

SOCIAL INCLUSION BY REVITALISATION? THE POTENTIAL OF DISUSED INDUSTRIAL AREAS AS AN OPPORTUNITY FOR MITIGATING SOCIAL POLARISATION

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ABSTRACT: The paper concerns the relation between revitalisation projects and socio-economic polarisation, and discusses the potential of new urban spaces for social inclusion. The phenomenon is considered on the example of recreational facilities that have emerged from brownfields located in the Ruhr region (Germany). It was ascertained that the diversity of implemented projects was important in terms of the significance of revitalisation processes for social polarisation tendencies. It allowed regional authorities to create income-generating facilities and spaces that can be used regardless of income, and to resolve deficits in urban recreational facilities. It was also noted that the Ruhr examples could provide guidance for the recently begun revitalisation processes in the Upper Silesian industrial area (Poland).

KEY WORDS: revitalisation of brownfields, recreational facilities, Ruhr area in Germany, Upper Silesia in Poland

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Introduction

Over the past few years, growing poverty and a widening division of society have been a focus of much attention in Europe. The media talk about poverty cycles, social flashpoints and a two-class society. Studies have indeed detected a growing problem of poverty and signs of a diminishing of the middle class. Meanwhile, cities attempt to assert themselves in the global competition for capital and companies, hoping to achieve a stimulus for the whole urban area. Additionally, social programmes and plans for further integration seek to decrease those diverse polarising tendencies caused by growing

economic inequalities. One of such polarising tendencies is social segregation that follows from different chances on the housing market.

This paper examines the consequences of socio-economic polarisation in the field of municipal recreational activities, to which little attention has been paid so far. High entrance fees of postmodern recreational facilities, like indoor ski or amusement parks, exclude low-income households, which spend a greater part of their income on rent and basic care. Yet these leisure-time activities are especially important for families.

In the Ruhr region in Germany, the last decades have seen a great change in the infrastructure of recreational activities, a change that has

benefited from the revitalisation of urban industrial areas. This article examines the 'social compatibility' of different recreational facilities developed in disused industrial areas of the Ruhr region and draws conclusions for the newly begun revitalisation process of industrial areas in Upper Silesia. The Duisburg-North Landscape Park will serve as an example for a revitalisation project which has established itself as a postmodern location for events as well as an everyday recreational space for everybody.

Socio-economic polarisation in Germany and its consequences for the urban society

Globalisation, the transition from an industrial to a service-oriented society as well as neoliberal tendencies in municipal policies have drastically changed the prerequisites for social cohesion within urban societies in Germany and the goal of creating equal living conditions. Competing for relevant players, namely institutions, companies, creative heads and high-income households, as well as the fiscal advantages and potential for development they bring, has become not only a challenge but a necessity for a community's economic strategies. Municipal policies are thus determined by market- and competition-oriented logic (Volkman 2007; Mattissek 2008; Heeg 2008). The sociologist Siebel remarks that the ideal citizen who sees his own fate regarding property and economic success intertwined with that of the city, has been replaced by absent investors with agendas beyond the scope of the city (Siebel 2010). Consequently, urban development is determined by the pursuit of a positive image through the establishment of flagship projects and the creation of symbolic capital (cf. Figs 1 and 2; architecture as symbolic capital in the Media Harbour Düsseldorf).

Beyond the brilliance of these new flagship projects, however, other problems become more and more apparent. Poverty and social polarisation caused by socio-economic processes dividing society are no new urban phenomena, they are a city's constant companion. Yet the magnitude of urban polarisation and its causes have stead-

ily increased over the past few years. So-called fragmented cities (cf. Scholz 2004) have been a focus of many discussions over the past decades, especially in the megacities of less developed countries, where socio-economic polarisation has already led to profound processes of social segregation (Friedrichs, Triemer 2008). Nonetheless, strong socio-economic tensions have also been detected within cities ruling over the worldwide trade, the global cities (Sassen 1991).

Especially since the incidents in the suburbs of Paris, however, disadvantaged areas, urban poverty, which has to be understood as relative poverty in this case (cf. Hradil 2010), and increasing social disparities have also become a topic in Western Europe and Germany, a topic which has served as explosive material for the media and which has landed on various political agendas. This is also important in the context of the already mentioned market- and competition-oriented tendencies in municipal policies. On the one hand, social cohesion and equal living conditions are goals of urban planning policy, yet on the other they are also locational factors, in so far as social tensions are damaging to the image of the city and thus likely to cause competitive disadvantages. This is mirrored in life-quality indices used in city marketing, which cover such aspects as safety and the social environment.

