

People's Power against Drug Abuse in Public Spaces in Dortmund, Germany

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People's Power against Drug Abuse in Public Spaces in Dortmund, Germany

Kenji Yamamoto

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1. Introduction

Within the framework of the research project “Reorganization of public spaces and place identities in the era of globalization”, which Prof. Dr. Takagi, Kyushu University, as the project leader with the Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research of Japan Society for the Promotion of Science organized between April 2006 and March 2009, I took up the task of studying “urban restructuring and ethnic problems under the integration processes of Europe”. More concretely, I have studied a problem quarter of Dortmund, a major city ranking alongside Essen and Duisburg with respect to population and urban functions in the Ruhr area of Germany (Fig.1).

Since the 1970s, Dortmund has been chronically plagued by poor economic conditions. Several districts, quarters and neighborhoods within the city have experienced serious social and economic problems. In addition, the physical conditions of these quarters — buildings, streets and residential environments — have seriously deteriorated. The city

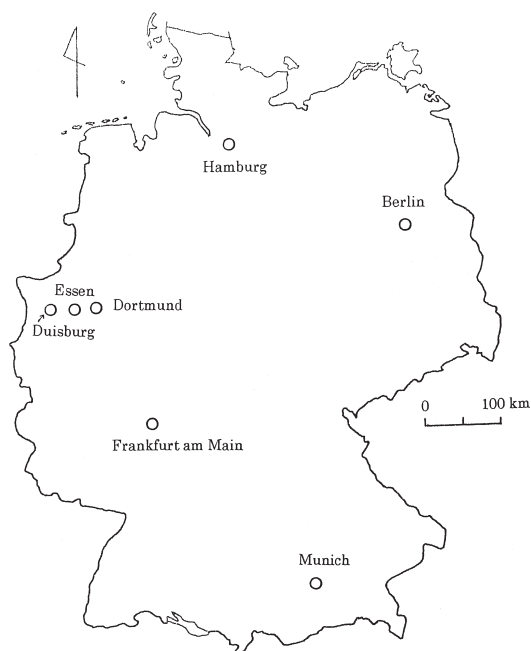


Fig.1 Location of Dortmund in Germany

authorities have made repeated attempts to revitalize these problem areas with the support of the *Land* government of North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW) and the federal government of Germany. In Dortmund, as elsewhere in the Federal Republic of Germany, revitalization of urban space in the 1970s was primarily attempted through either total renewal of dilapidated structures, or the demolition of older buildings and the reconstruction of new high-rise buildings. However, the people are not fond of residing in high-rise buildings in Germany in general, and there have appeared several problems of residential segregation. That means, poorer people and immigrants tend to concentrate in such high-rise buildings. Reflecting on these failed policies, the municipal government of Dortmund decided to pursue different means of revitalization with the launch of the *Nordstadt-Programm* in 1986. In contrast to previous revitalization strategies, the *Nordstadt-Programm* is based upon the idea of careful renewal and revitalization¹⁾ of the inner-city district of Nordstadt.

Since the introduction of the *Nordstadt-Programm* in 1986, revitalization efforts in this inner-city district have been supported by various other programs and institutions as well. The municipal government of Dortmund reinigorated efforts to regenerate this problem district after 1993, when the *Land* government of NRW launched the Integrative Action Program for Districts in Urban Spaces with Special Needs for Revival [*Integriertes Handlungsprogramm der Landesregierung Nordrhein-Westfalen für Stadtteile mit besonderem Erneuerungsbedarf*]²⁾. The Federal Republic of Germany has also supported city authorities through the Federation-Länder Joint Program “Districts with Special Development Needs — the Socially Integrative City” since 1999³⁾. In addition, Dortmund has also received support from the European Union, which has supported European cities confronting serious social, economic and physical problems through the programs URBAN Community Initiative (1994-99) and URBAN II Community Initiative (2000-06)⁴⁾.

Nordstadt is one of twelve administrative districts within the municipal area of Dortmund (Fig.2). In 2005, its population was around 54,000 (Stadt Dortmund Amt für Statistik und Wahlen 2006, p.8) and its area was 1,444 hectares (Stadt Dortmund 2004, S.3). A large number of people with migration backgrounds⁵⁾ live

1) The idea of careful renewal and revitalization stems from Kreuzberg in Berlin. Redevelopment of a deteriorated inner-city district often lead to driving out of the people who could not afford the higher rent of newly constructed flats. Through *behutsame Stadterneuerung* or careful renewal, old buildings are not demolished, but their façades are repaired and conserved, and heating or sanitary equipments are constructed or modernized. Careful renewal is usually financed publicly, and the rent is kept lower than market price. We can obtain information on this type of urban renewal from S.T.E.R.N. Gesellschaft der behutsamen Stadterneuerung Berlin (1990)

2) <http://www.soziale-stadt.nrw.de/programm/index.html>, accessed on 8th December 2008.

3) <http://www.sozialestadt.de/programm/>, accessed on 15th June 2006.

4) http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/themes/urban_en.htm, accessed on 3rd April 2008.

