

***INTEGRATION DURCH SPORT (?)***

**The Influence of History and Policy on a Proposed  
Social Impact Assessment for Public Sport Infrastructure in Berlin**

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## **Table of Contents**

<b>Preface</b> .....	<b>iii</b>
<b>Einleitung</b> .....	<b>iv</b>
<b>Introduction</b> .....	<b>1</b>
Defined: Sozialpolitik .....	2
Defined: Stadtentwicklung.....	3
Defined: Integration .....	4
“Integration durch Sport” .....	5
Sports Facility Categories .....	6
Kernsportanlagen.....	7
Sportgelegenheiten .....	8
Spezielle Sportanlagen .....	8
Besondere Sportanlagen .....	9
Chapter Outlines.....	15
<b>Chapter 1: Sports Development in Germany (1800-present)</b> .....	<b>17</b>
Sports Development Before World War II .....	17
Sports Development Between World War II and Reunification (1945-1989).....	24
Sports Development During Reunification (1990-2005).....	29
Sports Development Today (2006- ).....	33
Conclusion.....	36
<b>Chapter 2: Urban and Social Development Goals from the Policy Hierarchy</b> .....	<b>39</b>
United Nations.....	39
European Union.....	41
German Bundestag .....	45
German Bundesländer and Local Governments.....	48
<b>Chapter 3: Current Policy Frameworks in Berlin</b> .....	<b>51</b>
Sportentwicklung in Berlin .....	51
Stadtentwicklung in Berlin.....	53
Intersection: Sport and Stadtentwicklung in Berlin .....	55
Sozialpolitik in Berlin .....	60
Intersection of Sport and Sozialpolitik in Berlin.....	62
Intersection of Stadtentwicklung, Sozialpolitik, and Sport.....	65
Soziale Stadt .....	65

Sportstättensituation der Migrantensportvereine.....	72
Flüchtlingsunterkünfte.....	73
Conclusion.....	73
<b>Chapter 4: Methods to Analyze the Impact of Sports Development on Social Inclusion ....</b>	<b>75</b>
External Context: Social Inclusion in Berlin Neighborhoods.....	75
Experiment Design.....	79
Question.....	79
Experiment Goals .....	79
Evidence .....	80
Hypothesis .....	80
Testable Variables .....	81
Statistical Scale.....	82
Analysis .....	82
Outcomes.....	85
Assessment Expansion .....	86
Conclusion.....	88
Case Studies on Sports Development and Social Inclusion in Berlin.....	92
4.1 - Allocation of Sports Facilities in Berlin.....	92
4.2 - Sports Facilities and the Social Dynamic Index.....	93
4.3 - Past Renovation Projects in Berlin.....	95
4.4 - Notable Future Projects.....	98
<b>Appendix I: Policy Hierarchy .....</b>	<b>101</b>
<b>Appendix II: <i>Lebensweltlich orientierten Räume</i>.....</b>	<b>103</b>
<b>Glossary of German Terms.....</b>	<b>104</b>
<b>Bibliography .....</b>	<b>110</b>

## Preface

At the outset of this project, someone suggested that I should seize the opportunity to research a topic unrelated to my future job. When starting my research, I considered analyzing the bicycle infrastructure in Germany. As a dedicated cyclist, I had the pleasure of exploring rural bike paths during my time in Schwäbisch Hall (May-June 2015) and Tübingen (June-August 2016). To begin my analysis, I dove into the reports about economic impacts of sports in Germany. Before I found any information about the cycle paths, however, I learned about the *Goldener Plan*, which was Germany's massive sports facility investment program in the reconstruction era after World War II. During my time in Germany, I had also enjoyed swimming in a number of incredible public pools, so I pivoted my focus to investigate that type of dedicated sports infrastructure. After graduation, I hope to start my career in the real estate industry, and although my topic partially aligns with my career interest, enjoyed the chance to broaden my perspective from typical business topics in real estate. The results remain in the following pages, and I hope you appreciate this insights as much as I enjoyed finding them.

For their support throughout this past year of thesis-writing, and my entire college career, I would like to thank my parents. I also owe gratitude to my German Department advisors Kerstin Barndt and Andreas Gailus. I may have never undertaken this project if Kalli Federhofer had not planted the idea in my head as a first-year student, and I am thankful for his advice. During the research and writing process, I appreciated Stefan Szymanski's insights about sports history and economics, Scott Campbell's input about urban planning, and Nicole Scholtz's help with mapping software. Finally, I would like to thank those who gave their time to edit this work, including Karen Motz.

Andrew Westphal, 17 April 2018

## **Einleitung**

Der Einfluss des Sports in der internationalen Gesellschaft spielt nicht nur im Kontext der Olympiade eine Rolle, sondern auch in den täglichen Verbindungen zwischen Freizeitsportler/innen. Sport spielt heutzutage auch eine wichtige Rolle in fachpolitischer Branchen wie Bildung, Gesundheit, Wirtschaft, Stadtentwicklung, und Sozialpolitik. Die folgende Arbeit, die unterschiedliche Themen und historische Epoche untersucht, beruht auf vier fundamental Ideen. Zum einen richtet sich das Fokus trotz einiger internationale Beispiele fest auf Deutschland. Zunächst führe ich die Themen Sozialpolitik, Stadtentwicklung, und Integration ein, damit man neue Perspektive auf Sportentwicklung bemerken kann.

In der Regel nehmen Olympiad und Stadien die zentrale Plätze im Diskussionen über Sportentwicklung, aber Kernsportanlagen wie Bäder und Sporthallen beeinflussen eine größere Teil der täglichen Integrations-möglichkeiten. Hauptsache ist, Kernsportanlagen sowie andere Investitionen in der öffentlichen Infrastruktur der Wohnmarkt beeinflussen könnten. Dieser Verbindung zwischen Sportanlagen und der Wohnmarkt ist wichtig weil der Priorität auf soziale Integration im Sportentwicklung zwischen der Turner-zeiten und der Goldener Plan Ost immer größer wächst. Dieser Trend bemerkt man auch in der Richtlinien verschiedener Regierungsbehörden wie Vereinte Nationen, Europäische Union, usw. Um die Folgen der Priorität "Integration durch Sport" scharf einzustellen, analysiere ich im dritten Kapitel der heutzutage Stadtentwicklung, Sozialpolitik, und Sportentwicklung in Berlin. Im letzten Kapitel schlage ich neue statistische Testverfahren vor, die dem Integrations-potenziale der Kernsportanlagen darstellen werden. Obwohl diese Verfahren noch nicht für der wahren Ausführung bereit sind, dürfen wir sie trotzdem als Wahrzeichen des Einflusses der Kernsportanlagen auf soziale Integration nehmen.

## **Introduction**

Sports hold a central position in societies around the world and contribute some of the most engaging examples of our collective human experience, whether those moments occur in global mega-events or the simple camaraderie among “weekend warriors.” Modern sports, for better or worse, also play a role in numerous realms of politics, including education, public health, economics, urban planning, and social policy. The following thesis covers a broad swath of topics and timelines, but four central ideas provide common threads throughout each segment. The first cornerstone of this thesis anchors us in Germany, even when we seek contextual evidence from other regions. In the last two chapters, our focus narrows to Germany’s capital city, Berlin, and its current and future sports policy landscape. The three other cornerstones, *Sozialpolitik*, *Stadtentwicklung*, and *Integration*, connect through the various topics in a more complex manner. For that reason, I provide an extensive introduction for these terms in the following sections, where I also introduce the “Integration durch Sport” initiative. After defining these concepts, I explain the categories of sports development projects, which range from global mega-events to neighborhood-based *Kernsportanlagen* (“core sports facilities”). At the conclusion of that review, I introduce contextual evidence about how present-day sport development programs impact social inclusion. Those current discussion points, along with the four cornerstone concepts, serve as a solid foundation for the rest of the analysis.

Each chapter in this thesis builds toward my central question: *are neighborhood-based sports facility developments socially inclusive?* As explained below, clear examples for negative social outcomes already exist for Olympic mega-events and large stadium projects. Based on those examples, I hypothesize that because big projects have big social consequences, small projects in neighborhoods could produce small disruptions to social cohesion. Although

neighborhood sports facilities constitute a valuable public amenity for local residents, this value creation also serves as a lightning rod for housing investment and development from the private market. As a result, I suggest that the renewal of public amenities in disadvantaged areas causes unanticipated social changes, such as attracting new residents, landlords, and businesses into the area. Chapter 4 will dive into a structured experimental model to analyze this issue and present a few case studies for how public investment in sports facilities may affect local neighborhoods. The preceding chapters provide greater context to this argument by demonstrating the growing importance of social inclusion in sports and the current political support for social inclusion.

**Defined: Sozialpolitik**

Translated directly, the German phrase *Sozialpolitik* means “social policy.” The German dictionary *Duden* defines *Sozialpolitik* as “Planung und Durchführung staatlicher Maßnahmen zur Verbesserung der sozialen Verhältnisse der Bevölkerung” (“Sozialpolitik”). These “actions to improve the social condition of the population” cover a wide range of topics, including healthcare, pensions, and housing. To facilitate my analysis of sports facilities, however, I interpret *Socialpolitik* more narrowly to capture only policies which influence specific social groups, such as those defined by race, age, class, gender, or ethnic origin. My use of this term especially implies that these policies seek social empowerment for the targeted group.

In the context of sports, social policy often plays a role in club-based activities or other forms of interpersonal engagement. Those modes of interaction include training sessions, recreational and leisure activities, sports competitions, and even spectatorship at a sporting event. To further clarify my use of *Sozialpolitik*, I must also note that education policy does not fall within this definition, despite the ways in which the (public) education system can integrate schoolchildren from all backgrounds into society. Although I do not discuss education policy in



this analysis, we should note that most sports programs in Germany's history, and in the current policy arena, intersect with education, and that sport holds a key position in education policy. Finally, please note that despite the interchangeable nature of the English term "social policy" and the German *Sozialpolitik*, I use the latter as a specific indicator at various points in this text. I intend for the German term to stick out and remind the reader to focus on social policy in that section, especially when compared to *Stadtentwicklung*.

**Defined: Stadtentwicklung**

In a literal translation, *Stadtentwicklung* means "city development." English speakers may interpret this term in several ways, including urban planning, economic development, or construction and engineering, among other possible ideas. In the context of this analysis, I use *Stadtentwicklung* as a synonym for "urban planning," the applied social science of the built environment. Urban planning encompasses a wide range of topics, including transportation, natural resource planning, and city planning. In the realm of sport, urban planning specifically deals with the allocation of public facilities in a developed area. For the purposes of this thesis, this process of resource allocation includes selecting locations for future projects, tracking public projects to completion, and using benchmark values to assess the current and desired availability of sports facilities. In all of these roles, *Stadtentwicklung* most closely mirrors an engineering perspective, which is driven by quantitative analysis. In broad terms, the central difference between *Stadtentwicklung* and *Sozialpolitik* hinges on the former's focus on changes to the built environment, while the latter addresses the people who live within it. Like *Sozialpolitik*, I use the term *Stadtentwicklung* as specific indicator throughout the text. It should not only draw the reader's attention to the topic of "urban planning," but also underscore the dichotomy between *Sozialpolitik* and *Stadtentwicklung*.

**Defined: Integration**

To best serve the increasingly multicultural population in Germany, the *Deutscher Olympischer Sportbund* (DOSB) developed the “Integration durch Sport” program to approach these opportunities in a structured manner. The name of this initiative clearly places a focus on integration, but to best understand the goals of this initiative, one must first understand the important distinction between the English terms “integration” and “inclusion,” as well as the English term “inclusion” and the German term *Inklusion*. The distinction between “integration” and “inclusion” centers on the relationship between two cultures. In some interpretations, true “integration” requires the minority group to give up its culture in the pursuit of a homogeneous society based on the majority culture. Conversely, “inclusion” implies a more heterogeneous mix between the minority and majority cultures. In both cases, the terms serve as antonyms for “segregation,” the separation of social groups with geographic or social boundaries. Within the context of sports development in this thesis, I use “inclusion” and “integration” synonymously, and “integration” should not imply the subordination of minority cultures.

In a similar line of thought, the term “integration” also warrants examination as a force for collective unity or individual empowerment. In one sense, integration depends on the ability of people to unite in connection to a common cause or entity. Social integration in a neighborhood community, for example, implies more than the absence of segregation: truly integrated residents not only interact, but also share a common understanding about the goals of their shared community. In that sense, individuals may subordinate their personal priorities for the good of the community, thus creating a cohesive unit. Another reading of “integration,” however, focuses on the empowerment of individuals to act for their own interests. In the same neighborhood, forces for integration could enable formerly disenfranchised residents to speak up

for their own interests and spark involvement in local groups. For the purposes of this thesis, and in the general context of modern integration programs in sport, “integration” means encouraging individual participation and self-efficacy from formerly-subordinated groups, not promoting single-minded unity.

I must also clarify a small difference between the German terms *Inklusion* and the English term “inclusion.” The former mainly addresses the needs of people with disabilities: in English, this is known as “accessibility.” In comparison, the term “integration” refers to inter-cultural understanding among people as stated in the paragraph above. The *Grundlagenpapier* for the DOSB’s “Integration durch Sport” program includes an important note about these two terms: “Der DOSB versteht Inklusion und Integration gleichermaßen als das gleich- berechtigte, selbstbestimmte und teilhabende Sporttreiben aller Menschen in ihrer Vielfalt und Heterogenität” (Deutscher Olympischer Sportbund). They continue this clarification by noting that “Integration durch Sport” includes not only the interaction among people with different cultural backgrounds, but also participants with different physical abilities or disabilities. The inclusion of participants with disabilities holds a priority position in many facets of sports development policy, including many efforts by the DOSB and other German sports agencies. In the context of the “Integration durch Sport” program, however, topics of migration and multi-cultural society hold the focus. For the purposes this paper, the term “inclusion” focuses on the inter-cultural side of this discussion, and I do use the term *Inklusion* or discuss topics of disability in sport.

### **“Integration durch Sport”**

The DOSB formulated the strategic elements of the current “Integration durch Sport” program starting in 2012, and published the final strategic document in 2013. The initiative set out primary goals for changes within a two-year timeframe lasting between 2014 and 2016, but

the program is still active at the time of this writing (2018). The DOSB probably extended the program due to the sudden increase in demand for integration programs to support new arrivals in Germany after the 2015 *Flüchtlingskrise* in Europe. Indeed, the DOSB's "Integration durch Sport" program received some support from the *Bundesministerium des Innern* through its *Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge* (BAMF) ("Das Programm"). In addition to this federal-level support, the initiative depends also on the support of *Landessportbunde*, the state-level support structure for local *Sportvereine*.

For reasons discussed at the end of Chapter 2, Berlin serves as the focal point for my analysis of local outcomes from sports and integration policies. The *Landessportbund* Berlin promotes the "Integration durch Sport" program, and even outside of the specific frameworks in the "Integration durch Sport" initiative, agencies within the Berlin city government uphold the value of sports programs for social inclusion. Despite this multi-level government support to use sports as a tool for integration, government agencies responsible for sports facility development in Berlin have not taken steps to highlight the aspects of social inclusion inherent to public investments in sport infrastructure. Long-term public investment in sports development occurs in the construction and renovation of sports facilities, so the ability of initiatives for inclusion in sports to create sustainable change depends on strong alignment of sports development goals with social inclusion initiatives. Specifically, the development process for sports facilities must consider the impact of sport facility projects on local social inclusion. To better understand the nature of these facilities, the following section reviews the various categories of sports facilities.

### **Sports Facility Categories**

As tallied by the Institut für Sportwissenschaft at the Universität Mainz, there exist 57 types of sports facilities for 71 sport activities (an der Heiden et al., 13-16). To facilitate research

and commentary about this plethora of venues, the *Institut* outlined four categories of sports facilities: *Kernsportanlagen*, *Sportgelegenheiten*, *Spezielle Sportanlagen*, and *Besondere Sportanlagen* (an der Heiden et al., 16). These categories range from the most standard facilities to the most obscure, and the following paragraphs provide a thorough definition for each term. The following analysis also includes context for the theme of social integration within each category. In all cases, we must consider the difference between public and private properties. This thesis focuses exclusively on public property and sports development as a public policy because we must hold the government accountable for the social impact created by its sports development projects. Although private sports facilities, including those owned by sports clubs or private companies, contribute to the general sports landscape, these bodies are not subject to the same degree of public accountability.

### *Kernsportanlagen*

This category includes four types of facilities: *Bäder*, *Eishallen*, *Sporthallen*, and *Sportplätze*. These venues account for the majority of public sports facilities and the most common facilities in typical neighborhoods, hence their designation as *Kern* (“core”) facilities. These *Kernsportanlagen* stand at the center of my analysis for a number of reasons. First, these core facilities represent a relatively standard public good throughout the huge number and variety of facilities in a given area. As a related benefit, the large number of these facilities provides a sufficiently broad base from which to analyze the variables of social inclusion across all neighborhoods. Lastly, and from a more pragmatic, socially-oriented standpoint, these *Kernsportanlagen* deserve the spotlight because they play a role in the daily lives of local residents. For a discussion of social inclusion, nothing beats local gathering places which fit the daily or weekly routines of many neighborhood residents.

*Sportgelegenheiten*

Other common sports endeavors occur within the second category: *Sportgelegenheit*.

This category includes *Radwege*, *Strände*, and other types of public infrastructure which facilitate sports activities, such as the use of normal streetscapes for parkour or skateboarding.

Researchers characterized *Sportgelegenheiten* as “Flächen, die ursprünglich nicht für sportliche Zwecke geschaffen wurden, aber dennoch räumlich und zeitlich Möglichkeiten für eine sportliche Sekundärnutzung bieten. Sie stehen allen Bürgerinnen und Bürgern, insbesondere für informelle Sportaktivitäten, kostenlos zur Verfügung” (Lischka in an der Heiden et al., 14).

These types of facilities play a role in the greater discussion of inclusion in sport, and Chapter 3 includes some discussion of *Grün- und Freiflächen*. Without a clear focus on sports uses, however, there exists no clear method to analyze these locations in the context of social inclusion and sports.

*Spezielle Sportanlagen*

As opposed to the unintentional nature of *Sportgelegenheiten*, *spezielle Sportanlagen* fill very specific needs for sports participants. These facilities, such as *Tennisplätze*, *Golfplätze*, *Skipisten*, and *Skate-/BMX-Parks*, serve only limited uses for certain types of sports (an der Heiden et al., 16).<sup>1</sup> Due to their specialized uses, these facilities draw from a large base of the regional population. These venues do not often play a role in the daily routines – and thus the social cohesion – of a small neighborhood community. Furthermore, these facilities simply exist in fewer numbers, thus making it more difficult to use statistical analysis for comparisons across neighborhoods.

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<sup>1</sup> *Temporäre Sportstätten*, such as *Marathonstrecken*, are also included in this category (an der Heiden et al., 7).

### Besondere Sportanlagen

In comparison to the other facility categories, which exist primarily to serve the public, *Besondere Sportanlagen* often fulfill special purposes with limited public access (an der Heiden et al., 14). Facilities in this category typically align with popular spectator-sports, and include *Motorsport-Rennstrecken*, *Großsporthallen* with more than 3.000 spectator seats, *Stadien*, and *Olympiastützpunkte* (16). The latter two venues in this list, stadiums and Olympic facilities, receive significant focus in research and journalism, and the following section discuss the dominant narratives about the social impact of these facilities.

### *External Context: Olympics and Social Inclusion*

In the context of sports, mega-events typically necessitate large-scale infrastructure investment. These massive, government-funded projects often contribute to the displacement of people from their homes, and long-term implications of these projects even include the complete removal of cultural networks in the impacted neighborhoods. To understand these issues, the Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE) reported in 2007 about the general impact on local housing from mega-events, including government summits, cultural gatherings such as World Fairs, and sporting events. As a well-known, global mega-event, the team chose the Olympics as a primary case study of mega events' social impact.

The COHRE team estimated, for example, that preparation for the 2008 Olympic Games in Beijing caused the displacement of around 1.25 million people (Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions, 11). The report also points out that the issue is not a phenomenon of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, nor is it limited to the Games in China: “In Seoul, 720,000 people were forcibly evicted from their homes in preparation for the Olympic Games in 1988. In Barcelona, housing became so unaffordable as a result of the Olympic Games that low income earners were forced to leave the

city. In Atlanta, 9,000 arrest citations were issued to homeless people, mostly African-Americans, as part of an Olympics-inspired campaign to ‘clean the streets’” (11). As an especially notable factor, the COHRE also emphasized that when the Olympic Games encourage redevelopment of entire neighborhoods, the situation will “give rise to housing impacts which disproportionately affect the most vulnerable and marginalised members of the community. Moreover, there often exists little or no participation of local residents in the decision making processes for mega-events” (11).

To follow up on the COHRE’s 2007 report, we may briefly analyze the outcomes from the 2012 Games in London and the 2016 Games in Rio de Janeiro. For the 2012 games, the UK non-profit Shelter reported in December 2013 that around “11,000 homes will be built as part of the Olympic legacy” (McCarthy & Lancaster, 7). Unfortunately, rapid spikes in housing costs between 2009 and 2012 countered this positive boost in the market supply. Residents in boroughs near the stadiums faced significant spikes in housing cost, “with increases of 19% in Hackney, 10% in Newham and 7% in Tower Hamlets” (7).<sup>2</sup> Although Olympic host cities often promote the Games as a tool for economic development and a boon for local workers, “When compared with local wages, it is clear that these [rent cost] increases take the cost of private renting far beyond the realms of affordability” (3).

The outcomes from Rio de Janeiro in 2016 also appear generally detrimental for social inclusion. According to a report from Al Jazeera in March 2016, the Vila Autodromo *favela*<sup>3</sup> community in Rio stands as a primary example of aggressive government action during Olympic

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<sup>2</sup> A significant increase in eviction warrants in those boroughs was also noted between 2009 and 2012, potentially caused by the desire of landlords to capture additional income by re-renting their units to new tenants. Between 2010 and 2013, the strategy appeared to be working: “On average, Hackney has seen a 13% increase in private rents, Newham 16%, and Tower Hamlets 20%. In comparison, London as a whole has seen increases of 10%” (McCarthy & Lancaster, 3).

<sup>33</sup> “A shantytown in or near a city, especially in Brazil; slum area” (“Favela”).



preparations. Vila Autodromo lies directly adjacent to the Olympic Park, and saw “its population reduced from more than 550 families to just 47 in less than two years” before the 2016 Games (Thomas-Davis). Echoing the COHRE’s analysis of “cleaning the streets” in Atlanta before the 1996 Games, Vila Autodromo resident and activist Sandra Maria de Sousa made remarks to Al Jazeera about how “the world doesn't want to see poverty... [so] they [the Brazilian organizers] want to keep tourists in the... new commercial, luxury, west zone. It is a type of social cleansing” (Thomas-Davis). In December 2015, the Popular Committee on the World Cup and Olympics, a local advocacy group, reported that “at least 4,120 families have been removed and 2,486 remain under removal by reasons directly or indirectly related to the Olympic Project” (quoted in Thomas-Davis).

Although construction projects for the Rio Olympics caused significant harm to local communities, one positive outcome arose from that turmoil: “The People's Plan of Vila Autodromo,” published by The Association of Residents of Vila Autodromo, along with advisors from two public universities in Rio (“Living Together”). According to Al Jazeera’s coverage, the team “developed [the Plan] through a participatory process of workshops, general assemblies and residents meetings,” and all of the recommendations were “compatible with Olympic construction” (Thomas-Davis). Despite these efforts, demolitions in the Vila Autodromo neighborhood continued, and as of March 2016, it was unclear if any part of the community would remain intact by the time the Games kicked off in August. In the face of this heartbreak, Vila Autodromo resident Natalia found comfort in the fact that “Even in other states, other countries, too... people [are] going through the same pain we are going through here. Our resistance moves them to continue their own resistance” (quoted in Thomas-Davis). Indeed, Deutsche Bank and the London School of Economics noticed the efforts in Vila Autodromo and

awarded their 2013 Urban Age Award to the People's Plan. Hopefully, that international recognition will lend greater weight to the efforts of local community members in Olympic host cities to voice their input in the development process before (and after) the Games.

*External Context: Stadiums and Social Inclusion*

In the section above, the evidence shows that mega-events, including the Olympics, have negative effects on social inclusion. That type of large-scale redevelopment, however, remains well outside the normal realm of sports facility projects in a typical city. The lack of mega-events in most global cities does not, however, remove the potential for other, smaller projects to also disrupt local social cohesion. In the scale of sports development projects, stadiums occupy the rank directly below mega-events. Even though cities undertake stadium construction projects less than annually, most major cities around the world have at least one large sports stadium. For this reason, the topic of stadiums provides a more broad-based reflection of sports facilities' impact on social inclusion.

