigmatization. This case is likely related to the absence of social cohesion. At the same time, the neighborhood can be a "safe place" - a place where the residents feel free to express themselves and participate in community life.

Nowadays, Schalke-Nord suffers from a negative reputation. Personal experiences, and stories from inhabitants of Gelsenkirchen partly seem to exclude the district from the city. On the other hand, we firmly believe it is possible to activate participatory processes in Schalke-Nord that can lead to the right level of social cohesion. The concept of social cohesion can be synthesized as a double dimension: while the first one is connected to the reduction of inequalities and social exclusion, the second is linked to the strengthening of social relations, interactions, and ties (Berger Schmitt R., 2000: 4). This double dimension could be the first point to understand social cohesion and to think about how social cohesion can be reached in Schalke-Nord. We have analyzed the neighborhood's potential points that can strengthen social cohesion because this concept "is an end product, one that results from a good policy for social development." (Jenson, J.; 2010: 15)

With the present research, we aim to underline the importance of job opportunities, educational and exchange activities, as well as actions for individuals and for the community itself. We believe that work can be the tool to achieve social cohesion: "Jobs connect people with others through networks. The workplace can be a place to encounter new ideas and information and to interact with people of different ethnicities" (World Bank, 2012: 126).

According to Dagmar Kift (2014), during the industrial period, the coal mining companies supported cultural activities and networking between the workers to enable integration and increase productivity. After 1945, participation was the primary cohesive model which the companies and city administrations followed and encouraged in order to facilitate the integration of thousands of workers and guest workers in the Ruhr region. Politicians of 1950s initialized a societal consciousness and cultural image for the region and its residents, through participation (or inclusion) (ibidem:87). Therefore, the companies or attached societies formed different cultural groups, carrying out competitions, sport and cultural events. With the end of the industrial culture many of these traditions were forgotten and the social ties which were promoted through a dense supply of cultural activities among the

workers, have steadily weakened - a phenomenon which can also be observed in Schalke-Nord.

In Schalke-Nord, the provision of jobs in the industrial sector was the engine of development inside the district and played a primary role in the creation of local identity. Today, we are wondering if and how “employment” can again play a primary role in the urban development of the neighborhood. The creation of employment opportunities and educational pathways could “bolster self-esteem and produce benefits for societies beyond incomes” (World Bank 2012: 142). Moreover, “temporary employment programs can provide skills training and access to employment for youth at risk and vulnerable populations” (ibidem: 143). Subsequently, we have examined the question: Which job opportunity, urban activity, or initiative can improve the conditions of Schalke-Nord nowadays?

In similar contexts elsewhere, urban agriculture has been recently analyzed and implemented as an urban strategy for post-industrial regions. In addition to various sustainable programs and strategies, cities have already begun to develop urban agriculture as an activity based on the exchange of knowledge and techniques, an activity that encourages participation and involvement: “People of all social groups, ages and ethnicities can understand the language of gardening” (Cunk K. et al. 2017: 10). For several reasons, which will be explained in the further sections, we also believe that it can be a promising alternative for Schalke-Nord.

Also, the success or failure of socially cohesive policies is equally dependent of both the effectiveness of the policies themselves and on the recognition of local features of the city (Mingione 2004, as cited in Cassiers T. et al., 2012: 1918). Regarding the local features and the challenges of post-industrial Schalke-Nord - among them environmental degradation, decreased air quality, the population fluctuation rate, the high number of jobless residents, different migrant communities, etc. - the necessity of a shift in the neighborhood to strengthen local features becomes evident. Consequently, the concept of Urban Agriculture has aided us to overthink the current dynamics in the neighborhood.

The term Urban Agriculture (UA) has multiple definitions and functions, varying according to the period and place it has been discussed. Additionally, people in the Global North and South have diverse understandings regarding the role of food and agriculture in their economy (McClintock N., 2010: 191). Thus, taking the context of Schalke-Nord, we consider three perspectives of UA: the “sustainable livelihood approach” (Chambers, 1989, as cited in Mkwambisi et al., 2011: 183), the “metabolic rift” (McClintock N., 2010) and the participatory-social innovation (Buic et al., 2017; Bende et al. 2018; Ribeiro D. et al., 2019).

According to Mkwambisi et al. (2011), through the perspective of sustainable livelihood, urban agriculture can offer tangible assets to tackle poverty, mitigate social vulnerabilities, enhance community participation and foster local development without threatening natural resources. UA is seen as a source of food, jobs, income, and a mean to foster resilience. Alongside, from the dimensions of the metabolic rift (ecological social and individual), UA is part of a “protective countermovement” (McClintock N., 2010: 200), attempting to “rescaling production, reclaiming vacant land and ‘de-alienating’ urban dwellers from their food” (ibidem: 191). Both viewpoints focus on the potential of UA in contexts of economic crisis and low-income communities, supporting it mostly for alleviating causes of vulner-

ability and poverty concentration. Alternatively, Buic et al. (2017) support UA as social innovation. Approaching it in the context of an INTERREG program, the authors view it as an innovative and participatory mean “to increase the social inclusion of vulnerable and marginalized groups and stimulate the liveability of cities.” (ibidem:7). Conforming to them, its novelty derives from the capacity it has to promote participation, employment and equity while reducing fossil fuel consumption and fostering sustainable food systems. (ibidem:8).

In such a perspective, UA could become the engine for inclusive processes and can further develop a cohesive community.

3. Situation in Gelsenkirchen and Schalke-Nord

To understand and describe the situation in Schalke Nord, we must first refer to the regional and city contexts, considering the different relations and trends occurring in the district. The analysis of the current scenario was developed following three paths: firstly, data collection and analysis of the data gathered from the open data catalog of the city; secondly, by reading about social programs in the city, collection of the leading strategies and projects in the city of Gelsenkirchen; then, relating the motto of environmental sustainability present in regional projects and the current scarcity of job opportunities in this area, we focused on a reference project, the “Urbane Landwirtschaft in der Metropole Ruhr” - a federally funded project about the potentials of agriculture in the Ruhr. This focus on the Ruhr region highlights how Gelsenkirchen is located in a moving context, which seeks to find new solutions and meet the needs of the population. UA is becoming increasingly important, it is a central theme of urban development and as we will see below, the synergies which exist between urban agriculture and innovative concepts for a sustainable development could lead to a process of social orientation in the Ruhr, (Born, R., Pölling, B., 2014: 10).