5) The term “people with migration backgrounds” means all the residents who have migration backgrounds, even if they are not immigrants for themselves or even if they are to be considered as ethnic Germans. It is well known that a large number of guest workers and their families live in Germany. A part of them have gotten German nationality, and a part of their children and grandchildren were born in Germany and have grown up in this country. Because of the amendment of Law of Nationality in 2000, children of foreigners can naturally get German nationality, if one of their parents has legitimately lived more than eight years continuously in Germany and if he or she possesses residence right or if he or she got residence permit without time limit three years before the born of his/her child (Meier-Braun, 2002, S.98-99, Yamamoto, 2004, pp.54-56). Furthermore, a large number of immigrants from Russia, Kazakhstan, Poland and the other former East European socialist countries live now in Germany with German nationality, because they are considered to be ethnic Germans.

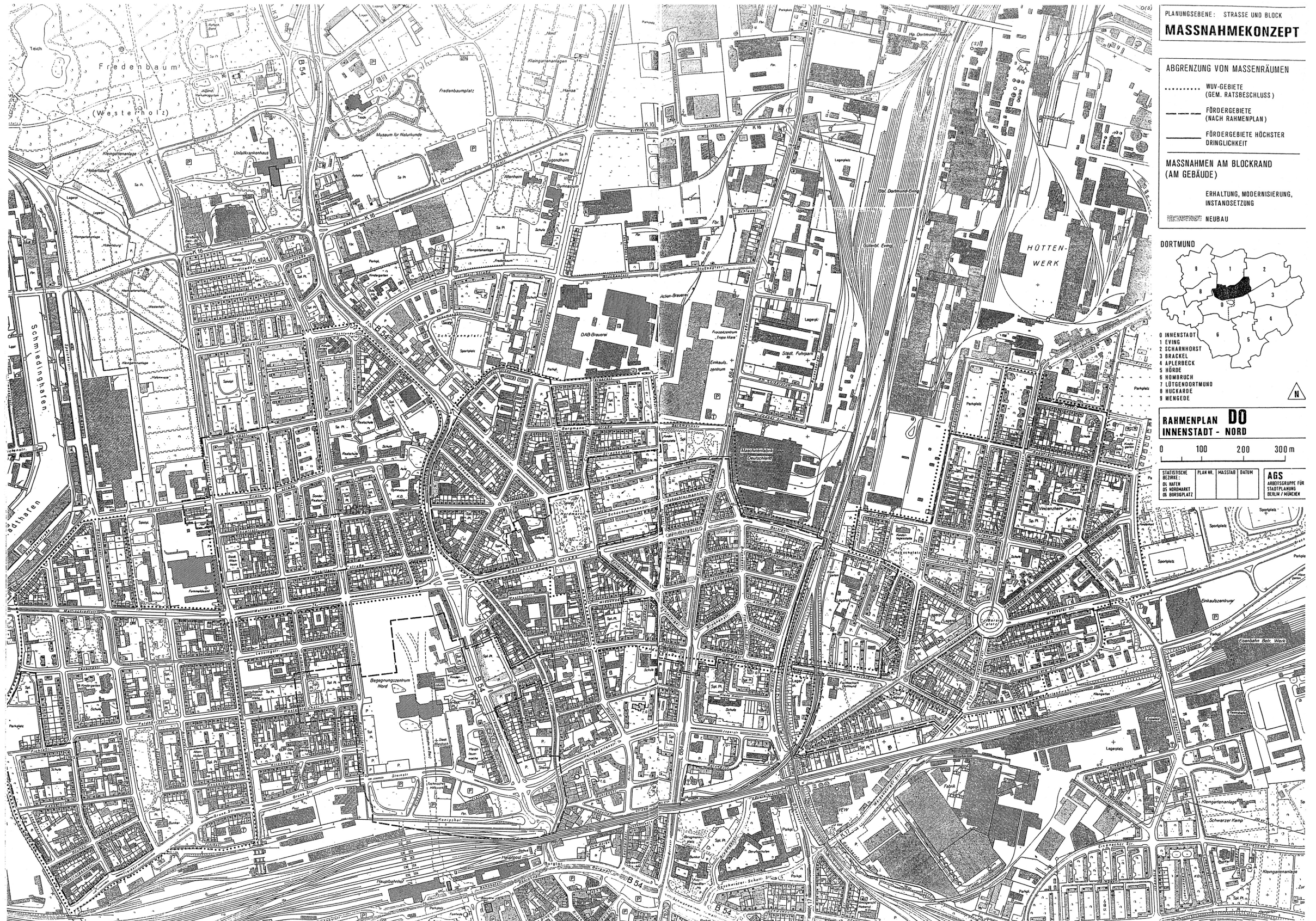


Fig.2 City plan of Nordstadt

Source: Stadt Dortmund 1992.

Note: Innenstadt consists of two administrative districts: Innenstadt-West and Innenstadt-Ost. Nordstadt is officially called Innenstadt-Nord.

in this district and the proportion of them to the total population is highest among the twelve districts of Dortmund (Stadt Dortmund Dezernat für Arbeit, Gesundheit und Soziales 2007, S.45-46, S.54).

Nordstadt contains three sub-districts, which from west to east are Hafen, Nordmarkt and Borsigplatz. The name of the Nordmarkt sub-district comes from a city park called "Nordmarkt" [North Market] which is located in the center of the sub-district (Fig.2). The Nordmarkt sub-district, as well as the city park from which the area takes its name, are the objects of this study⁶⁾. The Nordmarkt and Borsigplatz sub-districts show the highest proportion of people dependent on social welfare benefits as well as the highest proportion of people with migration backgrounds to the total population among the 39 sub-districts of Dortmund, followed by Hafen (Stadt Dortmund Dezernat für Arbeit, Gesundheit und Soziales, 2007, S.54, S.65). The three sub-districts of Nordstadt are also the poorest in Dortmund based on income per taxpayer (Stadt Dortmund Dezernat für Arbeit, Gesundheit und Soziales, 2007, S.73).