Several projects from cities in the United States demonstrate how stadiums can negatively impact the local population. In one example, the Washington Nationals Stadium (baseball) in Washington D.C. produced a distinctly negative impact on surrounding neighborhoods: "within a few years of construction, the community that previously boasted an affordable housing stock and a high low-income minority population is replaced with high-income, white professionals" (Wilkins, 'Abstract'). In another example, the Atlanta Falcons' (football) new Mercedes-Benz Stadium, "a \$1.5 billion palace," sits in juxtaposition with "English Avenue and Vine City, two of the poorest neighborhoods in the Southeastern United States" (Belson). According to a comprehensive report in the *New York Times*, this type of development "effectively blots out a part of the neighborhood when not in use, reducing foot

traffic and fraying the fabric of the community” (Belson). In Atlanta, however, there remains some glimmer of hope for these disadvantaged areas: team owner Arthur Blank donated around \$20 million for neighborhood improvements, including a job training center and a youth leadership program (Belson). Unfortunately, even these generous projects do not counteract the unconstrained forces of the market: researchers from Georgia Tech reported that “speculators have bought up hundreds of parcels of land hoping to turn a quick profit, and rents have risen by about 20 percent since the stadium plan was announced in 2012” (Belson). In these cases, the massive investment in a sports facility incited changes in the composition of nearby neighborhoods as third-party developers sought to capitalize on the newfound interest in the area.

Besides the efforts of speculative developers to chase market trends, some stadium projects seek to fill the new demand for housing with their own on-site options. The Los Angeles Rams’ (football) development of a \$2.6 billion stadium, includes not only the playing field and concourse retail area, but also a hotel, casino, and “Hollywood Park, a residential property development with up to 3,000 homes” (McMullen). Middle-income Angelenos currently face rapid increases in rental rates, but the new project will not fill the badly-needed supply gap of the middle market. Rather, it “will target the luxury sector with sprawling apartments overlooking the stadium” (McMullen). Although these new units add to market supply, and thus alleviate some pressure from the housing bubble, this case demonstrates the fact that third-party investors are not the only market players poised to benefit from stadium developments: even the stadium-builders themselves plan to capitalize on some of the new demand.

The three examples above focus on popular US sports in major US cities, but this North-American focus should not leave the impression that social disruption with stadium development occurs only in the United States. In the case of London’s Tottenham Hotspurs, a Premier League

soccer team, evidence from their new £750 million (\$1 billion) stadium shows a detrimental influence on local area (Rao). In 2015, Deloitte published the selectively-titled report “Tottenham Hotspur Football Club: An analysis of the Club’s socio-economic contribution to the local area” [emphasis mine], which included the following summary: “Tottenham Hotspur’s Northumberland Development Project is a major catalyst for regeneration, with the potential to more than double the GVA [Gross Value Added] impact in the tri-borough area to around £290m per annum in 2019” (Deloitte). Although Deloitte’s report did not disclose their client’s identity, their analysis clearly took a one-sided view of the project’s economic impact.

In their own reporting on the Hotspurs’ stadium, the *New York Times* noted that the development footprint includes a number of infrastructure improvements in the area: “train and subway stations are being renovated, schools and health services upgraded, and around 10,000 new homes are being added” (Rao). According to local residents, however, these amenities represent the first of many steps towards the total elimination of the area’s vibrant culture. These local activists found sympathetic ears at the Office of the High Commissioner on Human Rights (OHCHR) in the United Nations. In 2017, human rights experts in the OHCHR found that “plans to close [Seven Sisters Indoor Market in the London Borough of Haringey] as part of a gentrification project represent a threat to cultural life” (“London Market Closure”). That market, a bustling center of the community with 120 small shops and occupancy by businesspeople with over 21 different national origins, stands as a core example of how stadium development will destroy social continuity in the neighborhood (“London Market Closure”). Even though the Seven Sisters Market will eventually be reconstructed as part of the stadium’s development footprint, shopkeepers fear that in the intervening years, the strong neighborhood bonds will no longer exist to support their businesses (Rao). If the stadium’s new amenities drive new demand

for housing, and thus cause the diverse cultural blend of residents to shift, the neighborhood's current social structure will erode.

These perspectives on stadiums in the United States and England show that massive sports facility developments make large, negative impacts on local neighborhoods. One trend that differentiates the facility expansions in the United States and Europe, however, is the European preference for renovation over new construction. Many of the plans for Europe's biggest new stadiums do not feature ground-up redevelopments, but rather rely on the construction of new sideline grandstands or additional decks on top of pre-existing seats (Reich). One likely cause of this difference is the relative density of European cities compared to metro areas in the United States. When Bayern München planned their new stadium for 75,000 fans, for example, they quickly realized that no suitable site existed within the city. Thus, the team constructed Allianz Arena outside the city limits (Damm). In the future, however, trends in professional sports, such as globalized team ownership and the desire to locate stadiums closer to downtown hubs, could cause stadium development in Europe to more closely mirror the massive, new-construction stadium trend in the United States. In any case, the evidence shows that stadium construction has the potential to uproot longstanding communities and cause displacement of former residents, especially in disadvantaged neighborhoods.

### **Chapter Outlines**

To investigate the theme of *Integration* in sport, especially with the perspectives of *Sozialpolitik* and *Stadtentwicklung*, we will analyze several topics. First, we review the history of public sports development initiatives over time. That analysis, included in Chapter 1, shows that sports initiatives in Germany have shifted their focus from militarization to social integration. In the second chapter, we follow the range of initiatives throughout the modern policy hierarchy,

from the United Nations to local government in Berlin.<sup>4</sup> This process demonstrates how programs throughout the policy hierarchy place significant weight on the importance of social inclusion in urban areas. Furthermore, this research shows that sports development programs hold an increasingly important role in efforts for social integration.

The third chapter uses these historical and political frameworks to analyze the current sports development perspectives within various governmental and independent entities in Berlin. This discussion especially focuses on the dichotomy between *Stadtplanung* and *Sozialpolitik*, and concludes with comments about the potential intersections of those two topics in the context of sports. Finally, the fourth chapter attempts to define a structure to measure the impact of sports facility developments on social inclusion. This model focuses on the placement of *Kernsportanlagen* within a city and the impacts of these public sports developments in local neighborhoods. At the end of the chapter, I apply this framework to several case studies in Berlin and leave the reader with several ideas for future research.

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<sup>4</sup> Please see Appendix I for a chart of the policy hierarchy.

## **Chapter 1: Sports Development in Germany (1800-present)**

Germany has a long history of sports development initiatives, and each era exhibits a few key characteristics. Although the architects of these programs articulated their goals with an eye on the future, their targets also reflect the contemporary political and social climate. As a result, one gains new insights by viewing these sports development initiatives not only as freestanding programs, but also as components of a greater historical context. Furthermore, drawing comparisons between eras of sports development allows us to reveal important insights about current sports initiatives in Germany. For that reason, this chapter represents the first step towards understanding today's sports priorities and the trend in sports developments for the future. The following examples cover four eras of development and demonstrate that across two centuries, sports development initiatives maintained their ability to create unity, but their focus shifted from bolstering the strength and health of the nation to promoting social integration.

### **Sports Development Before World War II**

The first major development programs appeared in the early nineteenth century and focused mainly on the health and strength of the nation. The origin of German sports development, and perhaps also German nationalism, traces back to the early 1800's and Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, commonly known as *Turnvater* Jahn. As the story goes, Jahn "witnessed the defeat of the Prussian Army by Napoleon at the battle of Jena in 1806 and attributed the defeat to lack of physical conditioning and 'moral resistance.'" (Szymanski, 419). His 1810 work *Deutsches Volkstum* explained his concept of the German "national essence" as something to develop and defend.<sup>5</sup> Concurrent to those philosophical renderings, Jahn began operating a *Turnplatz* in Berlin, where he gave instruction in gymnastics and generally earned credit for

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<sup>5</sup> Nearly 100 years later, that concept of "national essence" became one of the philosophical underpinnings of the National Socialist movement (Szymanski, 419).

inventing the horse and parallel bars (Szymanski, 419). Enthusiasm for these new exercises sparked the *Turnen* movement in Germany, which grew in a network of member-organized *Turnvereine*. Eventually, Jahn published *Die Deutsche Turnkunst*, a volume which explained his methods for gymnastic training.

*Vereine* play a critical role in across all discussions of sports development policy. Although involvement in these groups waxed and waned over the decades due to various imperial decrees either supporting or banning free association, such as the *Sozialistengesetze* in the 1870s (Krüger & Riordan, 2), these *Turnvereine* played an early role in the development of modern *Vereinskultur* in Germany. Thanks to Germany's robust culture of joiners, *Sportvereine* remain central in many of today's sports development programs. In this sense, *Turnen* appears like a positive, community-focused framework for free association among people with common interests in sport. Based on Jahn's personal views about the need for a physically strong nation, however, "it is impossible to get around the fact that Jahn's exercises were initially intended to serve military fitness." (Überhorst in Szymanski, 419).

With his publications, Jahn created a firm bond between the strength of a nation and the strength of its population. Through the gymnastic exercises of *Turnsport*, citizens became healthy and disciplined, thus serving the nation's military aims well: with such everyday training, recruiting a standing army should prove fairly straightforward. Jahn himself enlisted for the War of Liberation in 1813, during which time his *Turnplätze* received financial support from the Prussian state, further demonstrating their usefulness as a political tool (Szymanski, 419). Over 30 years later, up to 500 independently-organized *Turnvereine* became active during the 1848/49 revolution (McMillan, 55). As physically-fit and well-disciplined groups, those clubs participated not only in political activities, but also real military engagement through



*Turnerwehren* or *Turnercompagnien* (McMillan, 55-6). During that period, schoolteacher and *Turnsport* instructor August Kraus made the following note about the power of the athletic regimen in his charges: “it is not hard to see that for the youth and the man – besides the natural urge for physical exercise – it is the Fatherland which will give them the impulse to ward [sic] gymnastics. Does not the youth glow with love for his Fatherland, and is it not his desire to become useful to it?” (Kraus in McMillan, 56). Clearly, *Turnen* and the general theory of broad-based athletic participation constituted an attractive mechanism for the ruling powers to strengthen their political position and the nation’s fighting forces.

We must consider, however, that not all sports-based political movements received approval or support from the ruling elites. During the 1849 revolutions, Jahn’s *Turnen* movement experienced major splits in its base. Jahn and other liberals maintained their “Deutscher Turnbund” in support of constitutional monarchy, while a new “Democratic Turnerbund provided the republican armies with able soldiers” (Krüger & Riordan, 3). After the conflict, Jahn’s *Deutscher Turnbund* was cited as the earliest iteration of the *Arbeitersportbewegung* in Germany. The first truly worker-focused association, however, emerged in 1890 under the name “Arbeiter Turn-und Sportbund.” That organization positioned itself as a direct opponent of the nationalistic tendencies inherent to the original *Turnen* movement (Krüger & Riordan, 8). *Arbeitersport* remained “open to all workers, women as well as men and black as well as white,” while many of the bourgeois associations permitted membership only to the socially elite, primarily white men (Krüger & Riordan, vii). With those statements, *Arbeitersport* could appear like an early example of inclusion in sports, but that characterization fails to acknowledge the sustained focus on militarization of workers through sport.

On the socially-minded side, *Arbeitersport* presented itself as “a socialist alternative to bourgeois competitive sport, commercialism, chauvinism, and the obsessions with stars and records” (Krüger & Riordan, vii). For example, *Arbeitersport* generally opposed the IOC’s Olympic movement because when “mass participation, health, overall enjoyment, and military preparedness were the major aims, then the demonstration of personal superiority by a few could be quite frustrating to the many” (Krüger & Riordan, 8). Instead of promoting competitions for individual glory, the workers hosted their own Olympics, which “were explicitly against all chauvinism, racism, sexism, and social exclusivity; they were truly amateur, organized for the edification and enjoyment of working women and men, and they illustrated the fundamental unity of all working people irrespective of colour, creed, sex, or national origin” (Krüger & Riordan, vii). The First Worker Olympics took place in 1925 in Frankfurt and attracted over 150,000 spectators. The program included not only athletic events, but also a performance from a choir of 1,200 and a dramatic show titled “Worker Struggle for the Earth” with 60,000 participants (Krüger & Riordan, 17).

Even when presented in the positive manner of broad-based participation and equality of achievement, the power of sports to unite people did not go unnoticed by contemporary politicians. In time, sports became a political battleground for competing ideologies. For example, the socialist-communist conflict played out in the midst of the *Arbeitersport* movement: “[Fritz] Wildung, who was General Secretary of the Central Committee [for Worker Sport and Physical Fitness], made sure that the [Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (SPD)] maintained its strong influence within the [Arbeiter Turn-und Sportbund] and did not lose ground to the communists.” (Krüger & Riordan, 12) This kind of ideological infighting between

nationalists, communists, and socialists remained a core conflict for the life of the movement.<sup>6</sup>

Although the modern retelling could present the *Arbeitersportbewegung* as an inclusive, socially progressive force in German society, one must note how contemporary politicians worked hard to maintain their grasp on sports as a mechanism to harness the power of the people.

Just like its forebears in the *Turnen* movement, *Arbeitersport* also kept a keen focus on military preparation. In 1931, one Helmut Wagner wrote that “Worker sports is the movement which assures the provision of health to the proletarian youth and strengthens the chances of the proletarian class to be physically prepared for the class war” (Wagner in Krüger & Riordan, 17). When the Nazi party began its ascent to power in 1933, “[the Nazi party] expected violent resistance to their early measures, especially from worker sport, because they assumed that worker paramilitary training would have provided sufficient drills to have made them good guerrilla fighters – as the old Turners had been during the Napoleonic Wars” (Krüger & Riordan, 20). Although no organized resistance occurred, some worker athletes remained active in the communist resistance. Although the Nazis had initially permitted former stars from the *Arbeitersportbewegung* to join athletic clubs loyal to the new regime, they eventually tired of the workers’ ongoing political action. In the end, “the roll call of martyrs from the worker sport organization read like a Who’s Who of worker sport.” (Krüger & Riordan, 20). This evidence depicts the *Arbeitersportbewegung* in the same format as most other sports programs, including *Turnen*, which sought to create unity among groups of people and spark social change. Like its

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<sup>6</sup> Political ideology continued souring relationships well into the twentieth century. When the *Deutscher Sportbund* (DSB) was organizing in the 1950s, two surviving organizations from the *Arbeitersportbewegung* wished to become members: *Arbeiter-Radfahrerbund Solidarität*, founded in 1896, and the *Touristenverein Naturfreunde*, founded in 1905 (Dierker, 57). In an effort to create an apolitical sports organization, however, “the DSB refused to accept the two as even associate members.” (Krüger & Riordan, 22). The *Naturfreunde* joined the Easter March Movement and become more aligned with environmental causes, but *Solidarität* “sued the DSB in order to become an associate member. The German Supreme court eventually ruled, on 19 December 1977, that the DSB had to accept *Solidarität* as a member.” (Krüger & Riordan, 22)

forebear, however, *Arbeitersport* demonstrated a clear focus on military preparedness and did not place significant weight on the true value of social integration in its own right.

Through the *Turnen* and *Arbeitersport* movements, social change occurred primarily through *Vereine*. These social structures, however, only represent part of the complete formula for sports development: one must also consider how the development of sports facilities impacted the outcomes of sports programs. As meeting places, training grounds, and symbolic fortresses of the *Sportvereine*, public and private sports facilities naturally played an important role in these movements. Without training places such as *Turnvater Jahn's* gym in Berlin, these movements may have never gained such significance. Governmental forces also recognized the power of these resources, and at times barred worker sports clubs from using public funding and amenities (Krüger & Riordan, ix). In this way, *Stadtplanung* and allocation of resources in the built environment can play a role just as critical as *Vereinskultur* and *Sozialpolitik* in the grand scheme of sports development.

The first major example of sports facility development, the *Reichsspielplatzgesetz*, appeared in 1920. In that year, the *Reichsausschuß für Leibesübungen* (“National Committee for Physical Education”) proclaimed its legislative duty to provide free access to healthy endeavors: “Es ist eine hohe Aufgabe der Gesetzgebung, dem Nachwuchs die Freiheit gesunder Entwicklung zu geben und ihm den notwendigen Lebensraum auf Spiel- und Sportplätzen zu geben” (Abelbeck, 6). To meet that end, the *Ausschuß* published the *Reichsspielplatzgesetz* and called for investment of 1.6 million Reichsmark (RM) in *Spielplatzneubauten*. The *Ausschuß* supported its cause by citing the inability of most Germans to escape “dem Steinmeer menschlicher Behausungen und Betriebsstätten” as a limiting factor of the population’s physical fitness. They noted that “Die körperliche Ertüchtigung auf Spiel- und Sportplätzen ist eine

notwendige Physiologische Reaktion gegen den verstärkten Kraft- und Nervenverbrauch des heutigen Daseins” (Abelbeck, 6). Although the investment target of 1.6 million RM provided a fairly clear goal to measure the program’s success, it is more difficult to measure the ability of sports to effectively provide a psychological break from the increasingly stressful pace of modern life. The proposal conclusively stated, however, that “das Wohl des Volkskörpers läßt sich nicht klarer als am Volkskörper selbst messen” (6). The specific phrasing used here, *Volkskörper*, immediately lends itself to a connection with the strong, nationalist rhetoric of the day. The idea of a *Volkskörper*, especially in 1920s Germany, carries clear implications of a collective, national body, rather than the health and wellness of individuals. In fact, it shows how the values of the *Turnen* movement served as a foundation for the *Reichsspielplatzgesetz*.

In the case of *Turnvater Jahn’s Turnen* movement, militarization of the populace is a clear outcome of the program, if not an outright goal. The militaristic motives of the *Reichsausschuß für Leibesübungen* with the *Reichsspielplatzgesetz* do not immediately appear obvious, but based on the events which soon followed its 1920 publication, one can presume that preparation for combat was a desired outcome of the initiative. During this post-World-War-I timeframe, the Treaty of Versailles compelled Germany to disarm itself and disavow any offensive military tactics. As a result, the German government may have used this sports development initiative as a guise for a broad-based plan to strengthen the population for combat. Even if this interpretation incorrectly reads into the initiative, it still underscores how sports programs before World War II, including *Turnen*, *Arbeitersport*, and the *Reichsspielplatzgesetz* focused mainly on the strength of the German nation, workers, and *Volk*, respectively, even to the extent of military preparation.

**Sports Development Between World War II and Reunification (1945-1989)**

In comparison to previous programs, sports initiatives after World War II focused with increasing intensity on benefits of sport for public health. These changes started in 1959 and 1960 with the publication of *Zweite Weg* and *Memorandum zum Goldenen Plan*, respectively. In the post-World War II reconstruction era, the Federal Republic's *Wirtschaftswunder* was rapidly picking up pace, and social leaders took note of the increasingly dire consequences of this economic progress. In 1953, one of those leaders, Prof. Carl Diem, published a *Zehn-Jahres-Plan* which called for the reconstruction of *Turn- und Schwimmhallen*. His plan, which he coordinated through the *Deutscher Sportbund* (DSB), successfully influenced the redevelopment of around 10,000 *Turnhallen* and 700 *Schwimmhallen* (Mevert, 48). More importantly, however, his work served as a prototype for a much larger initiative: the *Memorandum zum Goldenen Plan*, which the *Deutsche Olympische Gesellschaft* (DOG) published in 1960.

Like Diem and the DSB, the DOG wanted to take action against the consequences of the modern German lifestyle. According to Prof. Dr. Kipping, the DOG's chief source on the matter, "Der Resultat der anwachsenden Bewegungsarmut [wegen zunehmender Technisierung, Automatisierung und Modernisierung] ist ein seelisch und nervlich überbeanspruchter Mensch" (Abelbeck, 7). For example, they pointed out that *Herz- und Kreislaufkrankungen* caused 40% of deaths in Germany (6). Based on these statements, it appears that anxious, unhealthy people presented a significant problem to society, and the government needed to take direct action to reverse this trend. Kipping therefore suggested "[es] handelt sich dabei nicht um eine Therapie, sondern um die Wiederherstellung natürlicher Verhältnisse" (7). Although Kipping did not specify which types of "natural activity" the German citizens should practice, one can guess that these undertakings could include swimming, hiking, running, or any other type of active pursuit

which breaks the monotony of a desk job or manufacturing line. To support this return to natural activity, the DOG proposed a sweeping plan for local investment in sports facilities, primarily the *Kernsportanlagen*.<sup>7</sup>

In order to measure the nation-wide progress of sports facility reconstruction, the *Goldener Plan* outlined a specific timeline and budget: 15 years, with a total investment request of 6.315 billion *Deutsche Mark* (DM). Through this program, the DOG did not invest its own money; rather, it established a framework for municipalities to plan and finance their local projects. Specifically, the DOG's financing plan outlined the desired contributions from the federal (20%), state (50%), and local (30%) levels of government (*Memorandum in Ablebeck*, 7). To support the role of each government unit within the policy hierarchy, the DOG also published supporting documents throughout the 15-year cycle. For example, *Der Goldenen Plan in den Gemeinden: ein Handbuch*, published in 1962, gave clear guidelines for how municipal planners could best allocate sports facilities throughout their cities. The guide also elaborated on benchmarks for facility availability, such as facility floor area per capita. The DOG's effort to support the *Goldener Plan* vision with detailed supporting documents proved worthwhile: the initiative drew investment of 17 million DM over its 15-year life, 11 million more than the amount initially requested in the plan (an der Heiden et al., 9).<sup>8</sup> The ability of the *Goldener Plan* to draw huge sums of public money into sports projects reflects its success in targeting the *Zeitgeist* of Germany's reconstruction. Like the pre-war development programs, however, public facilities represent only part of the greater formula for sports development success.

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<sup>7</sup> (Ablebeck, Anhang 6). In their analysis, these facilities included "Kinderspielplätze; Allgemeine- und Schul-Sportplätze; Turn-, Spiel-, und Gymnastikhallen; Gymnastikhallen und Gymnastikräume; Lehrschwimmhallen, Freibäder, und Schwimmhallen."

<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, "von 1976 bis heute [1992] sind noch einmal rund 20 Milliarden DM in Sportstätten investiert worden" ("Goldener Plan Ost," 9) That sum reflects an ongoing interest in the values of the *Goldener Plan* even after its 15-year timeframe had elapsed.

Sports development through social mechanisms, such as organized clubs, played a large role in *Turnen* and *Arbeitersport*, and maintained an important position in the post-war era. Delegates originally proposed the *Goldener Plan* at the 5. *Bundestagung* of the DOG in October 1959 (Mevert, 48), and the DOG published the official *Memorandum zum Goldenen Plan* in June 1960 (Abelbeck). In the eight intervening months, the *Außerordentliche Bundestag* of the *Deutscher Sportbund* (DSB) met to discuss the theme “Sport und Freizeit.” That special conference in November 1959 resulted in the resolution for a *Zweiter Weg des Deutschen Sports* (Mevert, 48). The DSB designed that document as a complementary measure to the DOG’s *Goldener Plan* and included eight key requests for ongoing support of sport in the public realm, which I discuss below. To pursue the goals of the *Zweiter Weg*, the DSB tapped sports advisor Willy Bokler to create a task force for implementation. Bokler’s group found great success in Germany, and as his program caught attention from other social leaders around the world, the ideals of the *Zweiter Weg* sparked the international “*Sport für Alle*” movement (Mevert, 50). The relationship between the initial *Zweiter Weg* ideals and the “*Sport für Alle*” movement is so close that I will use these terms interchangeably in this text.

From a philosophical standpoint, the *Zweiter Weg* mirrors the *Goldener Plan*’s focus on broad-based public health. According to Bokler, “Die Entwicklung der Leibesübungen in unserem Jahrhundert ist eng verbunden mit der Entwicklung in der modernen Industriegesellschaft,” a sentiment which also appears in Kipping’s comments in the *Goldener Plan* (Mevert, 50). Bokler added that with the initiatives of the *Zweiter Weg* “wurde die Sportbewegung in Deutschland erst in diesem Zeitalter zu einer wirklichen Volks-, das heißt Massenbewegung” (50). While the *Goldener Plan* focused on the development of the built environment, the *Zweiter Weg* encouraged the mass participation of common people in sports



activities. Although the tone of Bokler's statement did not yet tie the vision of social inclusion into the sports development discussion, his statements clearly target broad-based participation by members of the working class in the Federal Republic's industrialized society. In this way, the *Goldener Plan* and the *Zweiter Weg* clearly worked towards the same goal of public health.