3.1 Data analysis: Ruhr, Gelsenkirchen, Schalke-Nord

When talking about the Ruhr area, we still have sharp images linked to the industrial era in mind. But the districts are changing today and the whole region has begun to follow different paths for achieving structural change, mostly because a return to the heavy industry would be genuinely unpredictable. Gelsenkirchen is implementing strategies and setting short- and long-term goals in this sense. The city is a “complex urban system” (Walloth C. et al., 2014: 96) challenging to read and describe. The current situation is characterized by substantial urban imbalances in terms of economic revenue, subsidiary system, and ethnic minorities.

Schalke-Nord lays in a central location, but the data from the city present features for the neighborhood that are typical of peripheral places. Characteristic factors are the concentration of people with an immigration background, the high rate of subsidy and unemploment. According to data collected by the city on December 2018, less than 5,000 people live in Schalke Nord (Fig. 1). With a population density of around 1080 population/Km2,

Schalke Nord is well below the city average of 2500 pop/Km2. This factor reiterates a reality lived in Schalke Nord, also described by the first phase of field analysis: the significant number of vacant houses and high population fluctuation

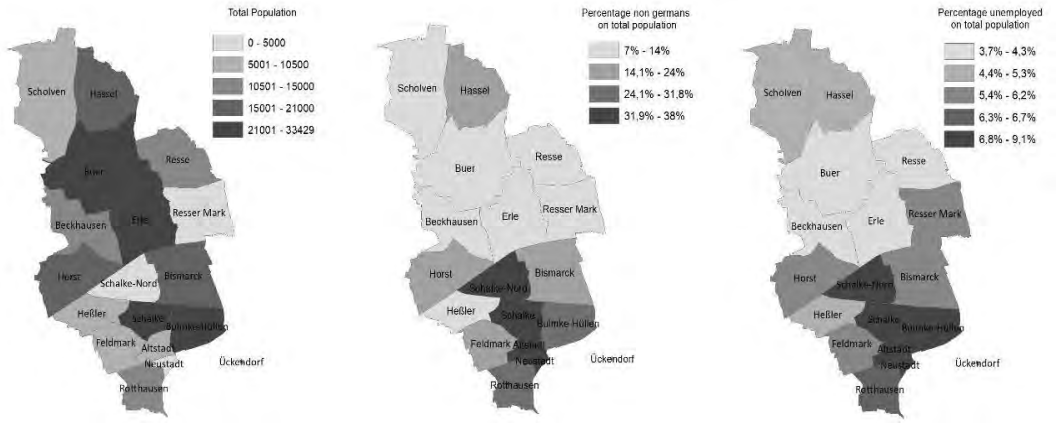

Figure 01, 02, 03 - Gelsenkirchen data collection. By author, source: open data Gelsenkirchen 2019.

The data also underlines another essential condition: in Schalke Nord just over a third of residents comes from an immigration background (Fig 2), i.e. 38% of the population have a foreign origin. This is a high rate compared to the city's average, which is around 18% - also a high score compared to other locations. The data from 'Demografie Atlas AG Ruhr' reports Gelsenkirchen as a city with the second-highest rate of non-German inhabitants within the Ruhr Region (about 20%), a majority of it is very young, around 20% are under 18 years old. Although the concentration of ethnic minorities is known for triggering segregation processes in cities, the existence of districts with different cultural ethnicities can also be a positive indicator in this neighborhood. According to Sturgis et al. (2013):

> "For some individuals living in an ethnically diverse area will lead to feelings of threat and the development or exacerbation of prejudicial attitudes, while for others, the opposite will be the case. A crucial determinant of whether diversity will result in positive or negative attitudes towards ethnic outgroups is the degree of meaningful social contact and interaction between residents." (Sturgis P. et al., 2013: 1290).

Although the different assumptions predict an increasingly complicated situation, we believe that with appropriate strategies, paths and programs, the municipality can overcome the limitations and create cohesion among the communities that are present in the neighborhood.

Along with the diverse demographics in Gelsenkirchen, three decades of industrial sectors dependency and the decline of coal triggered a steady rise in the unemployment rate. Schalke-Nord's unemployed population corresponds to 8.25% (Fig. 3), while the unemployment among migrants is 10.62%. The percentage of the population without a job is one of the highest in the city. Due to it and the general economic condition, over a quarter of people in Schalke-Nord receive government financial help, whether in the form of social benefits or economic assistance.

When social assistance takes place, the concept of working beneficiaries also plays a role for unemployed residents in the area. *Das Integrationscenter für Arbeit Gelsenkirchen* (IAG) acts on behalf of the two institutions for social security, the *Agentur für Arbeit Gelsenkirchen* and *Stadt Gelsenkirchen*, providing social bene

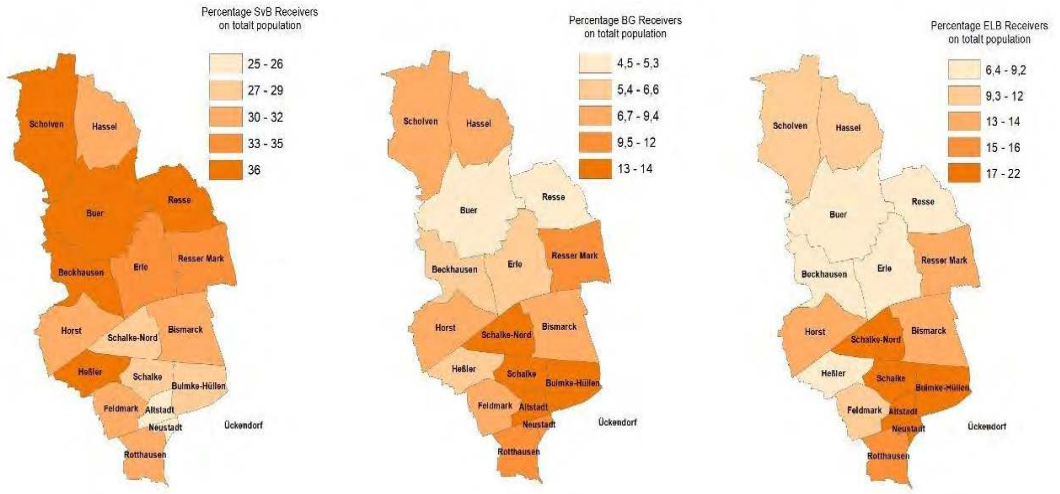

Figure 04, 05, 06 - Gelsenkirchen data collection. By author, source: open data Gelsenkirchen 2019.

