

HATE CRIME IN RUSSIA

Monitoring and Support
for Victims of Racist Violence



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ARIBA e.V./ReachOut – Counselling for Victims and Education about Right-wing
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FOREWORD

The Foundation “Remembrance, Responsibility and Future” (Foundation EVZ) promotes contemporary civic engagement for people who experience violence (so-called bias or hate crimes) due to their ethnicity, skin colour, religion, their political work for human rights or their sexual orientation. The background for this commitment is constituted by the legal duty to grant victims who experienced the National Socialist racist-motivated injustices during the Second World War moral, financial and legal recognition of their suffered injustices, which have long been withheld by Germany. With the second, future-oriented duty, the Foundation attempts to ensure that contemporary victims of racist violence receive this social recognition and support in society in a timely manner and that general conditions are created that make this kind of violence impossible.

Due to the fact that there is hardly any available infrastructure for the support of victims of bias-motivated crimes in Central and Eastern European countries, the Foundation EVZ supports exemplary projects in Poland, the Czech Republic, the Ukraine and Russia that provide support for these victims. Through the support of organisations which work closely with the victims, they are encouraged to agitate for their rights and to demand social change in terms of how bias-motivated crimes are dealt with. The Foundation wants to contribute to strengthening social awareness and solidarity for the interests of these victims groups, to the improvement of their legal status and to the establishment of counselling structures. The projects should make a long-term contribution to the decrease of the number of these crimes by increasing awareness in the social realm and by ostracising the perpetrators, and by protecting human rights for minorities who are exposed to dangerous conditions.

It is precisely for this reason that the focus of the project support is the professionalisation of the support services as well as the collection and documentation of data on bias-motivated crimes (monitoring), supported by lobby and outreach work. Another goal is the formation of a national and international network of actors. Experience in monitoring and counselling victims of right-wing, racist and anti-Semitic violence and threats from past years in Germany should be made accessible to corresponding initiatives in Central and Eastern Europe.

In order to be able to identify suitable organisations in the countries where the projects are carried out, the Foundation EVZ supported research in Poland, the Czech Republic, the Ukraine and Russia. The authors of the project ReachOut—Victim Counselling and Education against Right-Wing Extremism, Racism and Anti-Semitism and the Berlin association Ariba e.V. have with great dedication surveyed the relevant initiatives and organisations working with victims in the Russian metropolises of Moscow and St. Petersburg, the cities of Stavropol and Voronezh in southern Russia, in Yekaterinburg in the Urals and Murmansk and Petrosavodsk in northern Russia, determining what kinds of support they are able to provide to victims of racist violence. The authors shared the results of this country research with the surveyed organisations in July 2010 in Moscow.

In the report presented here, the authors investigate the legal norms and practices of the Russian legislation on hate crimes based on a critical examination of the concept “hate crime.” They analyze the numbers of victims and the situations of those exposed to violence and summarize the problems of monitoring and the victim statistics in the surveyed regions. They show that primarily people of Central Asian and Caucasian origin that live in Russia as migrant workers are exposed not infrequently to complex forms of social discrimination, harassment and abuse by the police as well as racist attacks due to their “non-Slavic appearance.” Other people become victims due to their sexual orientation or belonging to a subculture. The authors underline that those affected often do not file charges or go to independent monitoring centres due to fear of the authorities. In particular, bodily injury hardly appears in the statistics at all because the authorities neither accept the racist motives of violent crimes nor investigate them.

The recommendations for further action by the authors and the description of the working methodology of the ReachOut Project are of particular value for the Foundation EVZ, the other foundations and organisations that are active in Russia, and for the civil society actors themselves. A few of the recommendations will be implemented over the next several years by our foundation by specifically supporting appropriate projects which seek to improve monitoring and offer counselling services for the various victim groups in Russia.

I am happy that we are able to publish the study in German and also in English as desired by the surveyed NGOs, and would like to thank the authors Tatiana Golova, Robert Kusche and Ute Weinmann as well as Anzhelika Avdeeva, Sebastian Friedrich, Sabine Seyb and Sanchita Basu for the successful realisation of this project. Above all, I would like to thank the civil society actors in Russia who participated in the project.

I hope all readers of this study will attain new insights into the situation of people who do not have a sufficiently strong lobby in Russia and who need support. There is a dire need for more significant national and international efforts to ensure that the victims are not left alone and (that they) obtain the necessary legal and personal recognition, and to judge the perpetrators and discourage these crimes from being committed in the social realm.

former Minister Alexandr Petrovich Pochinok

Federation Council of Russia

Curator of the Foundation “Remembrance, Responsibility and Future”

PREFACE

Since mid-2001 ReachOut has been active in counselling and supporting victims and witnesses of right-wing, racist and anti-Semitic assaults and threats in Berlin. ReachOut also researches, documents and publishes information about the assaults in order to reflect the extent of these violent crimes more realistically than the official statistics of the investigative authorities are capable of doing.

The unreported number of assaults on people who do not fit in with the world view of the perpetrators remains high. There are, however, a large number of independent initiatives, counselling projects and documentation centres that focus on documenting the extent of the violence and the situation of the victims, independent of whether the victims are in the position to press charges or not.

With the help of state support, counselling centres for victims of right-wing, racist and anti-Semitic violence were founded in 2001 in Berlin and the eastern German federal states. Despite unclear and precarious conditions, the projects were able to establish themselves and the staff members have become recognised as experts by representatives of the media, social scientists and policy makers. Contributing to this was the concrete counselling and above all the professional research and documentation work. This is why the number of assaults that the victim counselling projects publish is much higher than the numbers from the investigative authorities.

On the international level, very little is known about the right-wing, racist and anti-Semitic violence in Eastern Europe. As a result, the knowledge about the situation of victims and their family members is very limited even among experts.

From its research and counselling praxis in Berlin, ReachOut knows that the largest group to use its counselling services is comprised of those who are assaulted due to racist motives. That is why in recent years the team from ReachOut has been gathering substantiated knowledge and experience in regard to this group of victims.

Above all, the spectrum of perpetrators of violence motivated by racism should not be limited to organised neo-Nazis and their immediate environment. ReachOut sees a particular need for action in this field because racist attitudes and practices are socially and institutionally anchored in Russia just as they are in Germany. In the past, victims could frequently expect no professional assistance and were left alone to deal with the consequences of traumatic events.

With the study presented here, ReachOut has attempted to achieve its goal of bringing international attention to the situation of people exposed to violence motivated by racism. Of particular interest are the experiences and working situations that exist in the regions of Russia mentioned below to support the affected persons and their concerns.

Additionally, the situation of (potential) victims is portrayed by the perspective of the representatives of the projects and other experts who are asked by the victims to give counselling and help but who cannot afford to provide this counselling and help to the extent needed. This provokes the central question of what kind of experience and resources are available to the projects and what kinds of support they need.

The study was only made possible due to the close cooperation and exchange with multiple representatives of Russian projects and individuals who were open to questions and willing to give us interviews, discuss the issues, and to critically comment on and complete the first results of the study within the framework of a working meeting.

With this study, ReachOut has pursued its goal to support projects and their staff members who until now have worked with much dedication under difficult conditions. Conceptualizing, expanding and further developing the project required cooperation based on practical experience and partnership. A lot of patience and willingness on the part of international organisations were needed in order to support the study both financially and conceptually.

The main goal of ReachOut is to increase awareness of the situation of the victims and the lifelong consequences of these assaults, which occur so frequently. The study is an appeal to treat the affected persons with more empathy and respect so that they can be better protected from assaults in the future.

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INTRODUCTION AND APPROACH

The study presented here explores the situation regarding bias-motivated crimes in five regions of the Russian Federation between 2008 and mid-2010. The two Russian metropolises of Moscow and St. Petersburg were selected for the study, as well as the cities of Stavropol und Voronezh in the south, Yekaterinburg in the Urals, and Murmansk and Petrozavodsk in northern Russia.

The study concentrates on the analysis of the situation of victims of violence motivated by racism, the explication of the legal situation in Russia and the listing of available services and projects. The following considerations played a role in the implementation of the study and the selection regarding the regions:

1. Regarding the selection of the regions, the improvement of the (legal and personal) situation of the victims of right-wing and racist violence (bias-motivated crimes) in Central and Eastern Europe was the primary long-term goal considered. Therefore, we asked the following questions: Which regions are known as hubs of racist and right-wing violence? In which regions do the political authorities accept the work of civil society initiatives and foster the necessary local political conditions to establish counselling centres? Where do sufficient resources exist for the setting up and professionalisation of counselling options for victims of right-wing and racist violence?
2. Due to limited time and financial means as well as the size of the country, we could not investigate all the regions in Russia. Therefore, we limited ourselves to those listed above.
3. In addition to these considerations in the selection of the analysed regions, we focused on the specific knowledge of our team in each region and city.

Approximately 50 organisations and individuals were chosen from the selected regions and queried via the Internet, address lists, or personal contacts and recommendations. The interviewees work in the fields of human rights, monitoring, counselling, or other similar fields and/or are in contact with potential victim groups. From among these people, 20 project representatives and experts were interviewed because of their professional profiles. The interviews were carried out using a guiding questionnaire, mostly by telephone or sometimes email.¹ The selection of the interview partners does not claim to be representative. A meeting in Moscow in July, 2010 also offered the opportunity to discuss the gathered information, hypotheses, interpretations and results of the research with the project employees and experts who were interviewed. In addition, experts were asked if they could give us information about the legal situation in the Russian Federation.

The following questions were of particular interest in the research and interviews:

1. What does the situation concerning bias-motivated crimes look like in the particular regions?
2. How are the victims in the regions supported and their concerns addressed?
3. Which possible contact persons exist in the region?
4. What are the working conditions of the projects like?

In addition, the legal framework and juristic practice in relation to bias-motivated crimes are depicted in the study. The problems of monitoring in Russia are discussed and the public discourse in relation to right-wing and racist violence in Russian is described.

Finally, recommendations are set forth that from our point of view can be implemented on various levels in order to strengthen existing structures and to sustainably improve the situation of victims of racist and right-wing violence in Russia. In the appendix there is also a strength-weakness analysis (SWOT Analysis) for the regions of Moscow, St. Petersburg, Voronezh und Stavropol.

The recommendations result from the research and analysis of the experiences of ReachOut and are the outcome of a joint meeting with the interviewed NGOs in July, 2010 in Moscow.

DEBATE OVER THE CONCEPT OF “HATE CRIME”

Most of the hate crime attacks in Russia are motivated by racism. Therefore, in the selected regions we focus mainly on the victims of acts of violence that are motivated by racism. However, during the research we kept other affected groups in view and within the scope of this study we focus on describing the context of the concept of hate crime.

A narrow definition of a hate crime offence assumes a criminal act against one or more persons or an object, influenced by prejudices toward particular characteristics of the victim.²

Various authors have further defined this concept. Perry refers to the fact that the victims are usually marked by “racial”³ or “ethnic” differences in relation to the social majority. The victims are socially disadvantaged and the perpetrators see their standard of living endangered by the victims (groups). Wolf and Copeland assume that the victims are exposed to complex social discrimination and in general have only limited access to social and economic resources.⁴ Therefore, hate crime offences are to be seen in the context of the political conditions of a state, within which social majorities and minorities are rigidly defined, as are the corresponding mechanisms of exclusion.

The results of an opinion poll of the Moscow Politech Agency from April 2010 are characteristic of the social and political atmosphere in contemporary Russia, according to which 22 % of Moscow residents disapprove of “guest workers”⁵ and 41 % state that they feel fearful of “guest workers.”⁶

Hence, hate crimes can be defined through social and political factors, which in unfavourable cases support a thought and belief system in which violence against minorities is seen as legitimate.⁷

Hate crime offences are above all committed by members of the social majority who often see themselves as executors of the supposed “will of the people.” Both victims and perpetrators can therefore interpret insufficient state and social reactions to hate crime offences as approval of those actions. Hence, on the one hand, hate crime offences give information about the condition of a society, and on the other hand, they have an effect on the quality of life of the (potential) victims and the society as a whole.

The consequences for the victims include restrictions on their mobility, strenuous efforts to go unnoticed, and a retreat from the public sphere due to fear that the assaults will be repeated. The establishment of public spaces which people are afraid to enter leads to the further social marginalisation of a group.

2 Cf. Coester 2007: 23.

3 Perry uses the term “racial”. We reject this term, because the use of concepts like “racial” or “race” imply the existence of races and thereby contribute to the (re)production of racism. For this reason we place these terms in quotation marks.

4 Cf. Coester 2007: 24.

5 We take a critical stance on the term “guest worker” because it manifests the relationship between the supposed social majority and the minority. The genealogy of the concept also shows that the term is directly associated with the term “foreign worker” from the National Socialism period and was replaced by “foreigner” after the ban on the recruitment of workers from outside of Germany in 1973. The term “guest worker” thereby joins the concept of “policy on foreigners” in the Federal Republic of Germany, which saw many people from other countries not as a part of society, but rather as temporary guests. Cf. Heidenreich 2010.

6 <http://antirasizm.ru/index.php/mbhr-chronicle/259-mbhr-english-review-jan-apr-2010>, last accessed 16 June 2010.

7 Cf. Sheffield 1992 in Coester 2007: 24.

A broader definition of hate crimes is as follows:

“The concept of *hate crimes*...describes actions that are mostly relevant to criminally punishable actions, in the course of which one or more persons or their property experience victimisation through intimidation, threat, physical or psychological violence. The perpetrator(s) is/are partly or wholly spurred on by prejudice against certain characteristics such as race,⁸ lineage,⁹ nationality, religion, sexual orientation, age, gender, physical or mental disability that concern the whole social group of the victim(s). The injury is not only directly aimed at the victim; rather, it contains an intimidating message aimed at the identity of the victim group and the basis of a democratic society. A German translation of “hate crime” could be defined as bias-motivated crime or bias criminality.¹⁰

As a judicial concept, bias-motivated crime has two particular characteristics:¹¹

a) There must be a criminal offence (bodily injury, arson, etc.).

b) A bias motivation (racism, anti-Semitism, etc.) on the part of the perpetrators toward the victim or the group must be recognised.

Above all, the prerequisites for the second point are relatively difficult to fulfil; particular training is required on the part of the prosecuting authorities in order for them to clearly recognise these motives and punish them accordingly.

The bias motive differentiates hate crime offences from other offences because the perpetrators want to deliberately harm their victims by reason of the perpetrators’ racist, anti-Semitic and other attitudes and/or political convictions by directly attacking people or indirectly by destroying property that classifies them into a social group.

We maintain that an interpretation of the hate crime concept is only possible when a particular historical context is taken into consideration.¹²

Bias-motivated crimes in Russia in recent years have primarily been collective attacks on individual persons or small groups, where the victims are (usually brutally) hit and injured with objects employed as weapons. Many victims die of their injuries, i.e. they are intentionally killed. The largest portion of the attacks is committed by extreme right-wing youth, who are organised in formal and informal groups.

A larger aspect of the context-based interpretation of the bias-motivated crime concept is the victim groups. In addition to attacks motivated by racism, there are violent acts committed against LGBT persons,¹³ religious minorities, the homeless and other groups. These affected groups are generally not visible due to the absence of representative organisations which might advocate for their rights, or due to their lack of political influence. In addition, political activists in the area of anti-fascism and human rights are increasingly the victims of right-wing attacks. They become victims of the perpetrators due to their solidarity with the groups and victims of bias-motivated crimes¹⁴ who are exposed to discrimination. Primarily, however, they are seen as the political opposition of the perpetrators and therefore attacked.

Racism is a fundamental element of the bias-motivated crime concept and is defined according to Miles as an ideology that can be described as having the following features: particular biological characteristics are “ascribed a meaning

8 Cf. Fn. 4.

9 We reject the term “lineage” due to racist connotations. In contrast to “folk”, the term “line” [can also be translated as tribe or clan – *trans.*] refers to a group of people with a supposedly low level of development.

10 Cf. Coester 2007: 27.

11 Cf. OSCE/ 2009: 16f.

12 Cf. Della Porta 1995: 3f.

13 LGBT stands for “Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender”.

14 Cf. ODIHR 2009a.

through which they become markers of recognition of particular groups. In this way, status and origin of the groups are imagined as natural and unchangeable.... The groups that are constructed this way must occupy additional, negatively valued biological or cultural characteristics and are represented in such a way so that they are seen to cause negative consequences for others.”¹⁵

Potential groups of victims of racist violence in Russia are already very heterogenous. When someone is assaulted, it does not depend on the self-identification of the victim as a person from a particular region or with a particular ethnic background, but on the perception of the perpetrator.

The hate crime concept presented here can be problematic in its practical implementation if the definition of the victim groups is not exactly specified.

The concept has its origins in the black civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s in the USA. Consisting of people who were affected by racist violence and discrimination, the movement actively agitated for the passage of civil rights in the US and stronger penalisation for bias-motivated crimes. In Russia, there is no such movement. In addition, the people affected by bias-motivated crime are politically and socially too marginal to actively lead a social debate or to be able to have influence on the legislative process. The simple adaption of the bias crime concept to the situation in Russia and the obviously arbitrary determination of victim groups by the Russian legislature cannot reach the desired aims without considering the present day social context and without an analysis of the situation of the groups in question. In addition, one can ask if criminal offences motivated by right-wing ideologies, racism, anti-Semitism and homophobia should even be phrased at all with concepts like “hate crimes” or “bias-motivated crimes.” These inhumane ideologies and their political goals cannot be defined sufficiently with psychological and individualizing terminology such as hate or prejudice considering the crimes that are committed in their names.

The majority of the participants at the working meeting that took place in July 2010 in Moscow argued for precisely naming and describing the crime motives from which the assaults were carried out, such as racist, right-wing, homophobic, etc., and not generally as hate crime offences.

If in the framework of the study, however, we use the category hate crime offence or hate crimes, we mean offences that are directed against the actual identity or actual group affiliation of the victim, or the identity or group affiliation of the victim as constructed by the perpetrator, and therefore these are offences against the whole group. At the same time, in our point of view, this refers to attacks and threats that are motivated by racism or anti-Semitism, or an offence against a social disadvantage, i.e., people with disabilities, homosexuals, transgender people, leftists or antifascists. These particular motives can have the effect of an increased penalty for the perpetrators.

An interpretation of the hate crime concept that is too broad, such as an undifferentiated description of the group that is to be protected, as will be shown in the chapter on Russian legal praxis, can be problematic and the actual problem at hand can be reduced to absurdity.

CRITICAL DISCUSSION OF THE PUBLIC DISCOURSE CONCERNING “HATE CRIMES”

The reaction of the Russian public to violence motivated by racism is very reserved. It is assumed that the attitude toward the use of physical violence is generally influenced by the experiences since the fall of the Soviet Union. In particular, both Chechen wars have certainly strongly contributed to the fact that the violence exerted by the employees of the security forces has anchored itself in the consciousness of the majority of the population as part of normality. The violence is seen as regrettable, but is openly criticised only by a few. At the same time, daily media reports about crime have increasingly allowed for a normalising effect. Attempts to explain the rise of violence in Russia often lead to feelings of helplessness. In particular, the formation of neo-Nazi organisations does not really correspond with how many people view the historical victory over fascism.

The Negative Images of Migrants

The majority of the victims of racist violence are people from the former southern Soviet republics (in particular those from Central Asia). Generally, public debates are influenced by a negative image of migrants. For several years, labour migration has been a widely discussed topic. The relationship of the majority population to migrants is mainly discussed in the context of the “national question,” as “interethnic relations” or as a “conflict of cultures” and only rarely in an economic or social framework. The political scientist and leading scientific staff member at the Institute for Philosophy at the Russian Academy of Sciences, Vladimir Malakhov, emphasises that in the social discourse “xenophobia” and “right-wing radicalism”¹⁶ are generally linked to an oft-quoted “ethnic balance.”¹⁷ The disturbance of this balance, however it may be defined, is often made responsible for the increase in racist statements and racist violent assaults. In this way, the impression is given that the responsibility for racist violence lies less with the majority society and more with the migrants themselves.

Judging from the numerous publications in the Russian media and claims from authorities, migrants are assumed to represent a whole slew of dangers. At the beginning of the economic and financial crisis, it was continuously prophesied that there was a strong increase in criminality from migrants who had become unemployed. This discourse can be seen throughout the entire media landscape of Russia. Even when the claims have not been confirmed, the countless reports still contribute to the incitement of fear in the population. In addition, migrants are often stigmatised as “illegals” who disregard Russian laws. Hardly a day passes in which local, regional or superregional media do not report on raids and deportations of migrants. At the same time, the population learns hardly anything about the obstacles and discrimination that Russian legislation stipulates regarding the residency status for migrants who do not have a Russian passport.

¹⁶ The terms “xenophobic” and “right-wing radicalism” prove to be problematic because they insufficiently describe firmly anchored attitudes, and also because they have a trivialising effect. Therefore, in the text that follows the terms will only be used in direct or indirect quotes appropriately signified with quotation marks. See a critique of the terms in Butterwegge 2002: 11ff.

¹⁷ Cf. Malakhov 2007: 97.

The Representation of Victims of Right-Wing, Racist Violence in the Media

The victims of racist violence often remain anonymous and are represented purely statistically. Frequently, little is known about their origin; representatives of the media rarely bother to bring facts about their lives and surroundings into the public record. Most of the victims are not matched with a face, engendering a depersonalised image of the victim in the public realm that becomes fixed with time. This is understandable in light of security considerations as long as the victims of violence motivated by racism have survived the assault. However, this kind of erasure also happens to the numerous murdered victims of violence motivated by racism. This depersonalised representation reflects the general indifference and not infrequently the disparaging attitude of the majoritarian society toward those personally affected by the violence.

Only rarely do victims of racist violence get a face and name in the media, and when they do, it mostly concerns foreign students. One of these was the Vietnamese Wu An Tuan¹⁸, who was stabbed to death in October 2004, and the Senegalese Lamzar Samba¹⁹, who was openly shot on the street in April 2006 in St. Petersburg. Lamzar Samba was associated with the organisation African Unity, an interest group of Africans living in St. Petersburg who mainly come to Russia in order to study and often end up settling there. After the murder of Lamzar Samba, African Unity campaigned for a carefully carried out investigation and created publicity with a few other organisations and individuals. Students who had studied with Wu An Tuan organised vigils. In the investigations of both cases, a political criminal motive was determined.