Poverty and social discrepancies in Germany

In Germany, there are numerous indicators of an expansion of social discrepancies. A growing poverty rate¹, increasing differences in terms of income as well as solidified poverty due to permanent unemployment are all clear signs of this development. In the city, social polarisation can be seen in the increasingly more severe division between the well-off and the disadvantaged. Different factors contribute to this development: a reduction in social housing construction, de-indus-

¹ In Germany, a person counts as threatened by poverty when they have to get by with only 60% of the average net income of a household. In 2010 this meant less than roughly 990 euro per month, 14% of the population (11 million people) even had to get by on less (Grabka et al. 2012). However, this benchmark is only one of several possible reference points, thus the poverty rate differs according to the choice of its calculation (Nospickel 2010).



Fig. 1 & 2. The Media Harbour in Düsseldorf: Symbolic capital (photo by M. Otto, 2011)

trialisation, loss of workplaces and cutbacks in financial aid (Tempel 2006). According to a study by the DIW (Deutsches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung, or the German Institute for Economic Research), half of the population does not own any financial assets, while 30% commands 90% of total private property (the richest 10 percent even owning 60% of this amount). The percentage of the middle class in terms of net income has fallen from 62.6% in 1991 to 53.9% in 2006 (Schäfer 2009; cf. also Pfaller 2012; Grabka, Frick 2008). The widening of the income gap and the diminishing of the 'healthy' middle class are a hot topic (Lengfeld, Hirschle 2009; Miegel et al. 2008). Additionally, the growing number of children threatened by poverty aggravates the situation in Germany: poverty during infancy is often seen as a trigger of health problems, unemployment, crime, and learning difficulties (Fertig, Tamm 2005).

In Germany, polarisation can be observed at several levels. On the one hand, polarisation becomes apparent when comparing different regions or cities, especially the discrepancy between East and West as well as North and South (Wiegandt 2012). There are regions which have

benefited from global economic development, but also those whose development is dominated by shrinkage and stagnation: these include for example regions with high unemployment rates, fallow land, empty flats, and sinking tax revenues. On the other hand, polarisation becomes visible within urban agglomerations. Deeper and deeper gaps between social classes call the cohesion of a city's population into question. Thus, cities threaten to transform from spaces of integration into spaces of exclusion (Gatzweiler 2012; Siebel 2010). Socio-economic polarisation in cities is demonstrated by different rates of growth and structural qualities of their districts, but also through different occurrences of segregation (Wiegandt 2012). Especially the difference in incomes divides cities into low-income and high-income parts. This form of social segregation intensifies particularly in shrinking regions where the housing situation is less fierce and high-income households can move to preferred districts without any difficulties, leaving behind those who cannot afford to move (Wiegandt 2012).

In disadvantaged districts, discussions quickly revert to so-called downward spirals. Siebel

(2010: 5) comments that those who can, pull away from bad neighbourhoods. On account of this, the purchasing power in the area decreases. Thereupon, providers of goods and services reduce their offer or even move away, the image of the area worsens, banks are reluctant to grant loans, homeowners cease to undertake investments regarding maintenance and modernisation, the area's appearance suffers. If this leads to an increase in the proportion of children from "disadvantaged backgrounds" in schools, more households will find it necessary to move away. Finally, only those who do not have any alternative on the housing market live in a stigmatised area. A social flashpoint has arisen (Siebel 2010). The proportion of households with transfer income as well as the unemployment rate in individual districts are key indicators of social segregation (Wiegandt 2012).

The winners and losers of urban districts can be categorised as follows. New representative premises are the result of extensive urban development projects. Gentrification processes transform downtown areas into new cultural hotspots (e.g. Prenzlauer Berg in Berlin) and waterfront development converts old port areas into business parks or luxury residential areas (e.g. HafenCity in Hamburg). Inner cities are renovated and made attractive for retail and office use, and new quarters emerging on vacant industrial land can be used for a variety of conversion concepts (e.g. Centro in Oberhausen; Chmielewska, Otto 2013). On the other hand, there are large housing estates or non-refurbished older housing areas with poor urban planning situations and a concentration of a disadvantaged population depending on financial aid, disproportionately characterised by early school leaving, lack of options and poverty (Wiegandt 2012).

