Analysis and Review of Popular Culture, Perception and Attitudes towards Migrants and Minorities in Austria

FINAL REPORT

With financial support from the Fundamental Rights and Citizenship Programme of the European Union

VIDC
VIENNA INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE AND COOPERATION
Analysis and Review of Popular Culture, Perception and Attitudes towards Migrants and Minorities in the Netherlands

FINAL REPORT

This research study is the result of the individual reports carried out as part of the WS 1 and WS 2 analysis and open meetings of the BEAMS project in Austria.

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General introduction on the context and applied methods

The General Context – The Situation of Migrants and Minorities in Austria:

According to the most recent data (Statistik Austria 2013), the Austrian population amounts to 8,452 million people. 1,518 million persons of foreign origin were living in Austria on 1 January 2013. This represents 18% of Austria’s population as a whole. On the basis of international definitions, the census also defines population “with migrant background” as all persons whose parents were born abroad, irrespective of nationality ("first and second immigrant generation"). On average, there were some 1,579 million people living in Austria in 2012 with a migrant background (equivalent to 18 % of the population), 10% more than in 2008. 34,6 % of the Viennese population is of foreign origin, of which 23 % do not have an Austrian nationality, and 11,6 % are Austrian nationals born abroad (Statistik Austria 2013:111). A little more than one third of the population with migrant background originated from another EU/EEA member state or from Switzerland (35 %). Another 32% originated from the successor states of the former Yugoslavia and 17 % from Turkey. Just 15% of the population of foreign origin came from other countries. 43% of the population with migrant background has been naturalised. Higher than average is the percentage of Austrians with Turkish (60%) or African (54%) migrant backgrounds. On 1 January 2013, the country whose citizens represented the largest section of the immigrant population was Germany (157,800 individuals). Next came the group of immigrants from Turkey (113, 670). In third place was the group of 111,300 persons from Serbia followed by 89,900 immigrants from Bosnia and Herzegovina, and 58,600 from Croatia. There was a marked increase of Romanians (53,300) since Romania’s EU accession in 2007 (Statistik Austria 2013:26). The largest groups of non-European immigrants came from Afghanistan (12,380), China (10,191) and Iran (7,196).

Asylum: Over the years 2003-2012 almost 176,227 individuals applied for asylum in Austria. A total of 3,682 persons were granted asylum in Austria in 2012; two thirds (66%) of all applications were rejected, the decision was positive in 23% of all cases. Most asylum seekers came from Afghanistan, the Russian Federation (particularly Chechnya), Pakistan and Syria (Statistik Austria 2013:36).

Discrimination & Racism in Austria:

The European Commission Against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) reported that, in 2010, Muslims, black people, Jews, Roma and other national minorities—such as the Slovenian minority in Carinthia and non citizens: migrants and asylum seekers—were often exposed to racism and discrimination in Austria (ENAR 2012:8). Africans from the sub-Saharan region are often stigmatised, especially in connection with drug-related crimes, black women are often accused of being prostitutes and of abusing the asylum system (cf. ENAR 2006:4).

Following the events of 11 September 2001, a rise in Islamophobia was observed in Austria. Muslims easily become victims of harassment and discrimination just for practicing their Islamic faith. Roma and Sinti are particularly socio-economic disadvantaged groups. Their disadvantaged status in the area of education leads to their exclusion from most areas of life in society (ENAR 2006:4). They fall victim to an increased number of attacks by neo-Nazi and extreme right
groups, be it on the internet or—with regard to sports events—in football stadiums. Visible minorities are especially discriminated against when seeking access to services and the labour market. This is reflected in the statistics, which clearly show that persons with a migrant background are less frequently in a paid occupation than Austrians. The employment rate among persons aged 15-64 years with a migrant background in 2012 was 66%; that of the population without a migrant background was 74% (Statistik Austria: 2013:52). According to the ECRI, they face an increased risk of losing their jobs, have lower incomes and standards of living, and tend to be concentrated in industries characterised by a high degree of job insecurity, low wages, limited career opportunities, irregular working hours, and tough working conditions. They also have great difficulty in getting their qualifications recognised (ECRI 2010: 23).

**Discrimination in Sports:**
According to the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), football seems to be the sport most affected by racist incidents in the EU (FRA 2010:33). Also in the past decades, the discourse on racism in European sports has predominantly focused on this type of sport due to the appearance of a growing number of successful black football players in Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands, and the UK since the 1980s, which often led to widespread racist abuse by spectators during the games (FRA 2010:15). Inside football stadiums in Austria, overt forms of racist behaviour such as verbal abuse of black players and the display of far-right symbols are not uncommon. Additionally, the area of sport in Austria is not easily accessible to foreign nationals and minorities. Very few of them are involved in the administration of sport, for example. Concerning the composition of football teams, there was a regulation of the Austrian football association (Österreichischer Fußball-Bund - ÖFB) in place, which, in amateur football, limits the number of non-Austrian nationals (this includes also EU nationals) to a maximum of three per team. In parallel, the regulation states that clubs may be registered as “ethnic” football clubs when they can prove that they foster one particular ethnic group (“Volksgruppe”) in which case only 3 Austrian players per team are allowed (cf. ECRI 2010:26f). To avoid a complaint by the European Commission, the ÖFB abrogated this so-called “foreigner-regulation” (“Ausländer-Regel”) in the summer of 2013.

With regard to legal and administrative barriers to equal participation in sports, the FRA notices, that in Austria, the national football league has a financial bonus system in the two professional football leagues in place, which reserves television revenues for clubs that field a certain proportion of players who are eligible for the national team (FRA 2010:54).

The European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (2010) also mentions the exclusion of migrants/minorities from national sports as “symbolic images of the nation”. According to the FRA, “Alpine skiing is culturally constructed as a field of play for […] ‘real Austrians’ – athletes that represent Alpine ‘authenticity’, linked to notions of national character. In Austria, in contrast to football, ethnic minorities are absent from Alpine skiing and most athletes come from the Alpine parts of the country” (FRA 2010: 53).

**Media /Cultural Production:**
Mainstream media has lots of influence in Austria. Austria´s largest daily newspaper Kronen Zeitung has approximately three million daily readers. Of no less importance are the freely distributed newspapers at the stations of the underground lines in Vienna, Austria’s capital. According to ENAR 2009, the mainstream media—for example Kronen Zeitung or the free daily newspapers Heute or Österreich—still publish tendentious reports stamped with racist and xenophobic stereotypes leaning towards open hatred. They are published without protest or legal repercussions. The renowned Austrian communication scientist, Fritz Hausjell, makes special reference to the Kronen Zeitung, a newspaper working with fabricated statistics and giving guidelines for banal prejudices (ENAR 2009:19).

“Large-circulation newspapers report regularly on immigration and asylum issues in ways that generate an atmosphere of hostility toward minorities.
Furthermore the press has contributed to the “ethnicising” of crimes so that Africans are often associated with drug-related crimes, and Eastern Europeans with particular forms of organised crime.” (ENAR 2006:2)

Against this background, however, some newspapers like Wiener Zeitung, Die Presse or Der Standard started to include special pages edited and written by journalists with migrant backgrounds. Worth mentioning is “M-Media”, a self-organised initiative of journalists with relations to the African continent (ENAR 2009:20).

Impact of Stereotypes on Human Rights:

Although immigrants from Africa constitute a minority compared to other immigrant groups like Germans, Turks or people from the former Yugoslavia, the occurrence of racist and negative stereotypes against this visible minority is disproportionally high. The most widespread negative image is that of “Africans (asylum seekers) as drug dealers” accompanied by the criminalisation of migrants and asylum seekers. One of the major consequences on human rights can be found in the “relationship” between police forces and visible ethnic minorities, especially people from African origin. Since the 1990s police assaults on African migrants and asylum seekers has increased and has led to a first tragic case with the suffocation of the asylum seeker Marcus Omofuma during his deportation in 1999. Several cases followed with Cheibani Wague, who died during a police control in 2003, Yankuba Ceesay, who died in detention while he was awaiting his deportation in 2005 or Bakary J., who was tortured by police forces in a storehouse during his detention. The list is not complete. And still, in the recent Universal Periodic Review (UPR) Report on Austria, Amnesty International expresses its concerns about racism and xenophobia in Austria:

“Amnesty International remains concerned at reports of racially motivated police misconduct in Austria, targeting foreign nationals and members of ethnic minorities. Amnesty International’s research has shown that foreign nationals and members of ethnic minorities are more at risk than Austrian citizens of being suspected of having committed crimes and of being ill-treated by police. Complaints of police ill-treatment from members of ethnic minorities are often followed by an inadequate response by both the police force and the judicial system: such complaints tend not to be properly investigated, police officers are seldom prosecuted and even if they are, including in cases of serious racially motivated ill-treatment, the courts do not always impose penalties commensurate with the gravity of the offence, including its racist motivation. Amnesty International has concluded that the failure of the police and judicial organs to routinely extend the same quality of service to foreign nationals and members of ethnic minorities is the result of institutional racism.” (Amnesty International 2011:4).

Public Discourses on Migrants and Minorities:

With regard to residency, access to citizenship (“jus sanguinis”) and labour market, Austria is one of the most restrictive countries in the EU. Public discourses in media, political parties and society on “foreigners” exacerbates the enormous impact on the day-to-day lives of migrants and minorities. These discourses on migrants, minorities and asylum seekers are mainly characterised by the “integration-discourse”, on the one hand, and the “security”- and “misuse of asylum”- discourse on the other (cf. Langthaler/Trauner 2009:14). With regard to the public discourse (right-wing politicians, media) and the legislation for migrants, “integration” is seen as “a duty to be fulfilled by the migrants” and any evidence of a lack of “willingness to integrate” can be sanctioned. In 2003, the so-called “Integration Agreement” came into force, which stipulates compulsory German language courses for immigrants. But this did not go hand in hand with integration measures from the part of the government concerning easier access to the labour market for migrants or the possibility to work for asylum seekers. The other line of discourse is based on security issues, widely reflected in media articles about “criminal or aggressive foreigners”, “Islamic terrorists”, “black drug dealers” or “organised crime”. With regard to refugees and asylum seekers, most discourses focus on the “misuse of the asylum system by economic refugees”,
“smuggling gangs” or “human trafficking”. These discourses are, for instance, reflected in the media coverage on the deaths of Yankuba Ceesays, Marcus Omofuma and Cheibani Wague. As Simon Inou stated in his article: “alleged cause of death: cardiac insufficiency. And before dying he was supposed to have been “aggressive”. (Simon Inou, Die Presse, 08.01.2010). The xenophobic election campaigns of the extreme-right wing Freedom Party in Austria (FPÖ) perennially targeting asylum seekers and the Islam, respectively Turkish immigrants, have another serious impact on opinion-making and on the human rights of migrants/ethnic minorities. Slogans like “Daham statt Islam” (“at home instead of Islam”), “Wien darf nicht Istanbul werden” (“Vienna must not become Istanbul”), “Deutsch statt 'nix verstehen” (“German, instead of ‘no understand””), “Pummerin statt Muezzin” (“Pummerin, not muezzin”) shows the important role of political discourse in perpetuating harmful stereotypes of vulnerable groups. Again, in the Austrian general election campaign in 2013, the FPÖ declared its war on “asylum cheaters”, “integration reluctant people” and “radical islamists”. See also ENAR 2012 on far-right parties and discourses in Europe.

**Applied Methods:**

**Focus on the Collection and Production of Popular Culture (PC):**

In this study, the Vienna Institute for International Dialogue and Cooperation (VIDC) focused mainly on sports, especially on football, as one of the strongest expressions of popular culture in Austria (and also in Europe). A second focus was on the production of stereotypes or self-stereotyping by ethnic minority/migrants including campaigns and media productions to counter stereotypical and racist images. With regard to the Austrian media landscape highly dominated by boulevard press, the general collection emphasized mainstream media, video productions and posts/blogs as well as migrant/minority media (online, print and social media) and PC productions by migrant journalists, bloggers and artists.

In the area of sports/football, we concentrated on (mainstream) media, video productions and blogs, which transport stereotypes about minority/migrants within sports, mainly in football, but also in society. With regard to minority perception (towards mainstream but also towards minority) one important source was the freely distributed youth magazine das biber, produced by migrant/minority journalists as “a media platform from migrants for migrants”. biber is known for its ironic construction of different stereotypes that exist in society and its intensive interaction with their users/readers via social media (website, facebook). Many of the collected examples have been drawn from biber. Other important sources have been articles, social/online media, campaigns and activities of the Austrian Black Community, mainly the African networking platform (AVP), M-Media and Afrikanet.info.

**Target Minority Groups:**

The selection was made on images targeting those migrant/minority groups most affected by discrimination and racism in Austria: 1) migrants with African origin or Black people, 2) migrants/minorities from the Balkan regions (incl. Roma/Romnja and Sinti/Sintize) and 3) migrants with Turkish immigrant background.

Discrimination on the ground of religion, especially Islam, is a mainstream topic concerning not only Turkish minorities but also persons from African countries or Eastern Europe (Bosnia). In sports, the focus on gender and sexual orientation is an important issue as e.g. homophobia in football stadiums, as well as the access of female Islamic sportspersons wearing a scarf are still big challenges.

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1 Pummerin is the main bell in St. Stephen’s Cathedral in Vienna, and thus a religious Christian symbol in Vienna.
Description of the chosen samples and methodology

STEREOTYPES TOWARDS BLACK PEOPLE AND MIGRANTS OF AFRICAN ORIGIN

Stereotype: “Africans As Wild Animals”


An online advertisement from an Austrian travel agency, STA Travel.at, in 2009 showing the face of an African man subtitled “look at the wilderness in the face”. After harsh critiques from the Austrian Black Community the Agency pulled back the campaign immediately and made a public statement apologising for the unintentional racist insinuations. Interestingly enough, in the statement published online they explained that their motive for the campaign was to link different countries in the world to different portraits of people. They stated that “one motive always consists of two images, in this case one African, and the second image is with elephants”. They explained that the headline “the wilderness in the face” stands for projects to protect animals and nature in Africa. The association M-Media lodged a complaint with the Austrian Advertising Council and was given right.