Fits for those entitled to work or those who are in a "community of needs" or *Bedarfsgemeinschaften* (BG). The term "community of needs" refers to a reintroduction to the labor and training market linked to a context where conditions are not enough to support a typical household. The total number of employee's subject to social insurance in Schalke Nord corresponds to 27% (Figure 5) with a breakdown of 670 for male social contributors, 440 for female contributors and 150 for non-German social contributors. (Agentur für Arbeit Gelsenkirchen, the first quarter of 2018). As for BG receivers, 14% of them are aided by social security services.

According to the *Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Soziales*, people fit in the general labor market and are suited for *Erwerbsfähiger Leistungsberechtigter* (employment benefits) if: 1) they are older than 15 years old, 2) able to work and 3) in need of assistance to secure their livelihood. Over 21% (Figure 6) of Schalke Nord's population receives this assistance (EWB, Agentur für Arbeit Gelsenkirchen, 2018).

Furthermore, as reported by the Gelsenkirchen database of May 2017, the district of Schalke presents a high proportion of labor force without vocational qualification. This percentage is comprehensible when considering the firm number of people with migrant background in the district that deal with many challenges, such as poor German skills, age restriction and lack of training or educational qualifications to transition on the German labor market. The municipality of Gelsenkirchen provides integrational services of counseling, psychosocial care, assistance for childcare minorities and relatives at home in order to counteract the migrant challenges and facilitate integration on the labor market. Besides improving the welfare and social working provision for migrants to adapt to these circumstances, the city of Gelsenkirchen also helps to provide job offers and educational programs as part of the SGB II reform. (Integrationscenter für Arbeit Gelsenkirchen- das Jobcenter, 2018: 15).

Welfare associations like *Arbeiterwohlfahrt* (AWO), assist migrants and refugees with the integration in the labor market, especially with women in the area of Gelsenkirchen and Schalke. In 2016, the city and the IAG developed the program "In-

tegration Point" to provide refugees integration and language courses, training and professional skills much needed to cope with the job offer in the area. Qualification is provided according to the skills and preferences of the applicant, providing the district with job offers in the areas of warehousing, transport, health and care, and security industry. The integration programs are geared on a medium-term period because resources for basic insurance and consumers structures are changing relatively. (Integrationscenter für Arbeit Gelsenkirchen- das Jobcenter, 2018: 36). Even though the IAG provides programs to act as a mean for job-seeking, the program's networking with third parties and contact within the neighborhood are still weak in the region. For this reason, they currently envision to extend the contact with other mechanisms. From the information collected so far, Schalke Nord is configured as an "anomalous reality" in the city center. The data describes the neighborhood as a marginal and passing district, which confirms the first hypothesis arisen during the exploration phase.

3.2 Gelsenkirchen and Schalke-Nord: Social and work integration projects

Social and work integration projects in Schalke are not new. The city council has eagerly envisioned action plans since the 1990s. Previous plans depicted improvement on the quality conditions through a series of town planning measures. Nowadays, existing programs and strategies such as "*Lernende Stadt*" and "*Urbane Landwirtschaft in der Metropole Ruhr*" are working to achieve an integrated action concept on the pre-industrial area. As part of the national competition "*Zukunftsstadt-2030*", Gelsenkirchen is promoting a future-oriented framework under the paradigm "Learning city", a city focusing on the local organization and skill sharing of the people in the communities, where participation is means and objective at the same time (aGEnda21-Büro, 2018). By fostering education, participation and learning, the local and global future viability shall be secured. Currently, the city is in the second competing phase for the title "*Zukunftstadt 2030*", which would ensure funding of one million euros for the implementation of training laboratories (see Gelsenkirchen, 2019).

In general, the department for economic business development (*Wirtschaftsförderung*) supports companies to settle their businesses in Gelsenkirchen. Together with the *Stadtteilbüro Schalke*, the economic business development and social programs like PLAN help fostering small business development and settlement in neighborhoods with a small density of retail trade and service such as Schalke. These strategies all agree with short-term implementation processes around a process of participation to foster a network of local representatives. Figure 7 shows the existing actors and programs for work integration through a multi-level classification in Schalke.

Schalke also has additional projects that target local gender and social integration. For example, the *Mädchenzentrum e.V*, member of the German Parity Welfare Association, seizes the engagement of an active role of women through inclusion and group activities

in Schalke. Additional programs for the foreign population are implemented by the office of equal opportunities, *Ruteb e.V.* Association. Another social institution, called *Lalok Libre*, works with traditional Romanian and Sinti children by teaching them social values