Based on that public-health focus, this new era of sports development appears to mark a clean transition away from the use of sports for military preparedness, as seen before the World Wars. As broad-based social movements, however, "*Sport für Alle*" and *Turnen* each focused on improving the fortitude of the public, especially through *Vereine*. Although there exists no directly aggressive activity from *Sportvereine* in society, the prominent role they played throughout the *Turnen* movement to strengthen the population and socialize Germans into a highly nationalistic culture may arouse some suspicion. In the *Zweiter Weg*, four of the eight steps for sports development success dealt with *Vereine*. One of those goals called for "Der Aufbau von Sportgemeinschaften in den Betrieben, bei der Bundeswehr, der Polizei und innerhalb der Kirchen oder Religionsgemeinschaften" (Mevert, 51).<sup>9</sup> This call to create organized sports groups, especially within the army and police, may raise some warning flags about the true nature of the "*Sport für Alle*" initiative.

As a second point of comparison between *Turnen* and "Sport für Alle," we must consider the role of government support in each program. In the era of *Turnen*, government support for the sports movement served as evidence for the power of sports as a political tool. In his vision for the *Zweiter Weg*, Bokler noted that "wenn die deutsche Turn- und Sportbewegung sich der Bewegungsarmut annimmt, die jedermann bedroht, muss er öffentlich gefördert werden"

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<sup>9</sup> "(1) Die Gründung von Turn- und Sportvereinen in Ortschaften, Gemeinden und Stadtteilen, (2) Der Aufbau von Sportgemeinschaften in den Betrieben, bei der Bundeswehr, der Polizei und innerhalb der Kirchen oder Religionsgemeinschaften. (3) Die Ausweitung der Sportarten in allen Vereinen. (4) Das Kursangebot der Vereine für Nichtmitglieder, für bestimmte Personengruppen, für klar umgrenzte Zeitspannen" (Mevert, 51).

(Mevert, 50). As Bokler expressed his expectation that the program could create “Freude, Ausgleich und Eigentätigkeit,” he also welcomed “als Wohltäter, die sich um den Menschen der Freizeitgesellschaft kümmern” (Mevert, 50). In this way, he brought government officials who promoted leisure sports into the fold, thus leaving room for a strong public presence in the “Sport für Alle” movement. Based on these comments, there does exist similarity in the role of government influence between the “Sport für Alle” and *Turnen* movements, as well as in their fundamental basis in *Vereinskultur*. To contradict these similarities, however, we can recall the vast differences in the program objectives – militarization and public health, respectively – of these initiatives. Based on that shift in outcomes, we see that the post-war program clearly held more progressive goals of public health and social good through *Freizeitsport*.

Besides political motives from government support, we should also question the goals of the *Deutscher Olympische Gesellschaft* in its promotion of broad-based sport through the *Goldener Plan*. The organization’s name clearly belies its purpose: promoting German interests at the highest level of international sports. For that reason, its desire to oversee broad-based sports development may resemble a political power-grab. DOG Vice President Wilhelm Garbe addressed the apparent dichotomy between *Spitzensport* and *Breitensport* as such:

“Niemand von uns sieht Sinn und Vernunft darin, wenige Athleten zu fördern und sie zu preisen, wenn die große Masse unserer Jugend verkümmert und die biologischen Schäden sich häufen — oder mit anderen Worten: wenn Turnen, Sport und Spiel mit ihren gesundheitsfördernden Kräften ein Vorrecht weniger bleiben sollten. Indem wir uns von falschen Vorstellungen der olympischen Idee lösen und der harten Wirklichkeit unserer Zeit mutig entgentreten, dienen wir dem olympischen Gedanken mehr als alle bewunderungswürdigen Rekorde es vermöchten” (Abelbeck, 13).

In regards to the DOG's incentive to promote broad-based sports engagement, Garbe goes on to explain that after community sports programs developed to their fullest extent, the DOG and DSB could gain a robust talent pipeline directly into their national sports programs.<sup>10</sup> In retrospect, one finds that Garbe forecasted correctly for national membership increases: in the 20-year period after the *Goldener Plan* and *Zweiter Weg*, the membership of the DSB quadrupled ("Goldener Plan Ost," 9). Although the national sports organizations benefited from the program, their gains in membership do not represent a strong political force in the style of *Turnen's* militarized sport clubs. Furthermore, these incidental benefits to the DOG and DSB do not detract from the broader focus of the sports development programs to improve public health.

To summarize, the two reconstruction-era sports initiatives in Germany – the *Goldener Plan* and *Zweiter Weg* – focused on the benefits of sports for public health through infrastructure investment and social mobilization for widespread participation, respectively. Both programs depended heavily on public support, and despite the ways in which government forces commandeered sports initiatives in the pre-World War II era, one does not find strong evidence of military or political interference in these reconstruction-era programs. In fact, one can identify several key ways in which the post-war programs pushed the focus of sports development initiatives towards more socially inclusive outcomes, such as through the "Sport für Alle" trend.

### **Sports Development During Reunification (1990-2005)**

In 1992, the *Goldener Plan Ost* echoed the original ideals of the *Goldener Plan*, over 30 years after the publication of that foundational document. Just as the *Goldener Plan* worked to reconstruct neglected sports facilities destroyed in World War II, the *Goldener Plan Ost* sought to redevelop sports facilities in former East Germany (DDR). While preserving that focus on

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<sup>10</sup> "Aus ihm [dem gesunden Volk] erwachsen schließlich die großen Talente als Folge einer natürlichen Auslese. Das ist unsere Vorstellung von der olympischen Ordnung" (Abelbeck, 13).

facility redevelopment, the *Goldener Plan Ost* continued pushing sports initiatives towards more socially inclusive outcomes. Specifically, the 15-year goal of the *Goldener Plan Ost* was “das Sportstättenangebot in den neuen Bundesländern an den zu Beginn der 90er Jahre in den alten Bundesländern anzutreffenden Bestand auszugleichen“ (“Goldener Plan Ost,” 17). The immediate focus on equality in this plan already demonstrates the socially progressive nature of the era, and also invokes the timeless goal of sports development programs to promote unity.

The *Deutscher Sportbund* (DSB) initially published the *Goldener Plan Ost* in 1992, but it did not gain traction in the federal government until Gerhard Schröder entered power with the *Rot-Grün Koalition* (Frömmel, 4). In 1999, the Schröder administration officially implemented *Sonderförderungsprogramm Goldener Plan Ost* alongside the existing *Aufbau Ost* grants. Within the *Sonderförderungsprogramm*, the *Bundesministerium des Innern* (BMI) promised funding for up to one-third of the cost for a new construction project (Frömmel, 7). In comparison, standard stimulus packages only provided funding to renovate existing facilities (Frömmel, 8). The *Goldener Plan Ost* called for 24.77 billion DM (€12.66 billion)<sup>11</sup> in funding (“Goldener Plan Ost,” 17), but a retrospective tally showed that between 1999 and 2004, federal and state / local sources made only marginal sums of €60 million and €210 million available for sports facility development (Frömmel, 9). In 2005, the federal government provided an additional €3 million, and according to *Bundesinnenminister* Otto Schily, the spirit of the *Goldener Plan Ost* would continue in funding available from *Solidarpakt II* (Frömmel, 9).

Just as the *Goldener Plan* succeeded in targeting the *Zeitgeist* of reconstruction, the ability of the *Goldener Plan Ost* to push public funds into sports projects reflected the centrality of East-West unity as an important theme in reunified Germany. The DSB drew attention to a

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<sup>11</sup> European Central Bank. (1998). “Determination of the euro conversion rates.”

number of other topics in the preamble of the *Goldener Plan Ost*, including public health, *Freizeitpolitik*, and education policy.<sup>12</sup> As new additions to the discussion, the DSB's statements also formally linked *Stadtentwicklungspolitik* and *Sozialpolitik* to their sports development initiative. Both of these new topics contribute to the movement of sports development goals towards social inclusion.

In its connection between sports development and urban planning, the DSB specifically emphasized that “Bewegungs- und Spielräume, Sportgelegenheiten in Wohnumfeld, aber auch offene traditionelle Sportanlagen Elemente zur Ausgestaltung einer menschlichen Stadt liefern können” (“Goldener Plan Ost,” 7). Although the connection between human-focused urban development and social inclusion appears indirect, one must note that the local environment plays a role in the ability of people to connect with one another. Compared to other types of urban design, sports facilities which focus on human users create excellent environments for social integration. Besides demonstrating the progressive, urbanist values of the DSB, their discussion of urban development policy also shows how sports facilities command serious consideration as a part of the built environment in Germany: “Sport muß Teil der Stadtentwicklungspolitik werden, da Bewegungs- und Spielräume, Sportgelegenheiten im Wohnumfeld, aber auch offene traditionelle Sportanlagen Elemente zur menschlichen Stadt liefern können” (“Goldener Plan Ost,” 7). By encouraging the unification of sports facility planning and holistic urban planning, the DSB ensured ongoing consideration for sports facilities in the redevelopment of East German cities, even if the government could not currently afford to build those amenities.

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<sup>12</sup> Although I do not specifically discuss education policy, one may note that *Leibeserziehung* (physical education) also played a role in some of the earlier initiatives, including in the *Reichsspielplatzgesetz* and the *Zweiter Weg*.

Just as the DSB brought sport development firmly into the realm of *Stadtentwicklung* to ensure equality of infrastructure in East and West Germany, they also entered the domain of *Sozialpolitik* to present sports as a mechanism to unify the people of Germany. The DSB stressed that sport “eröffnet ein Feld der Selbstbestimmung und der Selbstverwirklichung, der individuellen Freiheit,” but also that “in einer Gesellschaft, die einem bisher nicht gekannten Individualisierungsschub ausgesetzt ist, kann die Vereinskultur dem Einzelnen seine Angewiesenheit auf die Gemeinschaft bewußt machen” (“Goldener Plan Ost,” 7). To that end, the DSB promoted “selbstorganisierte und selbstbestimmte Sportvereine, in dem belastbare Solidarität nicht nur eingeübt, sondern auch gelebt wird” (7). Clearly, the DSB wished to use sport to bridge the divide between collectivist East Germans and capitalist West Germans in order to create *belastbare Solidarität*.

As seen in previous sports development initiatives, the *Goldener Plan Ost* includes not only a strong call for mobilization within *Sportvereine*, but also a clear role for the government, where “Sport als Staatsziel ... [ist] durch den Staat zu fördern, zu pflegen und seine Freiheit – besonders auch gegen kommerziellen Mißbrauch durch die Wirtschaft – zu schützen“ (“Goldener Plan Ost,” 7). Unlike previous sports development plans, however, there exists much less concern about militarization and political power-mongering in the *Goldener Plan Ost*. In fact, the quote above lodges new concerns about private business interests which may corrupt the integrity of sport through commercialization, and holds no apprehension for government contributions.

Overall, the progression of desired outcomes between the reconstruction- and reunification-era sports development plans shifted towards public health and away from the early focus on the militarization of the *Volkskörper*. As outlined above, further shifts in focus from

public health to social inclusion surfaced in the 1990s through the *Goldener Plan Ost*. In that document, the DSB even noted directly that “Sport muß in die Sozialpolitik verstärkt Eingang finden, da seine integrativen Wirkungen in [moderner] Gesellschaft unersetzbar sind“ (“Goldener Plan Ost,” 7).<sup>13</sup> The tendency of sports development plans to mirror their contemporary political and social climates is not unique to the *Goldener Plan Ost*, but by placing a focus on the power of sports to unite East and West Germans, the DSB brought one of the earliest mentions of social inclusion in the national discussion of sports policy.

### *Sports Development Today (2006- )*

More than any other era of sports development programs, the current *Bundesprogramm* “Integration durch Sport” expresses the goals of social inclusion. The program operates primarily through the DOSB’s network of *Landessportbunde*, and it provides a stark comparison to the earliest origins of *Turnvereine* and their focus on personal strength for the betterment of the nation. The “Integration durch Sport” initiative does not, however, provide much commentary about the condition of public sports infrastructure and its suitability for long-term goals of social integration. Through its clear focus on social inclusion, *Bundesprogramm* “Integration durch Sport” could serve as a starting point for a new movement to follow the *Goldener Plan Ost* and encourage significant public investment in socially inclusive infrastructure.

Like the *Goldener Plan Ost*, forebears to the “Integration durch Sport” program started during the reunification era. The first program, named “Sport mit Aussiedlern,” emerged in 1989 under the management of the DSB (Baur, 110). In 2001, the DSB renamed the program to “Integration durch Sport” (“Aussiedler-Projekt”). Five years later, the DSB and the Nationale

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<sup>13</sup> The DSB also referenced the success of the “*Zweiter Weg*” as inspiration for the *Goldener Plan Ost*: “Aus den bisherigen Feststellungen folgt auch, daß das sozialpolitische Ziel ‘Sport für alle’ keine utopische Forderung ist, sondern seine Begründungen in anthropologischen Gegebenheiten verankert sind” (“Goldener Plan Ost,” 7).

Olympische Komitee (NOK) merged to form the DOSB (“Verbandsfusion”). Despite these changes in program name and organizing body, the initiative continued to build upon its goals for social inclusion through sports. By 2009, the program utilized coordination mechanisms with the *Landessportbünden* in all 16 *Bundesländer* and thus achieved coverage of 500 *Stützpunktvereine*, plus 1,100 *Übungsleiter* working in 2,000 integrated sports groups (Baur, 11). In total, the programs reached 40,000 participants, about half of which were people with *Migrationshintergrund* (Baur, 11). Based on these participation metrics from 2009, the initiative clearly found success in its effort to involve minority groups in sport well before the peak of European refugee crisis in 2015.

The DOSB receives financial support from many sources, but the *Bundesministerium des Innern* (BMI) stands as the primary government sponsor for the *Bundesprogramm* “Integration durch Sport.” To that end, the federal government committed around €5.4 million per year in as recently as 2009 (Baur, 11). The total funding allocation between 1989 and the program’s re-branding in 2001, was 101 million DM (€51.6 million) (“Aussiedler-Projekt”). In 2014, the DOSB noted that “eine unverzichtbare Rahmenbedingung für eine erfolgreiche Integrationsarbeit des organisierten Sports ist eine angemessene Förderung durch die Öffentliche Hand” (Deutscher Olympischer Sportbund, 5). Currently, the BMI dispenses the funds through the *Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge* (BAMF), but it has not published new statistics about the total volume of budget allocations since 2009.

In its 2014 *Grundlagenpapier* for the “Integration durch Sport” program, the DOSB expressed its current goals: “Unsere strategischen Ziele bleiben erstens die Integration in den (organisierten) Sport und zweitens die Integration durch den Sport in die Gesellschaft” (“Integration und Sport”). The BAMF expressed a similar focus in its own statements: “Ziel ist



es, Menschen mit Migrationshintergrund für eine aktive Beteiligung auf allen Ebenen des Vereinslebens zu gewinnen – als aktive Mitglieder ebenso wie als ehrenamtlich Engagierte. Die gemeinsame sportliche Betätigung soll gesellschaftliche Integration und gegenseitige Akzeptanz fördern” (“Integration durch Sport”). In both statements, the focus clearly lies upon social connections through organized sports activities in *Vereine*. From a practical standpoint, using sports clubs as strategic targets for integration programs clearly aligns with the DOSB’s position as a national umbrella organization for most sports associations.

To achieve the goals of the “Integration durch Sport” initiative, the DOSB offers three specialized programs. Based on the influx of refugees to Germany in 2015, it is not surprising to learn that all three of the DOSB’s current projects within the “Integration durch Sport” framework focus on the refugee population. The first of those programs, “Willkommen im Sport (für Geflüchtete),” launched in March 2016 and targets several key objectives. As its primary goal, the program promotes *Willkommenskultur* in sports clubs and seeks to integrate refugees into volunteer positions within those clubs (Gerspach). Thirteen of Germany’s sixteen *Landessportbünde* participated in the project in its first year, and eight of those continued to the second year. At its outset, the program received €400,000 from the *Beauftragte für Migration, Integration und Flüchtlinge*, an agency of the federal government (“Willkommen im Sport”). The WiS program also attracted support from the International Olympic Committee (IOC) (Gerspach). The second of three ongoing “Integration durch Sport” projects is “ASPIRE - Integration von Geflüchteten in Europa.” The program launched in February 2017 as a partnership between the DOSB and the pan-European “Activity, Sport and Play for the Inclusion of Refugees in Europe” (ASPIRE) initiative (“ASPIRE – Integration von Geflüchteten”). The DOSB’s ASPIRE program receives support from the European Non-Governmental Sports

Organisation (ENGSO), and the European Union’s ERASMUS+ program for international connectivity (“ASPIRE”).

The third current project in the “Integration durch Sport” framework, “Starke Netze gegen Gewalt: Interkulturell,” functions as fusion of “Integration durch Sport” and “Starke Netze gegen Gewalt: Keine Gewalt gegen Mädchen und Frauen,” which is one of the DOSB’s other major programs. A fourth program, “Zugewandert und Geblieden (ZuG)” ended in 2016 after a three-year push to engage elderly people with *Migrationshintergrund* in sports offerings (“Zugewandert”). Through these programs, the “Integration durch Sport” initiative represents an active line of work for the DOSB, especially when its integration-focused programs make intersectional connections to women’s issues and age disparities in sports participation. Based on evidence from these past and current “Integration durch Sport” programs, and the details about BAMF funding, the DOSB’s framework attracts significant support from German federal and international sources, which demonstrates the perceived value of sports for social integration.

### **Conclusion**

As outlined in this chapter, sports development programs tend to focus on *Sozialpolitik* or *Stadtentwicklung*. The former prioritizes interactions among people in sports clubs, while the latter makes public facilities available to practice those activities. As we recall these points of evidence, consider how the *Sozialpolitik* of sports development has shifted over time. At the origin of the *Turnen* movement, and thus the origin of *Sportvereine* themselves, the clubs instilled national pride in participants and developed those athletes into physical embodiments of the strong nation. Later, *Arbeitersportvereine* used the same principle to promote the strength of the worker class and increase the chance of a successful socialist revolution. After World War II, the “Sport für Alle” movement promoted the value of broad-based athletic activity for public

health in Germany's new industrial society. On the eve of reunification, the "Sport mit Aussiedlern" program brought the focus of sports development squarely into the realm of social integration, where it continues to function through the "Integration durch Sport" initiative of the DOSB and BAMF. Clearly, this review of *Sozialpolitik* in sports programs demonstrates a progression from militarization to public health, and later from public health to social integration. As expected, these shifting goals reflect the changing priorities of society over time.

A similar progression exists for the realm of sports facility development and *Stadtentwicklung*. At the outset, *Turnvater* Jahn opened his *Turnplatz* for the benefit of the new gymnastics movement, and over a century later, the 1920 *Reichsspielplatzgesetz* promoted training opportunities to build a strong *Volkskörper*. After World War II, the focus of sports programs rested upon reconstruction of Germany's ruined sports facilities. Thanks to that era's remarkable *Goldener Plan* and its framework for goals in the name of public health, massive public investment flowed into *Kernsportanlagen* across the country. After the German reunification, the *Goldener Plan Ost* deviated from its predecessor's focus on public health in an attempt to equalize infrastructure across the East-West divide. Although some solidarity funding programs remain in effect today, the *Sonderförderungsprogramm Goldener Plan Ost* ended in 2005. Despite the idea that a new *Goldener Plan West* could ensure ongoing renovation and construction of facilities (Frömmel, 12), no new sports development program has entered the void left by the *Goldener Plan Ost*. If the DOSB or another agency created an integrated sport and *Stadtentwicklung* program, however, the new program would likely mirror the progression of goals in *Sozialpolitik* towards social inclusion.

Before we call for an entirely new *Goldener Plan West*, however, we should consider that in the "Integration durch Sport" program may already encourage the redevelopment of sports

facilities. Indeed, the DOSB gave a small nod to the issue of sports facilities in its “Integration durch Sport” *Grundlagenpapier*, but that recognition does not reflect a dedicated development program for sports infrastructure. Rather, the DOSB noted that “Prozesse der inter-kulturellen Öffnung... können wir nur dann erreichen, wenn regionale und sportbezogene Besonderheiten nicht außer Acht gelassen werden. Letztlich unterscheiden sich nicht nur Bevölkerungsstrukturen und Sportinfrastrukturen in den Städten, Kreisen und Regionen Deutschlands beträchtlich.” (Deutscher Olympischer Sportbund, 13). In this clause, the DOSB recognized that regional differences in population characteristics and *Sportinfrastrukturen* (sports facility infrastructure) should play a role in the types of programs offered. The report also noted, however, that “auch in fachsportlicher Hinsicht sind die jeweiligen besonderheiten [in Bevölkerungsstrukturen und Sportinfrastrukturen] zu berücksichtigen” (Deutscher Olympischer Sportbund, 13). With that statement, the DOSB apparently clarifies that this issue arises based on the differing availability of sports facilities based on local interest, not on the potential inequalities of sports facilities across communities.

In the ideal case, a new *Sportentwicklungsprogramm* would reflect the social priority of integration. In the current political structure, however, a new sports development program in Germany stands accountable not only to local priorities, but also to the goals laid out by the United Nations, the European Commission, and the federal government. If one wishes for a new sports development program to support the goal of social inclusion, the success (and funding) of that initiative depends partially on support from higher-level political institutions. For this reason, one must analyze the treatment of sports and social inclusion in initiatives throughout that policy hierarchy. The following chapter contains that analysis.

## **Chapter 2: Urban and Social Development Goals from the Policy Hierarchy**

The chronological analysis of sports development initiatives presented in the first chapter provides a backstory for today's programs, but it does not provide context about the modern perspectives which influence the implementation of sports development plans. For that reason, one must investigate current priorities from various levels of government. At the highest level, the United Nations sets out key action items for world governments, and these goals theoretically trickle down to the eventual actions of municipalities around the world. In the context of Germany, this policy hierarchy runs from the United Nations to the European Commission, then to the *Bundestag* and eventually the *Bundesland*. The chart in Appendix I depicts this relationship. This chapter also includes a short review of sports development policies in Berlin, including a description of why I consider Berlin a suitable location for further investigation in Chapters 3 and 4. Through an analysis of each level of government, I show that that initiatives throughout the policy hierarchy place significant weight on the importance of social inclusion in urban areas, and that sports development plays a role in this task.

### **United Nations**

At the top of the policy hierarchy, the global priorities of the United Nations show how sports development carries an increasingly important weight as a driver of social change. In 2000, the UN General Assembly published the *Millennium Declaration* "at the dawn of a new millennium, to reaffirm our faith in the Organization and its Charter as indispensable foundations of a more peaceful, prosperous and just world" (United Nations [2000], 1). For the upcoming 15-year horizon, the document outlined eight key priorities, which became known as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). In addition the MDGs, the document included comments to provide context for each goal and for the initiative as a whole. Within that

framework, the UN mentioned sports as a means for global peace, security and disarmament:

“We urge Member States to observe the Olympic Truce, individually and collectively, now and in the future, and to support the International Olympic Committee in its efforts to promote peace and human understanding through sport and the Olympic Ideal” (4). From this statement, we must note that the UN General Assembly focused on *Spitzensport* and the Olympics, not on the *Breitensport* of ordinary people.

In 2015, after the MDGs ran their established 15-year course, the UN created the *2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*. In this second round, the program expanded significantly, with a new crop of seventeen goals and 169 associated targets for measurable progress. In the context of urban development and sports initiatives, two of the goals hold particular relevance. Goal 9 focuses on the development of “quality, reliable, sustainable and resilient infrastructure, including regional and trans-border infrastructure, to support economic development and human well-being, with a focus on affordable and equitable access for all” (United Nations [2015]). Similarly, Goal 11 pushes for “inclusive and sustainable urbanization and capacity for participatory, integrated and sustainable human settlement planning and management in all countries” (United Nations [2015]). Along with this push for worldwide urban planning, Goal 11 also calls for “universal access to safe, inclusive and accessible, green and public spaces, in particular for women and children, older persons and persons with disabilities” (United Nations [2015]). These objectives for global urbanization and social cohesion, in addition to individual well-being, are poised as two key topics for the coming generation. As people rapidly move into the world’s urban areas, the ability to live, work, and play in harmony with a diverse population holds increasing value.

Hopefully, those “green and public spaces” mentioned by the UN could include *Sportplätze* and *Schwimmbhallen* in Germany and other countries. Speaking at the global level, sports earned specific mention as a driver of international development in the *2030 Agenda*:

“Sport is also an important enabler of sustainable development. We recognize the growing contribution of sport to the realization of development and peace in its promotion of tolerance and respect and the contributions it makes to the empowerment of women and of young people, individuals and communities as well as to health, education and social inclusion objectives.”

