



REVISTA INCLUSIONES

HOMENAJE A CLAUDIA PEÑA TESTA

Revista de Humanidades y Ciencias Sociales

Volumen 7 . Número Especial

Octubre / Diciembre

2020

ISSN 0719-4706

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**VICTIMOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF ETHNOPOLITICAL CONFLICT
(ON THE EXAMPLE OF THE CIRCASSIAN AND CRIMEAN TATAR ETHNIC COMMUNITIES)**

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Fecha de Recepción: 04 de junio de 2020 – **Fecha Revisión:** 22 de junio de 2020

Fecha de Aceptación: 17 de septiembre 2020 – **Fecha de Publicación:** 01 de octubre de 2020

Abstract

Based on the methodology of phenomenological constructivism, constructivist structuralism, and the coherent approach to the study of ethnic identity, the present article examines the manifestations of victimhood in the formation and development of ethnopolitical conflict. The main approaches to the definition of victimhood in the designated problem area are differentiated. The first understanding of victimhood is based on a person's ability to become a victim of a crime and the second understanding is formulated from the point of manifestation of outwardly directed deviant behavior in victims. The key contexts of manifestation of the victimological factor in ethnopolitical conflicts found in different planes of determination of this phenomenon are identified. It is established that the characteristics of the social environment in which ethnic communities function comprise victimological content. Said characteristics directly affect victimogenesis in ethnic subjects. Models of ethnic stratification and objective and subjective indicators and perceptions of ethnic status play a major role in this process. The victimological aspect can manifest in the context of the subjects' vulnerability (at the individual and group level) against crimes and offenses committed against them based on ethnic hostility. The ethnic component acts as an indicator of the identity of a person or a group based on which a delict is committed against them.

Keywords

Ethnopolitical conflict – Ethnic identity – Ethnic status – Victimhood – Victim complex

Para Citar este Artículo:

Makovskaya, Daria Vladimirovna y Garas, Lyudmila Nikolaevna. Victimological aspects of ethnopolitical conflict (on the example of the Circassian and Crimean Tatar ethnic communities). Revista Inclusiones Vol: 7 num Especial (2020): 370-379.

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Introduction

In modern society, ethnic differences remain one of the most prominent differentiating markers. Social interactions related to ethnic identity often transform into ethno-political conflicts which preserves the relevance of studying its determinants. One of the most understudied aspects of this topic is the influence of the phenomenon of victimhood on the emergence and development of ethnic conflict interpreted in the present article as a property of social systems manifesting in the divergence of interests, goals, and values of stratified ethnic groups and their readiness for political mobilization to participate in an ethno-political conflict.

The existing research in this subject area predominantly focuses on the manifestations of victimhood of social statuses in the various spheres of society (educational, household, health care, etc.) and the study of individual and group victimhood concerning particular types of crime¹. The ethnic component is typically present in research on the problem of ethnic minority victimhood including the sphere of criminal offense determinants. The effect of stratification differences is usually studied in the context of the influence of social subjects' social environment on their victimhood². For instance, in creating her social model of victimhood, O.O. Andronnikova indicates the influence of socio-economic stratification, the lack of social lifts, and uneven distribution of social benefits on the dynamics and specifics of victimhood³.

One of the most significant studies identifying the characteristics of victimhood of social statuses in relation to the most important trends in the modern stratification of society is presented in K.V. Vishnevskii's work "Criminogenic victimhood of social groups in modern society"⁴. The influence of the victimological component on the emergence and development of ethno-political conflicts is covered in E.N. Veleshko's study "Influence of victim factors on the political behavior of the Crimean Tatar repatriates" which provides a characteristic of the influence of victimhood on the political behavior of the Crimean Tatar repatriates and analyzes the effect of these factors on the development of the ethno-political climate and interethnic relations in Crimea⁵.

However, the existing research does not cover the indicated problem in its entirety which determines the choice of the goal of the present study.

The goal of the study is to identify the manifestations of victimological aspects of ethno-political conflict.

