BREAKING DOWN EUROPEAN ATTITUDES TOWARD MIGRANT STEREOTYPES
RESEARCH ON VISUAL STEREOTYPING IN HUMANITARIAN AID CAMPAIGNS

Norbert Kreuzkamp, acli e. V.

Migrant and Minority Stereotypes in Humanitarian Aid Campaigns in Germany

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Research Report

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

This report has been produced within the framework of the BEAMS project on the trace of the research methodology proposed by the French partner Cap Solidarités and in cooperation with the experts involved in the project. On behalf of the European Network TANDEM PLUS and its German coordinator — acli e. V. – Selbsthilfwerk für interkulturelle Arbeit — the report was written and edited by Norbert Kreuzkamp.

This research has been realised with the financial support from the Fundamental Rights and Citizenship Programme of the European Union.
Chapter 1
STEREOTYPES OF MIGRANTS AND MINORITIES

Understanding the need of stereotypes

Migration is a phenomenon that pervades the entire story and also the prehistoric phases of humanity. From East Africa our ancestors migrated over thousands of years and arrived to Asia, Europe, America and Australia. Whether these ancestors could be better now described as poverty refugees or economic refugees, probably remains open. The assumption that the motives for migration were not always to be found in love of adventure and the desire to conquer the world does have certain plausibility. We might hypothesize that from the very beginning of mankind flight and expulsion do constitute genuine and compelling reasons for people leaving their homes.

Until well into our own time people lived in constant contexts and hardly manageable risks of attacks by third parties, ruling or hostile powers. Given the constant lack of good information, you often had to expect the worst for yourself and or your family. The danger used to come from the outside. An aware and not very welcoming attitude towards the stranger does, in fact, correspond to the everyday wisdom of people without power.

In societies with a reduced performance of the principles of legality, limited guarantees of individual freedom and integrity and a specific local binding of rights and guarantees the respect and distrust towards the stranger seem to make sense as a winning strategy. Horse traders and builders, craftsmen and fruit sellers, spice dealers and show people were not the only migrants of the past. Tax collectors and soldiers, officers and quartermasters were on the move, too. It might therefore seem strange and incomprehensible to everybody, if the arriving, the incoming people remain a suspicious subject. Dealing with the foreigner requires considerable care. If needed, you have to warn “woman and child”.

Some of us had their *own experience*: we were refugees or displaced people ourselves. Many people living in German speaking countries do remember. And we do remember those small property crimes on our day-to-day agenda of survival strategies. Prejudices and stereotypes, *abbreviations of thoughts and feelings*, especially against the other, the unknown, the alien, all that is not well involved and bond on local level, all those who might become dangerous, these prejudices and stereotypes have become, in a persistent way, an integral part of individual, familial and social survival strategies. This was true in the middle ages, in early modern period. It was true before, during and after the two Great Wars. It is true in a community, in which neighbour and friend could be abused to make the tracker dog. It seems that this was just yesterday. Is this not valid for many of us still today?

Who has safety for himself, his family, a good living and a somehow sheltered future, might – perhaps – afford to dispense with the *historically proven certainties* about the danger from the South and East; they might resist to advices of well-intentioned opinion sellers and might give evidence of their own good experiences in contact with the foreign worlds.

Having and using stereotypes and prejudices against migrants and minorities is not *stupid*. We just have to work on a world in which it is not anymore *necessary*. 
Emigrations and Immigrations

_Hunger, poverty, (religious and) political persecution_ and sometimes the prospect and hope for welfare and prosperity lead quite some people to leave their homes in Germany, Austria, partly also Switzerland. Tsar Catherine invited settlers to the *Volga*, the “Ulmer Schachteln” brought many people downriver the Danube River toward *Romania*, the German speaking Americans – looking for religious tolerance and a better living – became a quite relevant minority in the *United States*. In the first half of twentieth century many Germans found shelter against the murderous *Nazi regime*, the liberators have invited others after 1945.

Also if we consider quite early and significant cultural and sacral arts production in the German South West – master pieces of Aurignacian culture as *Venus of Hohe Fels* or the *Tübingen Ivory Horse* have their origins some 35.000 years ago – it should be admitted and honoured that in the last two millenniums innovation and culture was brought to Germany by *foreigners*. The Roman legions, the Irish monks, the medieval craftsmen and builders, artists, architects, administrators and engineers of the modern era are worth mentioning here. No Rhine steel and coal industries would have been possible without a considerable Polish immigration. Some _12 – 14 million displaced people_ have been integrated into German society and economy in the first decade after 1945.