By discussing sports in this way, the UN General Assembly emphasized the same point which appeared in Germany’s sports development plans: sports contribute to social inclusion. Similar to the sequence between the *Goldener Plan Ost* of 1992 and the current implementation of “Integration durch Sport,” the focus on social inclusion did not appear in the UN’s comments about sports in the *Millennium Declaration* in 2000, but materialized sometime in the subsequent 15 years. One must especially note the UN’s complete pivot away from the focus on the Olympics. In the MDGs, the authors only mentioned sports in the context of global peacekeeping through the Olympic Truce. Only 15 years later, however, the UN completely dropped their reference to the Olympics in the new set of goals. Since 2000, sports had taken on an entirely new meaning, one which focused primarily on broad-based participation and the benefits of social inclusion. From this global perspective, sport development clearly plays an important and growing role as a driver of social cohesion.

### **European Union**

Similar to the United Nations’ development goals, social integration, neighborhood-focused development, and intercultural relationships stand as a key priorities at the next step in the policy hierarchy: the European Commission. In the *Leipzig Charter on Sustainable European*

*Cities*, published in 2007, the EU Commission recommended “making greater use of integrated urban development policy approaches” as one of two key focal areas. This first area of focus on integrated urban development included three key actionable categories, including “creating and ensuring high-quality public spaces” (European Commission, 3). The second priority rested on “deprived neighbourhoods within the context of the city as a whole.” This focal area covered four actionable categories, including “pursuing strategies for upgrading the physical environment” and three goals about labor markets, education, and transportation (5-6). In this document, one must especially note the emphasis on “integrated urban development,” which implies a greater connection between urban planning and social policy. This intersection of *Stadtentwicklung* and *Sozialpolitik* plays an important role in Chapter 3 when I outline Berlin’s current sports development conditions.

More recently, the European Union focused on the 10 Priorities for Europe, which include some indirect consideration for sports in society. Jean-Claude Juncker first introduced the 10 Priorities to the European Commission in 2014, during his successful campaign for the presidency of that body. They tend to reflect the EU’s position as an economic bloc: five of the goals deal with markets and trade. The remaining, non-economic topic areas include energy union and climate change, justice and fundamental rights, migration, Europe as a global actor, and democratic change (Juncker). Of those topics, the topic of migration holds the most relevance to this analysis of social inclusion in sports. The refugee crisis was a major topic when Juncker delivered his speech in July 2014, but the events were still limited to the fringes of the EU, and not many migrants had reached countries like Germany. For that reason, Juncker’s policy proposals focused mainly on the transit of refugees and the procedures for administrative processing upon their arrival. He also emphasized the need to “secure Europe’s borders,” a call



which proved futile in just a few short months (Juncker, 11). It seems likely that his remarks did not include consideration for social “integration” because he did not anticipate the need for Europe to accommodate a large influx of refugees through social adaptation.

The analysis above should not suggest that the European Commission does not care about social integration, but merely point out that the EU focuses primarily on the preservation of the Union. In that sense, support for stronger social integration also serves as support for political stability. For example, the Erasmus+ program, “which runs from 2014 to 2020, provides funding opportunities for cooperation in [the areas of education, training, youth and sport]” (European Union, 14). The scope of the program casts a very wide shadow, and encourages programs “among European countries and between European countries and Partner Countries throughout the world” (European Union, 14). With these inter-European and international connections, the EU specifically designed the program to promote international diplomacy, which essentially functions as social integration on a large scale. Programs preceding Erasmus+ including Alfa, Edulink, Erasmus Mundus and Tempus, focused on “international exchange of students, academics, ideas and good practice between institutions” (14). The focus of the program, with its €16.5 billion budget, still remains on academic institutions,<sup>14</sup> but one must note how the Erasmus+ program expanded that foundation to include new topics such as sport.

In the context of sport, the Erasmus+ program provides funding for two project tiers. Full collaborative partnership projects running between one and three years may receive a maximum amount of \$400,000 per grant, while small projects running one or two years could earn a maximum grant of \$60,000 (“Erasmus+ Programme: Sport”). To receive funding, applicants

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<sup>14</sup> In numbers, the program will include 30,000 scholarships for joint master degree students, 180,000 scholarships for students to transfer credits between partner countries’ higher education institutions, and 1,000 other projects to build the capacity of higher education institutions (European Union, 15).

must demonstrate the grassroots nature of their initiative and collaboration among “at least 5 organisations from 5 different Programme Countries” for full-scale projects. In comparison, small-scale projects must “include at least one local or regional sport club” among “at least three organisations from 3 different Programme Countries” (“Erasmus+ Programme: Sport”). Either type of project must address the same three themes of “cross-border threats such as doping, match fixing, and violence; good governance in sport and dual careers of athletes; and voluntary activities in sport, together with social inclusion, equal opportunities and awareness of [health benefits in sport], and equal access to sport for all” (“Erasmus+ Programme: Sport”). These examples demonstrate that the EU supports social inclusion and gave sports a role to play in this effort, even if these goals are not immediately apparent from the high-level priorities of the European Commission.

These funding programs, as well as the *Leipzig Charter*, demonstrate that the European Union Commission’s priorities reflect the UN’s goals for urban development and social inclusion. Furthermore, the evidence shows that both political bodies believe that sports development plays a role within these social programs. For example, the UN Goal 9 for infrastructure, Goal 10 for reduced inequalities, and Goal 11 for sustainable cities all fit within the two focal areas of integrated urban development and neighborhood improvement highlighted in the *Leipzig Charter*. Although the *Charter* did not mention sports facilities as tools of urban development, these locations serve as key components of the public realm and represent suitable forums to pursue infrastructural goals such as energy efficiency and social goals such as integration. As demonstrated in these examples, the European Union’s goals for *Stadtentwicklung* and *Sozialpolitik* align with the United Nations’ priorities, and both organizations provide a role for sports development in these discussions.

### German Bundestag

At the next level of policy hierarchy after the EU, the German *Bundestag* (Federal Parliament) stands as the highest legislative body in Germany, similar to the United States Congress. At this level of policy, the connection between sports and policy appears even stronger: thanks to the work of the *Sportausschuss*, sports have a long history within the *Bundestag*. Founded in November 1969, during the 6. *Wahlperiode*, the 1. *Sonderausschuss für Sport und Olympische Spiele* met to capture “einen Überblick über die Lage des deutschen Sports” and lend parliamentary support to “die Vorbereitungen auf die Olympischen Spiele 1972 sowie die Fußball-Weltmeisterschaft” (Deutscher Bundestag, 19). The priorities of the committee have evolved over time, and they tend to reflect the contemporary goals of higher organizations in the policy hierarchy. In the 7. *Wahlperiode*, the name of the committee changed to *Sportausschuss*, which reflects the group’s broadening perspective from *Spitzensport* in the Olympic context to *Breitensport* at a more broad-based level. In the following years, the *Sportausschuss* played a significant role in many areas of sport, including long-running campaigns against doping, programs for “Sport und Umwelt,” and support for *Sportvereine*.

In the 12. *Wahlperiode* (1990-1994), which includes the reunification of East and West Germany, the *Sportausschuss* naturally focused on “Sport in den neuen Bundesländern.” Just like the 1992 *Goldener Plan Ost* from the DSB, the “Ziel der Arbeit [des Sportausschusses] war es, im Osten Deutschlands möglichst bald auch im Bereich des Sports gleiche Chancen und Lebensbedingungen zu erreichen” (Deutscher Bundestag, 41). To achieve that East-West equality, the *Sportausschuss* cited the DSB’s “Sanierungs- und Investitionsbedarf von 25 Milliarden DM für die neuen Bundesländer” (42). As the sport-focused committee of the *Bundestag*, the *Sportausschuss* worked towards that goal of equality, with a commitment that

“Dieser bedrückende [Investitionsbedarf] wurde durch eine öffentliche Anhörung des Sportausschusses bestätigt” (42). Even after the *Goldener Plan Ost* ran its course as a *Sonderförderungsprogramm*, the *Sportausschuss* continued to carve out public funding for sports facilities: “Den Mitgliedern des Sportausschusses ist es zu verdanken, dass aus der kommunalen Investitionspauschale im Jahr 1993 und aus dem ab 1. Januar 1995 geltenden Investitionsförderungs-gesetz *Aufbau Ost* Mittel zum Sportstättenbau und zur Sanierung eingesetzt werden können” (42). Aside from supporting the development of sports facilities, the *Sportausschuss* also promoted the creation of four “sportwissenschaftlichen Einrichtungen in den neuen Bundesländern.”<sup>15</sup> By using these centers of higher learning to stabilize the former eastern states, the *Sportausschuss* proved the importance of long-term investment in sport as a tool for unity in German society.

In 2009, the *Sportausschuss* celebrated its 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary, and published a document summarizing its accomplishments. Although that summary did not mention social integration as a primary focus of the committee, substantial evidence shows that inclusion will play a large role in the coming years. To introduce the report, current members of the committee provided personal statements about the value of sports in German society. Dr. Peter Danckert, SPD politician and *Vorsitzender des Sportausschusses*, started the introductory comments with a note about what sport means to him: “Für mich ist Sport ein zentrales Thema der Politik: Er ist wichtig für die soziale Integration, er unterstützt Gesundheit, Bildung, das gesellschaftliche Engagement und das demokratische Verhalten” (Deutscher Bundestag, 4). Likewise, Dr.

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<sup>15</sup> (Deutscher Bundestag, 42). “Es handelt sich um das Institut für Angewandte Trainingswissenschaft (IAT) in Leipzig, das Institut für Forschung und Entwicklung von Sportgeräten (FES) in Berlin und um das Institut für Dopinganalytik und Sportbiochemie in Kreischa. Auch die Zukunft des für den Spitzensport in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland wichtigen Instituts für Angewandte Trainingswissenschaft in Leipzig ist [durch die IOC-Reakkreditierung] gesichert.”

Wolfgang Schäuble, MdB, *Bundesminister des Innern*, acknowledged that sports play a role in the economy and international diplomacy. Most importantly, however, he expressed that “Die grundlegendste gesellschaftspolitische Bedeutung des Sports aber besteht darin, Werte zu vermitteln, die für den Zusammenhalt unserer Gesellschaft wesentlich sind:

Leistungsbereitschaft, Fair Play, Teamgeist, Toleranz und Bereitschaft zur Integration von Menschen, die anders sind” (6). Based on the statements from these two leaders in the committee, themes of social inclusion play a central role in Germany’s federal sports policies.

Comments from the five other committee members reflect the same beliefs as those of Drs. Danckert and Schäuble. Dagmar Freitag of the SPD mentioned integration as a positive outcome of sports programs. FDP representative Detlef Parr said simply that “Sport verbindet,” especially in “der Integrationsbemühungen bei Zuwanderern und Menschen mit Behinderungen” (13). From *Die Linke*, Katrin Kunert commented that “Sport ist kein Luxusgut, sondern ein Grundbedürfnis der Menschen,” and although she did not specifically mention social integration, the context indicates that broad-based, community-focused sports participation fits within her vision (14). Finally, Winfried Hermann from *Bündnis 90/Die Grünen* stated that “Sport fördert Völkerverständigung und Kulturaustausch” (16). These statements align not only with the values expressed in Germany’s long history of sports development initiatives, but also with the goals for social inclusion proposed at higher levels of European and global government.

In 2019, the *Sportausschuss* will celebrate its 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary, and one can predict that social integration will remain a central priority of the committee. Sustained interest in integration through sports is possible not only because that target reflects in the goals of organizations higher up in the policy hierarchy, but also because of the German federal government’s direct support for this topic through the “Integration durch Sport” program. As mentioned in Chapter 1,

the *Bundesministerium des Innern* funds the “Integration durch Sport” initiative through its *Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge* (BAMF). The program grew from a partnership with the DOSB, and the *Landssportbunde* in each of Germany’s federal states implement the program activities. To follow this chain of sports development further down the policy hierarchy, one must investigate the political approaches to integration and sport in the *Bundesländer*.

### **German Bundesländer and Local Governments**

Germany contains 16 federal states, but this analysis cannot possibly investigate each state’s approach to the topic of sports and inclusion. The problem of local complexity is magnified further at the next-lowest level of government: in total, the *Bundesländer* contain around 402 *Landkreise* and *kreisfreien Städte*, including *Stadtstaaten* Berlin and Hamburg (“National Structures”).<sup>16</sup> Appendix I contains a chart to explain this hierarchy of administrative districts. To simplify the analysis of sports policies on a local scale, we must find a relatively well-contained geographic area with a dense population of diverse residents and a large inventory of sports facilities. For the purposes of this study, that location is Berlin: with a highly diverse population of 3.57 million residents<sup>17</sup> and around 1,200 sports facilities,<sup>18</sup> it provides an ideal test case to investigate sports policies.

Unlike typical *Bundesländer*, *Stadtstaat* Berlin does not contain *Landkreise*, but rather consists of twelve *Bezirke*. These boroughs, in partnership with the *Senatsverwaltung für Inneres und Sport*, hold responsibility “für die Planung und den Bau von Sportanlagen”

(*Senatsverwaltung für Inneres und Sport* [2016a], 52). Due to the public nature of these facilities,

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<sup>16</sup> This sum refers to the total units in the NUTS-3 classification for Germany. NUTS is the Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics, a standardized framework within the EU. The NUTS-3 level is the smallest statistical unit, and corresponds to the *Landkreise* and *kreisfreien Städte* in Germany.

<sup>17</sup> “Bevölkerung ‘auf einen Blick’” [31.12.2016].

<sup>18</sup> “Weitere Sportstätten.”

however, use is not restricted to residents of the associated *Bezirk*. According to one report, this usage pattern is especially true for pools: “Bäder haben meist eine bezirksübergreifende, wenn nicht gar regionale Bedeutung” (Senatsverwaltung für Inneres und Sport [2011], 8). Perhaps due to the city-wide use of swimming pools, a cross-borough management agency, the *Berliner Bäder-Betriebe* (BBB), operates the public pools. To support that task, *Land* Berlin contributes around €50 million to the BBB (Senatsverwaltung für Inneres und Sport [2016a], 52). For these reasons of city-wide usage and funding, the impetus for effective sports policies rests within the central city government, as opposed to independent actions by the *Bezirke*. As a result, the next chapter focuses on the city’s central planning efforts for sports development, and also investigates how sports development intersects with *Stadtentwicklung* and *Sozialpolitik*.





### **Chapter 3: Current Policy Frameworks in Berlin**

Chapter 1 outlined the shift of sports development goals from national strength and unity to public health, and then from public health to East-West unity and social inclusion. Next, Chapter 2 outlined a similar focus on social inclusion and urban development for various political bodies, and the analysis showed that sports can play a role in these topics. Chapter 3 now takes a deep dive into Berlin's political environment to investigate the connections between sports development and city planning, sports development and social policy, and the intersection of all three fields. In the end, it appears that despite the priorities for social inclusion in sports development programs and political frameworks, disconnection between *Sportentwicklung*, *Stadtentwicklung*, and *Sozialpolitik* still exists in Berlin.

#### **Sportentwicklung in Berlin**

Speaking broadly, contemporary *Sportentwicklung* in Berlin rests upon the *Leitbild der Sportmetropole Berlin*, a list of goals published by the *Senatsverwaltung für Inneres und Sport* in 2009 (Senatsverwaltung für Inneres und Sport [2016a]). The list outlines the political priorities for sports development in the city, including a clear commitment to public support: “Berlin finanziert und fördert den Sport” (“Leitbild”). Most importantly, however, the *Leitbild*'s first two goals reflect the reconstruction-era development initiatives – *Goldener Plan* and *Zweiter Weg* – and connect them to the modern vision for Berlin as a *Sportmetropole*. The first item on the *Leitbild* list simply proclaims “Sport für Alle” as a key vision, thus showing the ongoing relevance of the *Zweiter Weg* nearly 60 years after its original publication. Second, the *Leitbild* proclaims that “Sport bereichert den Alltag,” specifically through “Verbesserung und Stabilisierung der Gesundheit” and “Soziale Integration im und durch Sport” (“Leitbild”). Within these guiding principles for sports development policy, the value of social integration stands on

par with the value of public health, thus demonstrating the increasing importance of integration in sports in the years since the original focus on public health in the *Goldener Plan*.

Not satisfied with the status of the *Leitbild*, however, 50 representatives “aus Politik, Sport, Wirtschaft, Religions- und Glaubensgemeinschaften, Wissenschaft, Forschung, Kultur sowie von Verbänden und Gewerkschaften” met in 2014 to further update Berlin’s position on sports development with a new *Berliner Sporterklärung* (Senatsverwaltung für Inneres und Sport [2016a]). Their opening statement puts an increased emphasis on the role sports must play in social integration:

“Der Sport gewinnt in Berlin immer mehr an Bedeutung. Freude an der Bewegung und Gesundheit sind für Berlinerinnen und Berliner die wichtigsten Motive zum Sporttreiben. In der Metropole Berlin ist Sport ein wesentlicher Indikator für Lebensqualität. Sport ist zudem ein bedeutender Image- und Wirtschaftsfaktor. Sport ist vor allem auch aufgrund seiner integrativen Kraft für eine so multikulturelle und internationale Stadt wie Berlin - wo Menschen aus über 180 Nationen friedlich miteinander leben - von immenser Bedeutung.”

After that introduction, it is no surprise that the group’s revised list of seven sports development priorities places integration as the top focus. Specifically, they noted that every Berliner should have access to sport, with no regard to gender, age, religion, ethnicity, or physical or mental ability. The second priority in the *Leitbild* also holds an important place in this analysis of *Sportentwicklung* in Berlin because it addresses sports facilities. In order to achieve integrated participation opportunities, Berlin’s social leaders recognized the need to provide “eine zeitgemäße Sportstätteninfrastruktur” (“Berliner Sporterklärung”). Other than specifying the need for modern amenities, however, the social leaders did not detail the requisite considerations to ensure that sports facilities truly serve the desired function of integration through sports.

### Stadtentwicklung in Berlin

As a major global city in the era of urbanization, Berlin anticipates growth in the coming decades. To best manage the strategic implications of new development, the city formulated a framework called *BerlinStrategie: Stadtentwicklungskonzept Berlin 2030*. According to Michael Müller, presiding *Bürgermeister* during the planning process in 2014, it stands as the first comprehensive model for the future of Berlin as a unified city, thus making it a rather significant document (Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung und Umwelt [2015], 4). The plan includes seven key topic areas, with a central goal – “Gemeinsam Zukunft gestalten” – to emphasize the role of unity in Berlin’s ongoing development (25). Three of the seven dynamics hold particular importance for sports topics: #2, “Mit Kreativität Kräfte freisetzen“; #3, “Bildung und Qualifizierung sichern Arbeit“; #4, “Die Vielfalt der Quartiere stärken” (25). The first topic, *Kreativität*, notes that “Die dynamischen Entwicklungen in Kunst, Kultur, Tourismus und Sport haben die Anziehungskraft der Stadt weiter gestärkt und begründen Berlins Ruf als Weltmetropole“ (30). Besides recognizing sport as an contributing factor to creativity and a dynamic urban environment, the authors also noted that “[Die Lebensqualität in Berlin] wird auch durch das positive Miteinander von Stadtgesellschaft und Kultur sowie die besondere Integrationsfunktion des Sports gestärkt” (30). Based on that statement, the language of social integration remains firmly bound to the role of sports in the context of Berlin’s *Stadtentwicklung*.

The idea that sports energize a city lends momentum to sports development initiatives but does not differentiate between sports organizations and physical sports infrastructure. Topics 3 and 4, *Bildung* and *Quartiere stärken*, put specific emphasis on the need for sports facilities in Berlin. In the context of education, “Kultureinrichtungen, Grün- und Freiflächen sowie Spiel- und Sportplätze sind Orte der außerschulischen Bildung,” thus playing an important role in the

continuing education of the populace (Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung und Umwelt. [2015], 37). Notably, many *Sporthallen* exist on school grounds: to ensure the ongoing existence of these facilities, public officials must recognize how sports facilities contribute to the educational experience. Likewise, the goal of strengthening Berlin's neighborhoods mentions several types of social infrastructure: "Neben der Stärkung von quartiersbezogenen Kultur-, Bildungs-, Sport- und Integrationsangeboten geht es auch um den Erhalt von Gelegenheiten und Räumen für soziale Begegnungen sowie Sicherheit und Sauberkeit" (41). Clearly, *Sportstätten* represent important locations for social encounters, even if the government, DOSB, or *Sportvereine* do not specifically deploy programs there. As popular public amenities with the potential to reach all segments of the population, it is not surprising that sports facilities represent a key part of the strategy to strengthen Berlin's neighborhoods.

When the city government laid out the *BerlinStrategie* in 2014, however, it did not anticipate the massive changes which would greet Berlin within two years. In 2015, Berlin housed approximately 55,000 new refugees, and this rapid population growth forced the city to update their vision with *BerlinStrategie 2.0* in 2016 (Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung und Umwelt [2016], 3). Nearly 290,000 newcomers settled in Berlin between 2005 and 2015, and the new growth projections in *BerlinStrategie 2.0* estimated that 220,000 additional residents would flock to Berlin between 2015 and 2030, leaving the population at 3.8 million (3). To encourage social integration of the newcomers, *BerlinStrategie 2.0* prominently recognizes the role that *Stadtentwicklung* must play: "Es ist dafür zu sorgen, auch hier die Voraussetzungen für Integration und eine offene Stadtgesellschaft zu erhalten und zu verbessern" (3). In order to fill the needs of new Berliners, the plan outlines steps to increase the speed and effectiveness of plans from the original *BerlinStrategie*. For example, *BerlinStrategie 2.0* discusses how the

government must support new neighborhoods with higher density and how “In neuen Stadtquartieren werden Kitas und Schulen, außerschulische Lernorte sowie Freiflächen, Spiel- und Sportplätze als öffentliche Investitionen mit besonderer Aufmerksamkeit und Priorität realisiert” (Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung und Umwelt [2016], 5). Based on these grand visions, Berlin is clearly poised for significant new construction of housing and massive public investment in social infrastructure, and sports development remains an integral part of that plan.

### **Intersection: Sport and Stadtentwicklung in Berlin**

The previous two sections outlined several ways that *Sportentwicklung* and *Stadtentwicklung* connect in Berlin’s development process. In the the following paragraphs, I now introduce examples of direct connection between the two topics and discuss the benefits which arise from an integrated development process. The first of those examples is the *Sportentwicklungsplanung in Berlin*, a 2008 study for Berlin’s *Senator für Bildung, Jugend und Sport*. In the report, a team from *Universität Osnabrück* laid out their model for sports development in Berlin, including consideration for current barriers and the status of existing facilities in the city (Wopp [2008], 7). In the end, the report generated quantitative and qualitative goals for future sports developments; these metrics were meant to resolve dissatisfaction with existing methods of project measurement.<sup>19</sup> The quantitative requirements consisted of benchmark levels for facility area per capita, and the team provided several metrics across the indoor and outdoor facility categories, and metrics for specific types of facilities, including *Kindertagesstätte*, *Schulen*, and *Senioreneinrichtungen* (58). The qualitative factors represent a distinctive shift from the previous methods of analysis, and they focus on a wide range of issues. Primarily, “Die Sportanlagen sollen vielfältig nutzbar, gut erreichbar, leicht

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<sup>19</sup> One of those previous approaches was the “Richtwertbezogene Methode nach dem Goldenen Plan Ost” which was based on “fester Richtwerte” and apparently already outdated in 2008 (Wopp [2008], 56).

zugänglich, veränderbar, vielgestaltig und bedarfsgerecht ausgestattet sein,” especially in a way which promotes “ausgeweitete Nutzungsmöglichkeiten und Nutzungszeiten” as well as ensuring that “Eigeninitiative, Eigenverantwortung der Sportanlagennutzer werden gefördert“ (Wopp [2008], 58). Notably, neither the quantitative nor the qualitative goals addressed the topic of social integration. For that reason, one must wonder if the team identified social issues as one of the primary concerns for sports development.