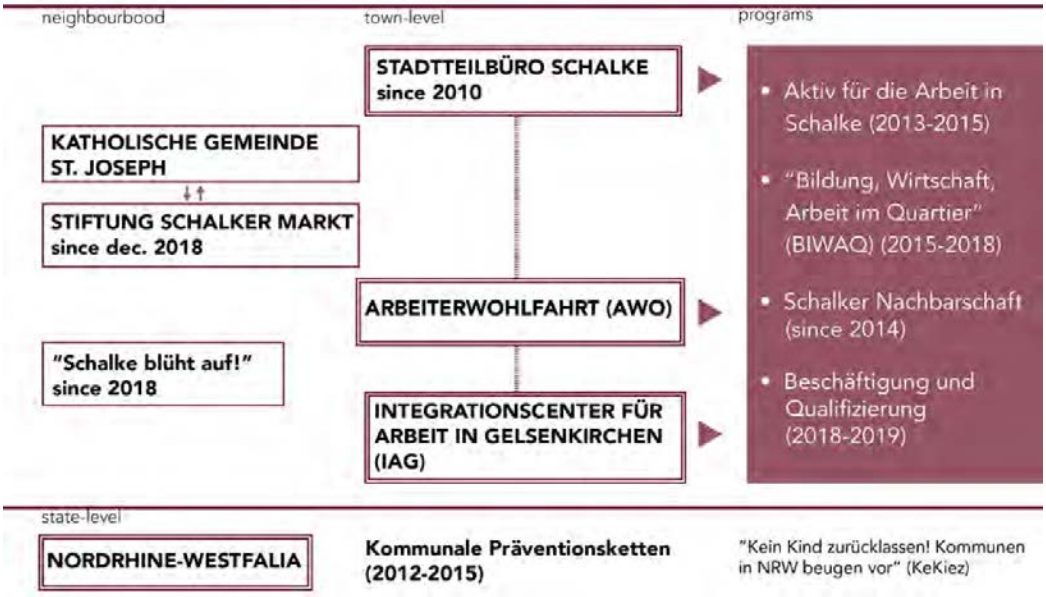

Figure 07 - Schalke work and integration programs. By author, source: personal interviews 2019.

and ethics, as well as ways of living in Germany. Venetia Harontzas, founder and primary assistance in *Lalok Libre*, knows the difficult task of working with these communities due to the lack of commitment and engagement for community involvement. Nevertheless, she is willingly fostering different activities along an active discourse of participation to help these children to build a sense of cooperation and enforce their social role as citizens.

Besides the institutions that actively work in the neighborhood of Schalke and Schalke-Nord, the *Stadtteilbüro Schalke* managed multiple pilot projects that focused on the problem of unemployment in the district (see Fig. 7). The project "*Aktiv für die Arbeit in Schalke*" ran from April 2013 to March 2015 aiming to establish contact with long-time unemployed to reintegrate them into the labor market. Between 2015 until 2018 another project called "*Bildung, Wirtschaft und Arbeit im Quartier*" (BIWAQ) funded by the European Union continued to work on this problematic. According to Eva Carlitscheck, head of the department for funding in the city of Gelsenkirchen, this program ran successfully. As part of the project, a neighborhood center has been established as a central place where neighbors, many of them long-time unemployed, could go asking for work or participated in a workshop that aimed to prepare them for the labor market.

Likewise, the installation of "*Quartiermeister"* in Schalke allowed four long-time unemployed residents to start working as informal facility and security guards of the neighborhood - a structure that has been successful and was repeated in other districts of Gelsenkirchen, too. The feedback for the program from the residents in Schalke was overall positive. In 2018 the project expired, wherewith the funding finished. Eva Carlitscheck told us that the challenge in establishing social programs in the neighborhoods is that the funding is only temporary, usually a period of three to five years. Although this kind of work needs much time - to gain the trust of the residents and create stability - even successful programs get cut off after that period because the city itself is not able to support the social programs. Some struc-

tures from the BIWAQ program continue until today and the neighborhood center which is run by the AWO invites for breakfast and talks every Thursday. Here, women with a migrant background are encouraged to participate. The meetings aim to provide information about the German job market.

3.3 "Urbane Landwirtschaft in der Metropole Ruhr"

As part of the research program "*Nachhaltiges Landmanagement*" (sustainable rural management) funded by the federal ministry of education and research (BMBF), a study called "*Zukunftsforum Urbane Landwirtschaft*" has been conducted in the Ruhr area between 2011 and 2014 (see Born, R., Pölling, B., 2014). The core of the project "*Zukunftsforum Urbane Landwirtschaft"* was to find innovative and sustainable ways for urban production of agricultural products. Furthermore, the project had a focus on connecting different actors in the field in order to create sustainable networks, communication, and public relations as well as to design a future scenario for the "Metropole Ruhr" (KulaRuhr, 2014: 5).

As has been mentioned before, the Ruhr area is a polycentric and multifunctional area. Nowadays, almost 40 percent of the total Ruhr area is used for agriculture. Compared to other Metropolitan regions, this percentage is very high. For example, Munich has only 15,3 percent. (ibidem: 11). Next to industrial production, agriculture has been and is still an important economic pillar. Nevertheless, the ongoing urbanization and the loss of production areas in the Ruhr put agriculture under pressure (see Born, R., Pölling, B., 2013). In this regard, Born and Pölling state it is useful to take the synergies and potentials that exist between urban agriculture, urban gardening and innovative concepts for a sustainable and social orientation of the agglomeration Ruhr (Born, R., Pölling, B., 2014: 10). An important improvement of urban production is the minimization of transport ways and a gradual improvement of the quality of the post-industrial soil. (ibidem: 10)

In general, UA must be more heterogeneous and specialized than in rural places because the consumerism - demand and sale in the city are more direct. This pattern can prevent overproduction. At the same time, it requires more flexibility of the agricultural farm to be able to restructure their production and to provide other services such as leisure and educational opportunities. From the evaluation of this research project, we understand firstly that UA is a good opportunity to tackle the problem of space for production and can be an incentive for job creation. Secondly, we understand how UA is able of alleviating the problems linked to lack of social orientation and able to lead the community towards a cohesive society.