2. “Meet Africa´s royal families living in Vienna!” (2013)

In a recent campaign, the famous Zoo at the Schönbrunn Palace in Vienna advertised with the slogan “royal families” to represent their lions, elephants and giraffes. As a reaction to this, Simon Inou mounted a countercampaign on the platform of the Austrian Black Community www.afrikanet.info titled “African royal families captured in Schönbrunn” (“Afrikanische Königsfamilien gefangen in Schönbrunn”). “Africans can´t get rid of it”, Inou regrets, “they will always be associated with animals. Of course, wild animals can be domesticated.” He cites a female politician from the Austrian extreme right-wing political party, FPÖ, who said in the Austrian parliament in 1999: “Black Africans not only look different (…), they are different, namely they are especially aggressive. Obviously this is in the nature of these people.” Simon Inou criticised in his article that in the mind of the campaign-maker African royal families in Vienna had to be set in the animal world. (Inou, 6.7.13)

In the mid 1990s, the animalisation of African players in sports, namely in football, became obvious in the mass media. This corresponded with the increased demand by European football clubs for non-European labour and a subsequent rush on young talented players from African countries who were and still are scouted by European clubs. In his article, Wachter shows the deep ambivalence in the popular perception of African football players. On the one hand, there is an increased admiration for African star players such as Didier Drogba or Samuel Eto´ o, but at the same time, they are still discriminated and old stereotypes prevail (Wachter 2010:9). http://www.m-media.or.at/meinung/kommentar/afrikanische-königsfamilien-gefangen-in-schönbrunn/2013/07/05/


The German sports goods producer Puma, which sponsors the majority of national football (Wachter 2010:7) in its advertising spots. One of its spots shows the Cameroonian football star Samuel Eto´ o getting undressed and taking a shower, then a kid steals his Puma sneakers from the dressing room. When the Cameroonian gets his shoes back he is naked (sic!) and is roaring like a lion. Even more
explicitly, the “animality” and “wildness” of African football stars is shown in the second Puma spot: an animated film about the Cameroonian national football team nicknamed “Les Lions Indomptables”. On the football pitch Eto’o has to fight the match alone against a superior group of dark animal-like figures. In the spot Eto’o mutates into a predator with fangs and a lion head, and he wins again, roaring like a lion! As Wachter points out in his article, such public clichés and stereotypes correspond with the abuse of African players in football stadiums. During his engagement in Spain, Eto’o was several times “degraded to an animal” through racist, so-called “monkey chants” by the spectators. In response to these racist chants Eto’o imitated at times a monkey to provoke racist fans. In an interview in 2005 he explains that he was dancing like a monkey because people treated him like a monkey (FARE 2005:2 cit. in Wachter 2010:8).

Stereotype: The “genetics” of African sportspeople

Another widespread image goes back to the colonialist and racist divide between “nature” versus “culture”, “wildness” versus “discipline” or “physicality” versus “intellect”. Applied to African or Black sports people, such images are often turned into “positive” racist stereotypes, like Africans as “genetically superior in sports”. And this superiority is not owed to training or socio-economic circumstances, but to the specific “nature” of Africans, like e.g. music or drumming “runs through their blood”. In 2000, for example, one well-known German football coach stated in an online interview for Die Zeit: “It is like dancing. A coloured simply has completely different movements; this is not a question of a different training.” (www.zeit.de 24/2000 cit. in Wachter 2010:7). Years later the image of African football players is still dominated by stereotypes guided by preconceptions of Africans being genetically different. In 2011, another famous German football coach, Otto Pfister, stated that Africans “have football in their blood”. Pfister coached several African national teams and was awarded “Trainer of the year” in Africa in 1992. In 2009, even the German national team manager, Jogi Löw, talked about the “physical superiority of the Ghanaians because of their genetics” (Interview on www.N24.de 04.12.2009) (“überragende Genetik der Ghanaer”) ahead of the qualifications for the FIFA World Cup in South Africa (see also www.taz.de 10.12.2009, Article of Uli Hannemann).

http://www.n24.de/n24/Sport/Fussball/d/852078/loew--ein-anspruchsvolles-auftaktprogramm-.html


In an interview for FIFA.com in 2011 (www.FIFA.com, 11. April 2011), after becoming team manager of Trinidad and Tobago, coach-legend Otto Pfister was asked about the biggest strengths of football there. He said: “the inborn technical skills. We can see much talent in football here. The people have music and football in their blood. We have to provide for physical discipline, tactics and all other things. Technical skills do exist. What we need now is professional engagement.”

Before the FIFA World Cup 2010 in South Africa, he also speculated about physical superiority of African players in an interview on the homepage of the German Football League (DFB): “According to a study the viscosity, say fluidity, of the blood of Black Africans is different. There is of course no proven evidence. Fact is that those players hardly have ligament ruptures. Also in endurance and power training the players are extremely strong. […] And they have an intuition to do the rights thing in the right moment […]” (www.dfb.de, 29.03.2010, FIFA WM).

Criminalisation - Stereotype: Organised Crime


During the Vienna City Marathon in 2009 one moderator of the ORF (Austrian Broadcasting Corporation) reported, in a racist manner, about the marathon-winner Gilbert Kipruto Kirwa from Kenya: “the winner can already indulge in one banana. Richly deserved. And with the trophy money of 15,000 USD—

Already in 2001 Simon Inou from the editorial department of Afrikanet.info criticised another ORF moderator with regard to African marathon runners who stated: “Nobody knows how old they are, they speak English very badly and arrive because of the money.” (“Man weiß nicht, wie alt sie sind, sie sprechen schlecht Englisch und kommen wegen des Geldes”) (cf. Redaktion Afrikanet 23.04.2009). The above-mentioned statements by TV journalists from the national public broadcasting cooperation (ORF) are echoed by social media users. At the Vienna City Marathon in 2012, the Kenyan Henry Sugut, winner of 2010, again won with best time. One of the racist reactions to the victory of Sugut was published in the online news section of the daily magazine Österreich. It says following: “The whole African marathon mafia should not be admitted anymore. They fly from country to country and cash up everywhere. This whole thing is just ridiculous.” (oe24.at 16.04.2012)

The following examples perfectly show how deep-rooted images and stereotypes are anchored in society and impact the widespread images of people with an African migration background, even if they are born and have grown up in Austria. In 2013, the regional governor of Tyrol, Günther Platter, visited the camp of the Austrian national football team. During the welcome address, he turned to Austria’s young football star, David Alaba, and used the English phrase “How do you do?”, obviously in reference to Alabas “foreign” appearance. The 21-year-old David Alaba was born in Vienna and played at Bayern München in Germany. His father is Nigerian while his mother is from the Philippines. Alaba, with sovereignty, answered with a perfect Viennese dialect: “Thank you, I’m fine. But, you may still speak German to me, I am Austrian.” The governor admitted that this incident was embarrassing for him and made an excuse by saying that he was not a football expert. The encounter has been widely reported within mainstream media and made history as “Platter-Fauxpas”, “Platter-slip”, “How do you do?” or the “David-Alaba-Hoppala” providing enough material for cabaret artists and others (BEAMS researcher☺).

Another reaction came from the Vienna free youth magazine das biber, which put the portrait of David Alaba as popular hero on the cover and titled it “Thank you, David! Why black is ok now.” (www.dasbiber.at, November 2012)


During the 2013 general election campaign in Austria the Green Party posted a picture (originally taken in South Africa) of two black cleaning women on facebook with the headline “Who is cleaning in your home?” The picture was accompanied by a short text citing studies showing that migrants do not abuse the social security system; on the contrary, they reinforce the economic system and receive less social benefits by paying in more (taxes) than what they get out. This “well-meaned” subject ignited a number of negative reactions and criticism.
from the side of minority groups. One user posted: “Kanaks (“wog”), how should they be: willing, cheap and unremarkable. If I could decide, green bobos (Bobo is a synonym for “Bohemian Bourgeois”) should clean the toilet in my home. But unfortunately, I am tschusch (demotic but mostly pejorative term for people from Slavic or South European origin) and have to do it myself.” Another reaction come by open letter from “Black Women*, Women of Color* and Migrant Women*” in Austria.

In their statement, the women defended themselves against the “unreflected use of images as catalyst for discussions, made at the detriment of Black Women*, Women of Color* and Migrant Women* in order to make our voices and resistances invisible.” They especially criticised the fact that even the Green Party was making use of stereotypical and striking images. Eleven ethnic community organisations refused to cave in to the “merciful” discourses about victims (ANAR.wien mailing list, 27.08.213). The open letter was distributed via the mailing list of ANAR (Austrian Network Against Racism) and accompanied with a group photo of the women wearing cleaning clothes and titled “We speak up for ourselves”.

http://derstandard.at/1376533957022/Gruenes-Wahlkampf-Plakat-sorgt-fuer-Aerger


Simon Inou, founder and editor of the media platform of the Austrian Black Community Afrikanet.info and M-Media, has been working to fight the racist and discriminatory use of language and images, especially against visible minorities. One of the first campaigns against racist stereotypes towards migrant/minority people was the campaign Blackaustria “T-shirt exchange”. M-Media brought together well-known Austrian personalities, who would wear T-shirts with specific stereotypical annotations for “foreigners” written on them, e.g. “pickpocket”, “drug dealer”, “fictitious husband”. One poster shows the famous football star and coach Herbert Prohaska wearing a T-shirt that says “pickpocket”. The subtext states “If I would be black, I would not have a chance” (“Wäre ich schwarz, hätte ich keine Leiberl”. One well-known female ORF journalist wore a T-shirt with “drugdealer” written on it.

http://derstandard.at/3233926
http://www.blackaustria.at


The African Networking Platform (AVP) started a self-perception campaign in 2012 in the framework of the “Kenako – Afrika Jetzt!” (an initiative for a different image about the Africa continent). The AVP produced an advertisement showing a woman of African origin sitting in front of an Austrian flag subtitled “Chancellor of the Austrian Republic 2013”. The placard has been hanging at many important places all over Austria as well as in the tramways of Vienna’s Public Transport.

http://derstandard.at/134824666219/Keine-Politwerbung—und-keine-die-so-aussieht
STEREOTYPES TOWARDS MINORITIES AND MIGRANTS FROM EASTERN EUROPE AND THE BALKAN REGION (including Roma/Romnja & Sinti/Sintize)

Stereotype: "Jugo"


In Mai 2011, the Viennese free youth magazine das biber published an article, in which they constructed stereotypes of women from the Balkan regions. The series followed-up on a former survey among "Balkan-women" users on the typical "Schwabo-man" (rough expression among "Jugo-migrants" for Austrians). By stereotyping the "Balkan-woman" biber created four different "types" of women deriving from "big families", drinking lots of coffee and smoking constantly. One image shows the so-called “semi-integrated”, one the “Schwaboisized” ("Austrianized"), and another one the so-called “Jugozipated” ("Die Jugozipierte"), the one, who emancipated from being “Jugo".

http://www.dasbiber.at/content/supergau-mit-balkanfrau


In 2013, the youth magazine created a new type of Viennese subculture. The name “Jugobobo” connects the term “Jugo”, which is a more or less pejorative name for migrants originating from the former Yugoslavia—which became a common self-description for young Austrians with a migration background nowadays—with the term “bobo” “Bohemian Bourgeois”, denominating liberal alternative urban people. Bobos “wear washed-out jeans from the flee-market and a jute bag, drink fair trade coffee and live in the 7th Viennese district.” Out of this stereotype biber constructed the “subculture of Jugobobo”. “They are admired at the Museums Quartier in Vienna and are smiled at the Ottakringer Strasse (synonym for the 16th district in Vienna with high immigrant population). Instead of heavy golden chains and plucked eyebrows, they wear horn-rimmed glasses and full beard. Raise the curtain for the Jugobobo!” (“das biber” 06/2013:28)

http://www.dasbiber.at/content/jugobobos

STereotype: No women in football


The youth magazine das biber published a portrait of a young Croatian female football coach, who is very successful. After her career with the women team of Dynamo Zagreb and the Croatian national team, she began her career as a coach. Beside her career as coach, she works as a model. Das biber is asking why there is no single female football coach in Austria? (“das biber” 11/2012).

Stereotypes towards Roma/Romnja & Sinti/Sintize: "Begging, Peppers & Gypsy music"


Marika Schmiedt is one of the most politically engaged Roma activist artists in Austria (and Europe). In her politically controversial artworks she exposes and criticises various forms of racism, nationalism and fascism in Europe by linking the history of the persecution and killings of Roma/Romnja and Sinti/Sintize to the current forms of systematic and violent discrimination and murder of Roma/Romnja and Sinti/Sintize in Europe and worldwide.


Prominent people—the former city Councillor of Graz, the former director of the ORF in the province of Styria and a famous churchperson—were sitting in front of the Provincial Government building in Graz 2011 to protest against the city´s “begging ban” targeting mainly Roma people. The ban was finally annulled by the Austrian High Court of Constitution in 2013. Roma/Romija and Sinti/Sintize are—although they constitute a recognised minority in Austria since 20 years—highly criminalised and one of the minorities most affected by racist attacks. Only recently a group of young Austrians organised themselves via facebook and attacked a group of Roma who set up a camp in the province of Salzburg (www.salzburg.com 03.09.2013). Racist chants like “Zick, Zack, Zigeunerpack” (“Zick, zack, gypsy scum”) are still widespread among certain fan groups in football stadiums, not only targeting players of Roma origin but also others with a migrant/minority background. 

http://derstandard.at/1356427264328/Verfassungsgerichtshof-hob-steirisches-Bettelverbot-auf

STEREOTYPES WITH REGARD TO RELIGION

15. "Muslims are out!" (2013)

The youth magazine das biber collected racist jokes from school teachers against their pupils among its readers/bloggers. The gathered material was illustrated and published in 2013. Some examples are: “Muslims are out!” (English teacher to pupils from Bosnia), “you should hang out less with your Turkish mates, then your German would be better” (German teacher to Turkish pupils after handing back their poorly-marked homework), “is it common with you in Turkey to be that lazy?” (German teacher to a Turkish pupil), “you should be grateful to be here. In Bosnia, you as a girl would not even be allowed to attend school.” (German teacher to Bosnian pupil after criticizing school), and so on.

http://www.dasbiber.at/content/i-am-muslim-dont-panic


In 2012 das biber published a cover with the slogan “I´m muslim. Don´t panic. My Islam doesn´t know bombs”. In the following cover story, the deputy editor-in-charge, himself a Bosnian Muslim, wrote a very personal article about being a normal, moderate Muslim: “Not every Muslim covers his wife and bombs himself. But the violence following the Mohammed-Video shows: We must distinguish ourselves from religious fanatics, lay down our role as victims and live our faith in a modern way.” (“das biber” 10/2012:13) In his article the author also refers to the widespread one-sided representation of Muslims in the media and shows a positive example of an “intelligent cartoon” on the American view of “bad Muslims” from the Egyptian satire newspaper “Al Watan”.

http://www.dasbiber.at/content/i-am-muslim-dont-panic

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2 See also the first report on Antiziganism in Austria, published by the Romano Centro, December 2013
STEREOTYPES TOWARDS MIGRANTS AND MINORITIES WITH TURKISH ORIGIN

Stereotypes about Turks in Austria: “Criminal, unwilling, religious”


One article in the Austrian daily newspaper Die Presse written by a journalist of Turkish migrant background summarises the most widespread stereotypical images about “Turks in Austria” referring to some sociological studies among immigrants in Austria. The most widespread stereotypes are that “Turks do not want to integrate”, “Turks do not want to learn German”, and “Turks stay among themselves”, “Turkish kids are lowering the level in school classes”, “Turkish youth is criminal” and “religion is especially important for all Turks”. On the basis of the studies, the author shows that most of those images are false (www.diepresse.com 12.08.2008). The image accompanying the article shows a Turkish football fan. The picture was shot by an Austrian photographer from the Austrian Press Agency (APA). The image stresses the stereotype of the “aggressive, nationalist Turkish fans”.

http://diepresse.com/home/panorama/integration/405661/Kriminell-unwillig-religioes_Der-Tuerke-als-Stereotyp


The Austrian journalist Duygu Özkan, who writes for the newspaper Die Presse, published her first book under the provoking title “Turkish siege” (“Türkenbelagerung”) (see image of the book cover). The historian follows Turkish traces in Vienna back to the first Turkish siege in 1529 and presents the Austrian Turkish Community beyond the “3 K’s”: headscarf, kebab and coffee (Kopftuch, Kebab und Kaffee). (www.m-media.or.at 14.04.2011)

http://www.m-media.or.at/kultur/turkenbelagerung-duygu-ozkan/2011/04/14/

19. “We are arriving” ("Wir kommen") (2012)

Another Austro-Turkish writer, Inan Türkmen, provoked fierce discussions in Austria (even among the Turkish communities) with his book “We are arriving” (“Wir kommen”) (book cover). It was presented as Anti-Sarrazin (German author Tilo Sarrazin – “Germany is abolishing itself” in 2010 stressing the consequences for Germany arising from immigration and demographic decline). Türkmen – expressing in the book his anger after years of racist experiences as a son of Kurdish/Turkish immigrants in Vienna – presents and polarizes with his five “hypothesis”: “We are more”, “we are younger”, “we are more hungry”, “our economy is growing faster” and “we are stronger” („Wir sind mehr”, „wir sind jünger”, „wir sind hungrier”, „unsere Wirtschaft wächst schneller“ und „Wir sind stärker“). (Die Presse, Print-Ausgabe, 02.05.2012; www.m-media.or.at)

http://www.news.at/a/inan-tuerkmen-wir-zukunft-europas-320771

Stereotypes about Austria

20. Österreichische Nachrichten 2011 (2011)

“Österreichische Nachrichten” (“Austrian News”) is a media project by Hansel Sato, an artist born in Peru. He came to Vienna to study arts and now lives in Vienna. “Österreichische Nachrichten” is the response to the very popular freely distributed newspapers within the Vienna public transport stations (see above). The project’s aim is to reflect common stereotypes within the mass discourses in order to question all sorts of
discriminating images of migrants and their political exclusion, and to show new perspectives and more positive aspects of a multicultural society (www.hanselsato.com).