In short, the answer is yes. In order to reach those eventual goals, the study identified eight hurdles for sports development to overcome, including “Demografischer Wandel” and “Sozialer Zusammenhalt” (8). Population growth<sup>20</sup> and the aging population were two of the topics included under the category of “Demografischer Wandel,” but the discussion most relevant to social integration is “Ausländeranteil und Migrationshintergrund” (12). Through their analysis, the team noted that various types of people fall in this category, including newcomers and second- or third-generation residents of Germany, and that “Die Gewinnung von Menschen mit Migrationshintergrund für sportliche Aktivitäten und die Gestaltung des Sports als Mittel zur Integration ist für die Sportentwicklung in Berlin von zentraler Bedeutung” (13). A similar perspective also appears in the category of “Sozialer Zusammenhalt.” The research team summarized that category as follows: “In Berlin sind Prozesse der sozialräumlichen Segregation beobachtbar” (18).<sup>21</sup> Without any hesitation, the team then stated that “Eine Sportentwicklungsplanung als Teil der Stadtentwicklung sollte Prozesse der sozialräumlichen Segregation durch Verfahren der Sozialraum orientierten Planung berücksichtigen,” specifically

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<sup>20</sup> The research team recognized that growth would put a new demands on the existing sports infrastructure, especially in certain high-growth neighborhoods (Wopp [2008], 10). Even the team’s optimistic “boom” scenario, however, only estimated that the population would reach 3.5 million in 2015 and then remain stable until the end of the projection in 2020 (8). Thus, the upper limit of their model was correct about the growth up until 2015, but they had no way to predict the rapid growth which is now expected to continue until 2030.

<sup>21</sup> The report identifies the *Monitoring Soziale Stadtentwicklung* program (MSS), run by the *Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung*, as a major source of insights for this topic. See more about MSS in later sections of this chapter.

“durch die Steigerung der Lebensqualitäten in den Stadtquartieren” (18-19). These statements make it abundantly clear that sports can play a role in social integration, so it is curious that integrative functions did not receive consideration in the eventual metrics for successful sports development.

In 2016, Berlin’s *Senatsverwaltung für Inneres und Sport* issued a new report titled “Berlin – Wachsende Stadt: Sportinfrastruktur ausbauen!” which detailed the development model required for sports facility availability to keep up with the city’s astounding rate of growth. When defining their preferred *Orientierungswerte* for facility area per capita, the *Wachsende Stadt* report authors clarified those metrics by noting that “der anhand der Orientierungswerte abgeleitete Sportflächenbedarf bezieht sich ausschließlich auf sogenannte Kernsportflächen der öffentlichen Sportanlagen” (Senatsverwaltung für Inneres und Sport [2016b], 8). This clarification places the sole focus on public, core facilities, thus removing specialty and privately-operated facilities from the framework. To maintain current benchmarks in spite of a growing population, the report noted that public agencies must construct 55 new *Großspielfelder* and 106 *Hallenteile* in the coming years (6). As a premise for this major phase of development, the report doubles down on its emphasis of integrated *Sport-* and *Stadtentwicklungsplanung*, noting that “[die Aufgabe, Sport und Bewegung zu fördern,] ist integraler Bestandteil der Stadtentwicklungsplanung” (5). This perspective signifies a positive outlook on the future viability of sports facilities in the city, but leaves ambiguity about how the planners will address the issue of social integration through the planning process.

Like its predecessors, the report gives specific consideration to the theme of social integration, and presents its eventual recommendations in the straightforward manner typical in the field of *Stadtentwicklung*. At the beginning of their report, the authors included the now-

standard line that “Gesamtgesellschaftlich betrachtet ist das Medium Sport vielfältig mit anderen Handlungsfeldern wie Gesundheit, Bildung, Integration, Kinder- und Jugendarbeit verknüpft” (Senatsverwaltung für Inneres und Sport [2016b], 5). This statement serves as a good reminder that the authors consider integration an important component of sports development. According to the team, the planner’s typical toolkit of city-wide benchmarks provides a good starting point to address those priorities, but it does not fully address “die Frage der räumlichen Disparitäten” (10). The budget for public infrastructure faces certain limits, so the team recognized that maximizing the impact of development requires planners to ask “wo sind räumliche Prioritäten?” instead of just wondering “wie viele Sportflächen?” (10). To that end, they also noted that “die bestehende Verteilung der Sportflächen innerhalb der Stadt [ist] von so großen Ungleichgewichten geprägt, dass ein ‘Gießkannenprinzip’ für Sportflächenneubau die bestehenden Disparitäten verfestigen würde” (15). This statement is critical for the future of sports facility developments in Berlin because it shows that sports facility development must occur in a targeted manner, rather than spreading equally across all neighborhoods.

To determine the target locations for new development, the team completed a thorough analysis of the current status of indoor and outdoor facility types in each neighborhood and the projected strain on those facilities based on future population growth. Unsurprisingly, the authors listed the central districts of Mitte and Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg among the most troubled for both facility categories. Based on those findings, the team named Mitte as the top priority neighborhood for the 2015-2030 planning period, with Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg and Pankow as the two second-tier priority neighborhoods (Senatsverwaltung für Inneres und Sport [2016b], 24). Unfortunately, new facility construction in these central neighborhoods requires significant planning and construction effort because these areas already have a high density of buildings.



The problem of facility construction in densely populated neighborhoods stems from a conflict of philosophy and reality. As we have seen in numerous examples, German planning philosophy holds that “Sportinfrastruktur ist wohnungsnahe Infrastruktur” (Senatsverwaltung für Inneres und Sport [2016b], 10). Although the government could build large sports facilities on the outer edges of the city, Berlin’s planning team stated that “ein Ausgleich über größere Distanzen in der Stadt funktioniert daher zu einem überwiegenden Teil nur eingeschränkt” (10). Reality shows, however, that parcels available for new construction in densely-built neighborhoods are few and far between. Despite the reduced effectiveness of adding facilities in outer-ring neighborhoods to serve residents in the center of the city, the team recognized that building new sports facilities on the city’s periphery is largely unavoidable (10). At this juncture, we should determine if other types of public infrastructure investment, such as transit networks, improve residents’ access to sports facilities.

In 2017, a team from the *Deutsche Sporthochschule Köln* addressed this question of “spillover effects, [which] can be described as the promotion of sport participation through public expenditure that is not directly related to sport, but positively influences sport participation through other channels” (Dallmeyer, 4). The team first noted that “studies have shown that proximity to sport facilities has a positive impact on sport participation” (5) and stated the rather obvious point that “public expenditure on sport facilities and on swimming pools has a significant positive effect on sport participation” (14). In regard to the spillover of other infrastructure classes to sports participation, the team found that “governments can influence sport participation by spending on transportation infrastructure, which may translate into better accessibility of sport facilities” (14). In the end, however, they concluded that “If governments want to promote sport participation, which has the potential to generate wider

social benefits (e.g., health, education, social inclusion), on a short-term basis, expenditure on sport infrastructure can be considered most promising” (18). Once again, we note that social inclusion remains a primary goal in the realm of sports facility development, and the best way to achieve this and other sports development objectives is to invest directly in sports facilities.

### **Sozialpolitik in Berlin**

The category of *Sozialpolitik* includes countless programs in the city of Berlin. To narrow this list and capture the most prominent priorities of the current government (2016-2021), we investigate the *Richtlinien der Regierungspolitik*. This list details the platform of *Bürgermeister Müller*’s administration across 16 branches of policy. For simplicity, the following analysis focuses only on components of the platform which cover integration, urban policy, and sports. In the first topic area, “Integration, Arbeit, Soziales,” the report states rather directly that “Der Senat verfolgt das Ziel, den sozialen Zusammenhalt zu stärken.” (“Richtlinien”). The *Senat* made that statement in the specific context of “eine inklusive [*handicap-accessible*] Gesellschaft,” but integration of Roma and *Flüchtlinge* also play a central role in this section. For example, the document states that “Das bisherige Monitoring [Soziale Stadtentwicklung (MSS)] wird zu einem handlungs- und politikorientierten Integrationsmonitoring ausgebaut” (“Richtlinien”). Through these statements, the city government confirmed that social integration holds a prominent place in their policy decisions.

Besides providing political support for social engagement in the community, the “Integration, Arbeit, Soziales” section also references the problem of homelessness in the city. The *Berliner Senat* reaffirmed its commitment “zur Prävention von Wohnraumverlust,” a sentiment helped in part by the *Senat*’s previous “Maßnahmen zur Prävention von Mietschulden” and options for short-term, cold-weather housing as a last resort (“Richtlinien”). A related

discussion of housing affordability and stability exists within the topic of “Stadtentwicklung und Wohnen.” In that category, “Der Senat wird Mieter/innen besser vor den Folgen von Spekulation, Luxussanierung und Umwandlung von Miet- in Eigentumswohnungen schützen” (“Richtlinien”). The *Senat*, however, also emphasized its efforts to support new housing construction as a means to relieve the upward pressure on housing prices (“Richtlinien”). The struggle between these two priorities demonstrates the timeless paradox of urban policy, in which the local government must support new construction without displacing residents from their current neighborhoods.

In an effort to curb the problem of social displacement, the *Senat* suggested several solutions. On one hand, they echoed the vision of the *BerlinStrategie* by mentioning how entirely new neighborhoods must be developed to satisfy current demand. To that end, “Der Senat wird neue Stadtquartiere lebendig, sozial gemischt, grün, partizipativ und stadtverträglich planen” (“Richtlinien”). This concept of participatory planning marks a key process to ensure socially inclusive outcomes for these new developments. On the other hand, the *Senat* recognized that new public infrastructure might serve as a market disruption. They noted that “Der Schwerpunkt der Städtebauförderung soll weiterhin auf der öffentlichen Infrastruktur und öffentlichen Gebäuden liegen,” and that their ideal “urbane Grün- und Freiräume aufgewertet [werden], und in Kombination mit Wohnraumförderung Mietendämpfung und sozialer Stabilisierung unterstützt” (“Richtlinien”). In this way, the *Senat* poses the idea that it must wrap public investment for green and open space in a protective coating of rent controls and other tools for social stability. That argument marks an interesting point of consideration in the discussion of public investment and social inclusion, and my analysis explores that idea in greater detail at the end of this chapter.

The subject area “Inneres und Sport” in the *Richtlinien der Regierungspolitik* also provides valuable information for our discussion of *Sozialpolitik*. In the context of “Inneres,” for example, the *Berliner Senat* holds the view that “Integration braucht ein gesichertes Aufenthaltsrecht. Hierzu werden die bestehenden bundesgesetzlichen Regelungen ‘integrationsfreundlich’ mit dem Ziel einer Bleibeperspektive ausgelegt” (“Richtlinien”). It is heartening to see that the *Senat* supports the goal of social integration not only through efforts to encourage programs in the local community, but also to the extent of real legislative action. Other progressive efforts listed in the context of “Sport” include social programs for the “Mädchenfußballprojekt,” cooperative swimming lessons with schools and sports clubs, and financing for coaches and instructors in integrative sports programs (“Richtlinien”). The document also notes that the *Senat* budgeted around €10 million for renovations to public pools in the *Berliner Bäder-Betriebe* (BBB) network.

Overall, these programs in “Inneres und Sport,” as well as those in “Stadtentwicklung und Wohnen” and “Integration, Arbeit, Soziales,” align with the goals expressed through the ranks of the policy hierarchy and the various other community development documents analyzed thus far. One must remember, however, that these *Richtlinien* simply represent a political platform, not the immediate reality. Although the real outcomes from these programs will not come to light for several more years, it appears that Berlin’s city government has all the right ingredients: social inclusion, community-focused urban planning, and sport.

### **Intersection of Sport and Sozialpolitik in Berlin**

Although the analysis of Berlin’s political priorities covered some intersection with sport, there exist several examples of intersectional sports initiatives in *Sozialpolitik* which warrant special discussion. The first of those examples is the implementation of the *Bundesprogramm*

“Integration durch Sport” by the *Landessportbund Berlin* (LSB Berlin). In alignment with the DOSB’s national “Integration durch Sport” framework, the LSB Berlin used its resources, including its volunteer network and contacts with interest groups such as “Sportvereine, Schule, Unterkünfte für geflüchtete Menschen, freie Träger der Jugendhilfe, Kirchengemeinde, usw.” to offer one-off events which were not necessarily tied to a specific club (“Bundesprogramm”). In addition to the LSB’s programs, 24% of Berlin’s *Sportvereine* indicated in 2016 that they took special measures to engage with *Flüchtlinge* (Breuer & Feiler [2016], 345).

In 2017, the LSB made its top priority the development of select *Sportvereine* into *Stützpunktvereine* (“Bundesprogramm”). Typical “Integration durch Sport” programs were one-time events which did not create relationships between refugees and local *Sportvereine*. In comparison, “Ziel [der Stützpunktvereine] ist es, Menschen mit Migrationshintergrund langfristig als Spieler/-in, Helfer/-in, Trainer/-in, Vorstandsmitglied etc. zu gewinnen und Geflüchtete in den regulären Vereinsbetrieb einzubinden“ (“Bundesprogramm”). To support clubs on path towards *Stützpunktverein* status, the LSB Berlin offered “Beratung in allen Phasen der Entwicklung und Umsetzung integrativer Maßnahmen, finanzielle Förderung von integrativen Maßnahmen, Fortbildungen für Sportvereine, und Unterstützung bei der Netzwerkarbeit” (“Bundesprogramm”). With personnel and financial resources at the ready, the LSB Berlin was well-prepared to defer the costs of additional integration programs. Despite these readily-available resources and previous successes with one-time, none of Berlin’s *Sportvereine* achieved *Stützpunktvereine* status on the DOSB’s central webpage as of this writing (“Stützpunktvereine”). We must not mark the LSB’s 2017 initiative as unsuccessful without further research, but with current evidence, it appears that Berlin’s existing *Sportvereine* have not experienced significant, ongoing participation by people with *Migrationshintergrund*.

To explain this lack of participation, one must examine the faults which exist in the approach of the LSB – and by extension, the DOSB – to implement the “Integration durch Sport” program. Although there exist a number of plausible explanations, one notable problem is the apparent lack of regard for preexisting or newly-formed *Migrantensportvereine*. As early as 2010, the DOSB’s biennial *Sportentwicklungsbericht* included a report about these organizations, which the authors define as groups with 75% of members having *Migrationshintergrund* (Breuer, Wicker, Stahl [2010], 1). The authors noted that the clubs demonstrate common characteristics, including smaller sizes, with only 78 members on average; single-sport focus, typically on football; male-dominated, adult membership; and a focus on “Gemeinschaft und Geselligkeit sowie Pflege von Tradition” (1). In addition to the common interest of minority groups to build organizations with participants of similar ethnic backgrounds, the *Migrantensportvereine* expressed some degree of altruistic purpose: “Die weitere Analyse der Vereinsphilosophie zeigt, dass Migrantensportvereine stärkere Ambitionen besitzen, einkommensschwachen Personen Sport zu ermöglichen, und vermehrt ihre Aufgabe darin sehen, Jugendliche von der Straße zu holen” (6). The focus on maintaining a cultural network and improving the social condition of the community demonstrates a special feature of *Migrantensportvereine* which mainstream *Sportvereine* cannot easily replace.

With this context of *Migrantensportvereine*, it appears that outreach programs in the “Integration durch Sport” framework focus on drawing minority populations into existing sports clubs as the key path to integrating those groups. Unless those mainstream clubs can work to bring the philosophical, community-focused foundations of *Migrantensportvereine* into their clubs, they will struggle to attract people with *Migrationshintergrund* away from their close-knit communities. This observation should not condemn the current implementation of the

“Integration durch Sport” by the LSB Berlin, but rather shed some light on the greater nuances of Sozialpolitik in the implementation of sports initiatives in Berlin. Furthermore, we should also reconsider how the DOSB should engage with these clubs. Rather than redoubling its efforts to draw people with Migrationshintergrund into mainstream *Stützpunktvereine*, the DOSB could broaden the “Integration durch Sport” umbrella to specifically include existing *Migrantensportvereine* as program partners.

### **Intersection of Stadtentwicklung, Sozialpolitik, and Sport**

Up to this point, my analysis of Berlin’s political environment far highlighted the pre-existing, interdisciplinary connections among all three topics – *Stadtentwicklung*, *Sozialpolitik*, and sport – and the need for effective coordination mechanisms among various initiatives in each realm. As a starting point in that discussion, we consider the following three examples of how Berlin’s current sports development environment benefits from interdisciplinary connections. The first example deals with the national *Soziale Stadt* program and Berlin’s monitoring framework for social change. The second example revisits the topic of *Migrantensportvereine* and analyzes the *Sportstätten-situation* faced by these clubs. To conclude the chapter, a short example discusses the use of *Sporthallen* as *Flüchtlingsunterkünfte*.

#### **Soziale Stadt**

The first example of truly intersectional *Stadtentwicklung* and *Sozialpolitik* is the *Städtebauförderungsprogramm Soziale Stadt*. The program started in 1999 as a unified effort between *Bund* und *Länder*, much like the multi-level government involvement in the *Goldener Plan* of the 1960s (Bundesinstitut für Bau-, Stadt-, und Raumforschung, 10). The efforts in 1999 were preceded by the *Gemeinschaftsinitiative Soziale Stadt*, a program started in 1996 by the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Städtebau, Bau- und Wohnungswesen* (ARGEBAU) (14). The ministers

of construction in ARGEBAU started that initiative with the goal of forming “a cooperative strategy transcending policy-making in the field of construction and pooling other available public funds in the designated areas” (Bundesinstitut, 14). To better understand the techniques used in various *Soziale Stadt* projects, and outcomes from those efforts, the *Bundesinstitut für Bau-, Stadt-, und Raumforschung* (BBSR), a division of the *Bundesamt für Bauwesen und Raumordnung*, undertook the task of creating a *Zwischenevaluierung* of the program. That report – the second of its kind – was published in 2017, ten years after the first *Zwischenevaluierung* around 20 years after the initiative began.

Despite its lack of a pre-defined, unified strategy, the *Soziale Stadt* projects generally exhibit a common vision: “Ziel des Programms ist es, die Situation in städtebaulich, wirtschaftlich und sozial benachteiligten Stadt- und Ortsteilen zu verbessern, lebendige Nachbarschaften zu fördern und den sozialen Zusammenhalt zu stärken” (Bundesinstitut, ‘Vorwort’). In the 2017 *Zwischenevaluierung*, the authors noted that several strategic topic areas dominate the discussion, including “Wohnen und Wohnumfeld / öffentlicher Raum, Umwelt und Verkehr, soziale Integration, Schule und Bildung, Stadtteilkultur, Sport und Freizeit, Gesundheits-förderung, lokale Ökonomie, Sicherheit sowie Imageverbesserung und Öffentlichkeitsarbeit” (10). In regards to the topic “soziale Integration,” the team noted that “Im Vergleich zur ersten *Zwischenevaluierung* kam [dem Handlungsfeld Integration] in den vergangenen zehn Jahren eine erhöhte Aufmerksamkeit zu” (12). Their analysis of this shift in *Soziale Stadt* goals aligns with the post-reunification timeline for social integration as an increasingly important topic in sports development.

Since its inception in 1999, the *Soziale Stadt* initiative has supported 780 projects in 440 cities and communities (‘Vorwort’). Although the actions in smaller locales have undoubtedly



provided great benefits to those areas, the list of top recipients primarily includes Germany's largest metropolitan regions: "Berlin, Brandenburg, Bremen, Hamburg, Hessen und Nordrhein-Westfalen [haben] die größten Fortschritte bei der Mittelbündelung erzielt" (Bundesinstitut, 11). The interdisciplinary format of the *Soziale Stadt* program means that its financing mechanisms are rather complex, but upon cursory review, I determined that successful *Mittelbündelung* utilizes guidelines created by ARGEBAU to draw money from Europäische Sozialfonds (ESF) and German *Bund* and *Land* coffers (14). The complexity of bundled funding may constitute a limiting factor in the ability of smaller municipalities to successfully raise capital for their projects, thus further explaining the success of the large metropolitan areas in this effort (11).

Another problem of limited resources arises when the time comes to track the ongoing results of *Soziale Stadt* projects. Just as small communities might struggle to navigate the complex *Soziale Stadt* funding mechanisms, those municipalities with low staff headcounts may not implement long-term tracking programs due to lack of available people-power. To address this issue, the BBSR noted that an additional incentive program could greatly assist smaller communities which do not have sufficient resources to continue tracking the outcomes of their development projects (15). Despite this lack of robust incentives, Berlin developed one of the leading examples for social analysis. Their program, titled *Monitoring Soziale Stadtentwicklung* (MSS), analyzes the ever-changing social condition in Berlin on a biennial basis. According to the MSS website, "Das [MSS] wird seit 1998 als kontinuierliches Stadtbeobachtungssystem der sozialräumlichen Entwicklung auf Gebietsebene. Es dient im Sinne eines Frühwarnsystems der Ermittlung von gebietsbezogenen Handlungsbedarfen der Sozialen Stadtentwicklung" ("Monitoring"). As expected, the system is fairly complex, and smaller towns often cannot afford to perform this analysis for their own jurisdictions.

To provide a highly granular view of changes in the social structure, the MSS uses around 435 *Planungsräume* (PLR) to divide the city into chunks of around 7,000 inhabitants. The monitoring team then analyzes several key indicators across those PLR, and the resulting weighted list of changes paints a picture of social change in the city. In 2000, the researchers used three categories to indicate social change: “Stabilität und Dynamik der Wohnbevölkerung, Selektive Wanderungen, Sozialdaten” (Häußermann, 7). In the most recent MSS version, the metrics changed slightly: the report now measures “Arbeitslosigkeit, Langzeitarbeitslosigkeit, Transferbezug (SGB II und XII) und Kinderarmut (Transferbezug SGB II der unter 15-Jährigen)” (von Bodelschwingh, 11). The reach of the MSS program ends after creating a map of social change in Berlin based on the above variables. That map, however, then passes through other government groups, including Berlin’s *Senat* and *Bezirke*, to inform their resource-allocation decisions within the *Soziale Stadt* program.

As a *Frühwarnsystem*, the MSS provides insights to local *Soziale Stadt* programs, which then use several mechanisms to make improvements in the target areas. Those mechanisms are the *Integrierten Entwicklungskonzepte* (IEK), *Quartiersmanagement*, and *Verfügungsfonds*. The first tool, IEK, brings “Akteure aus Verwaltung, Politik und Zivilgesellschaft” into discussion for participatory planning in their neighborhoods (Bundesinstitut, 11). This type of input holds special value thanks to the “Rollen- und Aufgabenverständnis, personellen Expertise, Zuständigkeit, und Trägerschaft” of the neighborhood participants (11). According to the *Zwischenevaluierung*, “Die Ansprüche an Aktivierung und Beteiligung reichen in der Sozialen Stadt weit über die üblichen Standards anderer Städtebauförderungsprogramme hinaus” (11). Thanks to the involvement of local people who can speak to the basic needs of their neighborhood, the *Soziale Stadt* framework represents a more socially inclusive model than other

types of planning, specifically because the input from local people serves local interests, not the external goals of central politicians or private developers. This type of participation holds particular importance when “die Bewohnergruppen in Soziale-Stadt-Gebieten aufgrund ihrer sozioökonomischen Lage selten über die notwendigen Ressourcen für ehrenamtliches Engagement verfügen” (Bundesinstitut, 11). Through participation in the planning process, “diese Personengruppen im Sinne einer Empowerment-Strategie befähigt werden, ihren Stadtteil aktiv mitzugestalten” (11). These perspectives clearly outline the benefits of participatory planning for social cohesion in the development footprint of a new public project.

Importantly, the insights from IEK also make significant contributions to the second tool, *Quartiersmanagement*. In general, this strategy establishes a *Quartiersmanagementbüro* “vor-Ort,” often with a dedicated *Quartiersmanager* (11). In Berlin, “Quartiersmanagement-Teams unterstützen lokale Aktivitäten der Bewohnerinnen und Bewohner, sammeln Ideen, vernetzen Menschen und Initiativen und organisieren den Prozess der Stärkung des Kiezes [east-German *Bezirke*] und der Eigenverantwortung der Bewohnerschaft” (“Quartiersmanagement Berlin”). Compared to the IEK, which focuses heavily on urban planning, the *Quartiersmanagement* program adds a healthy dose of true *Sozialpolitik* to the *Soziale Stadt* development process. The tools implemented by *Quartiersmanagement* for improved social connectivity also benefit the third mechanism in the *Soziale Stadt* toolkit: *Verfügungsfonds*.

These small-scale funding vehicles “wurden auf Ebene der Soziale-Stadt-Gebiete für Bewohner, Initiativen und Einrichtungen die Möglichkeit geschaffen, schnell und unbürokratisch kleinteilige Verbesserungen im Stadt-teil umzusetzen” (Bundesinstitut, 12). These small funding programs draw entirely from the *Städtebauförderung*, a *Förderprogramm* administered by the *Bundesministerium für Umwelt, Naturschutz, Bau und Reaktorsicherheit*. In the end, the

*Zwischenevaluierung* notes that “Die Ziele und Erwartungen an die Entscheidungsgremien und Geschäftsstellen... haben sich durch die Vielzahl kleinteiliger Aktivitäten zur Stärkung von Mitwirkung und Selbstverantwortung der Bewohnerschaft und lokaler Gruppen weitgehend erfüllt” (Bundesinstitut, 12). It is an uncommon public program which can quickly and effectively meet the needs of local sponsors and remain under budget, so these results from the *Verfügungsfonds* represent a clear success for the *Soziale Stadt* program.