¹ S. Wallengren; A. Wigerfelt; B. Wigerfelt y C. Mellgren, "Visibility and vulnerability: A mixed methodology approach to studying Roma individuals' victimization experiences", *International Review of Victimology* Vol: 26 num 3 (2019): 276-294 y I. Zempi, "Veiled Muslim women's responses to experiences of gendered Islamophobia in the UK", *International Review of Victimology* Vol: 26 num 1 (2020): 96-111.

² Ia. I. Gostunskaja, *Psikhologo-pedagogicheskaia pomoshch seme v protsesse resotsializatsii podrostka s deviantnoi viktimnostiu: summary of a Ph.D. dissertation in psychology* (Stavropol, 2007).

³ O. O. Andronnikova, *Ontogeneticheskaja kontseptsia viktimnosti lichnosti: doctoral dissertation in psychology* (Tomsk, 2019).

⁴ K. V. Vishnevetskii, *Kriminogennaia viktimizatsiia sotsialnykh grupp v sovremennom obshchestve: monografiia* (Moscow: IUNITI-DANA: Zakon i parvo, 2012).

⁵ E. N. Veleshko, *Vliianie viktimnykh faktorov na politicheskoe povedenie krymskotatarskikh repatriantov: Ph.D. dissertation in political science* (Simferopol, 2007).

The object of the study is presented by ethno-political conflict as a specific type of socio-political conflict.

The victimological aspects of the emergence and development of ethno-political conflict are the subject of the study.

The study hypothesis is based on the assumption that ethno-political conflict falls under the influence of victimological characteristics of ethnic stratification and the victimhood of ethnic communities forming due to and under the effect of objective and subjective components of ethno-status position.

Methods

Following the presented basic definition of ethno-political conflict, we note that ethnic status presents an indicator of ethnic groups' position in the ethnic stratification system understood as a hierarchical interrelation of ethnic groups in the social structure allowing identifying the form of ethnic competition for valuable resources including wealth, power, and privileges.

The definition of ethnic status most fitting as the operational one for the present study is formulated by M. Savva who views it as an element of the system of the social status of a person or a group indicating their place in the system of interethnic relations and presenting a system of "ideas from individual and social consciousness that form and manifest in interethnic contacts" that have a dualistic nature and combine the subjective and objective components⁶.

The existing contradictions between subjectivism and objectivism can be resolved using the methodological capacities of structuralist constructivism. The main theoretical propositions of this approach were developed by P. Bourdieu who indicated the existence of objective social structures constructed theoretically apart from subjective perception but inevitably lie at the basis of the ideas of agents whose activity is focused on changing or transforming these structures. The objective nature of ethnic status is found in the existence of real stratification structures that closely interact with what P. Bourdieu calls habitus. Habitus is defined as an individual scheme of perception, thinking, and action formed, among other things, through an individual's ethnocultural experience the primary meaning of which is evaluated in the ethnic context and adjusted in the process of personality development allowing an individual to navigate the social space and adequately respond to current events and situations which, in our case, corresponds to the subjective component of ethnic status⁷. The analysis of subjective components of ethnic status formation is based on the conception of constructive realism or phenomenological constructivism developed by P. Berger and T. Luckmann who proposed examining society as a dialectical unity in which social reality is constantly "constructed and reconstructed" by the perceiving subjects. In relation to the processes of formation of ethnic status and ethnic victimhood, the above-mentioned means that the cognizing subject constructs rather than reflects reality within a certain cultural and epistemological context determined by ethnicity but said reality corresponds to the transcendental reality to a certain extent.

⁶ M. V. Savva, *Etnicheskii status: konfliktologicheskii analiz sotsialnogo fenomena* (Krasnodar: Kuban State University Publishing house, 1997).

⁷ P. Bourdieu, *Nachala* (Moscow: Socio-Logos, 1994).