SELF-Stereotypisation

21. Mixed blood: Do you find out the right mix? (2013)

In April 2013, the youth magazine das biber, by self-definition a media platform from migrants for migrants, had a cover showing the portraits of six young hip persons under the title “Mixed blood: Do you find out the right mix?” Readers were invited to participate in a quiz by tagging the right national origin of the person’s parents (most of them were journalists of das biber magazine themselves). In an ironic way, they intended to point to a growing new, young generation of people with different national backgrounds living in Austria.

The cover gathered harsh criticism because of the use of the word “Mischling” (mixed blood) as historically burdened term of the Nazi-ideology dividing human people into different “races”. The biber cover provoked many discussions on social media and within more liberal newspapers about political correct wording, self-stereotypisation of immigrants, and the question, what are persons concerned allowed to say about themselves or what is the responsibility of the media?

In an interview, the Vienna weekly magazine Falter confronted two minority journalists on the topic, one attacking the other of perpetuating stereotypes and clichés, whereas the other one was talking of “language police” (www.Falter.at 16/2013).

Ösi-Bua is an Austrian musician, who became famous in 2011 with his song “I am the Ösi-boy”. Ösi refers to Österreich/ Austrian, a mixture between house-music and dialect. Ösi-Bua is Cedrick Mugiraneza, who fled from Burundi to Austria with his parents at the age of 9 and grew up in Upper Austria. He presents himself in a typical Austrian outfit, speaks dialect, wears leather trousers and traditional costumes, celebrates roasted pork (Schweinebraten) and has feelings for the Austrian fatherland. His motivation to produce the song was more “for fun” than for transporting a political message (www.daStandard.at, 18. April 2012).

http://www.falter.at/falter/2013/04/16/mischling-sagt-man-nicht/

22. “I am the Ösi-Boy” (“I bin da Ösi-Bua”) (2011)

“I am the Ösi-Boy” (“I bin da Ösi-Bua”)

Ösi-Bua is an Austrian musician, who became famous in 2011 with his song “I am the Ösi-boy”. Ösi refers to Österreich/ Austrian, a mixture between house-music and dialect. Ösi-Bua is Cedrick Mugiraneza, who fled from Burundi to Austria with his parents at the age of 9 and grew up in Upper Austria. He presents himself in a typical Austrian outfit, speaks dialect, wears leather trousers and traditional costumes, celebrates roasted pork (Schweinebraten) and has feelings for the Austrian fatherland. His motivation to produce the song was more “for fun” than for transporting a political message (www.daStandard.at, 18. April 2012).

In a similar way also the Hip Hop Band “Hinterland” is playing with stereotypes. One example is the song about Austrian traditional popular music “Volksmusik”.

Hinterland “Voixsmusik”:

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nTNSvYh-EsQ
(audio + lyrics)

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t3gNwttSOvO
(video)

http://www.gotv.at/hostedby_detail.php?id=1923
(picture)

3 Ösi is an abbreviation for Österreicher, comparable to “Ossi” and “Wessi”, Germans from the East and the West.
Main findings from the interviews

Results from the Interview with Kurt Wachter:
Kurt Wachter is an employee at the VIDC and coordinates the anti-discrimination football initiative “FairPlay. Different colors. One Game”, which he established back in 1997. He was also the project coordinator for the European network “Football Against Racism in Europe” (FARE) from 1999 till 2010.

Overview of Stereotypes in Austrian Sports/Football from Majority towards Migrants and Ethnic Minorities
Classic stereotypes, open racist offences or even racist attacks occur between players and fans, among fans, but also among players or coaches-players. Classic racist expressions are so-called, “monkey chants” against black players. For example, in the autumn of 2012 during the Vienna derby between SK Rapid and Austria Vienna, the two black Rapid players, Terence Boyd, an international player from team USA and the Brazilian Gerson, were victims of racist abuse (“uh uh uh monkey chants”) by around 150 people. This is the classic stereotype of “animalisation”, which insinuates that the black player is not really a human being but a monkey, an animal creature. This image is very widespread in European football culture.

FairPlay documents racist incidences; they have an online reporting system for fans, for example. During the last season (since July 2012) FairPlay reported 12 racist incidences within professional football in Austria. They took place in different forms, e.g. by a football official towards a Brazilian player (“Brazilian monkey”) or against other minorities, for example towards an Austrian of Bosnian origin (“Jugo”). Those are “mainstream stereotypes”. Besides these verbal forms of racist attacks, there are written forms on banners, T-shirts, etc., which can be attributed to extreme right-wing groups that target less a specific minority group. This type of racism uses more symbols, like the “Celtic cross” and “white-power”, “white supremacy”, superiority of the “white race”. There are also forms of right-wing extremism stemming from neighbouring countries, for instance the “Ustasha symbolism”.

Ustasha was a Croatian fascist and terrorist organisation, which was active before and during World War II, and which are extremely anti-Semitic and anti-Serbian. During the UEFA EURO 2008 match against Turkey in Vienna fans from the Torcida fan group of Hajduk Split displayed an Ustasha banner. (Torcida also have relations with parts of the Austrian migrants scene).

In amateur football there were also problems affecting mainly the different minority football clubs. For instance, amateur minority clubs complain about the regulation of the Austrian football association (ÖFB) that limits the number of non-nationals to three.

The New African Football Academy (NAFA) does not play under this paragraph because there is an exception under a so-called “ethnic paragraph” for clubs that promote their specific ethnic group (“Volksgruppe”). Only 2-3 such clubs do exist in Austria, and in the meantime, this paragraph and the regulation on foreigners were abolished in July 2013. This is very important, especially in the spirit of the EU’s directive on the free movement of persons. FairPlay has always fought against the Austrian football association’s regulation. For amateur football, this will mean that non-nationals are allowed to play in clubs in the future. This regulation does not exist within the Austrian Bundesliga (top league), but there is a system called “TV pot”: money is distributed per assignment in minutes of Austrian nationals. Those clubs that deploy more Austrian nationals will get more money from the Austrian football association (ÖFB). For many of the clubs, who do not have the resources, this regulation is vital. This is a form of discrimination that seems to not exist in other EU countries. The popular discourse on football stresses its uniting power to bring cultures, etc. together, but such regulations cause the opposite. They segregate players along nationalities. This resulted in a great mistrust towards Austrian football administrators from the part of minority clubs: especially with regard to discipline and referees migrant/minority clubs are disadvantaged and confronted with exorbitant financial punishments (e.g. for disciplinary measures), which may threaten the existence of small clubs. Sometimes referees cast
negative images on minority clubs, such as “they are playing too aggressively”, “the player do not have themselves under control” and “we have to discipline them”, etc.

**History of Stereotypes in Austrian Sports/Football:**

**Historical comparison:** FairPlay started in 1997 and one of the first scandals it was confronted was the distribution of leaflets during a referees’ training session in Vienna containing racist and far-right wing propaganda against Turkish immigrants. One xenophobic argument was that Turks come to Austria only to “lay down in the public welfare social security hammock”. As a protest, a group of Turkish referees left the Vienna referees federation and joined the association in Lower Austria. With regard to fans, there was the famous match between Salzburg and Eintracht Frankfurt in Vienna in 1994 (UEFA Cup) where the Ghanaian player of Frankfurt, Anthony Yeboah, was confronted with “Uuhuuhu chants” from half of the Austrian crowd. This sort of racist abuse was very common in the 1990s. Another example: at the end of the 1990s, a coach within the popular Viennese club with youth players divided the players into “Austrians” and “Gypsies” in the changing room, whereas “Gypsies” referred to all players with a Turkish or Ex-Yugoslavian background. Of course, when this became public there were consequences but the sensitivity towards racist attitudes was much lower in the 1990s. Yet still today we have prominent cases of racism. One of the last ones was only this summer towards a black player, who was insulted with monkey chants. The player reported the incident to his club and, for the first time, the League started juridical proceedings, which led to the club being fined. The case was much debated in the media. The commitment from the part of the club showed there is no place for racism in the stadiums. Racist incidences have declined between the 1990s and 2013, but they still exist.

**Stereotypes Over Time:**

Over time racist fans became sort of more nuanced, e.g. in the 1990s the Austrian international player, Ivica Vastic, who was born in Croatia, was a subject of abuse by fans, who called him “Jugo”. This was also the denomination for whole clubs, e.g. the famous Viennese Club Rapid called “Jugo-club” by Austria Wien, which itself has been called the “Jews-club” referring to the club’s history with more or less bourgeois people during the time of its foundation before World War II. During its founding period many Jewish people were actually also part of Rapid. But there are still forms of anti-Semitic insults against players of Austria today, e.g. from the part of Upper Austrian club LASK Linz, which always had a prominent far-right fans scene: they show banners with “Shalom”—not to demonstrate “peace”—but to point to the Jewish origins of the club. This is interesting when we look at the last ten years: there have been changes within the fan scene of Austria Wien itself; we observe a growing right-wing fans scene, namely the fan-club “Unsterblich”, (“Immortal”), which groups confessing neo-Nazis, even internationally. They are also very aggressive, chanting “Zick, Zack, Zigeunerpack” (“Zick, zack, gypsy scum”), and they have been excluded from the ground in recent time. This demonstrates the ambivalence: on the one hand, Austria Wien is stigmatised as a “Jewish” club, but on the other hand, it has a predominantly neo-Nazi fan scene.

The term “Gipsy scum” is not directly used against Roma/Romnja and Sinti/Sintize, but it has been used to insult others as “dirty, under-class persons”. In November 2012, people from the crowd insulted black players (from Ghana and Brazil) not only with the usual monkey chants, but also by using the words “Nigger” and “banana picker”.

**Positive Racism against Black Players:**

Within sports we have the supposedly positive connoted forms of racism against black sports people as being “physically superior”—but always implying that they have “less intellectual” abilities or that they are “more aggressive”. At the end of the 1990s, for example, a Vienna club had one player originating from Cameroon. After he left the club, the head of the team said that, in the future, the club will recruit only players from their “nearest cultural area”, specifically Czech, Slovak, and eventually Serbian nationals. Implicitly, he said that Africans cannot integrate in the team’s social fabric. It is striking that, in the meanwhile, there has been a tradition within Austrian football to recruit
Stereotypes with regard to Placements of Black Player:
Black players have been more often deployed as “attackers” rather than as defenders or even goalies because of their “lack of discipline”, which reflects a certain “cultural division of labour”. Today, this notion is still prevalent despite an increased discourse against racism (mostly influenced by Great Britain), but if there would be a survey, we would find black players mainly in the offense.

Stereotypes with regard to People from the Former Yugoslavia (“Jugo”)
Concerning the fan culture, less distinction is made between people from the former Yugoslavian states; they are usually only made with regard to the dividing lines of the Balkan conflict between Croatians, Serbs or Bosnians. Generally, there is a certain image about people from the former Yugoslavia as being more technically “creative” players. But we have to ask ourselves whether these are prejudices or if the “legionnaires” (foreign players) from the former Yugoslavian states may have benefitted from better qualifications.

People from the former Yugoslavia have been among the first football professional with a migrant background. However, between the 1990s and 2005, the Austrian national team was predominately mainstream; this changed only in the course of the preparation for the UEFA EURO 2008 with the introduction of players with a Turkish or Ex-Yugoslavian background. If we look at the national team today, the stars are Alaba, Arnautovic, Junuzovic or Kavlak, all persons with a migrant background. This is due to geographical changes, but also due to the willingness of the Austrian football scene to open up.

Stereotypes with regard to People from Turkey
Fasting during Ramadan: Muhammet Akagündüz was the first Austrian national player of Turkish background. He was a confessing Muslim and often had to justify himself in front of others that being a professional football player is compatible with practicing Islam. There are certain stereotypes about Turkish players stressing that they were “not serious enough”, or that they were technically good, but that they can play in a tricky way, and that they do not have “enough discipline”. In a way those images persist until today.

Another important criterion of exclusion in former times has been language. Coaches often forbid to speak languages other than German, or to gather in the same language groups.

Stereotypes among Minority Groups
Bella Bitugu was the first black referee in Tyrol, where lots of Austro-Turkish players play. He was also subject to racist comments from their part, such as “You, Jimmy”. And for him, this was very difficult to handle. A racist insult by an administrator of the referee’s federation during a life match on TV towards a black player—he commented about a black player lying on the ground to “get up, you coal sack”–finally prompted Bitugu to leave the federation.

Stereotypes in Media
European football is associated with masculinity and heterosexuality, nationalism based on comradeship, but the images about football in the USA are very different.

FairPlay conducted awareness raising workshops with Austrian sports journalists from the ORF ahead of the FIFA World Cup 2010 in order to deconstruct certain stereotypes like “black sprinters” or “black gazelles”. However, the majority of the journalists were of the opinion that such stereotypes are positive and that they are not able to deprive the audience of such images; rather, they are obliged to present these without realising that this was problematic.