As outlined above, the *Soziale Stadt* program generally focuses on a few key topic areas: “Wohnen und Wohnumfeld, Umwelt und Verkehr, soziale Integration, Schule und Bildung, Stadteilkultur, Sport und Freizeit, Gesundheitsförderung, lokale Ökonomie, Sicherheit sowie Imageverbesserung und Öffentlichkeitsarbeit” (10). Of all those topics, “soziale Integration” has received increasing attention over the past decade, and now constitutes one of the highest priorities of the *Soziale Stadt* framework. The topic “Umwelt und Verkehr” also warrants deeper discussion: this category includes not only automotive traffic control and urban environmental protection, but also “die Umgestaltung und Qualifizierung von Grün- und Freiflächen und der Ausbau von Fuß- und Radwegen,” both of which can promote recreational activity in the community (75). The topic “Umwelt und Verkehr” often falls into the category “Wohnen und Wohnumfeld,” such as the unified “Wohnumfeld und Ökologie” category within the ARGEBAU planning framework (75). We may also recall that the *Richtlinien der Regierungspolitik* in Berlin discussed “urbane Grün- und Freiräume... in Kombination mit Wohnraumförderung Mietendämpfung und sozialer Stabilisierung” (10). Clearly, if one wishes to understand how public investment impacts local housing stability and social continuity in the context of *Kernsportanlagen, Grün- und Freiflächen* provide a notable point of comparison.

The other important topic from the list of *Soziale Stadt* priority categories is “Sport und Freizeit.” From a social perspective, *Sportvereine* in Germany represent 8.6 million participants, making those institutions the “größte nichtstaatliche Bildungsanbieter” (Klages & Siegel cited in Bundesinstitut, 95). The DOSB’s robust “Integration durch Sport” program even received recognition in the *Zwischenevaluierung* as an important component of urban social engagement (96). With a proven track record of socially-focused urban development programs, one might suspect that the *Soziale Stadt* framework finds great success in sports-based projects. This potential for positive social engagement through sports development, however, remains largely unfulfilled. According to the authors, “Das Handlungsfeld ‘Sport’ ist trotz des hohen Engagementpotenzials von Sportvereinen und den zahlreichen Schnittmengen zu anderen Handlungsfeldern im Programm Soziale Stadt bisher wenig vertreten und verdient zukünftig eine systematische Konzeptentwicklung” (13).

Despite this lack of robust program experience, the *Soziale Stadt* program offers financing for “Ausbau der Sportinfrastruktur (Sporthallen, -plätze) oder die Schaffung von Bewegungsangeboten durch Investitionen in die Freiraumentwicklung (Stadtparks, öffentliche Plätze, Freiflächen im Wohnumfeld)” (96). Once again, the evidence points to similarities between *Grün- und Freiflächen* and sports development: although the report did not highlight any examples of sports development from Berlin, the authors mentioned the Sport- und Begegnungspark Gaarden in Kiel as a primary example of *Grün- und Freiflächen* with sports uses as the primary target (96). Sport development programs, especially new construction and renovation projects, tend to carry hefty price tags. Despite this pricing barrier, the *Zwischenevaluierung* noted that two German cities, Schwerin and Dresden, successfully used the small-scale *Verfügungsfonds* to pay for “Sportfeste und kleinteilige Ausstattungverbesserungen

für Sportvereine” (Bundesinstitut, 96). Aside from the high cost of new construction or renovation of sports facilities, the *Soziale Stadt* report also points out that investment in sports facilities or “Kulturzentren und Büchereien” as sites for *Stadtteilkultur* “nur Sinn [macht], wenn zugleich die Finanzierung der Folgekosten nachhaltig gesichert wird” (93). Although these operating costs present barriers to sports facility development, municipalities stand to gain significant benefits by developing public sports facilities, especially in the context of sports as a tool for social integration. With that trend, it seems likely that the *Städtebauförderung* program will engage more directly with the sports facility projects in the future.

#### *Sportstätten-situation der Migrantensportvereine*

Next to the *Soziale Stadt* initiative, the *Sportstätten-situation der Migrantensportvereine* is the second major topic at the intersection of *Stadtentwicklung*, *Sozialpolitik*, and sports. As discussed earlier in this chapter, there exist certain differences in the philosophical priorities of mainstream clubs and *Migrantensportvereine*. These philosophical differences, however, account for only part of the rift between the two types of clubs. In 2010, researchers noted that *Migrantensportvereine* “deutlich größere Probleme im Bereich der finanziellen Situation des Vereins sowie der Sportstätten-situation aufweisen als andere Sportvereine” (Breuer et al. [2010], 1). *Migrantensportvereine* depend primarily on public *Sportstätten*, where they struggle with “die zeitliche Verfügbarkeit der Sportstätten, den Zustand der genutzten Sportstätten, die Eignung der Sportstätten für die angebotenen Sportarten” (7). Mainstream clubs do not experience these problems at the same rate because they tend to operate their own facilities: 54% of mainstream clubs own their own facilities, and only 57.5% depend on public facilities for club activities (7). In comparison, only 10.5% of *Migrantensportvereine* owned a sports facility and 71.9% depended on public facilities for their normal activity in 2010 (7).

### Flüchtlingsunterkünfte

One additional example about *Sportvereine* and their *Sportanlagen* provides a unique perspective on the topic of integration through sports: after the massive influx of refugees in 2015, many *Sporthallen* were used as *Flüchtlingsunterkünfte*. A team of researchers for the DOSB's biennial *Sportentwicklungsbericht* found that "3.400 Sportvereine in Deutschland waren in den letzten beiden Jahren durch die Nutzung von Sportanlagen als Flüchtlingsunterkunft eingeschränkt" (Breuer, Feiler, Nowy [2016], 47). The demand for space fell especially hard on large clubs, which typically own larger or more numerous facilities: "13,3 % aller Vereine mit 1.001 bis 2.500 Mitgliedern und 17,9 % aller Vereine über 2.500 Mitglieder [waren] von einer entsprechenden Umnutzung von Sportanlagen betroffen" (47-48). In December 2017, the *Berliner Morgenpost* reported that of the 63 *Sporthallen* used as *Flüchtlingsunterkünfte* during the crisis, 32 were finally released for normal use at the end of 2017. Some of those facilities were expected to remain out of commission until the middle of 2018: due to the high number of simultaneous renovations, local construction contractors were not able to serve all the projects immediately. One of the facilities, which had housed 1,500 refugees at its peak, was renovated for a total cost of 3.76 million Euro ("Flüchtlinge ausgezogen"). As of the December 2017 announcement, 11 of the 63 facilities still housed refugees, but they were expected to become available by the end of the first quarter in 2018 ("Flüchtlinge ausgezogen").

### Conclusion

From the *BerlinStrategie* to the *Sportentwicklungsplanung in Berlin*, the *Richtlinien der Regierungspolitik* and the LSB Berlin's "Integration durch Sport" efforts, and the *Soziale Stadt* initiative to *Migrantensportvereine* and *Flüchtlingsunterkünfte*, abundant evidence shows that the intersection between *Stadtentwicklung*, *Sozialpolitik*, and sport represents an active junction

with significant potential for further development. Just as social inclusion grew in importance over several eras of German sports planning and gained recognition as a key topic throughout the policy hierarchy, there now exists evidence for the benefits of community-focused planning for public sports infrastructure. These planning efforts enable sports facilities to achieve social goals of integration and maximize the benefits of public investment in sports facilities. Although this type of investment generates positive outcomes for social integration in the neighborhood in the short-term horizon, one may wonder if the renewal of public amenities in disadvantaged areas causes unanticipated social changes, such as attracting new residents, landlords, and businesses into the area. Chapter 4 approaches into this topic with a structured experimental model, and presents a few case studies for how public investment in sports facilities may impact local neighborhoods.



## **Chapter 4: Methods to Analyze the Impact of Sports Development on Social Inclusion**

### **Subchapters: Case Studies on Sports Development and Social Inclusion in Berlin**

This chapter connects the previous three chapters into a conclusive whole, in part through the proposal of a new monitoring framework. Before introducing this model, however, we must consider contemporary problems for social inclusion and housing in Berlin. Those current hot-button issues demonstrate the need for thoughtful, neighborhood-focused planning to preserve social cohesion. After establishing those pieces of evidence, I outline a research model to test the outcomes from public investment in *Kernsportanlagen*. The chapter concludes with a discussion of ongoing questions and further topics for exploration. Then, several Berlin-based case studies demonstrate the experiment in action and present clear examples of this topic's immediate relevance.

### **External Context: Social Inclusion in Berlin Neighborhoods**

To provide a sweeping summary of settlement dynamics in Berlin since the reunification of Germany in 1990, one can note a few important shifts between the former East and West segments of the city. As the wall fell, many East Berliners wished to escape the Iron Curtain and fled into West Berlin. Later, many adventurous individuals and enterprising businesspeople shifted their interests towards the nearly-abandoned segments of the former East. After the city gained political and economic stability, investors began pouring money into the city. In 1999, for example, the *New York Times* reported that “more than \$120 billion of public and private money was poured into construction and renovation” in the city (Riding). The flood of capital continued, at times consuming such cultural institutions as the original Tresor nightclub.<sup>22</sup> Even during the

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<sup>22</sup> (Künzel. SubBerlin: The Story of Tresor) Although the club found a new home elsewhere in the city, losing its basement dwelling in East Berlin after the city sold the land to a developer was considered a serious blow to techno culture.

global recession in 2009, when real estate investors scaled back their plans, *Time* magazine reported about Prenzlauer Berg with an ominously-titled article: “*In Berlin, a Gentrifying Neighborhood Under Siege*” (Kirchner). This report was the first of several articles which provided commentary about the changing social condition in Berlin’s various neighborhoods in the following years.

In the case of 2009’s “siege” in Prenzlauer Berg, located in the former East Berlin, the dramatic title actually undersold the real events: in January and February 2009, 29 luxury cars were set aflame in Berlin. From that total, the leftist radical group *Bewegung für militanten Widerstand* (BMW) claimed responsibility for eight of the fires (Kirchner). Their arson was intended as a protest “against the restructuring of formerly low-income neighborhoods, which has led to higher rents and forced out poorer residents” (Kirchner). Indeed, *Time* magazine online reported that rents in Prenzlauer Berg had increased tenfold in the years since the Wall fell, with much of the blame falling on “Porno-Hippie-Swabian.” According to local resident Patrick Technau, that name “is a deliberately exaggerated negative stereotype for people who come to Berlin from the wealthy southern German states and buy expensive apartments in Prenzlauer Berg” (Kirchner). The feeling of animosity also extended to non-German influences in the local real estate market. As reported by *Time*, the resistance efforts especially targeted *Marthashof*, a new development project for luxury, “urban village” housing by Stofanel Investment, an Italian company (Kirchner). Through their protests, local residents punctuated the fact the new construction and renovation efforts did not serve their local interests, especially when sources outside the city funded those projects.

The vilification of international developers, a phenomenon which is not unique to Berlin, remained a salient topic in a renewed round of conflicts in 2017. Residents in Kreuzberg, for

example, protested against changes in the neighborhood including “rising rents, forced evictions and rampant real estate speculation” (Wilder). According to a report by the *New York Times*, the local activists successfully lobbied local authorities to take action with “a slate of measures, including rent caps, a partial ban on vacation rentals, development-free zones and increased social housing subsidies (Wilder). The city also used its right-of-first refusal tool to proceed with government-facilitated transactions which protect tenants, and it passed *milieuschutz* laws which protect neighborhood diversity by “preventing landlords from imposing expensive renovations that would effectively price out the current tenants” (Wilder). Despite these protections, some tenants still found themselves in the crosshairs of developers: one tenant collective learned that their loft complex, owned by a Danish firm, may be sold “to private investors who planned a conversion into luxury loft apartments” (Wilder). Likewise, campaigners also fought for Filou, a bakery with fifteen years of history in the Kreuzberg neighborhood. In its report on the conflict, *The Atlantic’s* CityLab website noted that “adding an extra layer of piquancy to the fight is the fact that the building’s owners are based not in Berlin, but in London” (O’Sullivan). In both of those cases, local residents in former East Berlin neighborhoods opposed the business interests of international real estate institutions. As the scale of development in Berlin grows, however, concerns about loss of neighborhood character have spread to other parts of the city.

An example of shifting investment influences appeared in CityLab’s coverage of Café Kranzler, a landmark business on the avenue *Kurfürstendamm* in West Berlin’s Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf neighborhood. In 2016, the café was taken over by The Barn, a popular coffee roaster based in Mitte, Berlin’s central district. According to CityLab, numerous other businesses “from the hip east side are now opening second locations in areas they would have once shunned as *bürgerlich*” (Pines). This shift from East to West indicates that the two halves of the city now

experience increasingly balanced market forces, and investment may begin flowing to each side in equal amounts. With increasing investment volume in the West, concerns about neighborhood change are inevitable. Although the author notes that “Thanks to the city’s strict tenant laws, established *Wessies* [West-Berlin residents] are not yet being displaced en masse,” some current residents view the renewed interest in the West as a bad omen (Pines). According to Markus Hesselmann, an editor at Berlin’s *Tagesspiegel* and self-appointed development scorekeeper, “[Berlin] hasn’t been Londonized yet...but the danger is there” (Pines). In this case, one finds that although new investment may not directly displace residents, nuanced shifts in local culture causes an equivalent feeling that the community has been lost.

City officials expect rapid development in Berlin to continue, and I anticipate that ongoing social changes will accompany those developments, despite valiant efforts from the *Senat* to protect residents. According to comments by Katrin Lompscher, Senator for *Stadtentwicklung und Wohnen*, the public housing council hopes to increase its inventory to 400,000 units through new construction. To make progress on those projects, the city budgeted €192 million for 3,000 new units in 2017, including €90 million in grants from the federal government (Investitionsbank Berlin, 1). Although these figures represent a significant effort by the city, the share of council-owned housing in the market fell 9.9% between 2014 and 2017, and those 3,000 new units planned in 2017 represented only 0.16% of the city’s total housing stock (4). In comparison, a total of 10,722 new apartments were built in 2015, and the rates of building permit approval have only increased since then (6). Another important trend is the conversion of units from rentals to condominium ownership: in 2015, investors converted 17,331 units (6). Comparing the rates of new apartment construction and rental-to-condo conversion shows that the supply of rental units actually decreased in 2015. Although social housing in Berlin serves

some of the most disadvantaged population groups, massive forces from the private market mean that public investment cannot protect everyone from rapid changes in housing affordability.

### Experiment Design

When *Land* Berlin makes significant public investments in *Kernsportanlagen*, those projects could serve as lightning rods for private investment in housing because they demonstrate public confidence in the area. Additionally, sports facilities constitute popular public amenities which may raise the value of nearby residential units. In that sense, consistent calls for *Kernsportanlagen* to be *wohnungsnahe Infrastruktur* may magnify the problem of housing market disruption. Furthermore, new development projects target areas with low levels of facility availability, so a new facility represents a distinct improvement to the area's public infrastructure. That development strategy specifically rejects the *Gießkannenprinzip*, which sprinkles improvements equally all over the city. If new investments in underserved areas represent housing market disruptions, one may wonder if preserving the status quo represents a better way to encourage neighborhood stability than making targeted infrastructure improvements. To investigate this topic, we follow the scientific method as outlined below.

### Question

Are the locations of Berlin's *Kernsportanlagen* socially inclusive? Does the process of new construction or renovation of the facilities have an impact on social inclusion?

### Experiment Goals

1. Determine if current spatial allocation of *Kernsportanlagen* favors certain neighborhoods and thus impacts access for disadvantaged groups
2. Determine if public investment in *Kernsportanlagen* is correlated with changes in affordability and/or the racial or socioeconomic makeup of an area.

Evidence

Through this analysis so far, we uncovered the following points of evidence:

- There exist concerns about negative social impacts in mega-event host cities, especially including sports events such as the Olympics. (Introduction)
- There also exist concerns about negative social impacts on neighborhoods surrounding stadiums in the United States and United Kingdom. (Introduction)
- Sports initiatives have broadened or shifted their focus from public strength and health to social integration, making it one of the key goals in sports development. (Chapter 1)
- Initiatives throughout the policy hierarchy place significant weight on the importance of social inclusion in urban areas, and sports development earned a role to play in this objective. (Chapter 2)
- Disconnection exists between *Sportentwicklung*, *Sozialpolitik*, and sport in Berlin, even in the context of the federal *Soziale Stadt* program. This lack of intersection occurs despite the city government's call to pair investment in *Grün- und Freiflächen* with neighborhood stability protections. (Chapter 3)
- Berlin continues to face problems with housing and social disruption, which started after the fall of the wall and continue to persist as international real estate institutions take a new interest in the city today. (Chapter 4)

Hypothesis

1. The current spatial allocation of *Kernsportanlagen* favors wealthier neighborhoods and thus limits access for disadvantaged groups
2. Public investment in *Kernsportanlagen* correlates with decreasing neighborhood affordability, which forces disadvantaged minority groups to leave the area.

### Testable Variables

Independent variables should represent the level of public investment in *Kernsportanlagen*. Direct data sources for public investment in new construction or renovation of sports facilities, such as total cash investment or relative investment per square meter of facility, provide the clearest insights about the project. Lacking direct information about investments, however, I use proxies for these factors, such as facility age or time since renovation, facility area, or rates of visitorship. These data may exist in the city's *Sportanlagendatenbank*, a resource of the *Senatsverwaltung für Inneres und Sport*. If data for proxy factors is unavailable, researchers could use general estimates of relative quality and quantity of usable area at each sports facility. To facilitate these estimates, I suggest using categorical information, such the general location of the facility within a larger *Sportpark* campus, or the designation of prominent swimming pools as *Sternebäder*.

Dependent variables should measure social change in the neighborhood where public investment in a sports facility takes place. Many proxies for social conditions exist in publicly available datasets, including the share of *Ausländer* or people with *Migrationshintergrund* in the population, as well as statistics about population density, time spent living in an area, and basic changes in the population count. One could also utilize the various indicators from the *Monitoring Soziale Stadtentwicklung* (MSS) program, especially because those indicators specifically depict changing social conditions. Proxies for social changes also exist in statistics from the real estate market, such as insights about average unit size, average rental rate, percentage of units sold recently, and rates of conversion from rentals to condominiums.

Control cases depict neighborhoods where no public investment in sports facilities has taken place, especially if those areas are geographically or socially comparable to the target area.

By using a control case, researchers can attempt to rule out confounding variables from the analysis, such as city-wide population shifts unrelated to public investments.

### Statistical Scale

To implement this experiment, we must choose the level of detail at which the analysis captures the independent and dependent variables. To retain the highest degree of detail, we should focus on 435 *Planungsräume* (PLR) used in the biennial *Monitoring Soziale Stadtentwicklung* (MSS) analysis. The PLR represents the smallest level of granularity reported at a consistent level across statistical sources, and each PLR unit contains around 7,000 inhabitants. In Berlin's dense *Bezirke*, such as Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, which has a population over 250,000, the PLR provides a very detailed picture of social conditions within the neighborhood. At less-focused levels of detail, Berlin's *Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung und Wohnen* uses the statistical framework of "Lebensweltlich orientierten Räume," which includes 138 *Bezirksregionen* (BZR) and 60 *Prognoseräume* (PRG) ("Lebensweltlich"). Appendix II includes a diagram of this LOR hierarchy. If not enough data sources exist at the PLR level of detail, BZR or PRG could stand as suitable alternatives, despite the loss of granularity in the results.

### Analysis

So far, this experiment outline has demonstrated the availability of inputs to inform an impact assessment of *Kernsportanlagen* developments. A few key questions, including *who should monitor?* and *when should monitoring take place?* remain unanswered. To answer the first question, one must understand how each government agency contributes to sports development projects. On one hand, *Land Berlin* operates a few major *Sportstätten*, including the *Olympiapark* and the *Velodrom* with neighboring *Schwimm- und Sprunghalle im*



*Europasportpark*, and holds responsibility for the ongoing development of those spaces. Furthermore, the city already has the ability to analyze social change through its MSS program. As a result, housing this new *Kernsportanlagen* impact assessment within the MSS program presents a relatively simple path to implementation. On the other hand, the *Bezirke* develop most of Berlin's 1,200 facilities, with some connection to the *Berliner Bäder-Betriebe* (BBB) in the case of swimming pools. *Bezirke* report their public development planning and implementation activities in *Sozialen Infrastrukturkonzepte* (SIKo), which provide a useful insight into the planning process.

For example, the SIKo for Mitte in April 2017 outlined 22 potential projects, including *Kitas*, *Schule*, and *Sportanlagen*. As a baseline analysis, the report included the following details about each site: *Stadtstruktur*, *Soziale und Grüne Infrastruktur*, *Erreichbarkeit*, *Objektbeschreibung*, *Gebäude-/Freiflächenzustand*, *Potenziale*, and *Konflikte/Hemmnisse* (Bezirksamt Mitte). Each site analysis also reviews the *Planungsgrundlagen/-recht* of each site, and then provides estimates for cost, various development options, and *Handlungsempfehlungen / nächste Schritte*. Within those *Handlungsempfehlungen*, one might expect the *Bezirk* to evaluate the social impact of the project on the surrounding population. This type of assessment, however, does not appear in *Handlungsempfehlungen* section, or any other part of the SIKo document.

If *Soziale Sportentwicklung* analysis cannot fit within or adjacent to the existing MSS framework in the central government, then perhaps smaller-scale analysis within the SIKOs could provide a good first step towards consideration for social outcomes in this field of development. As noted in the *Soziale Stadt Zwischenevaluierung*, however, reporting requirements can make project administration prohibitively expensive for smaller government agencies. As a result,

program coordinators must establish appropriate incentives to ensure that monitoring does not prevent municipal bodies from pursuing the *Soziale Stadt* resources. For example, *Land* Berlin could tie those incentives to the funding it provides to a *Bezirk*-sponsored project. Alternatively, the *Land* and *Bezirk* could create partnerships to share resources and improve their collective capacity for analysis and reporting.

Besides the question of *who*, we must also ask *how* to predict the outcomes from a future development, and *how* to measure the social results after a project's completion. This question also includes an inherent element of *when* – when should the analysis start, and when in the future may it end? The question of *how* invokes a fairly straightforward answer: the public agency responsible for the development, either the *Land* or *Bezirk*, should track the dependent variables to determine if they implicate social changes in the area after a sports development project. This type of analysis is already used in the MSS, which in turn informs fairly significant planning efforts within the *Soziale Stadt* initiative. My proposed impact assessment focuses on single project sites instead of covering the entire city, but using control cases in the experiment will strengthen the conclusions. By comparing the target project areas with areas that did not receive sports facility investment over the same time horizon, one gains more certainty in the conclusion that public investment in sports facilities induced the social changes.

Before undertaking a new development, the responsible government authority should make preliminary projections about the impact of the new public amenity on the target area. The impact assessment should focus primarily on social inclusion factors, such as changes to the cultural and socio-economic diversity in the area, especially as they relate to affordable housing. Those projections should look three to four years past the completion of the publicly-funded project. That timeframe should capture the full cycle of private development which may result

after a new public project attracts interest to the neighborhood. After the pre-development projections, the public authority should analyze the post-project outcomes over the same timeframe. After an appropriate timeframe, the area will return to a stable state with no additional social changes based on that single investment project. To determine an appropriate timeframe for analysis, we may use a number of methods: one approach simply estimates the general time required by investors and developers to fully respond to the public facility investment, probably between three and four years for new housing construction projects. Overall, this analysis must not necessarily take place on a fixed schedule like the biennial MSS: rather, the responsible government agency should implement this social impact assessment on a case-by-case basis for each new development.

### Outcomes

In the event that the public agency's preliminary analysis detects a high chance of negative social impact in the area, they should take steps to mitigate that impact with the resident protection tools listed in the first section of this chapter, such as rent controls and *milieuschutz* laws. If no social impacts appear in the pre-development analysis, but arise after the project begins, the municipality should draw from the same menu of intervention options to limit the extent of those negative outcomes. One must recognize, however, that implementation of those social protection programs includes high economic costs and a simple menu of solutions may not exist for all situations. These barriers, and many other common pitfalls of public work, may limit the ability of the government agencies in Berlin to track social outcomes from *Sportstättenentwicklung*. Despite these potential pitfalls, impact assessments for sports facility developments will represent a major step in the right direction because they indicate the municipal bodies' recognition that sports facility developments could negatively impact the local

social condition. Ideally, the monitoring framework will also inform those bodies about the best steps to mitigate those impacts and ensure that sports really do serve an integrative function in society.