Because little is known about the background of racist violence and its victims, plus the fact that it is difficult to carry out the necessary research, we will also illustrate the following examples of assaults on other victims.

If the case concerns victims who are well-known persons, like in the case of Yakut chess player Sergey Nikolaev, who was murdered in October 2007 by neo-Nazis, the popularity of the victim alone raises more interest than usual. Additionally, it is obvious that print media and in particular television stations show more readiness to portray antifascists affected by right-wing violence (and their family members and friends) as victims of neo-Nazi violence. This may also lie in the fact that, among others, friends and the wider circle of the murdered antifascists have more ability to create publicity and thereby bring about a media report that takes into account background information of victims of right-wing violence and fosters respect for them. An example of this is Timur Kacharava, who was murdered in November 2005.

Most of the cases never come to public attention. It is quite clear that the press as well as the police do not always receive information about attacks motivated by racism. At the same time, it can be assumed that such reports are intentionally not published, in particular if there are indications that there is a politically motivated crime. This is shown by the example from Izhevsk, the capital city of the Udmurt republic.

In May 2010 neo-Nazis in Izhevsk tried to set the home of the well known journalist and antifascist Oleg Serebrennikov on fire.²⁰ Burning objects were thrown through the glass of the balcony; simultaneously, 12 shots were fired from an air pistol. Oleg Serebrennikov realised in time that there was a fire on the balcony and was able to notify the fire department, which put out the fire before it spread to the rest of the dwelling. As he left his home he found swastikas and the writing "Oleg, you're a corpse" in the hallway. About 30 to 40 meters away from the house he noticed a few suspicious persons. During the next few days, he realised he was under constant observation.

This attack was not the first against antifascists who had been active for many years. At the beginning of 2004, Oleg Serebrennikov was violently assaulted by neo-Nazis in the city centre. He suffered a serious head wound which still has to be treated to this day. At that time, four

18 <http://www.newsru.com/crime/14oct2004/vv.html>, last accessed 21 May 2010.

19 <http://www.newsru.com/russia/07apr2006/killer.html>, last accessed 21 May 2010.

20 <http://ru.indymedia.org/newswire/display/23707/index.php>, last accessed 16 June 2010.

of the perpetrators were sentenced on charges of bodily harm. In May 2010 Serebrennikov, himself a journalist, called a press conference regarding the arson and other neo-Nazi activities in the city. Despite prior confirmations by members of the press, no one showed up. Follow-up conversations within circles of colleagues proved that this was a topic unwanted by the media in the city and the rest of the republic.²¹

This form of censorship may be an extreme example and should not be generally assumed to be valid for all regions. The insider game between the media and representatives of the state bureaucracy or police organizations, even though it has consequences, does not always have such a drastic effect on the news report. It is part of the current process that the police put cases with an extreme right wing background in an apolitical context, as in the case of Dmitriy Kashitsyn.²²

On the evening of May 22, 2010, the 27-year old doctoral student of the Moscow State University for Technology and Management went to a birthday grill party in northwest Moscow, at which many musicians and young people in alternative clothing were present. This was something that drew the attention of neo-Nazis. Near the end of the party, after some party guests had already gone, approximately 40 masked attackers from the neo-Nazi scene stormed the party goers, loudly uttering slogans and threats of violence like “There they are, bring them down!” Shots were fired from an air pistol. Eye witnesses reported that the attackers had bottles, rocks and knives. Dmitri Kaschitsyn was stabbed 15 times in the back. He succumbed to his severe injuries before the emergency rescue services arrived.

The first media reports about the case completely left out the details that would have indicated an extreme right-wing context. Instead, it was reported that the crime could possibly have been committed in the context of the semi-final of the world hockey championship game between Germany and Russia that had just ended shortly before the assault. The Moscow Police Spokesperson Anatoliy Lastovetskiy denied this by offering another hypothesis: it was a conflict among various groups of party goers who didn’t want to share the grilling area with each other.²³ The investigations were initiated on charges of premeditated severe bodily harm and not manslaughter. A political motive was not taken into consideration.

A political criminal motive was disregarded in the case of Kalmykian student Dol’gan Nikeev, who was murdered in the night from April 20–21, 2010 in Moscow.²⁴ At around 1 a.m., the 22-year old student was walking with 21-year old Kalmykian fellow student Vladimir Sanzhiev when they were attacked with knives. Dol’gan Nikeev suffered a fatal stab wound in his heart; Vladimir Sanzhiev had injuries in his chest and face. On the birthday of Adolf Hitler racist attacks generally increase, something which prompted the police several years ago to issue a warning in the period directly preceding April 20 to “those who do not look Slavic” and migrants in particular. In coverage of the attack, the daily newspaper *Komsomol’skaya Pravda*²⁵ quoted a representative of the responsible investigation committee of the state prosecutor’s office, Sergey Marchenko. It was known to the authorities that Dol’gan Nikeev had had an argument with his girlfriend on the same night and consequently was upset. As he passed a group of younger people, Nikeev allegedly bumped into someone accidentally, which then sparked off a violent argument.

On April 25 the suspects were arrested and it was publically announced that the incident had to do with a common argument and not one which was politically motivated. However, the Centre for Information and Analysis (SOVA) drew attention to the fact that in the immediate vicinity of the crime scene a group of young people had carried out a violent attack on a Central Asian man at around the same time. In addition to the time and place, other details regarding the attackers were corroborated.²⁶

21 Email from Oleg Serebrennikov from 1 June 2010.

22 <http://xeno.sova-center.ru/45A29F2/EE223AC>, last accessed 16 June 2010.

23 <http://www.rosbalt.ru/print/738983.html>, last accessed 16 June 2010.

24 <http://xeno.sova-center.ru/45A29F2/EB6A591>, last accessed 16 June 2010.

25 <http://www.kp.ru/online/news/654820/>, last accessed 16 June 2010.

26 <http://xeno.sova-center.ru/45A29F2/EB6A591>, last accessed 16 June 2010.

The news of Dol'gan Nikeev's murder was received with outrage in the Kalmykian republic. In particular, younger people expressed their horror at the fact that in recent years a dozen Kalmykians had fallen victim to racist acts of violence across Russia. On April 24th in the Kalmykian capital city of Elista, a public memorial ceremony took place commemorating the most recent murder. Pamphlets were distributed with the following text:

We are left with no other choice than to express our civic protest, whose primary aim is to prove to ourselves that despite everything we remain people and that we are still not indifferent to the deaths of innocent people.²⁷

Because the police interpretations of the violent crimes mostly serve as the first source of information for the media, these play a special role in the formation of public opinion. If a case does not draw increased attention due to any particular circumstances, the probability is high that no other reports will appear which might provide information about the results of the official investigations that run diametrically counter to first interpretations or which relay the results of research into the environment of the victim. The media interest usually increases again if a court case is opened. It must be mentioned here that judicial proceedings are not always accessible to members of the press. If, for example, minors are the defendants, the court can exclude the public. If it has to do with defendants of a larger group from the neo-Nazi spectrum that are charged with several murder cases, the media reports even when the public is banned from the proceedings and relies on older sources of information. It is obvious, however, that the limited access to information has a negative effect on the quality of the news report. At the same time, the widely spread use of exclusionary mechanisms has the effect that the court sometimes takes little heed of the legitimate interest of the public. In past years a whole slew of sensational cases took place and was reported on in detail. But again, in these cases it wasn't the victim who was focused on in the report but the perpetrator.

Discussions about "Tolerance Programmes"²⁸

Policy makers and politicians frame attacks motivated by racism as "interethnic conflicts" and react to their increase not only by prosecuting with an increased penalty but also by initiating certain programmes. These are settled in other socially relevant areas and primarily aim toward the development of a tolerant attitude toward members of ethnic minorities. The self-definition of Russia as a multi-ethnic state plays an important role in the conception of so-called "tolerance programmes". Multiculturalism and a peaceful society based on tolerance constitute the fundamental aims of these programmes. Most of the concrete measures in the area of policies concerning youth have been criticised by experts as being outmoded, not relevant to achieving the goals of the programme and in part even questionable in terms of their content.²⁹

All regions of Russia are required to develop and implement tolerance programmes. The city of St. Petersburg is a definite pioneer in this area. Prior to the G8 Summit in 2006, as the number of complaints about attacks motivated by racism steeply rose, the city of St. Petersburg set out a five-year programme and contributed about EUR 8 million of its budget to fund it. In a declaration of the St. Petersburg City Government entitled "Harmony and Plurality for a Grand Folk,"³⁰ Point 2 stipulates that the tolerance programme of the city is a "strategic concept for the harmonising of interethnic and intercultural relationships." Nothing less than the "eradication of the manifestations of xenophobia" is the goal of the city.³¹ In addition, other aims listed are the recognition and the overcoming of "negative tendencies" under which every-

27 <http://www.regnum.ru/news/1277376.html>, last accessed 16 June 2010.

28 We take a critical position on the term "tolerance" because it is usually oriented to the reigning norms of the majoritarian society, which is defined by how much it allows lifestyles and convictions to deviate from the norm in order to be tolerated. Cf. Binaj 2010.

29 <http://www.mhg.ru/publications/E70AD9A>, last accessed 16 June 2010.

30 http://gov.spb.ru/gov/admin/otrasl/c_foreign/toler, last accessed 16 June 2010.

31 The full title is "Programme for the Harmonization between Interethnic and Intercultural Relationships, Prevention against Forms of Xenophobia, Strengthening of Tolerance in St. Petersburg for 2006-2010" (Programme "Tolerance").

day racism and chauvinism are explicitly named. The “forming of positive values and attitudes for the mutual respect, acceptance and understanding for the plurality of the cultures of folks/peoples, their traditions and ethnic values” are supposed to constitute the counter approach to racism and chauvinism.³²

The Committee for Foreign Relations of the St. Petersburg government is responsible for the coordination and implementation of the programme. A larger group of state-run institutions, including the St. Petersburg House of Nationalities, universities, the Russian Ethnographical Museum as well as non-governmental organisations contributed to the determining the content and design of the first “Five-Year Plan” (2006–2010).

At the beginning of March 2010 the city government positively reviewed the programme and made the decision to extend it until the year 2015. Among other things, the reduction in racist crimes from the year 2007 was seen as a success.³³ In the official review of the programme, the number of measures carried out played a significant role though a scientific evaluation has never been conducted. After a few difficulties in the start-up phase, the programme only really began running in 2009. Since the beginning of the programme a total of over 10,000 events have been carried out on the city level or in individual city districts. That includes round tables as well as an “ethno-calendar” and a festival of “ethno-fashion”, exhibitions of national costumes and cultural events for school pupils.

The ethnicising nature of the programme hardly allows for any contribution to the understanding of the causes of violence caused by racism or of the situation of those exposed to it. To the contrary, it cements widely held clichés in Russian society about so-called national minorities. Additionally, it supports the categorisation of humans according to ostensibly fixed visible ethnic and cultural criteria. As part of these tolerance programmes, sponsored video clips have been shown since the beginning of September 2009 on Russian television as “social advertisements under the motto “Russia: all of them are our people.”³⁴ Without making a didactic claim (according to the statements of the authors), “cult figures” with various national origins from the areas of sport, film and music were shown in the clips but also numerous victors of the beauty contests from the regions of Russia. In this way the beautiful world of supposedly cultural plurality is visualised without having to problematise everyday violence caused by racism.

In addition, the calls for tolerance toward other “cultures” are often accompanied by the warning about alleged criminality on the part of migrants. This also fits with the complaints of the people who devised the programme regarding the rise of “criminality of foreigners” in St. Petersburg. According to information of the Migration Service in 2009, this criminality supposedly rose by 22 % in comparison to the previous year.³⁵ The Migration Service, however, reports an increase in complaints of foreign citizens of over 20 % for the same period. In addition to this, a significant part of the reported offences are infringements of residency regulations. As a consequence, the Chair of the Committee for Foreign Relations, Alexander Prokhorenko, announced a new focus in the continuation of the tolerance programme, namely on the “Adaption of Migrants.”³⁶ What is exactly meant by this formulation remains unclear.

32 Administration of St. Petersburg 2006.

33 <http://www.fontanka.ru/2010/03/02/093/>, last accessed 16 June 2010.

34 <http://www.adme.ru/social/federalnaya-socialnaya-reklamnaya-kampaniya-rossiya-vse-svoi-64171/>, last accessed 16 June 2010.

35 <http://kurier-media.ru/news/1342/ya/>, last accessed 16 June 2010.

36 <http://www.fontanka.ru/2010/03/02/093/>, last accessed 16 June 2010.

Discussion on the Anti-Extremism Legislation

The amending³⁷ of anti-extremism legislation has repeatedly led to confusion and critique. One example is the attitude of Alexander Brod, member of the Russian Chamber of Commerce and Director of the Moscow Bureau for Human Rights. His view is that the introduction of the extremist concept was a wrong decision and that the legislature should have chosen other terminologies such as “racism”, “discrimination”, “anti-Semitism”, “xenophobia”, “Islamophobia”,³⁸ etc., which are anchored in internationally recognised legal norms. Brod grounds his position by citing many examples where the extremist legislation has been used in order to limit the rights of independent journalists, civil rights activists and political opposition.³⁹

At this point, an example from recent legal praxis can be cited to support this thesis. At the end of March 2010 the authorities of Roskomnadzor⁴⁰ gave the government-critical daily paper *Novaya Gazeta* a warning on the grounds of illegal extremist activity.⁴¹ The reason was the publication of the article, “Gangs, Agency, Party: Who Are the ‘Legal Nationalists?’” The explanation stated that one of the photos that illustrated the article had a Nazi symbol on it. Additionally, there were allegedly several quotes in the text from the programme of the organisation “*Russkiy Obraz*” that were suspected of inciting hatred. The St. Petersburg edition of the *Novaya Gazeta* had been warned in the previous year due to a quote,⁴² but later a court ruled that the warning was invalid.⁴³

In the fall of 2009, for the first time in Russian legal praxis proceedings were opened against a film on the grounds of suspicion of extremism. The feature film “*Rossiya 88*” by the director Pavel Bardin is about the violent day to day life of a neo-Nazi group in Russia. The state prosecutor in Samara opened an investigation under article Art. 282, but dropped the case in the middle of January 2010.⁴⁴ Bardin attempted to reach a broader public with the film and to start off a discussion process about the neo-Nazi problem in Russia. The film was shown in 2009 at the Berlinale film festival before its Russian premiere. At first the film was shown only unofficially; the licensing authorities who were responsible for the film initially delayed the release but finally issued the necessary approval for a legal distribution. A series of public and semi-public previews were shown in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Perm, Samara and other cities with discussions accompanied by the director and experts. Even if the criminal procedures and a few prizes may have increased the interest in the film, the expected resonance in regard to a critical social debate failed to materialise.

Conclusion

The socio-political and media discourse in regard to bias-motivated crimes in Russia takes place against the background of a society already significantly affected by multiple kinds of violence. At the same time, the hate crime discourse in Russia differentiates itself from other countries due to the extremely high number of racist attacks which result in death and the fact that the perpetrators are often juveniles. The explanations for this development can be traced back to ethno-centric arguments based on the Soviet model of nations. The “ethnic balance” has become unbalanced, as the short formula would have it. Migrants embody the exact persons who carry the responsibility for this unbalance. In the media and on the part of the police authorities and to some degree also on the part of the Migration Service, an overwhelmingly

37 See also the judicial section of the study.

38 <http://www.svobodanews.ru/content/article/1987576.html>, last accessed 16 June 2010.

39 Ibid.

40 Authority of the Federal Service for the Oversight of Communication, Information Technology and Mass Communication.

41 <http://xeno.sova-center.ru/89CCE27/89CD1C9/EB0225E>, last accessed 16 April 2010.

42 This concerned a partial publication of an open letter from the leader of the “Movement against Illegal Immigration” (DPNI) at the time, Alexander Belov. He called out for “the citizens of Georgia to intern people who reside in the territory of the Russian Federation and who are involved in activities of spying or sabotage.” The quote was published by the *Novaya Gazeta* with a critical article concerning the position of the DPNI during the Russian-Georgian conflict in the summer of 2008. See <http://www.novayagazeta.ru/data/2008/60/09.html>, last accessed 7 October 2010.

43 <http://xeno.sova-center.ru/89CCE27/89CD1C9/EB0225E>, last accessed 16 April 2010.

44 <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc.aspx?DocsID=1303406&ThemesID=277>, last accessed 15 January 2010.

negative picture of migrants is constructed. Migrants are often publicly portrayed as criminals who do not respect the residency laws and behavioural norms. At the same time, in addition to members of national minorities that stick out because of their “non-Slavic appearance” and foreign students, migrants form the main target group of bias-motivated crimes. The exclusion of the potential victims from the discourse geared to the majoritarian society prevents a critical discussion on the topic. Solidarity with victims fails to materialise with few exceptions.

On the part of the state, there is definitely an attempt to counter these negative developments. However, these attempts often seem fruitless. In individual cases the state reacts restrictively toward those who attempt to catalyze a critical debate, such as with the accusation of extremism toward the director of the film “Rossiya 88”. The sanctioning of so-called tolerance programmes may show intentions that are headed in the right direction, but the conceptual content as well as its implementation prevents a critical and qualified debate more than it contributes to its advancement.

LEGAL NORMS AND PRACTICE

Russian Legislation on Bias-Motivated Crimes

The legislation of the Russian Federation allows for the possibility of prosecuting bias-motivated crimes. Article 63 Paragraph 1 e (Art. 63 Par. 1 e) of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation (CC RF)⁴⁵ regulates that “political, ideological, racial⁴⁶, national, religious hate or animosity, or hate or animosity any against any social group” as a motive for a crime has the effect of increasing the punishment. The law is nonspecific in its wording because the social groups to be protected are not defined, and neither are the possible criminal motives clearly delimited. The legislation thus falls short of specifically protecting affected social groups from discrimination. Art. 63 Par 1 e CC RF is not a specific “hate crime article” but in fact provides the prosecutorial authorities with more latitude in the persecution of any criminal offence motivated by bias.⁴⁷

Crimes with bias motives play a larger role in Russian legislation and are listed as penalty-increasing characteristics in some constitutive elements and of a crime in the CC RF. This is the case for the motives that are listed in Art. 63 Par. 1 e, and concerns the following articles: manslaughter (Art. 105 Abs. 2 I CC RF), bodily harm (Art. 111, 112, 115 CC RF), beating someone up (Art. 116 CC RF), abuse (Art. 117 CC RF), threat of killing or wilful causation of serious damage to health (Art. 119 CC RF), enticement of a minor to a criminal act, (Art. 150 CC RF), hooliganism (Art. 213 CC RF), vandalism (Art. 214 CC RF) and desecration of a corpse and place of interment (Art. 244 CC RF). For these crimes, bias motives are designated as aggravating factors. A few of the articles were first expanded in 2007 to include bias motives as a qualifying characteristic⁴⁸. In addition there is threat of murder, enticement of a minor to a crime, as well as hooliganism,⁴⁹ vandalism and desecration of a body and place of interment.⁵⁰ Secondly, the list of motives was expanded and changed to “ideological, political hate motives and hate motives directed against any social group.”⁵¹

The qualification of a criminal motive due to bias by a court leads to a higher sentence. For example, manslaughter with the qualification of a motive of bias (Art. 105 Par. 2 I CC RF) can bring a sentence from eight to 20 years with additional restrictions on freedom from one to two years, a life-long sentence or even the death sentence. Therefore, the range of possible sentences is not irrelevant, because according to Art. 105 Par. 1 CC RF manslaughter without qualification allows a sentence from six to 15 years with possible additional restrictions on freedom for up to a year. Bodily harm grievances according to Art. 111 CC RF on grounds of national and similar kinds of hate according to Art. 111 Par. 2 CC RF are punished with three to ten years instead of two to eight according to Art. 111 Par. 1 CC RF (without qualification).

Furthermore, Art. 282 CC RF is pertinent when actions are punished which are aimed at provoking hate or animosity as well as the degradation of the dignity of a person or a group of people according to the characteristics of the gender, “race,”⁵² nationality, language, “lineage,”⁵³ relationship to a religion or belonging to a social group, in so far as they are committed publicly or with the use of mass media.⁵⁴ With monetary fines the sentence amounts to the income for a

45 From this point on the legal regulations will be abbreviated. For example, Article 63, Paragraph 1 e of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation will be abbreviated to Art. 63 Par. 1 e CC RF.

46 Not “racist” which is the translation according to the German edition of Criminal Code of the Russian Federation, trans. F.-C. Schroeder 2007. Cf. Fn. 4

47 Cf. Kozhevnikova 2010.

48 Cf. Kozhevnikova 2010.

49 Legislation from 24 July 2007 N211-FZ.

50 Legislation from 10 May 2007 N70-FZ.

51 Art. 63 e CC RF was also expanded in this way (legislation from 24 July 2007 N211 FZ).

52 Cf. Fn. 4.

53 Cf. Fn. 10.

54 Article 282 CC RF is comparable to the German paragraphs on incitement to ethnic hatred (§130 of the Criminal code).

period of one to two years), ban on certain professions or government agencies, forced labour, rehabilitative labour or a sentence of up to two years. If the “provocation of hate or animosity or the degradation of the dignity of a person” occurs under threat or use of violence, if the person is exercising the authority of their office or if it concerns an organised group, this can be punished with imprisonment of one to five years according to Art. 282 Par. 2 CC RF.⁵⁵

In addition to the above named articles the Russian anti-extremism legislation can be considered a conceptual framework for the prosecution of bias-motivated crimes, which bring alleged extremist groups and actions into focus. The anti-extremism laws were introduced on 15 July 2002 and later amended several times.⁵⁶ The previous corresponding Art. 280 CC RF (open call to violent change of the constitutional order) was changed to “open call for the use of extremist activities.”⁵⁷ Furthermore, Art. 282 Note 1 CC RF⁵⁸ made the founding of an extremist association punishable by law and Art. 282 Note 2 CC RF made activity in an extremist association punishable by law.⁵⁹

Until the amendment of 2007, an extremist association according to Art. 282 Note 1 CC RF concerned an organised group of persons with the aim of preparing or carrying out of criminal acts that had an “extremist tendency.” Criminal offences with an “extremist tendency” include hindering the freedom of belief and conscience and freedom of assembly, hooliganism, vandalism, damaging historical and cultural memorials, desecration of corpses and places of interment, open calls to violent change of the constitutional order and the public provocation of hate or animosity as well as the degradation of the dignity of a person, in so far as they are committed out of ideological, political “racial,”⁶⁰ national, religious hate or animosity against any social group. The founding and leading of such groups as well as the membership in such an association is punishable by law. The maximum penalty is four years imprisonment. In July 2007 Art. 282 Note 1 CC RF was amended to that effect that the term extremist was included in footnote 2 of the article, where the following definition is to be found: “In this code of law, criminal offences with extremist tendencies are understood to be criminal acts committed due to political, ideological, racial, national and religious hate or animosity toward any kind of social group which are designated in the corresponding articles of the particular part of this legal code and in subsection b of the first Paragraph from Article 63 of the legal code presented here.” Herewith Art. 282 Note 1 CC RF forms the basis of the same qualification characteristics as the laws that were previously mentioned.

