Words Are Stones

National Report Austria



Grenzenlos AHMED AL-JADERI AND MAGDALENA LENTSCH

Index

1. Introduction	2
2. National Context	3
2.1 Historical Overview	3
2.2 Definition of Hate Speech	4
2.3 Legal Framework	5
2.3.1 Legal Framework - International	5
2.3.2 Legal Framework – Austria	6
2.4 Reporting Hate Speech – State-owned and Civil Society Initiatives	9
2.5 Official Data	13
2.5.1 Official Data- State-owned Institutions	13
2.5.2 Official Data – Non-governmental Actors	17
3. Political Hate Speech at National Level	20
3.1 Targets	20
3.2 Actors and Bias Motivations	24
3.2.1 Allocation of Resources	25
3.2.2 Identity	25
3.2.3 Security/Criminalization	26
4.Examples of Hate Speech in Austria (Political Hate Speech and Media)	29
4.1 Listed Examples from 2018	29
4.1 Selected Example Drasenhofen	33
5. Counter-Narratives	34
5.1 Counter-Narrative Resources	35
5.2 Counter-Narratives Identity	35
5.3 Counter-Narratives Security	36
6. Initiatives by Civil Society and the State	38
7. Conclusion	40
8. Reference List	41
9. Annexe	43
List of Organizations involved in combatting hate speech in Austria	43

1. Introduction

This report is part of the joint project "Words Are Stones", funded through the Europe for Citizens Programme by the European Commission with the aim of combatting hate speech against migrants and refugees. It consists of six project partners from different European countries: Lunaria (Italy), ADICE (France), Antigone (Greece), Kisa (Cyprus), SOS Racisme (Spain) and Grenzenlos (Austria). These NGOs share their effort in countering discrimination and inequalities in the respective countries by different approaches and programs. Some of them promote voluntary work and national or international exchange programs, the implementation of trainings/workshop psin the area of interculturality and civic participation. Others work in inclusion programs, research on racism and migration and the collection of Data/documentation of hate speech.

"Words Are Stones" consists of six national research and surveillance reports, six national events in order to raise awareness and exchange ideas on counter-measures against hate speech in the participating countries. This will result in an international handbook, which will provide a possible strategy on how to antagonize hate speech on a European and international level. The final part of the project comprises the production of a coordinated video-campaign based on input and knowledge collected through the national reports and the established networks.

"Keine weiteren muslimischen Migranten in Döblings Gemeindebauten!" - "No more Muslim migrants in Döbling's Municipal housing!" (Online announcement of the Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ), FPÖ Döbling - 19th district of Vienna)

"Meine ÖBB Vorteilskarte werde ich nicht verlängern. Stattdessen fahre ich mit der Westbahn. Das ist doch nicht normal! 2 vermeintliche Schwuchteln mit Baby und davon noch ein Neger! Mir graust's!!!" - "I will not renew my ÖBB Vorteilscard,but instead I will use the Westbahn. This is not normal! Two apparent fags with a baby, one of them being a N****. I am disgusted!" (Online Statement by a FPÖ City Council of Amstetten regarding an advertisement of the ÖBB)

Current debates examine the uprising of hate speech, its consequences and the involved actors. Nationalist, populist, xenophobic and racist actors are accused of intentionally using hate speech in order to mobilize and divide the public as well as scapegoat marginalized groups. The created content seems to be a threat for the cohesion and solidarity within society. The impact and the results call for a joined course of action. "Words Are Stones" is created with the aim and the hope of being an effective step when it comes to tackling hate speech and supporting a respectful and peaceful exchange within one and between different societies. Promoting this exchange might function as an engine that fosters democratic structures and values.

This report is structured in the following parts: Firstly, the Austrian historical peculiarities in the context of hate speech are being discussed and the legislative framework is displayed. By providing examples of political hate speech in Austria in 2018, analyzing the underlying biases and formulating possible counter-narratives, the authors provide an overview and a picture of the current state of affairs. Subsequently, they discuss how hate speech can be combatted by civil society actors, so as to facilitate a broader movement campaigning for equality and against discriminations, hence, stabilizing the society as a whole.

2. National Context

2.1 Historical Overview

In current debates, it often appears as if hate speech is a phenomenon of the 21th century and it is often associated with modern political campaigns and the anonymity of social media. In fact, hate speech was used on a regular basis throughout the history of mankind. As an instrument for exclusion, marginalization and the formation of group identity, it was applied for the mobilization of the "own" in struggles for resources and power. With the beginning of democratization and the access for a broad part of the population to the decision-making process through elections, hate speech reached its zenith and was used in a more strategic and professional way. In the course of the electoral reform in the western half of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire in the year 1907,¹ three mass political parties made an appearance, namely the Social Democrats' Party, the People's Party, and the German Nationalist Party. All three of them were using antisemitic and nationalist rhetoric to attract voters. A central figure for the shaping and dissemination of hate speech was the leader of the German Nationalist Party Georg Heinrich Ritter von Schönerer.

"Ob Jud, ob Christ ist einerlei – in der Rasse liegt die Schweinerei(Hamann, 2002)"-"Jewish or Christian it's all one / It's their race that makes them scum"

"Der unter kühlerem Himmel gereifte Mensch hat auch die Pflicht, die parasitären Rassen auszurotten, so wie man bedrohliche Giftschlangen und wilde Raubtiere eben ausrotten muss(Hamann, 2002)" - "The man ripened under the cooler skieshas the duty to eradicate the parasitic races, just as one must eradicate threatening poisonous snakes and wild predators."

¹ The direct and secret election vote for men is established in Austria for the "Reichsratswahl" (Imperial Council Elections) 1907

Schönerer was a leading mastermind in the political debate about race and separation within the society. He spread the idea of an Austrian territory that was exclusively inhabited by the German "race". His supporters were calling him "Führer" and within the organization, members were greeting each other with "Heil". He was called a role model by Adolf Hitler and he had a huge impact on Hitler in his young years.

The violence and hate based in this rhetoric finally led to a fascist corporate state and paved the way for the Nazi regime. A regime which used hate speech to legitimize killing, terror and war. A glimpse into the Austrian past reveals that it is barely another step from violence and hate in speech to violence and hate in action. The past obliges us to take serious actions against any kind of hate speech always bearing in mind the possible consequences. The following chapters will try to give an overview and deeper understanding of the current national situation.

2.2 Definition of Hate Speech

Since the concept of hate speech came into existence, many different definitions have been used depending on the political surrounding. Within the current debate, the definition used by the Council of Europe can be found frequently. The Council has been engaged in the cause of countering hate speech by defining and launching the "No Hate Speech Movement" against xenophobia and other forms of strong intolerance online.

"Hate speech covers all forms of expression which spread, incite, promote or justify racial hatred, xenophobia, antisemitism or other forms of hatred based on intolerance, including: intolerance expressed by aggressive nationalism and ethnocentrism, discrimination and hostility against minorities, and migrants and people of immigrant origin. For the purpose of the campaign, other forms of discrimination and prejudice, such as antigypsyism, christianophobia, islamophobia, misogyny, sexism and discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation and gender identity fall clearly within the scope of hate speech." (Keen; Georgescu, 2016))

Throughout this report a slightly wider definition of the concept is used because the authors believe, as the communication scientist Liriam Sponholz emphasizes, that it is vital to stress that hate speech does not merely consist of hateful language and words. A crucial co-ingredient of hate speech are submessages with group-related misanthropic contents. These messages do not necessarily need to be expressed by words. Hate speech does not necessarily need to arise from emotional affect, but can also be the result of strategic calculation so as to influence a political climate for instance. It can be called rather intentional than simply a spontaneous popping-up affect. Hence hate speech can be understood as a production of human inferiority done by communication methods (Sponholz, 2018). The Austrian Klagsverband for the enforcement of rights of victims of discrimination uses a definition which is in large parts congruent with the one given by the Council of Europe, additionally emphasizing

that denial or legitimation of the holocaust is also a form of hate speech and is highly relevant within the Austrian or German context, especially because the Austrian history shows which consequences hate speech against certain social groups can have and how hate speech can lead to hate crime and to organized crime.

Hate crime differs by definition from hate speech, though sometimes they can be highly entangled.

"Hate crime is any form of crime targeting people because of their actual or perceived belonging to a particular group. The crimes can manifest in a variety of forms: physical and psychological intimidation, blackmail, property damage, aggression and violence, rape, and murder."²

The priority aim of hate speech is to lower the dignity of a certain social group of people. Besides, these expressions promote a climate of intolerance which facilitates more of these expressions which consequently provides a fertile soil for hate crimes.

2.3 Legal Framework

2.3.1 Legal Framework - International

Freedom of Expression seems to play an antagonistic role within this context, but when having a closer look, it becomes clear that this is not the case. Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) states the Right to Freedom of Opinion and Expression. It has entered into legal force through Article 19 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and is also enunciated as Article 10 of the European Convention (EC).

It states that "everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers" (EC, 1950; ICCPR, 1966; UDHR, 1948).

Freedom of opinion and expression ends where it collides with Article 1 and Article 2 of the Universal Declaration of Humans Rights, namely innate freedom and equality and the ban of discrimination. Freedom of Expression cannot and has not been formulated so as to act as a protection shield for misanthropic, discriminatory and derogatory messages. This becomes evident when looking at Article 20 (2) of the ICCPR which obliges states to prohibit by law "any advocacy of national, racial, religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence" (Art. 20 (2) ICCPR).

Hate Speech is not always easy to identify and a quest of interpretation. At which point does an expression start to be incitement or unlawful discrimination? One point of view is that if a person

²<u>https://www.ilga-europe.org/what-we-do/our-advocacy-work/hate-crime-hate-speech</u>

belonging to a social group which is object/target of certain messages feels incited, it could be and should be a first vital indicator.³

Within the international arena, thanks to a series of workshop organized by the OCHCR (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner of Human Rights) working on the mentioned Art. 20(2), the Rabat Plan for Action was initiated. It contains a six-part threshold test so as to ease the determination whether something can be and has to be regarded as incitement or not. According to the test, the following aspects need to be taken into consideration: the context, the identity of the speaker, the content of the expression, the extent and magnitude of the expression, the likelihood of harm, the protected characteristics and the proportioned sanctions (OHCHR, 2012).

Article 19 (3) states the following:

"The exercise of the rights provided for in paragraph 2 [Freedom of Expression of Opinion] of this article carries with it special duties and responsibilities. It may therefore be subject to certain restrictions, but these shall only be such as are provided by law and are necessary:

(a) For respect of the rights or reputations of others;

(b) For the protection of national security or of public order [...] or of public health or morals."

This means that while the Freedom of Expression is formulated within the ICCPR, it is being mentioned at the same time that is has got certain boundaries. On an individual level these boundaries are defined by the dignity/respect for others and on a societal level by the protection of public morals.

2.3.2 Legal Framework – Austria

In the Austrian context, hate speech can be prosecuted because various laws, partly the constitution, offer the possibility to do so. Nevertheless, there have been critical voices stating that Austria needs to standardize and unify the diverse laws that deal with issues related to hate speech so as to facilitate the process of prosecution for the victims and the society as a whole (ARTICLE 19, 2018).

In the following, the different laws which add up to the prohibition of hate speech in Austria, especially the ones relevant for our focus group, migrants and refugees, shall be briefly presented.

Later on, the latest data available related to reported cases within the respective law, which is from the year of 2017, is presented. Unfortunately, the reported cases cannot be directly linked to hate speech because, as mentioned, no specific law against hate speech has come into being yet.