FairPlay also conducted workshops for coaches on antidiscrimination in sports. One of the subjects was how to deal with statements like “black people are per se the better sprinters”. Even during the workshop some trainers gave biological explanations about different Achilles tendons or a different composition of the muscles, which can absorb more oxygen. And, of course, if you continue the discussion about who is black and who not—and so on– then you can manage to break such stereotypes. But the perception about 100-meter sprinters persists: it is an empirical fact that
over the last 40 years of the Olympics, winners in the 100-meter sprint were dark skinned. But then you have to question, why? In Jamaica, 100-meter sprint is highly valued, in contrast to skiing, for example. And of course this applies to certain nationalities and not to all black persons.

Another very persistent stereotype is homosexuality within football: because football is associated with masculinity, women, homosexual persons, and minorities, etc. are excluded. During every match there are chants against homosexual persons—even if there is no single openly declared homosexual person on the playing field. Often referees are insulted in a homophobic way by spectators. With regard to gender the image persists that “football is not biologically compatible with women” and “women have nothing to do on a football ground”, which is considered to be a purely male domain.

Stereotypes about Fans
One general stereotype about “the football fan” is that he is young, male, white, potentially violent, alcohol is important, and that he is a “juvenile delinquent and threat against the order”. But, of course, if you look at the stadium, you will see that fans are not that uniform—even if there is a male surplus. There are a whole range of intellectual fans, and organisations that want to keep the fan culture, as an important popular culture, alive and that want to preserve it as a free social space in contrast to a capitalist logic. But those groups are not visible in contrast to the image of the “violent hooligans”. Within this image it is difficult to notice women or anti-fascist fan cultures (Friedhofstribüne, First Vienna Football Club) or explicitly anti-racist fan cultures. The biggest fan group of the Viennese Club SK Rapid Wien is the “Ultras”–a group that does not tolerate racist assaults within stadiums under the slogan “no politics in the stadium”. It is probable that there are “Ultras” among neo-Nazi fans, but from the official side racism is condemned. This has been, according to Wachter, also one of the positive achievements of the anti-racism work of FairPlay since 1997. It is a fact that within FK Austria Wien violent neo-Nazi fans dominate and also act against other fan groups in a very aggressive way, so they had to change stands.

Minorities within Fan Cultures
If we look at football in Switzerland, we can find a strong fan scene among the so-called “Secondos”, a term which refers to second-generation migrants in Switzerland. Although they are not automatically anti-racist, they represent an important part of the Swiss fan culture (e.g. within FC Basel). What is striking is that there is no such representation of any migrant/minority fan group in Austria. Even if there are more leftist fan groups, they are hesitant to accept, for example, a higher number of fans from the Turkish community at their stands. So we notice a form of “glass ceiling” for minority/migrant fans at Austrian professional football clubs. Migrants with a Turkish background are allowed to support Austrian clubs only if they do not dominate in numbers, if they integrate and keep a very discrete presence. But a bigger fan group of Turkish people would be a big challenge.

(Thes interview with Kurt Wachter, project coordinator of FairPlay/VIDC was taken on 22.04.2013)

Results from the Interview with Johann Skocek, Sports Journalist
Since 1980 Johann Skocek has been a sports journalist writing for quality print media and newspapers like die Presse, der Standard, Falter, Datum. He has been a free journalist since 2004.

Stereotypes about Migrants/Minorities in Sports Journalism
In general, reporting on sports is dominated by a certain “play with stereotypes” because its purpose is to keep the consumers, the spectators, and the radio-listeners happy, to put them in a good mood and to fuel them with desired and taxable feelings. Of course this does not work if common ideas are questioned. Sports project common stereotypes that exist in society, and this is also widespread in Austria and in Viennese sport. Minorities are needed to improve the strengths of their own teams. This is the same as in the labour market: guest workers are brought to Austria for seasonal work—and often they are referred to as having
a weak working moral and that they claim inappropriate wages. Black, African football players or others are “unreliable, may be individually talented but are not disciplined, may not easily integrate into the team and do “fremden” (have a feeling of stranger anxiety).” That means within sports—like in other areas of society—the deficits of the society, e.g. the lack of willingness to welcome newcomers, foreigners in society or to support them with help, instructions and teaching are attributed to the “personal deficit” of the concerned persons, the migrant. And as sport is a field in which stereotypes are usually not questioned, these images conglomerate there. At the same time, the contrary occurs in sports: for right-wing parties and political groups it must be painful to see that the most popular, most talented and best football player in Austria—David Alaba—is the son of a Philippine and a Nigerian. Sport works in both directions at the same time: sport consolidates clichés and stereotypes but, at the same time, it helps to override them.

In Viennese football, integration works quite well—Vienna has a high immigration rate and attracts migrant workers—so integration takes place beneath the Fist League. In the fourth and fifth level, there are some clubs where you find a majority of Turkish people or migrants from the second or third generation or from other nationalities, who compete with Austrians or become friends. The same goes for judo or boxing. Sports are a great, unnoticed, unappreciated way of fostering integration. In other kinds of sports, like skiing, this does not work in the same way, because of reasons I do not quite understand. I do not know one single good skier who originated from a migrant family. In swimming, we have the Jukic (originating from ex-Yugoslavia), who are more or less an exception. And we nearly do not have any black swimmers. Until recently this was explained in journalism by idiotic arguments that black persons have heavier bones. Today we can observe the effects of it within sprint, where the overwhelming presence of black sprinters is exclusively justified—even in serious magazines—with racist characteristics. And they completely ignore which socio-cultural selection mechanisms stand behind those clubs in the USA. For example, many of those clubs have a wide black audience and are anchored in the black community. This has nothing to do with skin color or “race”. Even if blacks’ muscles contract faster than that of white people, this does not mean that one person can run faster. Sprint is a very complex, high performance sport. The techniques can only be achieved after years and years of training, muscles that contract fast are one more or less marginal criterion.

**Is the Production of Stereotypes in Journalism a Conscious Act or Not?**

Both. In boulevard press, it may be a more conscious act, while in other press it may be more unconscious. This could be due to the fact that research or scientific discourses for sports journalists or specialised journalists are rare. Sports or general journalists rarely—exceptions confirm the rule—find themselves on the level of scientific discourses of their time. The tradition of the own narrative culture, as well as the views and positions of the specific newspaper are much stronger than influences from outside (scientific community or migrant community discourses, Zeitgeist/time spirit, etc.). Of course racist, anti-women or xenophobic exclamations in stadiums are influenced by such media attitudes. But often these exclamations—which makes them in no way better—are often not taken that seriously, and sort of play with slogans that result from a certain peer group pressure. If you would approach the people personally, half of them would be scandalised and would reject them being claimed racist. These are often the result of narrative traditions of masses in stadiums in specific situations. Of course, this is not acceptable for the person on the pitch, who is insulted by 1000 people with “uhhhuhhh”.

**Is Alaba able to Influence Stereotypes about People from African Origin?**

This is difficult to assess. I think, yes, if we make use of it and support it with accompanying measures. In former times we had admired a popular “Murln” (“blackamoor”)—as they said—and racism was very prevalent in society. For example, the Brazilian Jacaré, who played for Austria Wien 40 or 50 years ago (engaged in 1962) was the first black player in Austria. He was much admired in Vienna but I think his popularity could not contribute to break the clichés or racism at that time. Today, discourse has changed and
racism has become a topic—which it was not in former times. Nobody has dealt with racism or fought racism in the 1960s. Today it is possible, yet it depends on the specific methods of dealing with it. A positive development is that such idiotic faux-pas like the one from the Governor of Tyrol, Platter (“How do you do?”), is something that does not go unnoticed these days and which is also perceived as idiotic and xenophobic. The governor obviously reacted through a reflex because he must have thought that the black guy has nothing to do with the Austrian national team and that he must be a stranger there. This would be my interpretation from afar. So today the perception is different. If it is better, I don’t know.

And we have to admit that those xenophobic election campaigns by certain political parties have a huge impact on a great part of the population.

Impact of Stereotypes on Recruitment/Labour Market in Sports

Yes, images about certain minority groups have an impact on the recruitment of sports people.

In the Austrian Football League (“Bundesliga”) there has been an interesting phenomenon concerning youth promotion: the placement of Austrian football players, who may be recruited for the Austrian national team, is financially rewarded along the time span of placement-minutes, a measure that hinders the placement of foreign players. This is in fact discrimination that promotes Austrian juniors and provides them with jobs. Half of the money stemming from TV licenses is reserved for the so-called “Austrian pot”. So the more young Austrian players—instead of foreigners—receive a placing, the more money they receive through TV licenses. This is a structural measure, but the national league does not like to hear that this is a measure “against foreigners” and underlines that it is a measure “to promote Austrians”.

But of course you cannot support two different measures at the same time, and this is a measure which does not promote the job situation for foreign players. Someone who does not have the Austrian nationality may not be selected for the national team. And there is much money at stake.

Clichés towards Black People

Also in the USA, discourse has changed. In former times it was not thinkable that a black person could be a quarterback, because he is “intellectually not able” to do that. Now black people are considered to be very fast and good at jumping—as Michael Jordan says in a funny distortion of such clichés: “White man can’t jump”. Two hundred years ago, during the British Empire and colonisation, when British engaged in sports in the colonies (rugby, baseball), the people in Africa or India—who today are seen as strong, persistent, especially skilful in different ways—were considered to be too weak, too coward, too slow, and incapable of learning to do such sports. Clichés have changed, in fact, they are completely reversed these days.

Within sports a lot is happening on the basis of associational structures depending on their home base, selection criteria, clients, training culture, and so on. The most expensive US universities have the best swimming clubs, thereby reaching the 90% white upper class clientele—others may not afford entrance fees. This is one of the main reasons why there are no high-ranking black swimmers. The talent recruitment occurs within the white upper class community. In sprint, it is vice-versa. There are very famous clubs and coaches who have the tradition to mainly select black sprinters within the black communities. Thus, it has nothing to do with physics but with a socio-cultural selection. But it is easier, more “eye-catching” to say blacks are faster.

In Austria, football and boxing is very diverse and swimming does not function in that way because we do not have those expensive universities, and we also have a different associational structure that is more or less open to all. It is less exclusive. The only exception is skiing. Why has there not been any Jukic’s in the Austrian national skiing for the past 50 to 60 years, only Sailer, Gstrein und Hinterseer—purely white? A black Hahnenkamm winner would be something!

Generally, in journalism, stereotypes change very slowly. The topic is not really addressed in journalism and it continues to be transported unconsciously, and not perceived as “a problem”. If it occurs, journalists do
not like to recognise it as such. There is no conscious
treatment of the problem.

**Supplementary Pages for Journalists with Migrant Background**

You cannot consider it as negative but it would be better if der Standard would have ten journalists with a migrant background in its normal paper and would not create its own ghetto. Within the Austrian Broadcasting Corporation (ORF) there are also no sports journalists with a migrant background. And there is none in die Presse or der Standard newspaper. Sport journalism is very old-fashioned when compared to other areas. There are very, very few female journalists, let alone migrants, it is still predominantly male. A solution is to employ migrants.

**How to Write Against Racism?**

It is easy, just do not keep propagating such stereotypes. Maybe take interviews with concerned persons--if it works. Sports persons may indirectly, partly profit from such clichés, thus falling victim to stereotyping is not always considered a big problem for them. Why should I combat a cliché from which I can partly benefit?

*(The interview with Johann Skocek, sports journalist was taken on 08.07.2013)*

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**Results from the Interview with Journalists from the Minority Media “das biber”**

The interview was carried out with Delna Antia, editoria-in-chief (Chefica vom Dienst) and Marko Mestrovic, photo editor from the minority youth magazine das biber.

The founding idea of das biber was to create a magazine, which is produced and written “out of the community” of the young so-called 2nd or 3rd generation immigrants. Das biber started in Vienna and has expanded all over Austria now. The monthly magazine is distributed freely in different shops and has a circulation of 65 000 per month (age group between 15 and 35 years).

Das biber has also created an academy in 2011 for journalism and PR to give scholarships to young scholars from the community. The aim is to train journalists to be represented within the Austrian media and to place as many of them in mainstream media like ORF, Kurier, Der Standard, Die Presse and others.

**Stereotypes**

At biber, of course, we play with stereotypes. Referring to the specific edition of “Thank you, David” with David Alaba, we show a typical sports persons, a football player, a black person in Austria, who is an Austrian, and we reflect this on a very personal level.

We are confronted with a wide range of stereotypes. Last week, we created an artificial term: “Jugobobo”. We tried to visualise how a person would look like, who is half “Bobo”--what is a stereotype in itself--and half “Jugo”. Those stereotypical characteristics should be recognisable, but it was very difficult for us. We received a lot of criticism about the cover. People complained that these or those characteristics were not covered, that the person was not a “Bobo” but a “hipster”, etc.

At the same time, there is a great need for it because it has to do with identity. If we write about something like a “Jugobobo”, then it is something what we observe, we see a phenomenon, and we want to describe it; and you can only describe a phenomenon if you define it. We at biber we consciously play with stereotypes; in former times, we had the “Balkan-Braut” und “Schwabo-Mann”—of course, these are obvious stereotypes, but by pointing it out, it becomes something endearing.

It’s a sort of joke and one should not take us seriously. We are not a scientific journal that depicts the “Jugobobo” in its different characteristics. But in Austria I do not know of any other magazine that deals with stereotypes.

We are working at the level of a magazine, but in society it’s different. And I observe: outside our playful approach there are hardened stereotypical
images in society. You are easily put into one pot if you adhere to a specific group, like wearing a scarf, for example.

At the beginning, we were working a lot with, let’s say, “biber stereotypes”—e.g. Balkan women—but now the topic is sort of ticked off and we started looking at stereotypes that generally exist within youth culture, ranging from “alternative”, “super-hipster” and “nerd”: youth culture and life style.

Stereotypes on ethnic or national origins become less important. Just recently, one journalist from ORF visited us and wanted to know something about “Jugo-clichés” and we recognised that this is not a topic anymore. Das biber now exists since six years, and those were topics in the first three years, it’s a bit off. Now we are more interested in topics within small societies, like the story “are you homosexual, or what?” dealing with male Turks who do not have any fear of contact, which is again such a stereotype. One of our journalists made a funny story about it, because he observes such behaviour in the sauna or on the football ground when he goes out with his Austrian and Turkish friends.

But we had one scandal about our “Mischlinge” (“mixed blood”) cover. It was also put on the cover of the Vienna city newspaper Falter and was highly debated. We made a test in which you could choose the specific national origins of the persons on the photos. We received harsh criticism about our pigeonhole thinking. Interestingly enough, the criticism did not come from the part of concerned persons, meaning mixed persons themselves. Criticism came from a certain intellectual, educated upper class, who associate different things with the term and who have a certain distance to it. But I am mixed, and others also do not have a problem with it. But they say, you cannot use the term “mixed” because it is associated with Nazi-terminology. And we have been accused of making the clichés too strong. But at the same time we have the need to ask who we are? What is worse: that these people are not perceived as Austrians? But they are Austrians, they are the new Austrians. You may not judge the interest of a person who wants to know where you are from. Of course, it is bothersome sometimes, but you cannot deny your oriental look, so why blame a person who wants to know where I am from, it’s normal, also here. In USA it would not be normal. Yesterday, I heard someone say on the podium “I am a trained Austrian”. I do not know what it is but I would like to learn that too! There is still the divide, who is Austrian and who is not.