### Assessment Expansion

I built my experimental model around the topic of sports facility development in Berlin, but this impact assessment could also apply to other types of public investment or different geographic areas. In addition to *Kernsportanlagen*, there exist a number of other public investment projects which constitute valuable public amenities. Those facilities include the aforementioned *Grün- und Freiflächen*, as well as *Kulturzentren* und *Büchereien* as elements of *Stadtteilkultur*. Analyzing these spaces, however, also presents new challenges. In the case of *Grün- und Freiflächen*, these areas represent desirable neighborhood amenities not only because most people enjoy having green zones nearby, but perhaps also because users can choose their own activities in the otherwise-unstructured environment. This lack of organized programs sits in stark contrast to the environment of sports programs, which the DOSB and its LSB groups specifically design to promote integration. As a result, concerns about green space focus more on equal access to those spaces across a city, and less on the integrative potential of activities in those spaces.

For example, *The State of European Cities 2016* details how European cities rank on the United Nation's Sustainable Development Goal for open space. The authors point out, however, that the UN's indicator for "Share of the built-up area of a city that is open space for public use for all, by sex, age and persons with disabilities" does not necessarily reflect the equality of access among those different population groups ("The State of European Cities," 149). As an example, the authors noted that a city with "a large park in an affluent neighbourhood can have

the same indicator value as a city with many small parks distributed across the entire city” (“The State of European Cities,” 149). To rectify that oversight, the report proposes two new metrics: “(1.) The median size of green urban areas that can be reached within a 10-minute walk [Poelman 2016]; and (2.) The share of population without a green area within a 10-minute walk” (149). This piece of evidence shows that monitoring the inclusive nature of green and open zones should focus more on city-wide access and less on localized impacts in the housing market. In addition, we must recall that Berlin’s *Richtlinien der Regierungspolitik 2016-2021* already intend to pair *Grün- und Freiflächen* with tools for local stability. These examples show that using my impact assessment to monitor green and open spaces would probably not provide new and valuable insights for the city.

Like *Kernsportanlagen*, *Kulturzentren* und *Büchereien* contribute to the local community as important public spaces. Unlike *Grün- und Freiflächen*, cultural centers and libraries are much more likely to host programs for social integration. For this reason, my proposed social impact assessment could serve as a valuable tool for the local government to analyze the outcomes from a new facility. Unlike sports facility mega-events and stadiums, however, contextual evidence for human displacement from massive library projects or hundred-million-dollar cultural centers is not readily apparent. For that reason, these types of facilities do not present the same type of threat to social cohesion in a neighborhood. Finally, I must also note that these non-sports facilities tend to occur in much smaller numbers: Berlin offers 68 public libraries (Lange), compared to around 62 public pools, 15 public *Eisbahnen und -hallen*, as well as countless *Sporthallen* and *Sportplätze*. This smaller number of facilities forces the analysis to use a wider lens; instead of focusing on the level of *Plaungsräume* with 7,000 residents, the assessment would need to zoom out to the less-detailed *Bezirksregionen* (BZR) and *Prognoseräume* (PRG).

Besides applying this experimental model to other types of public investment projects, future researchers could also use the framework to analyze outcomes in areas outside of Berlin. The format of this impact assessment should translate directly to any urban area around the globe, with some minor changes based on the population data and predominant statistical scale collected in the region. The model could also function in non-urban areas. For example, a German *Landkreis* containing several small *Gemeinden* could use this impact assessment to track social changes based on a new construction project in one of the towns. If all the towns start on equal footing, but one municipality chooses to expand its existing indoor pool into a *Sportpark* with outdoor pools, a multi-use gym, and soccer fields, that change could impact the balance of social cohesion in the *Landkreis*. As homebuyers and investors recognize the value of the new amenity, home prices in the town will rise, and the rising prices will dislocate under-resourced groups into other towns, either those in the *Landkreis* or further away. This example, although over-simplified, demonstrates that my social impact assessment could add valuable insights to any public investment in social infrastructure, even in more rural environments.

### **Conclusion**

Based on the historical trends in German sports development initiatives and current priorities in the international policy hierarchy, the type of monitoring structure proposed in the previous chapter should fit nicely into the current political environment. To effectively implement this structure, however, practitioners or researchers must consider several additional topics which fall outside the scope of this thesis. These topics deal with the tools for ensuring stability in housing, financing sports facilities, and planning with a participatory process.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, there exist a large number of tools to improve housing stability, including rent caps, social housing subsidies, vacation rental bans, construction and

renovation controls, and *milieuschutz* laws. By researching the various tools for housing stability, future users of this monitoring framework can improve the analysis of sports facilities relative to their surroundings. For example, certain tools may exist to protect housing access for senior citizens. With that knowledge, users can adjust the monitoring framework to focus on the impact produced by sports facility projects near senior housing. By targeting areas which can benefit from the available tools, users will improve the ability of the monitoring framework to influence real change.

One of the largest barriers for housing stability programs, as well as for sports facility construction and renovation projects, is financing. As noted in Chapter 3, Berlin's public housing authority does not have sufficient capacity to match the rate of housing construction in the private market. That situation points to the broader fact that, even in Germany's heavily socialized political environment, public bodies cannot produce enough funding to meet every need. For that reason, communities (and *Sportvereine*) must explore alternative funding mechanisms. Readers interested in these financing arrangements should browse the cursory review of prominent financing options from Hovemann and Fuhrman in volume 2, issue 2 of the *Sciamus – Sport und Management* journal. In the specific relationship between *Kernsportanlagen* and housing, we must remember that these sports facilities constitute valuable public amenities. As a result, investors have economic incentives to promote the construction or renovation of facilities near their properties. In pursuit of alternative funding sources for these projects, the city government could start public-private partnerships in which developers contribute directly to the revitalization of local facilities. This arrangement results in an improved facility which remains available to all residents, but also allows the city to save its funds for other uses, such as stronger social stability programs in the neighborhood.

Rent controls and public housing construction projects constitute resource-intensive pursuits. With limited funds, however, the city's development agencies must also explore less-expensive types of social stability programs. In the context of sports facility developments, one of those programs is participatory planning. In its review of the Olympics' impact on cities, for example, the Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE) proposed "Multi-Stakeholder Guidelines on Mega-Events and the Protection and Promotion of Housing Rights" (Centre on Housing, 12). Along those lines, we can recall the importance of the "People's Plan" in Vila Autodromo before the Rio Olympics in 2016. Further growth of my proposed monitoring framework should explore the techniques for effective participatory planning used in those examples. Government agencies, or non-government organizations such as the DOSB should also consider how participatory tools can serve the needs of *Migrantensportvereine*. As mentioned at the end of Chapter 3, these clubs have a disproportionately low share of private facility ownership, and they often depend on public facilities for their programs. Giving *Migrantensportvereine* priority in the planning process for public facilities could improve the ability of sports facilities to serve integrative functions in the community. Overall, these examples show that adding participatory planning to the menu of options for protecting the social environment can provide benefits to neighborhoods impacted by public sports facility development.

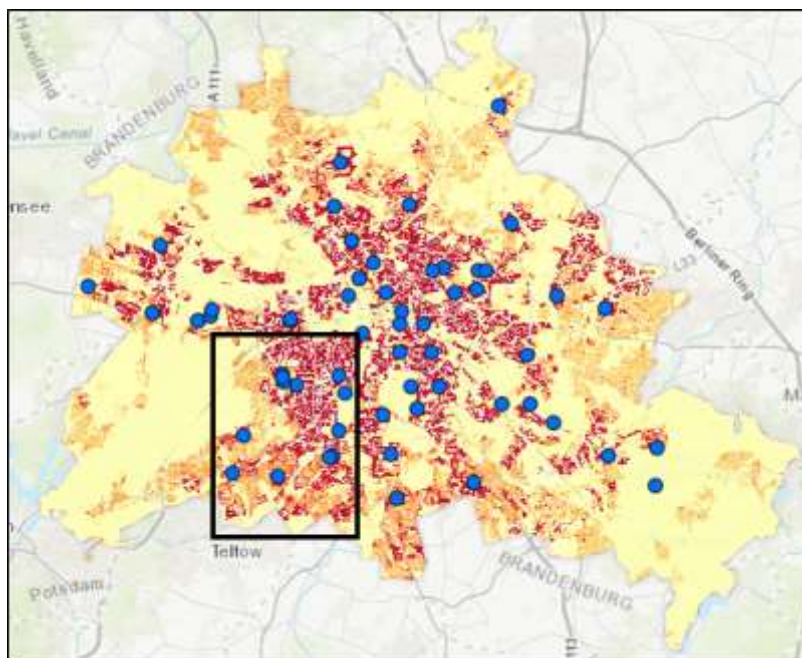
Overall, the efficacy of participatory planning will increase when paired with more resource-intensive approaches, such as rent controls. Innovative financing techniques will also play a role in the ability of municipal bodies to complete sports facility developments. Through this thesis, I demonstrated that social inclusion holds an important position in the realm of sports development, and that local governments should ensure that sports facility projects create



positive outcomes for social cohesion in local communities. Research shows that, despite their ability to promote international understanding among people, the Olympic Games contribute to social disruption in local communities. Fortunately, municipalities can avoid these problems by monitoring the social impact of public infrastructure investments, including sports facility projects. By developing these facilities in a socially inclusive manner, we can ensure the benefits of sports in society and improve our collective human experience.

## Case Studies on Sports Development and Social Inclusion in Berlin

### 4.1 - Allocation of Sports Facilities in Berlin



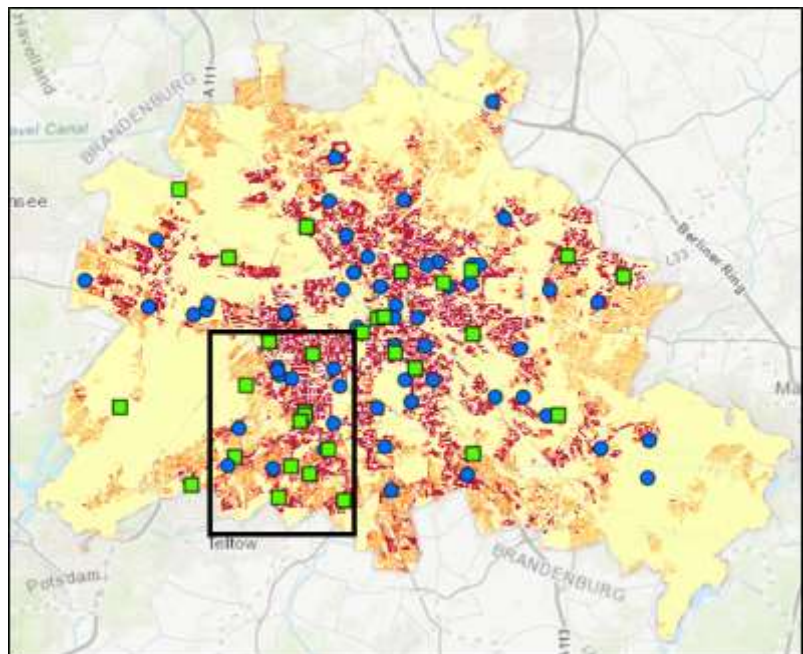
**Figure 1:**  
**Public Sports Facilities and**  
**Housing Density<sup>23</sup>**

The map in Figure 1 depicts the housing density in Berlin, with the most dense areas colored red and the least dense areas in yellow. The blue points represent the two of the four *Kernsportanlagen* facilities: swimming pools (indoor and outdoor, but not beaches) and ice rinks (seasonal and fixed). The other two facility types (*Sportplätze* and *Sporthallen*) are much more numerous, and I chose to exclude them from this analysis. The black rectangle highlights one of the most densely settled areas in the city. Based on this simple overview, it appears that the facilities are distributed fairly equally across the city's populated area.

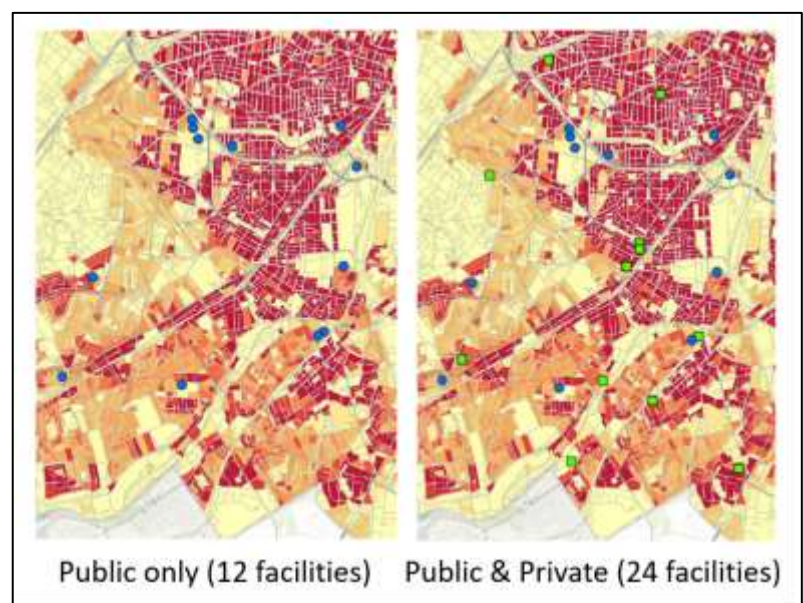
Figure 2, however, provides more insight into this question of facility allocation. In that image, the blue dots represent public facilities, while the green squares show private facilities. Based on a comparison of the focal area in each map (Figure 3), the private facilities clearly play a significant role in the sports facility landscape in these neighborhoods. Private facilities

<sup>23</sup> "Einwohnerdichte 2016 (Umweltatlas)" via FIS Broker.

probably do not harm the local area, and can fill the unmet demand from public facilities. For example, one recreational swimmer in Berlin noted that the cost of private, “luxury” gyms did not exceed the cost of swimming at pools run by the BBB (“Gastbeitrag: Berliner Bäder”). Despite these favorable comparisons, I maintain the sentiment that public facilities represent the best chance to ensure equal access to sports activity. As a result, I encourage further analysis into the allocation of public sports facilities in the focus area and other zones of the city.



**Figure 2:  
Public and Private Sports  
Facilities and Housing  
Density**



**Figure 3:  
Spatial Distribution of  
Public-only to Public &  
Private Sports Facilities**

#### 4.2 - Sports Facilities and the Social Dynamic Index

In a very cursory analysis, I ran a regression of three variables – count of sports facilities, count of public pools, and count of public facilities – against the *Monitoring Soziale Stadtentwicklung*'s dynamic index for social condition in Berlin's neighborhoods. I hoped to determine if a relationship exists between facility allocation and social condition in the neighborhood. Unfortunately, this method of simply counting the facilities blatantly ignores a multitude of differentiating factors among facilities, including operating hours, facility size, facility quality or suitability for different activities, and also fails to account for the fact that people from adjacent PLR zones can easily access facilities nearby. In fact, only 106 of the 464 occupied PLR zones (23%) contain a public or private sports facility. Given the weakness of this count-of-facilities approach, the inconclusive results from the regression analysis (Figure 4) did not surprise me. With a stronger model, however, this methodology may produce more compelling results.

<i>Regression Statistics</i>	
Multiple R	0.067
R Square	0.004
Adjusted R Square	-0.002
Standard Error	0.795
Observations	435

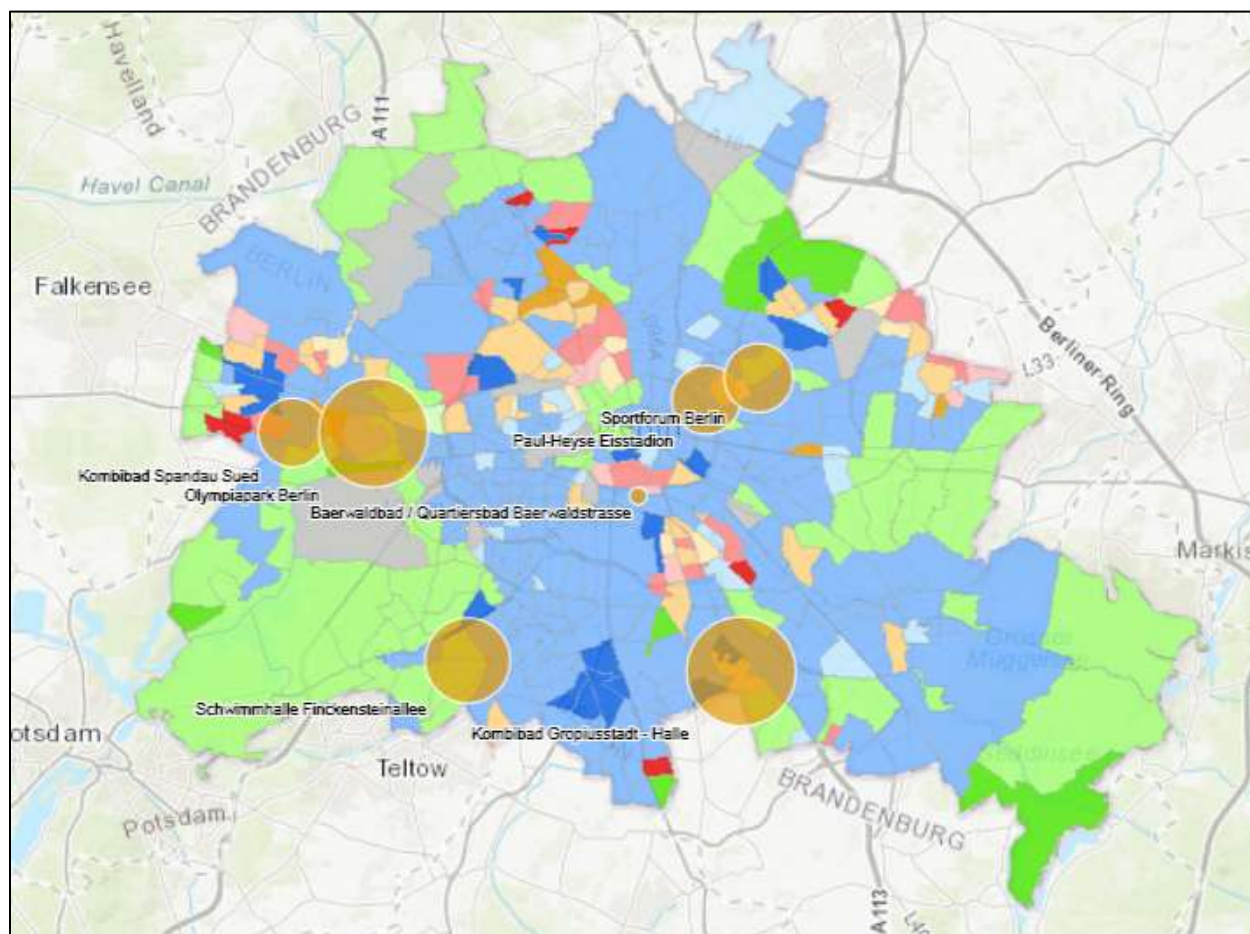
ANOVA					
	<i>df</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Significance F</i>
Regression	3	1.229	0.410	0.648	0.585
Residual	431	272.693	0.633		
Total	434	273.922			

	<i>Coefficients</i>	<i>Standard Error</i>	<i>t Stat</i>	<i>P-value</i>	<i>Lower 95%</i>	<i>Upper 95%</i>	<i>Lower 95%</i>	<i>Upper 95%</i>
Intercept	2.125	0.041	51.455	0.000	2.044	2.206	2.044	2.206
Count of sports facilities	-0.175	0.133	-1.322	0.187	-0.436	0.085	-0.436	0.085
Count of public sports facilities	0.148	0.208	0.713	0.476	-0.260	0.556	-0.260	0.556
Count of public pools (in- /outdoor)	0.005	0.198	0.027	0.978	-0.385	0.395	-0.385	0.395

**Figure 4: Regression of Sports Facility Count to MSS Index**

### 4.3 - Past Renovation Projects in Berlin



**Figure 5: Past Renovation Efforts and 2015 MSS Index<sup>24</sup>**

The map in Figure 5 depicts the *Monitoring Soziale Stadtentwicklung*'s 2015 dynamic index of social change in Berlin. Green areas have good social stability, followed by the blue areas and orange areas. The MSS team identified the pink areas, especially dark pink/red, as areas most in need of support. Over this MSS map, I added selected sports development projects from the recent past. The size of each dot corresponds with the project cost: the largest dots, at *Olympiapark* and *Kombad Gropiusstadt*, represent the largest expenditures. At first glance, it does not appear that these projects landed in especially disadvantaged areas. Rather, they appear

<sup>24</sup> "Status/Dynamik-Index Soziale Stadtentwicklung 2015 (LOR)" via FIS Broker.

mostly in the mid-level neighborhoods (blue sections). The following notes provide further details about each renovation initiative.

#### *Bädersanierungsprogramm der BBB*

The *Bädersanierungsprogramm*, which ended in 2015, renovated some of Berlin's most important swimming pools. Under the direction of the *Berliner Bäder-Betriebe* (BBB), renovations impacted the following locations:

- *Finckensteinallee*: €13.05 million invested, and the facility reopened in August 2014 (Senatsverwaltung für Inneres und Sport [2016a], 53).
- *Kombibad Spandau Süd*: €11.1 million invested, and the facility reopened in January 2015 (Senatsverwaltung für Inneres und Sport [2016a], 53).
- *Gropiusstadt*: €16.2 million invested, and the facility reopened in August 2014 (Höhn).

In addition, the program invested €18.25 million in other facilities, bringing the total investment to €58.6 million (Senatsverwaltung für Inneres und Sport [2016a], 53). This program represents the ongoing need for renovations at the numerous public pools in the BBB network.

#### *Sportanlagen-sanierungsprogramm*

This initiative by Land Berlin focused on renovating some of the city's central *Sportpark* facilities, including the *Olympiapark*, where the city invested €24,68 million between 2012 and 2015, and *Sportanlage Paul-Heyse-Straße* and *Sportforum Berlin* which received a combined total of €22,2 million in the same timeframe (56).

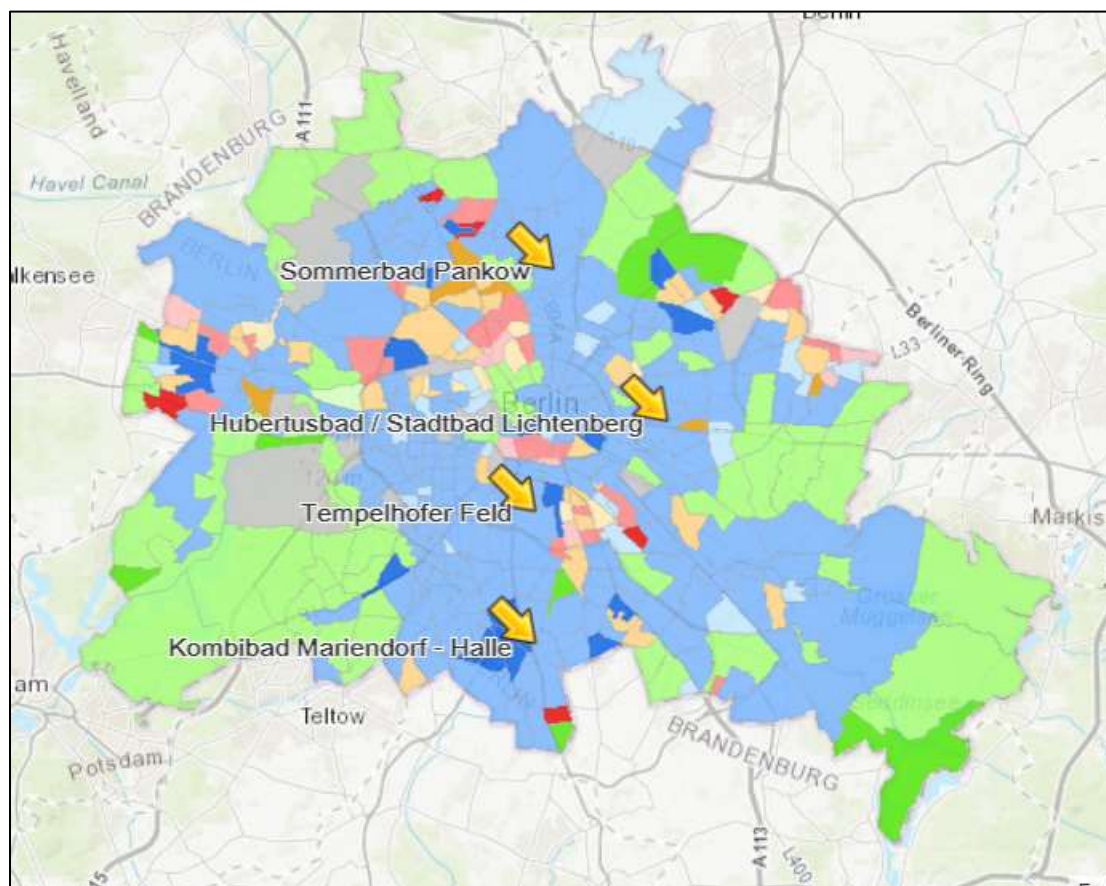
#### *Quartiersbad Baerwaldstraße, Kreuzberg*

Also known as the *Baerwaldbad*, this pool dates from 1902. In 2013, it received a €5 million renovation focused on historical preservation. The renovation project also served as a

model for participatory planning with local residents. This process held special significance because it took place in “in einem Stadtteil verschiedener Altbauquartiere mit sozial benachteiligten Bevölkerungsgruppen, hoher Arbeitslosigkeit und einem Anteil von Bewohnerinnen und Bewohnern mit Migrationshintergrund von bis zu 40 %” (Wopp [2011], 25). In their report on the topic, the planning team noted a number of positive results from the project. The development of programs to meet the specific needs of the community, including family swimming times and “Schwimmen für muslimische Frauen” represents one of those notable social outcomes (25-26).