Some _3.8 million people_ moved from Eastern to Western Germany between 1945 and 1961. The uprising Rhine capitalism looked for immigrant workers from Italy, Spain, Greece, Turkey and (former) Yugoslavia since 1955.

"In 2012, _16.3 million people_ lived in Germany who had a *migrant background*. The Federal Statistical Office (Destatis) also reports on the occasion of the International Migrants Day on 18 December 2013 that 10.9 million of them immigrated from foreign countries after 1949 and another 5.4 million were born to these immigrants in Germany. Comparable data on people with a migrant background have been available from the year 2005, their number has increased by 1.3 million or 8.5% since then." (DESTATIS 2014)
Speaking about Migrants

Researchers and the citizen around the corner use to agree that immigration towards Germany in the last 60 years has brought economical richness, social welfare and interesting cultural diversity in addition to refined cuisine and life styles. Most of the serious surveys and analysis on migration do find a high status of economical, labour and social integration.

On the other hand there are the regular campaigns of the political subsystems that for populist reasons would promote public opinion against migrant population using xenophobic and racist stereotypes. The conservative CDU/CSU parties succeeded in 1998/99 to win regional elections in Hessen using those instruments. The same political groups continued with the “Kinder statt Inder” (kids instead of Indians) slogan that in no way contributed to keep Germany attractive for immigrants as well as high potentials.

Also the Schröder government (1998 – 2005) promoted some quite unfair smear campaigns against minorities (of poor people) to earn majority for lean reforms on labour market and social welfare systems. Given a high percentage of migrants between low educated and unemployed people, campaigns against a so-called abuse of social welfare systems indirectly got some racist and xenophobic drive.

The downplaying of far-right terror including the murder series of NS between 2000 and 2008 and the involvement of official secret services might be seen as part of institutional strategies with racist and xenophobic impact.

After a persistent denial of immigration into Germany the Merkel governments finally accepted de facto immigration by pushing forward so-called integration courses under the regime of internal policies. On the other hand the institutional performance is still quite fare away from cultural mainstreaming and a real welcoming culture. The Dublin III regulation (of 26 June 2013) and the Schengen agreements prevent refugees to a large extent, to enforce their right to political asylum in Germany. The approval process is also extremely restrictive. In 2013 127,023 people asked for political asylum in Germany. 80,978 cases have been worked and decided. Only 919 asylum seekers – that means 1.1% – actually got a formal recognition according the German Constitution, 10,915 (13,5%) have been recognised as refugees according to the Geneva Convention (BMI 2014).
In her review article on the current research on the presence of migrants in the media Liriam Sponholz comes to the following conclusion: “The hegemonic representation of migrants in the media is mainly negative: These are seen as a threat and/or as a burden.” (SPONHOLZ 2013, p. 305)

This phenomenon quite often is well used by political parties and the Federal Government itself. In early 2014 the Bavarian Christian Social Party uses the freedom of movement for Romanian and Bulgarian workers for a campaign on possible abuse of welfare system with the objective to sharpen a right-wing profile of the party. Given the interesting conflict within the new Merkel-Steinmeier Government, the media assist to the campaign by a strong echo (HILDEBRANDT 2014).
Chapter 2
Humanitarian Aid
Communication in Germany

Humanitarian Aid and civil society organisations are a quite relevant issue in Germany both from a qualitative and quantitative point of view. There are some 600,000 registered non-profit organisations. Some 3,000 of them do ask for donations on a regional or national level (HOLTERMANN 2013). For the year 2013 the expected donations should arrive to an amount of 5 billion Euro. Late December 2013 the Frankfurter Allgemeine (FAZ) calls Germany as “donations world champion” (HOLTERMANN 2013).

The German Central Institute for Social Issues (DZI) was founded in 1893 as in information office concerning welfare instructions in Berlin. Since 1905 the DZI collects information all around donations. The joint public-private foundation today is an independent scientific information and documentation centre serving the German speaking regions. About 250 organisations are listed by the DZI in the well accepted national quality list “DZI Seal-of-Approval” with a total amount of annual donations of about 1.2 billion Euro (DZI 2013a).