This social fragmentation and urban-planning discrepancy within the city is counteracted in two ways. First, it is assumed that the overall economic development of the city due to the creation of jobs will also benefit the disadvantaged neighbourhoods. In addition to this "outsider's perspective", which focuses on attracting relevant stakeholders and aims at marketing the city to the outside world, an "insider's perspective" conducts social and integration policy with regard to disadvantaged neighbourhoods (Wie-

gandt 2012). This is largely dependent on the budgetary situation of cities, a situation that is precarious in many communities in Germany. Financial and political courses of action are dwindling increasingly. Municipalities which have responded to a discontinuation in tax revenues by selling their infrastructure, find themselves entangled in unpredictable crises of global financial markets (so-called cross-border lease transactions). The selling of the housing stock limits the political leeway of municipalities, since they lose those housing developers who were amenable to influence from the local authorities and who were the most important partners in socially responsible urban policies (Siebel 2010).

However, cities also receive support from other political levels. Federal and state governments provide subsidies through different programmes. Since 1999, the large-scale federal-state programme "Soziale Stadt" ("Social City") is injecting momentum in the complex revaluation processes for poor neighbourhoods. This comprises labour market policies, urban planning, and social and image-related measures (Häußermann 2005). In addition to that, there are also EU funding programmes, such as the former URBAN programme. However, in recent years it can be observed that the amount of national-level investment has been declining (Wiegandt 2012). The state has pulled out of its responsibility during the last decades: states which underwent fundamental changes in the institutional and regulatory framework of economic policy in the early 1980s are retrospectively called "competition states" and are frequently discussed today (Brenner 2004). Competition states, in contrast to classical welfare states, try to achieve economic growth through a targeted promotion of their global competitive advantages (re-concentration of support efforts). This includes major sectors and subregions. The latter are strategically important city regions that participate in global trade and transport networks: "The major urban regions are the regional growth engines for the spatial development of the national territory as a whole" (Brenner 2004: 230). At the same time, more and more power and responsibility has been delegated to subordinate levels. Therefore, cities are obliged to participate in global competition responsibly and on their own initiative. At

the local level this is consequently called “urban entrepreneurship” (cf. Volkmann 2007). In a globally extended competition, the municipalities focus their efforts on their nationally and internationally competitive structures (Häußermann et al. 2008). Due to selling “family heirlooms”, the accumulation of debt, and the fact that cities are more and more on their own, Jungfer (2005) rightly talks about “the city in crisis”.

Social polarisation in recreational activities

Social polarisation in cities is mainly attributed to the aspects of habitation and employment options, which are without any doubt the most important functions of a city. The subject of this essay, however, is a topic which, mainly due to the difficulty of attaining supporting data, has received little attention in the literature. The topic is the polarisation of the urban population concerning the use and awareness of areas and venues for recreational activities. Higher poverty rates, the phenomenon of the so-called working poor (Nospickel 2010), or poverty among senior citizens influence the scope of participation in recreational activities. This ranges from admission fees for events and parks, cost of basic sporting equipment, club membership dues, and the cost of mobility. If a relatively higher portion of income is spent on rent, there is less room for recreational activities. These are, however, very important: leisure behaviour has an impact on health and well-being, creates a variety in everyday life and allows participation. Especially for families with children, the disposable income regarding the field of leisure/ education/ culture is important, particularly with regard to the development and prospects of the children. Children have a different awareness regarding aspects of primary care of basic needs (nutrition, housing and health) than adults. Chassé (2010: 20) states that while, in the area of clothing, adults find usefulness and functionality more important, for children it is rather the age-specific cultural symbolism of clothes, toys or the potential of participation in certain social activities where they can experience being different and excluded (such as when they are not allowed to invite friends into

the apartment or for sleep-overs). In general, children do notice very well when they are disadvantaged, for example when the family is unable to afford the support of certain hobbies or interests (a sports club, music lessons or other activities). This also pertains to school life that is experienced very ambivalently by almost all poor children, since they experience their disadvantage both in social status and in terms of performance.