Art. 282 Note 2 CC RF comprises the activity of a social or religious association or another organisation that has been juridically forbidden due to extremist activity. The public call for the exercise of “extremist activity” was made punishable with up to three years imprisonment and with the use of mass media with up to five years imprisonment.

In conclusion, it can be said that the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation allows alternative ways in which racist and similar motives can be taken into consideration during the prosecution of violent crimes. The Russian criminal code allows for “classic” crimes which are accompanied by bias motives to be prosecuted more harshly. Furthermore, propaganda offences with bias motives can be prosecuted more stringently, and extremist associations can be prosecuted. With the differentiation of these legal fundamentals, the list of applicable motives has been expanded in recent years, which has led to increasing vagueness. The wording “hate against any social group,” allows an insufficient definition of which social groups are meant

55 Art. 20.3 of the law against disturbing the public order of the Russian Federation can be seen as an expansion of the Art. 282 CC RF, according to which the public display, circulation, production of and trade in and with Nazi paraphernalia and symbols as well as paraphernalia and symbols which can be confused with them are punishable by fine.

56 The basic law that includes the definition of extremist activities and provides the basis for the prosecution of organisations and mass media among others is the “Law against Combating Extremist Activities” (N114-FZ from 25. July 2002).

57 Art. 280 CC RF requires a public appeal to fulfil the criteria for the crime, but this can be included in works of art if it is accompanied by an appropriate commentary (Cf. Schroeder 2007).

58 The Article 282 Note 1 and 282 Note 2 represent independent articles in the CC RF and should not be confused with Article 282 CC RF.

59 In the amendments of 2007, the added annotation is that members of a forbidden extremist organisation are free from criminal prosecution if they voluntarily forfeit their participation in the organisation.

60 Cf. Fn. 4.

by the legislature. That can theoretically mean that any social group can be designated at will, even when it actually belongs to the majoritarian society. The arbitrary determination of victim groups by the legislative body is problematic, as it is known that most of the known assaults are motivated by racism. In addition, as already mentioned, bias-motivated violence against LGBT persons, religious minorities, homeless and other populations that are discriminated against also exists in Russia. The body of legislation does not do justice to the protection of social groups which are particularly exposed to discrimination.

Furthermore, the anti-extremism legislation must be critically observed because the name already hints at the implicit, theoretical concept that extremist attitudes are only to be found on the margins of society. It can be assumed that in Russia a widespread approval of inhumane ideologies such as anti-Semitism and racism is to be found in all social classes (cf. the chapter “critical discussion of the public discourse regarding “Hate Crime”). At the same time, when the anti-extremism legislation was introduced, civil society actors repeatedly expressed the fear that the possibilities in the law will lead to political repression. How the existing avenues of criminal prosecution of bias-motivated crimes are used will be discussed in the following section.

The Use of Legislation in Practice

Art. 282 CC RF (incitement of hatred) is used in multiple ways. In February 2010, for example, Constantine Dushenov was sentenced under this article. A St. Petersburg court found it to be proven that Dushenov built up and managed the anti-Semitic magazine “Orthodox Russia”, a distribution structure for propaganda against minorities in the period of 2005 to 2007. In addition, he was held responsible for the spread of racist and anti-Semitic articles and films, among others, the film “The Knife in the Back of Russia: Jewish Fascism and Genocide of the Russian People.” Dushenov was sentenced to three years imprisonment; two co-defendants received suspended sentences for one year and one and a half years.

Art. 282 CC RF was also used by the authorities and courts to take into account the racist and extreme right-wing character of violent crimes. This practice seems questionable because not all racist assaults serve propaganda purposes or “incite hatred.” Much more often it concerns an expression of politically motivated, aggressive rejection of minoritarian groups. The use of this article can lead to the corresponding, aggravating conditions within the scope of the appropriate articles not being used. This was the case, for example, at the beginning of 2008 in Moscow when several members of a right-wing clique in connection with two assaults in fall 2006 under among others Art. 282 Note 1 CC RF (formation of an extremist association) and Art. 282 Par 2 a, v CC RF (in an organised group with use of violence) were sentenced. In addition, Petr Dubrovin (at the time the functionary of the neo-Nazi “Slavic Union”) was sentenced without qualification on charges of jointly murdering a Kirgiz by stabbing under Art. 105 CC RF.⁶¹ Here it should be criticised that the racist motive of the murder was not taken into consideration, even though Art. 105 Par. 2 CC RF already provided for this option in the valid version of the law at that time.

In November 2005 the antifascist Timur Kacharava was murdered in an attack in St. Petersburg and Maksim Zgibay was severely injured. In the case against the perpetrators on grounds of joint murder, Art. 282 CC RF was used for probably the first time. The incitement to violence against the social group of antifascists was recognised when proven in a trial by jury in 2007 (in addition to manslaughter and attempted manslaughter for one defendant and hooliganism⁶² for another). In this trial, hate against a social group was taken into consideration as

61 <http://xeno.sova-center.ru/45A2A1E/B13E2CC>, last accessed 16 June 2010, and www.liveinternet.ru/users/drkrauze/, last accessed 16 June 2010

62 “Hooliganism” (Art. 213 CC) resembles the “violation of the public peace” in German law. “The base infringement of public order, which expresses an open disregard of society and a) uses weapons or objects that are used as weapons; b) which are committed due to motives of national, racist or religious hate or similar animosity, belongs to criminal acts against the public security and public order” (not crimes against persons) and is punishable by forced labour of 180 to 240 hours, by rehabilitative labour from one to two years or by a prison sentence of up to five years. If the crime is committed by a group of (also organised) persons or is committed in connection with resistance against state vio-

motive for probably the first time. The recognition of antifascists as a “social group” protected by law, however, had troubling implications. The concept of hate crime motives had lost its clear profile because the concept was difficult to understand. This tendency increased with the changes in the law from July 2007 when many articles with the qualification of “political and ideological hate” and “hate against any social group” were added, whereas before the law had exclusively referred to racist, ethnic or religious hate. That means that also “ideological hate” against neo-Nazis can be evaluated as an aggravating “circumstance-comparable” to jointly committed crimes or crimes against those who are defenceless.⁶³ In May 2009 in Tatarstan two antifascists were sentenced to three years without parole and two years parole respectively under Art. 111 CC RF on charges of severe bodily harm with the motive of ideological hate (the injured were called “skinheads”).⁶⁴ The problematic point in this case is not the sentence due to bodily injury, but rather the possible subsequent stigmatisation of antifascist beliefs.

The experts from SOVA note that Art. 282 CC RF has been used less frequently since 2008 to take a racist motive into consideration in connection with violent crimes. In 2009, Art. 282 CC RF was used in four of a total of 45 sentences, while in previous years it had been used between 30–50 % of all cases. Instead, each article and the aggravating characteristics (like racist motives) are seeing increased use by the court. Here, one can see better use of the options provided by the legislative body for the prosecution of racist violent crimes.⁶⁵

The Russian anti-extremism legislation is used primarily against neo-Nazi groups, but it also represents an instrument of repression of politically unpopular opinions due to its unspecific wording. Therefore, it is relatively easy for the anti-capitalistic expression of leftist groups to fall under the domain of Art. 280 CC RF. This is why the laws are often seen as an additional instrument that can be used against peaceful political opposition in Russia. In this way, for example, the political scientist, journalist and former press speaker of the Tatar President (Mintimer Shaimiev), Irek Murtazin, was pronounced guilty in November 2009 on grounds of “incitement of hatred against members of the Tatar government” under Art. 280 CC RF (public office holder), among other charges, and sentenced to a year and nine months imprisonment in a camp. He was accused of having libelled the Tatar President Shaimiev by accusing him of corruption. In addition, he allegedly sharply criticised the “social group” of the “representatives of the Tatar republic” in his publication, “Mintimer Shaimiev: the Last President from Tatarstan, Part 1 (2007).⁶⁶ With this expanded definition of a “social group,” the concept of hate crime loses its clear “profile-above” all when it is directed against political critique and the freedom of expression.

Another case in which the anti-extremism legislation against the freedom of opinion and press was used occurred in Rostov on the Don. At the beginning of February 2010, a political activist received a warning for extremist activities under Art. 282 CC RF from the district public prosecutor. He was accused of having made contact with the National Bolshevik Party, which is categorised as extremist, for a report on “Xenophobia and Discrimination in the Region of Rostov in 2008,” although the report is based on sources accessible to the public.⁶⁷

In addition to the use of the anti-extremism laws, the specific articles on prosecution of hate crime offences are also used. Art. 105 Par. 2 I CC RF (ideological murder) is mentioned in the case against the murderers of the attorney Stanislav Markelov and the journalist Anastasia Baburova. Markelov and Baburova were openly shot on the street in January 2009. Two neo-Nazi activists from the organisation “Russian Way” had to answer to the court. The sentence

lence, they will be punished with a prison sentence of up to seven years. The often implied “harmlessness” of hooliganism cases is not valid here. This hooliganism has to do with the classification of violent crimes of moderate to severe seriousness of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation. It should not be confused with the misdemeanour “petty hooliganism.”

63 Cf. Monitoring 2010: 22.

64 <http://kommersant.ru/doc-y.aspx?DocID=1169673>, last accessed 16 June 2010.

65 Cf. Kozhevnikova 2010.

66 <http://xeno.sova-center.ru/6BA2468/6BB4208/EAC26A2>, last accessed 16 June 2010.

67 <http://xeno.sova-center.ru/6BA2468/6BB41EE/E6A2315>, last accessed 16 June 2010.

had not been handed down yet at the time of this writing.⁶⁸ In the year 2009 there were a total of 19 cases registered under Art. 105 Par. 2 1 CC RF and 42 investigations were carried out (including the cases from the preceding years).⁶⁹

Art. 213 CC RF (hooliganism) is also used. At a court case in Murmansk in May 2010, four members of a neo-Nazi group were sentenced to imprisonment under this article (with the qualification of national hate). It was proven that the neo-Nazis were involved in an attack on an antifascist concert in Murmansk in May 2009. Three of the four perpetrators received sentences of two years and ten months; the fourth perpetrator received two years and six months. In addition, the guilty parties had to pay the victims compensation in the sum of 10,000 and 12,000 roubles respectively to compensate for immaterial damage.⁷⁰

Also in the area of bodily harm (including Art. 111 CC RF) five neo-Nazis aged from 17 to 21 were given prison sentences between two and a half and four years. The provincial court found it evident that the perpetrators intentionally caused severe head injuries to a 28-year old Armenian due to “ethnic hate” (Art. 111 CC RF).⁷¹ A court in Voronezh also sentenced three neo-Nazis on grounds of racist violent crime. A 20-year old received three years parole for a racist assault on a Kenyan and an Iraqi in February 2008. The crime was classified as hooliganism under Art. 213 CC RF with a clear “hate related motive against ethnic minorities.”

Furthermore, two 19-year olds were sentenced by a court under Art. 116 CC RF and Art. 213 CC RF on the grounds of jointly committed bodily harm against an Iraqi with a racist motive. The perpetrators received sentences of three years and six months and two years and three months to parole respectively.⁷²

According to state-provided sources, 69 criminal acts were registered in 2009 under Art. 111, 112 and 115 CC RF and 65 investigations were carried out (including the cases from the preceding years).⁷³

In February 2010, the use of anti-extremism legislation and the corresponding laws were combined in a case in Nizhniy Novgorod. There, the racist motive of three perpetrators (according to Art. 63 Par. 1 e, 105 Par. 2 k CC RF) played a role as well as their membership in an extremist organisation (according to Art. 282 Note 1 CC RF). This use of the law is not limited to a single case; rather, the combined use of the laws represents a current practice of jurisprudence in Russia.

Legal Procedures in Criminal Cases

According to the Code of Criminal Procedures of the Russian Federation (CCP RF) the criminal prosecution of certain crimes requires the written petition of the injured person (or the legal representation thereof). The procedure is opened on petition at the Magistrate’s Court (District Court), i.e., the victim has to open up a private lawsuit (Art. 20 Par. 2, 318 CCP RF). Actual bodily harm also belongs to the group of offences that are processed at the Magistrate’s Court (Art. 115 Par. 1, 116 Par. 1 CC RF). The criminal prosecution of these offences must be prosecuted *ex officio* through the investigative authorities in cases where the injured person can not protect their rights: for example, if the actual bodily harm was committed by a person whose name is not known (Art. 20 Par. 4 CCP RF). If actual bodily harm occurred as a result of crimes motivated by racism or other bias (or by the disturbance of public order), Art. 115 Par 2 CC RF or Art. 116 Par. 2 CC RF should be used and the criminal prosecution should be accordingly carried out *ex officio* by the appropriate authorities. Here it is clear that hate crime motives in Russian law can be deciding factors for the special public interest in criminal prosecution. How much of an effect this has on legal praxis can not be examined within the

68 <http://xeno.sova-center.ru/6BA2468/6BB41EE/E875329>, last accessed 16 June 2010.

69 <http://xeno.sova-center.ru/29481C8/E5CFBF0>, last accessed 16 June 2010.

70 <http://xeno.sova-center.ru/45A2A1E/ED3A26F>, last accessed 16 June 2010.

71 <http://xeno.sova-center.ru/45A2A1E/EC00BCE>, last accessed 16 June 2010.

72 <http://www.prokuratura-vrn.ru/Mayn.php?viewnews=2209&cm=14> last accessed 16 June 2010.

73 <http://xeno.sova-center.ru/29481C8/E5CFBF0>, last accessed 16 June 2010.

scope of this study.

With most other bodily harm offences, such as moderate or grievous bodily harm (Art. 112, 111 CC RF) or manslaughter (Art. 105 CC RF), an investigative process will be initiated *ex officio* according to the Code of Criminal Procedure of the Russian Federation. However, here one must draw attention to the difference between the text of the laws and the ways in which the law is practised. Not infrequently, police in Russia tend to register the charges of the citizens incorrectly or not according to procedure, and to illegally not initiate investigation proceedings. The leadership of the police and prosecutorial authorities has recognised this problem and has enacted new administrative procedures in order to counter this. However, this has yet to have affected any significant change upon the current practice.⁷⁴

We see no reason why this general problem should not also be especially valid for the prosecution of crimes motivated by racism, particularly when it has to do with victims who are especially exposed to discrimination and illegalisation and who have problems with claiming their rights. Many victims are afraid to go to the police (Interview Kulaeva, Interview Dubrovskiy). This is also valid for the family members and witnesses. As a consequence, people are fairly hesitant when it comes to pressing charges. The reasons for this are varied and range from the fear of repression and police violence to problems dealing with an unsecured residency status. This also has effects on the monitoring of such crimes.

In general, the inhibition threshold for the use of physical violence and torture is very low for the police. Members of the police can assume that they will not be held responsible for criminal acts.⁷⁵ Racist violence represents a particular problem then, as migrants with and without residency permits as well as Russian citizens who stand out because of their “non-Slavic appearance” become victims of racist police violence (see, for example, the chapter on St. Petersburg). Such cases are independent of whether the victim has Russian citizenship or not and charges are rarely brought. Even if a racist motive is recognised, this motive does not appear in the criminal prosecution because this kind of crime is generally classified as an abuse of public office (Ar. 286 Par. 3 a CC RF).

Often criminal proceedings are introduced according to Paragraph 1 of the respective article. The crime motive is not taken into consideration here. If detailed findings come up in the course of the investigation, another qualification which corresponds to the paragraph mentioned in the article may occasionally be introduced.⁷⁶ The crime motive is then conclusively determined when the case is transferred to the court. Then the classification at the beginning of the court proceedings can be different from that of the main trial. This approach causes difficulties with the quantitative compilation of crimes when there are motives due to bias. There are also those with which the court assumes the racist character of the crime in the opinion of the court, but does not recognise this as a qualifying characteristic.⁷⁷ Official data do not exist which could accurately reflect the real situation in regard to the background of a crime.

That fact that motives due to bias are insufficiently taken into account in the classification of crimes in the investigative praxis has a pragmatic reason, according to the opinion of St. Petersburg social scientist Dmitriy Dubrovskiy.⁷⁸ The lead investigation must also prove the motive, which in the view of many staff members means additional work which does not promise any further benefit if there is already an otherwise sufficient body of evidence. It is also more difficult because many staff members are not specialised in the prosecution of “extremist” crimes. This was the case in the bill of indictment in a murder case in St. Petersburg, where despite clear statements from the perpetrator regarding the racist motive, a “sudden personal adverseness” was recorded as the motive. The perpetrator made reference to the “racial

74 Cf. Bagmet 2007: http://law.edu.ru/doc/document.asp?docID=1250722#_ftn8 and <http://www.mvd.ru/struct/3311/3940/100037/>, last accessed 16 June 2010.

75 <http://www.publicverdict.org/topics/research/8136.html>, last accessed 16 June 2010.

76 Cf. Hussner 2005: 120ff.

77 <http://www.sova-center.ru/racism-xenophobia/news/counteraction/2009/04/d15683/>, last accessed 16 June 2010.

78 Smolny College, Rossijskij etnograficheskij musej/ Russian Ethnographic Museum.

holy war,” among other things and expressed the willingness to kill more “blacks” (Interview Dubrovskiy).

The expert investigators and witnesses play an important role in the determination of proof of a criminal motive due to bias, as they can be consulted in the investigation as well as in the trial. These experts work for either the Ministry of Justice or as independent experts. Included in the scope of this complex “social-humanitarian” expertise are not only the circumstances of the violent crime but also the materials confiscated in the investigation. Even if the courts are independent from the experts’ official opinions, these represent an important basis for the decision.⁷⁹ The expert opinions, however, are sometimes commissioned inappropriately, according to Dmitry Dubrovskiy, who has given these opinions in many cases. Opinions are allegedly being commissioned to explain slogans from the attacking and assaulting persons like “Russia for the Russians,” which can be interpreted without needing specialised education. We are of the opinion that the demand of an expert opinion in such obvious cases by the investigators questions the racist character of these attacks.⁸⁰ In this way the opinions of the expert witness can be interpreted as a way for the investigators to minimise taking responsibility (Interview Dubrovskiy).

Conclusion

In spite of the improved classification of crime motives by the investigative authorities, the critique from civil society organisations remains: the motives often are insufficiently recognised by the courts and the remaining avenues for the specific prosecution of bias-motivated crimes are not exhausted. Furthermore, critics maintain that the Articles 280, 282, 282 Note 1, 282 Note 2 CC RF are too unspecific and are taken into consideration for different phenomena. This critique is also valid for the “anti-extremist” legal praxis as a whole. The legislation can also easily be used as a means of repression of any political or religious groups. Since the rise of the Articles in Russia, 592 publications of extremist organisations have been indexed and 11 organisations have been banned.⁸¹

Furthermore, the clause “hate against any social group” remains insufficiently defined, because a generally acceptable definition of the term “social group” cannot or does not exist as a Russian legal concept or in general society. This means that any random “social group” can be defined and constructed. Russian human rights activists have been pressuring the Russian Supreme Court for a clear definition for some time.⁸²

The problem of the criminal prosecutorial authorities negating or not sufficiently considering the motive in sentencing is an ongoing one (Interview Dubrovskiy; Interview Kulaeva). Professional education of the corresponding authorities is therefore urgently needed. This was brought up by the participants of the seminar entitled “Actual Problems of Bias-Motivated Crime Prevention and Application of Anti-Extremism Legislation” in March 2010 in Moscow, in which the prosecutors and staff members of the Russian Ministry of the Interior took part.⁸³ Two books for the staff members of the investigative authorities have been published since 2002 which are aimed at improving their competencies in investigations of offences motivated by racism and nationalism. Currently, a special methodological brochure for judges is being prepared by an author collective (with authors of the St. Petersburg Law School of the State Prosecution) and was supposed to come out at the end of 2010 (Interview Korchunova).

However, the problems of the criminal prosecution cannot be solved solely in this manner. The legal framework regarding the affected groups must be improved as a whole, such as through appropriate reforms in migration law. This would strengthen the position of the af-

79 The court can summon *ex officio* the expert witness to explain his/her written opinion (Art. 282 CCP RF) and obtain a written opinion from an expert witness (Art. 283 CCP RF).

80 In the chapter on St. Petersburg a scandalous example from 2009 is given.

81 <http://xeno.sova-center.ru/6BA2468/6BB41EE/EC244C4>, last accessed 16 June 2010.

82 <http://xeno.sova-center.ru/6BA2468/6BB4208/E2B627C>, last accessed 16 June 2010.

83 <http://xeno.sova-center.ru/6BA2468/6BB41EE/E94620C>, last accessed 16 June 2010.

affected persons in relation to the criminal prosecutorial authorities. An amnesty in migration affairs for the victims would be an opportunity to improve their situation. Even if many problems in the criminal prosecution of crimes motivated by racism and other biases can be traced back to the general problems of the Russian legal system, the victims of assaults motivated by racism are particularly affected by them. To summarise, it can be said that effective legal protection in the sense of human rights for those exposed to bias-motivated crimes does not currently exist. Support directly aimed at legal assistance can thus improve the situation of the victim and their family members.

PROBLEMS OF MONITORING AND VICTIM STATISTICS

The availability of statistical data on bias-motivated crimes in Russia is dissatisfying. Because the official data is based on the classification of criminal acts, bias-motivated violent crimes can only be classified as such if they are prosecuted as such.