The humanitarian organisation are quite present in the public and do accompany regularly all cases of disasters worldwide. Specific public relations and advertising material are produced and largely distributed. Humanitarian commercials do have their messaging strategies to keep citizens in touch, in move and wit the objective to increase and to keep the willingness to donate.
Humanitarian Advertising

In the everyday life commercials more and more become significant on how the world is seen and how information is to be understood. In a globalising word bringing the world into citizens’ living rooms the communication of humanitarian organisations is supposed to have quite some impact in organising the view on the world of people. In many cases the moving pictures on daily disasters in the world given by the news industries are accompanied by humanitarian aid commercials and well-prepared and continuous call to donate. Raised a certain preparedness not to remain passive a donation many times seem to be the (only) possible (re)action that allows to the news consumer to become somehow active.

It is supposed that the view on spots and people in the world therefore might be quite influenced by what and how humanitarian aid advertising offers us a view on the people involved.

Humanitarian Aid organisation more and more are aware of their responsibility on visual communication and enter in a common process of ethnic debate and of ethical self-assurance started to agree on common standards and codes of conduct. The VENRO network, in which actually 118 organisations take part, in 2011 agreed on specific codes of conduct on children rights, public relations and communication (VENRO 2011a, 2011b, 2013).
Theoretical Background

The French project partners of Cap Solidarités have implemented a research on migrant and minority stereotypes in humanitarian aid advertising (CAP SOLIDARITES 2013). This working paper builds regarding the theoretical discourse and the definition of research instruments on this former research of the French TANDEM PLUS partner.

We also take into account the researches put forward by Timo Kiesel (KIESEL 2006) and Carolin Philipp (PHILIPP 2006) as well as their common film project (PHILIPP/KIESEL 2013). ¹

"Postcolonial Theory is deconstructing social power structures and analyses cracks and consistencies of colonial paradigms. (...) Postcolonial Theory focuses on power structures which otherwise remain invisible and helps being aware of colonial consistencies behind concepts. While terms are replaced, concepts and images are often only modified: the term 'civilise' for example is replaced by the term 'develop'. In the term 'underdeveloped', notions of inability, passiveness, poverty, nativeness and chaos go along similar to the notions of the term 'uncivilised'. This tool enables us to view posters of charities in a social framework and to elaborate connotations." (WHITE CHARITY 2014)

Some interesting statements gives an idea of actual self-understanding of humanitarian aid organisations in Germany.

Statement of Danuta Sacher, Brot für die Welt:

"Posters are eye-catchers. We would like to solicit sympathy with these posters. Sympathy for our partner organisations, sympathy for Brot für die Welt as an honest broker between the donor here and the local organisations there. I would simply say that there are rather felicitous posters and less felicitous posters.” (PHILIPP/KIESEL 2013, p. 2).

"Campaigns started with the objective to shock people, the with to draw attention, the wish to show the injustice and the indiscriminate misery of others. Following that, campaigns wanted to point our responsibility. (...) And now the third step of campaigns is the we continue posing the question of responsibility. But we want to show at the same time, that in a globalised world people in the South and the North face the same challenges which can only be solved together.” (PHILIPP/KIESEL 2013, p. 3)

"We relatively quickly ceased to showing classical images of children (...). The Kindernothilfe set up a self-commitment which was initiated by the Association of Development NGOs in Germany (VENRO)." (PHILIPP/KIESEL 2013, p. 3)

¹ The film has been shown in the public on 15 January 2014 in the Waldhorn Kino at Rottenburg am Neckar.
The Sample

A quite representative set of 16 humanitarian aids organisation has been chosen and their Websites have been analysed for photos. If there were some specific menu item “Donation” or “Donors” those have been chosen. In the Appendix these visual materials are collected.

As a second approach the last Issue of Spendemagazin has been analysed for commercials. The 22 posters and advertisements have been chosen. This approach differs under some aspects from the parallel French research:

(1) The visual material is exclusively recent. All Websites have been visited on 6th January 2014. No historical or longitudinal observation has been made.

(2) The visual material is firstly PR material in the Internet. This option has been chosen because of growing relevance of Internet based donating procedures.

