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TÍTULO: El separatismo como manifestación extrema de la identidad étnica.

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RESUMEN: El artículo revisa el lugar de la identidad étnica y nacional en la estructura de otras identidades grupales, describe los mecanismos psicológicos y el fenómeno de la autoconciencia como miembro de la entidad étnica, caracteriza el separatismo como una versión destructiva de la etnogénesis, que contradice los intereses estatales. Actualmente, varios países observan la llamada de los movimientos patrióticos, que está vinculada al desarrollo de la identidad pública. El separatismo actúa como una versión destructiva de la etnogénesis porque expresa la demostración de étnias que contradicen los intereses estatales.

PALABRAS CLAVES: separatismo étnico, separatismo en países postsoviéticos, identidad étnica.

TITLE: Separatism as an extreme manifestation of ethnic identity.

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ABSTRACT: The article reviews the place of ethnic and national identity in the structure of other group identities, describes psychological mechanisms and phenomenon of self-awareness as a member of the ethnic entity, characterizes separatism as a destructive version of ethno-genesis, which contradicts state interests. Currently, a number of countries observe the flare of patriotic movements, which is tied to the development of public identity. Separatism acts as a destructive version of ethnogenesis because it expresses the demonstration of ethnos contradicting state interests.

KEY WORDS: ethnic separatism, separatism in post-Soviet countries, ethnic identity.

INTRODUCTION.

Formulation of the problem in general and its connection with important scientific and practical tasks. The general development of the world community in XXI century is being realized under the slogan of globalization, internationalization and general tolerance. Despite this, in many countries, regardless of their economic development, the level of culture and historical longevity of the existence of the state, come to the fore the problems of ethnic confrontations: Chechen wars of 1994-1996, the war between Armenians and Azerbaijanis in Nagorno-Karabakh, the Yugoslav ethnic conflict, the Scottish independence referendum in 2014, and others.

According to various estimates, today every fourth country in the world is facing the problem of separatism. Conflicts of this kind always bear political, economic, moral, ethical and, most importantly, the human dimensions. Our paper covers the national (ethnic) separatism, which has the largest circulation in the world and has a very negative effect on the destinies of individuals and social institutions.

Since the nineties, nationalism has become an important factor in the formation of civil proceedings in the countries of the former USSR. Although the manifestation of separatism is the acute problem of the modern socio-political situation in a number of post-Soviet countries such as Ukraine,

Azerbaijan, Moldova, and OE, the scientific thought is staying behind the needs of reality and does not yet have the adequate theoretical justification of this problem, and in accordance with this it is impossible to identify effective ways to address it.

The analysis of recent research and publications that reviewed the aspects of this problem and which were used by the author in justification of his own research; accentuation of the previously unresolved areas of the general problem.

There are a lot of research works in the domestic and foreign literature related to the problems of nationalism and separatism, but many of them demonstrate bias, prejudice, or interest connected with the direct participation of the authors in the political process. The most commonly seen is the one-sided approach, without tracking the whole chain of causality in the genesis of the reviewed phenomena, but it is only possible to create a plausible scheme of development of these trends in the course of analysis of cumulative causes, prerequisites, and conditions of formation of separatism. All this causes the relevance of correlation of national and ethnic identity, raised in this article.

The formation of the objectives of the article (problem definition).

The objective of the article is to present a balanced and non-judgmental look at the problem of separatism as the extremes of ethnic identity.

The presentation of the main research material with full justification of the received scientific results.

Separatism as a phenomenon has existed for over two thousand years [probably from the very beginning of accentuation of the state as a spatial and political unity], but the term in its current sense has been used only from the end of the XIX century.

Actively, this phenomenon has started to be discussed in the 80s of the last century. Prior to this period, there were a lot of works in the scientific literature devoted to the national liberation struggle, which at that time was not related to separatism, although these phenomena have the same nature (the concept of "national liberation movement" is somewhat broader and bulkier, separatism is a distinct part of it).

The clearest definition of separatism is given in the dictionary of "Political Science", where it refers to a "desire for isolation, manifested as a rule at national minorities in multi-ethnic states and aimed at the creation of independent states or national state autonomies" [Averyanov Y.I., 1993]. In all likelihood, virtually all of the processes of separation of states that have occurred throughout the history of mankind fall under the scope of this definition, from the collapse of the Ottoman Empire to that of the Soviet Union [Averyanov Y.I., 1993].