The topic of the present study obliges us to choose the conceptual approach to understanding the explanation of the nature of ethnopolitical conflicts that can be reduced to primordialism, instrumentalism, and constructivism the essence of which is widely represented in the scientific literature. These approaches are not mutually exclusive but complement each other since they examine different aspects of the same phenomenon and integrate within the framework of coherent ethnopolitical conflict.

The context of the problem of ethnopolitical conflicts refers us to the primordial characteristics of ethnicity that affect the psychological components of the political behavior of ethnic groups and serve as a basis for the formation of subjective ethnic status. From the point of instrumentalism, an ethnic group's participation in an ethnopolitical conflict will be examined as a "rational choice" in the battle for access to certain resources which provides us with new opportunities in studying the aspirations of ethnic elites to change the objective ethnic status. From the constructivist standpoint, ethnic stratification can be viewed as a fundamental basis for the development of conflict since the subjective perception of ethnic status and differentiation of ethnic groups in society are easily affected by various theoretical constructions.

Thus, we can state that each theoretical approach to understanding ethnicity and ethnopolitical conflict (primordialism, instrumentalism, and constructivism) considers various components of ethnic status as an integrative phenomenon formed by both objective and subjective components.

Results

In examining the victimological content of ethnopolitical conflict, we proceed from the assumption that the victimhood of ethnic communities is mass victimhood. This social phenomenon includes the victimhood of integrative victims (additive victimhood) or integrative victimhood⁸ which corresponds to the division of ethnic status subjects into the collective (the subject is represented by an ethnic group) and individual subjects (the subject is represented by a person) caused by the integrative nature of the concept of social status.

In the content of the present research topic, the existing forms of content of the term "victimhood" can be divided into two groups. In the first group, the understanding of victimhood is based on a person's ability to become a victim of crime. In particular, according to L.V. Frank, victimhood "...is a potential or currently present ability of a person to become a victim of socially dangerous manifestations individually or collectively"⁹. In V.I. Polubinskii's interpretation, it is not any type of increased ability to become a victim of a crime that presents victimhood but only the one determined by their personal characteristics and the specific relationship between the victim and the "harm-doers"¹⁰ dependent on their inner qualities.

A.L. Repetskaia defines victimhood as "...a specific set of stable typical social and (or) psychological (rarely physiological) characteristics of a person <...> determining their increased 'ability' to become a victim of crime in interaction with external circumstances"¹¹.

⁸ D. V. Rivman, *Kriminalnaia viktimologiiia* (Saint Petersburg: Yirid. centr press, 2002).

⁹ L. V. Frank, *Viktimologiiia i viktimnost* (Dushanbe, 1972).

¹⁰ V. I. Polubinskii, *Pravovye osnovy ucheniia o zhertve prestupleniia* (Gorky, 1979).

¹¹ A. L. Repetskaia, *Vinovnoe povedenie poterpevshego i printsip spravedlivosti v ugovnoii politike* (Irkutsk: Irkutsk University Publishing house, 1994).

V.A. Tuliakov interprets victimhood as an increased ability to become a victim of a crime due to demonstrating behavior deviating from the safety norms¹². Moreover, victimhood can also act as a personal quality of an individual and a characteristic of certain social roles.

According to E.V. Rudenskii¹³, personality victimhood presents vulnerability against critical and destructive social situations related to the deficit of its competencies of various levels leading to the formation of deficiency of the personality interaction system.

In the second group of definitions, victimhood is formulated from the point of manifestation of outwardly directed deviant behavior in victims. Specifically, O.O. Andronnikova examines victimhood as a set of characteristics of an individual determined by a combination of social, psychological, and biophysical conditions contributing to a maladaptive style of response causing damage to their physical and mental health¹⁴ which manifests in certain types of behavior when it transcends into a dangerous form exceeding social norms.

L.A. Azarova and V.A. Siatkovskii¹⁵ believe that victimhood as a psychological personality characteristic forms due to defects in interactive interaction. In this case, personality is subjected to frustration from influences including sociogenic and compensates for its inherent defects through various forms of deviant behavior.

Ia.I. Gostunskaja focuses on various manifestations of deviant behavior projecting the maladaptive nature of a victim and highlights the role of subjective and objective socialization factors in its formation¹⁶.