(3) The visual material many times is used as eye-catcher. We therefore document the photos as well as the website context.
A First Comparative Analysis

Many fundraising and donation seeking Internet performances of the humanitarian aid organisations still seem to use the child topos: the nicely looking, inviting, naïve, aid and support seeing child seems to be the anchor person that invites possible donors to act. According to the list on the following page, in 14 of 16 cases (87.5%) the stereotyping approach has been found. Also if the representative of the Kindernothilfe states quite clearly a different approach, we assume that the “baby scheme” or “kid scheme” are still quite often and successfully used patterns. The observer might collect those images of kids in his memory reinforcing the connotation of childhood, ignorance and tenderness to ethnic and or minority stereotypes.

In 8 of 16 cases (50%) we do find photos without contextualisation. We suppose that the unconscious and emotional message is not disturbed by and specific individualised or personalised requisites.

In half of the cases (50%) we do observe a linkage of black (coloured) person to passive, no acting person. This pattern could to remember somehow to old colonial style way of thinking on and behaving towards coloured people.

In 5 of 16 cases (31.25%) people are shown in a quite anonymous way. Very high is the percentage of representation of coloured or black (not white) people: coloured people: 13 of 16, that is 81.25%.

In addition to the patterns high lightened by the French partner research, two minor observations have been made to the proposed visual materials:

Smiling faces seem still to be very inviting also in a donation seeking strategy: 6 of 16, 37.5% of people use a friendly smiling also in some quite difficult situations or life conditions. There might be a strategy supporting that “poor but happy” stereotypes might activate potential donors.

In one case (6.25%) we found a historicising method of presenting black and white photos that seem to be hand-coloured. The connotation of historical and colonial style photos could be raised.

Please find a synopsis on the following page.
## Analysis Grid of the Presence of Stereotypes in the selected Sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nr.</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Aktion Deutschland Hilfe</th>
<th>Ärzte ohne Grenzen</th>
<th>Brot für die Welt</th>
<th>Caritas International</th>
<th>Deutsches Rotes Kreuz</th>
<th>Diakonie Mitteleuropa</th>
<th>Freundschafts Kreis Indien und Ghana</th>
<th>Global Care</th>
<th>Help</th>
<th>Humanitarian</th>
<th>Travel</th>
<th>Licht für die Welt</th>
<th>Malteserhilfsdienst</th>
<th>Misereor</th>
<th>Oxfam</th>
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<td>Historicising style</td>
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The Commercials

1. The Federal Ministry of Cooperation uses a smiling middle age couple with requisites of activity (back pack and ball) prepared to start any useful commitment.

2. The Diakonie remembers the necessity of sustainable and continuous commitment proposing a coloured poor family in a waiting position: “Please, do not forget us” seems to be a strong message.

3. WordVision proposes a little girl feeding a still younger girl together with the interior monologue in kid’s handwriting: “My wish for my birthday is that my sister will be satisfied (no hunger anymore).” The girl continues with: “Become a sponsor!”

4. The advertising of the Animal Protection Association is not taken into consideration for this description.

5. The Kindernothilfe gives a clear and successful statement linked to a well-dressed smiling black boy: Education can change all!

6. Renovabis confirms: Your help does help supported by Matryoshka puppets.

7. UNICEF uses an interesting and curiosity raising approach: Instead of hungry kids we how you the solution: peanut paste.

8. The German Red Cross uses a black girl looking towards the observer, but well hold by a black Red Cross professional.

9. Plan advertising shows a laughing black girl and a well-known anchor person: Our objective: You will become sponsor and she will learn reading.

10. Nph help for orphan kids uses a little black/coloured boy, largely smiling with two full plates: A full plate means happiness.

11. SOS Kinderdorf uses a smiling (white) girl: Invest in family!


13. Herzenswünsche uses a children style way giving evidence of good examples of successful donors’ gifts.

14. The José Carreras Leukaemia Foundation shows the well-known founder in communication with the girls.

15. Arche Nova uses play on words “Become a water dispenser! Become a water sponsor!” together with a coloured kid drinking fresh water from a water pump.

16. Adveniat shows a group of singing youth a guitar playing priest in Honduras: Together we are more powerful than all rulers.

17. Misereor invites to become courageous: Courage is not to pay any price for gold.

18. Norma Parmed uses a shocking strategy showing a doll with heavy injuries in the
face: many kids in Africa do not desire a toy. Just a face.