Each district in Dortmund has its own representatives [*Vertretung*] similar to self government. Representatives of the district are elected directly by the citizens residing in the district at the time of the election of city council members. The SPD (*Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands*: Social Democratic Party of Germany) has the majority of the representatives of Nordstadt, followed by the CDU (*Christlich-Demokratische Union*: Christian-Democratic Union) and the Green Party⁷⁾.

Of the three sub-districts of Nordstadt, Nordmarkt is the most problem ridden. The problems facing this area are various and multiplex. Most notable are high crime rates and the problematic behavior of alcoholics, juvenile delinquents, drug abusers and so on. They tend to impart a negative image upon the area. Especially drug abusers increased remarkably in Nordmarkt City Park after around 2000. It is ironic that improvement projects of the city park became one of factors for the frequent occurrence of crimes and problem behavior, as I describe later in this paper. Improvement projects were accomplished within the framework of the district renewal program initiated by the city authority. However, local people actively took action to resolve the drug abuse problems. Most of them who took action were people with migration backgrounds. In response to the local people's movement, the city authority and police took measures to drive drug abusers and the other problematic people out of Nordmarkt City Park. In addition, the social work necessary to help integrate these problematic people into society, which had been previously conducted by a non-profit organization, began to be financially supported by the city authority. At present, the situation in the city park is not as problematic as before. However, crimes and problem behavior have not disappeared from Nordmarkt

6) I published articles on the Federation-Länder Joint Program "Socially Integrative City" (Yamamoto 2007), on a comparative analysis of the situation of problems in Nordstadt with the other districts in Dortmund (Yamamoto 2009a), and on an analysis of the implementation of the URBAN II in Nordstadt (Yamamoto 2009b). Therefore, I do not refer to the details of polarization or social exclusion of this district within Dortmund in this paper.

7) http://innenstadtnord.dortmund.de/project/assets/template5.jsp?acode=stadtbezirke.innenstadtnord.bezirksvertretung.&aid=0&aorder=address.phonefax_country%2Csurname&atitle=Bezirksvertretungsmitglieder&smi=3.0&tid=75734, accessed to this homepage on 14th August 2008.

sub-district.

In this paper, I further describe the story outlined above in greater detail. The following research is based on interviews with actors in the district, local newspaper articles, official documents of the city of Dortmund and my own observations.

2. Crimes and problem behavior in Nordmarkt

The City Archives of Dortmund contain a number of files pertaining to local issues. Among these files, the file titled Nordstadt contains a number of newspaper articles on this area and can be used profitably to analyze the problems of this inner-city district. Based on a thorough analysis of all articles published since 1980, it is evident that the first article on crime in *Nordstadt* appeared on 18th March 1994 (*Ruhr-Nachrichten* 18.3.1994) and dealt with prostitution. This event occurred, however, not in Nordmarkt City Park, but on a spot several hundred meters south of the city park. However, it was not until 1999 that a local newspaper referred to Nordmarkt as a gathering spot for problematic groups:

The government of North Rhine-Westphalia provided the city of Dortmund with financial support to advance urban regeneration through the implementation of public works meant to solve social problems in Nordmarkt and its neighboring area during the last three years. The targets of this project are *Punks* (juvenile delinquents), alcoholics and the homeless, and the kiosk gives them first aid for their lives (*Ruhr-Nachrichten* 23.3.1999. Translated by the present author).

According to this article, problem groups had appeared in the city park by the beginning of 1996. However, it is probable that problem groups had appeared earlier. Stadt Dortmund (1992, S.26) states that many alcoholics gathered in Nordstadt City Park and that the area had acquired a bad reputation throughout the city of Dortmund. In addition, about twenty percent of the drug addicts registered by the city authority lived in Nordstadt in the beginning of the 1990s, while only ten percent of the total population of Dortmund lived in Nordstadt (Stadt Dortmund 1992, S.6)

According to *Ruhr-Nachrichten* (6.8.1999), a nonprofit organization called *Diakonie*, which is affiliated with protestant churches and conducts social work in general, began to be engaged with social work for alcoholics and the homeless gathering around the city park in 1994 and the government of NRW began to financially support *Diakonie* in 1996. The article also makes reference to *Methadon-Substituierten*, or users of methadone as a substitute for heroin, implying that drug abusers also appeared in Nordmarkt around 1996 at the latest.

According to an expert of *Diakonie* based in Munich with whom I conducted an interview in September 2008, all kinds of narcotics are usually forbidden in Germany. However, addicts who try to recover are

supported by doctors who prescribe methadone to reduce addiction. Methadone is a substitute for heroin and can be legally used if prescribed by a physician. However, outside of approved pharmacies, it is illegal to buy and sell methadone. In Germany, regulations to control narcotics, including methadone, are highly varied according from *Land* to *Land*. While regulations in Bavaria are quite strict, police may overlook drug consumption in Berlin or Hamburg, if it is done privately by oneself⁸⁾.



Photo 1 Kiosk at Nordmarkt. This photo was taken on 27.2.2008 by the present author.