In Germany, statistics show an increasing discrepancy between the standards of consumption within society. For example, the percentage of households that do not treat themselves to holiday trips due to financial reasons increased between 2001 and 2007 from 18% to 28% (Pfaller 2012). Interesting results are also provided by the “Armut und Konsum” (“Poverty and Consumption”) report by the FIT FinanzTraining in Munich, which has evaluated data from Munich households affected by poverty and recorded in the budget advising FIT financial training. For this analysis, 329 budgets for the years 2009 and 2010 were available. Even if the available data about recreational activities only partly allow conclusions about leisure behaviour, it is pointed out in the report that this consumer sector is apparently only scarcely accessible for this group. Activities such as visits to zoos, cinemas, theatres or museums, are often omitted due to tight household budgets (Rosendorfer 2012).

Social polarisation and the revitalisation of disused industrial sites

What is the relation of social polarisation tendencies in the field of leisure behaviour and consumption, and the potential of revitalisation processes in derelict industrial and port zones? First of all, it should be noted that the creation of leisure and recreation spaces in most of the urban revitalisation projects in Germany is integrated at least as a subgoal (cf. Prosek et al. 2009). This is especially observable in the Ruhr area: whether it be parks, bike paths or large-scale leisure facilities, a large part of the infrastructure dates back to conversions and revitalisation of fallow landscapes. This means that the strategic direction of revitalisation processes (IBA Emscher Park, etc.) is instrumental in shaping the structure of leisure

infrastructure. The character of objectives of revitalisation projects depends on many factors and is always closely aligned with the specific conditions of the disused industrial sites. It is a question of costs, investors, urban planning strategies and given technical preconditions. Different conceptions were successful in the past. To evaluate the success of a reuse project, the economic focus chosen is often either a general regional one (tourism, image, jobs) or one related to individual business requests. From the social perspective, it can be discussed what consequences for the urban structure will arise from the project and how far the local residents will benefit from the revitalisation of disused industrial plants. In the end, the question is who really uses those numerous revitalised places for leisure, culture, shopping and recreation.

Revitalisation efforts must have an economic perspective and have to be financed either by public funds on a long-term basis or supported by private stakeholders. Parks, as well as bike and hiking trails that need to be maintained without significant royalties represent a long-term cost factor. As a counterpart to this, self-supporting institutions are created or the way for privately owned recreational areas is paved. The development of leisure facilities in the Ruhr area has thus resulted in very different outcomes: on the one hand, cycling, hiking and recreation areas on artificial hills of mining waste, in the old production areas or along the Emscher were greatly expanded by the revitalising efforts. There are freely accessible spaces that can also be used for festivities. Large contiguous recreation areas have been created by linking individual green corridors. In addition, due to the revitalisation of industrial sites, many museum facilities or other exhibition spaces have emerged, some of which are partly funded by entrance fees. Here ticket prices vary greatly, but are significantly lower than the prices of large facilities. Regarding the entrance fees, closed parks which have emerged on industrial complexes with special infrastructure take an intermediate position. Here only low entrance fees are taken for maintenance. On the other hand, the Ruhr region, especially through numerous major revitalisation projects, has developed into a post-modern leisure paradise: not solely the Centro in Oberhausen as an urban entertainment cen-

tre with a shopping mall, event halls, museums, sports facilities and amusement centre should be listed here, even though this project stands out in terms of modern recreational facilities due to its mere size and an impressive figure of 23 million visitors per year. Multiplex cinemas, a musical theatre, adventure pools, amusement parks and an indoor ski centre suddenly sprang up like mushrooms. This has not only remedied the deficient recreational infrastructure in the Ruhr area, but also created a supply of modern leisure facilities which considerably exceed the borders of the usual Ruhr catchment area (Reuber, Krajewski 2009).

All in all, there is no lack of different concepts for revitalisation processes in industrial districts like the Ruhr area. However, in the context of the IBA, many projects have been put into practice to increase the Ruhr area's offer regarding green areas and places for leisure. This was one of the objectives of the IBA Emscher Park. Due to the high costs connected with entire restructuring processes, economic aspects must not be neglected. Many flagship projects have been developed by private investors which are, naturally, more famous than the small revitalisation projects without any flagship character. Particularly in the case of postmodern spaces for recreation and leisure the question arises: Who participates?