Stereotypes among Minorities

Yes, we are cultivating that too! Sure, I have the classical image of an Austrian, as well as that of a German in my head. In the office we also poke fun at each other, for instance, Delna is our “German” who is very well organised and ambitious. Then we have two colleagues from Bosnia-Herzegovina—I am one of them. We are the machos and like to flirt; we are charming, but we make lots of fun about that.

The specificity of biber is that, to a great majority, it is the users who write via facebook or on the website. We have many, many users who post their blogs and sometimes we get journalists from there, it is very young. Everybody can write his or her comments.

On facebook we are very strong, just recently we reached 10.000 fans—we even received an award for this last year—because we have a specific exchange with our community, which gives us much feedback. Each time we invite our users to co-decide on the cover, and there is criticism, hard criticism, but good ones too. Of course, if we have stories about current events like Istanbul, then we receive 130.000 comments. And sure, they are more political. It is also a political community, if we have a topic on ex-Yugoslavia, then it goes round here! Or when we have one on the headscarf.

Stereotypes about Minority Groups over Time

I am not sure if we created a “typical stereotype on Turks”, sure we made the “Balkan-woman”, but I think this is due to the difference between Turks and—let’s say “Jugo”—in dealing with themselves. I suppose that for the “Balkan-woman” it is much more fun to read about herself, because she also flirts with that, rather than to say one is aggressive if he is a Turk. It is like saying over and over again women are like this and men are like that, these are stereotypes.
In principal, I am interesting in what is new, what currently goes on, and then I am disappointed if the only public service broadcaster in Austria starts a big campaign and the only Turkish face portrayed in there is the taxi driver—and only through a mirror in the car. This makes me angry, really, that is not fair, and this is not up to date, and it does not reflect society.

We want to show a certain development, we had a wonderful article about this “generation translation”: many of our colleagues who are very ambitious, aspiring, super careerist, super educated, but at the same time, they have very responsible roles within their families. So address more those readers who are “between the worlds”, whose parents may still belong to the classic generation—if we take a prejudice—“Gastarbeiter” (guest worker), who have to take on cleaning jobs or have to drive taxi or work in the building sector, who are very ambitious and want to make career, but they are stuck in-between.

Referring again to Alaba: yes, we need such persons in order to change something. But I do not like it if Austria then rests on other people’s laurels. It is first of all the German media that pushes Alaba, and in the moment he becomes a star, he becomes “our darling” and is presented as “our Austrian Alaba”. Before that nobody knew him.

Stereotypes in other Media

One topic for me is criminality. In those free magazines in the underground I noticed that when Austrians are concerned, they do not write their full names and do not show a picture of them. Yet if foreigners are concerned, you read their full names with picture. Of course they create this image of foreigner being criminals who need the money and are generally aggressive. That´s not ok.

(The interview with Delna Antia and Marko Mestrovic, journalists at “das biber” was taken on 05.07.2013)
about Turkish clubs, that they are “not disciplined”. Within media we are ignored except when something bad happens, like a fight on the pitch. Then we are the bad ones, “Turkish clubs run riot” or “provoke” something like this. But something positive, like what we have done in the past 15 years or how many people we could place in a job, is not written.

Access to Employment:
In former times our main problem was the so-called “foreigner paragraph” (limiting foreign national players in Austrian teams up to three players) and from the start of the club onwards I have been fighting against it. Already in the first year I contacted FairPlay regarding this issue, and we started actions with the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA) in public. The problem was that many of the players with foreign passports couldn´t play, or we had to play with less good players only because of their passport. We wanted to bring this regulation before the High Court of Constitution and made pressure on the Austrian federation, also with the UEFA and the EU, and finally they abolished it in July of this year. In my clubs now there are around 90% Austrian nationals.

How to Deal with Incidents within the Team and on the Pitch?
The players handle it within the team. If two players have a problem, the coach will deal with it, but there are very few incidences. In former times we had the problem of group building, here the Serbs, there the Turks; they played together in the team, were passing the ball to each other of the same community, but finally the coach could handle it. It was not a language problem because the coach speaks German and everybody speaks it too.

There are generally very few problems also between different minority football teams. For instance, we share the ground with the FC Sans Papier and the players forge lots of friendships. Sometimes we had problems if two Turkish teams were playing because of rivalry.

It happened that we had referees say to African players, “give him a banana, for he stands up again” and so on. He meant to be ironic but that´s not the case. And sometimes players have been insulted by spectators saying such things like “fuck Nigger” or “fuck Turk”, but such things also depend on the coaches’ education and awareness, and it is getting better.

(The interview with Mustafa Iscel, head of the football and cultural association Union Vienna Türkgücü SKV was taken on 18.06.2013)

Results of the Interview with Emmanuel Ekeigwe, NAFA Minority Football Club
NAFA is the New African Football Academy, a minority association founded by the Nigerian Emmanuel Ekeigwe in Austria. NAFA´s has been founded as an integrative sports association with the aim to give young people from migrant backgrounds, who cannot afford membership fees in other clubs, the opportunity to play football and to provide them with the needed infrastructure. The idea was to give young football talents the chance to practice and to become a professional player one day. Besides football the association also does different social and community projects like assistance for administrative issues or in housing, and they organise German language courses. NAFA has also been mentioned as a good practice example of a migrant-organisation within sports (Witoszynskij/Moser 2010:61).

German lessons have been cancelled because of the lack of resources, and NAFA is purely dependant on the work of volunteer teachers. Actually NAFA has two teams, one U23 and one contest team, but no junior team. They started to build up a women team.

Stereotypes/Racism in Football:
Within the club we do not have racist incidences but it can occur if we play against others. In former times we had problems with referees who have prejudices against people of different colour. The Vienna football federation is aware of the problem that affects the so-called minority clubs. There are also Turkish clubs that lodge complaints before the federation. The federation also supported us in organising specific events such as round tables to talk about specific situations, where we invited referees, and we explained our problems with prejudices. Unfortunately, only few referees are willing to attend such meetings. Those who attend are already
aware of it and they like us, thus the message could not be passed on very far. Only last week we had an incidence again with one referee, he–I think he really has a problem with dark skin–gave us four red cards, even the opponent team was complaining about that. But the federation says it’s FIFA rules, and what the referee decides, cannot be questioned. I had to pay more than 1000 € in fines. We tried to work on the boys, and to teach them to be disciplined. But it’s not their problem, it’s not about discipline, football is about communication. We have people from Afghanistan, the Czech Republic, Austria, and we have Africans, all speak different languages. Sometimes one player says “hoppala” in his language and the referee takes it personal, he takes it as an insult and gives a card. Last year I paid 4000 € only in fines, but I do not have any funding, I struggle to not have to close the project.

Sometimes the referees tell me that the boys “play wild” or another said “they are talking too much with each other”–I said, but communication is part of the game. They are not comfortable with that, it’s also a different culture. In the last match two players were excluded because of “talking”. Or they say “Turks are making noise”.

Stereotypes in the Media:

Of course there are “black drug dealers”, things like that. In my view, Austria does not have a history of colonialism with Africa, the problem is new: if the police are on the street and see five black people gathered, speaking, telling stories, the police will see it in a different way.

What we see in the media is: “drug business”, that is what they attach as stigma to the black people, and this particular stigma is due to the government’s failure to show a genuine openness to tackle it. Austrian society is made like that: to have some people to blame for the politicians’ failures. During the election period you see them chase black people on the street.

The same is for other communities: the Romanians are stigmatised as “rob band”, “robbery”, many of them are called “pickpockets”. Or “the Turkish, they are loud, they are aggressive, they are violent”. Every community has a stigma attached to them in an Austrian setting, and it is a manufactured setting. We try to live with it. We can only work against it when the state opens up. What I see in Austria is what we call “institutional racism”.

Positive Stereotype

Alaba is a positive stereotype, this is a black person, he is good. We know those positive stereotypes about Africans who “run very fast, they have endurance, it is in their nature” but how can we make use of it? There is some potential. People like Alaba can have influence, he is still very young, but he is doing the right things, he does not talk too much, and he also says nothing even if he is personally attacked.

(The interview with Emmanuel Ekeigwe, head of the New African Football Academy (NAFA) was taken on 21.06.2013)

Conclusions & Suggestions from interviews:

Football & Diversity: Diversity in professional Austrian Football is a new phenomenon which arose mainly in the course of the preparation for the UEFA EURO 2008 with a new wave of players from Turkish or Ex-Yugoslavian background. Before that the Austrian national team was predominately mainstream and today the Austrian football stars are all with migrant background. This is due to geographical changes but also the willingness of the Austrian football scene to open up. There is a form of structural discrimination, where football, TV and recruitment of players are interlinked: Within this system called “TV pot”, money is distributed per assignment in minutes of Austrian nationals, and these clubs, who deploy more Austrian nationals, get more money from the Austrian Football League. The promotion of minority football clubs and the abolition of all forms of structural discrimination, like the limitations of foreign national players or the “TV pot”, are important measures to combat discrimination in Austrian football.

Sports & Media: Generally in sports reporting is dominated by a certain “play with stereotypes”, because sports reporting mainly exists to keep the consumers, the spectators happy. Sport is a field where
stereotypes are usually not questioned; sport consolidates clichés and stereotypes but at the same time helps to override them (see the famous case of David Alaba). Sport does a great, unnoticed, unappreciated integration work. Because of its high immigration rate, e.g. the Viennese football integration works quite well at a local level.

The production of stereotypes in journalism is both a conscious (especially in boulevard) and non-conscious act. The consideration of research results or scientific discourses for sports journalists or specialized journalists are rare. This often depends on the own narrative tradition of the specific Newspaper. Within the Austrian Broadcasting Corporation ORF there are no sports journalists with migrant background (with one recent exception), and no one either in quality journals like Die Presse or Der Standard. Sport journalism is very “old fashioned” compared to other resorts, there a very, very few female journalists, let alone migrants, it is still predominantly male.

**Minority & Media:** The community youth magazine “das biber” has created an academy in 2011 for journalism and PR to give scholarships to young scholars from the community. The aim is to train journalists to be represented within the Austrian media and to place as many of them in mainstream media. biber is very much “playing with stereotypes” in order to incite broad discussion (via social media) about specific topics concerning (young) Austrians with or without migrant or minority background. Important issues are the question of identities, life style and youth cultures, which constantly change, and of course the societal segregation; one journalist points it out: “There is still the divide, who is Austrian and who is not.”

**Minority & Sport:** Minority football clubs play an important role in the integration of migrants and in combating discrimination & stereotypes in football. Starting their activities often as nationally or culturally homogenous clubs, they open up to other community groups and integrate also minorities from different nationalities or asylum seekers. Besides football, the associations organize cultural events, German language courses, training, car driving or computer courses or different social activities for their members as well as for others and thus do a lot of “social work”. Minority clubs also provide awareness raising training for referees or sports administrators. Their work is mostly ignored by media except it is “bad news” (e.g. “Turkish clubs run riot”). In Austria, every community has a stigma attached to it, which is perpetuated by media coverage about “Black drug dealers”, Rumanian pickpockets” or “aggressive Turks”. One major challenge for community clubs is the lack of financial resources.

**Some recommendations:**
- Awareness raising workshops with Austrian sports journalists, team coaches and fan groups
- Promotion of non-discriminatory fan-culture as important popular culture and as “free social space”
- Promotion of migrant/minority players, coaches, fan-groups (e.g. Turkish fan groups at Austrian professional clubs), sports administrators (“glass-ceiling”)
- Promotion of minority sports clubs and valuating their work (e.g. reources)
- The employment of migrant/minority journalists within the newspaper instead of editing separate pages or supplements for them
- Don’t keep the tradition of such stereotypes, write against racism, make interviews with concerned persons
- Good practices
General introduction: on the applied methods and basic information on “open meetings”

Structure of “open meetings”:
VIDC has carried out two open meetings (OM 1 and OM 2) in Vienna and surrounding areas between mid-August and beginning of September 2013 in the framework of the BEAMS projects’ workstream 2 (WS 2) activities.

Open Meeting 1 - “Discrimination in Football” (Football Club SC Süssenbrunn)
The locality chosen for the first open meeting was the canteen of a football ground in Süssenbrunn, the northern suburban area of the Austrian capital Vienna. The training ground is the headquarters of the amateur football club SC Süssenbrunn, which participates in the Vienna Football League (1st class B). SC Süssenbrunn was founded by an Austrian national with Yugoslavian background. The club is has been a long standing cooperative partner of the Football Against Racism Initiative FairPlay-VIDC. The club´s philosophy is to promote diversity and to combat all forms of racism. Thus the football team brings together players of very different ethnic, religious and national origins. Among the players are persons who originate from former Yugoslavian countries – including Roma and Sinti –, from Turkey, Afghanistan, Syria, various African countries such as Côte d’Ivoire, Gambia, Nigeria, as well as Austrians and so-called “second generation” immigrants. The age group of the players ranges from 18 to 25 years.

The aim of the open meeting was to confront the discussants with stereotypical material and to ask the participants to express their opinions on this material. Most of the participants of the open meeting were players in the football team SC Süssenbrunn. In addition, players of other clubs as well as fans and spectators who were present that day participated in the discussion. The ages of all discussants ranged from 18 to 40 years, however, the majority were young adults. Due to the composition of the group, participants were mainly male-identified persons.

The general area of focus was discrimination and racism in sports/football, more specifically the ways in which human capital development, employment, social interaction, social behavior and mass-media representations of sportspeople are affected by discrimination and racism in sports. The aim was to collect reactions on the chosen examples and to gain insights into the perception and experiences of players, fans and football audiences with stereotypes and racist incidents in not only sports and football, but also in wider society.

Methodology:
The discussion took place during an amateur football tournament. This guaranteed the presence of a more heterogeneous audience and a number of different football teams. Through the distribution of leaflets, spectators and fans were invited to participate in a discussion focusing on “discrimination and racism in football” with the team of the SC Süssenbrunn. As the discussion took place in the public area of the canteen of the football ground, people who were coming and going were invited to join. To start the discussion, facilitators distributed different images and a set of quotations from different media collected for the workstream 1 (WS 1) and beyond.

The basic material used for Open Meeting 1 consisted of a sample of collected images of positive and negative stereotypes about different ethnic minority groups: Turkish, Balkan region, African/Black minorities, Roma/Romnja & Sinti/Sintize, as well as more “typical” Austrians. The images also included the mainstream topics of gender, religion and sexual orientation. In addition to the images, we used controversial
stereotypical citations drawn from media articles that stressed particular images of certain ethnic minority groups (e.g. “Turks are not willing to integrate”, “Africans have football in their blood” etc.). The participants were given time to look at the image samples and to comment on them among each others. The fact that most of the participants already knew each other (as teams) contributed to a atmosphere of trust, despite the fact that the meeting took place in a public place. The discussion was moderated by two facilitators who pointed to specific topics, encouraged the participants in asking additional questions, and fed the discussion with more input and additional material. Facilitators kept in mind the different scopes covered by the BEAMS project:

- Racist /stereotypical images and perspective: majority to minority perception, minority to minority, and minority to majority perception.
- Representation of migrant/minority groups mainly affected by discrimination and racism in Austria.
- Images produced by (mainstream) media and perception.
- Impact of racist/stereotypical attitudes in the areas of employment, social interaction, social behavior and mass-media representations.

