



American Jewish Committee
A Century of Leadership

ANTISEMITISM AND RACISM IN EUROPEAN SOCCER

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May 2007

INTRODUCTION

The attackers shouted slogans like “dirty Jew” and “dirty Nigger.” After the soccer match between Paris Saint-Germain and Hapoel Tel Aviv in Paris, Janniv H., who is a fan of both clubs, was chased by about 150 Paris Saint-Germain supporters. An undercover police officer who tried to help him was himself attacked and subjected to racial slurs about his black skin color. When the use of teargas proved insufficient to halt the attack, the policeman pulled his gun and fired a shot, accidentally killing a Paris Saint-Germain supporter and wounding another. This incident took place on November 23, 2006.

The tragic incident in France following a soccer game illustrates the dangers of allowing racist and antisemitic attitudes to flourish uncountered in the world of sports. Following a February 2007 local game in Sicily between Catania and Palermo, hooligans threw stones and an explosive device at a policeman, who died from his injuries. His death was widely reported and prompted discussion as to whether to suspend all major league soccer games in Italy for one year. A few days later, on February 10, violence erupted in Germany following a game of 1. FC Lok Leipzig. In the aftermath of the game, about 300 hooligans turned on the police, injuring 39 policemen, some of them seriously.

On April 1, 2006, prior to a game between Chemnitz and Hamburg’s FC St. Pauli, fans of the visiting team attacked Turkish-owned stores. During the game, red flags with white circles - though without swastikas - were waved in the Chemnitz fan block. About 200 Chemnitz fans chanted “We’re building a subway from St. Pauli to Auschwitz,” “Fenerbahce, Galatasaray, we hate Turkey,” and “Hoo-Na-Ra.” “Hoo-Na-Ra,” is the slogan for “Hooligans, Nazis, Racists,” a shady network of groups that meet to stage unauthorized fights in various German cities. Officials from St. Pauli were called “Jewish pigs.”

Despite the severity of the problem, the sports world has only recently begun to address racism in sports, in part due to pressure from grassroots fan clubs. There is a growing consensus that the problem is particularly widespread in soccer. In 2006, the international sports federation stiffened its statutes to include higher fines and enhanced penalties for acts of racism. In March, 2006, the European Parliament passed a resolution condemning expressions of racism in sports. However, the problem continues to be widespread, according to those who are monitoring the issue.

The dimension of the problem is difficult to quantify as there does not seem to be any systematic collection of data. Neither FIFA (International federation of Soccer Associations), nor UEFA (Union of European Soccer Associations), nor DFB (German Soccer Association), or the Community Security Trust (CST) in Great Britain could cite statistics regarding racist and antisemitic incidents in soccer when contacted. This is not surprising, given that most sports associations and teams are private and largely self-governing. This means that governments can do little more than to censure and admonish. Legal intervention is possible only when laws regulating hate crimes are broken. However, this does not happen often due to a reluctance to confront the problem openly.

During the World Soccer Cup in Germany June 7 - July 17, 2006, there were relatively few racist and antisemitic incidents. However, the problem continues both in Germany and in other European countries. While public pressure has succeeded in pushing the problem somewhat out of the stadiums of the major leagues, it has become all the more salient in the minor leagues, where referees and officials are often even less trained than in the major leagues to respond to racist provocations and acts of violence.

The AJC Berlin office has compiled an overview of existing rules and regulations regarding prejudice in sports. This briefing also looks at some existing European initiatives to counteract racism on the sports field, citing a number of recent cases in European countries, with a special focus on Germany. The report concludes with recommendations for a societal action plan, measures that could bring the matter to greater public attention.