Looking at ticket prices of various leisure facilities, Table 1 shows that mainly large, post-modern leisure facilities have the highest prices because their maintenance is costly. A day in the Alpine Centre costs a family with two children over 100 euros, excluding the costs of travelling. At Sea Life a family of four will pay 72 euros. Irrespective of their economic justification, admission prices are a barrier to low-income households and can thereby reinforce polarisation trends in the leisure sector. This applies to theme parks, musical theatres, zoos, indoor ski slopes, or other activities. The prices of new recreational paradises usually cannot be financed from tight budgets. The price structures at museum facilities, which account for a significant part of the industrial revitalisation in the Ruhr, are different. This is particularly evident in the Route der Industriekultur (Route of Industrial Culture), which contains mainly museum facilities or industrial parks, yet only 7 out of the 25 anchor

points are for free. However, they are significantly cheaper than postmodern leisure facilities and quite often also offer special rates for recipients of transfer payments. The entrance fee for the mining museum starts at 14 euros for families, the current exhibition in the Gasometer costs 20 euros. Large enclosed parks are significantly cheaper. An example is the Maximilian Park in Hamm, situated on a former colliery site, with diverse infrastructure especially aimed at children and space for various events. Here the admission for a family per day is 10 euros.

Since the mere existence of entrance fees can discourage participation, it is a welcome development for the Ruhr area and its numerous revitalisation projects that there now are plenty of recreational opportunities that are not associated with any costs. This is mainly due to the strong expansion of green areas, freely accessible (industrial) parks and other recreational grounds (slopes, river banks) that offer space for sporting activities or to just hang out. Regarding the significance of revitalisation processes for social

polarisation tendencies, the diversity of the projects is important, since it allows cities to create financial revenue (through cooperation with investors) and, on the other hand, to resolve deficits in urban recreational facilities (e.g. the deficiency of green areas) and create spaces that can be used regardless of income. The current flagship revitalisation project in Duisburg, the Duisburg-Nord Landscape Park, is a good example of a successful combination of an industrial monument, a flagship project and an everyday recreational area. Without admission prices and therefore accessible to everyone, the country park has developed into a regional recreation area, but is also a show stage for various events and marketing campaigns.

Revitalisation for everybody? The Duisburg-North Landscape Park

The Duisburg-North Landscape Park as a major revitalisation project in the Ruhr area became

Table 1. Entrance fees to selected recreational areas in the Ruhr area (in euro)

	Adults	Children, pupils, students	Families*	Unemployed persons (transfer income)
Bergbaumuseum, Bochum	6.5	3.0	14.0	3.0
Maximilianpark, Hamm	4.5	2.5 (<4 years free)	12.0	
Ruhr Museum, Essen, permanent exhibition + "Portal der Industriekultur"	8.0	<15 years free; pupils/students: 5.0		5.0
Aquapark, Oberhausen**	9.5	children <1m free; <16 years: 6.5; pupils/students: 8.5	22.0	
Alpincenter, Bottrop***	Mon-Fri: 38.0 Sat-Sun: 48.0	children 5-12 years: Mon-Fri: 25.0 Sat-Sun: 31.0	2 adults + 2 children: Mon-Fri: 105.0 Sat-Sun: 125.0 2 adults + 1 child: Mon-Fri: 85.0 Sat-Sun: 100.0	
Sea Life Abenteuerpark, Oberhausen, online tickets	13.0	13.0		
Gasometer, Oberhausen: Exhibiton "Christo Big Air Package" (2013)	9.0	pupils/students: 6.0	20.0	6.0

* different group structures (2 adults + varying number of children)

** day rate

*** day rate, 'all-inclusive'

Source: own compilation from the area's official home page (accessed in September 2013).

an important component of the IBA and a solid part of the Industrial Heritage Trail. In 1994 part of the former ironworks could be opened. The concept concerning the conversion of the park was quite ambitious: as a designated recreational space, the park was supposed to increase the quality of life of the adjoining district, become a place for cultural events, and at the same time also offer the possibility of experiencing the heritage of the industrial past. In the course of time, buildings or parts of the complex have been restored, new individual projects have been implemented, and the park has thereby kept developing further (Reuber, Krajewski 2009; Winkels, Zieling 2009). Today concerts, sports events and company festivities take place in this preserved industrial plant. Simultaneously the reclaimed site has developed into an everyday leisure space which gets along entirely without entrance fees, obligations for consumption or temporal restrictions. The Landscape Park represents a space for diverse user groups and thereby constitutes a multifunctional space. Nowadays the Landscape Park is a location for exhibits, company celebrations, sports events and for the family picnic on weekends. Almost in passing, it also offers a panorama from the top of blast furnace number 5, showing the history and conversion of the grounds by means of guided tours and information signs. Surprisingly enough, the park is open 24 hours a day and there are no entrance fees, except for special events. The offer in the park can be subdivided into four parts (Otto, Chmielewska 2012):