Situation in Gelsenkirchen

Gelsenkirchen is at a time of fundamental importance, where the ability to find a new identity is increasingly concrete. Despite the current situation in Gelsenkirchen is characterized by substantial urban imbalances in terms of economic revenue, subsidiary system, and ethnic minorities, Gelsenkirchen is promoting a series of strategies and lines of action to address the challenges of the city. Programmes such as "Learning city", focusing on the local organization and skill sharing of the people in the communities, where participation is means and objective at the same time (aGEnda21-Büro, 2018), or strategies as the supports given by the department for economic business development (Wirtschaftsförderung) towards small businesses to settle their businesses in Gelsenkirchen. The city is in a transforming context, where the need for innovative solutions becomes fundamental. Solutions that are already gaining ground in some cases and that ameliorate the synergies

between all the parties and actors involved and that could direct the community to an appropriation of the place and the image linked to it. Considering that the analysis of the contemporary situation of the city reflects the first ideas made during the exploration phase, our approach for the proposal phase, is focused directly on the problems found, considered of greatest relevance for the city. The interviews carried out, the data analysed and the field research, focused on the exploration of alternative scenarios. But how can we activate development processes from communities to improve the current condition of Schalke Nord? Is it possible to find a program which can improve the synergies between all the components of the city? How can citizens feel part of the process and start a transformative pathway? These questions have been at the heart of our discussion and have been explored in the following phase.

4. Methodological approach

The research was conducted between April and July 2019. In the first month, our research group stayed for one week in Gelsenkirchen in order to make first observations. During this stay, we went for several walks through Schalke, Schalke-Nord and its neighboring areas. Further, we could meet with informants. One of them, Olivier Kruschinski, member of the *Stiftung Schalker Markt* and expert for Schalke, provided us with essential knowledge about the historical development of the area and the foundation of the football club Schalke 04, which until today is visible in the neighborhood. Also, Ingo Mattauch, member of the Stiftung Schalker Markt and priest of the central catholic church St. Joseph in Schalke, talked to us about the decreasing influence of the church for the city and possible closure of church operation in the church St-Joseph.

Starting from this, we used the time in Schalke and Schalke-Nord to observe the daily dynamics and the interaction of the residents actively. Moreover, we analyzed the shops and businesses located in the neighborhood. In this first field phase, we mainly used research methods such as observation, field notes, experts talk, and informal interviews.

In a second step, already working in this team of four people, we identified the high jobless rate and the massive fluctuation as one of the main issues in the neighborhood and decided to work on it further. We draw a relation between the end of the worker's era with the closure of the last coal mines in the 1990s, a declining satisfaction of the individual, the closure of the street-life and a lack of community life and identification. Nevertheless, what does this mean?

Schalke-Nord must increase the quality of urban life to gain neighborhood stability. A feature that goes hand in hand with the possibility of a renegotiation of a familiar image for the district. Then, in order to understand the neighborhood and social structure of Schalke, we analyzed and evaluated the quantitative data of Gelsenkirchen (see 5.3). Parallel to that, we conducted a literature review about the topics of social cohesion, participation, and work in post-industrial cities. In this analysis phase, the idea grew to work on a concept for a post-industrial green Schalke-Nord which led us to more in-depth research on case studies and best-practice examples concerned with Urban Agriculture and sustainability in post-industrial urban environments.

In May, we entered a second field phase, in which we had the opportunity to conduct several interviews with experts such as 1) Janine Feldmann, head of the de-

partment for city planning and 2) Gisela Sichelschmidt from the *Stadtteilbüro Schalke*, an office at the neighborhood level that works with informal planning tools to coordinate and improve the neighborhood life. Further, we could talk to 3) Michael Böing, a pharmacist and owner of the central pharmacy *Schalker Markt* in Schalke, 4) Venetzia Harontzas, coordinator of the multicultural center *Lalok Libre* in Schalke and 5) Rüdiger Rudgalwies, who used to work as an architect for the city of Gelsenkirchen and was born in Schalke. The interviews helped us reassuring our analysis while also sharpening our proposal.

Yet, we must be aware of the limitations of our research. The field research was limited to 10 days, which means we had little possibility to get into contact with the residents of Schalke and Schalke-Nord. Further, we have not been able to talk to the Romanian and Bulgarian communities in the district, they either refused to talk to us or we were restrained from communicating because of the language barriers.

Furthermore, we were conscious from the beginning that Urban Agriculture is not a fast aid for Schalke-Nord. It is a procedural project with a limited perspective of economic growth. However, applying the post-growth perspective (after Paech N., 2012), the revitalization of the neighborhood and the ecological features of the area, as well as the provision of jobs for the low-skilled, can be fostered through Urban Agriculture. Niko Paech, a German ecological economist, encourages a post-growth scenario for our economy and society in order to save the world from further ecological damages. According to Paech (2012), economic growth and sustainability cannot work in the same direction because economic growth hardly resources sustainably. Further, growth cannot be endless and will not provide an answer to the disparities of distribution.

A post-growth society, on the other hand, which is based on the idea of the steady dismantling of the industrial system, encounter sustainable answers. Due to a bisection of the regular working hours, for example, self-sufficiency and consumer supply could be paired. Paech understands rooftop-, house- and community gardens as well as other forms of urban agriculture as dynamical trends which can be helpful to reduce the entire production of food (Paech N., 2012: 18). This form of supply, off the economic market, increases the resilience and alleviates the pressure of growth (ibidem). Subsistence and the idea of self-sufficiency, therefore, have become attractive in contexts that can be compared with the situation of decline in Schalke-Nord. The case studies which will be shown in the next section explain the concept further.

5. Exploring alternatives: Case Studies about Urban Agriculture

Conscious of the contingencies implied in fostering employment and attracting investments for low-income neighborhoods, we examined the extent to which Urban Agriculture can function as an alternative for providing work opportunities while improving social connections.

We analyzed case studies of Urban Agriculture in Germany, Europe, and Africa, in all cases targeting low-income groups in contexts of urban decline. The first case is an EU funded INTERREG program in the Danube region, the Agro4cities (Buic et al., 2017; Bende et al. 2018; Ribeiro D. et al., 2019). This case was select because it approaches urban farming as social innovation, promoting it as an inclusive and participatory project. The second case study is taken from research in Malawi; it analyzed two predominant types of urban farmers, low-income female-headed

Arguments from case studies for developing Urban Agriculture		
Agro4Cities	**Malawi**	**Ruhr**
"1. It brings people together to work on common projects. 2. It provides food (and income) for those who need it. 3. It significantly reduces fossil fuel consumption. 4. It facilitates education around sustainable local agriculture and food systems. 5. It provides nutritious food for deprived communities." (Buic et al., 2017: 8) Includes marginalized groups and can be employed in the framework of participatory planning.	Poverty reduction Employability Food security Woman empowerment	Reuse of old structures and empty spaces Educational, integrative and social paths have already taken ground Places for an exchange of ideas, techniques, and culture. Places of meeting and socialization In the Ruhr, "Urban agriculture is gaining new importance with the post-industrial transition of the last decades." (Lohrberg, F., 2016: 53).