This briefing uses the American term "soccer," in order to distinguish the game from American football. However, what Americans call soccer is generally referred to as "football" in Europe, a term that will be used when necessary in official titles and designations.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF VIOLENCE AND RACISM IN SOCCER

Violence-prone spectators at soccer games are not a new phenomenon. The term "hooliganism" was first used in England in 1898. In the mid-1960s, groups emerged who seemed more intent on violence in the sports arena than on the game itself. The stadium became the battlefield for "war games," in which one was defending one's "home territory" against supporters of other clubs or trying to "conquer" enemy territory. This development brought with it a growing presence of police inside the stadiums, as well as a widening of the problem to other countries. In the mid-1970s, the hooligan movement began to spread from England to continental Europe, particularly to Germany, Belgium, Italy and Holland. On average, there were violent incidents at one of every ten games in these countries in the 1990s. Police estimate that about 10% of soccer fans in these countries are prone to violence.

Two fatal incidents involving hooliganism were a clash between fans of FC Liverpool and Juventus Turin in the Belgian Heysel stadium in 1985, at which 39 spectators were killed and 400 injured, and a brutal attack by German hooligans on a French policeman, who survived with serious brain injuries, during the Soccer World Cup in 1998.

Throughout the 1980s, according to experts, the proclivity to hooliganism was particularly noticeable among the working class. One possible reason was the commercialization of the sport and subsequent alienation of the fans. In the 1990s, hooliganism shifted to become more of a mainstream than a fringe group phenomenon. Hooliganism is often linked to incidents of racism and antisemitism, which makes it attractive for infiltration by right-wing extremist groups. However, the connection between hooligans and organized right-wing extremist movements varies between the individual countries.

RESPONSES TO HOOLIGANISM AND RACISM

Soccer Associations

FIFA, the international soccer federation, is the umbrella organization of 207 national soccer associations, which in turn serve as the umbrella for local soccer clubs or teams. Hence, FIFA's rules cover national and local clubs. Despite the longstanding problem of racism at soccer games, FIFA was slow to respond to the problem. In the 1980s and 1990s, fan groups, particularly in England, succeeded in focusing attention on the issue through action plans and campaigns.

In July 2001, FIFA convened a special conference in Buenos Aires that dealt with the issue of racism, in part as a reaction to a series of increasingly vicious racist incidents in Italian and other European stadiums. The conference resulted in a comprehensive resolution against racism, containing recommendations for anti-racism monitors, the introduction of anti-racism paragraphs into club statutes, and dialogue between the associations and the fan groups. However, it took five more years before elements of the resolution became binding FIFA regulations.

At a FIFA Executive Committee meeting in Zurich March 16 -17, 2006, the organization's disciplinary code [Annex 1] was significantly strengthened. The changes shift more responsibility to sports associations for the behavior of their fans, officials and athletes. Penalties have been significantly enhanced, both in terms of rankings of clubs and the imposition of financial penalties. NGO experts claim that the penalties, however, are rarely imposed, for a variety of reasons including fears of re-election on the part of sports officials and a lack of understanding of the significance of hate crimes.

In October 2002, the Union of European Soccer Associations (UEFA) endorsed a ten point anti-racism action plan [Annex 2] drafted by the grassroots organization Football Against Racism in Europe (FARE). In July 2003, the Union issued a handbook on dealing with racism and discrimination, including education and awareness campaigns, action programs to focus attention on the issue, information on dealing with right-wing extremist fans, methods of improving cooperation with police and local authorities, and suggestions on ways to be more inclusive of ethnic minorities.

After a concerted lobbying effort on the part of grassroots fan clubs in Europe, the European Parliament on March 20, 2006, passed a resolution condemning racism at soccer matches. It called on competition organizers to impose sanctions on associations and clubs whose supporters or players commit serious racist offences. The resolution urged the Union of European Soccer Associations (UEFA) to exclude clubs from competition in the case of serious offences.