- Location for events and culture: numerous events take place in the Landscape Park, like the *Extraschicht* (Fig. 3), an open-air cinema, exhibitions, a 24-hour mountain bike race, and concerts. The park is also an address for events, presentations, fairs and galas organised by companies.
- Location for sports: in the park there is a diving centre, climbing gardens in former bunkers (Fig. 4), and a high-ropes course.
- Location for industrial history: essential parts of the industrial plants are marked and explained by means of photos and texts. There is a visitors' centre and guided tours with different focuses are offered. The particular quality of the Landscape Park is its authentic character. The plant is largely unrevised, especially

the fronts remain unaltered. Old machines, pipes and bunkers produce a natural flair of decay. The decline of industry has not been forcefully concealed by expensive renovation or the construction of new buildings.

- Location for families and everyday recreation: the park is integrated into the regional green zone of the Emscher Landscape Park. There are playgrounds, benches for resting, green spaces, gardens, and eating facilities. Along the Old Emscher there are paths and small terraces. Additionally a skate park and a beach volleyball court have been built.

The Duisburg-North Landscape Park borders on the limits between a postmodern venue, a museum and a freely accessible space of daily recreation, and seems to combine different strategies of revitalisation. The park has offers for all groups regardless of budget and age. As a place of depolarisation, it was probably unplanned but nevertheless desired. It brings people with different interests together, at least spatially. From young skaters, senior walking groups, fans of piano concerts to climbing enthusiasts, the Land-



Fig. 3. Landscape Park Duisburg-Nord: a firework at the "Extraschicht" 2012 (photo by M. Otto, 2012)

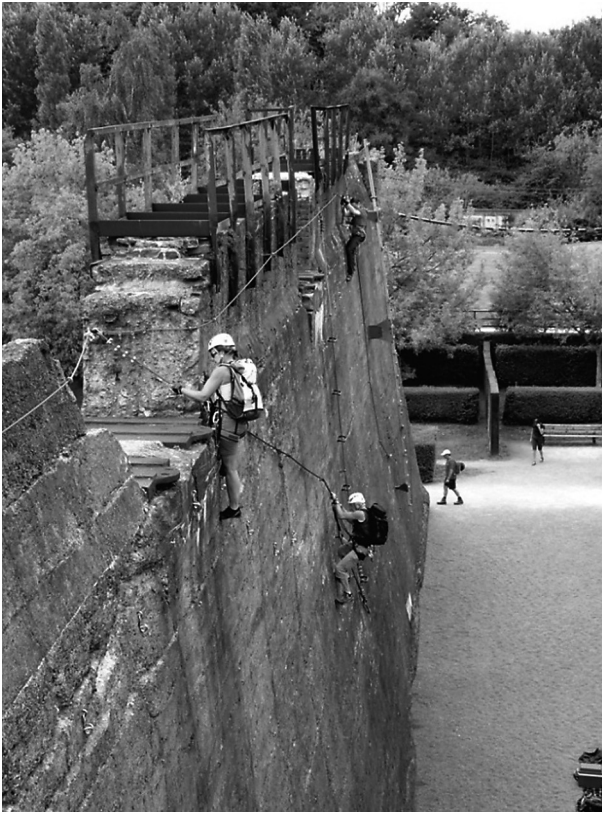


Fig. 4. Landscape Park Duisburg-Nord: a climbing garden (photo by M. Otto, 2012)

scape Park has turned into a multifunctional space. Staying on playgrounds, skater parks and in the many green areas is free of charge and always possible. The view from the visitor's platform on blast furnace number 5 seems to attract visitors regardless of their social status. Also the events have different priorities and are organised for different age and income groups. Some even seem to appeal to everybody, the Extraschicht being a case in point. The combination of sports, recreation, culture and tourism is apparently successful, and the various functions of the park do not disturb each other. The industrial scenery goes well with skating performances and classical concerts. Nevertheless, the open character of the park demands a price: its maintenance costs are about four million euros a year. Partly the Park can bear these costs itself. The operators benefit from the fact that it has turned into more than just a place for culture and recreation. It has also become a first-class address for events and presentations searching a special scenery. In the power plant, for instance, a new Mercedes model has once been presented.