We can distinguish between ex officio offences and private law actions. Ex officio offences must be taken up by the Office of its own motion, hence, by the Public Prosecution Office (Staatsanwaltschaft). Any person can report these offences and the costs are not to be covered by private persons. In the context of hate speech, the following offences are of relevance:

³ See Private Law Action (Privatanklagedelikte)

2.3.2.1 Ex Officio Crimes

- **The National Socialism Prohibition Act1947** (Verbotsgesetz, StF: <u>StGBI. Nr. 13/1945</u>): regulates the denazification and prohibition of the NSDAP and its affiliated organizations; constitutional rank; penalty range: depending on the crime up to life imprisonment.
- Cyber Mobbing- Continuing harassment through telecommunications or a computer system (Cyber Mobbing, since 2016, §107c Criminal Code): requires an objective traceability of the honour violation, requires that the violation takes place continuously, requires that the lifestyle of the person concerned is disturbed in an intolerable way; penalty range: up to one year; in the case of suicide or attempted suicide, up to three years.
- Defamation (Verleumdung, § 297 StGB): requires that a person exposes another person to the
 risk of official prosecution by falsely suspecting him/her of a criminally punishable act while
 being aware that the suspicion is untrue; penalty range: up to one year, in case the suspected
 criminal act is punished with more than one year, up to five years.
- Incitement (Verhetzung, §283 StGB): requires (1) provocation of violence or hatred against persons because of their race, religion, language, skin colour, nationality, ethnicity, sex, mental or physical disability, age or sexual orientation in front of (online or offline) at least 30 persons; or it requires (2) an insult that is qualified to scorn the respective group in public opinion or an insult with the aim of hurting human dignity; or it requires (3) denying, belittling or accepting judicially determined genocide or war crimes against the respective groups; or it requires (4) the dissemination of material which corresponds with the mentioned criminal offence of incitement (online or offline); penalty range: for (1), (2) and (3), up to two years; when happening in front of a broad public (more than 150 persons), up to three years; when leading to actual violence, up to five years; for (4), up to one year;

Since 01.01.2016 this law is applicable when hate speech takes place on a general level against the social group of "foreigners, migrants, refugees and asylum seekers" thanks to the formulation "showing or *lacking* of the criteria of race, [...]".

Another sphere in which legal action can be taken against hate speech is to be found within private law. Within private prosecution offences, prosecution happens only at the request of the injured

person not by the official prosecution office's own motion. Also, in case of acquittal of the offender the complainant bears the costs of the process.

2.3.2.2Private Prosecution Offences

- **Libel and Slander**(Üble Nachrede, §111 StGB), is the accusation of a contemptuous attitude or dishonourable behavior such as fascist or right-wing extremist or gross indecencies; in case of racist motives for the offence it requires the authorization of the victim so as to be prosecutable by the own motion of the Public Prosecution Office (turning into an ex officio offence); Penalty Range: up to six months, in case the offence was committed via a medium which makes the defamation accessible to a wider public up to one year.
- Insult/ Defamation of Character (Beleidigung, § 115 StGB), requires to insult, mock, abuse physically or threaten with physical abuse in front of at least three persons (except the victim and the offender); when the insult happens within chatrooms, on homepages etc. one can assume that a "wider public" is present; penalty range: up to three months.
- Damage of creditworthiness (Kreditschädigung, §1330 (1) ABGB Austrian General Civil Code or §152 StGB), requires that someone has suffered a real damage or loss of profit due to previous insults/defamation of character (§1330) or requires that a person alleges incorrect facts and therefore another person suffers constraints regarding his/her professional advancement, his/her earning or his/her credit ; penalty range §152 StGB: up to six months imprisonment.

Bringing back the aspect of Freedom of expression into the undertaking of pouring hate speech into legal vessels, it needs to be mentioned that Freedom of expression has got constitutional rank in Austria: Article 13 of the Austrian constitution states:

"Jedermann hat das Recht, durch Wort, Schrift, Druck oder durch bildliche Darstellung seine Meinung innerhalb der gesetzlichen Schranken frei zu äußern", meaning that everyone has the right to freely express their opinion within the legal limits verbally, by writing, printing or by visual representation.

The legal limits refer to all the offences listed above, keeping in mind that Austria also has signed the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination from 1969, which again is a clear statement that Freedom of expression ends where it impairs the dignity of others. The Austrian Constitution Law guarantees freedom of expression and the right to equality alike, formulated

through several federal Anti-Discrimination laws⁴ and 30 at provincial level (ARTICLE 19, 2018). Furthermore, the Austrian Administrative Law offers regulations and laws relevant regarding antidiscrimination such as the Media Regulation Legislation or the E-Commerce Act. ⁵

2.4 Reporting Hate Speech – State-owned and Civil Society Initiatives⁶

In Austria state-owned institutions and non-governmental actors cooperate in combatting hate speech. This becomes evident when having a look at the members of the "National No Hate Speech Committee Austria", which is part of the No Hate Speech Movement initiated by the Council of Europe. It consists of various state-owned partners such as the Federal Ministry of the Interior (BMI), the Federal Ministry of Constitutional Affairs, Reforms, Deregulation and Justice, the Federal Ministry for Europe, Integration and External Affairs (BMEIA), the Federal Chancellery (BKA), the Federal Ministry for Digital and Economic Affairs on the one hand and non-profit Organizations like ZARA, NEUSTART, Weißer Ring on the other hand.⁷

These institutions and associations bring in their specific knowledge and experience on various topics related to the cause in order to raise awareness, counter-act and to support respectful interactions. State-owned institutions differ in their approach and their financial possibilities. ZARA and Weißer Ring for instance have got a strong standing within Austria and their collected data is widely accepted which is why non-governmental associations and state-owned institutions alike are listed when it comes to reporting options and collected data in this report.

If you detect expressions online or offline which in your perception qualify meeting the criteria of hate speech, there are different options you can go about depending on the fact whether it is an ex officio or a private offence (see 2.3.2). You can report it to one or more of the following organizations or sue a legal case at the respective local court. Most district courts offer legal counselling once a week free of charges. Some of the listed organizations collect the cases so as to monitor the status quo, others will help you taking legal steps or supporting you in finding out-of-court settlements.

The Ministry of Justice has achieved a national agreement with Facebook so as to accelerate the removal of content which meet the criteria of criminal offence. This agreement includes: Facebook confirms the reception of the reports and then checks the reported contents within less than 24 hours, if needed it removes them or blocks access immediately (according to the dokustelle for Islamophobia

⁴The Equal Treatment Act, the Federal Equal Treatment Act, the Act on the Equal Treatment Commission and the National Equality Body and the Act on the Employment of People with Disabilities. At provincial level every federal state but Lower Austria has additionally formulated the protection of autochthonous groups.

⁵ Media Regulation Legislation (including the KommAustria Act or ORF Act), Introductory Act on Administrative Procedures (EGVG), E-Commerce Act, states that website operators are obliged to delete contents in cases unlawfully contents have been reported to them, Act on Responsibility of Associations, Equal Treatment Legislation

 $^{^{6}}$ The list of organizations is not exhaustive, for further information please see Appendix

⁷ https://www.nohatespeech.at/komitee/mitglieder/

and anti-Muslim Racism unfortunately this happens only in 20% of the cases, while the EU-average is 40%).

NS-Meldestelle (Reporting Office for National Socialism Related Actions or Contents)

Federal Ministry for Interior Affairs (Bundesministerium für Inneres) Generaldirektion für die öffentliche Sicherheit Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz und Terrorismusbekämpfung Herrengasse 7 A-1010 Wien ns-meldestelle@bvt.gv.at

- ZARA (Zivilcourage and Anti-Racism-Work)

A crucial player within the field of anti-racism work, combatting hate speech, supporting civil courage and counteracting and awareness raising in Austria is the organization ZARA.

This association offers a reporting office for victims online and offline of racism and discrimination. It explains step by step with the support of short video clips how to report and counteract on facebook, Instagram, Youtube and Twitter. ZARA monitors and collects cases and data of racism and publishes its findings yearly in the Racism Report.⁸ Furthermore, ZARA conducts human rights education, anti-racism workshops/trainings and tries to empower victims and witnesses of racism alike by – additionally to the option of reporting - working on counter-measures and conducting argumentative trainings for instance.

In 2017 ZARA received the assignment by the Austrian government of establishing a no hate speech reporting office.

Reporting Office for Online Offences #Gegen Hass im Netz⁹

Tel.: +43 1 236 55 34

beratung@zara.or.at

- 1) Transmit the filled in "Contact Form" via webpage, email oder chat to ZARA
- 2) Categorization according to discrimination grounds
- 3) Legal Examination (if needed forwarding to NS-Meldestelle or Federal Office for Protection of the Constitution and Fight Against Terrorism
- 4) Attempt of removal (ZARA is trusted flagger) by email to the host or content providers
- 5) Giving Information on the various possibilities of action to the person concerned

⁸https://zara.or.at/de/wissen/publikationen/rassismusreport ⁹Step By Step Procedure

www.facebook.com/zara.or.at

Twitter: @CounterACT_Hass

-

ZARA – Reporting Office for victims and witnesses of racism Tel.: +43 1 929 13 99 beratung@zara.or.at https://www.facebook.com/zara.or.at ww.zara.or.at Twitter: @CounterACT_Hass

Equal Treatment Commission ("Gleichbehandlungskommission")

A private person without legal assistance can formulate a claim and hand it in to the Commission. The Commission tries helping to protect against discrimination because of ethnic affiliation, religion, ideology, sexual orientation, age within working environments. This includes the application process, promotions, remuneration and termination of the working relationship. You can ask for information and assistance at the Ombud for Equal Treatment ("Gleichbehandlungsanwaltschaft"). The senate will then investigate and examine your case and formulate an examination result which is sent to you. In case the Commission verifies a discrimination, the offender is asked to end it. The Commission is not entitled to award compensation to the person who suffered damage – this would be within the competence of the respective courts.

<u>Gleichbehandlungsanwaltschaft</u> Taubstummengasse 11 1040 Wien Tel.: +43 1 532 02 44 gaw@bka.gv.at

If you make a claim at the Equal Treatment Commission you will not bear any cost risk, but the examination result is not enforceable by coercion. In case the commission verifies discrimination, your case might be taken by the Klagsverband to a court. There you can receive support in terms of legal representation and in strong cases they might bear the costs.

- Klagsverband: The Klagsverband is a registered association and umbrella organization with

currently 53 members, which are associations/organizations dealing with inequalities in different sectors. It is subsidized - inter alia - by the Chancellor's Office and BMAS (Ministry for Work, Social Issues, Health and Consumer Protection)

Klagsverband zur Durchsetzung der Rechte von Diskriminierungsopfern Lassallestraße 7a, Unit 4, Top 6a 1020 Wien Tel.: +431961 05 85-24 info@klagsverband.at

- **Press Council**: As in regards to the media landscape the Press Council plays a vital role. It is a self-regulatory body, sponsored by some of the most important journalists and publishers in Austria trying to guarantee the freedom of press on the one hand and by applying the Code of Honour for the Austrian press for journalistic work ensuring responsible and good journalistic action guided by ethical principles on the other hand. By the recourse to the Press Council, functioning as court of arbitration, one accepts that the case will not be brought to an ordinary court. There are two options of processes, the result of the arbitration – depending on the chosen option – will be published on the Press Council's Webpage or in the concerned medium.

Austrian Press Council Franz-Josefs-Kai 27 1010 Vienna Tel.: +43 1 23 699 84 - 11 info@presserat.at

- **Dokustelle:** The dokustelle offers the possibility to report experienced cases of anti-Muslim racism and Islamophobia online or via a telephone call. After the documentation the dokustelle, where necessary, helps with the transfer to another support institution or organization.

office@dokustelle.at Tel.: 0676 40 40 005 http: www.dokustelle.at Fb/Dokustelle Österreich

2.5 Official Data

Austria is part of the No Hate Speech Movement initiated by the Council of Europe. The Austrian No Hate Speech Committee was formed in 2013. Its members are partly governmental actors, partly civil society association. Data collected on hate speech relevant issues is provided by both state and non-state players (see 2.4).

Since – as elaborated – there is no "No Hate Speech-Act" in existence, the official data section will focus on the laws/acts in place (see 2.3.2) and the reports and convictions within the scope of these existing laws. Specific data on how many reports and convictions are directly linked to hate speech against refugees is not available and hence cannot be given.¹⁰

This chapter includes data released by the Federal Criminal Police Office regarding reports to the police. In addition, the court convictions, released by the Ministry of Justice, are showed. The latest data available at the moment of closure of data collection for this report¹¹ from the year 2017. The data collected by ZARA and the dokustelle which are monitoring cases of racism/islamophobia might help in disentangling the numbers and recognizing the frequency of offences likely being in connection with our focus group.

The report behavior (more or less likeliness to do so), the intensity of police checks and legal changes must be taken into consideration when looking at the data.