Nongovernmental Initiatives

For more than a decade, NGOs have been addressing the issue of racism on the sports field, particularly in the area of soccer. The work of several British groups has provided European leadership on this issue, with some of the British initiatives being adopted on a European-wide scale. However, much remains to be done to create more understanding of the gravity of the issue

among sports officials and fans. Small grassroots initiatives against racism in soccer exist in many countries. For example, the campaign *Let's Kick Racism Out of Football* was established in the UK in 1993 with support from the Football Trust and the game's governing bodies. The 1980s and 1990s saw the creation of anti-fascist fan initiatives in many soccer clubs in Germany. In some cases, entire clubs such as Hamburg FC St. Pauli acquired an anti-fascist image. A number of German initiatives joined forces and created the Alliance of Antifascist Soccer Fans in 1993, later renamed the Alliance of Active Soccer Fans (BAFF). In 1999, fan initiatives created a pan-European network called Football Against Racism in Europe (FARE) in order to have a greater impact on soccer authorities. FARE supports and coordinates anti-racist fan groups throughout Europe. The campaign "kick it out" was subsequently implemented in various European countries, including Israel.

The pressure exerted by fan initiatives has had both a political impact in Europe and an impact on international sports associations. However, significant problems remain on a national and local level.

COUNTRY OVERVIEW

GERMANY

Recent Incidents:

In 2006 there were a number of antisemitic and racist incidents in German soccer, especially in the lower leagues, that were widely reported in the media.

During a game between the second professional league clubs Dynamo Dresden and FC Energie Cottbus in December 2005, Cottbus fans displayed a large banner with the word "Juden" (Jews) flanked by two stars of David. The letter "d" in "Juden" was identical to the emblem of the opposition team Dynamo Dresden. TV viewers saw an antisemitic banner that was not confiscated by the police or the marshals. No sports officials imposed penalties on the Cottbus soccer club, despite the fact that the photo of the banner was widely publicized in the media.

In the spring of 2006, right-wing extremists launched a racist campaign against the black national players Gerald Asamoah and Patrick Owomoyela. The German Soccer Association obtained an injunction against the initiators of the campaign. In March 2006, Nigerian player Adebowale Ogunbure was subjected to racist insults as well as to physical attacks by opposing fans during a game in Halle, near Leipzig. The case was taken to the sports court, which imposed an extremely low fine of 1.100 Euros (\$1,465) against the opposing club and ordered the team to play one game without an audience.

This series of racist attacks against black soccer players in Germany in the weeks leading up to the Soccer World Cup (June 9 - July 9, 2006), as well as a series of vicious hate crimes outside the sphere of soccer, sparked heated public discussion about safety during the World Cup. Both FIFA and the German government took action to reduce the risk of racist incidents during the games.

The German government worked with other European countries to prohibit known hooligans from entering Germany, as well as to minimize their ability to enter stadiums.

During the games, the European soccer anti-racism network FARE, together with FIFA and the local German organizing committee, ran the anti-racism campaign "Football Unites!" This included intercultural street soccer tournaments for fans in various cities and cultural activities featuring Germans with minority backgrounds. They also set up a multilingual 24-hour-hotline to report racist incidents during the World Cup.

The interaction between grassroots groups and sports associations, in coordination with effective police tactics, was successful in preventing larger-scale outbreaks of racism during the World Cup. An interesting phenomenon was the manifestation of support for the German national team by members of minority groups in Germany, which may have contributed to stripping right-wing extremists of an issue for political mobilization.

Since the World Cup, especially in the major leagues, some initiatives have been taken to create more awareness of racism surrounding soccer games, including the adoption of stricter FIFA anti-racism regulations with enhanced penalties. However, problems remain prevalent, particularly at the minor league level.

In September 2006, during a match between the Berlin local teams TuS Makkabi and Altglienicke, fans of the latter shouted antisemitic chants (such as "Auschwitz is back" or "The synagogues must burn") at the Makkabi players. Makkabi decided to press charges, but the relatively mild penalties imposed by a sports court on the Altglienicke team demonstrate the difficulties of prosecuting such incidents. During their interrogation, the players and coach of Altglienicke as well as the referee denied having heard antisemitic chants, despite assertions by Makkabi players that they had been shouted at by dozens of fans. The October 14th, 2006, decision of the sports court of the Berlin Soccer Association (BFV) called for a permanent suspension of the referee (who was reinstated upon an appeal), sentenced the club to two home games without an audience, called for additional marshals to prevent future incidents during the remainder of the season and mandated a seminar against racism for the 14 players and their coaches. However, no points were deducted nor was a fine imposed. Moreover, Makkabi was ordered to pay half of the legal costs. Appeals by both clubs against the decision were rejected by the court, allegedly because the deadlines for appeals had expired.