According to official data of the Russian Ministry of the Interior (MVD), in 2008 there were 17 recorded cases of homicide which exhibited a nationalist or racist motive according to Art. 105 Par. 2 I CC RF. Furthermore, official data shows that 47 cases of homicide (with 59 victims) having these motives were investigated.⁸⁴ For the year 2009, official statistics had registered 19 cases under Art. 105 Par. 2 I CC RF by the time of writing this report and (including the cases from other years) 42 investigations had been completed.⁸⁵ In estimations of the situation, staff members of the state prosecutorial authorities often contradict their own published statistics. The former Moscow Chief of Police disclosed that in 2008, approximately 90 people who were assaulted were thought to be of “non-Slavic” appearance, with 47 deaths and 46 severely injured in Moscow alone.⁸⁶

In addition to the official statistics of the authorities two independent organisations publish numbers on victims of bias-motivated crime in Russia. One of them is the Centre for Information and Analysis (SOVA) and the other is the Moscow Bureau for Human Rights.

SOVA is gradually building up a correspondent network throughout Russia and is therefore in the position to research the known cases more in depth. Due to their lack of capacity, it is not possible for the Moscow Bureau for Human Rights to further research cases that are published in newspapers, which is why some data are occasionally found to be incorrect later on. Furthermore, some confusing classifications occur. In one report, for example, assaults from antifascists on “skinheads”⁸⁷ were categorised as racist assaults. Both organisations research substantially more crimes and assaults compared to the official state data. According to research from SOVA in the year 2008, a racist murder was committed on average every four days, and assaults due to racist motives occurred virtually daily. In total, SOVA registered and documented 109 murders and 475 attacks for the year 2009. For their report for 2009, SOVA counted 71 deaths (preliminary figure) and 333 assaults.⁸⁸ The Moscow Bureau for Human Rights counted 120 deaths and 368 wounded for the year 2008, and for the year 2009 documented 282 cases of injuries.⁸⁹ Despite different methodologies, both organisations come to almost the same results.⁹⁰

The difference between data from the authorities and SOVA comes about because the police statistics only feature data about crimes classified as bias-motivated crimes, while in many of the cases which became publically known, a criminal motive due to bias is suspected but is frequently not proven in the scope of an investigative process for various reasons. When an organisation representing an ethnic minority reports these sorts of cases, often it cannot definitely be determined if there is a bias motive or not because the fact that an assault has taken place is in the foreground. Many people exposed to racist and right-wing violence themselves also do not insist on the appropriate classification of a bias-motivated crime.

84 <http://xeno.sova-center.ru/29481C8/D6B9A42>, last accessed 16 June 2010.

85 <http://www.sova-center.ru/racism-xenophobia/publications/2010/02/d17979/>, last accessed 16 June 2010.

86 <http://www.rbcdaily.ru/2009/01/22/focus/398454>.

87 Moscow Bureau for Human Rights 2009.

88 SOVA February 2010.

89 <http://antirasizm.ru/index.php/mbhr-chronicle/207-mbhr-english-resume-2009>, last accessed 16 June 2010.

90 According to the ODIHR Report entitled “Hate Crimes in the OSCE Region: Incidents and Responses” published on 16 November 2009, bias-motivated offences are seen as a problem to be taken seriously in all OSCE states that were studied. At the same time, the prospects for evaluating the monitoring process are extremely unlikely (ODIHR 2009).

The “ethnic belonging” of victims is not named in the statistics from SOVA. The numbers of victims are broken down according to the region of origin as far as it is known. All cooperation partners confirm that the majority of people exposed to racist violence are of Central Asian origin. In recent years, foreign students have been less exposed to violence by neo-Nazis. We will examine the reasons for this more closely in the following section.

SOVA also relies on entries in web blogs in its research, among other things. The descriptions there are not always exact enough, which is why they must be checked and researched. That is why dependable contacts in the regions are necessary, but are not always able to be found. According to the view of the leader of SOVA, Alexander Verkhovskiy, there is a lack of trust that is required on the part of society. The police are also not really trusted but at least it is clear which cases and data the police investigate, whereas the method of SOVA is more difficult to understand.⁹¹ The comparison of information and the checking of important details are also very time-consuming. In addition, neo-Nazis purposefully spread false information, and not infrequently. Therefore, one must be very careful with handling data that comes from web blogs. Most of the information SOVA uses comes out of the mass media. Recently, there has been significant media attention drawn to cases against neo-Nazi groups who have had to answer to several deaths.

SOVA is able to obtain fairly accurate estimates from observing cases in the courts. For classification purposes, SOVA relies on a state information system in which information about the classification of court proceedings as well as texts on sentencing are published.⁹² The system represents a source for further research for SOVA. Because the perpetrators often try to hide their motives, the classification of the crime motives becomes increasingly difficult. For example, the wallets of the victims are sometimes stolen to make it seem as though the assault were a typical robbery case. However, in recent years, one can note the significant progress of the Moscow investigative authorities in regard to its meticulousness and sensibility in the classification of criminal acts as bias-motivated offences.

It is basically true that a significant part of the information that SOVA receives does not correspond with that of the police statistics, even though contact to the state prosecutorial authorities and police departments can be very informative because certain data cannot be researched with other sources. Much of the information comes from the press, but the media report on only a portion of the cases and do not always show willingness to provide additional information. If information that could be seen as a clear qualification as a bias-motivated offense comes from trusted private sources, the police is willing in less than half the cases to take it into consideration when classifying the assault (Interview Kozhevnikova).

SOVA breaks down their statistics according into the following categories of victims: “dark skinned,”⁹³ born in Central Asia, born in the Caucasus, born in the southeast region (China, Vietnam, Mongolia, etc.), other people with “non-Slavic” appearance, representatives of youth subcultures and “other” leftist youth (Russians included). Sometimes there is no data available. The statistics do not show, therefore, the “real” belonging of a particular victim group, rather; it relies on the ascription of the attacker. Homeless are not listed in the statistics as a category of their own but are noted as such in cases where homelessness has been confirmed.

The most common groups of victims are those of Central Asian and Caucasian origin. Alone in the year 2008, 49 people in Russia of Central Asian origin were murdered and 108 injured; 23 people of Caucasian origin were murdered and 72 injured.⁹⁴ In 2009, SOVA counted 29 murdered and 68 injured people of Central Asian origin; 11 people of Caucasian origin were murdered and 47 injured.⁹⁵

91 Verhovskij at the work meeting in Moscow on 2 July 2010.

92 <http://www.sudrf.ru>, last accessed 16 June 2010.

93 This is a direct translation; the connotation is predominantly black people from Africa. We distance ourselves from the term “dark-skinned” and therefore put it in quotation marks. Similar to the term “coloured,” “dark-skinned” has a racialising function. Cf. Nduko-Agwu/Hornscheidt 2010.

94 <http://xeno.sova-center.ru/6BA2468/6BB4208/CCD6D21>, last accessed 16 June 2010.

95 <http://xeno.sova-center.ru/6BA2468/6BB4208/E7F0971>, last accessed 16 June 2010.

In addition to racist violence, activists and civil society initiatives focus on the activities of neo-Nazis. According to SOVA five people were killed and 77 injured in attacks in 2009. Additionally, threats of murder and publications of names and addresses of known activists remain a daily occurrence. Increasingly police are also becoming targets of neo-Nazis. In Novosibirsk, an arson attack was carried out on the home of a police officer who had investigated a crime motivated by racism. According to the data provided by SOVA, a total of five arson attacks were carried out on people or institutions related to the investigative authorities.⁹⁶

Attacks on homosexuals were only put in the statistics of SOVA if a political motive of the attackers was clearly able to be recognised or if they were obviously neo-Nazis. The Russia LGTB Network in St. Petersburg is planning to carry out targeted research on violence against homosexuals in order to create their own statistics. With the present level of knowledge, it is assumed that most of the violent attacks on homosexuals take place in Moscow (Interview Kochetkov).

Data on violence directed toward the homeless in Russia is hardly available. The existing organisations that provide assistance to the homeless have no possibility at present to systematically gather data on attacks and publish them, which would then exert political pressure on the part of those who are exposed to this violence. A study from 2007 underlines how defenceless the homeless are in Russia.

According to data gathered from a survey of homeless people, 61.1 % of those asked were victims of physical violence during the period of homelessness. On average, a homeless person experiences physical violence more than once a month. In about 38 % of the cases the violence is carried out by youth and young adults; in about 21 % of the cases it is by the police. The “visible” homeless are the most brutally affected, such as those who sleep in places like unlocked cellars and who beg or gather used goods. The conditions for the growth of violence against the homeless are made easier due to their legally unprotected situation. Criminal prosecution is therefore unlikely.⁹⁷

SOVA notes that in both yearly reports of 2008 and 2009 the number of victims has gone down; the SOVA experts see the difficult access to information on racist violent crimes as being responsible for this. Other reasons that SOVA lists are:⁹⁸

1. The mass media is becoming increasingly inured to racist violence. Fewer assaults, especially bodily injury and “unspectacular” cases of racist violence, are being published.
2. The difficulty in identifying hate crime offences.
3. The denial of the problem on the part of the political authorities.
4. A hesitant culture of civil society in several Russian regions, where only a few or even no correspondents can be convinced to work for SOVA.
5. Insufficient networking of projects in several regions.
6. Limited interest of the authorities to clearly categorise the assaults and make them public. Often the corresponding assaults are classified as hooliganism, general robbery or bomb attack, without naming the pertinent motive.

From the annual report published by SOVA in 2009, it emerged that the decrease in the numbers of victims was also related to a stronger state repression of neo-Nazis groups in Russia, especially in Moscow. The increasing pressure of the state police authorities, which manifests itself in the prosecution of perpetrators with an extremist right-wing background, results in Russian neo-Nazi groups increasingly defining the Russian state and the state order as its primary goal of attack. Such attacks against the state accompany the threat to civil society initiatives which are engaged in anti-racist work.⁹⁹ In a memo of the “National Russian Anti-Terrorism Committee” from 11 March 2009, Russian neo-Nazi groups are named as the

96 SOVA February 2010.

97 http://homeless.ru/images/files/mib_ru.pdf, p.57f, last accessed 16 June 2010.

98 Cf. SOVA April 2009/ SOVA February 2010.

99 SOVA February 2010.

second biggest danger after the terrorist groups active in the northern Caucasus. In 2009 alone, neo-Nazi groups admitted to committing over 50 arson and bomb attacks as well as bomb threats, including the attack on the “Neva Express” between Moscow and St. Petersburg on 27 November 2009, where 26 people were murdered and 100 injured.¹⁰⁰

In addition to terrorist activities, damage to property plays an increasing role. In 2009 alone, SOVA counted 141 such crimes in 50 different regions in Russia (in 2008 there were 87 acts in 41 regions of Russia).¹⁰¹ The Moscow Bureau for Human Rights estimates that of 142 such crimes,¹⁰² most of them involved graffiti on memorials from the Second World War and on Jewish and Orthodox institutions.

The analysis of the statistics shows that murder offences are much more comprehensively documented in comparison to bodily harm. The unknown number of bodily harm cases is most probably very high. This assumption appears plausible in light of the precarious legal situation of most of the victims of racist violence. The most important source from which the police learn of crimes are the charges filed by the citizens. Most of the victims of bias-motivated crimes, including those who are severely injured, avoid turning to the police because they fear pressure on the part of the police staff and negative reactions when they are at the police station (Interview Kulaeva, Interview Dubrovskiy). A few police officers put pressure on people without complete documents (many migrant workers; homeless citizens) in order to get rid of them. They are threatened with having their legal status put completely under review.¹⁰³ Therefore, the victims see themselves as forced to avoid contact with the police and instead move to other regions in Russia, for example. The long-term solution would be the introduction of a legal amnesty by the Migration Service for the victims of racist crimes (Interview Dubrovskiy).

100 Ibid.

101 Ibid.

102 Moscow Bureau for Human Rights 2010.

103 Even migrants with a legal status fear losing it or encountering problems with its extension.

REGIONAL ANALYSES

In the following section the regions and cities of Moscow, St. Petersburg, Voronezh, Stavropol, Archangelsk, Yekaterinburg, Petrozavodsk and Murmansk are examined in the light of racist violent crime and other bias-motivated offences. In addition to interviews and researching newspapers, the numbers of the Moscow information centre SOVA are used in order to give an overview of the development of bias-motivated offences in the individual regions. For all statistical data that follows, it must be underlined that the numbers from 2009 can still be changed due to reports filed after the year was over. Additionally, it should be noted that the existing statistics do not wholly reflect the reality in the regions studied (Interview Kozhevnikova).

Furthermore, the numbers of the Ministry of the Interior exist for Moscow and St. Petersburg and are described as being comparable for each section. The data of the Ministry of the Interior for the years 2008 and 2009 were published by SOVA.¹⁰⁴ These statistics are not published by the Ministry itself¹⁰⁵ and refer to the crimes that were classified as bias-motivated severe bodily harm (Art. 111 Par. 2 e CC RF) and bias-motivated manslaughter (Art. 105 Par. 2 1 CC RF). It should be observed that the data from 2008 refer to the number of offences and the data from 2009 refer to the number of claimants; therefore, a direct comparison is not possible.

MOSCOW AND THE LARGER MOSCOW REGION

Number of Victims and Their Situation

Moscow and its surrounding regions have the highest number of racist and right-wing violent crimes in Russia. This situation cannot be explained by the high population density, rather, it is related to the high number of active, extreme right-wing groups and organisations that in comparison to other regions (with the exception of St. Petersburg), have a large number of members. Violent assaults are not limited to particular areas of the city or suburbs, but are also carried out in the busy city centre. At the same time, the collected data represents a significant problem. A lot of information flows into the research and documentation of the Moscow-based SOVA organization, but 50 % of the documented cases take place in Moscow.

In comparison to the previous years, the year 2009 shows a decline in documented cases of violence caused by racism. This is primarily a consequence of intensified criminal prosecution in Moscow. The following statistical data from the Moscow information centre SOVA provide an overview of the developments of the preceding years:

	2010 1 st six months	2009	2008	2007	2006
Injured	53 (of 148 total in Russia)	141 (of 411 total in Russia)	223 (of 497 total in Russia)	224 (of 622 total in Russia)	228 (of 522 total in Russia)
Killed	9 (of 19 total in Russia)	39 (of 80 total in Russia)	64 (of 114 total in Russia)	56 (of 92 total in Russia)	40 (of 66 total in Russia)
Severely injured (Ministry of the Interior)	No data	2 (of 29 total in Russia)	No data	No data	No data
Killed (Ministry of the Interior)	No data	3 (of 16 total in Russia)	4 (of 17 total in Russia) ³	No data	No data

SOVA and the Moscow Department for the Struggle against Extremism in the Ministry of the Interior have had good relations for quite some time, making a comparison of the data for murder cases possible. The data comparison for all assaults makes little sense, however, because according to Galina Kozhevnikova, SOVA frequently finds out about assaults where the victims or relatives have not pressed charges afterwards. Generally, the police statistics are hardly able to be used as a basis for data (Interview Kozhevnikova).

If charges do end up being filed, the procedure of the police investigation is difficult to comprehend. The relatives of the victims are often in the country of origin. They rarely have the financial means to hire a lawyer or to travel to the place where the crime was committed. Apart from some exceptions, no contact is allowed. If the victims have survived, they are usually not willing to press charges, especially when they do have a residency permit. Even if they reside legally in the country or are Russian citizens, they refrain from contacting the police.

On the part of the state, there is no institution that provides financial support to pay for attorneys if victims of bias-motivated crimes do file charges and are ready to go to court. Many victims do not even know that they can hire a lawyer to represent them. Additionally, it is difficult for the injured party to find lawyers if the case is against neo-Nazis. Few non-governmental organisations can afford judicial counselling and cannot be of assistance in the search for a suitable lawyer or cover the costs that arise from it.

Foreign students in Moscow as well as in other regions are in a very particular situation. They are less exposed to violent assaults, which may lie in the fact that these cases draw more public attention and the corresponding embassies often intervene. In addition, the universities also frequently increase security measures. Students are often advised to not leave the guarded campus unless necessary and they exclusively make use of the infrastructure that exists there. (Interview Kozhevnikova)

On the campus of the People's Friendship University in Moscow and at many other universities, there are adequate shopping facilities and cafes. Despite this, little is known about racist assaults because foreign students are often not in a position to speak about their experiences of violence. Galina Kozhevnikova notes that the university services have repeatedly and expressly forbidden students exposed to violence to go public with their experiences or to press charges. (Interview Kozhevnikova). Daniel Ekatt from the Moscow Protestant Chaplaincy, which works primarily as a counselling centre for victims of racist assaults who are from African countries, sees from his practical experiences not so much a decrease in violent crimes but rather more of a wave of increases and decreases (Interview Ekatt).

106 In the statistics of the Ministry of the Interior for 2008, only the number of offences is listed, not the number of victims. Therefore, the exact number of victims is unknown.

Regional Cooperation Partners¹⁰⁷

In Moscow there are several organisations that offer victim counselling and which are also networked together. None of the organisations, however, specialises in the support of victims. Victim counselling is only part of the work, because the focus of each organisation lies in other areas. No organisation explicitly defines the counselling of victims of racist violence as a field of specialisation in their public self-representation. In the Moscow region, no counselling services exist solely for this specific purpose.

The Civic Assistance Committee under the leadership of Svetlana Gannushkina counsels refugees from the former Soviet republics and Russia in particular, but also from many other countries, among them Afghanistan and African states. The office is in Moscow and its work is focused there. A few programmes were implemented in the northern Caucasus, such as the support of victims of the Chechen War in the mountainous regions of the republic. Within the framework of the network *Migratsiya i Pravo* (Migration and Rights) legal counselling was offered for refugees and forcibly resettled populations in 41 regions of Russia. In 2009, a project was started that explicitly focused on migrant workers. The focus of the counselling services is on legal and psychological support, and with a limited scope medical help can also be provided. In regard to legal questions and court cases the Civic Assistance Committee has a wide range of experience and a high measure of respect from the authorities.

The representative of Svetlana Gannushkina, Elena Burtina, leads the project that supports migrant workers. At the present time there are three persons involved in the project: Elena Burtina and two jurists, one of which has lawyer status. In addition, translators are brought in when needed. In a limited capacity, medical help and support can be provided by applying for financial assistance and by negotiating with doctors. This is significant for the clients if, for example, there is an uncertain residency status or a necessary operation cannot take place due to the lack of police security or for other reasons.

Violent crimes cannot always be classified as bias-motivated crimes, but the need for action is obviously there. In the praxis, however, there are several prerequisites. In order to be active, there is a need for detailed information and the mandate of the victim is required. If the person is killed or seriously injured, contacting the relatives is necessary so that the juristic representatives can be given power of attorney (Interview Burtina).

Elena Burtina stresses that from her practical experience, support funds are primarily needed for two areas: for legal counselling such as attorney's fees and for material support. The later is particularly important if the person is not able to draw their salary or to cover the transportation costs if there is a wish to return to the country of origin. It is also suitable for the project to use limited amounts of funding for advertising. Depending on the target group of the projects and in light of the fact that the degree of public knowledge of non-governmental organisations in Russia is generally not very high, the necessity of public outreach should not be underestimated. This is valid even more so in respect to the victims, who have no access to the Internet and often have only been living in Russia for a short time.

The Fund of Tajikistan was founded in 1993 by migrants from Tajikistan and other Central Asian republics. Legal counselling and humanitarian help in the largest sense of the word stand in the foreground. Psychological counselling is not provided by the Fund. The fund is an important counselling centre for migrants and offers support when there are conflicts with the police, employers or with residency status, and also supports people dealing with experiences of violence and health problems. The Fund of Tajikistan maintains close contact with Tajikistan, Kirgizstan and also with Uzbekistan when possible, although it is only active in Russia.

Since the beginning of the economic crisis most of the inquiries from migrant workers have to do with the fact that they are no longer getting their salaries from their employer. Other fields of activity deal with interventions at arrests and deportations or when authorities refuse

to provide documents for the issuance of a residency permit. The number of inquiries related to violent attacks which are classified as bias-motivated offences significantly decreased in the preceding two years. In January 2009 there were only five cases, for example. According to Gavkhar Dzhuraeva (Director of the Fund of Tajikistan), however, assaults are happening with increasing frequency in the communities. The number of assaults by neo-Nazis is therefore decreasing, because the police are investigating better than they used to in such cases. At the same time, the use of violence by police also occurs during the arrests of migrant workers (Interview Dzhuraeva).

Counselling sessions take place in and outside the office. Gavkhar Dzhuraeva and her staff members are available practically around the clock through the hotline. Gavkhar Dzhuraeva believes the hotline is the most effective way of working. The existing knowledge of languages is also important. The staff members offer sessions in Russian, Tajik, Uzbek and Kirghiz (Interview Dzhuraeva).

Cooperation agreements exist with many organisations. With inquiries related to medical support, the Fund refers people to Doctors of the World, who have recently conceptualised a programme specifically for migrants. If there are complicated questions such as residency or a threat of deportation which require the guidance of an attorney, the centre turns to Civic Assistance.

In the past, SOVA received inquiries several times a year from victims of bias-motivated offences. The victims were generally referred to the Civic Assistance Committee because they primarily deal with inquiries from Moscow. SOVA sporadically attempts to also give direct support. First of all, psychological support or legal counsel is requested in order to go to court. Galina Kozhevnikova from SOVA presumes that most of the victims go in any case to the Fund of Tajikistan or other organisations. If the financial prerequisites are there, SOVA will hire its own lawyer and also offer victim counselling. Within the scope of the counselling pilot project, a jurist of the organisation AGORA offers counselling on a voluntary basis. In existence since 2005, the Kazan-based superregional union offers legal counsel for NGOs as a resource and considers xenophobia an area of focus. Depending on need, lawyers from AGORA are available free of charge. The project with SOVA, however, is limited thematically to the anti-extremism legislation and its implementation. AGORA could possibly also be convinced to become a partner that provides legal counsel for victims of racist violence (Interview Kozhevnikova).