2.5.1 Official Data-State-owned Institutions

2.5.1.1 Hate Speech

The Federal Criminal Police Office and Ministry of Justice show the following data:

Offence	Convictions 2015	Convictions 2016	Convictions 2017
§283 Incitement	44	52	135
§107c "Cyber-Mobbing"	-	5	16
Prohibition Act StGBI 13/1945	79	85	119
§111 Libel and Slander	14	24	25
§115 Insult	79	95	99
§ 152 Creditworthiness	2		1
§297 Defamation	597	608	659

Table I - Source: Statistik Austria

¹⁰Unterlechner from ZARA gives the information on 2017 that 15% of hate online targets refugees and 23% targets Muslims; this gives no overall data on hate speech against refugees (Dokustelle Islamfeindlichkeit und antimuslimischer Rassismus, 2018) 11 Closure of Data Collection/Research is May 2019



Table II – Source derstandard.at and Ministry of Justice

Table II shows the vast discrepancy between the number of reported cases and the number of convictions. This gap could have various explanations for instance: A perception gap between personal experience and legal reality, a matter of proofs, a question of resources. What is evident is the increase of both reports and convictions. This could be explained by the tightening of the law on the one hand (See 2.2.2.1) and the risen awareness of the public in general on this topic. Another explanation might be that the incidents have increased partly because of the current political climate.

According to information from the Ministry of Justice in 2018 there have been 72 convictions on incitement. The decrease can be partly explained because of cases with foreign connections (when cases are processed/completed abroad). Also, some cases from 2018 are still ongoing, hence no convictions can be listed yet.

90 % of convictions under §283 happen within the internet according to the Ministry of Justice. The exact motives of respective offences (islamophobia, antisemitism) are not available. Parliamentary Requests from the opposition asking for are the most affected groups by incitement so far, were not responded to.

Table IV shows that Austria needs to acknowledge the reality of persisting and increasing convictions on the Prohibition Act. Many more cases are being reported than sentenced, never the less many of them are illegal. If the cases – inter alia – do not meet the criteria of a certain degree of intention, it might happen that no sentence/conviction follows.

Comparing the numbers of the Prohibition Act with the numbers of the "Cyber-Mobbing"-Act, it is obvious that the numbers of the latter are significantly lower. The "Cyber-Mobbing"-Act has become effective on January 1st 2016. A conviction requires a repetitive element of the disturbance and the

14

victim's lifestyle, as mentioned, needs to be disturbed in an intolerable way. This law still finds itself in its infancy.



Table III - Ministry of Justice



Table IV - Source: der standard.at

2.5.2.2 Hate Crime

Austria takes part in Hate Crime Reporting to the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), Tolerance and Non-Discrimination Department.¹² The aim is countering hate crime by bringing together state-owned institutions, international organizations, non-governmental associations and criminal justice systems. Within this program the following data was published:

¹²<u>http://hatecrime.osce.org/austria</u> (ODIHR homepage)

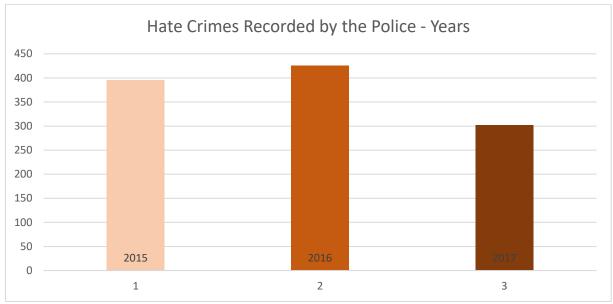


Table V -Source hatecrime.osce.org/Austria

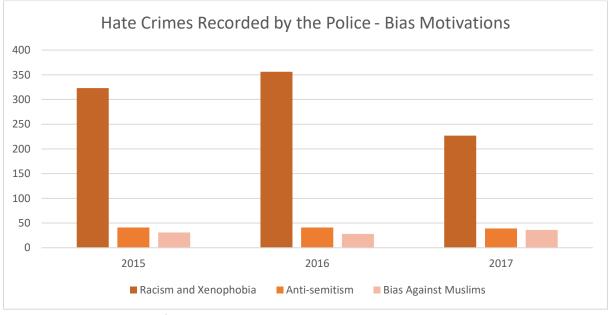


Table VI -Source: hatecrime.osce.org/Austria

Table VI shows an overall decline of hate crimes from 425 to 302 in 2017. Of these 302 hate crimes in 2017, 227 incidents can be ascribed to racist and xenophobic bias, 39 offences happened motivated by Anti-Semitism, 36 crimes were motivated by bias against Muslims.

Table VII is as close as it gets towards the transparency of hate crimes. In 90% (2017) of convictions on incitement and the prohibition Act, the convicted persons were men. The table lists the various bias motivations behind the crimes.

ODIHR have been criticizing for several years now that Austria does not report hate crime and hate speech separately and in a transparent way. Some NGOs, like the mentioned dokustelle or ZARA, have

tried to focus on affected groups and collect the respective data so as to improve counter-measures and match them with the needed requirements.¹³

2.5.2 Official Data – Non-governmental Actors

2.5.2.1 Hate Speech – NG actors

ZARA and dokustelle offer the possibility to report experienced discrimination, hate speech or hate crime. These two associations categorize the reported contents along bias and area of life.

Table IX shows a significand escalation in reported incidents in total. The percentage value of reported cases online and in absolute numbers has increased strongly within the showed period of time as shown in table VIII. ZARA states that currently three out of five reports happen online. The areas politics and media show alternating figures.

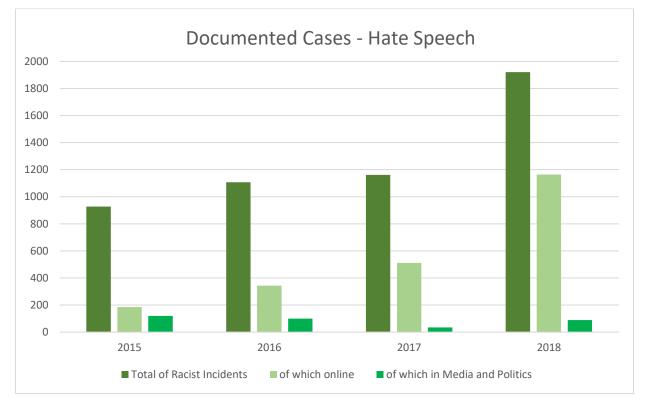


Table VII - Source: ZARA Racism Report 2015, 2016, 2017

¹³See: <u>https://www.dokustelle.at/</u>, see: <u>https://zara.or.at/de</u>

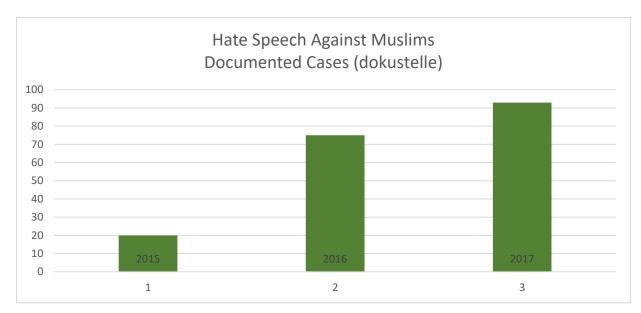


Table VIII - Source: dokustelle Islamfeindlichkeit und anti-muslimischer Rassismus

Tables VIII was published in the Islamophobia Report by the dokustelle. A strong increase of hate speech against Muslims is ascertainable.

Other non-governmental sources: The NGO Weißer Ring offers support to victims of crimes and documents incidents. They stress that hate crimes are on the rise and the internet functions as a strong amplifier to this development. The association ISPA (Internet Service Providers Austria) runs the STOPLINE, where contents can be reported in relation with child pornography or the National Socialism Prohibition Act. In 2018 15.194 have been reported of which 2.800 have been illegal as STOPLINE has confirmed. The Office for the Protection of the Constitution stated that the magnitude of hate crimes in Austria has risen by 51,1% between 2014 to 2015. To aggravate the painted picture the Press Council states that regarding the reporting on asylum seekers complaints against the Code of Ethics are on the rise. It concerns the accuracy of reporting, discrimination against asylum seekers, distorted reporting or false statistics. Decided cases are listed on the homepage of the Press Council. ¹⁴

2.5.2.2 Hate Crime – NG actors

The following tables show the development of hate crime within the Austrian context between the year 2015 up to 2017. The number of crimes which happened because of Antisemitic bias has been unstable being 54 in 2015, 71 in 2016, declining to 6 in 2017. The number of crimes which can be ascribed to Anti-Muslim bias has also been unstable, in 2015 54, in 2016 39, rising to 89 in 2017.

¹⁴ see <u>https://www.presserat.at/show_content.php?hid=14</u>

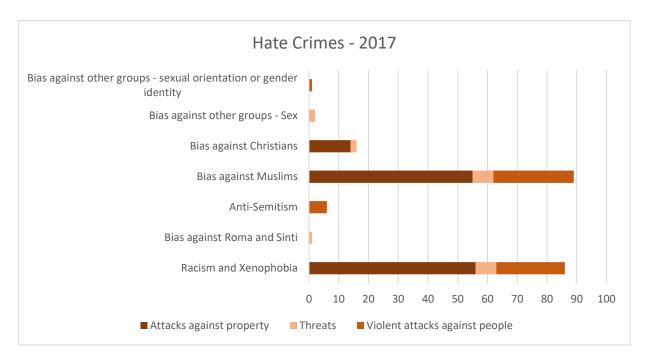


Table IX – Source OSCE

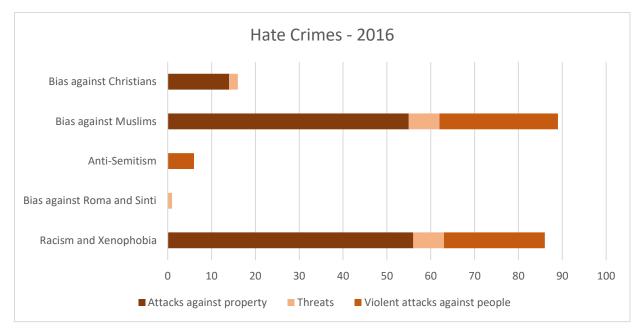


Table X – Source OSCE

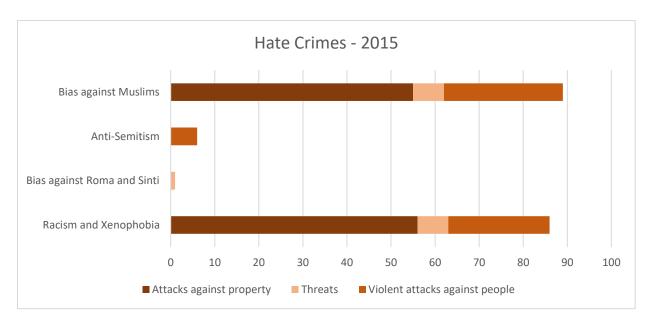


Table XI – Source: OSCE

3. Political Hate Speech at National Level

3.1 Targets

Hate speech targets different social groups. As researchers have disclosed and shown within the chapters ahead, hate speech to a great extent is driven by islamophobia, homophobia, anti-Semitism, antigypsyism or misogyny. In Austria targeted persons mainly are ascribed or ascribe themselves to Muslim and Jewish faith, are immigrants (including asylum seekers and refugees), members of the LGBTQ-community, and Roma and Sinti.

Within the project "Words Are Stones" the target group refugees and migrants was chosen to be monitored and examined.

When Hate speech occurs frequently no differentiation between the various migrant groups is made (dokustelle,2018). Asylum seekers, migrants of the first, second and third generation are simply being named migrants, no matter their residential or so-called legal status or their religious affiliation. This phenomenon is part of how hate speech works. As elaborated in the course of this chapter, one of the tools hate speech is benefiting from is simplification and generalization – hence to put everyone into one pseudo-analytic category, or group, whether s/he is an asylum seeking person, a recognized refugee, a person who received subsidiary protection or humanitarian residence, a person who has come to Austria thanks to the so called Settlement and Residence Act or a person with exceptional leave to remain.

The persons who are being targeted by hate speech in the context of political asylum show various different characteristics in terms of residential status, origin, religion, cultural aspects, educational level, age, gender, marital status etc. which in actual terms would make it irrational applying one single measure to all, 'grouping them', never the less this is what has been happening and enforced by various actors within Austria.