The difficulties of prosecuting such cases, and the mild sentences, demonstrate why clubs and/or individuals are often reluctant to take their case to court. Moreover, such incidents are by no means unusual. About one month after the game against Altglienicke, the youth team of Makkabi was confronted with antisemitic chants and physical threats by opposing players and spectators at a game against TuS Helgoland. In August 2000, a player for the youth team of Makkabi Frankfurt was verbally abused by an opposing player of 1. FC Rödelheim as a "shitty Jew" and subsequently attacked and seriously injured. A sports court imposed an eight-month ban on the Rödelheim player, but neither he nor his team apologized.

There were an additional series of antisemitic incidents involving Makkabi Frankfurt, including chants by fans and players, physical threats and attacks with stones and bottles against Makkabi players. Initially, there was little reaction by sports officials to the incidents. However, media coverage prompted state sports officials to set up a roundtable to discuss the antisemitic attacks against Makkabi as well as other problems of discrimination. According to the President of Makkabi Frankfurt, Dieter Graumann, this helped sensitize key sports officials, which has created a more positive climate for the team.

Countermeasures:

In 1998, the German Soccer Association (DFB) for the first time issued a list of recommendations to combat racism and discrimination. It adopted strengthened FIFA regulations against racism in September 2006. While the new FIFA regulations provide for tough sanctions against clubs whose fans demonstrate racist and antisemitic behavior, officials have shown reluctance to impose the full range of sanctions possible. The DFB's new disciplinary code provides considerable leeway, leaving the imposition of sanctions in cases of racist and antisemitic incidents at the discretion of sports functionaries. Moreover, the long gaps between incidents and later trials in sports courts diminish the impact of penalties. (Annex III) An additional problem for smaller clubs in particular is the loss of revenue that occurs by prohibiting problematic supporters from entering the stadium.

In September 2006, the committee of referees of the DFB recommended the issuing of warnings on the loudspeaker system, or even halting or cancelling games, in the event of racist incidents. The heightened attention on racism in sports during the World Cup prompted the German Soccer Association in October, 2006, to establish a task force comprising sports officials and fan representatives to combat xenophobia, racism and violence in German stadiums at the major league level.

There are some signs that a change in leadership at the DFB is bringing a more positive attitude toward combating the problems of stereotypes among fans, sports referees and sports officials, as well as ongoing discrimination of players of minority background. The association recently appointed a "soccer mom" of Turkish heritage to the volunteer position of integration ombudsman.

ITALY

Recent Incidents:

In November 2005, Inter Milan fans insulted the Ivory Coast player Marc André Zoro, who plays for Messina, by imitating monkey sounds and movements and shouting "dirty nigger." As a response to this incident, all Italian soccer league games the following week postponed their kickoff by five minutes, by order of the sport's governing body, to allow players to demonstrate against racist fans by holding up banners with the caption "No to racism." However, at the rematch between the two clubs in April 2006, Zoro was again the target of racist chants. Inter Milan was fined 25,000 euros by a sports court.

There have also been incidents of racist attitudes among players. In 2005, Lazio Rome's captain Paolo Di Canio repeatedly greeted his fans with a fascist Roman salute despite financial penalties imposed by a disciplinary committee of the Italian Soccer Association. FIFA has launched an investigation into the case. Di Canio's fans, known as the notorious Irriducibili (the unbending), organized a solidarity rally for him in front of the building of the Italian Soccer Association, with other Lazio Rome fan initiatives launching a collection campaign to pay Di Canio's fine. The Irriducibili are known for their open sympathies for racist and fascist positions. In 1999, they displayed an 18-meter-long banner with the slogan "Auschwitz is your home, the ovens are your house" and in 2001 a 30-meter-long banner with the caption "Black team and Jew fans," in order to offend opposing fans.