19. The advertising of Johannes Hospiz is not taken into consideration for this description.

20. Brot für die Welt offers two photos of young coloured people together with the slogan “Justice for the Poor” and the sub title “Looking forward to your support.”

21. On the Welthungerhilfe poster a (black) little girl is enjoying herself holding her hands under a clear and powerful beam under the water cock: For Annie water finally has become a clear issue.

22. The McDonald’s Kinderhilfe offers two very young sisters: Proximity helps healing.

Conclusions

In Germany we do find an increasing commitment of both mainstream media and humanitarian aid organizations in reflected and fair use of visual communication tools and text communication. There is a quite high awareness of stereotyping mechanisms and the contradictions within communication of and about mainstream and minority issues. More and more people and realities that so far had been objects of communication are invited to become subjects and actors of visual communication. These tendencies take into account the imbalance of power (the observed and the observer, the poor seen by the rich eye) as well as the fair and global learning commitment of the involved actors.

In the mainstream public quite often, political opportunity and self-promotion and the logics of a media market feed populist performances abusing stereotypes of and against migrants and minorities. Humanitarian aid communication is not external to that market driven media performance. It can be noticed however that visual communication of humanitarian aid organisations more and more are committed to give voice to the observed and to act with anti-racist intention in a perspective of global learning and solidarity within a common planetary context.

Just as one example of improving practices during the project’s research the Caritas has been identified: An exhibition was
made by young people living in Brazilian favelas: in this case the photos and the views were embedded in a community development process that gave back a protagonist status to the shown objects of humanitarian aid views. Within the same organisation “Sozialcourage” a quarterly of social action is published (SOZIALCOURAGE). The pictures of children, poor, injured people or refugees are published after reflection, selection and production procedures in order to avoid any kind of voyeurism and visual abuse and to guarantee dignity and privacy of the described and shown individuals. Authenticity and dignity are well-combined with an attitude of close solidarity (SEITERICH 2014).

Most recommendations underline the relevance of migrants, of ethnic minorities, of people addressed by humanitarian aid to become protagonists of their own communication put forward by popular culture and media. The imbalance of power could be partly compensated by internal processes of abolishment of structural racism within opinion maker and public generating organizations and by a de-facto re-conquest of sovereignty of interpretation put forward by the minority actors themselves.

The increasing understanding of mechanism of stereotyping and the increasing ethic standards between professional actors in the civil society involved in humanitarian aid however will not avoid that other political and social actors – especially politicians and the media linked to political powers – will continue to use structural forms of (ethnic) racism according to the everyday opportunities.

An emphasised use of anti-ethnic practice, in fact, seems to be used by political parties as well as by official governments’ statements and actions trough over Europe to legitimise European anti-humanitarian and anti-immigration policies.

The BEAMS project might hopefully support European Union’s officials to slow down anti-African and anti-humanitarian policies and to return to human rights driven policy in favour of immigrants, refugees and people in danger.

Our analysis shows that civil society in Germany could be prepared to such a fundamental turn.
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SEITERICH Bernhard (2014): Background interview on the visual communication of Sozialcourage, the quarterly of social action, interviewed by Norbert Kreuzkamp, 21 January 2014, in German language, unpublished notes


Visual Material

Aktion Deutschland Hilft

http://www.aktion-deutschland-hilft.de
Ärzte ohne Grenzen
Médicins sans frontiers:
Akut

http://www.aerzte-ohne-grenzen.de
Ärzte ohne Grenzen
Médicins sans frontiers
Jahresbericht 2012

http://www.aerzte-ohne-grenzen.de
Ärzte ohne Grenzen
Médecins sans frontières
Jahresbericht 2012

http://www.aerzte-ohne-grenzen.de
Ärzte ohne Grenzen
Médicins sans frontiers
Migrationsbericht 2012

http://www.aerzte-ohne-grenzen.de

Das Leid der Migration
Zehn Jahre medizinische Hilfe für Migranten in Europa und in Transitländern
Ein Erfahrungsbericht von Ärzte ohne Grenzen
Brot für die Welt!

http://www.brot-fuer-die-welt.de/so-helfen-sie/ihrer-spendenmoeglichkeiten/foerdermitglied-werden.html

Verändern Sie die Welt! Werden Sie Fördermitglied von Brot für die Welt

Berührt auch Sie die Ungerechtigkeit in der Welt? Wollen und können Sie nicht mehr länger tatlos zusehen? Sind Sie vielleicht bereits aktiv geworden?