DEVELOPMENT.

From the general historical standpoint, the separatism is a manifestation of one of the two interdependent world trends – the centripetal and the centrifugal. Currently, another period of coagulation processes, which lasted for several centuries, when some nations united in a large empire, is coming to its end in many European and Asian ethnicities. The empires fell under the onslaught of liberation or the separatist movement. Now, there starts the period of the predominance of centrifugal processes when the desire for self-determination of ethnic groups is stronger than the desire to remain a part of the Empire. As a result, ethnic groups occupy an unstable position between staying in a single space and isolation.

Especially painful and emotionally saturated separatist actions are the result of limitations of the social ethnic values. In the course of a long confrontation between the conflicting ethnic groups, the psychological and everyday hatred towards each other becomes widespread and long-term.

In this regard, M.-L.A. Chepa notes that one of the main trends of the XXI century must be the collapse of empires and national states and unstructured formation of the independent national states in their place: "in addition to the inter-regional contradictions, which correspond to the structure of the new multipolar world structure, the basic contradiction of the transition process to the formation of the system of the national states will be based on the fundamental differences between the strategic interests of the superpowers, which are associated with the old political structure of the world and the average national states that are interested in the speedy formation of a new way of life" [Chepa M.-L.A., 2015].

A.V. Krotov shows that the national separatism in modern conditions is a logical continuation of the general democratization of the world national construction, and is a product of the development of states in the European style, where a separate national community becomes the basis of the consolidation of society [Krotov A.B., 2002].

The literature on the analysis of ethnic conflicts in the world allows identifying the logic of the formation of this movement, and the logic of the response to it by the state and the society:

- 1) Mainstreaming of ethnic identity groups supported by the intensification of consciousness of the historical ethnic group which is carried out by the representatives of the scientific and political elite, and humanitarian intelligence.
- 2) The institutionalization of the movement [forming respective political parties].
- 3) Mobilization activities of the parties, aimed at expanding the social base of separatism.
- 4) Transformation of separatist demands into the mental attitude, that is, the transition of these requirements on the irrational emotional level.

I.M. Bayramov emphasizes that the ethnic separatism is exacerbated in the periods of social and economic instability, accompanied by a vivid social stratification of citizens, a fierce struggle for power, and the rise in crime. Its appearance is also provoked by the low efficiency of the work of

government agencies, and the absence of reliable mechanisms of legal protection. All this ultimately leads to the increased number of attempts to solve arising contradictions and conflicts by use of force from the opposition-minded ethnic groups [Bayramov I.M., 2011].

Indeed, during the unstable situation of the transitional period in the society, the internal configuration of the traditional consciousness is getting destroyed, and the elements of the configuration are being randomly interlocked with each other, as well as being random in their content.

Currently, for most people, the family and ethnicity attachment [perception of themselves as the "family" member – be it small or large] becomes the easiest and the most affordable way to feel part of a particular whole, to find psychological support in tradition; that is why in any transitional society, there is an increased attention to ethnic identification, the need for consolidation of the community based on a certain "national idea", accentuation and protection (sometimes creation) of their own national mythology, culture, and history. The final stage of ethnic identification is the development of a common ideal – the model of the future, which calls for a partial or complete change of the current order of things.

External demonstration of the ethnic identity often takes place with the help of ethnic symbols: special clothing, dances, rituals, behavior patterns and specific moral values. Therefore, ethnic identity can be determined by the use of specific elements of culture by a group of people as subjective symbols, to distinguish themselves from other groups. Such conventional installations also include the language, religious beliefs and folk customs, understanding of the history, ancestors, and the like.

The first step to letting a person feel as a representative of the ethnic group is the procedure of identification, the definition of common criteria and boundaries. The science has formed the idea of identification as the sense of identity of oneself with another person, a group, a sample of what is happening in the process of obtaining or assimilation of norms, values, social roles, moral qualities

of the representatives of the socio-cultural groups to which the individual belongs or seeks to belong [Sugrobova Y.Y., 2011].