The kiosk mentioned in the newspaper article quoted above stands at the south entrance of the city park, and one can buy drinks, tobaccos, snacks etc. (Photo 1). *Diakonie* utilizes this kiosk as a place to provide first aid to problem groups. Dozens of alcoholic adults and homeless gathered at this park every day. Since there is a primary school just west of the city park across a narrow street, there was fear that the problem groups might have a negative effect on the school children. In order to improve the situation of this public space, about one hundred policemen were dispatched to the city park on 31st March 1999. They examined 108 adults and ordered 32 persons to leave the city park and arrested one person. Although the people ejected from the park were primarily male, a number of women were ejected as well (*Ruhr-Nachrichten* 3.4.1999).

Although the city park and the sub-district Nordmarkt became a problem area, crime in Nordstadt was not exceptionally, as reported by *Westfälische Rundschau* (15.7.2000). This newspaper article reported that cases of assault decreased from 95 in the first half of 1999 to 85 (10 percent decrease) in the first half of 2000, mugging decreased from 56 to 38 (32 percent decrease), and drug crime from 282 to 229 (19 percent decrease) in Nordstadt. These types of crimes also occurred much more in the city center than in Nordstadt sub-district. The police department insisted that Dortmund was not a metropolis attracting junkies from somewhere else and that the problems of Nordstadt could not be reduced to drug addicts alone.

However, there is no doubt that Nordmarkt city park had become a gathering spot for junkies by 1999 at the latest. *Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* (23.4.2002) refers to the social work of *Diakonie* for junkies there. Nevertheless we can understand the insistence of the police department to some degree, if we compare Nordstadt with an inner city district of Munich, which has a good reputation as being one of the safest of German cities. In the Au-Haidhausen district of Munich, which had a population of about 54,000 in 2006 and is located next to its city center district, there were four cases of murder, 33 sex crimes, 546 muggings and

8) The interviewee works now at an institute of *Diakonie* in a problem district of Munich. He lived in Berlin when he was a student. Therefore I think that this information is reliable.

501 other crimes in 2006. Drug-related crimes are included in the last category⁹⁾ (Statistisches Amt der Landeshauptstadt München 2007, S.246). Due to the many differences in reporting of crime statistics, it is not easy to compare Nordstadt and Au-Haidhausen. However, mugging seems to be much more frequent in Au-Haidhausen than in Nordstadt, while drug crimes may be more frequent in Nordstadt than in Au-Haidhausen.

Not only local newspapers, but also the assembly of representatives of the district of Nordstadt dealt with illegal behavior and problems in public spaces in the district. An employee at the Health Center of Dortmund reported at the local assembly on 8th November 2000 that prostitutes had already moved from residential areas of Nordmarkt to a street between a factory and railway, which runs through the north-east corner of Nordmarkt sub-district, but that they might come back to the residential area again. The SPD party made the following motion to curb problems of alcoholics along streets as well as in the city park, and this motion was adopted despite one objection:

First, all playgrounds for children shall be designated as such in Nordstadt. Their current designation as green tracts shall be changed and they shall be designated as playgrounds for children. Second, alcohol consumption shall be prohibited in all city parks. There are playgrounds for children within the parks of Nordmarkt, Brücherpark and Stollenpark and it shall be reexamined if each park as a whole shall be designated as a playground for children or each park can be treated as equivalent to a playground for children. ...However, it shall be allowed to consume alcohol at festivals. Third, purchase of alcohol shall be controlled at stores and kiosks located near the parks, and those who behave against the law shall be punished. Fourth, urination in public spaces must be strictly punished with a penalty in all cases as a violation against order and regulation. Fifth, stores and kiosks selling drinks shall be closed at 22 o'clock¹⁰⁾.

As the minutes from this meeting illustrate, prostitution and alcoholism were dealt with in the representative assembly of the district. However, drug abuse and juvenile delinquents were not discussed on this occasion. This can be explained by the fact that the behavior of juvenile delinquents are not always illegal, and do not always lead to troubles with local residents. However, it is not clear why the representatives did not discuss drug abuse in Nordmarkt. The representative assembly did not discuss drug abuse until 22nd

9) The category "other kinds" of crime contains very miscellaneous crimes. The number of drug crime cases is surely much smaller in Au-Haidhausen than in Nordstadt.

10) Niederschrift über die 10. Sitzung der Bezirksvertretung Innenstadt-Nord am Mittwoch, 08.11.2000, 16.30, im Dietrich-Keuning-Haus, Leopoldstr.50-58, Raum 227/228. Translated by the present author. It is possible to read minutes of the City Council, Representative Assembly of each district and Foreigners' Advisory Council in Dortmund through the homepage of Dortmund as follows:

https://www2.domap.de/c/portal/layout?p_1_id=PUB.1.130

<http://dosys01.dokom.de/dosys/gremniedweb1.nsf/dosys/gremniedweb1.nsf/NiederschriftenWeb/C1256A150047CD4741256A9B004FA881?OpenDocument>

December 2001. Before examining the absence of debate on drugs, we follow the discussion in the assembly on alcoholics. The Department of Public Safety of Dortmund, namely the police affiliated with the city authority¹¹⁾, reported the problem of alcoholism in public spaces to the representative assembly of Nordstadt on 21st February 2001 as follows:

It is Nordmarkt, Stollenpark, the area around Dietrich Keuning House¹²⁾ and the north entrance of the central station where problem groups gather. We stationed security personnel there and they patrolled these areas. They inspected kiosks near the Nordmarkt in particular. As a result, some cases were identified against laws of foreigners and of restaurants. We either warned some kiosks and restaurants or fined a part of them, and ordered one kiosk to close temporarily. The situation has improved through these measures. We have to observe whether the improvement will be sustainable or not. The security personnel of the Department of Public Safety have tried to control urination in public spaces for a long time now. 103 infractions were disclosed in the third quarter of 2000 in the jurisdiction of the North Police Station. The number of infractions totaled 225 in Dortmund as a whole. Among them, the number of urinations in public spaces was 16 in the North and 29 in Dortmund. That means, the problem of urination is more common in the North than in Dortmund as a whole. We will reexamine whether it is possible to forbid opening of a store and a kiosk after 22 o'clock according to the law. We must take into consideration that most of the people visiting kiosks after 22 o'clock are not problematic¹³⁾.

The representative assembly acknowledged this report of the Department of Public Safety of Dortmund.

It was not until 12th December 2001 that the representative assembly of the district dealt with the drug problem in Nordmarkt City Park. The following bill was prepared by the Department of Social Affairs of Dortmund on 13th November of the same year, and passed despite two objections:

A program of side income for drug addicts¹⁴⁾ will be implemented within the period of five years. This measure is to be evaluated from the viewpoint of social policy after the finishing of the program. The principal purpose of the policy is to revitalize Nordmarkt sub-district. Therefore, most of the

11) Police in Germany are usually affiliated with *Land* government. Separated organizationally from the national (*Land*) police, Dortmund has its own police, the Department of Public Safety. Two or three officers of this department team up and a number of these teams patrol Nordstadt.

12) Dietrich Keuning House is an institution and facility for cultural activities of the inhabitants of Dortmund, especially in the northern part of this city.

13) Niederschrift über die 13. Sitzung der Bezirksvertretung Innenstadt-Nord am Mittwoch, 21.02.2001, 16.30, im Dietrich-Keuning-Haus, Leopoldstr.50-58, Raum 227/228. Translated by the present author.

14) By means of the program of side income, drug addicts can get opportunities of job training for the construction works, transportation and so on, and may get some job and income by their own work.

opportunities of side income are not to be provided in Nordmarkt City Park. These comprehensive measures for support of the sub-district are to be adequately balanced with the policy for public safety in Nordmarkt. It is important to implement security measures. It is to be reexamined whether security personnel of the Department of Public Safety are stationed in Nordmarkt with the cooperation of the police, and if it is necessary, the arrangement of the personnel is to be adjusted to the current situation. The representative assembly of the district expects that the safety at the playground of the primary school of Nordmarkt will be enhanced both subjectively and objectively¹⁵⁾.

It is recorded in the minutes of the representative assembly that the program of side income for drug addicts is financially supported through the budget of URBAN II. Thus, the authority of Dortmund decided to resolve the problems stemming from illegal behavior and troubles in Nordmarkt by implementing social inclusion policy as well as through the regulatory control by the Department of Public Safety of Dortmund. Nevertheless, the problems in Nordmarkt became more radical.

According to *Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* (27.4.2002), the director of the primary school of Nordmarkt made the following statement:

It was not only Nordmarkt that was contaminated with drugs. The whole area around the city park was also contaminated. The playground of the primary school was especially miserable. Every morning, we gather used needles, and dispose of pools of blood, stagnant urine and vomit. We always look around the playground before the break time between lessons in order to determine whether it is suitable for children. We cannot let our children see the scene of a drug addict sitting in a pool of blood, taking off his trousers and fixing into his thigh (translated by the present author).

In the same article, parents reported that children sometimes came home crying because drug addicts picked a quarrel or threatened them, and that some children could not sleep well because of the fear. Not only drug addicts but also their dogs wander in and around the city park without collars.

3. The reason why Nordmarkt became a problem place

According to *Ruhr-Nachrichten* (27.4.2002), the problems in Nordmarkt were caused by the exclusion of drug addicts from the city center of Dortmund. An article in this newspaper (*Ruhr-Nachrichten* 4.9.2002) records that it was Brück street where problem groups had gathered within the central area of the city. I learned from a director of the department of economic affairs of the URBAN II group of Dortmund that drug

15) Niederschrift über die 22. Sitzung der Bezirksvertretung Innenstadt-Nord am Mittwoch, 12.12.2001, 16.30, im Dietrich-Keuning-Haus, Leopoldstr.50-58, Raum 226. Translated by the present author.

addicts had gathered around Brück street when I visited the office of the URBAN II group of Dortmund in August, 2006 to get information about this program supported by the EU. At the time, I walked with the director along this street toward Münster street in Nordstadt.

Brück street is located in the northeast corner of the central area of Dortmund. There are many small bars, fast food restaurants and other kinds of shops with pornographic pictures along this street which impart upon the passerby a feeling of sordidness. However, I observed a number of new buildings either recently constructed or under construction as of summer 2006. To the author, it felt that the atmosphere of Brück street was being transformed through renewal. Although I have not yet ascertained historical documents pertaining to when this street began to change or whether an official redevelopment program was executed for this street by the city authority, it is quite likely that the central area of Dortmund including the seedy places had been redeveloped under some program since the 1990s (Photo 2, Photo 3). A new concert hall mentioned below exemplifies one aspect of the redevelopment around Brück street.