According to a representative of the anti-racism campaign Progetto Ultra, the commitment of black soccer player Marc André Zoro helped create public attention for the problem of racism in soccer. Prior to his speaking out, according to the NGO, there was a widespread tendency to deny the problem in the official soccer association. Chanting like a monkey was not seen as racist but as a way of offending a player from the opposing team. Immigration to Italy is a relatively new phenomenon and discussion has just begun about ways in which to integrate immigrants and shape a multicultural society.

Countermeasures:

In February 2001, the Italian Soccer Association introduced new penalties for racist behavior among fans, including penalties of games played without fans and bans on playing. Sports observers say that financial pressures prompted officials to take the problem more seriously. As clubs started to be privatized, there were cases of a dramatic drop in stock shares following racist incidents. This prompted clubs in some cases to launch billboard campaigns to appeal to fans to display tolerance and renounce violence.

POLAND

Like many other Polish major league clubs, Lodz's LKS has a strong hooligan following, which is strongly infiltrated by the fascist National Revival. In 2000, in an open letter to local authorities, the chairman of an Israeli organization representing former citizens of the city of Lodz expressed his shock about the omnipresence of antisemitic and Nazi graffiti, often combined with the symbols of the city's two largest soccer clubs. This prompted the authorities and the local media, who were worried about their city's international reputation, to organize a highly publicized action day to clean the slogans and symbols off walls.

The situation regarding racism and antisemitism in Polish soccer has some parallels to other European countries but is distinguished by the small size of the Jewish community, the ethnic homogeneity of Polish society, and the insistent downplaying of the problem by politicians and public figures. Experts say there has been an overall drop in quality of soccer, which has reduced attendance at games and made it easier for an extremist minority of violence-prone spectators to gain a footing. While Polish clubs do not pay foreign players the sums of money that would attract

high-profile foreign stars, those who have joined Polish clubs since the mid-1990s have been increasingly affected by racism. According to the Cameroon-born Polish League player Frankline Mudoh, players in many teams put pressure on the coach not to include black players in the team.

Even more so than racism, expressions of antisemitism on soccer fields are a problem, with fans commonly branding their rivals “Jewish.” There has been little expression thus far of political will to deal with these problems, including the related problem of hooliganism. Recently, the media has increased reporting on a number of serious incidents of hooliganism at stadiums, including the ineffective reaction of police in dealing with the problem. Sports observers believe that the fan base of most professional clubs in Poland includes hooligan elements that are increasingly linked to organized racist groups. The fascist National Revival of Poland, a violent right-wing extremist group, has organized soccer hooligans into “national-revolutionary” cadres. There are numerous hooligan magazines in Poland that report extensively on fights between rival fans and between fans and the police.

SPAIN

During two games between England’s and Spain’s junior and senior national teams at Madrid’s Bernabéu stadium in November 2004, England’s black players were harassed by rhythmic monkey chanting from the stands. The incident was not organized by fascist activists, but rather performed by middle- and upper-class spectators, including some who were sitting in the VIP section. There was little reaction from the Spanish media. Spanish Soccer Association (RFEF) officials downplayed the problem, dismissing the incident as a response to an earlier British outcry over racist comments made by Spain’s national team manager Luis Aragonés about a player for the English club Arsenal London. When the English team arrived in Spain following the incident, they greeted their opposing team wearing t-shirts with an antiracist message perceived as “provocative” by the Spanish. Several months later, Aragonés was fined €3,000 by the Spanish Soccer Association, a fraction of the maximum penalty. In response, the state-run Anti-Violence Commission protested the low fine, appealing without success to Spain’s Sporting Disciplinary Committee to raise the fine. FIFA launched an independent investigation soon after and eventually fined the Spanish Soccer Association \$87,340, threatening, in the case of a recurrence, to sentence the Spanish national team to play without an audience or to expel the team entirely from FIFA competitions.

In late 2004, supporters of Real Madrid made Nazi salutes and verbally abused the opposing team’s black players at a game against the German team Bayer Leverkusen. In response, UEFA fined the Spanish club €9,780.