All in all, nobody is scared off and excluded by high entrance fees or modern fronts. It is exactly this combination of daily activities and major cultural events that makes the Duisburg-North Landscape Park unique among the various revitalisation projects in the Ruhr area (Otto, Chmielewska 2012).

Conclusions

In the era of growing poverty and a widening division of society, some negative phenomena such as social exclusion and socio-economic polarisation are revealed. They are particularly visible in regions in transition, e.g. former industrial areas where the closing of unprofitable industrial plants entails rising unemployment rates and social fragmentation. Nevertheless, this structural change also offers municipalities the chance to create new urban spaces by reusing former industrial sites. This paper deals with the relation between revitalisation projects and socio-economic polarisation, and discusses the potential of new urban spaces for social inclusion using the example of recreational facilities which have emerged from the disused industrial sites located in the Ruhr region (Germany).

To evaluate the impact or success of a revitalisation project, the economic focus is often chosen. From the perspective of social geography it can also be discussed in terms of how far local residents benefit from reusing those former industrial plants: who can actually use these new spaces for leisure, culture, shopping and recreation? Social exclusion is not only a question of residential segregation or access to the labour market; so far, little attention has been paid to the fact that processes of social exclusion also occur in terms of recreational activities. The entrance fees paid for leisure facilities differ enormously. On the one hand, especially the postmodern paradises of leisure which have developed during the revitalisation process offer many expensive and thus exclusive facilities. Indoor ski slopes or amusement parks tend to be rather expensive for entire families, intensifying urban trends of polarisation. On the other hand, the number of green areas and other freely accessible places for leisure in the Ruhr area has increased. The diversity of the pro-

jects is important regarding the significance of the revitalisation processes for social polarisation tendencies. It allows regional authorities to create financial revenue (through cooperation with investors) and resolve deficits in urban recreational facilities (e.g. the deficiency of green areas), and to create spaces that can be used regardless of income. A good example of a successful combination of an industrial monument, a flagship project and an everyday recreational area is the Duisburg-North Landscape Park.

These examples from the German Ruhr area may provide guidance for the recently begun revitalisation processes of the Upper Silesian industrial area in Poland. In this region an increasing social polarisation, induced by de-industrialisation, is also a subject of discussion (Gerlich 2009; Odoj 2009). Odoj (2009) observed far-reaching socio-economic changes in industrial Upper Silesia caused by the structural changes and the end of the socialist era (see also Gerlich 2009). Due to the structural changes in the labour market, social inequality has increased substantially, which also results in segregation processes. While lower-income households find affordable housing in non-renovated former workers' settlements, more and more exclusive housing developments are emerging. They are located on the periphery, separated from the rest of the city by urban green areas (they might be called pseudo-gated communities). Odoj (2009) indicates a new heterogeneity manifested by 'good' and 'bad' addresses. The liberalisation of markets and the rapid acquisition of foreign investors have radically changed city structures. The image of the mining towns with their *familoki* (characteristic worker family houses mostly built of red brick) is being revised, or at least supplemented by new urban highlights, such as shopping centres or leisure facilities, which create new consumption patterns and characteristic new lifestyles. The new 'temples of consumption' contribute significantly to the division of the population. In general, the effects of unbalanced investment activities are accumulated. While private investments create new urban accents (e.g. the Silesia City Centre shopping mall in Katowice) and city authorities support revitalisation programmes of the inner city, many residential areas remain in their desolate condition, which is partially exacerbated by min-

ing damage and its consequences (Chmielewska 2009; 2012, Kurpanik et al. 2012). The result is a coexistence of new flagship objects, new areas of exclusive living, new transport infrastructure and spacious living quarters with a desolate urban quality. In the near future the opportunity to create more residential areas and new spaces for leisure facilities should be seized by means of redeveloping a large number of disused industrial sites in Upper Silesia. In order to mitigate social polarisation, it will be necessary to strive for an appropriate combination of various revitalisation concepts. Leisure facilities could play an important role in the socio-economic development of the region, and depending on the strategy chosen, revitalisation might enhance social inclusion or intensify the ongoing process of polarisation.

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