The identity can be personal (self-identity) and social [as an experience and awareness of belonging to certain social groups and communities or other social groups and communities]. There are the following options and forms of the social identity:

- The cultural identification (Y.Y. Sugrobova, 2011) is the most sophisticated form of self-identity, it involves not only awareness but a high level of reflection of the cultural foundations of the individuals' lives.

- An ethnic identity that is formed on the basis of ethnicity. Ethnic identity is not innate but is formed together with the individual in the process of developing basic social orientations.

- G.U. Soldatova writes, that the culturally and ethnically determined world composites the basis of socialization of each individual [Soldatova G.U., 1998].

- The national (political) identity – an idea of oneself as part of the national community, the nation, when the individual is aware of the specific distinctive features of this society [Kasyanov G.V., 1999]. National consciousness exists on theoretical, scientific and everyday levels. The theoretical level of national consciousness is a scientifically executed design that consists of ideological views, ideas, programs, norms, values produced by a nation for a long time of its existence and which determine its strategy. The ordinary level of national consciousness includes the needs, interests, values, stereotypes, moods, habits and traditions of the members of this community, manifested in their daily life and activities. These components are inseparably linked with each other [Kasyanov G.V., 1999]. It is important that the national identity demonstrates the processes of cultural unification of multi-ethnic population living within the boundaries of the national state and negates ethnic identity.

Y. Y. Sugrobova notes that national identity may manifest itself in various forms, depending on which verge of national integrity – territorial, cultural, political or other – faces deformation or destruction. This circumstance is the reason for the variety of forms of nationalism.

The lack of clear ethnic and national identifying criteria leads to the fact that the concept of ethnicity and nation in the characteristics of consciousness, self-awareness, identity correlated with them, are often mixed or served as synonyms - ethnic (civil), ethnic (national). Therefore, let's review the definitions of "ethnicity" and "nation".

Researchers usually refer to Y.V. Bromley's definition of ethnos in the ethnopsychological literature: "Ethnos is a stable group of people historically rooted in a specific territory, having common, relatively stable features of the language, culture, and mentality, as well as awareness of its unity and differences from other similar entities (self-awareness), recorded in the self-name." Natural conditions (ecological niche) of the household and cultural livelihoods have a significant impact on the ways and forms of adaptive behavior, peculiarities of psychological features of the ethnic group members, specifics of their value orientations, etc. [Bromley Y.V., 1973; Borodinov V.D., 2010].

It is important that in addition to objective and distinctive features of the ethnos, the awareness of its group unity – the presence of the national self-awareness, the external manifestation of which is self-name, plays a decisive role in its self-determination. The definition of the ethnic community as a group given by Weber preserves its meaning, where it says that the members of the group "have a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical appearance or habits, or a combination of both, or because of the shared memory of colonization and migration. V.A. Tishkov defines ethnicity as "the operation of social construction" of "imagined communities" based on the belief that they are bound by these, and even the natural relations [Tishkov V.A., 2003].

Therefore, it is namely in the consciousness of the ethnos where there are concentrated the ideas about of the common origin and historical destinies, constituting a given ethnic group of people. As a product of ethnogenesis and a long historical development, the ethnic identity is not only a determinant of ethnicity but also a factor, which opposes its ethnicity to that of other ethnic collectives.

The concept of the nation in the English notation covers everything: the tribe, the ethnic group, the country of human habitation, and the citizenship. According to the well-established understanding in ethnic psychology, the nation is the highest stage of development of an ethnic community or combination of several of them in the state and is subject to mainly socio-historical laws.

Consequently, ethnogenesis appears in close connection with the process of state (national) construction. Relationships between the ethnos and the state are being formed in history in different ways, and eventually end up in different coordinate systems. Best of all this situation is illustrated by the historically compiled mismatch of the ethnic and national boundaries – a breeding ground for separatist sentiment.

Interestingly, the idea of the nation as an objective fact became widespread only in the XIX century. This is due to the emergence of the modern type of state, which feels the need in a universal ideology to improve the effectiveness of the authorities' control. The division of humanity into nations was preceded by the long and stable notions of human differences by religion, nationality, social stratum or local origin. On the other hand, globalization and integration in the XXI century. It spawned many hybrid forms of identity, based on a mixed origin, gender and professional solidarity, humanitarian values and others.