The following differentiation stresses the diversity of the constructed group of foreigners:

- Asylum Seeker: a person asking for asylum in another country from the moment of application until the moment asylum is legally binding granted or denied or the process is suspended (Lack of Subject Matter for instance) (AsylG 2005: §2 Art. 17)
- Refugee: In the Convention and Protocol Relating the Status of Refugees of 1951 defined as a person "[a]s a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 and owing to well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it" (Convention and Protocol Relating the Status of Refugees, 1951, Art. 1) The Protocol of 1967 repeals the geographic and temporal limitations of the definition.
- Recognized Refugee refers to a person who was granted asylum due to the Geneva Convention.
- Subsidiary Protected Person: a person who was granted protection only temporary (one or two years). S/he is not recognized as refugee because s/he not fulfilling all the criteria, for example they are not personally persecuted. However, it is acknowledged that s/he runs a high risk of losing their life or threat of torture, if s/he would have to return to their country of origin (Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedom, 1950, Art. 2 and 3).
- Humanitarian Protection: refers to people who are neither refugees nor have to fear for their lives in their country of origins. However, it is recognized that sending them back would violate their right to private and family life (Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedom, 1950, Art. 8). Therefore, the expulsion order is inadmissible in perpetuity and they are granted humanitarian protection.
- Exceptional Leave To Remain: Some people are neither granted asylum, subsidiary or humanitarian protection nor any other kind of visa or their status was revoked. Normally they would have to leave the country of destination, but for different reasons they cannot be sent back to their country of origin. That is why they are granted Exceptional Leave to Remain which is only for a short period of time but can be renewed.
- Migrant (Immigrant, Emigrant) refers generally to a person leaving the current area to move to another place not only for a short time period. This can only be from one city/country side to another within the same country or moving to another country - depending on the

definition. A person is called an emigrant for leaving his/her country of origin, but in the country of destination he/she is referred to as immigrant.

- Family reunion granted to a family member: after a certain period of time and under certain conditions recognized refugees, people with subsidiary or humanitarian protection have the right to a family reunion. Only the closest family members like minor children, spouses or parents to a minor can be reunited.
- Internally Displaced Person: Many people flee their homes because they fear for their lives due to the same reasons as other recognized refugees, but never cross the state lines to another country. They are living in another part of their country of origin of habitual residence, but unless they flee to another country, they can never seek asylum.
- "Illegals" is commonly used for people staying in or entering a country illegally. This term is highly criticized because it implies that the people themselves are illegal although only actions can be illegal. Immigration advocates mostly prefer terms like "irregular migration", "undocumented migration" or "unauthorized migration". They are different forms of illegal actions: a person can enter a country legally with a visa, but does not leave after their visa expired; others enter without a visa and the third group is allowed to enter and stay in a country without the right to work.

The terms refugee and asylum have experienced a great conversion throughout their existence. The terms have been shaped by political and historical developments even though in the current debate they are often presented as timeless and contextless natural categories.

The birth of regarding and describing refugees as a potential problem and not as additional work force – as before - happened alongside the rise of nation-states in the course of the 1920s in the European context (Kraler, 2010). This is the moment when the categories citizenship/nationality and alien/foreigner were established as important identity-shaping political categories following the premise that ethnic homogeneity is the declared aim of nation-states. This entails a fundamental change in the perception of migrating and fleeing persons.

With the course of World War II and the resulting Geneva Convention Relating the Status of Refugees, refugees were defined as political actors fleeing persecution. Later in the 1960s the definition within the Convention was altered with the Protocol 1967, but nevertheless the Convention still carries the handwriting of the European understanding of the term. The definition of a refugee still is not designed to primarily be applicable to people fleeing war crimes, civil strife or climate change. The Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa (so-called Refugee Convention by the African Union) has emancipated from the merely political concept of the definition and adds "every person who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously

disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality" (AU Convention Article 1 (2)) and therefore addresses much more the actual reality of displaced persons. The Geneva Convention on the Status of Refuges and its Protocol enjoy far wider application than the

definition formulated by the AU though. The definition of the AU is displayed here so as to show that the European understanding of the term cannot be regarded as neutral or contextless. Researchers stress that the acceptance of refugees into societies of the so-called Global North have become a quest of utility in economic and political terms (Schultes, 2012; Volf, 1995). Refugees are not selected alongside humanitarian aspects, but rather alongside economic utilitarian thinking: During the communist Era in Eastern Europe refugees from communist countries were in large parts welcomed, far from examining every claim as precise and down to the individual level as it happens today. Through the admission European countries could fortify their international standing as capitalist and liberal democracies, being better than their communist antagonists – otherwise people would not flee in such great numbers from the Soviet Union.

After testing the migrants' – ascribed – economic or political utility, a hierarchical structure can be established and legitimized at the same time. Asylum seekers are being used as a multipurpose tool so as to serve different political agendas. The former focus on humanitarian quests has shifted to the supposedly nowadays more important quest of potential fraud on the part of the refugees. According to the Human Development Index Austria is ranked within the top 25 most privileged countries in the world. In 2017 24.735 people sought asylum in Austria where the population in 2017 was captured as 8.795.073 persons. New asylum seekers hence present 0,3% of the overall population in Austria. It seems curious and irrational that this small group of vulnerable people, provokes such extreme measures and such attention by politicians and the media alike. The following statistic displays the actual number of foreign residents in Austria, Germans being by far the biggest group.

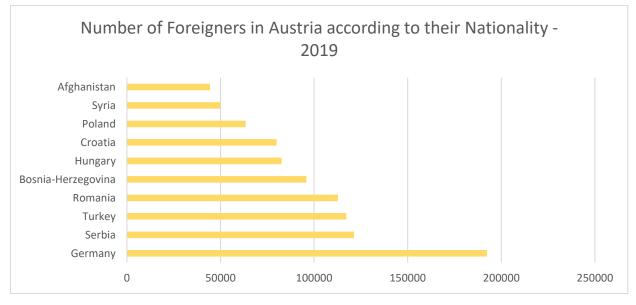


Table VIII – Source Statista

Compared to the peak in 2015, Austria experienced a decline of 84,9% in 2018. Current application numbers are as low as in 2010, hence the expressions refugee wave or refugee crisis within the European context seems no longer legitimate at this moment in time.

Worldwide the situation is quite different and the numbers are rising. In 2018 68.800.000 Million people were counted as either Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) or Refugees. In 2008 it was 37.500.000 Million people. According to the UNHCR 40 Million people were IDPs in 2018, in particular in Syria, Iraq and Colombia. 25.400.000 people were refugees, 6.300.000 only Syrians. 3.100.000 are asylum seekers, persons who officially applied for international protection. Out of these numbers around 600.000 persons applied for international protection in one of the EU member states in 2017. According to UNHCR at the end of 2017 173.000 Recognized Refugees, Persons with Subsidiary Protections or Asylum Seekers were present in Austria which is 1,97% of the Austrian population in total.

These numbers show that the actual developments of refugee movements worldwide are not mirrored by the number of applications within the EU, let alone Austria.

3.2 Actors and Bias Motivations

The actors and bias motivations involved in hate speech against refugees in Austria are manifold. ZARA has categorized its reports for many years along the areas public space (including racist graffiti), internet, politics and media (offline), police, other authorities, work world, goods and services (including living and Neighborhood; restaurants/bars, shops and other services) and offences/expressions against anti-racism work. The choice made by ZARA using these categories for years now makes the assumption likely that most actors/perpetrators act within these mentioned fields. There is no reliable data regarding exact numbers of certain actors. This is one of the lacks in data on hate speech in Austria. When passing through the existing literature and data the actors are private persons, members of the parliament, party members or members of private or civil society initiatives or persons while performing their professional duties such as police men/women, teachers, salesmen or -women for instance.

According to the authors' research and the information published through state-owned and non-state actors on hate speech in Austria, the areas of bias motivation can be narrowed down to three main fields: Questions on resource allocation, identity and security. In the following the reasons for these biases will be examined and through the examples chosen from 2018 (see chapter 4) these three biases shall be further inspected/scrutineered.

24

3.2.1 Allocation of Resources

"Foreigners take advantage of our welfare state".

"Refugees arrive for economic reasons."

"Our money for our people."

Statements such as these are common and illustrate a debate on the allocation of resources. What is ours and what is yours? The term allocation is understood to discuss the distribution of scarcer resources such as those like labor, capital, soil, land and raw material needed for the production of goods and services. It is a central question of social interaction and a common cause of conflict.

Modern societies are characterized and formed by a wide range of economic and social transformation processes. Those processes are often followed by the anxiety of social and economic exclusion. That can be a fertile ground for the arising of a virulent competitive interaction within the society. In this context racism, anti-Semitism, antigypsyism and Xenophobia are a frequently used method to distinguish between different groups of persons. Hate speech is used to clarify the own position and to express claims on resources.

Observation indicates two main motivations using hate speech in the struggle for resources. The first one is sketching a picture of "foreigner", "strangers", "Muslims", "Jews", "Roma and Sinti" etc. as a risk for the own resources. Hate speech rhetoric motivated by these types of sentiment explains and targets "the Others" as invaders trying to misuse the national welfare system and gaining personal benefit from the efforts and attempts of others. In addition to that they are not welcomed competitors in the race for labor. "The Others" are often labelled as lazy, untruthful and dishonest. National actorgroups and individuals influenced by this kind of ideas are spreading the fear of an unfair and unequal allocation of scarce resources.

A second motivation using hate speech in the content of recourses is when asking for the responsible ones of mis-developments: Missing jobs, high inflation, the lack of affordable housing are just some challenges modern societies are facing. As key actors, politicians are responsible for a fair and sustainable distribution of common goods and resources. It is one of the main obligations to ensure a stable economic and social development. In case of pressure some political actors tend to point a finger at "the Others" as a simple solution and a vehicle for the anger and the frustration of voters.

3.2.2 Identity

"Who are we?"

"And who are they?"

"Where to distinguish?"

"What does it mean to be Austrian?"

Is it the language, the place of birth, the place of residence that makes the difference between an Austrian and a non-Austrian person? The creation of identity is an individual, collective and historical process. In the context of hate speech, identity is a cause and a motivation for hate speech. It causes hate speech because it seems a necessity in some national identities to have "the Others" as resonances for their own. In his scientific work Pierre Bourdieu examines the process of developing and maintaining a group identity. "The Others" are important as a contrast and a reflection to make the own visible. Depending on this approach and perspective of identity nationalist concepts would not exist without "the Others". Observations and studies show that this motivation for hate speech is widespread through Europe. Austria is not an exception! In particular groups like the "Identitäre Bewegung" are creating an exclusive picture of one Austrian identity with the characteristics heterosexual, White, Christian and most importantly born in Austria. There is no chance to become Austrian by integration or even assimilation. In this conceptual world "the Others" will always remain being "the Others".

3.2.3 Security/Criminalization

The association between quests of security and refugees/migrants has been an evergreen. Many scholars have tried explaining the reasons for and mechanisms behind this arbitrarily but still intentionally made connection.

Their conclusion is – partly – that criminalization of a certain group legitimates discrimination and dehumanization (Mandel, 1997; Richmond, 1994; Seidman-Zager, 2010). When a small and vulnerable group of a society is perceived as a threat and immigration flows are being criminalized a certain question might pop up: What could be the purpose of this inversion, when it could be as obvious to see the Austrian majority society as a threat to minorities instead of the other way around?

One purpose might be that by shifting the attention to the subjects' illegal border crossings the highly complex issue of international forced migration and all the entangled aspects can be simplified and secondly enables, for instance, politicians to mark refugees as intruders which again makes it easier to legitimate certain measures taken against them (Fekete, 2009; Schuster, 2003).

The current approach which is applied not only by various member states of the EU including Austria but by the European Union as a whole is contradicting international law. Article 31 of the Geneva Convention states that refugees shall not be punished for illegal entry. By labelling them as Illegals for the simple fact of crossing borders illegally is contradictory to Art. 31. After World War II Europe hosted around 30 million refugees, in 2015 there were 2.25 million people seeking asylum within the European Union. Despite this in comparison rather small number the threat of losing control (border control,

political control, cultural disruption etc.) is repeatedly claimed within the discourse on asylum seekers. This threat is further linked to limited resources, which again seems irrational taking into consideration Austria's wealth(ibid.).