Potentials Urban Agriculture

- It brings people together, and it includes marginalized groups;
- It can foster new community networks and create new meeting spaces
- It cuts the costs of food transportation while reducing air pollution;
- It can be an opportunity to use old structures and empty spaces
- It can provide inputs for light industry initiatives, such as food-related goods and composting/organic fertilizer production; the latter can further improve waste management technology (McClintock N., 2010: 196).
- UA produces new commons on marginal places—road medians, infrastructure rights of way, vacant lots, wastelands - by the cultivation of food. (ibidem: 200)
- "[A] vision of systemic change can emerge a long-term vision that goes beyond growing vegetables, changing social structures for the benefit of marginalized social groups." (Buic et al., 2017: 20)

Limitations Urban Agriculture

- UA can contribute to keeping the wages lower for those not formally working with it but being fed by it. Once access to the cultivation of food for self-sustenance has been facilitated, UA can be used as an argument to keep wages low (McClintock N., 2010: 197).
- It depends on governmental support and regulation (ibidem: 198), meaning that in the mid and long-term changes in the political scenario may seriously jeopardize social UA projects.
- According to Malawi's case, despite restraints to access agricultural technologies and land, UA projects succeeded particularly well among the low-income female-households in terms of income generation. It is an essential source of employment for them. It is argued that such initiatives are an "underused strategy for reducing poverty" (Mkwambisi et al., 2011: 198). They need to be regulated by authorities, who should also look at UA from a perspective of employment, thus, providing training programs for the target low-income groups (ibidem: 199)

households using UA as insurance against income losses and middle/high-income male-headed households employing UA for personal consumption (Mkwambisi et al., 2011: 181). The second case was particularly relevant to analyze the different motivations and outputs that different classes have from UA. The other two case studies acquire importance because they have been implemented in the Ruhr region.

The *IBA Emscher Park*, in 1989, is an early and prominent example for ecological, economic, and cultural renewal. In response to the industrial decline, the International Building Exhibition (IBA) Emscher Park was founded, aiming to change the conceptual structure of the central Ruhr region (Open IBA, 2019). In 17 cities and more than 100 projects, initiatives and project partners worked on different topics to stimulate structural change by creating an identity for the post-industrial era. With the help of the IBA, many cities of the Ruhr have been able to take care of urban spaces as well as an industrial wasteland to grant them to the population. The Emscher Landscape Park remains a strong reference point for the entire region today. The landscape park was established on the industrial land of a former coal mine. The old structure of the coal mine was transformed into a natural reserve and urban park. This project helped to open a discourse about new forms of landscape planning and design and changed the approach towards the industrial heritage of the Ruhr. (Open IBA, 2019) Today, the Emscher Landscape Park is a central urban space which is used by everyone - residents, tourists and architectural enthusiasts. Hence, the International Building Exhibition gave incentives for many actors in the region to work inside the framework of a cautious and ecological renewal of industrial sites.

Today, “[t]he Ruhr Metropolis can be considered a laboratory where the adaption of agriculture to an urban-industrial society has been tested since the nineteenth century, and where Urban Agriculture is gaining new importance with the post-industrial transition of the last decades” (Lohrberg, F., 2016: 53).

Since 1994, many initiatives have been started and developed around the area of the Emscher Landschaftspark Duisburg, and for this reason, we believe that the final proposal can find fertile ground. There are many other examples in the Ruhr to mention, but of interest is *Ingenhammshof*, a farm going back to the seventeenth century (Lohrberg, F., 2016: 51). This farm was well connected with the industries and provided food and space for them (the Thyssen corporate in particular), but “when the industrial activities were shut down, the area was bought by the City of Duisburg and became part of the park. (…) The farm has turned its main purposes to education, integration, and social work. It lets pupils, residents, and visitors experience the workflow of a traditional farm with the possibility to participate.” (ibidem: 51). We believe that this example is beneficial to understand how it is possible to reuse spaces that are abandoned but carry a historical significance and identity.

5.1 Findings from the case studies

Thanks to the support given by the analysis of case studies, we find several points on which to leverage and motivate the advancement of proposals towards urban agriculture. We believe that each project has its characteristics related to the place: the contexts are the first point to consider when proposing something, but with these key-points, we want to emphasize how it has been possible to achieve com-

mon goals in places on the other side of the world or a few kilometers from Gelsenkirchen.

6. Findings

After we carefully scrutinized the general conditions of Schalke Nord, analyzed some implementation paths, studied the current trends of the city as well as the strategies and policies that are gaining ground, we report below the results: features, characteristics, potential and limitations to which we must refer before arriving at the proposal phase.

As a massive mining industry transformed Schalke's landscape towards a competitive mining area for coal and steel, agriculture landscapes were slowly disappearing. Once the region decided to be coal-free, and deindustrialization followed, new alternatives raised for competitive trends in the area. Considering how the region's advantages favored the past industry background, factors such as regional transportation, traffic and energy infrastructure still represent zone potentials for future competitiveness. Schalke's competent geographic characteristics aided networking, which could be associated with cooperation and development of future technologies in the region. New approaches in the region, risen to tackle previous industries challenges, are now driven by environmental and health sectors and occupational safety for future developments.

While the attractive past industry profile of the city attracted foreign workers, nowadays Schalke conditions hasten trends of a shrinking city. Currently, approximately 4.500 inhabitants (2019) are living in Schalke-Nord. The area faces a progressively decline in the population, in addition to an increase in the unemployment rate and a substantial demographic aging process. Schalke consists of a diverse population that originated from the countries of Romania, Turkey, and the Republic of Bulgaria (see Chapter *Football and Identity*). The mixed population not only represents rich, diverse cultures, experiences, and traditions but also represents a challenge for social bonding and image identity. Such cultural differences involve different social patterns and ways of living that must reach a point of adaptation in order to cope with a shared understanding, to reach an extent of quality of life and coexistence in the district of Schalke-Nord.