P.P. Gornostay says that the nation can be understood as both an ethnic and a political group. With this in mind, national identity can be regarded as an ethnic or civic, and political ideology such as nationalism, respectively, should be divided into ethnic and civic. The reactionary ideologies like

nazism, racism, chauvinism, are called "radical nationalism" – a kind of aggressive ethnic nationalism (as opposed to "moderate" or "liberal"). However, civic nationalism is often considered to be synonymous with patriotism [Gornostay P.P., Lischinska O.A., Chorna L.G., 2014].

M. J. Borishevskiy, giving preference to the use of the concept of "national identity", defines the latter as awareness of the individual as a part of a particular national (ethnic) community and assesses himself as the bearer of national (ethnic) values prevailing in the long process of historical development of the national community. The author notes that in the national consciousness of a particular person as well as the identity of the national community with which an individual identifies himself, there is an inherent desire for self-expression and self-realization of his/her national essence, originality, ambitions to establish himself/herself among the other ethnic communities, to make a significant contribution to the development of human history [Borishevskiy M.Y., 1998].

The modern authors advocate the opinion that the development of the ethnic identity in Ukraine, has given way to the development of civic identity, without a distinct ethnic and linguistic coloration. Along with the ethnic, national, cultural forms of identity, the multicultural space of modern Ukraine generates a civil form of identity, which becomes an out of the nation, and expresses the idea of collaboration and co-creation of ethnic groups and peoples [Sugrobova Y.Y., 2011].

Ethnic identity is increasingly becoming a private matter of every individual, and the idea of non-national communities is gaining more value in the European consciousness. The historical perspective is becoming a "we" that goes beyond not only national but also class, and even state boundaries. The individual starts feeling as the citizen of the world, which finds its expression in the mass phenomena such as the movement of the green, pacifists, etc., and if in 40-50s the origin of such ideas referred to the cosmopolitanism, now the idea of European and world community gets the status of modern thinking.

Summarizing the various definitions relating to certain types of group identity, we have laid down their hierarchical model. The levels of the group identity, shown in Figure 1, can be considered as successive historical forms, which were developing on the principle of complementarity in the process of the evolution of society, as well as are presented in the ontogeny of the individual.

This classification allows to determine the place of separatism in the structure of identity: it takes place when the ethnic identity does not correspond to the national self-consciousness, that is, the interests of the ethnic group [in the way they are realized by the individual] do not coincide with the officially accepted version of the national idea.

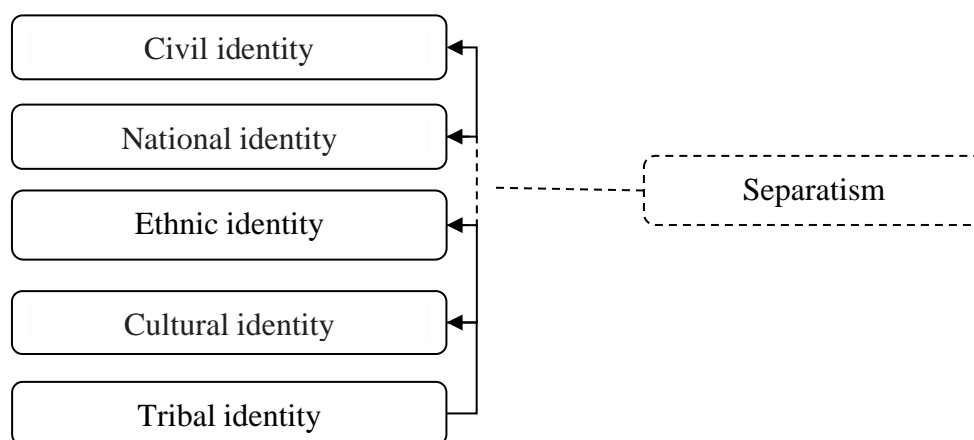


Figure 1. Hierarchy of the forms of group identity of the individual.