In the present study, we follow the second approach to understanding victimhood focusing on the outwardly directed conflict behavior of ethnic groups.

Based on the previously examined propositions, we can indicate the following forms of manifestation of the victimological aspects of ethnopolitical conflict.

First, as a characteristic of ethnic subjects' social environment, victimological content carries ethnic inequality. It plays a major role in the determination of ethnopolitical conflicts and the striving of ethnic communities to change the existing social stratification system in their favor. Moreover, ethnic subjects' evaluation of their status is of great importance in the emergence and development of ethnopolitical conflict.

L. Drobizheva notes that social contradictions are not always based on real status differences between groups. They are mostly fueled by "interpretations of social hierarchies in everyday consciousness crystallized in the corresponding mythologemes" while the awareness of one's either real or imagined unequal ethno-status position has the same consequences.

¹² V. A. Tuliakov, *Obshchaia kharakteristika viktimologicheskoi politiki v sovremennykh usloviakh* (Odessa, 2000).

¹³ E. V. Rudenskii, *Metodologiya i teoriya issledovaniya viktimogeneza lichnosti* (Novosibirsk: Novosibirsk State Pedagogical University Publishing house, 2013).

¹⁴ O. O. Andronnikova, *Ontogeneticheskaya kontseptsiya viktimnosti lichnosti...*

¹⁵ L. A. Azarova, V.A. Siatkovskii, *Psikhologiya deviantnogo povedeniya* (Minsk: State Institute of Management and Social Technologies of the Belarusian State University, 2009).

¹⁶ D. L. Horovits, *Mizhetnichni konflikty* (Kharkiv: Karavella, 2004).

D. Rothschild's ethnopolitical stratification theory implies that the central point of conflict in the cross-reticulated stratification structure is the ethnic community representatives' evaluation of their status position in certain strata as the factor providing access to various types of limited resources. The subordinate ethnic group perceives the position of the dominant group as referential and their own position in the stratification system is viewed as unfair and requiring political domination as a means of achieving parity while high-status groups perceive such aspirations as a threat to their well-being and security¹⁷.

According to D. Horovits who developed the socio-psychological ethnic conflict theory, each ethnic group forms its own system of evaluations and stereotypes regarding their position in society which give rise to the fear of extinction in the more inferior group and provoke doubts about their own dignity and the desire to restore it as the most important part of group identity which presents a characteristic feature of non-ranked ethnic systems¹⁸. Apart from the fear of extinction as a product of intergroup comparison and contradistinction, the development of ethnopolitical conflicts stems from the fear of being dominated based on an ethnic group's fears for their collective status in the political system.

According to the author of the theory of ethnopolitical action T. Gurr, "ethnopolitical action is motivated by deep dissatisfaction of the people with their collective status combined with the conjecturally determined political interests interpreted by group leaders and political entrepreneurs"¹⁹. The factors of political action of ethnic groups indicated by T. Gurr include "collective disadvantage resulting from ethno-status inequality along the political and economic axes of stratification, group discrimination, and the demographic and environmental stress experienced by the group"²⁰.

Characterizing ethnic status as a product of group consciousness perceived and interpreted by a person and defined through the system of subjective evaluations and objective indicators, M. Savva notes that it presents a crucial component of a person's social well-being and directly affects the feeling of national disadvantage²¹. Ethnic inequality can only be viewed as a factor of ethnopolitical conflict when applied to ranked polyethnic systems since cross-reticulated ethnic stratification systems are characterized by the overrepresentation and underrepresentation of ethnic community representatives within economical and political clusters and it is impossible to completely exclude them from participation in political life at the local and central levels. Moreover, the victimological aspect can manifest in ethnic subjects' vulnerability (at the individual and group levels) against delicts and manifestations of hostility based on ethnicity committed against them. For example, the victimhood of ethnic communities can manifest itself in the form of identitarianism in relation to allochthonous groups which is vividly illustrated by the attitudes towards classic European victim groups historically playing the role of the "Other" – Jews and Roma –and, in recent decades, immigrants from Turkey, Muslim countries of the Middle East, and North Africa²².