Nordmarkt City Park has been renewed since the end of the 1980s. *Westfälische Rundschau* (11.5.1989) reported the following: “Nordmarkt will be restored to its character of 1908. This city park was once admired as the most beautiful park in Dortmund in the *Dortmunder Generalanzeiger* in 1910. It was also a place where people demonstrated against the Nazis in the 1930s, before Hitler came to power. A monument of this movement, benches, tables, and a chess board on the ground shall be newly constructed or restored. Furthermore, flower beds in the center of the park, a playing site for children in the north within the park are to be constructed. According to the plan, plants of low height, at least four linden trees and thirty-five plane trees shall be planted.”

This renewal plan for Nordmarkt City Park was carried out within the framework of the *Nordstadt Programm* which had been decided by the city council in 1986 (Stadt Dortmund 1992, S.1, S.26)¹⁶. The object



Photo 2 Brück street. This photo was taken on 25.2.2008 by the present author.



Photo 3 Northern entrance to Brück street at night. This photo was taken on 25.2.2008 by the present author.

of the renewal plan was to enhance the value of the park as a public space. There are many flowers, trees and the other kinds of plants in this park. Local people can enjoy their leisure time here and have a pleasant chat with each other. A weekly market is to be opened which will supply local people with fresh vegetables, fruits, dairy products, meat and fish. *Dortmunder Bekanntmachungen* (16.6.1989) announced this plan¹⁷⁾

In addition to alcoholics, we can surmise that drug addicts began to gather in Nordmarkt after being excluded from the Brück street area and after the redevelopment of the city park. The city park is near the Brück street area and can be easily reached on foot. Moreover, the redevelopment project made the park more comfortable and the new plants created a less open space with less visibility.

4. Power of the police and power of local people

In April 2002, two non-profit organizations comprised of local residents, *Rund um Hannibal und Heroldstraße e.V.* and *Nordmarkt plus e.V.*, called for the city authority to implement more adequate measures. They proposed that more adequate measures would not involve simply driving people out of Nordstadt, but would arrange a specific space for rehabilitation overseen by the Health Center of Dortmund. They claimed that such a space was necessary for drug addicts to recover with methadone prescribed by a doctor for the transition period (*Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 27.4.2002).

The above mentioned NPOs are actors in the recent regeneration movement of Nordmarkt within the framework of URBAN II, which Dortmund joined in 2002. URBAN II was financially supported by the European Union as well as by the *Land* NRW. The EU had already announced and launched URBAN II in 2000, and the application by the city government of Dortmund with the cooperation of the *Land* government of NRW was accepted in 2001. The city council of Dortmund finally approved the implementation of a number of projects of URBAN II in December 2001 (Yamamoto 2009b).

One of the projects of URBAN II is Quarter Management (QM). One QM was established in each sub-district of Nordstadt respectively. The QM Nordmarkt was shouldered by three local NPOs including *Rund um Hannibal und Heroldstraße e.V.* and *Nordmarkt plus e.V.* These NPOs were selected in March 2002 by the city council (Stadt Dortmund 2002). But the QM did not start its work until July 2002, because the managers were not employed until end of June in this year.

Meanwhile, the drug problem became so serious that the two NPOs responsible for the QM Nordmarkt asked the city authority to take measures to improve the situation of the city park in November 2001

16) *Nordstadt Programm* had been prepared a few years before. A working group of city planners had presented its expert opinion on the physical planning of Nordstadt in 1984, responding to the request of the Department of Planning of the municipality Dortmund (Stadt Dortmund. Planungsamt 1984).

17) This official public information newspaper of the city authority informed citizens about the public hearing on the renewal plan of Nordmarkt because the first plan was prepared in the framework of the *Nordstadt Programm*. *Nordstadt Programm* was planned in order to revitalize the disadvantaged Nordstadt district.

(*Westfälische Rundschau* 27.4.2002). Nevertheless, the situation became worse, and they claimed again in April 2002 that the city authority should take action immediately (*Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 27.4.2002). The two NPOs decided to demonstrate on 16th May to demand that the city authority take action against the drug addicts (*Ruhr-Nachrichten* 27.4.2002).

As noted above, they urged the city authority to establish a specific space for drug rehabilitation. According to *Ruhr-Nachrichten* (8.5.2002), a space for rehabilitation, where drug addicts could treat their problem by themselves, was to be established in the second week of May 2002. This space for rehabilitation should be controlled twenty-four-hours-per-day by the Health Center of Dortmund.

Local newspapers did not indicate clearly where the rehabilitation space was to be built. However, since the city park was already being patrolled from twelve to fourteen hours per day (*Westfälische Rundschau* 8.5.2002), and since *Westfälische Rundschau* (16.5.2002) reported that the police and the Department of Public Safety would control Nordmarkt twenty four hours per day for several weeks from around 20th May, it is possible to interpret that the rehabilitation space was to be built in or near the city park.

It is not clear that *Nordmarkt plus e.V.* and *Rund um Hannibal und Heroldstraße e.V.* really demonstrated. *Westfälische Rundschau* (18.5.2002) reported that these two NPOs planned to do so on 27th May 2002. Therefore we can interpret that the demonstration was postponed from 16th to 27th. In the file of newspaper clippings collected by the City Archive of Dortmund, there was no article which reported on the demonstration in May or June 2002.