Today, the city invests in supporting the disadvantaged population and promoting neighborly coexistence in the neighborhood through social and educational programs. Public participation and civic commitment represent factors to be pursued in the city to involve all the population groups and keep the society together.

Culturally diverse demographics play a significant role in the creation and identification of the area's image. The acceptance of measures and strategies improving the existing conditions and enhancing the image can be stimulated through the active participation and commitment of the local inhabitants. A set of voluntary foundations are present today in Schalke-Nord, ambitiously looking forward to stimulating the participation of the existing Roman, Bulgarian and the Turkish communities. Some of the associations such as *Bauverin Falkenjugend e.V*, advocate for more social justice and equal opportunities by organizing group work in the district for children, teenagers, and adults. Monthly central events are organized by SJD-Die Falken to discuss different interests like politics, economy, and everyday life.

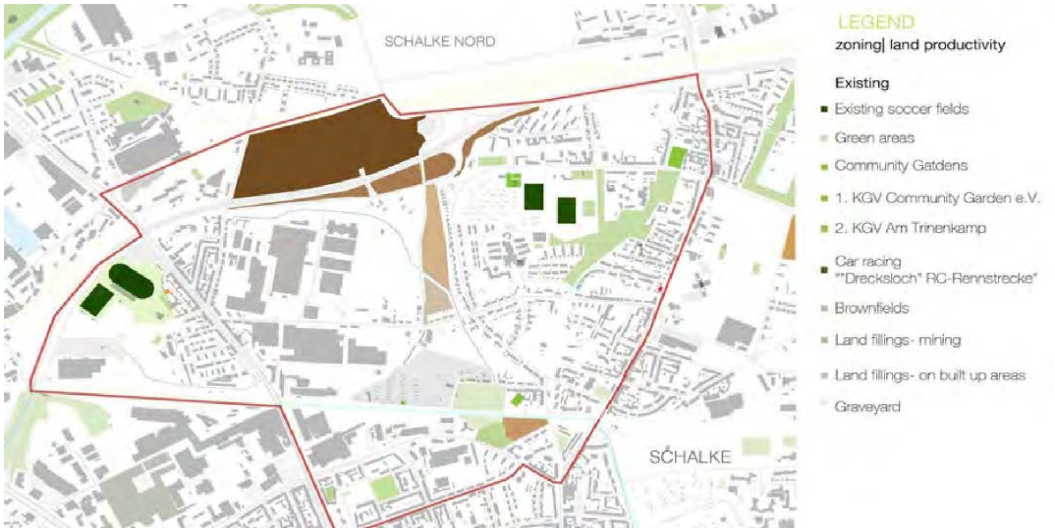

Figure 08 - Zoning map. Source: Gelsenkirchen database (2019)

Although the deteriorated land, vast brownfields and vacant lots in the district cause serious problems, these areas also contain a great potential to develop. As shown in figure 8, areas like "*Drecksloch RC- Rennstrecke*" show great potential due to its vast extension and ceased use. Currently, the 230-meter racing car track is under construction without a foreseen date of completion.

The extension of these vacant lots serves as positive starting points for the settlements of working and socially integrated quarters. There is also a positive potential conversion on the unused industrial areas, due to the proximity to the center and closeness to previous workers neighborhoods. These areas, once cleaned and made environmentally safe, can provide a new set of food and green productive options to balance the existing deficits in the district. Figure 8 also shows the existing brownfields, industrial areas, and green zones. The area counts with two community gardens: respectively *KGV community garden e.V.* and *KGV Am Trinenkamp*, both founded by the land club *Wiehagen* for gardening and food production purposes.

7. Summary of main findings

Currently, Schalke-Nord represents the negative image of industrial decline and its subsequent post effects: unemployment, land degradation and environmental deterioration. However, to achieve a shift from this paradigm and aid a potential scenario in the neighborhood, it is necessary to have a general understanding of the existing conditions. Through our excursion trip to Gelsenkirchen and analysis made during the last months, we narrowed our findings to identify the existing limitation, potentials, and programs held in the area. The findings are presented in the table below:

8. Conclusions

Evaluating the limitations and potentialities found, initiatives related to urban agriculture appear as an alternative to promote regeneration from the inside. It can provide work, shared values and a new identity for Schalke-Nord. Likewise, urban

LIMITATIONS	POTENTIALS
Vacant places, brownfields Cultural differences Low skilled population Few job opportunities Population fluctuation Deindustrialization Competition for investments in the Ruhr context Physical barriers (roads, railways)	Availability of space Cultural diversity Efficient geographic characteristics aid for networking A set of voluntary foundations are present today in Schalke-Nord Low-skilled unemployed population Existing programs/strategies: - *Wirtschaftsförderung* (economic business development) - "*Lernende Stadt*" - "*Urbane Landwirtschaft in der Metropole Ruhr*"

agriculture has the potential to empower locals, engaging them in participating in the community development by connecting the institutions to the ongoing municipal program "Lernende Stadt".

Connecting the past and current scenario of Schalke-Nord, we assume that work identity is a crucial element to promote social cohesion in this neighborhood. As discussed, participation and social cooperation within the existing foreign communities are essential to foster a sense of belonging and create strong links under the new identity of the district.

Hence, in order to push social inclusion through employment, our proposal concentrates in 4 points:

1. Meeting center. We recommend grouping in one building the existing and future institutions of financial assistance, local businesses associations, and social programs in general.
2. Working lab. Considering the current municipal program "*Lernende Stadt*", we propose the establishment of experimental training space in Schalke-Nord in order to develop community working skills, foster urban agriculture and light industry initiatives. Thus, mobilizing community participation in shared local development.
3. Social farming. In the mid and long term, as projects developed in the Working lab grow, we suggest expanding urban agriculture to other two lots within the neighborhood. This way, job opportunities would increase keeping short commuting distances.
4. Light industry. Side-by-side with an expansion of urban farming, we support the implementation of local small industries producing goods related to agriculture, such as food, gardening items, and textiles. Such products could then be consumed by locals, sold in the former marketplace or other stores in the city.