After the renovation, the BBB passed the facility management to a private club, *TSB Wasserratten*. Unfortunately, reports of additional renovation work and financial instability quickly surfaced. In 2017, the club reportedly went bankrupt and *Bezirk Kreuzberg* began seeking alternative options for management and financing (Frey). At that time, the estimate for full renovation stood between €20-26 million (Frey). In March 2018, another local report covered the issue and confirmed that the *Baerwaldbad* still hangs in limbo (Bodisco & Langowski). These issues highlight the painful fact that even with good planning, a lack of funding for renovations and operating expenses can eliminate high-quality programs which improve social inclusion in disadvantaged neighborhoods.

#### 4.4 - Notable Future Projects



**Figure 5: Past Renovation Efforts and 2015 MSS Index**

Several of Berlin's sports facilities are slated for renovation or substantial new construction, including the following highlights:

- *Tempelhofer Feld*, a former airport, will continue receiving new amenities to best utilize its massive land area (Senatsverwaltung für Inneres und Sport [2016a], 42).
- *Bäderkonzept 2025*, a major initiative to continue renovating the BBB facilities, will continue the trend set by the *Bädersanierungsprogramm* in 2012-2015.

Currently, plans exist for substantial renovations to the *Multifunktionsbäder* in Mariendorf and Pankow. Funding of 60M€ is expected from *Sondervermögen Infrastruktur der Wachsenden Stadt* (SIWA) to assist with the project (43).



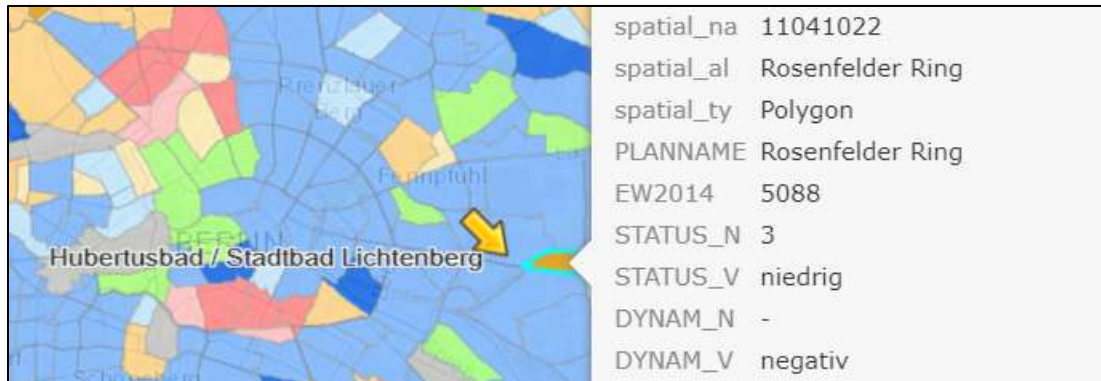
- *Hubertusbad*, a disused swimming pool first opened in 1928, has received substantial consideration for further development since 2011 (Rüger). Given its age and layout, the facility makes an easy comparison to the *Baerwaldbad*. In 2017, discussions about redeveloping the *Hubertusbad* were ongoing, with renovation costs expected somewhere over €10 million (Bartylla).

#### *Hubertusbad: Additional Comments*

Based on the failed efforts to restore the *Baerwaldbad* to a fully-operational condition, I am not surprised to learn that no government agency has committed to invest in this facility. In fact, the *Förderverein Stadtbad Lichtenberg e.V.*, a group committed to rescuing the structure for its historic value, recognizes that “Der Umbau und die Revitalisierung zu einem Stadtbad wird nicht mehr empfohlen” (“Stadtbad Lichtenberg”). Rather, they recommend that the eventual redeveloper should pursue “Umbau für Klinische oder medizinische Nutzung; für Fitness und Sport; für Kultur, Ausstellungs- / Atelierräume; oder für eine Hotelnutzung mit angeschlossenem Spa-Bereich” (“Stadtbad Lichtenberg”). If we assume, however, that a generous source makes funding for a public pool available, the *Hubertusbad* serves as an excellent example of how sports facility redevelopment could spark social change.

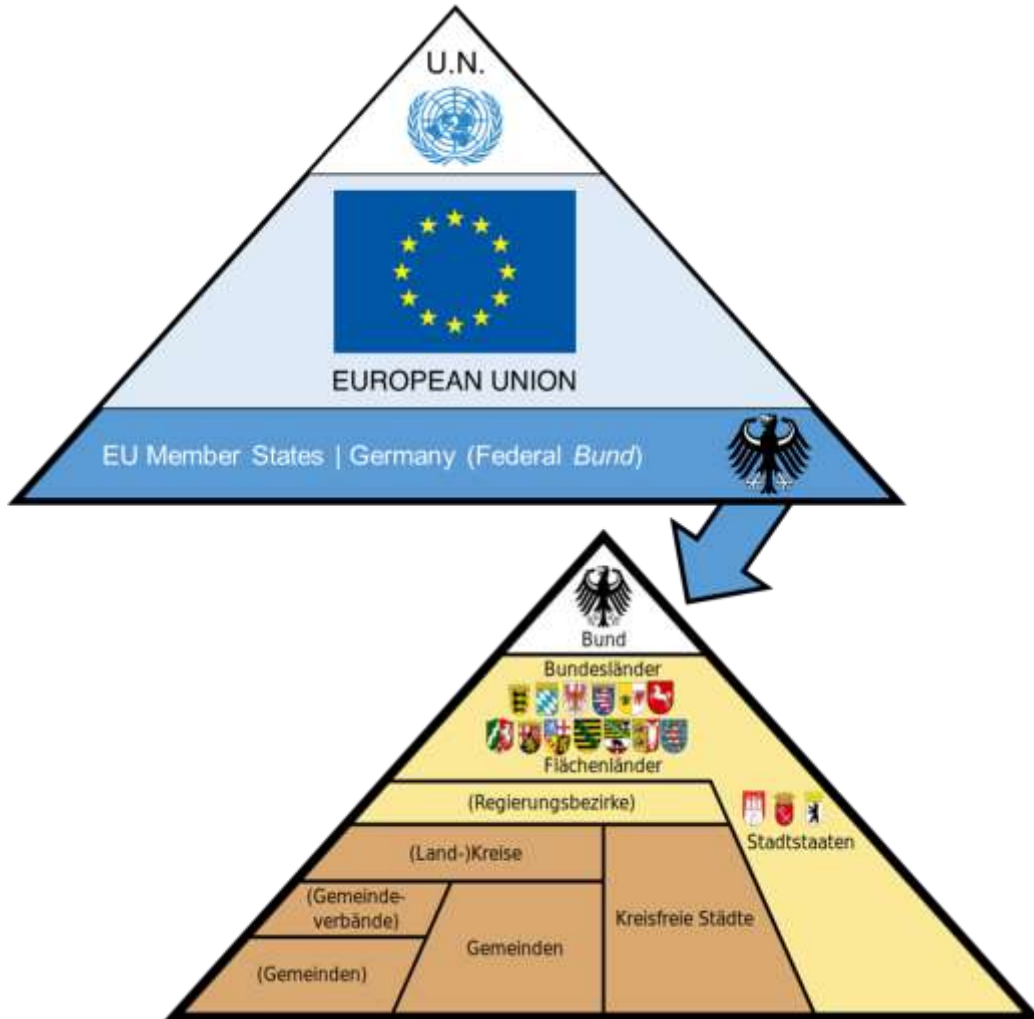
Figure 6 details the proximity of the *Hubertusbad* to PLR zone *Rosenfelder Ring*. In the image, that zone appears in light orange with a bright blue border. In 2015, the MSS analysis classified *Rosenfelder Ring* as having status *niedrig* and dynamic *negativ*, meaning that the area was already disadvantaged and continuing to decline. The yellow arrow indicates the close proximity of the *Hubertusbad* to this disadvantaged zone. Based on all the evidence from earlier chapters in this thesis, I hypothesize that investment in this facility, especially in the case that it returns to its original use as valuable public amenity, could spark new interest in this

neighborhood. If that interest comes in the form of new investment dollars in housing or new people moving into the area, these changes will disrupt the social cohesion of the existing, disadvantaged groups. As such, the neighborhood cannot capture the power of sports to serve the goals of social integration, and thus loses a large part of the project's social value.

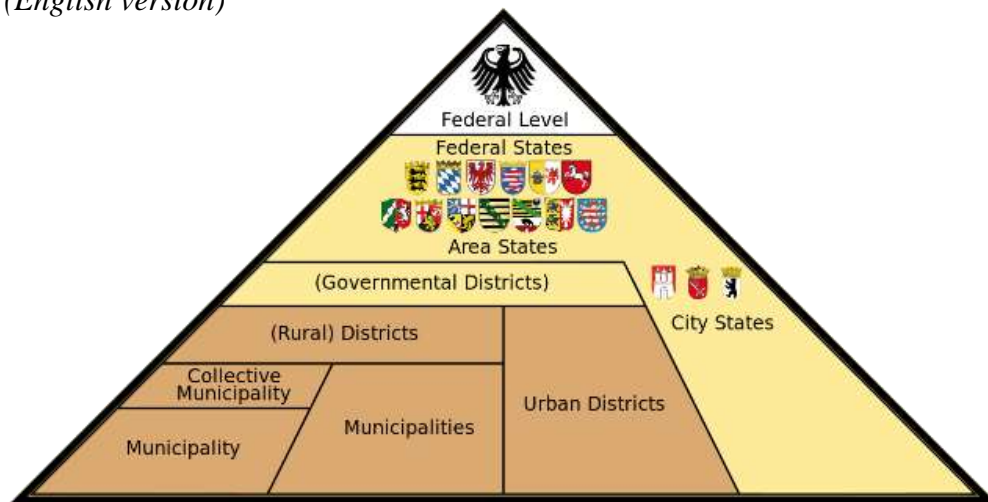


**Figure 6: Hubertusbad and 2015 MSS Index Detail**

**Appendix I: Policy Hierarchy**



*(English version)*<sup>25</sup>



<sup>25</sup> Liuzzo, David. “Administrative Gliederung Deutschlands” / “Administrative divisions of Germany.”



## Appendix II: Lebensweltlich orientierten Räume

### Lebensweltlich orientierte Raumhierarchie



This chart demonstrates the scale of each step in the hierarchy of statistical zones. The smallest geographic areas sit at the top of the pyramid, while the most broad remain at the base.

Chart copied from *Sportentwicklungsplanung in Berlin* (Wopp [2008], 39).

## Glossary of German Terms

I intend for this glossary to assist readers in their comprehension of this thesis. For that reason, the comments provided below may reflect the terms' use within this context, not necessarily their dictionary definitions.

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**Arbeitersportbewegung:** Worker Sport Movement, a later offshoot of *Turnen*.

**Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Städtebau, Bau- und Wohnungswesen (ARGEBAU):** Working Group for City Development Construction, and Housing, a forum for Germany's 16 state-level Ministers of Construction.

**Aufbau Ost:** economic reconstruction in the east. For more information, see "The challenge 'Aufbau Ost'" (Münkler).

**Ausländer:** foreigners, including people who live in Germany but are not citizens.

**belastbare Solidarität:** sustainable solidarity, the goal of the Golden Plan East.

**Berliner Bäder-Betriebe (BBB):** Berlin Pools Service, the cross-borough agency which runs almost all of the city's public pools.

**Berliner Senat:** Berlin Senate, the city's central government body.

**Berliner Sporterklärung:** Berlin Sport Declaration, organized by a broad base of Berlin's social leaders a follow-up to the *Leitbild*.

**BerlinStrategie:** Berlin Strategy, outlines the city's strategic goals for its ongoing urban development.

**besondere Sportanlagen:** Special-use sports facilities, including motorsport racetracks, large sports halls with more than 3.000 spectator seats, stadiums, and Olympic venues (*Motorsport-Rennstrecken, Großsporthallen, Stadien, and Olympiastützpunkte*).

**Bewegung für militanten Widerstand (BMW):** Movement for Militant Resistance, a radical leftist group opposed to gentrification in Berlin.

**Bezirke:** boroughs in Berlin.

**Beauftragte(r) für Migration, Integration und Flüchtlinge:** Commissioner for Migration, Integration, and Refugees

**Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (BAMF):** Federal Office for Migration and Refugees

**Bundesland (pl. -länder):** Federal States

**Bundesinnenminister:** Federal Minister of the Interior

**Bundesministerium des Innern (BMI):** Federal Ministry of the Interior

**Bundesministerium für Umwelt, Naturschutz, Bau und Reaktorsicherheit:** Federal Ministry of the Environment, Nature Conservation and Nuclear Safety

**Bundestag:** German Federal Parliament.

**Bundestagung:** National Convention

**Bündnis 90/Die Grünen:** Union 90/The Greens, a political party in Germany.

**bürgerlich:** bourgeois

**Bürgermeister:** mayor

**Deutsche Olympische Gesellschaft (DOG):** German Olympic Society, creator of the Golden Plan and a current DOSB member.

**Deutsche Sporthochschule Köln:** German Sports University in Cologne

**Deutscher Olympischer Sportbund (DOSB):** Germany's governing body for national, sport-specific organizations, such as the German Canoe Union (*Deutscher Kanu-Verband*). The DOSB also includes the 16 State Sport Unions (*Landessportbünde*), as well as a few special organizations (DOG) in its membership.

**Deutscher Sportbund (DSB):** German Sport Union, creator of the Second Way for German Sport (*Zweiter Weg*). The DSB merged into the DOSB in 2006.

**Die Linke:** The Left, a political party in Germany.

**FDP (Freie Demokratische Partei):** Free Democratic Party, a political party in Germany.

**Flüchtlinge / Flüchtlingskrise Flüchtlingsunterkünfte:** refugees, Refugee Crisis (2015), refugee housing.

**Freizeitpolitik:** *literally* - free-time policy, it outlines the government's wish to support structured leisure time.

**Frühwarnsystem:** early warning system. See also: *Monitoring Soziale Stadtentwicklung*.

**Gießkannenprinzip:** watering can principle, in which public amenities would be spread equally across a city without regard for current disparities among neighborhoods.

**Großspielfelder:** large playing fields. See *Kernsportanlagen / Sportplätze*.

**Grundlagenpapier:** *literally* - fundamental paper, the strategic document which supports the "Integration durch Sport" program.

**Grün- und Freiflächen:** green and open space

**Hallenteile:** see *Kernsportanlagen / Sporthall*

**Herz- und Kreislauferkrankungen:** heart disease

**Inklusion:** accessibility for people with disabilities. See the Introduction for a more robust definition.

**Integration:** integration, especially of two social groups. See the Introduction for a more robust definition.

**“Integration durch Sport” (Bundesprogramm):** Integration through Sport, a Federal Program.

**Integrierten Entwicklungskonzepte (IEK):** integrated development concepts, which arise from participatory planning in a local community. IEK is one of the three main tools in the Social City program (*Soziale Stadt*).

**Kernsportanlagen:** core sports facilities, which are found in most neighborhoods and thus play the central role in the daily routines of residents. This category includes four facilities: pools, ice rinks, sports halls (gyms), and playing fields (*Bäder, Eishallen, Sporthallen, and Sportplätze*).

**Kindertagesstätte, Schulen, and Senioreneinrichtungen:** various types of social infrastructure – childcare facilities, schools, and facilities for senior citizens.

**Kulturzentren and Büchereien:** cultural centers and libraries.

**Land (Land Berlin):** state. See *Bundesland*.

**Landessportbund (LSB):** State Sports Union. This agency oversees the local clubs within each Federal State and reports to the DOSB.

**Landkreise and kreisfreie Städte:** counties / townships, and incorporated cities in Germany.

**Lebensweltlich orientierten Räume (LOR):** *literally* - spaces oriented to the living-environment. The LOR is a hierarchy of statistical regions, which includes the Planning Zone (*Planungsräume*, PLR), Borough Zones (*Bezirksregionen*, BZR) in Berlin, and and Prediction / Forecast Zones (*Prognoseräume*, PRG). See Appendix II for a helpful chart.

**Leitbild der Sportmetropole Berlin:** Concept for Sports City Berlin.

**Mädchenfußballprojekt:** Girls’ soccer program

**Memorandum zum Goldenen Plan:** Memorandum for a Golden Plan. This is the DOG’s fundamental document which kicked off a long period of sports investment during Germany’s reconstruction.

**Migrationshintergrund:** *literally* - migration background. This phrase refers to people who live in Germany and whose ancestors are non-German. Unlike *Ausländer*, who are residents but not citizens, people with migration background could be German citizens.

**Migrantensportvereine:** Sports clubs in which 75% of members have *Migrationshintergrund*.

**Mittelbündelung:** bundling of several funding sources. This is a key tactic in the Social City program (*Soziale Stadt*).

**Monitoring Soziale Stadtentwicklung (MSS):** Monitoring Social City Development. This statistical reporting framework monitors the social condition in Berlin and informs choices for the Social City program (*Soziale Stadt*).

**Orientierungswerte:** benchmarks. In this context, these values set measurable targets for urban planning, such as a threshold level of facility area per capita.



**Planungsräume (PLR):** Planning Zones, part of the LOR hierarchy of statistical regions. The PLR are used in the MSS framework to divide Berlin into many small units, with around 7000 residents per zone.

**Quartiersmanagement, -manager, -büro:** neighborhood management, manager, office. This tactic focuses especially on human capital for neighborhood revitalization, and is one of three central tools in the Social City program (Soziale Stadt).

**Reichsausschuß für Leibesübungen:** National Committee for Physical Education, publishers of the *Reichsspielplatzgesetz*.

**Reichsspielplatzgesetz:** *literally* - Federal Play-Grounds Law. This was Germany's first major sports infrastructure investment program.

**Richtlinien der Regierungspolitik:** Political Platform of the Administration. This document outlines the priorities for Berlin's current city government.

**Schwimmbhallen:** swimming halls. See *Kernsportanlagen / Bäder*.

**Senator für Bildung, Jugend und Sport:** senator (councilmember in Berlin) for education, youth, and sport.

**Senatsverwaltung für Inneres und Sport:** Berlin's Senate Committee for the Interior and Sport.

**Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung und Wohnen:** Berlin's Senate Committee for Urban Development and Housing.

**Sonderförderungsprogramm Goldener Plan Ost:** Special funding program Golden Plan East was an initiative to equalize the East-West gap in sports infrastructure after the reunification.

**Soziale Stadt (Gemeinschaftsinitiative):** Social City, a community initiative based on work by ARGEBAU.

**Sozialen Infrastrukturkonzepte (SIKo):** Social Infrastructure Concepts. This is the document which outlines planning efforts for preschools, schools, and sports facilities (*Kitas, Schule, and Sportanlagen*). The standard format reviews architecture and massing, neighboring public and green infrastructure, accessibility (via transit), description of site, condition of site, potential, and conflicts or barriers (*Stadtstruktur, Soziale und Grüne Infrastruktur, Erreichbarkeit, Objektbeschreibung, Gebäude-/Freiflächenzustand, Potenziale, and Konflikte/Hemmnisse*). The document also covers planning fundamentals / development rights (*Planungsgrundlagen /-recht*) and recommendations / next steps (*Handlungsempfehlungen / nächste Schritte*).

**Sozialpolitik:** social policy. See the Introduction for a more robust definition.

**(SPD) Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands:** Social Democratic Party of Germany, a political party.

**Spezielle Sportanlagen:** purpose-built sports facilities, including tennis courts, golf courses, ski runs, and skate / BMX parks (*Tennisplätze, Golfplätze, Skipisten, and Skate-/BMX-Parks*).

**Spitzensport and Breitensport:** pinnacle sports (Olympics, professional sports, etc) and mass-participation sports.

**“Sport für Alle”:** Sports for All, an international movement which grew out of the Second Way (*Zweiter Weg*).

**Sport mit Aussiedlern:** Sports with Immigrants, the former name of the “Integration durch Sport” program.

**Sportanlagendatenbank:** sports facility database

**Sportausschuss:** Sport Committee in the German Federal Parliament (*Bundestag*). Formerly named Special Committee for Sport and Olympic Games (*Sonderausschuss für Sport und Olympische Spiele*).

**Sportentwicklung / -programm:** sports development (-program), especially in the sense which intersects with urban development (*Stadtentwicklung*).

**Sportentwicklungsbericht:** Sports development report published on a biennial basis by the DOSB. The report covers most sports programs in Germany.

**Sportgelegenheiten:** public infrastructure which was not designed for a specific sport activity, such as cycle paths and beaches (*Radwege* and *Strände*). Green and open spaces also fall into this category, especially when the area is used for sports activities, including jogging, soccer, etc.

**Sportpark:** sports park, generally a large area which contains multiple sports facilities. In Berlin, the central city government operates a few large sports parks, and the boroughs operate smaller parks and individual facilities.

**Sportstätten-situation der Migrantensportvereine:** analysis of the availability of sports facilities to *Migrantensportvereine*, whether through facility ownership or use of public space.

**Stadtstaat:** city-state. A Federal State which exclusively encompasses a city. Berlin is a city-state.

**Stadtentwicklung:** urban planning / development. See the Introduction for a more robust definition of this term.

**Stützpunktvereine:** *literally* - support-point clubs. These clubs are meant to lead the charge in the DOSB’s social programs.

**Temporäre Sportstätten:** temporary sports facilities, such as marathon race courses (*Marathonstrecken*). See also: *spezielle Sportanlagen*.

**Turnhallen, Turnplätze:** gymnastics facility. See also: *Turnen*.

**Turnen, Turnkunst, Turnsport:** *literally* - gymnastics. More generally, it refers to physical education which was central to a general movement for physical fitness with aerobic and acrobatic exercise.

**Turnerwehren, Turnercompagnien:** gymnast militias which arose from the gymnastic clubs (*Turnvereine*) based on their strength and discipline from training.

**Turnvater:** *literally* - gymnastics father. Nickname for Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, founder of the *Turnen* movement.

**Turnvereine:** gymnastics clubs.

**Übungsleiter:** exercise instructor

**Verfügungsfonds:** provisionary funds. One of the three tools in the Social City program (*Soziale Stadt*).

**Vereine / Sportvereine:** Clubs / sports clubs. In Germany, the institution of the *Verein* holds a special weight in society as a freely-organized union of private citizens.

**Volkskörper:** *literally* - (national) peoples' body. Refers to the collective body of the German population, which could be strengthened with physical exercise.

**Wachsende Stadt (Berlin):** *literally* - growing city. Refers to the ongoing population growth in Berlin and the resulting need for urban redevelopment.

**Wahlperiode:** voting period for the German Federal Parliament.

**Willkommenskultur:** *literally* - welcome-culture, the desire to welcome newcomers into Germany, especially during and after the Refugee Crisis (*Flüchtlingskrise*).

**Wirtschaftswunder:** economic miracle, the period directly after World War II in which Germany completely rebuilt its economic (and social) infrastructure.

**Wohnungsmarktbericht:** housing market report.

**wohnungsnahe Infrastruktur:** *literally* - infrastructure near housing. Possible translation: walkable infrastructure.

**Zehn-Jahres-Plan:** Ten-Year Plan, the precursor to the Golden Plan and Second Way (*Zweiter Weg*).

**Zeitgeist:** spirit of the times.

**Zweiter Weg des Deutschen Sports:** Second Way of German Sports, a companion program for the Golden Plan which focused on sports development with social action.

**Zwischenevaluierung:** mid-point evaluation. In this case, refers to the report about current activities in the Social City program (*Soziale Stadt*).

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ANDREW WESTPHAL

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