Wir sind unterwegs mit reich – mit unseren Mitarbeitern und Partnerorganisationen, mit allen, die Brot für die Welt spenden, ehrenamtlich oder finanziell unterstützen. Lassen Sie uns die Lösung finden.

Als Fördermitglied unterstützen Sie Brot für die Welt auch mit einer kleinen monatlichen Spende. Dadurch schaffen Sie unter anderem eine bessere Lebensqualität für Menschen in Entwicklungsländern.


Gerne laden wir Sie als Fördermitglied auch zu Veranstaltungen von Brot für die Welt ein.

Als Fördermitglied sorgen Sie auch dafür, dass wir in Zukunft unsere Arbeit weiterhin durchführen können. 60 Prozent der Beiträge von den Fördermitgliedern kommen direkt der Non-Profit Stiftung. Unsere wissenschaftlichen und praktischen Mitarbeiter gehören Ihnen an. Ihre Spende füllt die Lücken in unseren Projekten, die noch zu bewältigen sind, und hilft dabei, dass wir die Not von Morgen heute bekämpfen können.


Wir freuen uns darauf, mit Ihnen gemeinsam die Welt zu verändern.

Verändern Sie die Welt!
Brot für die Welt
Austria

http://fundraisingkongress.at/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=EQNOCa6PDZc%3D&tabid=681&language=de-DE

Caritas International

http://www.caritas-international.de/hilfeweltweit/lateinamerika/brasilien/kinderrechte-arbeit
Caritas International
Migration

Diakonie
Mitteldeutschland

http://www.diakonie-mitteldeutschland.de/diakonie-weltweit-brot-fuer-die-welt.html

Diakonie Deutschland

http://www.diakonie.de/
Freundeskreis humanitäre Hilfe in Indien und Ghana e. V.

http://indien-ghana.de/
Global Care
Kinderhilfswerk

http://global-care.de
Help e. V.

http://www.help-ev.de
Humanitarian Travel

http://www.reiseservice-sacco.de/humanitaer-travel
Licht für die Welt

http://www.lichtfuerdiewelt.at/
Malteserhilfsdienst

http://www.malteser-spenden.de/

Oxfam Deutschland

http://www.oxfam.de/projekte/faq
Misereor
Human Rights

http://www.misereor.de

Misereor
Philippines

http://www.misereor.de
Misereor
India

http://www.misereor.de
Plan Afrika

http://www.plan-deutschland.de
Plan

http://www.plan-deutschland.de
Pro Asyl

http://www.proasyl.de
Pro Asyl

http://www.proasyl.de
**Spendenmagazin 2 / 2013**

1. **BMZ**

2. **Diakonie**

3. **WordVision**

4. **Deutscher Tierschutzbund**

5. **Kindernothilfe**
6. RENOVABIS

7. UNICEF

8. DRK Auslandshilfe

9. Plan

10. nph Deutschland e. V.

11. SOS Kinderdorf
12. Amnesty International

13. Herzenswünsche e. V.

14. José Carreras Leukämie-Stiftung

15. Arche Nova

16. Adveniat

17. Misereor

18. Gegen Norma Parmed

19. Johannes-Hospiz
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22. McDonald’s Kinderhilfe

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RESEARCH ON VISUAL STEREOTYPING IN HUMANITARIAN AID CAMPAIGNS

Migrant and Minority Stereotypes in Humanitarian Aid Campaigns in Germany

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More information:

acli e. V.
Selbsthilfewerk für interkulturelle Arbeit
Mr Norbert Kreuzkamp
Biesingerstraße 16
72070 Tübingen (Germany)
+49 7071 793333
kreuzkamp@acli.de
www.acli.de

Cap Solidarités
Ms Anne Rocheteau
rue de Douai 12
59000 Lille (France)
+33 9 73163441
ead@capsolidarites.asso.fr
www.capsolidarites.asso.fr

EUROPEAN NETWORK TANDEM PLUS
Ms Stéphanie Abis, Ms Patrizia Loiola
Centre Vauban, rue Colbert 201
59000 Lille (France)
+33 6 30854082
stephanie.abis@tandemplus.org
patrizia.loiola@progettagroup.com
www.tandemplus.org