Table 2: Samples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Image</th>
<th>Description /Quotation</th>
<th>Stereotype/Issues addressed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stereotypical representation of African/Black persons within sports</td>
<td>“Puma Video-Spots” “Samual Eto´o roaring like a lion.</td>
<td>Ascribing “wilderness”</td>
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<tr>
<td><img src="https://example.com/image1.jpg" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>See Chapter 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>“It is like dancing. A coloured simply has completely different movements; this is not a question of a different training.” (German coach Ribbeck in <a href="http://www.zeit.de">www.zeit.de</a> 24/2000 cit. in Wachter 2010:7).</td>
<td>Ascribing “biological differences”</td>
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<tr>
<td>“…physical superiority of the Ghanaians because of their genetics”</td>
<td>Ascribing “biological differences” (“physical</td>
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</table>

With the permission of the participants, the discussion was recorded on audio and video for the purpose of the EU-project BEAMS. Ultimately a three minute video spot was produced (see on YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BwemiHSV3g).

On a whole, 26 people participated in the discussion.

Samples and material used for the open meeting:
The material used for the discussion included images (pictures, comics) and quotes from newspaper articles drawn from print papers and the internet as well as entries in blogs. We used a) a selection of images drawn from the collection of popular culture (PC) productions from WS 1 (see Chapter 1- Image Collection) as well as b) additional images, quotations and excerpts drawn from texts and articles found in print texts and on the internet (see the more detailed description of some examples in Chapter 1). One important focus was made on “counter images” produced by artists, journalists, media persons – most of them of migrant/minority background - challenging different forms of stereotypical, discriminatory and/or racist representation or questioning them in articles or via other popular cultural products:
<table>
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<tr>
<th>(German coach Löw on <a href="http://www.N24.de">www.N24.de</a>, 04.12.2009)</th>
<th>superiorit&quot;)</th>
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<tr>
<td>“According to a study the viscosity, say fluidity, of the blood of Black Africans is different. There is of course no proven evidence. Fact is that those players hardly have ligament ruptures. Also in endurance and power training the players are extremely strong. [...] And they have an intuition to do the rights thing in the right moment [...]” (famous football coach Otto Pfister in <a href="http://www.dfb.de">www.dfb.de</a>, 29.03.2010, FIFA WM).</td>
<td>Ascribing “biological differences”</td>
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<td>“Africans have football in their blood” (Pfister in <a href="http://www.FIFA.com">www.FIFA.com</a>, 11. April 2011)</td>
<td>Ascribing “biological differences”</td>
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<td>See Chapter 1</td>
<td>“How do you do?” “The Alaba – Platter case”: One picture/comic depicting the embarrassing dialogue between the Austrian football star and the governor</td>
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<td>See Chapter 1</td>
<td>Cover photo of the youth magazine “das Biber” with the portrait of David Alaba as popular hero. (See Chapter 1). “Thank you, David! Why black is ok now.”</td>
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<tr>
<td>See Chapter 1</td>
<td>“The winner can already indulge in one banana. Richly deserved. And with the trophy money of 15,000 USD–in addition to some time premium–he’ll be able to afford more bananas and other exotic fruits.” (ORF TV Moderator, 19. April 2009)</td>
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<tr>
<td>See Chapter 1</td>
<td>“Marathon-Mafia” “The whole African marathon mafia should not be admitted anymore. They fly from country to country and cash up everywhere. This whole thing is just ridiculous.” (oe24.at 16.04.2012) (Post by a reader of a mainstream newspaper online as reaction on an article about the 2012 winner of the Vienna City Marathon of African origin.)</td>
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<td>See Chapter 1</td>
<td>“Pickpocket” (with Austrian football legend Herbert Prohaska) (Campaign Blackaustria “Leiberltausch”, 2007)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stereotypical representation of African/Black persons with regards to advertising &amp; labour market</td>
<td>&quot;Look at the wilderness in his face” (Advertisement by a travel agency)</td>
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<td>“In Africa children never arrive late at school. But not at all.” (Advertisement by Unicef)</td>
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<td><img src="image1.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>“Meet Africa’s royal families living in Vienna!” (Advertisement by Vienna Zoo)</td>
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<tr>
<td><img src="image2.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>Campaign against Austrian brewery depicting a “blackamoor” in its label (Campaign by M-Media)</td>
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<td><img src="image3.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>’Angelo X’: Artist image dealing with the history of racism in Austria looking back to the Austrian monarchy. The most famous Black person, who lived in Austria in the 18th century, Angelo Soliman, was brought as a slave, became a respected person of Viennese high society, but was exposed in the Imperial Museum after his death (sic!). The artwork connects Angelo Soliman with Malcom X as famous Black Power symbol with the aim of challenging racism in general. (Angelo X, 2006/2011. Foto/Grafik: Robert Sturm. Wien Museum”)</td>
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<td><img src="image4.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>“Who is cleaning in your home?” (Advertisement by the Green party, 2013)</td>
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<td><img src="image5.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>Open letter from “Black Women*, Women of Color* and Migrant Women** in Austria. In their statement, the women defended themselves against the “unreflected use of images as catalyst for discussions” (ANAR.wien mailing list, 27.08.213)</td>
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<td><img src="image7.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>Stereotypical representation of migrants with Turkish background</td>
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<td><img src="image8.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>“Turks are criminal, unwilling, religious” Turks as Stereotype. One article in the Austrian daily newspaper “Die Presse” written by a journalist of Turkish migrant background summarises the most widespread stereotypical images about “Turks in Austria”</td>
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<td><img src="image9.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>“Turkish female fans”</td>
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<tr>
<td><img src="image10.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>“Turkish siege” The Austrian journalist Duygu Özkan, published her first book under the provoking title “Turkish siege” (“Türkenbelagerung”), presenting the Austrian Turkish Community beyond the “3 K’s”: headscarf, kebab and coffee (Kopftuch, Kebab und Kaffee). (<a href="http://www.m-media.or.at">www.m-media.or.at</a> 14.04.2011)</td>
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<td>Title</td>
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<td>Made in Turkey</td>
<td>The youth magazine “das Biber” brought the portrait of chief of cabinet of the former Austrian state secretary grown up in Turkey, where he finished school and came back to Austria for his study. (das Biber okt 2012)</td>
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<td>Counter image</td>
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<td>Austro-Turkish writer, Inan Türkmen</td>
<td>The Austro-Turkish writer, Inan Türkmen, provoked fierce discussions in Austria (even among the Turkish communities) with his book “We are arriving” (“Wir kommen”) (book cover). (Die Presse, Print-Ausgabe, 02.05.2012; <a href="http://www.m-media.or.at">www.m-media.or.at</a>)</td>
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<td>See Chapter 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stereotypical representation of migrants with former Yugoslavian background (including Roma/Romnja &amp; Sinti/Sintize)</td>
<td>“Too much ‘Tschusch’ in sports???” - Example cited by a Blogger, who witnessed the following dialogue: “In the fitness-center: ‘Hey, Franzl, did you hear about fit inn, 20 Euros per month!’ – ‘Leave me in peace, Walter, there are only Tschuschen over there’ ‘Ok, but did you hear from Mcfit’ – ‘Leave me alone, only Tschuschen over there, too.’” (“Zschusch” is a pejorative term for foreigner especially from Former Yugoslavian countries) (Blogger in “das Biber”, 2009)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reaction of xenophobic discourse observed by a reader</td>
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<tr>
<td>The patriotic Serbian trumpet</td>
<td>“The patriotic Serbian trumpet”</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stereotype with regards to Serbia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Super-GAU with Balkan women</td>
<td>“Super-GAU with Balkan women”: The youth magazine “das Biber” published an article, in which they constructed stereotypes of women from the Balkan regions. The series followed-up on a former survey among “Balkan-women” users on the typical “Schwabo-man” (rough expression among “Jugo-migrants” for Austrians). (das Biber May 2011)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Self-stereotypisation</td>
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<td>Jugobobo</td>
<td>“Jugobobo”: The youth magazine “das Biber” created a new type of Viennese subculture. The name “Jugobobo” connects the term “Jugo”, which is a more or less pejorative name for migrants originating from the former Yugoslavia—which became a common self-description for young Austrians with a migration background nowadays—with the term “bobo” “Bohemian Bourgeois”, denoting liberal alternative urban people. (das Biber Okt 2013)</td>
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<td>Self-stereotypisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Why do you want to eat us?</td>
<td>Why do you want to eat us? Controversial artwork questioning the unreflected use of racist terminology in Austrian food industry (Artwork by Marika Schmidt)</td>
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<td>Counter image/art protesting against racism, stereotypes</td>
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<td>Protest by well known personalities against the “begging ban” of the city of Graz</td>
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<td><strong>Stereotypical representation of new generation Austrians/persons with migration background</strong></td>
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<td>“Callcenter”: Everyday story, prejudices, lies</td>
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<td>“They told me, that my name would frighten people on the phone and it would be better to present myself as ‘Huber’. I am against it, but as I wanted to earn some money there, I condoned.” (Blogger Toumaj Khakpour in “das Biber” about his job at the call center)</td>
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<td>„German on the pitch”: one article in “das Biber” focusing on the issue of multiple mother tongues used by football players on the pitch. Some trainer - even those with “migrant background” themselves prescribe to only speak German during training and matches (das Biber May 2012)</td>
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<td>“the Kanak”, “the Styler”</td>
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<td>Young generation Austrians present themselves in the youth magazine “das Biber” (Kanake is a pejorative term for migrants, e.g. for Migrants with Turkish background)</td>
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<td>“I am the Ösi-Boy”</td>
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<td>Ösi-Bua a.k.a. Cedrick Mugiraneza is an Austrian musician of Burundi origin. He produced a video challenging xenophobia by using particular Austrian stereotypes.</td>
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<td><strong>Sounds.butter. Interactive design: Stereotype on burkha</strong></td>
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<td><a href="http://www.sounds.butter.com">www.sounds.butter.com</a></td>
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<th><strong>“Girl playing football” (FairPlay-VIDC)</strong></th>
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<th><strong>“Sexy in stubbles”: Portrait of a young, successful Croatian female football coach. After her career with the women team of Dynamo Zagreb and the Croatian national team, she began her career as a coach. Beside her career as coach, she works as a model. (“das Biber” 11/2012).</strong></th>
<th><strong>Counter image</strong></th>
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<th><strong>Woman football professional wearing a scarf</strong></th>
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<th><strong>Ibtihaj Muhammad is an American sabre fencer and member of the United States fencing team. She is best known for being the first Muslim woman to compete for the United States in international competition in her sport.</strong></th>
<th><strong>Counter image</strong></th>
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<th><strong>The Afghan women’s national football team</strong></th>
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<th><strong>Stereotypes towards sexual orientation (focus sports)</strong></th>
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<td>„I know, there is no homosexual in my team. I recognize a gay within 10 minutes and I do not want them in my team“. (Otto Baric, Ex-coach of Austrian, Croatian and Albanian football teams, cit. in FairPlay)</td>
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| „I´m a 34-year-old NBA center. I´m black. And I´m gay” – (Outing of NBA basketball player Jason Collins, 2013) | **Homophobia in sports** |

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<th><strong>Stereotypical representation of Austrian majority population</strong></th>
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<td>„Folkloric couple“ („Trachtenpärchen“) wearing Austrian traditional costumes</td>
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| „Austria as Schnitzel“- Wiener Schnitzel | **Austrian „food“** |
Open Meeting 2 – “Combating Racism and Discrimination in Sport” - (FairPlay/VIDC)

In contrast to the first open meeting, the second focused on practitioners in the anti-discrimination and anti-racism field. This meeting was conducted at VIDC, organized as an open discussion between sports and educational experts, fans, coaches, player representatives of Austrian/national sports institutions, workshop leaders, and activists in the field of anti-discrimination. The open meeting was organized in cooperation with FairPlay-VIDC with the aim of inviting different people, who have collaborated with FairPlay and participated in their activities, campaigns and workshops since the beginning of the existence of the FairPlay “Football against racism” initiative in 1997.

Participants:
In contrast to the first open meeting, which brought together participants representing mainly migrant/minority groups of younger age, the participants of the second meeting were mostly representatives of majority Austrian population and experts of minority origin working in the area of anti-discrimination within sports/football, or representatives of fan initiatives or trainers/educators in the anti-discrimination field. The distribution of age and gender as well as the level of education was more heterogeneous in this group. 21 persons between the age of 20 to 50 years participated in this second open meeting, and eight of them were women.

Methodology:
The open meeting was structured like a workshop and was entitled “Combating Racism and Discrimination in Sport.” The aim was to give answer to three major questions and to get output and recommendations drawn from the experiences of professional persons aware about the issues:
Review: Major changes and significant improvement in the anti-discrimination awareness-raising field in sports/football over the last 10-20 years
Appraisal: What stereotypes/forms of racism/racist assaults persist?
Future: What are major challenges and new inputs for the future?

As an introduction or “icebreaker” to the session we presented the video spot of Open Meeting 1 at Süssenbrunn that showed some reactions of football players to stereotypes and racist experiences. As the majority of the participants had a longer experience with the problematic of racism and discrimination and were involved in anti-discrimination and anti-racism activities themselves, we decided to take a different approach by focusing more on the real challenges for practitioners in combating racism within sport/football.

After the presentation of the video, three short inputs were given: 1) one by a representative of the football fan initiative project “Tatort Stadion” (“crime-scene stadium”), 2) one by a workshop trainer and amateur football player of minority African origin and 3) the last one by the scientist and coordinator of the Ministerial working group “Sports & Integration” (ARGE Sport & Integration), who published a study on behalf of the Austrian sports ministry on integration and social inclusion within sports5. The discussion was moderated by Bella Bello Bitugu, education scientist, antidiscrimination trainer, first Black referee in Austria, former member of the FairPlay team, and currently Director of the Sport Directorate of the University of Ghana, Legon, focusing on sports & development. His wide range of competences also gave Bitugu the opportunity to talk about his own experiences as a Black referee in Austria.

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www.plattform-educare.org (02.10.2013)
From production to perception

Description of the Dynamics during the Open Meetings

Main “realities” perceived, suggested and interpreted by the audience

Due to the different approach of analyses with respect to the three-fold perspective (majority to minority, minority to majority, minority to minority) the composition of the discussants differed between both groups. The first group was mainly composed of young people from migrant backgrounds, including those of African and Turkish origin, migrants from former Yugoslavian states, and members of Roma communities. Most of them were probably already exposed to discrimination and racism as football players and/or as individuals. The aim of the first group was to find out more about the perception of stereotypes either from the perspective of being a member of the majority towards minority groups or of minorities among themselves. One focus was to find out whether stereotypes produced by mainstream media and within sports administration and sports culture about, for example, African athletes, are replicated by members of other (non visible) minority groups. Thus to start the discussion, we showed stereotypical images and quotes from newspapers targeting the main migrant/minority groups selected for the project. The participants were given a couple of minutes to look over the images, exchange their opinions about the images and comment on them; some images incited some reaction, others not at all.

