

УДК 323.173; 323.172

MORAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECT OF «HISTORICAL TRAUMA» OF THE ETHNIC GROUP. WHETHER SEPARATISM IS BORN OR RAISED?

МОРАЛЬНО-ПСИХОЛОГІЧНИЙ АСПЕКТ «ІСТОРИЧНОЇ ТРАВМИ» ЕТНОСУ. СЕПАРАТИСТОМ СТАЮТЬ ЧИ НАРОДЖУЮТЬСЯ?

МОРАЛЬНО-ПСИХОЛОГИЧЕСКИЙ АСПЕКТ «ИСТОРИЧЕСКОЙ ТРАВМЫ» ЭТНОСА. СЕПАРАТИСТОМ СТАНОВЯТСЯ ИЛИ РОЖДАЮТСЯ?

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Abstract. *The purpose of research is to explore and analyze the moral and psychological aspects of separatism, which depends on the individual's demeanor to the problem of inequality. Each ethnic group has a special history of development, but, unfortunately, its history is not always accompanied only by successful victories. Some ethnic groups have been discriminated for a long period of existence, their culture and language have been disrespected and brutally destroyed. The traumatic legacy of the past has always had a profound imprint on the present and future of every nation. The memory of state's tragic history, and, especially, the history that is connected with the oppression and intolerance of one ethnic group to another one, has hidden manifestations of separatism in its representatives. The desire to restore «justice» has already spread to many countries around the world and even to the most democratic West countries, that also suffer from separatist movements in their territory. Globalization only accelerates these processes and creates even greater schism in the consciousness of such ethnic groups. Separatist's political and social position is formed as a result of his upbringing in the same environment, where there is the spirit of revenge for the tragic ancestor's fate and the restoration of long-awaited «justice» and the retribution for the past mistakes.*

Key words: *nationalism, separatism, ethnicity, self-determination.*

Анотація. Метою статті є дослідити та проаналізувати моральні та психологічні сторони сепаратизму, які залежать від поведінкової реакції індивіда на проблему нерівності. Кожна етнічна група має особливу історію розвитку, але, на жаль, її історія не завжди супроводжується лише успішними перемогами. Деякі з етносів протягом довгого періоду існування зазнавали дискримінації, їх культура та мова нівелювалися та жорстоко знищувалися. Травматична спадщина минулого завжди мала неабиякий відбиток на сьогодення та на майбутнє кожного народу. Пам'ять про трагічні сторінки історії кожної держави, а особливо ті, що стосуються пригноблення та нетерпимості одного етносу по відношенню до іншого, несе в собі приховані прояви сепаратизму в її представників. Жага відновлення «справедливості» вже охопила чимало країн по всьому світу та й навіть найбільш демократичні країни Заходу, які також страждають від сепаратистських рухів на своїй території. Глобалізація лише пришвидшує ці процеси та створює ще більші розколи в свідомості таких етнічних груп. Політична та громадська позиція ідеолога сепаратизму формується внаслідок його виховання в умовах такого ж середовища, де постійно витає дух реваншу за трагічну долю предків та відновлення довгоочікуваної «справедливості» та відплати за помилки минулого.

Ключові слова: націоналізм, сепаратизм, етнос, самовизначення.

Аннотация. Целью статьи является исследовать и проанализировать моральные и психологические стороны сепаратизма, которые зависят от поведенческой реакции индивида на проблему неравенства. Каждая этническая группа имеет особую историю развития, но, к сожалению, ее история не всегда сопровождается только успешными победами. Некоторые из этносов в течение долгого периода существования подвергались дискриминации, их культура и язык нивелировались и жестоко уничтожались. Травматическое наследие прошлого всегда имело большой отпечаток на настоящее и на будущее каждого народа. Память о трагических страницах истории каждого государства, особенно те, что касаются угнетения и нетерпимости одного этноса по отношению к другому, несет в себе скрытые проявления сепаратизма в ее представителей. Жажда восстановления «справедливости» уже охватила многие страны по всему миру и даже самые демократические страны Запада, которые также страдают от сепаратистских движений на своей территории. Глобализация только ускоряет эти процессы и создает еще большие расколы в сознании таких этнических групп. Политическая и общественная позиция идеолога сепаратизма формируется в результате его воспитания в условиях такой же среды, где постоянно витает дух реванша за трагическую судьбу предков и восстановление долгожданной «справедливости» и возмездия за ошибки прошлого.