We can believe that the demonstration was called off, and this may well be attributed to the action of the police. On 18th May, policemen and security personnel of the Department of Public Safety conducted intense surveillance of drug addicts in Nordmarkt. Among 147 persons interrogated, two were arrested for offences against the law, and nine were restrained. Furthermore, the Department of Public Safety prohibited four persons from staying at Nordmarkt City Park and all the other persons were ordered to leave this place. The police and the city authority notified the local people beforehand to dispatch their personnel not only on 18th May, but also to continue their action repeatedly (*Westfälische Rundschau* 21.5.2002).

As a result of this execution of police power, drug addicts did not appear in Nordmarkt anymore. One month later, after the action in May, the director of the Department of the Public Safety stated at the meeting of the Advisory Council of Foreigners that thirty city-policemen were stationed at Nordmarkt everyday from 10 o'clock through 24 o'clock and that this action has lead to the resolution of the problem of drug addicts, although he admitted that his men could not exclude alcoholics from Nordmarkt (*Ruhr-Nachrichten* 19.6.2002)¹⁸⁾. But drug addicts did not actually disappear from the Nordmarkt sub-district. Some of them

18) This report is to be identified also in the minute of the Advisory Council of Foreigners. Niederschrift über die 23. öffentliche Sitzung des Ausländerbeirates vom 18.06.2002 Ratssaal, Friedensplatz 1, 44135 Dortmund.
https://www2.domap.de/c/portal/layout?p_1_id=PUB.1.130
<http://dosys01.dokom.de/dosys/gremniedweb1.nsf/dosys/gremniedweb1.nsf/NiederschriftenWeb/6CECB9E2E9924803C1256E47001FEA5B?OpenDocument>

moved to Schleswiger Platz, which is only 200 meters southeastward from Nordmarkt City Park. Not only drug addicts, but also alcoholics began to appear at that small public space. According to *Westfälische Rundschau* (13.6.2002), the police stated that Schleswiger Platz became not only a place of drug addicts and alcoholics, but also a stage of prostitution, which was connected with bars located around Schleswiger Platz.

Furthermore, another place also became problematic. About twenty or thirty alcoholics and drug addicts including women began to gather at a public space: Heroldwiese (*Westfälische Rundschau* 5.7.2002). This place is not in Nordmarkt, but in Borsigplatz sub-district. The Department of Public Safety declared that it stationed its personnel at Schleswiger Platz and gave about forty persons orders to leave the place daily, while another newspaper (*Westfälische Rundschau* 27.7.2002) reported that the situation in Heroldwiese was not so problematic.

However, problems around Schleswiger Platz did not always occur outdoors in broad daylight. Contacts for prostitution were not made along the street. In other words, these problems were not found in public spaces, but behind closed doors. Therefore, the police could not effectively control them. The chairman of the representatives assembly of the district called a meeting of residents living around Schleswiger Platz. About 300 persons took part in the meeting at the local church of St. Joseph and exchanged their thinking and ideas. However, they failed to determine an acceptable means of resolving the problems (*Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* 16.8.2002; *Westfälische Rundschau* 16.8.2002).

However, action of a few local residents led to a breakthrough in that deadlock of finding a suitable solution. According to *Ruhr-Nachrichten* (7.9.2002), a 27-year-old Turkish mother of a pupil at Diesterweg Primary School, located near Schleswiger Platz, looked for injection needles in the playground of the school with two other mothers in September. They found more than 100 injection needles. They began a signature-collecting campaign to resolve the situation and, in two days (5-6 September), gathered more than 1000 signatures of people wanting to stop the problems related to drug addiction in Nordmarkt sub-district. They planned a further signature-collecting campaign on 7th September, Saturday, not only on the main shopping street in Nordstadt, namely Münster street, but also in front of a building located near the north entrance of the Dortmund's main station of the German Railroad. Furthermore, they planned a large-scale demonstration on the day of the opening ceremony of a new concert hall in Dortmund in order to appeal to city politicians and authorities for the resolution of drug problems in the playgrounds of the schools in Nordstadt.

Pupils and their mothers demonstrated from Diesterweg Primary School via Kiel street and Brück street in the city to the Leadsplatz, where the new concert hall is located, on 13th September. They met together in front of the new concert hall and appealed to the visitors, including a number of prominent persons in city politics, for two hours. Most of the pupils of Diesterweg Primary School were foreigners, in particular many were Turkish. Therefore, many of the demonstrators were Turkish women wearing scarves (Photo 4). We can identify their appeal in the photo of *Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* (14.9.2002): "Children in Nordstadt also have their own right", "We hope to resolve the problem for ever."

Their appeal for perpetual resolution does not mean that drug addicts, alcoholics and juvenile delinquents should be excluded from places, where they once gathered, by the power of the police. If such exclusion would be executed, the problem groups would simply move somewhere else. Therefore, one of the appeals of the demonstrators was: "Give addicts their own place, so that our children can safely play" according to the newspaper mentioned above. Prominent persons — the marshal of police, an archbishop, and the minister of economic affairs in the Federal Republic of Germany — visited the formal opening of the new concert hall, and saw the demonstration.