In 2005, the Osasuna player Richard Morales was verbally abused by racial slurs from fans from Getafe, the opposing club. Getafe was fined a paltry £435 by the Spanish Soccer Federation for the behavior of its fans.

In 2005, Malaga team member Paulo Wanchope was attacked by a mob of his team's fans while exercising. He was called a "black shit" — the same expression used by Aragonés against a French-born British player — and then physically assaulted.

During a game between the major league clubs Deportivo La Coruna and Osasuna, Israeli goalkeeper Dudu Awate was subjected to antisemitic slurs from local Osasuna supporters. Every time Awate was poised for a goal kick, Osasuna fans reportedly raised Palestinian flags and shouted antisemitic invectives.

The Spanish club Real Zaragoza was fined €9,000 by RFEF following an incident where fans chanted relentlessly like monkeys at Barcelona's player Samuel Eto'o. Both Eto'o and the Spanish Anti-Violence Commission criticized the fine, the highest ever imposed for racist remarks, as too lenient.

Although immigration to Spain is now the highest in Europe, it is a recent phenomenon of the past fifteen years. There is little public discussion or awareness of the issue of cultural diversity. Ethnic minorities are nearly invisible in the police force and in politics and disproportionately marginalized economically. No antiracist legislation exists apart from that required by the European Directive on Discrimination. Racism has taken a turn for the worse. According to a leading Spanish anti-racist NGO, racist incidents in Spanish soccer have increased fivefold since 2004 and are endemic in some clubs. The problems on the soccer fields parallel general trends of an upturn in racism in Spanish society.

The Anti-Violence Commission was established by the Spanish state to address the violence on soccer fields. It meets on a weekly basis to ensure a quick reaction time to incidents. Soccer associations have so far accepted most of the penalty recommendations issued by the commission. Anti-racist experts criticize that the commission has no minority members.

THE NETHERLANDS

The Dutch club Ajax Amsterdam is an example of a European soccer club whose fans have developed a defiant "Jewish" identity, in response to the labeling of the club as Jewish by opposing fans. Traditionally, Ajax has had some Jewish players and club officials and a strong Jewish fan base although it was not a club constituted as a Jewish club. Nevertheless, opposing fans still consider Ajax to be a Jewish club and with some regularity taunt Ajax supporters with Hitler salutes, chanting of "Hamas, Hamas, Jews to the gas!" and hissing sounds to simulate the sound of gas. In 1993, two trains carrying Utrecht fans bound for a game against Ajax in Amsterdam were stopped and sent back home by Dutch police after fans began chanting racist slurs and handing out antisemitic pamphlets. Ajax supporters reacted to one such incident of verbal hooliganism by displaying a banner at a game against a German club that read "Jews take revenge for '40-'45." Yet, this celebration of "Jewish" identity by non-Jewish Ajax fans has become uncomfortable for some Jewish supporters and the club's management. In response, the latter has begun the daunting task of launching a campaign to convince Ajax fans to change their slogan and to label themselves "Goden" (gods) instead of "Jods" (Jews).

In October 2004, a referee interrupted a game between PSV Eindhoven and ADO The Hague in response to unrelenting racist and antisemitic shouts from the stands. A public debate ensued and one of ADO's sponsors withdrew its support due to the club's negative image.

The Dutch Soccer Association allows referees to interrupt games for ten minutes in the case of racist chants from the fans, whereby the stadium announcer is then expected to bring the audience to reason. If he does not succeed, the mayor of the city is entitled to cancel the game. Nevertheless, there is a widespread reluctance to make use of this rule due to fears of provoking fans, thereby sparking violence.

In early 2005, a wide-ranging list of prohibited words and sounds, including the term "Hamas," were published by the Dutch Soccer Association (KNBV). Although referees were granted the authority to stop a game with the first mention of any proscribed slurs, the enforcement of these rules remains a difficult challenge.

GREAT BRITAIN

The 1970s and 1980s were the heyday of open displays of racism at English soccer games. Such incidents were not widely reported.