Separately emphasized is the constructed identity that does not have a real background, does not implement its inherent social and psychological functions, and accordingly – loses its adaptive resource. Therefore, identity construction becomes the subject's (both the individual and society) deformation and dysfunction. Under certain circumstances, in order to adapt, the individuals can "impute" themselves and others the certain desired or convenient identities and features. However, in such cases, it is necessary to talk not about the identity as such, but of its situational simulacra, in the form of various social "masks." Construction of identity can represent a significant risk for the society as a whole [Sugrobova Y.Y., 2011].

On this occasion, Samuel Huntington wrote: "People may seek the identity, but will achieve it only when they are taken in the surroundings by those who have already found that identity" [Huntington S., 2004]. Thus, after the end of the Cold War, the Poles, Czechs, and Hungarians were awaiting whether the West recognizes their attacks on the affiliation to Western Europe. The same can be said about Ukraine.

The existential significance of ethnicity stems from the individual's needs to have a hereditary membership, implementation of a desire for "social belonging and the highest form of loyalty associated with kinship and faith in the common origin" [Huebner K., 2001]. Any individual has the need to belong to the group. The definition of the individuals belonging to a wider public whole is an important part of self-awareness. The personality's socialization is impossible without the group identification.

The phenomenon of "We" has deep psychological roots, and is laid in the very nature of man. The phenomenon of "We" refers to a group identification, a process of conscious or unconscious identification of the person with the psychologically important group when the group performs as a collective subject of social behavior [Gornostay P.P., Lischinska O.A., Chorna L.G., 2014]. This is not just a symbolic group role the individual plays in a team, it is a state of the individual when the individual consciousness is superseded and replaced by various forms of group consciousness to carry out certain depersonalization of the individual.

One of the most important concepts in this context is the concept of group identity, which is determined by the belonging of the individual to the significant large and small groups. One can talk about the identity of the group, i.e. the group's identification of itself, as a collective entity. These concepts are interrelated. So, thanks to the identity of the larger groups (nations, ethnic groups), the group feels offended if it is being attacked by the other groups. This affects all the individuals belonging to this group, even if the criticism of the group was not related to them personally

(Ahmadov H. 2017). The narcissism of the group is demonstrated in the tendency to see their group better than others and the possibility of formation of "enemy image" in the face of the other group.

The "We-They" opposition is used in numerous studies of stereotypes, attitudes, and values as elements of ethnic self-awareness or identity. Treating others as "outsiders" means the existence of certain limits, the boundaries of mutual understanding, reflecting the differences in opinions, values, and ways of behavior.

In the context of our problem, it is important that the collective trauma imposed to a large group, has the ability to transgenerational transmission, i.e. new generations inherit a traumatic experience suffered by the previous generation (intergenerational transmission of trauma is also carried out in the family system). This is especially true if the previous generation could not weep out, civilize, or handle it psychologically in some other way. In this case, the new generation feels traumatized, experiencing ancestors' trauma as if it was theirs, as if it was not tens or hundreds of years ago, these people aim to weep out the burdening legacy of their ancestors, or to take revenge on the descendants of those enemies or offenders who are considered enemies of their own. This is the reason for such phenomena as the ethnic terrorism, vendetta, genocide, etc. [Gornostay P.P., 2012].

The recent history of Ukraine gives us many examples of how a number of positive changes in social psychology (increase of civic awareness, sense of dignity, political activity, etc.), we witnessed a sharp rise in the confrontation of different ideologies, polarization of society and the formation of "enemy images" in the face of political opponents.

At the heart of this polarization, there were not only different political preferences, but also a variety of group identities which was reflected in the differences in socio-cultural, linguistic, ethnic characteristics. Group identity was so important, that the victory of one political force was perceived by its opponents as a threat to their own identity.

It was shown above that the ethnic communities belong to human groups, for which self-consciousness is one of the most important determinants of their social and historical identity. V.G. Babakov, V.M. Semenov argue that namely self-consciousness, among other features, is a distinguishing characteristic of the ethnic group [Babakov V.G., Semenov V.M., 1996].