The Christian Community of the Moscow Protestant Chaplaincy, which was founded in 1962 to support foreign communities, serves as counselling centre primarily for African refugees, migrants and students. The languages of communication are English and French; only one staff member speaks fluent Russian. In addition to taking part in religious services, distributing food to the homeless, humanitarian help, providing medical support from a Russian doctor, leisure activities and professional education opportunities, the staff members offer counselling for victims of racist violence. The community facilities are open for these purposes. If necessary, counselling can be done in other places. In addition to the pastor, there are two other staff members involved in this area. If possible, they also give support when people have difficulty with the police. In cooperation with the Civic Assistance Committee, support by lawyers can be provided. In 2010, this cooperation led to a case in which a perpetrator came to the sentencing (Interview Ekatt and Allen). The Moscow Protestant Chaplaincy dedicates special attention to monitoring. As part of the Task Force on Racial Violence and Harassment, which was founded in 2001 as an answer to the increasing violence motivated by racism, the staff members document violent cases primarily toward members of the black community in and around Moscow, and these cases are put into a database and published in a report that comes out four times a year. This area of work needs to be strengthened and systematised. In addition, several embassies of African countries have agreed to allow information about bias-motivated crime to be put in this database. Information campaigns that explain the potential dangers of life in Moscow are also an integral part of the task force.

All experts and staff members of the above named organisations who were asked agreed that centres that specialise in victim counselling in the city are necessary. The need for victim counselling is considered significant. In order for the centres to be able to work effectively, specific public outreach aimed at migrant communities is necessary so that people who might be potentially exposed to racist violence can find out about the support services.

ST. PETERSBURG

Numbers of Victims and Their Situation

The second largest Russian city of St. Petersburg takes second place after Moscow in the statistics of racist and right-wing motivated violent offences.

According to the Moscow information centre SOVA, the numbers of victims in the region of St. Petersburg (including the Leningrad area) in the last four years can be summarized as follows:

	2010 1 st six months	2009	2008	2007	2006
Injured	26 (of 148 total in Russia)	37 (of 411 total in Russia)	40 (of 497 total in Russia)	118 (of 622 total in Russia)	56 (of 522 total in Russia)
Killed	1 (of 19 total in Russia)	15 (of 80 total in Russia)	15 (of 114 total in Russia)	11 (of 92 total in Russia)	6 (of 66 total in Russia)
Severely injured (Ministry of the Interior)	No data	6 (of 29 total in Russia)	No data	No data	No data
Killed (Ministry of the Interior)	No data	1 (of 16 total in Russia)	3 (of 17 total in Russia) ⁵	No data	No data

In spite of the sinking numbers of assaults that became publically known, the level remains relatively high. It cannot be said that a fundamental devolatilisation of the situation is developing. Several explanations for the decrease in the number of assaults have already been given.

A local example of the effects of the denial of the problem by politicians is the statement of the Governor of St. Petersburg, Valentina Matvienko. After the session of the “National Anti-Terrorist Committee” in August 2008, Matvienko told journalists, “In the first half of the year there was not a single criminal case with an extremist connection.” For three months after that, there were no reports of racist assaults in the city.¹⁰⁹ The data of the St. Petersburg state prosecutor which was published shortly before that clearly contradicts these statements. The state prosecutor knew of over 13 crimes committed due to racist or nationalist motives in this time period.¹¹⁰

The St. Petersburg expert Stefaniya Kulaeva from the Anti-Discrimination Centre Memorial (ADC Memorial, which supports the rights of people who are exposed to racist and related forms of discrimination) confirms the estimate of SOVA that for St. Petersburg most of the victims of crimes motivated by racism were assaulted due to their “non-Slavic” appearance. For the most part, these cases concern migrant workers from the post-Soviet Central Asian states (Uzbekistan, Tajikistan) followed by migrants from the Caucasus region and other states. Most of them work in badly paid, physically demanding jobs on construction sites, as drivers of *Marshrutkas* (shared taxis with a specified route), or in the street cleaning branch. There the

¹⁰⁸ In the statistics of the Ministry of the Interior for 2008, only the number of offences is listed, not the number of victims. Therefore, the exact number of victims is unknown.

¹⁰⁹ Interfax 2008.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Iwancow 2008.

migrant workers are often hired illegally or legally without contracts by dubious middle men (Interview Kulaeva). These conditions allow for discrimination and arbitrary treatment, such as the salary not being paid. The uncertain legal status and lack of financial resources make it more difficult for people to defend themselves. Furthermore, migrant workers are exposed to numerous controls and tests on the part of the Federal Migration Service and police.¹¹¹ For example, in November 2009 a group of Tajik and Uzbek citizens, who were working at a fish processing plant came to the ADC Memorial, after having had their passports confiscated in a police search (Interview Kulaeva). They were reviewed several times by the authorities and had to pay high fines. The fish processing plant had not paid their salaries for over five months, also not after the workers went on strike. Only after the intervention of the ADC Memorial was the salary paid, but only the “official”¹¹² part.¹¹³ Violence motivated by racism is an aspect of this complex practice of discrimination. According to the St. Petersburg state prosecutor, there was one violent assault due to national or “racial”¹¹⁴ hate in the period between January and September 2009, in comparison to seven in the same period in the year 2008 and 16 in the year 2007. The state prosecutor speaks of a positive tendency. The victims are described as Russian citizens with a “distinct oriental appearance.”¹¹⁵ For the whole year of 2009 the state prosecutor reported nine crimes against “foreigners” due to motives of national hatred (in comparison to 13 in the year 2008).¹¹⁶

When we look at the data from SOVA and the expert opinions (Interviews from Kulaeva, Gutnikov, Dubrovskiy) we can conclude that almost no violent offences motivated by racism that were committed against Russian citizens or migrants were prosecuted as such in the St. Petersburg legal system. Instead of the success lauded by the state prosecutor, the preventative measures of the police and the state public outreach “tolerance” programmes underline the structural racist character of legal practice.

According to Kulaeva, foreign students from African and Asian countries are also less frequently the victims of racist assaults. In recent years, the attackers have consciously concentrated on Central Asian migrant workers, i.e. on a group that can expect very little support and empathy from the local or international public (Interview Kulaeva). The foreign students enjoy legal residency status in Russia, although some of them are in precarious situations (urgent needs or having to prolong their visas) which make them susceptible to pressure on the part of the police. Therefore, it can be assumed that there is also a large number of unknown assaults on students. Students from Asian countries like China or Vietnam who receive scholarships from the Russian state are financially dependent and are not supposed to damage “the image of St. Petersburg” or their sponsors. After the murder of a Vietnamese student in 2004, the student community attempted to attract attention to the case and blocked a street. Afterwards, the participants were put under enormous pressure from the representatives of the Vietnamese state to refrain from such image-damaging activities in the future (Interview Dubrovskiy).

In recent years in St. Petersburg, no serious assaults have been committed on prominent persons such as human rights activists (cf. murder of N. Girenko 2004). Correspondingly, there were no cases opened which were under the “personal control” of the St. Petersburg state prosecution or the head of the investigative committee under the state prosecutor. Pressure on the part of the lead investigator is, however, the only chance to guarantee an active investigation – not only in cases of racist violence (Interview Gutnikov). This has the effect that no active investigations are carried out on most of the racist violent crimes, with the investigations only being able to be introduced in exceptional cases (Interview Kulaeva).

111 Cf. Yakimov 2010b.

112 In precarious work situations like these, the salaries determined in the contracts are often the legal minimum wage from which hardly any worker can live. Even when the firms pay more, they save on taxes and the workers become even more dependent on them.

113 Cf. Yakimov 2010.

114 Cf. Fn. 4.

115 Zaytsev 2009.

116 Cf. Zaytsev 2010. We received no answer from the spokesperson of the St. Petersburg Public Prosecutor regarding our inquiry on current data on all violent crimes motivated by racism in St. Petersburg for 2009 (including crimes committed against Russian citizens).

Another target group of violent assaults are homosexuals and persons whom the attackers think are homosexual. Many victims only go to the police, the courts or tell their story publicly in exceptional cases because they fear further persecution and humiliation, especially from the police. The monitoring carried out by the Russian LGBT Network and others in St. Petersburg shows that these fears are well-founded due to the homophobic attitudes of some officials who repeatedly refuse to accept complaints or to ensure that a homophobic motive is recorded in the complaint.¹¹⁷ In addition, in St. Petersburg, among other places, there have been several raids on clubs which are predominantly frequented by homosexuals. These raids have the goal of systematically gathering data on the club guests. In general, therefore, the police are regarded as a repressive entity. Experts estimate that the data on homophobic assaults in St. Petersburg is insufficient. The victims themselves also often do not want to speak about the violence. The Russian LGBT Network and Vykhod are planning to carry out a systematic monitoring process (Interview Sozaev/Kochetkov).

The mistrust toward the police is also characteristic for anarchists and antifascists as well as for members of subcultures such as gothic or emo who have become victims of right-wing violent crimes. In particular, in the course of the actual “anti-extremist measures” these groups have become the target of police investigations themselves. While the victims among political activists can rely on their own resources or at times even international solidarity networks for medical and legal costs (Interview Ivantsov), the members of subcultures have to turn to personal networks because no one represents their interests in the public realm.

No accessible data exist for the homeless victims of violence in St. Petersburg. According to information of the St. Petersburg organisation *Nochleshka*, which supports the homeless legally and socially and carries out public outreach work, no studies or statistics exist regarding this issue. In the public and in mass media homeless, especially the “visible” homeless, are seen not as victims but as criminals and a threat to public health, according to the director of *Nochleshka*, Zoia Solovieva. Individual cases that have become public and statements from neo-Nazis lead to the conclusion that the homeless are increasingly attacked due to bias motives. The expert Igor’ Karlinskiy, the former long-term chairperson of *Nochleshka*, receives information about physical violence against homeless from various sources: from clients in social and legal counselling (the experience of violence seldom being the reason for going to the organisation), from colleagues who work with homeless, from the mass media and through his own everyday observations. Even though there are no corresponding statistics either from the authorities or NGOs, it is obvious that most of the victims are the visibly homeless found living on the streets.¹¹⁸

The causes of these violent crimes vary. They can be committed in the course of a concrete everyday conflict or due to a generally disparaging attitude toward homeless people (Interview Karlinskiy). The perpetrators take the money that the homeless earn with difficulty, often with violence or the threat of violence. The perpetrators are conscious of the defencelessness of the victims. This is also the result of complex discrimination.¹¹⁹ For school-age youth who are not neo-Nazis, assaults on the homeless represent a demonstration of supposed strength toward a defenceless adult. This animosity toward homeless people among members of the extreme right-wing scene is ideologically charged. Increasingly, homeless people are brutally murdered by neo-Nazis because they are easy victims or they do not match their picture of a “healthy folk community”. In February and June 2010, 11 members of a neo-Nazi network were arrested in St. Petersburg and were accused of a total of six racist murders (and four attempted murders) of migrants, a racist murder of a Russian citizen from the republic of Tuva, four murders of homeless people, an arson attack on an orthodox church, a bomb attack on a bust stop and

117 Cf. Moscow Helsinki Group/ Russian LGBT-Network 2009.

118 In the wake of the post-Soviet registration system and the ownership-centred, neoliberal housing market, many people do not have any official residence or actual place to live. These people without a home belong to a risk group whose rights and access to public resources are not secure. Their concrete living situations vary considerably.

119 There is also violent conflict among homeless people. This does not, however, belong to the category of bias-motivated violence and is not the subject of this report.

other crimes.¹²⁰ The videotape of several murders, including the murder of a homeless man, was spread on the Internet as propaganda material.

If the victims of the attacks survive, they typically do not turn to the police because the police themselves are among the actors who exert daily repression on homeless people. An example of such abuse by the police is the case of Captain A. Dronov, who in February 2010 was arrested after a long investigation. He beat a homeless person in police custody so badly that the man died of his injuries.¹²¹

Only a minimum number of assaults is registered. The access of the homeless to medical assistance is in general – not just after assaults – extremely limited. Sick or severely injured people are also refused treatment in hospitals; sometimes the lack of papers or proof of insurance is cited as the reason. Even when such cases occasionally become subjects of criminal prosecution, the homeless are very “uncomfortable” injured parties and witnesses. In order to avoid further problems, they try to disappear because by definition they have no permanent place of residence. Being included in an investigation, just like the perception of the effects of legal counselling service, is linked with extremely significant investments of time and loss of income. For example, if a person does not appear one day at their temporary job, their place will be immediately taken by someone else (Interview Karlinskiy). It can be concluded that the victims of bias-motivated crimes among the homeless are thus confronted with problems very similar to those of most of the victims of racist assaults: a lack of social capital, limited access to medical help, a precarious legal situation and the aggressive attitude of the general population.

Most of the victims of racist assaults fear going to the police and therefore rarely press charges (Interview Kulaeva, Interview Dubrovskiy). The investigative authorities are part of the system of discrimination described above.¹²² The partially or wholly illegalised people (those without permission to work, residency status or registration) are exploited by government employees through bribes, from which the police apparatus on all levels profit economically.¹²³ Without a lawyer, the victims and their family members have almost no chance that the investigation will actually be carried out. Most of the injured cannot afford legal counsel and only a few attorneys, such as Ol’ga Tseytлина (of the Migration and Rights network), are willing to take on pro bono work (Interview Kulaeva, Interview Gutnikov). A further difficulty stems from the fact that no measures exist to protect witnesses and the injured parties. Even psychological monitoring for witnesses is lacking. This increases the psychic burden on the witnesses, many of whom have also been assaulted themselves. There is also no practice of financial compensation for the victims and the witnesses, who are restricted in terms of being able to work due to the participation in long court cases, and often risk losing their insecure jobs if they live in other regions in Russia or in their countries of origin (Interview Dubrovskiy).

One can also assume that racist violence against people with “non-Slavic” appearances is exerted by the police. The systematic use of violence (torture) represents an important fundament of the police system in contemporary Russia. According to a scientific study carried out in St. Petersburg, approximately 20 % of those interviewed said that they had already been victims of unlawful violence on part of police officials.¹²⁴ In May 2010, for example, according to Andrey Asimov (ADC Memorial), the Uzbek citizen U., who works in St. Petersburg, was stopped by police and arrested on grounds of possession of a counterfeit work permit. At the station he was beaten, kicked and humiliated for approximately two hours by a police officer. The officer did not like the fact that U. had spoken Uzbek with a cellmate (the police officer yelled “You won’t speak Uzbek any more! You’ll be driven crazy!”). When U. was released the next day and had difficulty breathing and coughed up blood, he received no medical assistance.

120 “Zaderzhany chleny ekstremistskoy gruppировki”, <http://www.suskpspb.ru/node/1363>, date: 28.06.2010.

121 “V Peterburge arestovan kapitan militsii, zabivshiy nasmert’ bomzha”, <http://www.publicverdict.org/topics/news/8015.html>, 28 June 2010

122 See also the chapter on “Legal Norms and Praxis” in this study.

123 Cf. Gilinskiy 2009.

124 Komitet protiv pytok 2007.

After a staff member of the hospital where he was brought by a colleague found out that the injuries had occurred in police custody, he was sent home. The ADC Memorial filed a complaint with the state prosecutor and with the police department for an internal investigation. The acceptance of the investigation without the victim pressing charges, however, despite the obvious commitment of an investigator, was not possible. After a few days, U. flew to Uzbekistan for treatment. The money for his ticket was collected by his compatriots. The witnesses of the mistreatment also returned to Uzbekistan and subsequently were not able to be located (Interview Efimov).

The legal resources available to the victims of racist and extreme right-wing violent crimes are generally insufficient. The institutionally limited chances to represent their own interests and to bring about a judicial process depend on the financial and social resources of the victim. Only in individual cases can committed organisations like Memorial organise legal counsel.

The most important avenues of support are group-specific and are based on the social capital of the victim, that is, their integration in respective networks (diasporas, family or political networks of solidarity). Professional, institutionalised counselling services, especially for the victims of racist and other bias-motivated offences, are lacking in St. Petersburg. The informal avenues do not allow for the provision of long-term medical, legal, social or psychological support. Furthermore, they cannot guarantee equal access to the existing support services.

Regional Cooperation Partners¹²⁵

The St. Petersburg experts who were interviewed urgently advocate for the development of professional counselling services for the victims of bias-motivated crimes. Due to the acute need and because there are important resources for the development of this work already in the city, we agree with this assessment. The following organisations specialise in the support and counselling of victims of discrimination: the Antidiscrimination Centre Memorial (ADC Memorial) and the Severo-Zapadnyy Tsentr Yuridicheskoy i Sotsial'noy Zashchity Roma (Northwest Centre for Legal and Social Protection of Roma)¹²⁶ that is connected to it offer legal support in the region of St. Petersburg. They offer regular counselling free of charge and representation by a lawyer. Also, specific psychological help for affected children and youth is offered by a psychologist regularly and free of charge. In 2009 the ADC Memorial expanded their work to include concrete support of the interests of migrant workers such as those whose employment rights are infringed upon. Vykhod and the Russian LGBT Network in St. Petersburg offer psychological support in close cooperation with each other, as discrimination lies more in the area of expertise of the Network. For the counselling for the victims of violent crimes, Vykhod turns to the independent crisis centre Alexandra.

The three organisations agree that only a few victims of bias-motivated crimes go to their counselling centres. One reason might be that this field of work is not a main feature in the advertising materials for the services. Furthermore, there are reservations regarding the use of psychological support. Apart from that, support for the victims of right-wing and racist assaults is seen by the public and even the victims themselves only as support for legal and (physical) medical problems (Interview Gutnikov, Interview Kulaeva, Interview Sozaev/Kochetkov). In light of the deficit shown here, it can be assumed that professional and victim counselling in the relevant languages would be sought out were they available.

Considering the desperate situation of the legal system, the development of a general – not only legal, but also psychological and social – support system which would counsel and stand by the victims of bias-motivated crimes would be the optimal direction in which to further develop the existing assistance services in St. Petersburg. The know-how and experience in general counselling for the victims of violent crimes could be used as important resources, for example, that of two experts from the recommended crisis centre Aleksandra. Another important field

¹²⁵ All cooperation partners are listed in the appendix with their Internet addresses (provided they have one).

¹²⁶ According to information from S. Kulaeva there are many people in the St. Petersburg region from Central Asia, who traditionally call themselves not Roma but “Mugat”. The ascription that they consider pejorative is “LJuly.”

of activity would be the development of independent, local monitoring systems in order to improve the quality of the data and to be able to counteract the damaging statements of the investigative authorities.

VORONEZH

Numbers of Victims and Their Situation

Voronezh lies south of Moscow and is the capital city of the Oblast of the same name. In Voronezh, a consistently strong neo-Nazi scene has existed for years. Racist graffiti has been a part of the city scenery for quiet some time, as Irina Aksenova from Youth Human Rights Movement (YHRM) reports. Violence motivated by racism is aimed primarily against foreign students, who hardly leave their dormitories anymore. On days like the April 20th (the birthday of Adolf Hitler), they are expressly asked by the local authorities to stay inside (Interview Hagenau, Interview Aksenova/Kozlov). An overview of the developments of the preceding years has been compiled from the statistical data of the Moscow Information Centre SOVA:

	2010 1 st six months	2009	2008	2007	2006
Injured	1 (of 148 total in Russia)	5 (of 411 total in Russia)	23 (of 497 total in Russia)	17 (of 622 total in Russia)	6 (of 522 total in Russia)
Killed	0 (of 19 total in Russia)	0 (of 80 total in Russia)	2 (of 114 total in Russia)	0 (of 92 total in Russia)	1 (of 66 total in Russia)
Severely injured (Ministry of the Interior)	No data	0 (of 29 total in Russia)	No data	No data	No data
Killed (Ministry of the Interior)	No data	0 (of 16 total in Russia)	1 (of 17 total in Russia) ⁵	No data	No data

For the city of Voronezh, there are only a relatively small number of victims reported. In contrast to other Russian regions, the data is somewhat better due to the assistance from YHRM. However, the access to secure data is and has been difficult (see the above-mentioned reasons). Therefore, it can be assumed that in Voronezh the unknown cases of bias-motivated crimes are probably significantly higher.

It is particularly important to emphasise the murder cases from the years 2005, 2006 and 2008. The murder of Peruvian student Enrique Anhells Hurtado in 2005 attracted significant public attention. He was attacked in broad daylight by a group of neo-Nazis in a park with crowbars and knives while he was with friends. Enrique Anhells Hurtado bled to death on the way to the hospital. The district government and the Governor Vladimir Kulakov attempted to dismiss the case as hooliganism without identifying a racist motive. The governor said the case was about marginalised youth and that there was no need to organise around such crimes. A little alcohol and a pair of cudgels were enough for a motive to “bash foreigners.”¹²⁸ The human rights organisation YHRM organised a demonstration against hate and violence after the attack in order to show solidarity with the victims.

In early 2006, a 50-year old man of Vietnamese origin was chased through the streets by a group of neo-Nazis. Later he succumbed to his injuries. The case first became known after a week had passed.¹²⁹ Four young perpetrators were arrested and sentenced in 2007 to up to

¹²⁷ In the statistics of the Ministry of the Interior for 2008 only the number of offences is given, not the number of victims. Therefore, more exact information regarding the victims is not available.

¹²⁸ Cf. Kommersant 2005.

¹²⁹ <http://www.sova-center.ru/racism-xenophobia/news/racism-nationalism/2006/04/d7871/>, last accessed 16 June 2010.

seven years. The initial sentence-enhancing motive of racism was reduced in March 2007 by the Magistrate's Court to hooliganism and severe bodily harm resulting in death.¹³⁰ Two years later in March 2008 the 15-year old Andrey Zubkov was murdered after being stabbed at least 21 times while Nazi slogans were being called out by five neo-Nazis. The reasons were the supposed "Asian appearance" and his "dark skin colour." The perpetrators were sentenced in November 2009 by the Voronezh Regional Court to five to six years in prison. The Supreme Court of Russia confirmed the sentence in May 2010. The crime was unequivocally ruled a bias-motivated crime according to Art. 105 Par. 21 CC RF by the judges.¹³¹ In April 2008 the Azerbaijani Vugaru Mamedov died from injuries that had been inflicted upon him by two 17-year olds. The role of the doctors, who initially did not treat Mamedov despite his severe injuries, was not explained in court. Both perpetrators were sentenced to six years each in a youth reformatory under Art. 111 Par. 4 CC RF without any recognition of racism as a motive for the crime.¹³²

One can also observe a region-wide trend in Voronezh that it is not the foreign students, but the migrant workers from the post-Soviet regions who are mostly threatened by attacks (Interview Kozlov/Aksenova). In addition to assaults, this can be seen in graffiti and the writing of slogans in public space, such as "migrant workers out!" that shape the city landscape.¹³³ The news coverage of foreign students has changed after incidents in recent years. The students are increasingly represented as the "good foreigners" who bring money into the region and then later leave the country. This contributes to the development that racist attacks are now more concentrated on migrant workers.