Ключевые слова: национализм, сепаратизм, этнос, самоопределение.

Introduction. In the modern world, separatism is becoming a very powerful ideology among nations and ethnic groups not only in Europe, but also around the world. The tendency to resume separatist aspirations in those regions that have wanted to become independent for many centuries is quite popular. The «flame» of separatism in those regions have never completely extinguished, but only smoldered until a certain moment. As an example we can mention the recent events in Northern Ireland, where in April 2021, supporters of the Sinn Fein party (which was repeatedly accused of collaborating with the Irish Republican Army and supporting separatism) attended the funeral of one of the IRA militants, Bobby Story. This behavior was strongly disliked by the rest of the Irish population, who always gravitated towards the British crown. Heterogeneity of political views has always been one of the main problems of separatist regions. Looking at these facts, we can ask a very important question: «Why are some ethnic groups or individuals capable of infiltrating separatists ideas and others are not?». Is there a certain moral and psychological aspect of the formation of personality in a society with a difficult historical destiny? Does it matter to the separatist who his ancestors were and whether they were also supporters of radical ideas? All these

questions concern another, no less important, but, unfortunately, the least studied aspect of the evolution of the separatist's concept – moral and psychological.

The purpose of research – to analyze the moral and psychological aspect of separatism, which concerns a certain individual who is brought up within the society with a clear tendency to the ideas of separation.

Recent literature review. Despite the rather great interest in the study of separatist movements and the peculiarities of their origin, there is still no unambiguous explanation of the conditions for the emergence of separatism in a society with certain moral, psychological and mental conditions. Theoretical and systematic approaches to understanding the concept of «separatism» have been studied in the works of Ukrainian authors: Filonenko M. [*Filonenko and Ripa: 2018*], Rafalsky I. [*Rafalsky: 2014*], Panibudlaska V. [*Panibudlaska: 2009*], Olishevskaya V. [*Olishevskaya: 2013*] and others. Many scientific studies are devoted to the typology of separatism depending on their regional features, among them the publications of Nakonechny V. [*Nakonechny: 2018*], Ryabinina E. [*Ryabinin: 2012*], Bulvinsky A. [*Bulvinsky: 2015*] and others. Many scientific studies on the ideological principles of separatism have been covered in foreign works by the following authors: Siroky D. [*Siroky and Guffe: 2015*], Forest J. [*Forest: 2018*], etc. Foreign studies on European separatism and its features are considered in the scientific works of Cabestan J. [*Cabestan and Pavkovic: 2013*], Chu Chen [*Chu: 2017*], Bieri M. [*Bieri: 2014*] and Ataseven [*Ataseven: 2021*]. In studying the concept of «separatism» it is customary to take into account a superficial understanding of the main purpose and causes of the struggle of individual separatist movements without taking into account their moral, ethical and psychological characteristics of behavior. As a result, researchers usually ignore another aspect of separatism – moral and psychological, which has a serious impact on the formation of separatist ideas in certain ethnic groups with a tragic history.

Research results. The confrontation of ethnic groups for socio-economic and political domination did not begin in the last century or decade, it is a process that has been going on since the first mention of human settlements. Quite interesting in this context is the interpretation of the concept of «ethnicity» in the Encyclopedia of Modern Ukraine. Ethnos – a community in which people are united by ideas about the common origin and the presence of cultural community – language, customs, myths, epic [*Lisovyi: 2009*].

We can conclude that the formation of an ethnos takes place mostly within the framework of socio-cultural and moral aspects and not within the framework of clear political or economic differentiation. It is also fair to note that ethnic separatism is based on the same features of formation – socio-cultural and moral values. In any paradigms of separatism there is no clear political and economic motivation for such actions and, if there are, they follow as a consequence of already formed certain cultural features of a particular ethnic group.