As the audience was mainly composed of participants of migrant/minority background, the perception of the images differed from that of a mainstream Austrian audience. The participants were of course more concerned by racist and stereotypical images and citations and their reaction ranged from shaking one’s head in disbelief, to resigned remarks like “typical, always against foreigners!,” or even to humoristic exclamations and laughter.

Participants did not only comment on images targeting the own community or minority group. Looking at stereotypical images towards other migrant groups encouraged participants to reach out to the others and start discussion.

Interestingly, the images and quotes targeting people of African origin caused different reactions. One first reaction to the quote “Africans have football in their blood!” came from a team colleague of Turkish origin who exclaimed: “At least, something positive!” Then, after some discussion, the same participant deconstructed this “positive stereotype” himself by pointing out that:

“This is again an excuse, saying ‘Africans have football in their blood.’ This is again this mistake to put everybody in one pot. He, for instance, [pointing to one of his team colleagues of Côte d’Ivoire] is the best player in sports club Süssenbrunn. And he, for instance, [pointing to another African team colleague] is the worst player. Both are Africans. You have to distinguish between persons: why they are different from white people in football? One reason why they are struggling much more, are running much more, is for example that they do not have as much possibilities there as we have, a perfect grass field or anything else, and that they consider football as only means to escape.” (Young team player of Turkish origin)

Also, images which referred to biased media representations targeting a specific migrant/minority group elicited the exclamation by a member of that group: For example, a Turkish participant reacted to an image showing an obviously aggressive Turkish fan by exclaiming “Why always the Turks, gosh! There are more Serbs here!” His reaction related to the fact that, according to statistics, Turkish migrants in Austria are less important in number than immigrants from former Yugoslavian states, but the media disproportionately focuses on this immigrant group by emphasizing their national, cultural or religious background.
The discussion also touched on the famous “Alaba-Platter case” – when the Governor of Tyrol welcomed Austrian national team player and Austrian born David Alaba in English – a case known by almost all participants from the media. The humoristic cartoon about that incident, serving as a reminder of that case, also paved the way for a discussion on the subject of “integration” of Austrians of foreign origin respective to the perception of the next generation of young immigrants. One participant of Turkish origin, pointing to the picture showing David Alaba, started discussion by explaining:

“This issue, I did notice it that time, it was the sports minister or who was it? This Alaba has grown up in Austria and this guy is talking English to him! – [general laughter]”. “That’s right, I also read it in the ‘Kronen Zeitung’!”. “I think, it was even live on TV. Imagine, you are growing up here and then one approaches you in English and says: ‘How do you do?!’. That’s little bit…”. - “Embarassing!” - “Stupid!” - “Yes, but not for Alaba, but for that other guy it is embarassing, although, does one know if he [the Governor] is even ashamed? You cannot know.” - “But was does this example show?” [facilitors input] - “Yes, you thing he cannot speak German, and this is racist.”

In the following, the case of the young Austrian football star led to a comparison of what “integration” means concerning other minority groups, e.g. the Turkish immigrant group:

“Many of them are already integrated, but although you have integrated, you are not even accepted. My brothers so far, they are born here, they are real Austrians, they perceive themselves as such, but they are not accepted. They travel to Turkey during holidays, nothing more, but as Austrians they are not accepted, even if they are no foreigners any more. I have arrived afterwards, ok. You could say to me, or to my parents, you should integrate, but my brothers? They do not have to integrate, they already grew up here, they have copied many things from Austrians, rather behave like them, but as such they are not accepted!” (Turkish team player)

On the facilitator’s question, whether participants have the impression that sometimes media is not reflecting the issues, participants pronounced their concerns:

“Yes, of course, always about foreigners, it’s always about foreigners!”

“You are right! The ‘Österreich’-newspaper usually writes…, a racist newspaper. If a foreigner beats an Austrian, he directly will go to jail, if an Austrian beats a foreigner, nothing happens.”

“If I open the sports section of the ‘Österreich’-newspaper, they write again about “the Turks”, or page 3, if it’s politics, again, “Muslims killed…”

“The worst is ‘Österreich’-newspaper, there are many lies, even racist. They write ‘Moslems kill each other’ if one Turk had stabbed someone to death, and describe all details; if it had happen to an Austrian, they ignore. They really write ‘the Turk’, ‘the Serbian’, ‘the terrorist’. It is exaggerated. Sure, Austrian media won’t write against Austrians, it’s comprehensible, but on the other hand this is racism.” (Young player of Turkish background)

Biased and stereotypical tendencies within mass media in Austria – with its main representatives “Kronen Zeitung”, “Österreich” or “Heute” newspapers (the latter two distributed freely in the Vienna subway stations) – were familiar to all participants and mostly perceived as xenophobe or racist. Simultaneously, participants expressed a certain resignation that such boulevard press may not be changed at all. Participants cited numerous examples of biased or xenophobe news coverage on “foreigners” in general. This testimony corresponds with the statements of the journalists from the youth magazine das Biber (see Chapter 1) with
regard to the tendency within mass media to produce disproportionately negative reporting concerning non-nationals, e.g. by emphasizing criminal cases where migrants or non-nationals are involved, in writing down full names of the suspected persons or showing excessively their pictures. This causes the feeling of unequal depiction between “Austrians” and “foreigners,” to the detriment of the latter. Very often members of migrant or minority communities or persons with migration/minority background have to justify themselves because of the “negative image” produced by media and are put in a situation where they have to defend each other. Sometimes they even apologize:

„Yes, partly we are also responsible for that.”

„As I said, there are some 20-30% who want to exclude Turkish people in saying ‘we don’t want the Turks here, because they only cause trouble’. On the one hand they are right, if you look at the image of criminality in Vienna, I would say, 30-40% is on our responsibility, it’s also our fault. But you cannot put everybody in one pot, you cannot say “all” Turks are behaving like that.” (Young player of Turkish origin)

Within boulevard media the divide between nationals and non-nationals or migrants, which shapes Austrian society, became apparent and was also largely perceived by the majority of discussants. Mass media is dedicated to the Austrian majority reader; it is therefore likely that foreign nationals, migrants or minority groups do not feel represented in an adequate and equal way by the media. A reaction can be a return towards other media that is not specifically Austrian. The consequences caused by such a negative perspective by a majority of the new generation of young Austrians that have diverse backgrounds gives reason to think about the future participation of this young generation in society.

The impact of the negative representation of migrants/minorities in mass media should be seriously considered concerning the ways it affects the process of giving a feeling of being “welcomed” by society or “being part” of that society to specific groups. The feeling of many young new generation immigrants in Austria of being excluded from society is unfortunately fortified by xenophobic mass media reporting.

Do stereotypes correspond to the producer’s intentions or not?

Concerning counter images or campaigns against discrimination and racism, most of the participants liked the way that the youth magazine das Biber plays with stereotypes and prejudices and creates different “life-styles” and “types” in a humoristic way. For instance self-representations of young people in the magazine such as “the styler” or “the kanak” gained much positive feedback and laughter from the participants. On the other hand, campaigns by the Austrian Black community, like the “Black Austria campaign” (see Chapter 1) or the campaign of the African Networking Platform (AVP) were sometimes initially misunderstood. One image shows the portrait of former national football team player and coach Herbert Prohaska, who participated in the Black Austria campaign as celebrity. He is wearing a black T-shirt with the inscription “pickpocket” - the subtext states “If I would be black, I would not have a chance” (The campaign was titled “Leiberltausch” – “T-shirt exchange”). The image caused a reaction contrary to what was intended with the campaign:

„I want to say something about the image of Herbert Prohaska. I know Prohaska, I always followed his comments and know him since he was playing football. And I really liked this person, but this? Could this be a fake or maybe, maybe it is not really meant as it is written here. But from a person like Prohaska, who is a real professional, an Austrian legend, I really did not expect such unprofessional marketing or so. To be honest, I am very disappointed!”

After inquiry from the facilitators about the exact cause of his disappointment, the player, who is of Serbian migrant background, explained: “If I would be Black, I would not have a chance and then it’s written, pickpocket, that means, Blacks are pickpockets!”
Another participant intervenes: “But if I would be Black I would not have a chance, what he exactly means with that? Because the t-shirt is black?”

“As I said, one Black person could take it with humor, but another could be affronted at the same time.”

After facilitator’s explanation that the campaign’s intention was to act against specific stereotypes, another participant joined discussion: “In fact this is intended to be anti-racism”. “Yes, but that’s it! People may get it the wrong way. Maybe this is marketing but people may not get the message. People also will read this who do not reflect a lot, so it might happen, that it results in a real defamation. May be, may be not.”

“However, I never expected Prohaska to do such things. He is not racist, because Prohaska is a sportsperson within the UEFA, respect a.s.o., therefore especially he could not do such things, in my opinion, but Black persons may get it as an implicit insult. It was the same for me: I also got it wrong when I looked at the image the very first time.” (Team player of Serbian origin)

Concerning the representation of women in sports or the question of religion and the public perception of Muslims in Austrian society, it was again mostly members of Turkish immigrant communities who seem to be specifically concerned by the topic. After facilitators pointed to a picture of a woman wearing headscarf, sitting in front of a computer and smoking a cigarette, the reaction were as follows:

“Yes, exactly, headscarf or hijab: that’s not we, the Turks, this more “eastern” [countries], but within us Muslims there are different let’s say “heads”. If for example one lady or one Austrian would see her like this in the subway, he would change his seat, thinking, ‘why she is wearing a scarf or a veil here in Vienna! She is not allowed to do so!’ people would say. But this is bullshit. It’s her culture, it’s her religion, she only shows, I’m a Muslim. Austria is a free country, she is allowed to do so, but people want to show her: no, in Vienna she is not allowed to running around wearing a headscarf.” (Player of Turkish origin)

The participants were also very open concerning the participation of women in sports and also the participation of Muslim women in sports. The images of a female professional football player and a fencer wearing a scarf gained full support:

“Sports with headscarf, exactly, sports with headscarf, why not. […] Yes, there is some positive developments in the last couple of years, this is beautiful, you can see a female goalie standing in the gate. Or a fencer. Although there are still many people who would say: ‘what is she doing here?’”

Participants underlined that the aim was to convince those people in a positive way. Although this is challenging it is a manageable task. For them, the BEAMS open discussion that was conducted in Süssenbrunn was one means to reach that aim.

“Irrespective of whether the video will be on YouTube or elsewhere, we want to show, that we are against fascism, we are against xenophobia. This is what we want to show!” (Team player of Turkish origin)

The change of perception according to different participants

The second open discussion was composed by a very heterogeneous group of participants bringing together both people from majority and minority background. Their unifying characteristic was that all of them were active in anti-discrimination and awareness-raising within sports. Also their age group and educational background was more heterogeneous, ranging from university scientists and sports administration experts to NGO activists, educators, fans, players and coaches. This second meeting had more of the character of an expert discussion led by three main questions: 1) What are the major changes and significant improvement in the anti-discrimination awareness raising field in
sports/football over the last 10-20 years? 2) What stereotypes/forms of racism/racist assaults persist? 3) What are major challenges and new inputs for the future? The discussion started with inputs from three experts, beginning with Alex Fontó, a member of the working group “Tatort Stadion” (crime-scene stadium), a travelling exhibition dealing with different forms of discrimination in football stadiums (sexism, anti-Semitism, homophobia, anti-ciganism, islamophobia). The exhibition documents racist incidents that have occurred in Austria on the one hand, and on the other hand it shows counter measures against discrimination and racism, especially presenting pro-active fan groups, which engage against racism and discrimination in football. A primary networking meeting of anti-discriminatory football fans was held together with the exhibition. The second input came from Jerry Jarvis Essandoh, a football player and coach, educator and workshop trainer at FairPlay-VIDC. He made a more personal statement on his experiences as Austrian with Ghanaian background. Born in Vienna, his parents went back to Ghana, from where they originated. He relocated to Austria at the age of 8 years. Growing up with three languages, German, English and Akan, he joined the football club where his father played. He describes that the club helped him a lot to reintebrate into Austrian society by learning the language and being accepted by the team colleagues. But he also reported negative incidents that occurred at the club at that time:

“There have been also well known prejudices, which inundated not only me but also other groups, like ‘you are black, so, you have to be very athletic, technical perfect and very fast’. I have to! It is like that! Because I am black. Or ‘Turks are aggressive’! I really heard such things from the coaches, who said: ‘go on, provoke him, then he ’d maybe go berserk and receives a card!’; or ‘the Jugos are technical perfect’ etc. Such things occurred from time to time. Or ‘hee, don’t play soft like a girl!’”

He also raised a question about what has changed within the topic in the last years and cited the example of a friend who also has Ghanaian background. She lived in the city of Wels - in Upper Austria region – and studied there. She went to a sports bar and they showed a game with Bayern Munich. There was a man watching the match wearing an Alaba-scarf, red-white-red, Austria, Alaba-scarf - and he said to her: ‘negrões are not welcomed here!’ Essandoh concluded: “It is completely weird to sit there with an Alaba-scarf and then to say such a thing!”

The third speaker was Christoph Witoszynskyj, working at the Institute for Children´s Rights. For the past four years he has worked for the working group Sports & Integration, sponsored by the Ministry of Sports. Their aim is to bring the issue of integration and inclusion into sports associations, clubs and doing counseling for coaches and sport administrators and carrying out specific activities. Over the last 16 years he also worked in cooperation with FairPlay-VIDC and highlighted their efforts to bring the issue of racism in sports into the public as well as sports institutions such as the Austrian Bundesliga. Although it is not possible to end racism per decrees, he pointed to the importance of the ability of institutional bodies to sanction those football clubs who do not challenge racism. Those existing sanctions within football can also be enlarged towards other sports disciplines. Within the Ministry’s working group Sports & Integration he carries out a series of awareness raising workshop for coaches, referees, and administrators.

The input session was followed by a vivid discussion about the question of “minorities” as well as about wording and offensive terminology. For example, the Black Community and anti-racism activists avoid reproducing the racist term “Neger” (negro), instead they established the term “N-word”. The discussion showed that according to their specific backgrounds, the participants held different perceptions of terms and the context in which they are applied (e.g. the notions of “minority” or “majority”).

The discussion was opened by a question from one participant (originating from South Tyrol, an autonomous region in Italy) who referred to the
experiences of Essandoh stressing that he, too, is of minority origin:

“Now I may saying that here in Austria, I am also from a minority, from Tyrol. If you are from Tyrol living in Vienna and you do not hide your accent, you may hear things like: ‘Ah, you are walking with one leg shorter than the other, because you are standing at the mountain, and jokes like that. So the question I have – I take such things easy - why call it crimes – where do you make the difference between racism, discrimination and humor or ‘compliment’ or stereotype? – Two weeks ago, my wife has written a blog ‘28 ways to be Austrian’, which exploded virally, where she depicted 28 stereotypes on Austria – it has hit like a bomb! There were things, Austrians felt assaulted, like ‘Austrians are all drinking Latella’. This poses the question for me: ‘when is a statement like ‘you Latella-drinker’ racist, when is it humorous?’