Already in 2007, YHRM and the Youth Network against Racism and Intolerance (YNRI) published a study on the situation of foreign students as a reaction to the increasing racist attacks on students in Russia.¹³⁴ The report is significant in that it showed that foreign students are exposed to multiple forms of discrimination, from segregation in the dorms to racist statements of the instructors and discrimination in the workplace. Despite the decreasing number of attacks in recent years, which can be explained by the limitations on going out and segregation in the dormitories, it can be assumed that everyday discrimination of foreign students in Russia continues to exist due to their often precarious legal status.

In the city of 900,000 inhabitants the House of Human Rights, which was founded by regional and superregional human rights organisations at the beginning of 2009, aims to strengthen civil society and cultivate dialogue with regional authorities and government officials. In early 2009 the communally-owned House was sold, although this could have been prevented. Until December 2009, the situation for the users of the facility was initially relatively stable and they were able to carry out their work. Subsequently, the rents were increased up to EUR 16 per square meter. Despite the non-commercial use of the space and the building's state of disrepair, the organisations (which often did not have the sufficient financial means) were paying the same rents as commercial renters. After the regional elections in Russia in 2009 and the change of administration in 2010, the situation obviously developed positively in a legal sense, according to Ira Aksenova from YHRM. At the moment they pay a commensurate rent due to a new rental contract (Interview Aksenova).

130 <http://www.sova-center.ru/racism-xenophobia/news/counteraction/2007/03/d10492/>, last accessed 16 June 2010.

131 <http://xeno.sova-center.ru/45A2A1E/DF39713>, last accessed 16 June 2010.

132 <http://www.sova-center.ru/racism-xenophobia/news/racism-nationalism/2008/10/d14532/>, last accessed 16 June 2010.

133 <http://xeno.sova-center.ru/45A29F2/DE24D58>, last accessed 16 June 2010.

134 Youth Human Rights Movement, 2007.

Regional Cooperation Partners¹³⁵

The Youth Human Rights Movement (YHRM) is an international network that was founded in Voronezh in 1998 and since then according to its own data has brought together over 600 youth organisations and approximately 1000 young people together from the whole post-Soviet region. It has branches in Moscow, Voronezh, Krasnodar, St. Petersburg, Belgorod and a correspondent in Nizhniy Novgorod. The goal of YHRM is the strengthening of human and civil rights in Russia as well as in the complete CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States). The areas in which YHRM works are relatively diverse. On a political level, the organisation advocates for democracy, human rights, anti-militarism, anti-fascism, acceptance for homosexuals and the environment. The activists organise campaigns and put on seminars.

In October 2009 a seminar for human rights activists took place in Voronezh entitled “Monitoring Neo-Nazi Violence as a Tool for Human Rights Work.” Experts from SOVA came as speakers and the Human Rights Group of Voronezh that does advocacy work on an interregional level was also present. According to data from CHRN, at the end of 2010 a general professional education seminar on the topic of bias-motivated crimes is supposed to be held in Voronezh by UNITED, YHRM, and the OSCE. In Voronezh, the association works together with students, antifascists and journalists. In cooperation with antifascists the project www.a-archive.org was realised, which had the goal of organising violence-free forms of political action against the extreme right and supporting exchanges among activists. In April 2010 a conference on “Violence-Free Strategies and Tactics for Fighting Racism” was held in Voronezh. Approximately 40 international participants participated in the three-day conference.¹³⁶ The YHRM, with support from the US MacArthur Foundation, published a “Safety Plan” for foreign students, in which important information on life in Russia as well as emergency numbers for foreign students in Moscow, Krasnodar, Voronezh and Rostov on the Don are collected.

Furthermore, an emergency telephone line was founded for foreign students. However the practical implementation of the project has been difficult so far. The reasons, according to information provided by former German volunteers, are limited human and financial resources as well as insufficient contact to the victims (Interview Hagenau).

The counselling services in Voronezh mainly deal with social and legal questions. In the House of Human Rights, for example, there is the office of the Voronezh Ombudsman for Human Rights. Citizens whose various rights have been infringed upon, such as problems with registration, payment of salary, consumer rights, etc. can come here. This traditional concept is, however, according to the interviewed experts, less suitable for the support of victims of right-wing, racist violence due to their relative invisibility in the masses of other kinds of problems. At the time when the research for this report was being carried out, a restructuring of the counselling work was being undertaken with the support of Transparency International. The inquiries will be pre-screened and as a result can be more efficiently taken up. Kozlov and Aksenova hope that this will bring about greater visibility for bias-motivated offences and racist discrimination and enable professional, legal support to be offered to the victims. The lawyer Ol’ga Gnezdilova from *Mezhregional’naya Pravozashchitnaya Gruppy (MPG)* offers legal counselling and support in cases of police violence, which is an acute problem in Voronezh. Their clients include the man of Uzbek background who had been tortured by the police.

YHRM is very interested in professionalising and building up its work in the area of victim counselling. Due to the relatively good infrastructure and secure status of the House of Human Rights in Voronezh and needs that have been clearly outlined, the development of a monitoring process and basic counselling concepts seem to be achieving the desired results.

¹³⁵ All cooperation partners are listed in the appendix with their Internet addresses (provided they have one).
¹³⁶ Cf. www.a-archive.org/node/210, last accessed 16 June 2010.

STAVROPOL

Numbers of Victims and Their Situation

The city of Stavropol in southwestern Russia has a population of approximately 350,000 and is the administrative centre of the Stavropol administrative district. The proximity to the Caucasus is reflected in the composition of its population. According to the census of 2002, the population has risen 12.1 % since 1989, primarily to due to the influx of refugees from the war zones of the Caucasus. Since 1989, the population of Chechens, Dagistanis and Armenians has risen more than 200 %.¹³⁷ Due to the war in the Caucasus and the specific problem of refugees of the region, Stavropol can be compared with the other cities and areas in Russia only in limited ways. One of the main problems in Stavropol is the mass fights among “ethnic” groups.¹³⁸ Victims and perpetrators are often not able to be clearly distinguished from one another. The conflict situation is extraordinarily complicated. SOVA does not count the victims of such mass fights unless the courts confirm the racist motives of the perpetrators afterwards.

An overview of the developments of the preceding years has been compiled from the statistical data of the Moscow information centre SOVA:

	2010 1 st six months	2009	2008	2007	2006
Injured	n/a (of 148 total in Russia)	10 (of 411 total in Russia)	10 (of 497 total in Russia)	8 (of 622 total in Russia)	1 (of 522 total in Russia)
Killed	n/a (of 19 total in Russia)	2 (of 80 total in Russia)	3 (of 114 total in Russia)	1 (of 92 total in Russia)	0 (of 66 total in Russia)
Severely injured (Ministry of the Interior)	No data	0 (of 29 total in Russia)	No data	No data	No data
Killed (Ministry of the Interior)	No data	0 (of 16 total in Russia)	0 (of 17 total in Russia)	No data	No data

The mass fights among “ethnic Russians” and “minorities” are often not able to be classified as bias-motivated crimes. Up to 200 people can be involved in these fights. However, the mass fights are not necessarily initiated or organised by neo-Nazis. The police attempt to prevent such fights but do not initiate investigations against those involved, according to statements by Yuriy Efimov from the Stavropol Regional Fund for Support of the South (Stavropol’skiy kraevoy obshchestvennyy fond Sodeystvie-Yug), because the human resources of the investigative authorities are scarce and the political interest in this kind of prosecution is minimal (Interview Efimov). Already in 2007, nationalists had provoked mass fights that resulted in three deaths and pogrom-like conditions against Caucasians.¹³⁹ In May 2007, a 24-year old Chechen died as a result of a mass fight between “Caucasians” and neo-Nazis of the “Slavic Union.” The most recent fight resulting in a dead victim took place in August 2009, when a Dagestani succumbed to his injuries in hospital.¹⁴⁰ In May 2010, crimes motivated by nationalism and racism reached a new level with a bomb attack in Stavropol, costing seven people their lives.¹⁴¹

In addition to the mass fights there have been at least two racist murders in recent years by the neo-Nazi group “White Legion.” Their leader is the 25-year old Dennis Kolyada. The first victim of the group was a 40-year old Azerbaijani who died in 2007 as a result of an at-

137 http://stavrop.gks.ru/Stavropol/DocLib/dem_sit.zip, last accessed 7 November 2009.

138 The term “ethnic conflict” is taken from the interview partners and it should be made clear that it concerns very different and significantly more complex conflicts in the region, even if these probably contain very racist and chauvinistic elements.

139 <http://www.sova-center.ru/racism-xenophobia/news/racism-nationalism/2010/05/d18862/>, last accessed 20 July 2010.

140 Free Europe, August 2009.

141 <http://www.svobodanews.ru/content/article/2054270.html>, last accessed 20 July 2010.

tack.¹⁴² One year later they attacked a 36-year old man who was defined by the perpetrators as Caucasian. He also died due to the effects of the assault.¹⁴³ Moreover, the group is responsible for regular attacks against supposed non-Russians in Stavropol. In May 2010, the court case against the perpetrators was opened and followed with great attention by the media. Almost all the defendants were punished according to Art. 282 Note 2 CC RF. Furthermore, one defendant received a prison camp sentence of five years and six months due to bodily harm with fatal consequences. Four other defendants received two to five years in prison and three were released on parole. All defendants were sentenced according to the juvenile sentencing laws because they were minors at the time the crime was committed.¹⁴⁴

The crimes of the group “White Legion” and the mass fights represent a small part of the visible neo-Nazi violence in the region of Stavropol. In a longer article on the neo-Nazi scene in the region, Anton Chablin writes that in Stavropol racist and neo-Nazi slogans like “kill all the immigrants” and swastika graffiti¹⁴⁵ have meanwhile become part of the everyday street life to which hardly anyone reacts. SOVA and the Moscow Bureau for Human Rights document these cases at irregular intervals. For example, at the beginning of May 2009 the Moscow Bureau for Human Rights reported that swastikas were scrawled on several houses.¹⁴⁶ The racist atmosphere among the population described by many people suggests that there are significantly more racist assaults than are currently known and documented. The statements from SOVA underline the lack of initiatives and people, particularly in rural areas, who report and research these occurrences (Working meeting on July 2010 in Moscow).

The most recent assault occurred in May 2010 with a bomb attack in the vicinity of the entrance to the Stavropol Concert Hall, where seven people were killed and more than 40 were injured. The explosives detonated 15 minutes before the beginning of a Chechen musical event just as audience members were entering the building. Experts and journalists, among them Galina Kozhevnikova from SOVA, suspect an extremist right-wing criminal motive.¹⁴⁷ In their interpretation, the attack was directed against so-called “traitors” and Caucasians who live in Stavropol and are interested in Chechen culture. The neo-Nazi scene, according to the opinion of Galina Kozhevnikova, has access to the necessary knowledge of dealing with explosives, planning such a crime and carrying it out. Furthermore, she evaluates the attack as an attempt to destabilise the general situation in Russia. Up until this point in time, no perpetrators have been investigated.

Most of the victims, according to information provided by Yuriy Efimov of the organisation Stavropol Regional Fund for Support of the South, are of south Caucasian origin and are attacked because of their skin colour and origin. He further reports that the communal and regional authorities (governmental offices and representatives of the state) barely talk about racist violence as long as the extent and the consequences do not attract public attention. Instead, there is an effort to maintain the upstanding appearance of a peaceful co-existence. This can be seen in the reaction to the murder of Andrey Khanin, which happened in the city of Novoaleksandrovsk in February 2007 and was at first denied by the authorities as was the assault against Armenian shop owners on the same night.¹⁴⁸ Yuriy Efimov’s critique is that the behaviour of the authorities contributes to the situation of the people affected by the violence not being able to change. The ignorance of the authorities regarding the problem underscores the mistakes of the official programmes against racism. However, Efimov reports that the regional media is partially more open to reporting bias-motivated crimes than the superregional Russian mass media. If a case becomes known, it is generally also reported (Interview Efimov). Even if

142 <http://www.sova-center.ru/racism-xenophobia/news/racism-nationalism/2007/11/d15120/>, last accessed 16 June 2010.

143 <http://www.sova-center.ru/racism-xenophobia/news/racism-nationalism/2008/04/d14879/>, last accessed 16 June 2010.

144 <http://www.sova-center.ru/racism-xenophobia/news/counteraction/2010/03/d18260/> last accessed 16 June 2010 and <http://www.stavropolye.tv/events/view/18783>, last accessed 16 June 2010.

145 <http://www.opengaz.ru/issues/12-402/head.html>, last accessed 16 June 2010.

146 Moscow Bureau for Human Rights 2009.

147 <http://www.svobodanews.ru/content/article/2054270.html>, last accessed 20 July 2010.

148 Cf. Radio Free Europe 2007.

interview partners confirm that organised right-wing, racist violence has decreased (Interview Vishnevskiy, Interview Efimov), nationalist conflicts in the region constitute an everyday phenomenon. The governmental authorities maintain that they would not dare to enter some districts of the city Stavropol in which a high percentage of national minorities live. It is also to be assumed, according to Vishnevskiy from *Alter Vita*, that the authorities contribute significantly to a racist atmosphere with such statements. Monitoring processes are difficult to implement in the area because the police in Stavropol have no interest in classifying bias-motivated crimes as such. One does not want “to provoke an outbreak of national extremism,” according to the police (Interview Vishnevskiy).

Yuri Efimov estimates that several hundred attacks occur per year, in which primarily people whose appearance suggests a Caucasian origin are affected. The victims of the assaults are socially isolated because neither state nor civil society counselling drop-in centres exist. Therefore, the victims receive legal and psychological support primarily from within their family and social circles. In the city and the region there is no possibility to compensate lawyer costs, according to Efimov. Furthermore, the victims are afraid to publically talk about their situation or to trust authorities because they fear being threatened (Interview Efimov).

Regional Cooperation Partners¹⁴⁹

The organisation *Alter Vita* runs the Centre for Tolerance and Human Rights. The organisation’s primary goal is public outreach in the field of human rights education. It offers seminars concerning questions of human rights for various social groups throughout the entire region. *Alter Vita* supports two paid positions as well as about 20 volunteers who receive some kind of compensation for their work when possible. The facilities of the youth library are available for seminars. *Alter Vita* does not counsel any victims of bias-motivated crimes, but rather works toward a consistent monitoring process in the region. In 2009 the organisation took part in the development of a common report of the Moscow Helsinki Group and the Russian LGBT Network on the situation of lesbians, gay men, bisexuals and transgender people. For the professionalization of a long-term monitoring process, however, there is a lack of corresponding financial means and cooperation partners. This work cannot continue to be done with a volunteer work force. Financing is given exclusively on a project basis (Interview Vishnevskiy).

The Stavropol Regional Fund for Support of the South is a non-commercial organisation. The Fund carries out projects in the field of human rights for various target groups, above all for migrants and national minorities. The main focus is in the area of social work. Furthermore, they attempt to provide legal and psychological support. Since 2001 the organisation has initiated projects in order to support refugees from the northern Caucasus, some of which are integration and tolerance projects and some of which are for child refugees. Moreover, the Fund supports national and religious minorities who try to claim their rights and also carries out scientific political and sociological research. The Fund works and finances itself on a project basis and employs hired employees as well as volunteer supporters. The organisation works with various partners and experts in the Stavropol area and finances itself from donations and grants. The counselling is done by phone or in the offices of the organisation; it is rarely done offsite. There is a lack of financial resources and external political and expert support that would be necessary to initiate a victim counselling project. The organisation has a significant interest in regional and subject-specific exchange. In the past it attempted to offer assistance for victims and to implement a similar project, which ended up failing to acquire the necessary resources (Interview Efimov).

The situation in Stavropol is a particular one and is differentiated from other cities and regions in Russia. The region is shaped by extreme violence, above all against supposed Caucasians (from brutal mass fights, attacks by neo-Nazis and even bomb attacks). The reason

for that is the social discourse described above as well as the Chechen War. The situation is especially difficult because the perpetrators can make themselves out to be the victims in the mass fights. Victims can hardly hope for social or political support because the authorities often refuse to acknowledge the subject, and civil society in the region is distinctively weak.

In order to realise a specific project implementation, the civil society organisations partially introduced here must be strengthened through processes of empowerment and regional networking with relevant stakeholders. The situation in Stavropol shows how poorly developed civil society is in most parts of Russia (especially in the rural areas). Due to a counterproductive general framework such as authoritarian regional power structures, it is frequently difficult for the organisations to develop and implement concepts for the support of victims of right-wing, racist violence.

PETROZAVODSK

Numbers of Victims and Their Situation

Petrozavodsk is the capital city of the republic Karelia, has approximately 270,000 inhabitants and lies on Lake Onega. Petrozavodsk is the scientific, educational, industrial and cultural capital of Karelia. There are three universities in the city. An overview of the developments of the preceding years has been compiled from the statistical data of the Moscow information centre SOVA:

	2010 1 st six months	2009	2008	2007	2006
Injured	n/a (of 148 total in Russia)	10 (of 411 total in Russia)	10 (of 497 total in Russia)	8 (of 622 total in Russia)	1 (of 522 total in Russia)
Killed	n/a (of 19 total in Russia)	2 (of 80 total in Russia)	3 (of 114 total in Russia)	1 (of 92 total in Russia)	0 (of 66 total in Russia)
Severely injured (Ministry of the Interior)	No data	0 (of 29 total in Russia)	No data	No data	No data
Killed (Ministry of the Interior)	No data	0 (of 16 total in Russia)	0 (of 17 total in Russia)	No data	No data

The situation in regard to the extreme right and racism is not as dramatic in Petrozavodsk as it is in other areas of Russia. However, there is also racist behaviour here toward foreign students, Arab doctors and migrants from the Caucasus and Central Asia as part of everyday life. A memorial in the Jewish cemetery has been vandalised several times. In July 2009, Maksim Efimov, the director of the Youth Human Rights Group in Karelia, was assaulted and injured (Interview Efimov).

In September 2006 there was a violent argument in the city of Kondopoga (approximately 55km from Petrozavodsk) between two drunken men who were acquaintances of a police officer. They refused to pay for entrance to a restaurant and began arguing with the barkeeper from Dagestan. The situation escalated in front of the off-duty police officer. Two residents were killed and six others were severely injured. This fight was seen in part as an “interethnic conflict,” which led to a pogrom against people from the Caucasus. The pogrom began with the destruction of several shops and local residents set the restaurant on fire. In the following days over 100 people participated in further attacks that were aimed against Caucasian-owned bars and grocery stores. This resulted in over 129 temporary arrests; a large portion of people with origins from Azerbaijan, Chechnya and Central Asia fled the city. The local administration

reacted by cancelling the contracts of the fleeing merchants for their long-term rental market stands, thereby fulfilling demands articulated at a demonstration. The extreme right-wing organisation DPNI (Movement Against Illegal Immigration), which had until that point not been well-represented, attempted to glean political capital from the events. They had made a call on the Internet for people to drive to Kondopoga.

At the resulting court case a perpetrator was sentenced to 22 years in prison for manslaughter in two cases. Five other defendants received sentences between three years and ten months and ten years in prison.¹⁵⁰ Twelve persons were sentenced to three years parole each due to the pogrom.¹⁵¹

Regional Cooperation Partners¹⁵²

The Youth Human Rights Group (YHRG) was officially registered in 2000 and has approximately ten dedicated members, in addition to volunteers. YHRG aims to fight racism, anti-Semitism and right-wing extremism. YHRG carries out various projects: monitoring of racism throughout Russia, work against discrimination and anti-Semitism (EU-supported projects), public outreach with youth, legal assistance, and publication of books, brochures, flyers and documentation. The organisation is member of the international UNITED Network against Nationalism, Racism and Fascism and for the Support of Migrants and Refugees. YHRG also works with the department “Struggle against Extremism” of the Ministry of the Interior (MVD). Maksim Efimov supports preventative measures against neo-Nazism. Rabbi Dmitriy Svibel’, among others, went to the organisation when he felt threatened.

The organisation aims to foster constructive dialogue with administrative organs, to strengthen professional exchanges with other organisations and to expand its educational offerings on the topic of human rights (Interview Efimov).

MURMANSK

Number of Victims and Their Situation

Murmansk is a port and university city north of the Arctic Circle on the peninsula Kola. It lies on the Arctic Sea near the Norwegian border and has a population of approximately 310,000 inhabitants. There are two universities in Murmansk.

An overview of the developments of the preceding years has been compiled from the statistical data of the Moscow information centre SOVA:

	2010 1st six months	2009	2008	2007	2006
Injured	1 (of 148 total in Russia)	20 (of 411 total in Russia)	0 (of 497 total in Russia)	5 (of 622 total in Russia)	1 (of 522 total in Russia)
Killed	0 (of 19 total in Russia)	0 (of 80 total in Russia)	0 (of 114 total in Russia)	0 (of 92 total in Russia)	0 (of 66 total in Russia)
Severely injured (Ministry of the Interior)	No data	0 (of 29 total in Russia)	No data	No data	No data
Killed (Ministry of the Interior)	No data	0 (of 16 total in Russia)	0 (of 17 total in Russia)	No data	No data

¹⁵⁰ <http://www.svobodanews.ru/content/article/2000175.html>, last accessed 21 October 2010.

¹⁵¹ <http://www.hro.org/node/169>, last accessed 21 October 2010.

¹⁵² All cooperation partners are listed in the appendix with their Internet addresses (provided they have one).