Quite a similar idea is expressed by Anthony Smith in his work «National identity. Ethnos life». He notes that «separatist movements are associated with processes of cultural politicization, which tend to create an ethnic nation with a distinctive culture». This means a return to the idealized image of «who we are», who will set an example and a guide for the future nation. Returning to the ethnic past, the community opens up a map and a place for its unfocused aspirations. In the same way, «our past» will instill in the present generation not only the virtues of its ancestors, but also its immediate responsibilities. This will reveal to the community its true nature, its authentic experience and hidden destiny. Knowing the past, the community will discover its inner spirituality, which determines its character. The main aspiration of all ethnic nationalisms is to open their communities through the use of history and the revival of fallen customs, rituals and languages. It is not enough to simply mobilize the masses: to support mobilization, to turn the «masses» into «nations», they must first be instilled with an awareness of their special spirituality, thus giving them a unique identity and destiny [*Smith: 1993*].

Analyzing this statement, we can state the fact that any ethnic separatism depends on the level of consolidation and self-identification of the ethnos and depends on a large number of factors: economic, political, spiritual and cultural, and a very exceptional place is occupied by socio-

psychological factor. In such a society, due to the joint development of economic, cultural and trade relations, a common language, culture, features of the mental composition of the individual and mentality have developed.

Professor of Psychology at Baku State University Imdad Bayramov in the article «Socio-psychological features of separatism in the context of globalization» also uses the concept of «socio-psychological factor» of separatism and gives us a clear explanation: «socio-psychological factor» – a set of orientations, social feelings, attitudes, motivations that reflect the inner world of the human, his system of moral values and norms. Separatism always has some theoretical or ideological basis, mostly formed on emotions, rather than on rational views [Bayramov: 2011].

In this case, it should be noted that every separatism movement, which over time transformed into the ideology of some radical parties (such as the right-wing Batasuna party in the Basque Country) and organizations, has indeed always been based on a certain «statutory-ideological document». Let us mention, for example, the Green Paper of the Irish Republican Army, or the «liberation charter» of the Basque ETA (terrorist organization in the Basque Country), or the ideology of Palestinian nationalism and pan-Arabism created by the Palestine Liberation Organization and a dozen similar separatist movements with their uniqueness around the world.

For example, in recruiting volunteers, the Irish Republican Army acknowledged that the most successful members of the underground had certain characteristics; they were intelligent, reliable and always ready to die. These characteristics ensured that the volunteers would constantly carry out rather complex orders of the command, regardless of their own position, and in spite of any personal problems. Some qualities can disqualify a person as a candidate: among them were emotionally, sensationalism and adventurism [Sheketa: 2021].

Through the study and analysis of such documents, we trace the connection between the ideological and mental postulates of the ethnos and the general political or military activities of its separatist movement. The psychology of the society in which the individual is and the uniqueness of his mentality is always the basis of his political beliefs and civic position.

Imdad Bayramov notes in his article that the national or ethnic affiliation of an individual is an extremely important factor for social psychology because it captures a certain character of the microenvironment in which the personality is formed [Bayramov: 2011]. Analyzing this study, we understand that a person's worldview, especially his political beliefs, values and moral guidelines directly depend on the environment in which he was raised and was living for a long time.

Once again, if a child is raised in a family where, for example, his or her parents have conservative or radical views, then their offspring will usually have the same views. Of course, during a person's life he can change his political affiliation, but the postulates of upbringing in certain conditions will still be preserved and will impose a certain shade on the social position of the individual.

Quite interesting is the definition given to us by Boyd Miller, Ph.D., University of Toronto. Dr. Miller introduces the term «moderate separatism» in his study. In his opinion, «moderate separatism» - strict separatism demands are limited not only to a certain social class and that simply exist on paper or in slogans, but it is a unique experience of each individual formed on the basis of their own feelings and perceptions. The author notes: «I advocate moderate separatism, referring to examples of ordinary human experience where sensory qualities and intentional content diverge» [Miller: 2010].