A male participant added:

“I think, there is no law, there is no norm. But there are many people, who make fun of themselves, who sort of take their own “being different” as the others as an issue and talking about themselves in a humoristic way about “I´am a Tschusch” or “I am a Neger”. But it is always problematic, if one representing the majority speak about members of minorities and use the same wording, then it becomes problematic!”

Finally, a female participant said:

“I think it is always a question of your own position towards that person and the whole background of the situation, especially if you do not know the person personally and do not have a friendship relationship with her. […] Thus, you represent a group of people who have a historical relation or racist history. It is the consciousness about your own position and what you represent yourself within an existing system.”

On the question of whether it is a joke or racism, Jerry Jarvis Essandoh gave a good explanation referring to an experience he was confronted with:

“I can tell you one thing: If someone says he feels embarrassed by what has been said –it was meant just for fun or not, you know him or not: please, respect it! I once took the taxi, I was really tired, a man around 50 was driving me and telling a story and then he said ‘…and I was Neger’. And I didn’t know this expression, yet, what it meant. I have not been in Austria for 20 years, and he explained it to me [it is a racist colloquial expression meaning to have run out of money]. I really took a lot of time explaining to him, that, he could say “I don’t have money, I am bankrupt, I´m broke, I´m burned – these are 4 expressions, I immediately said to him. He replied, no, he has learned it like that since he was a child and will continue saying it. I answered, but this is an insult, he responded, he will also stick to it in future.”

The example reminded other participants to bring examples of their own experiences with discrimination in Austria and among Austrians, for example:

“This has to be incorporated in practice but this needs much time. […] I am from Waldviertel [region in Lower Austria], my mother was from Hungary and they said to me ‘gypsy boy’, although my mother was not a ‘gypsy’, they did not make a difference.” (Male senior participant, amateur football coach)

Then, Michael Fanizadeh from the BEAMS project made a statement summarizing some important elements to be taken into account if we are talking about racism. Racism, he argues, has to be addressed in connection with power and with the historically and currently ascribed roles. There is simply no discrimination history
for Tyrolians as a group in Austria, there is also no historical discrimination of Germans in Austria, there is rivalry, there is jokes, and vice versa. Of course personally experienced discrimination exists - being insulted as fat, black, gay, etc. is always very harmful when it is personally experienced - and there is no hierarchy. But there is no history of discrimination against Austrians growing up in Germany. But, he says pointing to his own Iranian background, there is a history of discrimination with regard to Muslim people. The question of whether a statement is a joke or not becomes completely irrelevant. What people themselves are doing with jokes, whatever racially imbued terms they take up and convert, it shall not be our concern, for example, hip hop in the USA, etc.

Finally, Bella Bello Bitugu made some valuable comments on his own experiences as the first Black referee in Tyrol. He retired from this position, after the vice-president of the referees association called a Black player appearing on TV a “coal sack” in front of him and all other referees. He protested but the vice-president only defended his statement.

“I am also Tyrolian, even if I am not looking alike! – Joking aside, as mentioned, I was referee in Tyrol – and my colleagues have said to me several times, why I was not always the fastest, because we were running with the tigers at home. I mean, they did not even know that there are no tigers in Africa! – Another man said to me ‘Africans are so lively, can dance very well.’ I told him not to say such things, because there a many people…blabla, I was preaching, and then he said to me: ‘That’s just nothing. We are also saying that blondes are stupid!’”

To conclude the discussion, Kurt Wachter from FairPlay-VIDC contributed an interesting example of Austrian history by emphasizing that we should not make the mistake of denying any colonial or racist roots in our country. In Sankt Pölten, the capital of Lower Austria, for example, there exists a promenade called "Bimbo-Binder-Promenade", which is the headquarters of the regional football association. Franz “Bimbo” Binder was a legendary player of SK Rapid Vienna and the Austrian national team in the 1930s and 1940s. He received the nickname “Bimbo” (or “darky”, which is a racist and colonialist term for a Black person), because he moved alike in a film. He adopted the nickname and kept it. After Binder died in 1989, the street was named Bimbo Binder Promenade.

From perception to attitudes

Dynamics of the open meetings, responses of participants & first-hand experiences

During the discussion at the football club SC Süssenbrunn, most participants gave examples of incidences which they had experienced themselves or that had happened to a team colleague, friends, or to family members. However, they emphasized their own attitudes within the club, which involves a great number of players of different national or migrant backgrounds. Diversity is a lived reality within the football club as well as when playing with other teams during a match. As a reminder, SC Süssenbrunn is a club that plays in the Vienna football league, in which there is a great number of football clubs founded by migrants or Austrians with migrant backgrounds. Following are some statements from young players on how they cope with these diverse settings:

“In our team there are people from many different countries that means, that, one Austrian guy gives respect to e.g. a Turkish guy from the other team, because in his own team there is a Turkish team colleague. That is why he cannot say something bad about Turkish people.”

(Trader of Turkish origin)

“I therefore can say that I have never been discriminated because of my origin, but the typical prejudices about „Turks“ are that they are ‘aggressive’ and do ‘over react’ during a foul for instance – and I partly agree with that -, but during a match I never experienced racist insults.
during a match, no.” (Player of Turkish origin)

“The other teams are also multicultural teams like we are.”

“Yes, most of the teams in this League have 5-6 foreign players, and if you say ‘foreigner’, then there are no distinctions, which “foreigners””. (Player of ex-Yugoslavian origin)

“Within SC Süssenbrunn there may be quarrelling, but there is no racism. If a team wants cohesion, than racism is a no-go.” (Player of Turkish origin)

“In our team we are like a family, all of us have come from different countries, Serbia, Turkey;... -but within our team there is no racism. But in Vienna, there is, of course! I already experienced that, in the subway, I once travelled with my cousin, and in front of us was an old lady standing. We were talking in French and suddenly she got angry and shouted towards us: ‘you, Blacks go home!’, but for us it was funny, we are here in Austria since more than 5 years, we are familiar with such things and we didn’t care, but for someone, who arrives newly in Austria, it will make a difference, but for us, it was funny.” (Player, originating from Côte d’Ivoire)

On the other hand, of course, the whole area of professional as well as of semi-professional football is a field in which racist assaults and discrimination occur very often. This might be between sports administrators, referees, coaches and players or between fans and players or among players themselves. Most of the participants were playing in amateur teams and gave the impression that, within their own “multicultural team”, few incidences happen and a greater awareness exists. However, players are time and again confronted with racism. One example reported by a participant reflects the specific “tense relationship” elaborated in Chapter 1 between “Africans and the police” – and has been many times subject in reports on racism in Austria at national and EU level.

“About racism I can tell you a lot of things: once, there was some incidence happening between me and the player of an opponent team. During the match the player was telling me, that he was a policeman – because we were playing against each other – and I responded him, that the police is not on the football ground. If you go on the pitch to play then there is no police! And he tells me: I fuck you!” (Player of African origin)

That kind of intimidation occurs also in public life and it is specifically migrants with African background or visible minorities that are the subject of this. Another player of African descent also gave us an example he experienced while in public transport:

“Police control. I can give you an example of Wien Meidling [railway station], from where my train departs to my workplace: the train, the local train Badner Bahn, was very crowded; I was the only Black person in it. I was in the very front of the train, police came in and they saw me from the very back. People pointed the finger at me; the policemen came directly towards me and asked for my identity card. I was totally done. That’s not nice!” (Player of African origin)

We also discussed media coverage. People complained especially about the “criminalization of foreigners” in the tabloid press, e.g. the giveaway newspapers in the underground stations. They complain that if these dailies report about foreigners, their full names with pictures are shown; this would not be the case with Austrians. Some comments were:

“Once I read something very bad in a newspaper: there was a report about a car accident – very interesting – and it was
written ‘5 people have been killed, 5 people and 2 Turks’; 5 people and 2 Turks!! What’s up! Turks are not humans or what? 5 people and 2 Turks!’ (Migrant of Turkish background)

"In my opinion, media is exaggerating anyway, as I said, I give you again the example of „the Turk is stabbing someone” or „the Turks…” they always exaggerate, they overestimate bagatelles, for example, they rashly evoke terrorism: in Austria terrorism is predominating because in the 10th Viennese district 10 Turks are involved in a brawl." (Player of Turkish background)

Outcome of session:
Review: Major changes and significant improvements:
Generally, participants agreed on the fact that “racism” is an important issue and has become an important element in sports policies. Because of awareness-raising initiatives such as FairPlay-VIDC and others it was able to get the issue on the agenda of educational and sports institutions. Over the last 10-20 years, there is more awareness that discrimination is not acceptable. This is also reflected in concrete actions, for example the dispatch of FairPlay messages, statements ahead of big matches, or anti-racism messages from the fan groups and in general increased awareness about the use of certain terms.

One quantitative result of improved awareness raising and institutionalization is the fact that overt racism has decreased in professional football. As racism has come into focus over the last years, it has also been possible to establish networks and dialogue and create cooperation, for example, between NGOs, institutions, football clubs and fans. The stronger awareness has also led to reviews of racist incidences, focusing not only on the area of football but on the wider society. Thus, increased public relations have created awareness on different levels, for example within sports clubs, schools and especially among children. Also, important connections between youth work & awareness raising against racism have been developed. Today there are more organizations and associations combating racism and discrimination in Austrian society. In addition, participants mentioned the issue of women in football and increased awareness about homophobia and sexism over the last decade.

Appraisal: What stereotypes/forms of racism/racist assaults persist?
Participants raised several areas where there was little improvement in the last years and which need to be addressed. “Sport connects people” and is therefore an area able to create a platform for antidiscrimination strategies. Nevertheless, sports tend to ignore critique about forms of institutional discrimination. Thus, awareness of structural discrimination and institutional mechanisms of exclusion rarely exist. On an individual

Review – Appraisal – Future of anti-discrimination awareness raising in sports
Participants of the VIDC open meeting had been given time to respond to three questions addressing the review, appraisal and future of anti-discrimination awareness raising activities with regards to sports, respectively football. The questions were posed given the context, that most of the participants have had already been experienced in anti-discrimination awareness raising activities since many years and have been supposed to have acquired a certain sensibility and experience on the topic:
1. Review: Major changes and significant improvement in the anti-discrimination awareness raising field in sports/football over the last 10-20 years.
2. Appraisal: What stereotypes/forms of racism/racist assaults persist?
3. Future: What are major challenges and new inputs for the future?

One important aim of the discussion was to find out about the persistence of specific stereotypes and racist practices and the challenges to be addressed in the future by practitioners in the field, such as educators, trainers, coaches, scientist, activists and functionaries.

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Appraisal: What stereotypes/forms of racism/racist assaults persist?
Participants raised several areas where there was little improvement in the last years and which need to be addressed. “Sport connects people” and is therefore an area able to create a platform for antidiscrimination strategies. Nevertheless, sports tend to ignore critique about forms of institutional discrimination. Thus, awareness of structural discrimination and institutional mechanisms of exclusion rarely exist. On an individual
level, perpetuated stereotypes which may cause racist abuse in football are similar whether they target Black persons, LGBT people or Muslims in society. Specifically, the “fading out” of the issue of homosexuality in football is persisting although a number of homosexual athletes have come out as homosexual in the last years. Some participants even stressed the fact that anti-Semitism and homophobia have tended to increase. The major persisting stereotypes in sports in general and football in particular with regard to Austria are: “African/Blacks are good runners”, “Muslims are aggressive and fanatics”, and “Muslims, Blacks, Turks are not interested in winter sport.” Finally, participants agreed on the fact that many stereotypes and clichés are still perpetuated within media and advertising on a daily basis, partly in order to provoke reactions as well as to attract attention, consciously and partly unconsciously.

Future: What are major challenges and new inputs for the future?

In general, participants agreed on the importance of eradicating usually undisputed “everyday racism” in sports and in society at large. One of the big challenges for the future is to address the issue of structural discrimination and to break up structural forms of racism and exclusion. One step towards this goal is to allow for more diversity within public institutions by challenging the predominance of “white” and “male” administrators within administrative bodies.

Many participants emphasized that gender is still an important topic within sports/football, especially with regards to unequal resources that provided for men and women or the unequal payment of female athletes. There is a danger of establishing a hierarchy between the different grounds of discrimination and of playing different forms of discrimination against each other. When it comes to mainstreaming anti-discrimination or gender equality, the danger of addressing these important issues in a superficial way and thus avoiding a deeper debate and further examination of shortcomings persists. Several participants insisted that much more work is needed to address sexism and homophobia in football and to focus on the intersectionality of discrimination. Combating homophobia will certainly be one major challenge in the coming years, particularly within “male” areas of sport, like football.

Similar to homophobia, one difficult area of anti-racism activism concerning fan-cultures is – what one participant called – the “incorrigible, absolute hopeless die-hard Nazi”. This is why participants who represented fan-initiatives called for the promotion of pro-active fan-projects, education, and awareness-raising in schools and other educational institutions. Communication with fans is time consuming because it must be based on mutual trust and therefore requires professional support and resources for the development of more pro-active fan-projects and initiatives. Networking between fan-projects and initiatives is one important feature to strengthen anti-racism fan communities and activism; the increased engagement of administrators, politicians and players by establishing a joint responsibility to combat all forms of discrimination and racism and to provide resources for good practices and activism for the future, is another.
Main conclusions & recommendations

Austrian boulevard media is perceived as highly racist and discriminatory against foreign people by persons from migrant/minority background. People complain that there is a conscious connection made between “migrants and criminality” by writing down explicitly foreign-sounding names or referring to specific immigrant groups like “the Turks” (including fans) as e.g. being “aggressive” or “violent”. One can observe that a widespread connection is made in articles between “Muslims and terrorism” and negative images are exaggerated. Many stereotypes and clichés are used daily in media & advertising to provoke and gain attention. Journalists often do not reflect on ascriptions towards certain groups when writing their articles. Also, racist cases should be reported more often, but not only by NGOs or minority media.

Within sports the most widespread stereotypes attached to Black sports people are linked to a certain physical disposition (“having football in their blood”, “running faster”). This “positive racism” is even used by e.g. Black football players for their ends (e.g. publicity). Also within minority groups, this image is persistent and seen as “at least something positive.” Sport has the potential to be “integrative” and can be used as a platform for anti-discriminatory strategies, but one major challenge still consists in structural discrimination and exclusion mechanisms within sports institutions and the labour market.

Discrimination in public transport and racist offenses against Africans by police (even during a football match) was reported by participants in the open meetings. There is a direct connection between criminalization of Africans as drug dealers in boulevard press and police assaults on African migrants in Austria. Symptomatic of the public discourse about “foreigners” is the denial of Austria as an immigrant and diverse society, as shown in the “Alaba case”, when a regional governor used the English language to welcome Austria’s young football star. Participants in the open discussions stressed the negative impact on the labour market, e.g. the difficulties of migrant/minority football players in getting a job. Minority football clubs are a possible stepping stone to make careers in the field. However, stereotypes and racism also exist between minority groups, e.g. between players or from the part of fans. Major challenges still remain, such as homophobia in sport, the lack of gender equality within sports and persisting neo-Nazi fan-scenes. Sports professionals point to the need for intensive communication with fans and the promotion of proactive fan projects.
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