¹⁷ J. Rothschild, *Ethnopolitics: A Conceptual Framework* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982)

¹⁸ D. L. Horovits, *Mizhetnichni konflikty...*

¹⁹ T. R. Gurr, *Pochemu menshinstva vosstaiut? Obiasnenie etnopoliticheskogo protesta i miatezha* (Moscow: Publishing house of the University of the Russian Academy of Education, 2000).

²⁰ T. R. Gurr, *Pochemu menshinstva vosstaiut?...*

²¹ M. V. Savva, *Etnicheskii status: konfliktologicheskii analiz sotsialnogo fenomena...*

²² R. Vodak, *Politika strakha. Chto znachit diskurs pravyykh populistov?* (Kharkiv: Gumanitarnyi tsentr, 2018).

On the part of the authorities, victimhood is realized through discrimination based on ethnicity the ultimate form of which in highly ranked ethnic stratification systems is genocide and ethnocide²³.

Second, we examine ethnic identity as a marker of a social group that demonstrates victim behavior towards a real or constructed enemy. victimhood of an ethnic subject may be a consequence of the determining influence of their inherent objective ethno-status position and the subjective perception of it. Interpreting one's ethno-status position as deficient and not corresponding to what they are due may result in an ethnic community developing the "victim complex" which presents an affective inferiority complex²⁴. If we project the developments of Alfred Adler as one of the most reputable researchers in the field on the problem of ethnicity, we can state that the conditions necessary for the feeling of insufficiency to escalate into the inferiority complex include the collective subject (the ethnic community) being aware of the problem, lacking the ability to resolve said problem, and being convinced that they are unable to do so²⁵.

The definition of the victim complex most fitting as the operational one for the present study is presented in E.N. Veleshko's work "Influence of victim factors on the political behavior of the Crimean Tatar repatriates"²⁶. Based on that definition, we will view the victim complex as a set of psychological reactions realized in social manifestations that emerge as a result of dissatisfaction with one's status in the ethnic stratification system and form the victim behavior in ethnic community representatives.

The presence of the victim complex leads to negative conflict consolidation and mobilization of the ethnic community realized through a cultivated struggle against the identified enemy. The role of the "enemy" can be played by the contacting ethnos, the state, and external subjects. In the collective consciousness of the ethnic community, they can be viewed as perpetrators of a crime against the ethnic subject demonstrating victim behavior²⁷.

Victim behavior is typically characterized by aggression towards the outside world and the identified perpetrator who it aims to punish. The victim blames external influences for their problems in various spheres of life and seeks compensation for the real or imagined harm it caused. Accordingly, in this case, the behavior of the ethnic community will demonstrate aggressive compensatory characteristics²⁸ and may be associated with the demand for satisfaction or compensation for the caused damage.

Moreover, the victimologically determined ethno-status pretensions manifest most actively in the groups that used to have statehood or were claiming it and were subjected to aggression on the part of contacting ethnic groups or the state that was real or constructed in the public consciousness.

²³ B. Harff y T. R. Gurr, "Victims of the State: Genocides, Politicides and Group Repression since 1945", *International Review of Victimology* Vol: 1 num 1 (1989): 23-41 y A. A. Nalchadzian, *Etnicheskaiia viktimologija i psikoistoriia etnotsida* (Yerevan: Lusakn, 2011).

²⁴ E. N. Veleshko, *Vliianie viktimnykh faktorov na politicheskoe povedenie...*

²⁵ E. Sidorenko, *Terapiia i trening po Alfredu Adleru* (Saint Petersburg: Rech, 2000).

²⁶ E. N. Veleshko, *Vliianie viktimnykh faktorov na politicheskoe povedenie...*

²⁷ D. V. Makovskaia, "Viktimologicheskie aspekty "cherkesskogo voprosa": osobennosti i sodержanie", *Vestnik rossiiskoi natsii* num 4 (2017).