We can understand that often separatism is based more on certain sensory qualities of the individual: what exactly did a person feel when someone was unfair to him? How does everyone feel when they are forbidden to speak their native language, profess the religion of their ancestors, study and respect their own culture and traditions, or live with a complex of «inferiority» in relation to other ethnic groups? All these aspects form the desire for justice in the oppressed ethnic groups and push them to fight for their own freedom and self-identification. Sometimes such a struggle turns into terrorist acts that take the lives of dozens of innocent people.

A similar view is expressed by Damien Kingsbury, a professor at Dickin University (Australia). In his article «Why Separatist Movements Rarely Succeed», the researcher points out

that independence movements often begin with a small number of idealists, but grow rapidly when the central government responds to such actions with repression. Under such circumstances, the desire for «freedom» is rooted and thriving among the masses. Thus, the first reaction of central government to separatist movements are crucial for their further development and consequences. There are currently more than 100 separatist movements in the world, but despite their number, only a few are successful, while government spending on them can be very high for all participants [Kingsbury: 2017].

The separatist movement, with more obvious risks than chances of success, seldom declares absolutely pragmatic goals and real ways to achieve them. Usually, separatist ideas are more about passion, situational decisions and emotions from actions, which are interpreted differently by most people. If an «unfair» attitude affects a particular person or a member of his family or a close friend, it is much more important and has a greater impact on consciousness than hearing about «injustice» from a stranger on the street or through the media [Murer: 2002].

Even if it is successful, the cost of «independence» will be too high. It can lead to wars, lack of economic stability and professional leaders of the movement who could become experienced politicians and statesmen. The skills needed to gain independence are not the same as those needed to run a successful state with a stable economy.

The formation of personal consciousness takes place within a certain group, where the natural development occurs through specific circumstances: historical heritage, geography, belief in a common origin and development, etc. Differentiation of ethnic groups is always a normal phenomenon of social life, which has developed historically. However, there are cases when a certain ethnic group has suffered a collective historical trauma in the past, which has greatly affected the consciousness of the entire ethnic group. Such historical trauma or so-called «traumatic experience» can cause a variety of side effects aimed at counteracting the feeling of humiliation, loss and aimed at aggression against another ethnic group that is considered to be guilty [Sheketa: 2021].

The book «Pulling together or pulling apart», published by Oxford University on the prospects of nationalist movements for a united Europe, states the important thesis that nationalism and the nation have both bad and good qualities. Nationalism calls for an «imaginary past» in support of the demands of the future, which must satisfy the current ambitions of «national identity». Anyway, identity is an integral part of belonging to something. Regardless of its objective or subjective components, it is always realized as a social phenomenon [Bayo Belenger and Brady: 2020].

Everyone strives to belong to a certain community that has many similarities with itself. This phenomenon is a normal component of a modern integrated society. Separatism is supported by emotional aspirations or the fact creating a separate state. However, emotions in this case are so strong that distort reality and can harm the existence of the state as a whole. Sometimes, any ideology slogan of separatism has a strong emotional color and its ideologues can use such emotions to uplift large masses of people and provoke ethnic or national intolerance towards others.

Political autonomy is usually considered the main advantage of any independence. It is more important and relevant than the culture and tastes of the region, which differ from the rest. In fact, it is through the struggle for political power that a separatist movement is emerging in a politically autonomous state. The leaders of such a movement always seek to gain power in order to allocate resources of the region and benefit from its control. That is why there is a theory that economically developed and rich regions, which simply do not want to share money with others, most often than others seeking for separation [Gehring and Schneider: 2020].

This approach can be found in a number of well-known works on separatism. Nevertheless, looking at a map of the largest separatist movements not only in Europe but around the world, we see a clear analogy between the region's economic prosperity and its desire to separate from less economically developed territories and communities. Thus, representatives of «rich» regions may also have in their rhetoric calls for secession, and if such calls also underline the historical trauma

then at the end we will get some kind of «cocktail» of irresistible separatism, which can often transform into a bloody struggle for their right to self-determination.

Seth D. Kaplan, a foreign policy analyst and author of «Correcting Fragile States», has some advice for countries struggling with separatist movements on their territory.