The scholar Mandel (1997) highlights that asylum seekers make the weakness within the modern nation state visible because this vulnerable group shows the international community the flaws of its system as soon as one does not fit into the global norm when speaking about stateless persons for example. The asylum seeker serves as a projection screen for the grievances and neglects of the international community. The refugee challenges the global norm of an open, tolerant multicultural society (ibid.). The dazzling shimmering articles of International Conventions stressing the equality of all human beings no matter which skin colour, religious affiliations, political beliefs, sexual orientation etc. lose their glory when looking at the situations many refugees finding themselves in, in countries which have signed the mentioned Conventions. Hence asylum seekers challenge the self-perception and self-portrayal of the human-rights-for-all supporting Global North.

If the figure of the refugee is being criminalized the status quo of the Global North including Austria can be maintained.

The act of introducing/infiltrating security quests to asylum seekers/foreigners then allows or legitimates certain regulations and, again, make them look natural, normal and being left unchallenged.

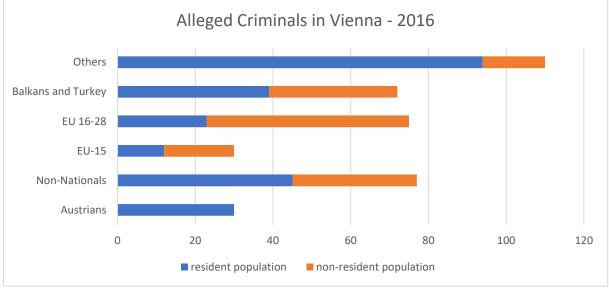
One example is the way data on criminal offences is presented. The yearly published booklet "Police Criminal Statistics" by the Federal Criminal Police Office discloses the chapter "About the Suspects". The respective chapter does not – as one might expect – elaborate on all the different characteristics suspects show, but it focuses on one single category/differentiation: Nationals and Non-Nationals. This gives the impression of the nationality being the most important classification of a suspect. But when having a closer look at the more specific "security report" which is published by the same Office this assumption is being dispersed.

Here it becomes clear that certain characteristics correlate with the possibility of committing a criminal offence such as being male, belonging to a certain age group, knowing the victim/ being related to the victim. The data gives precise information on the different nationalities of the suspects and their residence status. The information given about suspects which are Austrian nationals is limited to their sex and age group. It might be reasonable to pose the question if further information on the educational level/profession or other parameters concerning the suspects would be helpful regarding prevention measures instead of putting a strong focus only on the nationalities, when it also becomes evident through the published data, that while a high percentage of crimes taking their absolute number into consideration is foreigners, also a high percentage of victims are non-nationals (Bundeskriminalamt, 2018). Furthermore, as journalist Maria Sterkl shows in the Viennese context,

27

when taking into consideration how many non-nationals are part of the residential population and how many are non-residentials, the factor of 2.6 (times more likely of committing a criminal offence) can be narrowed down to 1.5.

She also emphasizes that four out of five suspects are male and the "typical suspect" is younger than 45 years old. Now, the share of "male non-nationals under 45 years" in Vienna is 1.5 times higher than male nationals under 45 years – hence phenomenon explained.¹⁵ The table Ms. Sterkl is referring to is displayed in the following. In Germany curious facts were published in June 2018¹⁶ about the alleged relation between asylum seekers and criminal offences. Asylum seekers who were granted asylum – recognized refugees – tend to show fewer criminal actions as German citizens hence a strong differentiation between the different residency statuses is necessary when analyzing criminal statistics.



17

Table IX – Source Institut für Rechts- und Kriminalsoziologie

The examples in which asylum seekers and refugees are depicted as a security threat are manifold and the connection between refugees and insecurity almost has become naturalized in certain contexts, hence legitimizing questionable debates: A curfew for asylum seekers who are in Primary Care between $22:00 - 06:00^{18}$ or compulsory attendance for asylum seekers at their accommodation during daytime was discussed. These debates about measures on controlling asylum seekers – even if only discussed and not enforced due to resistance from the opposition, in some cases from the Austrian People's Party. The normalization of this debate has gone far: the security-discourse seems to be

¹⁵https://derstandard.at/2000078210604/Wie-kriminell-Auslaender-wirklich-sind

¹⁶ By the DPA, German Press Agency

¹⁷ Numbers are per 1.000 persons of the respective population group, structured by nationality;

¹⁸https://orf.at/stories/3104393/

amputated when not focusing on the foreign threat from within or the foreign threat from abroad. In chapter 5 we try to deconstruct the current approach by introducing an alternative narrative.

4.Examples of Hate Speech in Austria (Political Hate Speech and Media)

4.1 Listed Examples from 2018

• Example I: Photo on E-Cards does away with abuse of the social security system "Bad luck, Ali"

<u>Context</u>: November 2018, FPÖ-TV (Facebook and YouTube-Channel) shows a video on the introduction of a photo on every E-Card (medical insurance card)

<u>Who</u>: FPÖ-party

<u>Objective</u>: Migrants in general would abuse the Austrian social system more than Austrians, even after the immediate take off from the FPÖ channel the FPÖ general secretary Hafenecker states that it is a fact that in the first place, foreigners and immigrants would abuse the social security system

<u>Content</u>: Ali visits the doctors with the E-Card of his Cousin Mustafa, although he is not insured – thanks to the by FPÖ introduced innovation this will not be possible because a photo on every e-Card will be obligatory

Keywords: FPÖ, Social Welfare system, Migrants, Resources

<u>Coverage</u>, <u>Reporting</u>: Was taken off on the same day it has been posted, posted on tube channel, >23.000 subscribers

<u>Comments, Source</u>: Implementation of this new rule (photo) costs more than the abuse it tries to prevent according to experts;

https://orf.at/stories/3100610/ [24/5/2019];

https://derstandard.at/2000091229977/Ali-und-der-Sozialmissbrauch-Rassistisches-Video-auf-FPOe-TV [24/05/2019]

• Example II: Ethnic Profiling by Police

<u>Context:</u> Vienna City Park – Stadtpark, October 2018, the Musician and Rapper T-Ser was subjected to harsh identity checks solely because of his skin colour

Who: Police Officers

Objective: People of Colour are more likely to be criminals

<u>Content</u>: Some groups are more criminal than others based on their external appearance, if you belong to a certain group you are more likely to engage with criminal behaviour

Keywords: Criminalization, security, People of Colour, Police, Identity Checks,

<u>Coverage, Reporting:</u> ZARA has been receiving many complaints on ethnic profiling for many years now

<u>Comment, Source:</u> If you merely control People of Colour how will you detect criminal offences by White People?; Kovar (Speaker for human rights-based police interventions) claims that it is a difficult challenge to make efficient work but at the same time respect consternation of people concerned https://fm4v3.orf.at/stories/1703259/index.html [24/05/2019]

• Example III - Drasenhofen – Camp

Context: November 2018, refugee camp where 16 unaccompanied minor refugees have been accommodated, who previously were in conflict with the criminal law; established by the FPÖ state minister of Lower Austria

Who: Gottfried Waldhäusl, FPÖ

Objective: Criminalization of young adolescent asylum seekers

<u>Content:</u> "We" need to separate asylum seekers who want to integrate from those who are unwilling and not capable of integrating;

Keywords: Criminalization, asylum seekers, juvenile offenders, security, FPÖ

<u>Coverage, Reporting:</u> A criminal claim was filed by a Viennese Lawyer, ongoing

Comment, Source:https://www.profil.at/oesterreich/drasenhofen-waldhaeusl-stacheldrahtzaun-10537072 [24/5/2019]

• Example IV - New Year's Baby Asel 2018

Context: Vienna, the photo of the so-called New Years' Baby is shared via social media, the mother wears a headscarf, 2019 <u>Who:</u> Different private persons, 2019 FPÖ <u>Objective:</u> Violation of human dignity of persons of Muslim faith <u>Content</u>: Racist, humiliating comments towards the family <u>Keywords:</u> New Years' Baby, Islamophobia, FPÖ, identity <u>Coverage, Reporting</u>: Members of the helpline #gegenhassimnetz from ZARA currently check the postings in terms of relevance to §283 StGB incitement <u>Comment, Source:https://www.gmx.at/magazine/panorama/wiener-neujahrsbaby-asel-juristenpruefen-hasskommentare-32730002 [24/5/2019]</u>

https://assets.zara.or.at/download/pdf/ZARA-Rassimus_Report_2018-144.pdf [24/05/2019]

• Example V - ÖBB Advertisment Family Card

Context: Amstetten

Who: Municipal councilor FPÖ

Objective: Discrimination of gay people and People of Colour

<u>Content:</u> ÖBB posts advertisement showing two men and a baby using the ÖBB Familiy card, the advertisement is shared by a municipal counsilor in Amstetten, also responsible for the web presence of the FPÖ Amstetten, commenting that in the future he will not use the ÖBB anymore because he is disgusted by those two gay guys, one of them "even" being black.

Keywords: ÖBB, LGBTQ, People of Colour, FPÖ, identity

<u>Coverage, Reporting</u>: Initial post reacting on the Ad from a Linzer counsilor with 2300 facebook friends, counsilor of Amstetten commented on the Linzer's post; Apologies follow from the municipal counsilor and other FPÖ members including Johann Gudenus (former Klubobmann; former Parliamentary Representative)

Comment, Sources:

https://mobil.derstandard.at/2000085399760/FPOe-Stadtrat-schimpft-ueber-Neger-und-Schwuchteln-in-OeBB-Werbung [24/5/2019]

• Example VI: "Keine weiteren muslimischen Migranten in Döblings Gemeindebauten"

<u>Context:</u> November 2018, FPÖ Broadcast: "Keine weiteren muslimischen Migranten in Döblings Gemeindebauten" (No more Muslim migrants within Döblings Council Flats)

Who: FPÖ Döbling

Objective: Denial of Access to "common goods" (council flats) for Muslims

<u>Content</u>: FPÖ of a Viennese district claims council flats should be not any longer accessible to people of Muslim faith

Keywords: Islamophobia, resources, council flats, FPÖ

<u>Coverage, Reporting</u>: The NGO SOS Mitmensch sends a statement to the Public Prosecution Office with the suspicion of incitement according to §283 StGB

Comment, Source:https://www.vienna.at/wiener-vizebuergermeister-kritisiert-hohenmigrantenanteil-in-gemeindebauten/5995931 [24/5/2017]

<u>Example VII "Wir müssen reden" (We need to talk)</u>

<u>Context:</u> Official Campaign 2018 (previous ones Defend Europe (2017), Integrationslüge (Integration Lie) (2016), Asylkrise (Asylum Crisis) (2015)

Who: Identitäre Bewegung, connections to the FPÖ are currently being investigated¹⁹

<u>Objective:</u> Stop the Islamization of Europe and support remigration support of "Leitkultur" (dominant culture), "Heimatschutz" (Protection of the allegedly cultural heritage of the dominant culture),

¹⁹<u>https://derstandard.at/2000100679918/FPOe-und-Identitaere-Verflochten-quer-durchs-Land</u>

<u>Content</u>: Demands: 1) Family-friendly policies in order to preserve what they call "unser Volk" ("our" people, "our" nation), 2) Remigration and fortification of the so-called "Leitkultur" (Dominant Culture), 3) freedom of expression needs to be re-established in Austria asking for a debate free from fear <u>Keywords:</u> "Heimat" (Cultural Heritage), dominant culture, islamophobia, identity <u>Coverage, Reporting:</u> Public Prosecution Office opened on its own motion a court case because of (inter alia) §283 StGB Incitement and §278 StGB (Foundation of criminal association), acquittal by

Grazer Law Courts in July 2018, after appeal by public prosecutor again appeal in January 2019 from the Higher Regional Court

Comments, Source:

https://www.welt.de/politik/ausland/article179994250/Freisprueche-und-Geldstrafen-im-Prozessgegen-Identitaere.html [24/5/2019]