Ethnic differentiation leads both to the realization of the psychological characteristics of the individual's ethnos, as well as the features of other ethnic communities. The image of the "us" is recorded in the system of auto-stereotypes, the images of other ethnic groups – in hetero stereotype, which are involuntary and often not perceived psychological settings in the perception of oneself and others. This level of ethnic identity is associated with the formation of the relatively stable performances and evaluations typical for the ethnic groups of behavioral, communicational, and emotional styles. Stereotypes are interconnected; they form a system that is self-organized and stores standardized collective experience. All this becomes an integral part of the everyday knowledge of the individual.

In the course of a review of the ethnic identification process, I.M. Bayramov notices an interesting pattern: the main method of the ethnic identity is the development and uptake of myths. Namely, the myths can be considered as the main form of drawing up a complex social reality, and if we consider that the specificity of the mythological thinking is non-separation of the real and the ideal, it becomes obvious why the mythological perception of one's ethnic identity is leading to transient social era: in the mythology, the opposition of the "proper" and the "sheer" is erased, the community is becoming absolute, which is an effective psychological stabilizer of the consciousness.

J. Armstrong explains that certain objective components of the concept of "nation" are important factors of the nation, moving into the sphere of the subjective, being transformed into symbols and myths. Thus, according to the author, the basis of the evolution and the formation of Ukrainian

identity is not the demographic and linguistic continuity as thought by the historians and linguists, but the myth of this continuity [Armstrong J.A., 1992].

B. Kravchenko defines the national identity as a new orientation of the individual in the society, which appears when the "elite group consciously chooses symbolism as a basis for mobilizing against other elite groups for control of the local community, for equal or preferential access to opportunities and resources emerging in the process of modernization" [Kravchenko B., 1997].

Identification often occurs in comparison with the "neighbors" in the development of common stereotypes, and again a myth becomes the basis for the interpretation of current events. G.V. Soldatova notes that the national (ethnic) ideal, which by its nature is also always mythological, has the most integrating influence [Soldatova G.U., 1998].

Thus, in the social sciences, there are two opposing views on the nature of separatism and its connection with the identity of the individual. In the first case, it states that the basis of separatism is a natural tendency of the nation [ethnic group] towards sovereignty. Ethnic division of mankind is primary and is based on the fundamental group phenomenon of "us". The conflict inevitably arises there, where the ethnic and political boundaries do not coincide.

CONCLUSIONS.

In the social sciences, there are two opposing views on the nature of separatism and its connection with the identity of the individual. In the first case, it is stated that the basis of separatism is a natural tendency of the nation (ethnos) to sovereignty. The ethnic division of humanity is primary and is based on the fundamental group phenomenon of "us". The conflict inevitably arises there, where the ethnic and political boundaries do not coincide.

Another approach shows that the concept of the national idea is no more than a construct, an empty form, which is filled with content depending on the context. In the society's transitional stages the ruling elite is playing the nationalist card to enhance its own legitimacy: creating a virtual "nation", authorities form the subject and rules on behalf of it. Planting of national discourse takes place as an injection of myths into the mass consciousness – the simplified schemes opposing "us" and "them" that delineate the boundaries of communities and increase the attractiveness of belonging to any group at the expense of humiliation of the other one.

There is another opinion that at the heart of strive for separation there are not nationalistic ideals, but the pragmatism – a rational choice of the model of the state, which is able to maximize the well-being of citizens. That is why the attempts of the central government to appeal to the feelings of general civil solidarity are breaking on a cold calculation: why solidarity has a different "price" for the citizens? The inability of governments to formulate an answer to this question in terms of a clear and obvious benefit is the cause of their defeat in the interaction with the separatists [Troitskaya O.V., 2014].

An alternative view to this problem was proposed by G. Hale, the American researcher. Leaning on the empirical study of separatism in the former Soviet Union, he pointed to the need to distinguish between the issues of nationality and national policies. The notion of ethnicity plays an important role in the process of understanding the world, laying the groundwork for further action. However, these views do not say anything about what interests will the individuals or the groups formulate for themselves, and what goals they will set [Hale H.E., 2008]. The author proposes to consider nationalism as a tool to help solve the problem of collective action to achieve the community goals. The problem of collective action describes a situation where individuals could benefit from cooperation with each other, but cooperation does not develop as individuals prefer to care only about their own narrow interests at the expense of the general.

A weighted understanding of the causes of separatism must form the basis for the search for effective ways of conflict resolution.

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