This demonstration was not, however, organized only by the Turkish women. According to *Westfälische Rundschau* (14.9.2002), Mr. Christian Schmidt, a German actor of the local NPO *Nordmarkt Plus e.V.* stated, "we demonstrate not against junkies and alcoholics, but in order to demand safety for children." This statement indicates that he was an active organizer of the demonstration. That newspaper reported also that the lord mayor of Dortmund would invite the representatives of the demonstrators on 19th September to his office in order to obtain a hearing for their opinion. And, in fact, both the German and the active Turkish mother were invited for discussion with the lord mayor on that day according to *Ruhr-Nachrichten* (19.9.2002). This newspaper article did not report on the facts of the discussion, only on the contents of the immigrant mother's demands that would be stated to the lord mayor on 19th September. The newspaper article also announced that Mr. Schmidt would also take part in the discussion with the lord mayor in addition to the Turkish mother.

The demands of the Turkish mothers consisted of four points: first, play areas for children, playgrounds of schools and kindergarten, city parks and streets in Nordstadt should be kept as safe as places in the other districts of Dortmund; second, the Department of Public Safety should control behavior against law and order consistently; third, the police of the northern part of Dortmund should station more personnel in Nordstadt in order to crack down on drug addicts and prostitution; finally, the authorities should not take measures simply to drive these people away from one place and into another.

It is worthy to note that *Ruhr-Nachrichten* had already reported on 18th September that the city authority would not simply drive the problem away from public spaces through police power, but would instead give problematic people opportunities to earn side income. It would prepare 400,000 Euros through the URBAN II program supported by the European Union. Based on this newspaper article, we can also surmise that a



Über die Brückstraße bis zum Konzerthaus zogen die Eltern mit ihren Kindern, um gegen die unkontrollierte Ausbreitung der Drogenszene auf den Schulhöfen der Nordstadt zu protestieren. Herumliegende Spritzen gefährden dort die Kinder. WAZ-Bild: Jörg Schimmel

Nordstädter demonstrierten eindrucksvoll

Viele Prominente mussten an ihnen und ihren Transparenten vorbei - auch ein Minister

Photo 4 A newspaper clipping about the demonstration of the inhabitants in Nordstadt.

Source: *Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* vom 14.9.2002.

specific space for drug addicts to inject methadone was not realized because a member of the city council belonging to the Green Party criticized the lord mayor and members of the city council belonging to the SPD for their do-nothing-ism. He insisted that it was much better for drug addicts to inject methadone in a specific controlled and closed space than for them to do so in a public open space.

Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung (18.9.2002) also introduced the opinion of a council member of the Green-Party and reported that SPD would take measures to station more caretakers at Schleswiger Platz than the initial plan had called for. It also reported that the program of a supplementary-earning opportunity for drug addicts would be consolidated through a subsidy of URBAN II.

5. Concluding remarks

As far as I observed between 2004 and 2008¹⁹⁾, the situation in Nordmarkt has greatly improved since 2002. But I often saw several groups of men and women who drank beer in Nordmarkt City Park, even during bad weather (Photo 5, 6, 7). This is also the case for the other public parks. It means that there are still now gathering spots of problematic groups in public spaces in Nordstadt. On the other hand, they did not disturb me as I walked in the park



Photo 5 Southern part of Nordmarkt in winter. This photo was taken on 24.2.2008 by the present author.



Photo 6 Southwestern Entrance to Nordmarkt in summer. This photo was taken on 30.8.2008 by the present author.



Photo 7 Benches in the shadow of trees in Nordmarkt. This photo was taken on 30.8.2008 by the present author.

19) I observed Nordmarkt in the end of August 2004 for the first time through the guidance of Prof. Dr. Uta Hohn, Ruhr University of Bochum, on the occasion of excursion programmed for the 6th German-Japanese Geographical Conference. Meanwhile I visited this district in August 2006, September 2007, February 2008 and September 2008.

and I saw also children playing in the park as well as several groups of local residents having a pleasant chat when the weather was fine. Meanwhile, several festivals were celebrated in the park as *Quartiersmanagement Nordmarkt* (2006), a document of URBAN II shows, and a large number of local people and guests from outside visited this park. Therefore, the situation of Nordmarkt City Park has become much better than in 2002.

Furthermore, a neat café was opened in the eastern corner of the park with its own terrace (Photo 8). This café is also the fruit of URBAN II.

But the territory of the café is not a public space anymore, although it is located within the city park. Of course, everyone can sit down at a table in the café and drink, if he or she pays for the drink. And a guest sitting at the table on the terrace of the café can have a chat with another person standing in the public space across the hedge, if he or she has such will. Nevertheless, the people sitting on the benches in the public space give off different atmosphere than that of the people sitting at the table of the café. I also observed a man who brought bottles of beer, which must have been bought at a kiosk around the park for his fellows on a bench in the park. While it is an open question if he and his fellows are alcoholics or not, anyone has a right to stay in this public space and drink beer as long as his or her behaviour does not give other persons trouble.

It is clear that it is not possible to resolve hard troubles including crimes in the public space only by means of police power. This is what the history of Nordmarkt teaches us. It was very important to mobilize the power of the local residents in order to get peace back to the park and other public spaces. Collaboration between immigrant mothers and Germans was effective at working for the case of Nordmarkt. We should, however, take note that managers of QM Nordmakrt told me that there is no longer a problem of drug addicts in Nordmarkt City Park, but that it was relocated elsewhere.

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Photo 8 A café in Nordmarkt. This photo was taken on 30.8.2008 by the present author.

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