• Example VIII – Incorrect Media Coverage

Context: December 2017/January 2018, media coverage on trouncing asylum seekers <u>Who:</u> Austrian Newspaper, Austrian Police <u>Objective:</u> Fortification of the image of the criminal and violent foreigner/asylum seeker <u>Content</u>: Austrian Daily Newspaper reports about two Armenian asylum seekers who allegedly have beaten up their own counselor which turns out to be untrue <u>Keywords:</u> Asylum seekers, violence, criminalization, media, security <u>Coverage, Reporting:</u> Comment, Source:

https://assets.zara.or.at/download/pdf/ZARA-Rassimus_Report_2018-144.pdf [24/5/2019]

• Example IX – "Die Dämmerung lockt Ungeziefer an"

Context: Article published in the KRONE using derogatory vocabular

Who: KRONE Verlag GmbH &Co KG

Objective: Criminalization of Migrants

Content: The headline "The dusk attracts vermin" refers to criminal gangs from abroad

Keywords: NS-vocabulary, security, migrants, media, KRONE

Coverage, Reporting: The Press Council condemned it as denigrating and discriminatory, the KRONE

does not accept the Press Council as court of arbitration though

Comment, Source:

https://www.presserat.at/rte/upload/entscheidungen_2019/entscheidung_2018_192_29.11.2018.p df [24/5/2019]

• Example X – Sweden Articles wochenblick.at

Context: Series of Articles published in the wochenblick.at

Who: Wochenblick.at

Objective: Criminalization of Refugees

<u>Content:</u> Articles describing refugees in a derogatory way on different levels using dubious sources <u>Keywords:</u> Islamophobia, identity, resources, security, refugees, media

<u>Coverage</u>, <u>Reporting</u>: The Press Council condemned it as denigrating and discriminatory, the wochenblick.at does not accept the Press Council as court of arbitration though

Comments, Source:

https://www.presserat.at/rte/upload/entscheidungen_2018/entscheidung_2018_017_03.04.2018.p df [24/5/2019]

4.1 Selected Example Drasenhofen

Example Number 3 shows the effects and implications of a xenophobia-enforcing discourse and debate which has been identifiable within in the Austrian context from political actors being part of the government on provincial and federal level. Drasenhofen is a clear example of "emotional politics" according to the former editor for home affairs Mister Thomas Hofer.

The regional minister of the FPÖ in Lower Austria, Gottfried Waldhäusl, for the departments Needsbased minimum benefit, Asylum, Community physicians and Animal Welfare ordered the opening of an accommodation for Unaccompanied Minor Refugees who have been in conflict with the Austrian criminal law in Drasenhofen, a town in Lower Austria close to the Czech border.

The accommodation was closed by the ÖVP-belonging governor of Lower Austria after less than a month of operation due to questionable circumstances in the camp and a scathing verdict by the Children and Youth's Advocacy.

According to the state minister the adolescents sent there were "notorious troublemakers" which were different to other adolescents and hence would require a different handling. A statement by Gottfried Waldhäusl expresses his attitude:

"Die neue Art an Gewalt, die wir jetzt feststellen mussten, zeigt eindeutig, dass wir jene, die gewalttätig sind, die selbst- und fremdgefährdend sind, tatsächlich von jenen trennen müssen, die sich integrieren wollen" meaning (translated freely) the new kind of

violence which we have seen recently, shows that we have to separate those who are violent, who endanger themselves or others from those who really want to integrate."²⁰

As mentioned in the journal Profil, Waldhäusl claims a "special handling" for those unwilling to integrate. This term was a code for the murder of persons during the Nazi era, hence this mode of expression caused indignation and outrage.

Apart from the instanced language Mister Waldhäusl used, other circumstances within this cause have been criticized and questioned heavily, leading to calls for his resignation and a last warning from his own boss, the governor of Lower Austria, Johanna Mikl-Leitner: According to Mister Waldhäusl's gusto the accommodation was surrounded with barbed wire, equipped with security personal from the security firm NSA and a guard dog. Apparently, there was a curfew in place, permission to go out was highly restricted and only possible accompanied by supervisory stuff, a camera installed at the entrance and the order of 24 hour-monitoring conducted by three security guards.

The Austrian lawyer Georg Zanger filed a criminal complaint against Mister Waldhäusl because of de facto forcible confinement of the adolescents and abuse of state authority. Many experts and politicians of different backgrounds criticized the politician for his method: It is acknowledged as state-of-the-art that the rate of relapses from adolescents and youngsters tend to rise the stricter judicial sentences are, because they then take an oppositional attitude instead of showing understanding for what they did was wrong. Mister Waldhäusl and supporters of his concept of separation of good and bad Unaccompanied Minors, according to critics, have not acted according to judicial decisions, but rather installed and enforced their own understanding of who is criminal and who is not. The adolescents at this moment in time were recipients of the Basic Supply for Asylum Seekers (for Unaccompanied Minors) and not detainees/convicts, hence there was no reason transferring them to a place with barbed wire and a security firm monitoring, so the perspective of the Children and Youth's Advocacy.

5. Counter-Narratives

Populist and nationalist movements are producing and spreading exclusionary narratives in a very effective way. Based on a structured and organized communication strategy their content has a great impact. They are winning and influencing elections in various countries. As a part of the "Words Are Stones" project, Grenzenlos (Austria) was hosting a counter-narratives workshop in May 2019. Together with the participants the question was raised how to battle nationalist and populist influence. Which counter-narratives can be created? Is it possible to find new approaches and perspectives for

²⁰ Newsmagazine "profil"; article from Patrick Winter *Drasenhofen: Waldhäusl ordnete persönlich Stacheldrahtzaun an*, 15.12.2018, accessble under: https://www.profil.at/oesterreich/drasenhofen-waldhaeusl-stacheldrahtzaun-10537072 [24/05/2019]

the social debate about resources, identity and security? The following chapters are influenced by the received content and reflections.

5.1 Counter-Narrative Resources

The public debate about the allocation and distribution of resources is strongly influenced by the assumption resources run short. People situated in the low income "class" of society are driven into the focus of the attention of the public debate by conservative and nationalist parties. Complicated economic quests are simplified, responded to with simple solutions: "The Others" are the reason why my income or state subsidy is so low. For those in charge for the economic development, it is a tempting offer to point fingers on migrants, refugees or others excluded groups. During the mentioned workshop it was clear that this is a central question in terms of successfully defy populist movements. "I think it is important that people understand that those who have got less or as much as I do are not the solution! What about the big companies? What about raising taxes on them? Is it not unfair that Google or Starbucks do not have to pay taxes?" (Participant A). The discussion during the debate showed that one participant believes a direct reaction to hate speech and populist narratives might be the wrong approach. "By reacting and repeating the arguments and narratives, we are unconsciously reproducing them! Even if we try to unmask them, the result is that we help spreading them" (Participant B). This input shows that as a civil society it is also important to work on a strong own communication strategy, and not just react to populist input. "What is the future we all deserve?" (Participant C). Economy is based on particular processes, however these processes are influenced and by the civil society. The allocation and distribution of resources is embedded into those processes, and will always be a matter of public discussion and conflict. To avoid that this dialog is controlled by nationalist and populist actors, it is essential to provide alternative solutions. "We need a vision! A vision that helps as in finding a better way of economic interaction." (Ibid.)

5.2 Counter-Narratives Identity

IDENTITY – IDENITITES

WHO NEEDS IDENTITY?

In 1966, Stuart Hall, a postcolonial theorist, posed the question: Who needs identity? This emphasizes the power-related element within the entire discourse on identity. Who is speaking about whose identity? The postcolonial concept of "People of Color" was established by people with experience of discrimination and marginalization because of their ascribed identity of being "the Other", breaking out of being an objectified person or group into being speaking and heard subjects (Bhabha, 2015; Hall,

1996). This means that the first step in fighting the current narrative is questioning the historic concept of identity, breaking its normality.

The small working group on identity found one essential aspect which challenges the predominant narrative: We all do not consist of one identity, but rather of various identities – our identity is not single, but plural!

This helps deconstructing the myth that members of a certain nationality would share the biggest part of their identity. Identity is an unstable, developing, evolving concept (McCarthey, 2002) and consists of various particles as many social researchers have agreed on. One person is not first and foremost Austrian – for instance – but also belongs to identity groups such as heterosexual, homosexual, bisexual, special needs, French speaking, highly-skilled, urban, rural, vegetarian, vegan, funny, conservative, extraverted, liberal etc. All of these identities add up to one's identity.

A Hindu person potentially disagrees on a particular topic with a person being Christian, or Muslim or the other way around. But the fact that a person has got many identities implies the chance that while disagreeing regarding one identity-issue does not necessarily mean disagreeing on other identity-particles such as the idea of pacifism and civil disobedience for example. Unravelling an identity into its numerous parts can help in finding similarities with others which might not be evident at first sight. The theoretical concepts of cultural citizenship (Miller, 2001) or flexible citizenship (Ong, 1999) are examples of challenging and deconstructing old notions of identity which were established alongside ethnic, racial or national understandings of culture (Hall, 1996). Bhabha (2015), an Indian postcolonial theorist, speaks about hybrid identities, also deconstructing the idea of a fixed, one-dimensional identity, describing it as a continuous process, fluid in its consistence, comprising plentiful parts. If a person is aware of the fragmentary nature of identity, s/he might more easily can accept identity features of others which do not relate to his/her own ones, because of the awareness that some will correlate with hers/his, others will not. Hence, the fragmentation on one's identity therefore was regarded as a counter-narrative to the current nationalized, fixed identity narrative.

5.3 Counter-Narratives Security

SAFETY FOR WHO?

In the course of our National Meeting, the small non-formal working group detected that in order to deconstruct the current narrative on security, the inflationary used term needs to be scrutinized and questioned. Security has been used in connection with migrants and refugees in particular as a terminology of political struggle (see 3.2.3). So as to thwart the current predominant understanding of the security-migrant nexus, one needs to analyze and review the concept of security itself.

The security quest repeatedly has been raised from members of the majority population. Migrants repeatedly have been depicted as a threat to stability and security for the host countries and a threat to the safety of the citizens in economic and social terms (Karyotis, 2007). In 2015, for instance, the high number of asylum seekers entering Austria was frequently associated and mentioned with security questions. Allegations towards migrants tending to be more criminal than nationals when taking other characteristics such as age, education, gender, the relationship between the victim and the offender into consideration, do not hold water (see 2.5). Nevertheless, the dominant understanding of the nexus is prevailing.

The quest about security is a complex one and can never be downgraded to a question of nationality. It might be myopic and dangerous doing so. Focusing on the offenders and their nationality distracts from the actual question: Security for who? Who shall be protected? Who are the victims?

Within Security Studies one can find a clear response to it. Security concepts, as presented by the former and current Austrian government, focus on counter-terrorism measures, defense of cyberattacks, tight control of external borders of the EU. These measures inherently regard migration as a potential threat, at least as something which needs to be controlled and observed. It re-inforces the current understanding of the migration-security nexus (Huysmans, 2009). This understanding of security does not focus on the protection and security of minorities as its first and foremost aim.

Within Migration Studies one finds a certainly different approach. Not state security is put at the centre, but rather the security of the migrants. Hate speech mainly targets persons belonging to historically marginalized and discriminated groups (Curtis, 2015; Sponholz, 2018). Hate speech may leads to hate crime, hence within this understanding it turns into a security quest not for the majority population, but for the ones depicted as "the Others".

The working group shared the perception that the security of the majority population is at the centre of the debate, the security of marginalized people or potential victims of hate speech is hardly topicalized and below the radar of most politicians.

A counter-measure to the naturalized and normalized security-migrant-nexus can be its reformulation. By disentangling the nexus into its smallest components many new questions arise. This questioning helps in finding a new narrative and connecting security and migration in a new way with each other. It offers the chance to ask for possible political, economic or social intentions behind the dominant narrative. It offers the chance of reflecting the topic on a meta-level.

If hate speech rises, it is likely to reflect in figures of hate crime and hence becomes a security quest for the affected persons, their surroundings and in the long term for the society as a whole. A correlation and in some cases causality of hateful speech and hate crime has been confirmed by scientists. Yet, the significance depends on various variables such as prior level of racism etc. (Chan; Seamans, 2016).

37

After asking ourselves safety for who, we want to introduce the question, emphasis what for? Which economic considerations might be operating in the background here?