²⁸ E. N. Veleshko, *Vliianie viktimnykh faktorov na politicheskoe povedenie...*

Ethno-status pretensions are typically related to the most significant objective indicators of ethnic status including access to state power possessing which presents a sign of high status, increases competition in the struggle for limited resources, and enables ethnic community representatives to pursue policies in the interests of their ethnic group. Moreover, the fact that the representatives of a certain ethnos possess power has a direct influence on the formation of ethno-status ideas, therefore, any ethnic group that feels inferior in any area of life of a multi-ethnic state primarily seeks access to power.

This trend often manifests itself in the form of victimized ethno-nationalism which is illustrated by the ideological foundations of nation-building in the post-Soviet space²⁹. The same tendency is found within the framework of the “Circassian question” and the “Crimean Tatar question”.

In particular, the main goal of the Mejlis, as stated in its documents, is “the elimination of the consequences of the genocide committed by the Soviet state against the Crimean Tatars, the restoration of the national and political rights of the Crimean Tatar people, and the realization of their right to free national-state self-determination on their national territory”³⁰.

In 2015, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine supported a resolution that recognized the deportation of the Crimean Tatars in 1944 as genocide. This event became a certain continuation of the statements of the delegates of the World Congress of the Crimean Tatars held in Turkey with the participation of the Mejlis leaders where it was demanded to recognize the Russian Federation as guilty of the genocide of the Crimean Tatar population since 1783 (the year of the final fall of the Crimean Khanate): “The “World Congress of Crimean Tatars” and its founders appeal to the representatives of humanity who respect human rights, believe in the supreme power of law and democracy, as well as its organizations and institutions, to assist in the following issues: conducting an investigation and trial of all crimes committed from 1783 to the present day by the Russian Empire and its successors, the Soviet Union and the Russian Federation, aimed at the destruction of the Crimean Tatar population, as well as recognizing these crimes as genocide”³¹.

In turn, the problem of recognition of the Circassian genocide was first brought up during the 1st Koshehabl Forum “History – the property of the people” (April 24-25, 1990). The forum recommended “...to consider tsarism as the regime that pursued a policy of genocide against the Adyghe peoples in the 19th century, recognize the struggle of the Adyghe for freedom and independence as mass, popular, anti-colonial, and progressive”³². In 1994 and 1996, the genocide of the Circassians was recognized by the parliaments of the republics of Kabardino-Balkaria and Adygea.

²⁹ J. H. Lim, *Victimhood Nationalism in the Memory of Mass Dictatorship*, in: *Mass Dictatorship and Memory as Ever Present Past. Mass Dictatorship in the 20th Century* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

³⁰ Regulations on the Mejlis of the Crimean Tatar people, in: IV Kurultay of the Crimean Tatar people. September 12, 2004. Simferopol.

³¹ Spilna zaiava Svitovoho Kongresu Ukrainstiv, Vsesvitnoho Konhresu Krymskykh Tatar ta Asotsiatsii Yevreiskykh Orhanizatsii ta Hromad Ukrainy do pershoi richnytsi nasylnytskoi aneksii Krymu Rosiiskoiu Federatsiieiu. Retrieved from: http://www.kavkaz-uzel.eu/articles/196173/#note_link_1

³² Cherkesiia v XIX veke: Materialy 1-go Koshehabl'skogo foruma “Istoriia – dostoianie naroda”. April 24–25, 1990.

Based on the classification of “victims” proposed by G.I. Kozyrev³³, we can state that the victimhood of the Crimean Tatar and Circassian communities is based on the image of a “tragedy victim” founded on the discourse of genocide. Moreover, their demand to recognize said genocide is often accompanied by stating the necessity and inevitability of restoring the legitimate rights of the people (Circassians and Crimean Tatars) to their territory and national statehood which forms the basis for the image of a victim-state, as well as attempts to activate ethnic mobilization centered around “restoring” the national statehood. In both cases, an attempt to obtain limited statehood, in the form of creating a national entity presents an intermediate stage.