We believe numerous social and commercial activities, as a result of another economic input, will change the existing negative image behold in Schalke-Nord. Moreover, such activities are intended to be coordinated through the meeting center, which should serve as a platform, among others, to the existing and upcoming associations. It is essential to provide the community with one building that can in-

crease the contact between associations and the population in Schalke-Nord, so it becomes the base ground joint mechanism for future self-supporting institutions.

Then, the district should provide the facilities for the Working-lab, by the re-utilization of a vacant lot, to ensure the necessary instrument to train the population with adept working skills. According to skills and interest, the employee is provided with support and training for urban agriculture or light industry development. It is essential to implement in a harmonious way a cooperation network within the employees and the working institutions. In addition, the working-lab envision the development of social farming activities within reach, due to the proximity with the neighborhoods and school institutions, fostering the participation of the youth to invest in the social farming projects. Thus, also creating general awareness about food production and alternatives to reduce the negative impacts on the environment.

The long-term view is to stabilize the urban agriculture structures and the light industries as various cooperative structures of the district, to establish long term local economic structures close to the population and, therefore, the identity of Schalke-Nord.

In Figure 9, you can find a suggestive location for the meeting center, working lab, social farms, and light industries in Schalke-Nord.

Figure 09 - Recommendations for social cohesion and work identity Schalke Nord, source: author.

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07 I Conclusion

Throughout the research projects it became clear, that Gelsenkirchen's neighbourhoods Schalke and Schalke-Nord are in a state of severe decline, not only economically, but also socially and physically. The post-industrial situation leads to a downward spiral into deprivation and poverty. With the ending of coal mining, the area lost one of their main objects of identification. The other one, football and Schalke 04, which were once the fundament of local identity and strongly linked to the coal miners, are not tangible in the neighbourhood anymore. Instead, it is dealing with population decline, unemployment and a generally difficult socio-economic situation of their multi-ethnic residents which is represented in a lack of social cohesion and identity.

Concerning urban mobility, this study presented the lack of street life as a strong characteristic in the neighbourhood. Aspects such as land use, physical segregation, mobility poverty and the lack of sustainable infrastructure were identified as hypothesis that could explain the current scenario. Some aspects, such as the disconnected network in the neighbourhood and its surrounding, demonstrate that Schalke has been neglected by the municipality during the last years. However, recently existing ambitious projects developed by the municipality, such as the Green City Plan and the Spatial Structure Concept, demonstrate that there is the goal to change this reality. In the field of urban design some suggestions were given and they are in line with the existing projects. However, it is important to have in mind that not all issues are solved through design, and social and planning aspects, such as mobility poverty and land use, remained as open questions. Moreover, even concerning the design, it is important to notice that further research is needed, especially from the traffic perspective, in order to analyse the feasibility of such suggestions. The suggestions are intended to inspire and provoke. In order to make the neighbourhood more vivid and to have more street life, changes are needed. It is known that projects with this bias are usually controversial, since they influence the way many people move around the city and impact on the routine of citizens, generating various types of conflicts of interest. However, the changes are necessary and, in this sense, community engagement actions are recommended during the entire process of planning and implementation.

From the analysis on social cohesion and work developed, urban agriculture appears as an alternative to promote regeneration from the inside. It can provide work, shared values and a new identity for Schalke-Nord. Likewise, urban agriculture has the potential to empower locals, engaging them in participating in the community development by connecting the institutions to the ongoing municipal program "Lernende Stadt".

Connecting the past and current scenario of Schalke-Nord, we assume that work identity is a crucial element to promote social cohesion in this neighborhood. As discussed, participation and social cooperation within the existing foreign communities are essential to foster a sense of belonging and create strong links under the new identity of the district.

Hence, in order to push social inclusion through employment, our proposal concentrates in 4 points:

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08 I Recommendations

To foster social cohesion and to re-establish a local identity, it is of great importance to focus on the residents and their cultural and social networks. It cannot be brought to them solely from the outside and by physical measures in the neighbourhood. Though, it can be a start to create meeting points and places identification which are available and open for the public. In the context of a highly deprived neighbourhood, the renewed commitment of the local football club combined with investments in social and technical infrastructure can serve as a basis. Though, it is necessary to promote community engagement and participation to support residents for identifying themselves with their neighbourhood. Because children are still constructing their identity and serve as multipliers for their families and friends, it is of significance to include them in the process, for example by giving them the opportunity to take part in sports and other cultural events.

In the context of urban mobility, additional research is recommended in order to address social and urban planning aspects from a broader point of view, including the mobility poverty and land use themes, which were not addressed in the suggestions presented. Urban design alone will not be able to solve the problems of the neighbourhood. Therefore, it is important to encourage mixed land use and trip generators, encouraging people to move around in the neighbourhood. Moreover, dealing with social problems such as mobility poverty is an important factor so that people are able to bear the costs of transport and, more than that, so that they have reasons to travel daily. In addition, a traffic study is needed to check the feasibility of the suggestions. Finally, the importance of community engagement in carrying out such projects is highlighted. The involvement of the population and trust building are the keys to the success of urban mobility projects.

Concerning social cohesion and work, we believe numerous social and commercial activities, as a result of another economic input, will change the existing negative image behold in Schalke-Nord. Moreover, such activities are intended to be coordinated through the meeting centre, which should serve as a platform, among others, to the existing and upcoming associations. It is essential to provide the community with one building that can increase the contact between associations and the population in Schalke-Nord, so it becomes the basic ground joint mechanism for future self-supporting institutions.

Then, the district should provide the facilities for the Working-lab, by the reutilization of a vacant lot, to ensure the necessary instrument to train the population with adept working skills. According to skills and interest, the employee is provided with support and training for urban agriculture or light industry development. It is essential to implement in a harmonious way a cooperation network within the employees and the working institutions. In addition, the working-lab envision the de-

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