The shared experience of the members of the small working group is that security and freedom seem to be traded for each other. The more insecure people feel, the more curtailing of their freedom they will accept. Hence, the more felt insecurity is "produced", the more monitoring and control of the population might be tolerated. This tendency has also been scrutinized and confirmed by scholars. The trade-offs of security might entail cuts in freedom (Lavenex, 2011; Karyotis, 2011). The discussion about the "mandatory registration" so as to easier bring hater in front of a court shows this trade-off. Experts agreed that a mandatory registration with the real identity of the persons would not help in decreasing the amount of hate speech, because currently – without the mandatory registration – most people commit hate speech under their real name.

6. Initiatives by Civil Society and the State

Both civil society and state actors have been responding and reacting to the prevalence of hateful speech. The combat on a legal level partly has been taken place through the adoption of laws and acts, although Austria lacks a designated "No-Hate-Speech law" and the state lacks reporting on hate crime and hate speech separately as stated by the OSCE²¹. The introduction of legal measures is a first step, but other steps need to follow in order to secure the completion of the laws.

Reporting offices run by state and non-state actor present the second vital step. After the adoption of laws, the actual enforcement of the laws is facilitated by offering counselling and information offices, providing the victims with legal and financial channels and support on how to exercise one's rights.

Then, the collection of data, documentation of cases and hence monitoring the situation is vital so as to counteract hate speech. Identifying rise and decent regarding the number of cases helps in finding the most effective ways in responding to hateful communication.

In Austria (see 2.4) – additionally to general report offices, there are specialized report offices offering their documentation services: dokustelle for anti-Muslim racism for Muslim persons, the Romano Centro for Roma persons and the Forum Against Antisemitism for Jewish persons for example.

A further way of combatting hateful speech is by rectifying false information or promoting and sharing correct fact-based information. Mimikama is a small initiative, operating in Austria, which tests and examines news/information which has been reported to them as potentially fake. In case the scrutinizers find out that the information is untrue, Mimikama puts the rectified information on their homepage and hence trying to counter persistent or sudden misconceptions and reports.

²¹<u>http://hatecrime.osce.org/austria(</u>ODIHR homepage)

A third means of countering hate speech, which has been applied by various state and non-state actors, is education. Some initiatives offer training courses on media competency, human rights or civil courage. The improvement of media competency leads to empowered and responsible media consumers, which cannot be misled and deceived easily. This means is regarded as very powerful, since the internet gives the chance to a vast number of persons to publish contents which are not fact-based, may be inciting or discriminating. The chance to provide media consumers with tools for debunking fake news and questioning sources etc. seems to be more reasonable than stopping the dissemination of derogatory or false information, especially because some are considered as within Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Another tool in fighting hate speech is awareness raising. A definition of hate speech helps in categorizing the phenomenon and hence fighting it. It is important to distinguish between discrimination and hate speech. The naming of hate speech creates consciousness and makes it more debatable and tangible. Awareness raising can happen via events where hateful rhetoric is made a subject of discussion, via classifying messages as hate or discriminatory speech or via addressing the various forms of hate speech.

Last but not least, through the analysis of political and other forms of hate speech, individual exchange has been detected as a meaningful counteract means. The initiative Shades Tours, which offers guided tours by refugees through Vienna, offers the possibility that displaced persons and locals exchange their experiences, their fears and their personal histories. Participants of the tours are encouraged to ask all kind of questions about the flight itself, the reasons, the life and challenges in the new environment and do no longer depend on – potentially – false or incomplete information given by the media for example. The participants receive first-hand information, which then no longer are facts or news, but turn into one dimension of the reality from one person who has experienced displacement or flight. Another example is the program "Zusammen Leben" from the NGO Grenzenlos, where locals and refugees are brought together in pairs of two so as to exchange their thoughts and spend time together. The idea behind the program is, that persons meet each other as humans, they may get to know each other's families, each other's daily routines, work lives, friends and daily challenges.

In the Appendix the Austrian initiatives and organizations offering the mentioned counter-measures are listed, their homepages present further information on their approaches, programs and information materials.

Civil Society measures and state-initiatives alike partly depend on the political will and on their financial means. Many initiatives have been set up by persons concerned. It is essential that counter-measures are led and implemented by persons who have experienced hate speech or who belong to or are ascribed to a marginalized group, because only then effective and long-term solutions can be designed and implemented.

39

7. Conclusion

This national report, as part of the "Words Are Stones" project, shows how important a constructive dialog within the society is about ostracizing speech and action and its consequences, the limits of freedom of speech and the protection of minority rights. It first gives a historical glimpse onto the Austrian context of inciting rhetoric against what has been considered "the Others". Secondly a review of the international and national legal status quo is provided. Official data pictures the prevalence of the phenomenon in Austria for the reference year 2018. Later the target groups of this report are defined. It further identifies three major motivational roots for hate speech namely allocation of resources, discourse on identity and security/criminalization. The then listed examples of political hate speech in Austria in 2018 can all be ascribed to the three motivations. Out of the ten examples we chose one example of the motivations to describe how they it is instrumentalized to legitimize hateful speech. So what can be done against hate speech? The report – again according to the three motivations – tries to formulate three counter-narrations. Subsequently it also depicts civil society and state initiatives which are active in countering hate speech in Austria on different levels such as reporting offices to mention only one.

The portray of the Austrian legal framework shows that in comparison with the other six monitored countries (see chapter 1), the legal response in terms of implementation and execution is well-established. Starting with the National Socialism Prohibition Act of 1947, the amended Incitement Act and Cyber Mobbing Act (2.3.2), the existing legislation provides the state and civil society an effective tool for adequate rejoinder. However, the number of documented cases and analysis of hate speech in the political sphere, may indicate a disturbing and alarming development.

Actors which use hate speech have become more professional in using legal blind spots. Sophisticated communication strategies and new developments like memes create new possibilities. It would be a fallacy believing that reacting via legal actions suffices. Debates about identity, security/criminalization and the allocation and distribution of resources from civil society actors and politicians often remain within a reacting mode: Offenders have taken the power of determination of the argumentative area. Economic reasoning and paroles are being responded to in economic terms. Civil society actors and politicians alike would do well not only remaining in reactive activities, but need to take action and regaining some power of definition. It is essential to establish new space for positive encounters, narratives, which push aside simple and polarizing "solutions" of populist actors and give way to new narratives, to naming and explaining hate speech and emphasizing its political and strategic element. Finding effective measures means – inter alia -reflecting on the concept of identity, security or resources. Additionally, educational programs on media competence can provide people with the necessary skills to detect and fight it.

Informing about the phenomenon, supporting victims and witnesses, provoking questions and reflections which may lead to new perspectives on "old" topics, highlighting parallels between sexism, racism in general, antisemitism, antigypsyism, Islamophobia, christianophobia, discrimination against persons with disabilities, education on social and print media competency or rectifying false information: All of this might be steps towards the disclosure of hate speech as a tool of certain actors so as to divide the society and foster current socio-economic and political hierarchies. The negative and hateful attention on minorities cannot solve any challenges, but rather is a hindrance to economic, social, democratic and political progress and change.

Counter-measures need to address the different perpetrators – political actors or individuals – and a multilateral approach is inevitable, because then technological initiatives can be applied more effectively and comprehensively (Banks, 2010). Simultaneously, human rights education and media competency and literacy need to be strengthened, because strong prevention tools can not only counteract, but address the problem at its roots instead of keep trimming its branches. There is no one-size-fits-all solution, but different actors/perpetrators have to be approached with different methods, while in some cases one size fits all, in others more research in order to identify all the variables, more political and financial motivation and responsibility has to be taken up – by state and non-state actors alike.

8. Reference List

ARTICLE 19 (2018). Austria: Responding to 'hate speech'. 2018 Country Report. London: ARTICLE 19. https://www.article19.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/Austria-Responding-to-Hate-Speech-.pdf [23/05/2019]

Banks, J. (2010). Regulating hate speech online. *International Review of Law, Computers & Technology, 24(3), 233-239*.

Bhabha, H. (2015). Debating cultural hybridity: Multicultural identities and the politics of anti-racism. Zed Books Ltd.

Bundeskriminalamt (2018). Lagebericht Polizeiliche Kriminalstatistik 2017. Wien: Bundeskriminalamt. https://www.bundeskriminalamt.at/501/start.aspx (Status 25/05/2019)

Dokustelle Islamfeindlichkeit und anti-muslimischer Rassismus (2018). Antimuslimischer Rassismus Report 2017. Wien: Dokustelle.

Chan, J., Ghose, A., & Seamans, R. (2016). The internet and racial hate crime: Offline spillovers from online access. *MIS Quarterly, 40(2), 381-403*.

Convention and Protocol Relating the Status of Refugees, 28th July 1951, U.N.T.S. Registration Number I- 2545 and I-8791, entered into force 22nd April 1954, ratified by 142 States (Status 25/05/2019)

Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, 4th November 1950, entered into force 03rd September 1953.

Curtis, William M. (2015). Hate Speech. In: Encyclopaedia Britannica. https://www.britannica.com/topic/hate-speech [26/05/2019]

Fekete, Liz; Sivanandan, A. (2009). A suitable enemy: Racisms, migration and Islamophobia in Europe. Michigan: Pluto Press.

Hamann, B. (1998). Hitlers Wien. Lehrjahre eines Diktators. München: Piper.

Hall, S. (1996). Who needs identity. Questions of cultural identity, 16(2), 1-17.

Huysmans, J., & Squire, V. (2009). Migration and security. *Handbook of Security Studies. London: Routledge.*

Jäger, Siegfried; Schules, Hannah (2012). Rassismus inklusive – das ökonomische Prinzip bei Thilo Sarrazin. In: Schneider, Thorsten (2012) (Ed.). *Verhärtete Fronten*, Springer VS, pp. 97 – 117.

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 16th December 1966, entered into force 23rd March 1967, U.N.T.S. Registration Number I-14668, ratified by 172 States (Status 25/05/2019)

Karyotis, G. (2007). European migration policy in the aftermath of September 11: The security– migration nexus. *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research*, 20(1), 1-17.

Karyotis, G. (2011). The fallacy of securitizing migration: elite rationality and unintended consequences. *Security, Insecurity and Migration in Europe*, 13-30.

Keen, Ellie; Georgescu, Mara (Editors). (2016, Revised Edition). Bookmarks. A manual for combating hate speech online through human rights education. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

Kraler, Albert (2010). Globale Migrationen. In: Langthaler, Ernst, Sider, Gerhard (Eds.) (2010). Globalgeschichte 1800 – 2000. Vienna: Böhlau, pp. 97 – 133.

Lavenex, S. (2001). Migration and the EU's new Eastern Border: Between Realism and Liberalism. *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 8, Number 1, pp. 24-42. McCarthey, S. J., & Moje, E. B. (2002). Identity matters. Reading research quarterly, 37(2), 228-238.

Mandel, Robert (1997). Perceived security threat and the global refugee crisis. *Armed forces & Society*, 24(1), pp. 77 – 103.

Miller, T. (2001). Cultural citizenship. Temple University Press.

OHCHR (11th January 2013). Annual Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. Report of the Human Rights Commissioner on the expert workshops on the prohibition of incitement, to national, racial or religious hatred. A/HRC/22/17/add.4, Morocco: OHCHR.

Ong, A. (1999). Flexible citizenship: The cultural logics of transnationality. Duke University Press.

Richmond, A.H., & Valtonen, K. (1994). Global apartheid: Refugees, racism, and the new world order. *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees*, 14(6).

Seidman-Zager, J. (2019). The Securitization of Asylum: Protecting UK Residents. Refugee Studies Centre.

Schuster, Liza (2003). Common sense oder racism? The treatment of asylum-seekers in Europe. *Patterns of Prejudice*, 37(3), pp. 233-256.

Sponholz, Liriam (2018). Hate Speech in den Massenmedien. Theoretische Grundlagen und empirische Umsetzung. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Volf, Patrick-Paul (1995). Der politische Flüchtling als Symbol der zweiten Republik. Zur Asyl- und Flüchtlingspolitik seit 1945. *Zeitgeschichte*, 22(11/12), pp. 415 – 436.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 10th December 1948, G.A. res. 217A (III), U.N. Doc A/810 at 71 (1948).