According to the opinion of Tat'yana Kulbakina of the organisation Humanitarian Youth Movement, the situation in Murmansk is also relatively relaxed regarding racism and the extreme right. Recently, however, the organisation "Slavic Union" founded a local group which unified smaller extreme right-wing groups. Furthermore antifascists and alternative students have been repeatedly assaulted. The assaults occur rather spontaneously and are not part of daily life. It is primarily people from the Caucasus and Central Asian who are exposed to threats (Interview Kulbakina).

Additionally, according to the assessments of Irina Payachkova from Memorial Murmansk and the Kolsk Female Lawyers Union, the local situation in regard to open racist violence in recent years can be summarised as being rather calm. They suspect that Memorial and the Attorney Union do not frequently encounter this topic because in the meantime the non-governmental organisation Aziya (Asia) is looking after the interests of migrants. However, they provide examples that give witness to an openly emerging racist atmosphere in the city. On 20 February 2009, drivers of shared taxis blocked the capital city's traffic in Murmansk to protest against Armenian drivers because they felt pressured by the competition. The militia temporarily arrested several protestors, but still stressed that the conflict had nothing to do with racism (Interview Payachkova).

For Irina Payachkova, the situation regarding racist violence in the army and prisons is more disturbing. She also sees a significant problem with the police. Even in human rights organisations, racist attitudes are not unknown. These primarily concern the attitude toward the native peoples on the peninsula of Kola, the Saami. Payachkova suggested to include the ethnic minority of the Sami in a published questionnaire put together by young human rights activists. The catalogue was supposed to represent the students' attitudes toward their American, German or Caucasian peers but was met with opposition by the human rights activists (Interview Payachkova).

At the same time, Murmansk has recently been witness to a relatively freely operating neo-Nazi scene. The Jewish centre "Light Khasada" has been repeatedly marked with Nazi symbols and anti-Semitic slogans. At the end of May 2009, a group of neo-Nazis attacked a group at an antifascist concert and the victims suffered concussions and open wounds from bottles and bricks. Those present heard the yells of the attackers: "Come on, kill them!"¹⁵³ The police began an investigation that led to the sentencing of four members of the neo-Nazi group "Iron Dockers" in May 2010.¹⁵⁴ The verdict – in three cases sentences of two years and ten months, in once case a sentence of two years and six months plus the payment of damages to two victims – was due to premeditated bodily harm and hooliganism under consideration of a political motive. Those sentenced filed an appeal and the decision has not yet been handed down.

There is another example of incitement to racist violence in the region. On 13 April 2010, the private local station TV-21 reported that on bus stops and other random places in the city, stickers could be seen that clearly had a racist motive.¹⁵⁵ On the stickers two people were represented in black and white, and the white person was holding a pistol to the head of the black person. Printed underneath was a call to kill migrants. For the city of Murmansk, such calls for killing represent a new phenomenon, but at least directly after this news became public outraged reactions followed in the public. However, a slew of complaints at the state prosecutor's office brought absolutely no result. The people who filed charges were invited to talk with the state prosecutor's office, though the focus was less on the problem of the stickers than the exceptional interest in the calls to kill.

153 <http://xeno.sova-center.ru/45A29F2/D0B79E2>, last accessed 21 October 2010.

154 <http://xeno.sova-center.ru/45A2A1E/ED3A26F>, last accessed 21 October 2010.

155 Yakimov 2010a: 2.

Regional Cooperation Partners¹⁵⁶

The organisation Humanitarian Youth Movement was founded in 2003. Its goals are to strengthen tolerance, solidarity and democracy among youth as well as to initiate measures against racism and discrimination. The organisation carries out its own independent research, educational and cultural projects. This includes training in democracy and an international youth festival for political art. The projects are in part implemented within the framework of international cooperation. In addition, the organisation works with independent antifascists in the region.

Memorial Murmansk, like the Kolsk Female Lawyers Union (Kolskaya Assotsiatsiya Zhenshchin-Yuristov) over which Irina Payachova presides, offers counselling and support for victims of bias-motivated crimes. Their area of activity covers the entire field of human rights infringements in the region. In addition to the pure legal counselling and representation of the interests of those concerned in court, known events are documented and compared with the statistics from the police authorities.

The non-governmental organisation Aziya (Asia) counsels migrants in questions of residency law, and also cooperates in this capacity with the state migration services and supports migrants in other concerns.

The social-psychological centre Maximum offers legal counselling and a wide spectrum of support services for victims of discrimination and homophobia.

Local human rights organisations regularly document cases of human rights infringements, but there is no systematic monitoring of the situation regarding racist violence.

THE YEKATERINBURG AND SVERDLOVSK AREA

Number of Victims and Their Situation

Yekaterinburg (1924–1991: Sverdlovsk) lies exactly 40 km east of the imaginary border between Europe and Asia. It is the fourth largest city in Russia with 1.3 million inhabitants and is the most important industrial and university city on the Ural. Yekaterinburg is the administrative, scientific, educational and cultural centre of the Ural region. The city boasts 20 post-secondary schools and universities with a high percentage of international students.

An overview of the developments of the preceding years has been compiled from the statistical data of the Moscow information centre SOVA:

	2010 1 st six months	2009	2008	2007	2006
Injured	2 (of 148 total in Russia)	21 (of 411 total in Russia)	16 (of 497 total in Russia)	17 (of 622 total in Russia)	6 (of 522 total in Russia)
Killed	0 (of 19 total in Russia)	1 (of 80 total in Russia)	4 (of 114 total in Russia)	3 (of 92 total in Russia)	0 (of 66 total in Russia)
Severely injured (Ministry of the Interior)	No data	0 (of 29 total in Russia)	No data	No data	No data
Killed (Ministry of the Interior)	No data	0 (of 16 total in Russia)	0 (of 17 total in Russia)	No data	No data

The situation in regard to bias-motivated crimes is significantly tenser than in the cities already mentioned in north western Russia. In the region neo-Nazis enjoy a distinctive organisational structure and openly make their presence known. In addition, there are new groups

appearing in the region such as “NS-Straight Edge.”¹⁵⁷

Violence motivated by racism is mainly aimed at foreign students in the city. In September 2005, a Thai student of the Ural State University was attacked and injured by right-wing skinheads. After this incident, all universities in Yekaterinburg offered lectures on security for foreign students. Migrants from the Caucasus and Central Asia as well as all people with a supposed “non-Slavic” appearance constitute targets of attack for violence motivated by racism. Furthermore, assaults on antifascists, alternative youth and homeless people are common. In the region there are no support services for the victims, and there is also no regional monitoring.

Regional Cooperation Partners¹⁵⁸

The organisation Ural Refugees Union (UAB) has been in existence since 1993 and supports migrants from the former Soviet republics in dealing with various bureaucratic needs, such as applying for Russian citizenship. The staff members participate in parliamentary hearings and organise events concerning questions of migration. The Union works with the Tatar, Kirgiz and Armenian communities, universities, the public administration and the House of Peace and Friendship, one of the regional administrations under the supervisor of the administrative Centre for Children, Youth and Adults. Victims of right-wing, racist violence have not made use of the organisation so far. The director of this organisation is Lyudmila Lukasheva. She is also an expert at the State Duma for Citizenship and Migration Affairs. According to Lukasheva, there are wide-reaching measures against the extreme right-wing in Yekaterinburg. In comparison to cities like Moscow and St. Petersburg, the situation is under control (Interview Lukasheva). This opinion is also shared by Gleb Edelev, the director of the Centre of the Movement against Violence. The journalist is primarily politically active in the field of anti-militarism. Generally, the Centre against Violence does advocacy work in other fields that generally includes ecological questions and human rights. The topic of bias-motivated crime is not a focal point of the organisation (Interview Edelev). The present information on violent crimes motivated by racism contradicts, however, the assessments of Lukasheva and Edelev.

All in all, it is conspicuous that the awareness regarding bias-motivated crimes by people who do not directly occupy themselves with this phenomenon is very minimal. Against a background of an extremely high number of killed victims throughout the country, less severe cases of violent criminal attacks increasingly are openly interpreted as harmless in the northern regions. This tendency alone is alarming in itself.

¹⁵⁷ The right-wing NS Straight Edge Scene focuses on the leftist alternative youth movement Straight Edge that came out of the punk and hard core scenes in the USA at the beginning of the 1980s. The rejection of drugs, alcohol, tobacco and frequent change of sex partners is typical. In addition, vegetarian or vegan diets are becoming increasingly prevalent. Neo-Nazis are increasingly adopting this lifestyle and include Straight Edge in the ideology of the pure ethnic community.

¹⁵⁸ All cooperation partners are listed in the appendix with their Internet addresses (provided they have one).

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER ACTION

The statistics and interviews presented here show how alarming and threatening the situation is for (potential) victims of racist, right-wing violence in Russia. Many people of Central Asian and Caucasian background live as migrant workers in Russia and are exposed to complex forms of discrimination such as a precarious legal status, dangerous working conditions, substandard wages, low social status, harassment and abuse by racist attackers as well as the police. For the attackers it is not just the background of the victim that is a determining factor in the assault. People are attacked due to racist motives because of their “non-Slavic” appearance or because their behaviour or appearance does not fit into the perpetrator’s image of the “Russian ethnic community” (e.g. due to their sexual orientation or membership in a subculture). At the same time the existing data represent only the tip of the iceberg regarding everyday racist violence in Russia. The people concerned are often not ready to press charges or to register the attack with independent monitoring projects out of fear. Here, it is important to again stress that particular bodily injuries barely appear in the statistics, because the authorities often do not accept or investigate obvious racist motives of violent crimes.

Racist violent crimes against people with “non-Slavic” appearance are comparatively well documented, while monitoring projects in regard to other victim groups (e.g. victims of homophobic violence) are only just beginning to be organised. In contrast to the metropolises of Moscow and St. Petersburg there is a local lack of necessary resources for civil society initiatives and organisations in the regions to carry out comprehensive research or adequately support the above-named victim groups. At the same time, according to the base data and the expert opinions, it seems plausible that the extent of violent acts in the regions varies, with Moscow and St. Petersburg being the most strongly affected.

Conclusion: Monitoring

In Russia three sets of supra-regional statistics on bias-motivated crime are compiled by the Russian Ministry of the Interior and two NGOs (SOVA and the Moscow Bureau for Human Rights). Both NGOs suspect a high number of unreported cases of violent crimes motivated by racism. On the one hand, many victims do not press charges. On the other hand, a motive of racism is not adequately recognised even in cases that are investigated. The NGOs’ lack of contact with migrants is another reason the assaults do not appear in the independent statistics. Furthermore, the various methodologies of gathering statistics and the numbers of agencies and authorities involved are problematic.

We are of the opinion that the systematic and continuous research and documentation of racist and right-wing assaults is imperative for victim counselling. First, services should be offered soon after the attacks to the persons concerned who do not seek help themselves. Second, monitoring is necessary in order to realistically comprehend as much as possible the extent of right-wing, racist violence in the Russian Federation. Research and documentation projects can contribute to exposing the high number of unreported cases and to inform the public about the situation of victims of racist and right-wing violence. Statistical studies and their analyses are relevant in order to carry out international lobbying for the persons concerned and to counter the trivialisation of the situation on the part of the investigative authorities and those politically responsible. Provided the people affected by the violence give their permission, publications of individual attacks and their consequences could also contribute to raising public awareness.

Conclusion: Counselling and Support for Victims of Right-Wing and Racist Violence

Most of the victims of racist attacks do not press charges because they fear additional discrimination from the investigative authorities. Most notably, illegalised people (persons without legal residency status and registration) are put under pressure by the demand of bribes from bureaucrats, with all levels of the police profiting from it economically.¹⁵⁹ Additionally, the systematic use of violence is an important rudiment of the police system in contemporary Russia. Minorities who are discriminated against in Russia are particularly threatened by this.

Victims and their family members hardly have a chance of having a comprehensive investigation without an attorney. Most of the injured do not have the financial means to hire a legal advisor. As a whole, the juristic support of the victims of racist and right-wing violent crimes in Russia must be pronounced as poor. The institutionally limited chances to represent one's own interests depend on the financial resources of the person concerned. In previous years, the investigative authorities increased *ex officio* activities. This happened, however, primarily in cases in which additional pressure from the supervisors and public office holders was applied.

Most of the support services offered are specific to each victim group and dependent on the concerned person's integration in social networks. Access to long-term medical services is also dependent on the social capital of the person. Professional, independent counselling services for the victims of racist and other bias-motivated offences are lacking in Russia. The "informal" alternatives of the projects do not allow for the provision of long-term medical, legal, social or psychological support. The insufficient financial resources often make possible only the implementation of projects with temporal and conceptual limits. In particular, sustainable and basic concepts for the support of people are lacking in rural regions of Russia, which in the long run cannot be said to be a result of the lack of secured financial perspectives of the projects. In fact, the situation in St. Petersburg, Moscow and Voronezh is better in comparison to many other regions, although the existing projects were able to improve the situation of those concerned only to a limited degree.

Recommendations for Action: Monitoring

Recommendations for Possible Donors:

- Existing structures must be strengthened conceptually and financially. Conceptual workshops in Russia and exchange projects should be supported with monitoring organisations (also international ones) already in place.
- Funds should be provided for specific outreach work in existing projects.
- In cooperation with the OSCE/ODIHR, the development and implementation of professional education for the staff of prosecuting authorities should be made possible.

Recommendations for Potential Civil Society Actors:

- Cooperation with migrant communities in the area of monitoring should be extensively expanded and developed.
- Cooperation of initiatives, networks, individual persons and established NGOs should be intensified through commonly organised events and professional education.
- Civil society organisations should agree on unified criteria for the statistical compilation of bias-motivated crimes.
- Seminars for trainers should be offered in order to provide the most extensive and uniform research and documentation activities possible. (A good example was the seminar in Voronezh, a SOVA vocational training activity).
- Monitoring should be combined with a proactive victim counselling approach.

159 Cf. Gilinskiy 2009.

Recommendations for Action: Counselling and Support for Victims of Right-Wing and Racist Violence

Recommendations for Potential Donors:

- Specific counselling projects should be established in Russia.
- Experience from Germany shows that counselling processes must be implemented for the long term. In addition, counselling projects have the obligation to develop trust and a high profile in each target group. These conditions should be taken into consideration when supporting projects.
- Funding should be made available for personnel (psychologists, jurists, translators) and for setting up the physical infrastructure of the counselling project.
- Financial support for those affected by bias-motivated offences should be made possible in the form of a fund that covers the expenses caused by an assault. Among these are moving costs or support due to the inability to work.
- The setting up and structuring of a legal aid fund for people affected by right-wing and racist violence should be promoted.
- The necessary informational material for victim counselling projects should be financially supported so that the people affected by racist and right-wing violence can find out about the services.
- The initiatives and projects should be supported in the development of a regionally specific conception of work with people affected by right-wing and racist violence.
- The conceptual development and setting up of counselling projects in Russia should be financially supported.
- Regular network meetings of national as well as international actors should be made possible in order to improve exchange between projects as well as to strengthen the lobby for those concerned.
- The development and financing of cooperation and exchange programmes for the staff of Russian NGOs and existing victim counselling facilities in other countries should be developed and supported.
- Possibilities to professionalise victim counselling in the projects should be reviewed.
- The exchange of experience and networking with other projects and organisations that already work in counselling and/or in the area of monitoring or want to enter this work should be strengthened.
- Communication and networking with potential groups affected by violence should be built up or strengthened.
- A region-specific concept in step with actual practice should be developed for basic, pro-active victim counselling. When hiring new staff members, the project should take care to choose people who are members of migrant communities or who have access to the communities and who possess the required language competencies.
- Professional education for staff in areas like psycho-social counselling, basic knowledge of the law and legal support, the recognition of post-traumatic stress disorder, crisis intervention, and intercultural communication should be organised and carried out.
- Awareness raising and motivating of lawyers who can represent the interests of the victims, their family members and the witnesses in investigative processes and in court should be systematically carried out.
- The forms of communication and contacting the investigative authorities and courts should be reviewed and investigated as needed.
- Systematic outreach work should be carried out in order to make the counselling services goal-oriented enough for potential supporters of the work and for those who benefit from it.

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Sabine Seyb for the ReachOut team

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LIST OF INTERVIEWS ACCORDING TO REGION ¹⁶⁰

Region/City	Organisation	Name/Function
Moscow	Moscow Protestant Chaplaincy http://www.mcprussia.org	Rev. Brankema, Robert K.
	Fund Tajikistan	Dzhuraeva, Gavkhar
	Civic Assistance Committee (Komitet Grazhdanskoe Sodeystvie) http://www.refugee.ru	Kokorina, Ekaterina
	SOVA http://www.sova-center.ru	Kozhevnikova, Galina
	Russian LGBT Network (Rossiyskaya LGBT-Set') http://lgbtnet.ru	Kochetkov, Igor' Sozaev, Valery
St. Petersburg	Institut Prava im. Printsya P.G. Oldenburgskogo http://www.law.spb.ru	Gutnikov, Arkadiy
	Rossiyskoe molodezhnoe dvizhenie Oborona http://oborona-spb.org	Ivantsov, Maksim
	Vykhod – St. Petersburg LGBT Organisation * Sankt-Peterburgskaya LGBT Organizatsiya http://piter.lgbtnet.ru	Kochetkov, Igor' Sozaev, Valery
	Antidiscrimination Centre Memorial (Andiskriminatsionnyy Tsentr Memorial') http://www.memorial.spb.ru	Kulaeva, Stefaniya
	Sankt-Peterburgskaya regional'naya blagotvoritel'naya obshchestvennaya organizatsiya pomoshchi litsam bez opre- del'ennogo mesta zhitel'stva Nochleshka http://www.homeless.ru	Solovieva, Zoia Karlinskiy, Igor'
	Smolny College: Smolnyy institut svobodnykh nauk i iskusstv SPbGU http://www.smolny.ru	Dubrovskyy, Dmitriy
Voronezh	Youth Human Rights Movement http://www.yhrm.org	Aksenova, Irina Kozlov, Aleksey
	Youth Human Rights Movement (Voronezh und Bamberg)	Hagenau, Iwi
Stavropol	Süd-Unterstützung/Stavropol'skiy kraevoy obshchestvennyy fond Sodeystvie-Yug Fund for Support of the South http://www.stavropolfond.ru	Efimov, Yuriy

160 The above list is not complete, as some interviewees have refused their consent for publication, due to different reasons

Region/City	Organisation	Name/Function
	Alter Vita	Vishnevskiy, Konstantin
Petrozavodsk	Youth Human Rights Group (YHRG)	Efimov, Maksim
Murmansk	Humanitarian Youth Movement	Kulbakina, Tatyana
	Kolskaya Assotsiatsiya Zhenshchin-Yuristov (Kolsk Female Lawyers Union)	Paykachova, Irina
	Socio-Psychological Centre and Legal Counselling for Victims of Discrimination and Homophobia (Maximum)	Alekseenko, Sergey
Yekaterinburg	Centre of the Movement against Violence http://sites.google.com/site/dpninfo	Edelev, Gleb, Journalist
	Ural Refugee Union	Lukasheva, Lyudmila, Expert in the State Duma for Migration Affairs

APPENDIX

Interview Lead Questions

General

- Name of the Organisation
- Region/City

About the person

- Name of the interview partner
- Role within the organisation

Form of occupation

- Do you work continuously for this project or do you change projects?

Resources

- What kind of office space does the project have?
- Are you able to accept visitors there?
- Do you have volunteers who support the work of your organisation?
- Do you seek advice from attorneys or experts?
- How do you finance your work?

Persons concerned

- With which target groups do you work? (migrant workers, refugees, ethnic minorities, etc.)
- How is the work organised?
- Which services do you offer?

Right-wing, racist violence

- How do you assess the situation of right-wing and racist violence in your city/region?
- What is the situation of the victims?
- What is required to improve the situation of the victims?
- Which public/state reactions are there to right-wing, racist violence?
- Do you provide special counselling services for people affected by right-wing, racist violence?
- Are you planning to offer such services in the near future?

SWOT Analyses

MOSCOW

Goal: Improvement of the situation of persons affected by racist violence (hate crime offences) in Moscow

SWOT-ANALYSIS MOSCOW		Internal Analysis	
		Strengths <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. There are several organisations and actors active in the area of victim counselling 2. Various counselling services (legal, child psychology and counselling for migrant workers) 3. The organisation Civic Assistance enjoys a good reputation on the part of the authorities 4. The police and state prosecutorial authorities have begun to investigate in a significantly improved manner 5. Multilingual hotline for affected persons 6. Cooperation exists 7. Strong motivation among organisations 	Weaknesses <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Victim counselling makes up only a small part of the work of each organisation 2. No organisation is explicitly involved in the counselling of victims of racist violence 3. Too few financial means are provided for comprehensive counselling and assistance (especially funds for legal counselling)
External Analysis	Opportunities <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Institutionalisation of the work 2. Establishment of an advice centre for affected persons 3. Draws international attention 	S-O Strategies <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Expansion of common or existing premises 2. Concentration of competencies 3. Concentration of knowledge and fostering cooperation (e.g. through seminars) 4. Initiation and support of pilot project(s) 	W-O Strategies <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Determine focus and offer professional education events 2. Provide financial funds for counselling projects 3. Strengthen personnel competencies in the area of counselling of victims of right-wing and racist violence
	Threats <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Hindrances from legislative and executive branch 2. Danger for the employees 	S-T Strategies <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. International patronage (e.g. through foundations) 2. National patronages (authorities, ombudsman, politicians) 3. Create publicity through media partnerships 	T-S Strategies <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Legal support for the organisations/staff members 2. International advocacy coalitions to strengthen the organisations and to protect the staff members

ST. PETERSBURG

Goal: Improvement of the situation of persons affected by racist violence (hate crime offences) in St. Petersburg

SWOT-ANALYSIS ST. PETERSBURG		Internal Analysis	
		Strengths	Weaknesses
External Analysis	Opportunities 1. Institutionalisation of the work 2. Establishment of an advice centre for affected persons 3. Focus of international and national attention	S-O Strategies 1. Empower existing organisations 2. Concentrate resources 3. Create advice centres 4. Create financial parameters 5. Qualify personnel	W-O Strategies 1. Advertise existing services/create publicity 2. Cooperation with the press, academia and policy makers 3. Create a basis for long-term financing/support by applying for financial help
	Threats 1. Hindrances from the legislative and executive branches 2. Danger for employees	S-T Strategies 1. Seek out partners in media and politics 2. Set up foundations and donors as advocates for the projects/promote national supporters 3. Improve cooperation between police and counselling centres (where appropriate)	T-S Strategies 1. Legal support for the organisation and the staff members 2. International advocacy coalitions to strengthen the organisation and to protect the employees

VORONEZH

Goal: Improvement of the situation for people affected by racist violence (hate crime offences) in Voronezh

		Internal Analysis		
		Strengths	Weaknesses	
SWOT-ANALYSIS VORONEZH		Strengths 1. International networks 2. Emergency telephone for affected persons 3. Monitoring of racist violent crimes 4. Appropriate premises in the House of Human Rights	Weaknesses 1. No long-term financing 2. No explicit counselling for victims of racist violence/hate crime offences 3. Limited human resources	
		External Analysis	Opportunities 1. Professionalization of the work 2. Creation of an advice centre for affected persons	S-O Strategies 1. Strengthen monitoring for the region 2. Professionalise emergency telephone 3. Create concept for the area of Voronezh
		Threats 1. Hindrances from the legislative and executive branches 2. Danger for employees 3. Closing of the premises	S-T Strategies 1. Qualify counsellors in workshops 2. Set up foundations and donors as advocates for the projects/promote national supporters 3. Improve cooperation between police and counselling centres (where appropriate)	T-S Strategies 1. Clarify financing 2. Legal support for the organisation and the staff members 3. International advocacy coalitions to strengthen the organisation and to protect the employees

CONCEPT AND METHODOLOGY (REACHOUT)

- Founding of project: 2001
- A staff of six
- Project of the non-profit association, ARIBA e.V.
- Financed through federal and provincial funding

Overview of ReachOut's Services

Counselling – Assistance and Support for Affected Persons

- For victims of right-wing, racist and anti-Semitic violence in Berlin
- For family members and friends
- For witnesses

Intervention and Outreach

- Awareness raising for the situation of the persons affected
- Initiate strategies of solidarity

Research and Documentation

- Contacting the person who was assaulted
- Comprehending the scope of the assault and publishing the data

Educational Activities

- Workshops
- Seminars
- Empowerment training
- Events

Principles in Counselling

- Low-threshold
- Holistic
- Partisan
- Pro-active
- Voluntary
- Anonymous, if desired
- Free of charge

Every single step will be discussed together!