The demands to recognize both the Circassians and Crimean Tatars as indigenous people in the territories of ethnogenesis present one of the key aspects of the victimhood of the Crimean Tatar and Circassian communities, as well as a component of the formation of the “victim-people” construct³⁴. Said demands often contain claims for restitution that would provide them with exclusive legal rights to lands, territories, and resources including those that they “traditionally owned or <...> otherwise occupied or used”³⁵. Moreover, it is necessary to consider the existing difference in the declared statements of the Circassians and the Crimean Tatars living within and outside of the territory of ethnogenesis which necessitates a separate study of the issue.

Conclusion

The conducted study of the role of victimological determinants in the development of ethno-political conflict resulted in the following conclusions:

- The victimhood phenomenon can be understood both based on the ability of a person or a group to become a victim of a crime and based on outwardly directed deviant behavior determined by the realization of the victim complex.

- The factors that can be attributed to the key aspects of the victimological influence on ethno-political conflicts include the characteristics of the social environment of ethnic communities’ functioning that affect victimogenesis in ethnic subjects, as well as ethnic identity as a marker of a social group demonstrating conflict behavior determined by the presence of the victim complex.

- The system of ethnic stratification existing in society can be viewed as one of the primary characteristics of the social environment affecting victimogenesis in ethnic communities. Ethnic inequality plays a major role in the victimhood of ethnic subjects who strive to change the ethno-status distribution in their favor by participating in ethno-political conflicts characteristic of cross-reticulated stratification systems.

- The victimhood of an ethnic community demonstrating conflict behavior towards a real or constructed enemy is formed via the influence of the objective ethnic status of an ethnic subject or its subjective perception. One’s perception of their ethno-status position as

³³ G. I. Kozyrev, “Konstruirovaniie “zherty” kak sposob sozdaniia upravliaemoi konfliktnoi situatsii”, Sociological research num 4 (2009).

³⁴ N. Belitser, Krymski tatary yak korinnyi narod (Kyiv: State Enterprise “Natsionalne hazetno-zhurnalne vydavnytstvo”, 2017).

³⁵ Deklaratsiia samoopredeleniia i gosudarstvennosti avtohtonnogo korennogo cherkesskogo naroda: natsii v izgnanii. 2011. Retrieved from: http://www.kavkaz-uzel.eu/articles/196173/#note_link_1

deficient and not corresponding to what they are due may result in the formation of the “victim complex” in an ethnic community. The presence of the victim complex leads to the group participating in an ethno-political conflict to fix their disadvantaged position in the system of ethnic stratification by receiving compensation for the real or perceived damage caused and to punish the identified offender.

- The victim complex may be realized through victimized nationalism which is typical for the countries of the post-Soviet space and is present within the framework of the “Circassian question” and the “Crimean Tatar question” characterized by the presence of the “tragedy victim” associated with past acts of deportation, as well as the “victim-state” based on lost statehood and claims to it.

- The interrelation between victimhood and ethno-political conflict in the emergence and development of ethno-political conflict manifests itself in the fact that victimhood inherent in ethnic communities contributes to the formation of subjective perception of the ethno-status situation. The subjective perception of one’s status as inferior can further determine the development of the victim complex on its own. The above-mentioned leads us to a vicious circle of interaction in which the phenomenon viewed as a factor serves as an effect before becoming a cause.

- Further research in the field of the determinants and manifestation of the victimological aspects of ethno-political conflict and the opportunities for devictimization of ethnic communities is needed. Comparative studies of the victim discourse of the Crimean Tatar community living in Crimea, Ukraine, and other countries appear relevant.

Acknowledgments

The study was conducted with the financial support of the Russian Foundation for Basic Research and the Expert Institute for Social Research as a part of the scientific project №20-011-31790 “Conceptualization of the model of ethnonational victimhood of the population of Ukraine on the example of the Kherson region accounting for the all-Ukrainian and regional contexts of victim image construction”.

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