9. Annexe

List of Organizations involved in combatting hate speech in Austria²²

²²Without claiming to be exhaustive

Organization	Contact Details	Field of Action
#Hass im Netz – Meldestelle ZARA	Wallstraße 11 55122 Mainz Tel.: 06131 3285-20 Fax: 06131 3285-22 https://www.hass-im-netz.info/	Reporting Monitoring and Mapping and Legal Steps, social and legal support, counselling
akzente (Fake News)	buero(at)jugendschutz.net Glockengasse 4c, 5020 Salzburg Tel.: 0662/84 92 91 office@akzente.net https://www.akzente.net/home/	Media Education
Beratungsstelle Extremismus	Beratungsstelle Extremismus bOJA – Bundesweites Netzwerk Offene Jugendarbeit Lilienbrunngasse 18/2/47 1020 Wien Tel.: +43-660-2828038 Fax: +43-1-216 48 44 55 boja.at boja@boja.at	Reporting Monitoring and Mapping and Legal Steps
BMEIA - Beratungsstelle für Diskriminierung und Intoleranz	Minoritenplatz 8, 1010 Wien Tel. +43 (0) 50 11 50-0 <u>https://www.bmeia.gv.at/integration/hotline-gegen-diskriminierung/</u> HOTLINE: 050 11 50 - 4242	Reporting, Social and Legal Counselling
bOJA – Bundesweites Netzwerk Offene Jugendarbeit	Bundesweites Netzwerk Offene Jugendarbeit c/o Lilienbrunngasse 18/2/47 1020 Wien Österreich Tel.: +43-660 633 89 44 <u>http://www.boja.at/</u> <u>boja@boja.at</u>	Awareness Raising, Media Education
Bundesjugendvertr etung (BJV)	Bundes Jugend Vertretung Liechtensteinstr. 57/2 1090 Wien Tel.: +43 1 214 44 99 <u>office@bjv.at</u> <u>https://www.bjv.at/</u>	Education

Bundeskanzleramt Österreich/Bundes ministerin für Frauen, Familien und Jugend	Untere Donaustraße 13-15, 1020 Wien Tel.: +43 1 531 15-0 <u>https://www.frauen-familien-jugend.bka.gv.at/</u> juliane.bogner-strauss@bka.gv.at	Awareness Raising, Media Education
Bundeskriminalamt	Josef-Holaubek-Platz 1 1090 Wien Österreich Tel.: +43-(0)1-24836 Dw. 985025, -985026 or - 985027 <u>Bundeskriminalamt@bmi.gv.at</u> www.bundeskriminalamt.at/, <u>https://www.project-</u> <u>contra.org/Contra/DE/Home/home_node.html,</u> www.facebook.com/bundeskriminalamt	Media Education (Project CONTRA – Countering Propaganda by Narration towards Anti-Radical Awareness)
Bundesnetzwerk Österreichische Jugendinfos	Lilienbrunngasse 18/2/41 1020 Wien Tel: +43 (0)1/934 66 91 <u>https://www.jugendportal.at/</u> info@jugendportal.at	Media Education, Awareness Raising
Demokratiezentru m Wien	Hegelgasse 6/5 1010 Wien Österreich Tel.: +43/1/5123737 Fax: +43/15123737-20 <u>www.demokratiezentrum.org</u> <u>office@demokratiezentrum.org</u>	Awareness Raising, Promoting Correct Information, Media Education
dokustelle	Tel.: 0676/ 40 40 005 <u>office@dokustelle.at</u> Fb/ Dokustelle Österreich	Reporting Monitoring and Mapping, Awareness Raising
Fachstelle für Gewaltprävention im NÖ Jugendreferat	Landhausplatz 1, Haus 9 3109 St. Pölten Tel.: 02742/9005-9050 gewaltpraevention@noel.gv.at https://www.gewaltpraevention-noe.at/	Awareness Raising
filmworks vienna e.V. – Verein zur Förderung von Filmschauspiel	Lacknergasse 83 / 3, 1180 Wien Tel.: +43 (0) 699 109 100 90 office@filmschoolvienna.at https://filmschoolvienna.at/	Awareness Raising (Video)
Forum gegen Antisemitismus	Seitenstettengasse 2 1010 Wien Tel.: +43 1 398 72 72 <u>https://www.fga-wien.at/</u> <u>info(at)fga-wien.at</u>	Reporting, Monitoring and Mapping, Awareness Raising

Gleichbehandlungs anwaltschaft	Taubstummengasse 11 1040 Wien Tel.: +43 1 5320 244, HOTLINE: 0800 206 119 Fax: +43 1 5320 246 gaw@bka.gv.at https://www.gleichbehandlungsanwaltschaft.gv. at/home	Reporting, Social and Legal Counselling
Grenzenlos – Grenzenlos@school s	Heiligenstädter Straße 2, 1090 Wien Tel.: 01/315 76 36 Fax: 01/315 76 37 office@grenzenlos.or.at	Awareness Raising
Grenzenlos – Zusammen Leben	Heiligenstädter Straße 2, 1090 Wien Tel.:01/315 76 36 Fax: 01/315 76 37 office@grenzenlos.or.at	Individual Encounter, Awareness Raising
IKT Sicherheitsportal	Bundesministerium für Digitalisierung und Wirtschaftsstandort Stubenring 1 1010 Wien <u>service@bmdw.gv.at</u> <u>https://www.onlinesicherheit.gv.at/</u> <u>https://www.bmdw.gv.at/Ministerium/Seiten/I</u> <u>mpressum.aspx</u>	Education, Awareness Raising
Initiative Qualität im Journalismus – IQ	Fachbereich Kommunikationswissenschaft Rudolfskai 42 5020 Salzburg <u>https://www.iq-journalismus.at/</u> <u>info@iq-journalismus.at</u>	Awareness Raising
Institut für Rechts- und Kriminalsoziologie (IRKS)	Institute for the Sociology of Law and Criminology Museumstrasse 5/12, 1070 Vienna phone: +43.1.526 15 16 fax: +43.1.526 15 16 10 office@irks.at https://www.irks.at/en/	Research
ISPA	ISPA - Internet Service Providers Austria Währinger Straße 3 / 18, 1090 Wien Telefon: +43 (0) 1 409 55 76 Fax: +43 (0) 1 409 55 76 21 E-Mail: <u>office (a) ispa.at</u> <u>https://www.ispa.at/startseite.html</u>	Media Education, Awareness Raising

IZ - Vielfalt, Dialog, Bildung	Dresdner Straße 82/12 1200 Wien +43 1 586 75 44 +43 1 5867544-9 <u>office@iz.or.at</u> <u>https://www.iz.or.at/de</u>	Awareness Raising, Education, Individual Encounter
Kinder- und Jugendanwaltschaft en Österreich	Kinder- und Jugendanwaltschaft des Landes Oberösterreich Kärntnerstraße 10 4021 Linz Telefon: (+43 732) 77 20-140 01 Fax: (+43 732) 77 20-214 077 <u>kija@ooe.gv.at</u> <u>https://www.kija.at/</u>	Awareness Raising
Klagsverband zur Durchsetzung der Rechte von Diskriminierungsop fern	Lassallestraße 7a, Unit 4, Top 6a 1020 Wien +43-1-961 05 85-13 <u>https://www.klagsverband.at/</u> <u>info@klagsverband.at</u>	Reporting Monitoring and Mapping and Legal Steps
Land der Menschen	Kapuzinerstraße 84 A-4020 Linz +43 664 6145113 office@landdermenschen.at http://www.landdermenschen.at/	Awareness Raising, Individual Encounter, Promoting Correct Information
Land Salzburg	Amt der Salzburger Landesregierung Postfach 527 5010 Salzburg Telefon +43 662 8042-0 Telefax +43 662 8042-2160 E-Mail <u>post@salzburg.gv.at</u> <u>https://www.salzburg.gv.at/</u>	Information
Landesjugendrefera t Wien (MA13)	1082 Wien, <u>Friedrich-Schmidt-Platz 5</u> Tel.: <u>01-4000-84 329</u> Fax: <u>01-4000-99-84 328</u> <u>post@ma13.wien.gv.at</u> <u>www.bildungjugend.wien.at</u>	Awareness Raising
Mauthausen Komittee	Obere Donaustraße 97-99/4/5, 1020 Wien Tel: +43 / (0)1 / 212 83 33 Fax: +43 / (0)1 / 212 83 33-89 <u>info@mkoe.at</u>	Awareness Raising

Mimikama NEUSTART	Dietrichgasse 16a 1030 Wien Österreich <u>buero@mimikama.at</u> <u>https://www.mimikama.at/</u> NEUSTART Wien	Promoting Correct Information Awareness Raising, Social
	1020 Wien, Holzhausergasse 4/3 Tel. 01/218 32 55 Fax 01/218 32 55-120 office.wien@neustart.at beratung@neustart.at https://www.neustart.at/at/de/	and Legal Counselling, Individual Encounter
NO HATE SPEECH Komitee Austria	Lilienbrunngasse 18/2/47, 1020 Wien +43 660 2828038 <u>https://www.nohatespeech.at</u> <u>boja@boja.at</u>	Reporting Monitoring and Mapping and Legal Steps, Social and Legal Support, Counselling, Promoting correct information, Media Education, Awareness Raising
Romano Centro	Hofmannsthalgasse 2, Lokal 2 1030 Wien, Österreich Tel: +43-1-749 63 36 Fax: +43-1-749 63 36/11 office@romano-centro.org http://www.romano-centro.org/	Monitoring and Mapping, Awareness Raising, Promoting Correct Information, Individual Encounter (Cultural Events)
Safer Internet	Österreichisches Institut für angewandte Telekommunikation (ÖIAT) Ungargasse 64-66/3/404, 1030 Wien Tel.: +43 1 595 21 12-51 Fax: +43 1 595 21 12-99 <u>office@saferinternet.at</u>	Media Education, Awareness Raising
Shades Tours	c/o Impact Hub, Lindengasse 56, A-1070 Wien +43 1 997 19 83 <u>vienna@shades-tours.com</u> <u>https://www.shades-tours.com/en/shades- tours/</u>	Awareness Raising, Individual Encounter, Promoting Correct Information
SOS Menschenrechte	Rudolfstraße 64 4040 Linz Telefon: 0699/18804074 E-Mail: <u>office@sos.at</u> <u>http://www.sos.at/index.php?id=179&no_cache</u> = <u>1</u>	Awareness Raising

SOS Mitmensch, Verein	Zollergasse 15/2, A - 1070 Wien, ZVR 227475709 Tel.: +43 1 524 99 00 Fax: +43 1 524 99 00 - 9 <u>https://www.sosmitmensch.at/site/home</u> <u>office@sosmitmensch.at</u>	Monitoring, Awareness Raising, Promoting Correct Information
Stadt Wien	Magistrat der Stadt Wien, Rathaus, A-1082 Wien Telefon: 01 4000 <u>https://www.wien.gv.at/</u>	Awareness Raising
Stopline	Jakob-Haringer-Strasse 8/V 5020 Salzburg Austria <u>https://www.stopline.at/de/home</u> <u>office@stopline.at</u>	Reporting, Monitoring and Mapping
Verein Stoppt die Rechten	Belvederegasse 10/1 1040 Wien <u>https://www.stopptdierechten.at/</u> <u>kontakt@stopptdierechten.at</u>	Monitoring, Awareness Raising
Verein Vielfalt	Hörbranzerstraße 17/1 A - 6911 Lochau +43 664 9910 7819 www.vielfalt.or.at office@vielfalt.or.at	Awareness Raising, Social Counselling,
Weißer Ring	Alserbachstraße 18, 1090 Wien <u>office@weisser-ring.at</u> Tel: 01/7121405 <u>http://www.weisser-ring.at/</u>	Awareness Raising, Social and Legal Counselling, Reporting
ZARA – Zivilcourage und Anti- Rassismus-Arbeit	Schönbrunner Str. 119/13 1050 Wien <u>info@counteract.or.at</u>	Awareness Raising, Media Education, Promoting correct information,
Zentrum <i>polis</i> – Politik Lernen in der Schule	Helferstorferstraße 5, 1010 Wien T 01/42 77-274 44 <u>https://www.politik-lernen.at/site/home</u> <u>service@politik-lernen.at</u>	Media Education, Awarenss Raising