Nothing happens without the express consent of the concerned person!

The following are part of the counselling services...

- Counselling and emotional support after an assault
- Assistance with decisions about a further course of action

The intake session

- Introduction of the counselling services
- Listening: Giving the victims time and space to explain their own perspectives
- Crisis intervention if needed
- Asking questions, clarifying the situation
- Psychosocial, legal and financial issues

Centres for legal assistance and guidance

- Information on possible legal avenues (pressing charges, civil suits)
- Support in the search for an attorney
- Accompaniment to police, authorities and court dates
- Preparation for court cases and follow-up on judicial proceedings

Centres for financial assistance

- Counselling on alternatives for financial support
- Assistance in filling out applications

Psychosocial counselling

- In connection with assaults in the immediate environment of the home (also support in finding a new dwelling)
- Support for appointments and applications (Employment Office, Housing Office, etc.)
- In connection with assaults at the workplace (e.g. dialogue with employer)
- Assistance with residency problems as a result of the assault
- Investigation of other advice centres (e.g. with residency problems)
- Investigation of therapeutical services for post-traumatic stress syndrome

Research

- Daily research of the print media
- Daily research of press statements of the police
- Information from the cooperation partners from the district-level administrations
- Information on victims and witnesses
- Checking back with the investigative authorities

Documentation

- Berlin-wide “Chronicle”
- City plan with the “crime scenes” on the Internet site
- Photographic display of the “Berliner crime scenes – Documents on right-wing, racist and anti-Semitic violence”
- Database

Interventions...

... in the social environment of the concerned persons

- Interlocutions in the social environment of the concerned persons (friends, relatives, neighbours)
- Local analysis of threatening situations through talks with cooperation partners, contact persons, (potential) victims
- Search for other affected persons if needed
- Initiation of and support for public relations
- Initiation of events on behalf of the (potential) victims
- Investigation of contacts at local initiatives and facilities

... on the local political level

- Interlocutions with cooperations partners, e.g. networks, round tables, mobile counselling teams, antifascist initiatives
- Initiating contact and dialogue with local policy makers
- Initiating contact with authorities and institutions (e.g. police and schools)
- Setting up events
- Initiation of and support for public relations

The Concept of ReachOut**1. Political Situation**

Within the conception of the counselling project of ReachOut, a correlation is made with the relationships between direct right-wing, racist and anti-Semitic violent crimes and the everyday discrimination or exclusionary policies toward (potential) victims.

People who belong to ethnic, political, religious, cultural, and social minorities, along with people who are not heteronormative or gender conforming, are often beaten, persecuted and threatened or socially disadvantaged or excluded. In addition, discrimination and stigmatisation do not occur only with right-wing extremist criminals. In addition, the force of discrimination and stigmatisation is not only a result of extreme right-wing, violent perpetrators; rather, this is experienced within every facet of social life. However, solidarity and empathy with the victims of assaults and threats rarely form along these lines. Not infrequently, the perpetrators are given confirmation and acceptance in their environments. Therefore, a counselling project for victims of right-wing, racist and anti-Semitic assaults should be initiated and structured in accordance with discussions on the social and political perspectives of those affected. Fundamentally, the question at hand is how to strengthen the position of the groups concerned and oppose the logic of inequality in the field of public education and relations with the appropriate means. If awareness training and processes of solidarity are able to be initiated and supported, that means a larger measure of security and protection for the (potential) victims.

2. Goals

The goal of ReachOut is to contribute to the creation of social relations and political circumstances in which all people, independent from their appearance and heritage, or their sexual or religious orientation, have the same chances for access to social resources. The project is engaged in the realisation and protection of human and minority rights. The aim is to bring about the social condemnation and punishment of right-wing, racist and anti-Semitic attitudes and actions.

ReachOut advocates for attention to be paid to the perceptions and explanations of the persons affected, whose fear should be taken seriously, and for society to treat the victims with respect.

ReachOut wants to make sure that the most (potential) victims possible of right-wing, racist and anti-Semitic violence know about the counselling services and that they get the support they are entitled to. The counselling work is based on the basic principle “help for self-help”.

The goal is to counsel and accompany the affected persons in decision-making processes. In the counselling process, they find support in dealing with the assault. In the work of ReachOut, the perspective of the victims and potential victims of right-wing, racist and anti-Semitic violence are the focal point. All activities are based on the recognition, protection and respect of minorities who are discriminated against. The professionalization of counselling structures and the support and initiation of local district civil society initiatives should be realised.

3. Activities

The focus of the work of ReachOut is on victim counselling and the counselling and support of witnesses, family members and friends.

Other focal points of ReachOut lie in the field of research and documentation, community work in the various districts of Berlin, and in educational work and public outreach. These individual fields are tightly integrated with one another.

4. Conceptual Foundations for Counselling Work

The work of the ReachOut team takes place on its own premises as well as in external places. The counselling sessions are carried out by two staff members when possible.

In order to ensure the quality of the work and the further development of the competencies of the staff members, the team participates in need-based and practical professional education activities. Due to the high demands placed on the staff members, case and team supervision is necessary.

In most cases, during an assault the person concerned is robbed of the possibility to make decisions and to act. Therefore, strengthening the victims in their self-esteem and supporting the regaining of their psychical stability and ability to act are the main goals of the counselling process. The counselling practise of ReachOut is based on activating the resources of the victim and facilitating their cooperation. Bringing in the family members and other important, relevant people who are of crucial significance in processing the assault is necessary in the counselling framework.

The counselling services are structured to be low-threshold, without long waiting times, and are free of charge and anonymous, based on reciprocal trust and geared to the victim.

Low-threshold means concretely: if the persons concerned turn to ReachOut directly, they determine to what extent and where the intake session will take place. It is their decision if they visit our project with friends or family members or if ReachOut staff members counsel the person in another place.

Visiting the client(s) at home, i.e. in their immediate environment, is of crucial importance. One reason for doing this is to accommodate the individual's needs and possible alternatives, and also so that the team can get an impression of the conditions at hand. Mobile counselling can also mean, in other counselling centres, being present at youth and self-help facilities according to need. In this way integration and cooperation with existing local structures can be supported.

Low-threshold in counselling work also means that the team begin to research how one can get in contact with the victim as soon as the first information comes in about an assault (police reports, newspaper reports, and tips from third parties) clearly motivated by right-wing extremism, racism or anti-Semitism.

The current situation of the person concerned is analysed at the intake session and suitable support services are offered. "Help for self-help", implemented in 2001, is one of the most important foundations of counselling work. Two counsellors usually carry out the intake session.

First contacts come about if the victim, their family member or witnesses of an assault directly turn to other projects or counselling facilities after an assault. First contacts are also made possible by ReachOut through active research and the activation of an existing network structure.

Within the confines of an intake session, it is first necessary to give the victim the needed room and time in order to relate their perspective on this assault and to express their physical and psychological pain. The counsellors introduce the concrete counselling services and the various alternatives for action. Additionally, the assault situation and its

background for the meaning of the case are determined together with the concerned person, in order to make the information accessible to other (potential) victims.

Simultaneously, directly after the intake session, it is discussed in the team if and which cooperation partners will be brought into the further process of individual counselling or in the scope of community work. The results of this discussion are discussed with the person concerned. Every single step in the counselling process is done with the full consent of the person concerned.

After the first intake session the participating staff members lay out plans for assistance by means of the documented session.

Finally, within the framework of the regular case discussions in the team, it is determined how the long-term counselling process can be structured.

The quality and effectiveness of the counselling process must be secured for the long-term. In our experience, it is not possible to set a limit on the timeframe of the counselling. There are other factors that are neither influenced by the person concerned nor the counsellors. One of these is the long period of time until the opening of the trial, psychosocial factors that disturb the life of the person concerned after such an assault, and frequently the presence of post-traumatic stress syndrome. Therefore, ReachOut must be able to provide far-reaching, long-term support and assistance to victims of right-wing, racist and anti-Semitic violence.

The most important prerequisite for a successful course of counselling from the perspective of the person concerned is the absolute trustworthiness and respect for the needs of this person. The impression that decisions are being made without their input should never be allowed to be made. This is also true even if the chosen measures appear to be logical and necessary.

If it is necessary to have an individual crisis intervention or a long-term course of trauma therapy for the victim due to their psychological state after the assault, with the consent of the person concerned we begin the psychological counselling for victims of right-wing, racist, and anti-Semitic violence.

5. Target Groups in Counselling

The counselling services of ReachOut are aimed at:

- a. All victims of right-wing, racist and anti-Semitic violence and threats. Pressing charges or not after the assault plays no role. Additionally, the penal relevance of each assault is not a deciding factor for the counselling and support of the person concerned. However, there must be traceable indicators for right-wing, racist or anti-Semitic motives.
- b. Witnesses, family members, friends and people in the social circle of the person. This is because for the victim, the usual quality of life is destroyed. That is why the assault and its consequences also have a significant effect on the victim's environment. The way they deal with the situation can be crucial for the victim in processing the event. This can also be the case for the wider environment, namely, the social and political groups concerned. Here, there is another important aspect to consider: with attacks on individuals the perpetrator often aims to intimidate, psychologically and physically injure an entire group, with the end goal of driving them away. That is, each and every individual of the group could be a victim of an assault. In this case, counselling means finding ways to strengthen the whole group and allow "help for self-help".

6. Monitoring

6.1. Documentation of right-wing, racist and anti-Semitic assaults

In the field of public relations the knowledge of the team about the situation of assaults in Berlin and current developments in the districts are of particular importance and interest for representatives of the media, cooperation partners, social scientists, politicians and other stakeholders. These make up most of the inquiries at ReachOut. This requires that the gathering of statistics and the documentation of attacks is always kept up to date.

The database

The foundation of the documentation and statistical evaluation of ReachOut is a database that was jointly developed by victim counselling projects in eastern German states and Berlin. This database corresponds to the practical needs and standards of quality that were worked out together, which are meaningful for all projects dealing with counselling work and the research and documentation of assaults.

Each individual assault is recorded according to the following categories:

- The date of the assault
- District
- Number and gender of the victims (those directly affected)
- Number and gender of the witnesses (those indirectly affected)
- Complaints filed
- Motive of the assault
- Constitutive elements of the crime
- Social space (crime scene)

Each counselling session is recorded according to the following categories:

- Beginning and end of each “counselling case”
- Total number, gender and age of the counselled victims (those directly affected)
- Total number of the assaults perpetrated
- Victim group (crime motive)
- Constitutive elements of the crime
- Total number, gender and age of those indirectly affected, itemised according to those “indirectly involved”: witnesses, family members, friends and others
- The type and number of support services provided such as psychosocial counselling, accompaniment to various institutions, translating services, referrals to other facilities/centres and help with filling out forms.

The statistical analysis can be carried out according to various criteria, methoding time period and the above mentioned categories.

The Chronicle

In addition to the documentation of the assaults in the database, the results of the research are documented, continually updated and published to the greatest extent possible in the “Chronicle of Right-wing, Racist and anti-Semitic Assaults and Threats in Berlin”, a Berlin-wide publication of ReachOut. Included are reports from the police, the media and from cooperation partners.

The documentation of right-wing, racist and anti-Semitic assaults should contribute to being able to record the extent and developments of assaults as realistically as possible, and thereby create a foundation and to develop/support necessary and sustainable counter measures.

It should be noted that not all victims that are counselled by ReachOut want their assault to be documented in the Berlin Chronicle. Due to fear of further threats, they reject any form of publicity. This wish is, of course, respected.

The Chronicle is used not only in the framework of public relations by ReachOut but also from cooperation partners.

The exhibit “Berlin Crime Scenes – Documents of Right-wing, Racist and anti-Semitic Violence”

The photographic exhibit visualizes selected texts from the Berlin Chronicle. The exhibit is an appeal not to look away, to get involved and to get help when others are threatened and attacked – even and especially in places which are not as familiar, where the majority is denied their right to stay and live their everyday lives just like everyone else.

If needed, the team from ReachOut remains open to concurrent events. By doing this, the exhibit affords an additional opportunity to inform the Berlin districts about the extent of right-wing violence and to discuss possible responses to it.

During the exhibit, its catalogue is handed out to the visitors, it being an important foundation for education and public outreach.

The interactive city map: Berlin Crime Scenes.

With the help of the interactive city map, information about assaults in Berlin can be graphically presented on the website. In the interactive city map, all of the assaults that we continually update in our Chronicle according to date are entered and able to be publically searched. The places of the assaults are listed on the city map. One can carry out a search on the corresponding event (crime scene, date, short description of the assault) in text form. Furthermore, each district and the assaults that took place there are shown.

6.1. Research: Goals and Conception

The continual, reliable and professional research of assaults belongs to the list of duties at ReachOut.

The goal of the research work is to find out to what extent an assault or a threat had a right-wing, racist or anti-Semitic motive. The task is to sound out which possibilities there are to get in touch with the concerned persons in order to allow them to take advantage of our support services and to precipitate the intake session. This targeted offering of our counselling is above all significant if the person concerned has no self-evident access to information and projects in their immediate environment.

In addition, the work is about increasing the sensibility of the investigative authorities to the possibility of a right-wing, racist or anti-Semitic background of an assault.

It is also part of the research to find out which police officials are carrying out the investigation, to contact journalists and hospitals, survey district representatives, such as commissioners for migration, city district managers and district initiatives, and have dialogues with self-organised groups and contact/counselling centres.

The research has the simultaneous effect that existing contacts are kept up and new contacts are gained with each research. The trust of the dialogue partners, which is developed in dialogues during the research process, is the foundation for their support in relaying information about our services to affected persons. Additionally, the projects and contact persons who work with us in carrying out research are frequently important for further interventions when it comes to noticeable concentrations of assaults in a district or area of the city. Furthermore, these contacts become necessary in individual cases when support is needed in the search for witnesses or other material for evidence.

If the team finds out about court proceedings against right-wing or racist motivated perpetrators, we attend the proceedings in order to get in contact with the victims and offer our support.

The investigative authorities in Berlin work frequently with categorisations that are not able to openly indicate a right-wing, racist or anti-Semitic background or motive of an assault.

In conversations carried out during our research and in written inquiries, we indicate possible gaps in the investigation of the crime motives with information from our web site,

and by doing so contribute to raising the awareness of the authorities who have the power of defining these categorisations.

In conclusion ...

For the struggle against right-wing extremism, racism and anti-Semitism, it is necessary to have a lot of patience, courage, and continuous engagement. Therefore, the counselling and monitoring projects must have the chance to develop a long-term perspective anchored in civil society.

AUTHORS

DR. TATIANA GOLOVA, born in 1977 in St. Petersburg, received her PhD in sociology and has been working at the Otto von Guericke University in Magdeburg since October 2009. Her areas of focus are political sociology and the sociology of space. Currently, she is carrying out research on the white noise music scene in Russia. From 1996 to 2000 she worked as a volunteer for/with the non-profit antifascist Commission of Memorial in St. Petersburg. Together with Ute Weinmann she produced two brochures on the position of Chechen refugees in Russia, Eastern Europe and Germany for the political education department of the Heinrich Böll Foundation and organised events on the topic. For years, she has been active in developing international contacts among German and Russian civil society actors.

ROBERT KUSCHE, born in 1983, has a BA in political science and currently is finishing his MA in Eastern European Studies at the Free University of Berlin. He has also studied at the Technical University of Dresden, the Higher School of Economics in Moscow and the University of Birmingham. While fulfilling his civil service, he worked in Moscow for Memorial and also for the rights of asylum seekers. He is involved in developing international contacts among German and Russian civil society actors. In addition, he organizes and leads seminars on the topic of neo-Nazism.

UTE WEINMANN, born 1968, received her MA degree in political science. Since 1999, she has been working in Moscow for the non-profit organisation Aktion Sühnezeichen Friedensdienste. From 1999 until 2002 she was employed by the University of Osnabrück and carried out research on the so-called “eastern workers”, and also participated on a follow-up project on the study of the forced labour system during the Nazi period in the city of Bentheim. In addition, she worked on other projects focusing on migration.

As a journalist, she writes for the Jungle World as well as the antifascist magazine “The Right Edge” and is co-author of a book on Russian protest movements. She organised events about the former Soviet Union for the Heinrich Böll Foundation’s political education department. Together with Tatiana Golova she produced two brochures on the situation of Chechen refugees in and outside of Russia.

With cooperation from

ANZHELIKA AVDEEVA was born in 1969 in Archangelsk, Russia. In 2000, she finished her BA studies in social work at the Medical University in Archangelsk. In 2007, she received her MA in social work with the thesis “Social Work as a Human Rights Profession.”

Anzhelika Avdeeva has worked with ReachOut since 2002 and works as a translator for various organisations in the field of human rights. She also leads empowerment seminars for the Antidiscrimination Network (ADNB) of the Turkish Union of Berlin-Brandenburg.

Within the capacity of her alumni activities for the Rosa-Luxemburg Foundation and the German-Russian Exchange (DRA), she has organised events, published articles and held lectures.

SEBASTIAN FRIEDRICH, born in 1985 in Halle (Saale), studies social pedagogy/social work at the Evangelical University in Berlin. He is involved in several anti-racist and anti-fascist initiatives. In the year 2009, he concluded a five-month internship at ReachOut in Berlin.

Sebastian Friedrich publishes articles on racism, right-wing extremism, rightist populism, fascism, and classism as a freelance journalist in *Junge Welt*, *Analyse und Kritik*, *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, *Antifaschistisches Infoblatt* and *Widersprüche – Zeitschrift für sozialistische Politik im Bildungs-, Gesundheits- und Sozialbereich*.

From 2006 to June 2010 he was an editor at the city paper for Südbaden and from September 2007 until June 2010 he was webmaster of the online edition of stattweb.de

SABINE SEYB, born in 1963, is a publisher and political scientist. Her areas of study include feminist womens studies, racism and adult political education. She wrote her thesis in 1994, entitled “On the Current Debates on National Socialism in Women’s Studies in the Federal Republic.”

In 1988 she co-founded the non-profit organisation Anti-racist Initiative in Berlin, the first complaint centre for victims of racist discrimination and violence in Germany, and until the year 2000 was a volunteer there. In the scope of this work she co-founded the Newspaper Project of Anti-racist Groups (ZAG) and co-planned and co-authored the study “Racism in Germany – the Example of Eberswalde.”

In 2001, Sabine Seyb worked together with colleagues to build up the ReachOut project and has been employed there ever since.

ORGANISATIONS

ReachOut

ReachOut – Victim Counselling and Education against Right-wing Extremism, Racism and Anti-Semitism

ReachOut is a counselling centre for victims of right-wing, racist and anti-Semitic violence and threats in Berlin. We also support and counsel family members and friends of the victims and witnesses of assaults. The project also offers workshops, events and professional education. The situation and the perspective of the persons involved are always the main focus of the work carried out.

Counselling: Support for victims of racist, right-wing and anti-Semitic violence

With counselling, ReachOut orients itself to the needs of the persons concerned. Each individual alternative for further action is jointly discussed. ReachOut offers help for self-help.

The counselling is based on full consent, is free of charge and is expressly biased in favour of the affected persons. Confidentiality and anonymity, if desired, are self-evident.

Research: Recording the extent of racist, right-wing and anti-Semitic violence

The staff members of ReachOut research, document and publish information about assaults with a right-wing, racist or anti-Semitic background.

Educational work: Putting the victim in focus

Educational work should initiate the process of raising awareness of the situation of the persons concerned as well as the process of increasing solidarity. It is our goal that the victims can then be better protected from possible assaults.

Contact:

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The Foundation “Remembrance, Responsibility and Future”

In remembrance of the victims of National Socialist injustice, the Foundation “Remembrance, Responsibility and Future” works to promote human rights and understanding between peoples. It also upholds its commitment to the survivors. The Foundation is thus an expression of the continuing political and moral responsibility of the state, industry and society for the wrongs committed in the name of National Socialism.

The Foundation supports international projects in the following areas:

- A critical examination of history
- Working for human rights
- Commitment to the victims of National Socialism

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