One of the factors that have contributed to reducing incidents of racism at soccer games was a restructuring of stadiums, expanding seating with a commensurate rise in prices. This changed the overall mix of stadium visitors, attracting a more middle-class and upscale audience.

One of the strongest reactions from English society as a whole to displays of racism on the soccer field came in response to an incident at the Bernabéu stadium, during a friendship match between England and Spain in 2004, in which large numbers of fans participated in chanting racist slogans. Condemnations from government officials and soccer association representatives were widely reported in the media. Nonetheless, despite greater public awareness in Great Britain toward manifestations of racism in sports, problems continue, with incidents occurring during English soccer league games as well as at international matches.

Discrimination continues on a number of levels. A recent DVD released by the soccer association that named England's allegedly best players of the past 40 years featured only white players. After protest, the DVD was withdrawn. There are few black managers in the Football League and former black players are rarely tapped to become coaches. The boards that appoint the coaches have virtually no non-white members.

SUMMARY

While there are no reliable statistics on the subject of antisemitism, racism and sports, the reported incidents make it clear that this is an ongoing societal problem that needs urgent attention. Sports experts note that media attention to the problem is hampered considerably by threat of exclusion by soccer associations and clubs from the premises where games are being played.

While there has been considerable improvement in regulations, particularly on a European level, to combat antisemitism and racism in the sphere of soccer, some countries can do far more on a national level to strengthen regulations. In general, stiffer penalties are needed to counter expressions of hatred, as well as far more education and public awareness campaigns about the problem and possible countermeasures. There remains a pressing need for training programs for police, sports officials and referees. Fan groups that combat racism have become an important factor in putting the issue on the public agenda. Ad campaigns and media coverage create pressure on soccer associations and clubs to take action, in order to maintain the necessary positive public image for club profitability. Racism at minor league games, where there is often a lack of personnel to supervise stadium security, is a particular challenge.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Given the importance of sports in a media age, fighting antisemitism and racism on the soccer field is a high-profile area in which to combat expressions of hatred. Changing the climate of acceptance for such acts needs a multi-pronged initiative from key sectors of society. Each one of the following sectors can play an important role in reducing hatred on the sports field:

- Governments at a federal, state and local government can launch public awareness campaigns, with high-profile sports figures, to condemn the general phenomenon of hooliganism, as well as all expressions of racism and antisemitism, on the soccer field. For too long, such events have been trivialized. There must be unmistakable signals from public figures that violence and racism contradicts the principle of fairness in sports and does not belong in the public arena.
- Security officials can increase police presence at soccer games both outside and inside the stadiums, dealing not only with security risks but also with incidents of racism and antisemitism. This is of particular importance with minor league games, where, in countries like Germany, the majority of incidents take place.
- Civil society groups, including fan clubs and NGOs that combat racism, can work with soccer associations and the media to create educational material and anti-racism campaigns. Such groups can create training material for sports associations, sports officials and referees to help them recognize antisemitism and racism and familiarize them with regulations that prohibit and prosecute such behavior.

- Soccer associations and clubs should make maximum use of existing regulations for penalties, including for unruly and violent fans. Referees should be given wider-ranging powers to interrupt games when necessary. The intake of alcohol can be limited at sports arenas by designating locations for consumption.
- Advertisers who have a key role in the European soccer world should be sensitized to the problem. Individual advertisers and the advertising industry can be encouraged to take an active stance regarding expressions of racism. This could include language in contracts requiring clubs or arenas to undertake specific measures to combat racism, with ads being pulled if there is non-fulfillment of contract conditions.
- Media outlets can devote more consistent attention to reporting on violent and racist incidents on the sports field, including detailed reports on follow-up actions, prosecution and disciplinary measures.