«Countries that promote sufficient social cohesion and a common cultural identity, while minimizing any social inequalities in society, often remain intact and do not experience shocks. However, those countries that do not do so and have obvious gaps in their understanding of identity are more likely to ignite a separatist movement on their territory over time» [*Ghani and Lockhart: 2008*].

Historically, separatism has reached its greatest culmination during the reign of dictatorial regimes that, through a policy of monoculturalism in their country, but subject their representatives to all kinds of oppression, torture or forced deportation. During the dictatorship of Francisco Franco in Spain (1939-1975) that representatives of one of the most famous separatist movements in Europe – the Basque Country and Catalonia – waged the largest and bloodiest wars for their identity and unwillingness to unite with other ethnic groups. However, it should be noted that the problem of separatism was relevant not only in the totalitarian dictatorial regimes of the last century, but it is still one of the most important challenges in many democracies in the modern world. For example, the same aspiration of Catalonia for secession did not end with the fall of the dictatorial regime of Franco in 1975, but were relevant for a long time after it and reached its peak in 2017 with a referendum on secession from the Kingdom of Spain [*Vasco Cotovio and Clarke Dewan: 2017*].

Separatism does not just appear in people's minds, but the main thing is that it almost never disappears from there, but can simply sometimes be forgotten or flare up again with a bright «flame» of thirst for justice. Some analysts argue that certain separatist movements have no legal right to secede, as «interested» people have already exercised their right to self-determination when voting for their country's independence and emphasize another very important, but often forgotten point: how economically and politically viable are those states which was formed as a result of secession. Economic viability is usually ignored in separatist rhetoric because another argument usually prevails – «we are special» [*Beary: 2008*].

Quite the opposite conclusion about the prospects of separatism is expressed by Jesse Z. Mueller, professor of history at the Catholic University of Washington (USA), arguing that increasing urbanization, education and political mobilization; different levels of fertility and economic indicators in different ethnic groups, as well as immigration will continue to challenge modern states and their borders. Whether ethnonationalism is politically expedient or not, it will continue to shape relations between countries in the 21st century. Globalization will lead to an even greater division between rich and poor, forming completely opposite social classes. Wealthier regions that can faster achieve economic development will try even harder to separate themselves from the poorer or those who are less successful [*Muller: 2008*].

In this context, we offer another proper interpretation of the concept of «separatism» and the theory of its existence, which logically follows from our study. Separatism is a set of moral values or worldviews of a certain ethnic group, formed as a result of historical trauma inflicted on his ancestors in the past. Our theory is a result of the analysis of the problem of the moral and psychological aspect of the ideology of separatism. The ideas of separatism are embedded in the historical memory of the oppressed ethnic group and subconsciously affect its political life. For example, at some stage of ethnogenesis there may be no reason to spread separatist ideas, especially in a modern democratic society, but the tragic memory of ancestors who were oppressed by their language and culture forces their descendants to «painfully» react to any injustice. As a result, each individual in this group feels personal resentment about the tragic fate of their ancestors and seek for compensation.

Conclusions. Every ethnic group, like every person, is unique. We can express our concern about the spread of separatist ideas and slogans in the modern world, but we certainly have no right to stay away from this problem. Separatism remains the most acute and urgent problem of today.

The comprehensive studying of every aspect of this issue remains our main goal in resolving and preventing it.

The moral and psychological aspect of separatism is an important part of understanding this social phenomenon on general. The formation of a person in the society with a difficult historical destiny, of course, leaves a certain memory imprint on him and associations in the formation of his political views.

We do not claim that a separatist is one hundred percent born, but that upbringing in a socio-cultural environment, where separatist ideas prevail, plays an important role for this individual. Frequent misunderstandings of their own demands and excessive emotionality push separatists to reckless actions and, as a result, the high price for idealistic aspirations is not commensurate with the real losses from such a struggle.

Nevertheless, separatist movements around the world are confidently raising their heads and once again seeking for separation within the modern world. Every multicultural state needs to treat all ethnic groups that living in its territory with great responsibility and equality. Losing that balance can cost a lot. A well-thought-out and clear ethno-political policy is one of the foundations of any modern democratic state, its political and economic stability.

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