ANNEX I

Amendment to article 55 of the FIFA Disciplinary Code:

- Par. 1: Anyone who publicly disparages, discriminates against or denigrates someone in a defamatory manner on account of face, colour, language, religion or ethnic origin, or perpetrates any other racist and/or contemptuous act, will be subject to match suspension for at least five matches at every level. Furthermore, a stadium ban and a fine of at least CHF 20,000 will be imposed on the perpetrator. If the perpetrator is an official, the fine will be at least CHF 30,000.
- Par. 2: If spectators display banners bearing racist slogans, or are guilty of any other racist and/or contemptuous behaviour at a match, the appropriate body will impose a sanction of at least CHF 30,000 on the association or club that the spectators concerned support and force it to play its next official match without spectators. If the spectators cannot be identified as supporters of one or the other association or club, the host association or club will be sanctioned accordingly.
- Par. 3: Any spectator who is guilty of any of the offences specified under par. 1 and/or 2 of this article will be banned from entering any stadium for at least two years.
- Par. 4: If any player, association or club official or spectator perpetrates any kind of racist or contemptuous act as described by par. 1 and/or 2 of this article, three points will automatically be deducted from the team concerned, if identifiable, after the first offence. In the case of a second offence, six points will automatically be deducted, and for a further offence, the team will be relegated.
- In the case of matches without points, the team concerned, if identifiable, will be disqualified.
- Par. 5: The confederations and associations are required to incorporate the provisions of this article in their statutes and to enforce the sanctions stipulated. If any association infringes this article, it will be excluded from international soccer for two years.

ANNEX II

UEFA's ten-point-plan

1. Issue a statement saying the club will not tolerate racism, spelling out the action it will take against those engaged in racist chanting. The statement should be printed in all match programs and displayed permanently and prominently around the ground.
2. Make public address announcements condemning racist chanting at matches.
3. Make it a condition for season-ticket holders that they do not take part in racist abuse.
4. Take action to prevent the sale of racist literature inside and outside the grounds.

5. Take disciplinary action against players who engage in racial abuse.
6. Contact other clubs to make sure they understand the club's policy on racism.
7. Encourage a common strategy between stewards and police for dealing with racist abuse.
8. Remove all racist graffiti from the ground as a matter of urgency.
9. Adopt an equal opportunity policy in relation to employment and service provision.
10. Work with all other groups and agencies, such as the players union, supporters, schools, voluntary organizations, youth clubs, sponsors, local authorities, local businesses and police, to develop pro-active programs and make progress to raise awareness of campaigning to eliminate racial abuse and discrimination.

ANNEX III

Excerpts from the implementation of article 55 of the FIFA Disciplinary Code FIFA – DFB-national assembly, September 2006

§ 2

General principles

The German Soccer Association is politically independent and religiously neutral.

It decidedly confronts attempts that are racist, xenophobic and unconstitutional as well as other discriminating or inhuman behavior.

§ 9

Particular lack of sportsmanship, discrimination and similar offences

1. He who behaves in a xenophobic, racist, extremist, politically indecent, obscene is in particular guilty of unsportsmanlike behavior according to § 1 No 4.
2. He who publicly violates the human dignity of another person through denigrating, discriminating or defaming expressions in relation to race, skin color, language, religion or origin, or who behaves in an otherwise racist and/or racist way, will be banned for a minimum of five weeks. In addition a ban on sojourning in the entire area of the stadium as well as a fine of between Euro 12,000.00 and Euro 100,000.00 will be imposed. For an official who is guilty of such misdemeanor the minimum penalty is Euro 18,000.00.
3. If supporters of a team unfurl banners with racist inscriptions before, during or after a game inside the stadium or if they behave in an otherwise racist and/or inhumane way, the punishment imposed on the respective club and capital company resp. or the membership association of the German Soccer League will either be a fine of between Euro 18,000.00 and Euro 150,000.00 as well as the obligation to play the next competitive game under the exclusion of the public. If spectators cannot be identified with one of the teams, the club and capital company resp. or the association that organized the game has to receive respective punishment.
6. A punishment on the basis of this regulation can be mitigated or abandoned if the party concerned can prove that it is not or only little to blame for the incident in question or if other important reasons exist that justify it. A mitigation of punishment or its renunciation is in particular possible if incidents were provoked in order to effect a punishment along the lines of this regulation for the party concerned.