International Research Journal of Multidisciplinary Scope (IRJMS), 2024; 5(2): 663-678

Original Article | ISSN (0): 2582-631X

DOI: 10.47857/irjms.2024.v05i02.0596

IRIMS

The Ambiguity and Complexity of the Right to Self-Determination: A Legal and Political Perspective

Ufuoma Garvin Oyibodoro, Peter I Gasiokwu, Patrick Chukwunonso Aloamaka*

Faculty of Law, Delta State University, Oleh Campus, Nigeria. *Corresponding Author's Email: pcaloamaka@delsu.edu.ng

Abstract

This article critically explores the ambiguity and complexity inherent in the right to self-determination from both legal and political perspectives. It discusses the concept's imprecise nature, especially in terms of its application beyond the colonial context. Adopting the doctrinal approach, this paper scrutinizes various international legal instruments, such as the United Nations Charter and Human Rights Covenants, and their interpretations that have contributed to the ongoing debates surrounding self-determination. It highlights the intersection of law and politics, exemplified in instances of secession, increased autonomy, and democratic participation. Additionally, the article addresses the controversial aspect of collective versus individual rights in the context of self-determination. Through an examination of influential cases and political events, such as the Western Sahara Case and Kosovo's declaration of independence, the article illustrates the practical challenges and consequences of applying the self-determination principle. Conclusively, the paper argues for a clearer and more precise understanding of self-determination to facilitate its effective implementation in international relations.

Keywords: Collective Rights, Human Rights, Kosovo, Secession, Self-Determination, Western Sahara.

Introduction

The right to self-determination, enshrined in various international legal frameworks, stands as a fundamental principle in both international law and global political discourse. This right, inherently tied to the notions of freedom, autonomy, and the capacity of a people to shape their own destiny, has been a driving force behind monumental geopolitical transformations throughout the 20th and 21st centuries (1). From the collapse of colonial empires to the redrawing of national boundaries and the ongoing debates over secession and autonomy, the principle of selfdetermination has played a critical role in shaping the international order (2).

However, despite its prominence and the pivotal role it has played in international relations, the right to self-determination is shrouded in ambiguity and complexity (3).

This article aims to rigorously explore the ambiguity and complexity inherent in the right to self-determination, analysing it through both legal and political lenses with specific objectives: Firstly, to unpack the legal foundations and evolving interpretations of self-determination by examining key international treaties, court decisions, and legal doctrines that highlight the principle's complexity. Secondly, to analyse the political that shape self-determination dynamics movements and illustrate how political factors interplay with legal norms in their practical application. Thirdly, to identify and discuss major contemporary challenges and debates in the application of self-determination, focusing on current scholarly discussions and real-world cases such as Kosovo and Western Sahara. Lastly, to propose clearer definitions and frameworks to reduce the ambiguity surrounding the identification of 'peoples' eligible for selfdetermination. Our approach combines a detailed doctrinal review with comparative case study providing comprehensive analysis, а understanding of how self-determination operates in distinct geopolitical scenarios and addressing the complex interplay between legal rights and political realities. The significance of the study is to enhance understanding of the right to self-

This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution CC BY license (http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/), which permits unrestricted reuse, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

(Received 11th February 2024; Accepted 21st April 2024; Published 30th April 2024)

determination and its crucial role in addressing contemporary challenges in global governance, human rights, and international law. It highlights how self-determination influences global stability and international relations by challenging traditional boundaries and necessitating diplomatic engagements and conflict resolution. Moreover, self-determination is deeply intertwined with human rights, encompassing the collective rights of peoples to choose their sovereignty and political status, which directly impacts their cultural, social, and economic wellbeing. In the realm of international law, this study contributes to clarifying the application of international legal standards, thereby enhancing the stability and consistency of international legal practices. The ambiguity of self-determination primarily stems from its broad application and the difficulty in defining the very 'peoples' entitled to this right (4). While initially associated with the decolonization process, the principle's application has extended far beyond, encompassing various forms of autonomy and independence movements within established states. This extension has led to a complex interplay between self-determination and other pivotal principles of international law, such as territorial integrity and national sovereignty.

Moreover, the article delves into the political dynamics surrounding self-determination. It discusses how political aspirations, cultural identities. and historical contexts shape movements for self-determination and how these movements, in turn, influence international relations and law. Through a critical examination of notable case studies, including the situation in Kosovo and the Western Sahara dispute, the article highlights the practical challenges and consequences that arise when applying the principle of self-determination.

The discussion also extends to the debate over collective versus individual rights within the context of self-determination. This aspect brings to light the tension between group aspirations and the rights of individuals, further complicating the implementation of self-determination in diverse societal settings.

This article advocates for a clearer and more precise understanding of self-determination. Such clarity is essential not only for its effective implementation in international relations but also for addressing the legal and political challenges it presents. By examining both the legal foundations and the political realities of self-determination, the aim is to contribute to a more nuanced and comprehensive understanding of this pivotal principle in international law and global politics.

Methodology

This study employs a doctrinal research methodology, complemented by case study analysis, to examine the right to selfdetermination's legal and political aspects. Our doctrinal analysis rigorously examines international legal texts, such as the United Nations Charter and the International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights and on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights. This approach helps trace the evolution of legal norms and their varied interpretations across different jurisdictions, providing a deep understanding of the legal principles underlying self-determination.

We enrich this legal analysis with case studies of Kosovo and Western Sahara, chosen for their relevance in international legal discourse and their illustration of the practical challenges in implementing self-determination. These case studies allow us to explore the interplay between international law and political realities, enhancing our grasp of the subject.

Additionally, our research synthesizes theoretical perspectives from both law and political science to frame our findings within a broader scholarly context. This synthesis helps interpret the complexities and ambiguities of selfdetermination, illuminating ongoing debates within the academic and practical spheres.

Data Collection and Analysis

Our data collection involves a detailed examination of four primary sources: legal texts, judicial decisions, policy documents, and political discourse. Each source type is scrutinized through specific analytical techniques:

- 1. Legal Texts: We conduct a thorough review of international legal instruments and their amendments to trace the evolution of self-determination and identify legal ambiguities.
- 2. Judicial Decisions: Analysis of case law from international courts provides insights into judicial interpretations and their implications for self-determination.

- 3. Policy Documents: We examine policy statements and government documents to assess their impact on self-determination movements and identify policy-driven conflicts.
- 4. Political Discourse: Through qualitative analysis of political communications, we explore the ideological and ethical dimensions influencing self-determination debates.

Justification

The complexity and ambiguity of the right to selfdetermination are adeptly addressed through our integrated methodological approach, which synthesizes doctrinal analysis, case studies, and theoretical frameworks. Doctrinal Analysis serves as the backbone of our legal examination, meticulously scrutinizing international legal instruments and case law to clarify the legal foundations of self-determination and highlight ambiguities in legal definitions and applications. Complementing this, our Case Study Analysis of instances like Kosovo and Western Sahara offers vivid illustrations of how self-determination is applied in different geopolitical contexts, revealing the interplay between legal principles and political dynamics. These case studies not only demonstrate the practical implications of legal ambiguities but also show how political contexts can distinctly influence the implementation of selfdetermination. Furthermore, Theoretical Synthesis, integrating insights from both law and political science, broadens our analysis beyond mere legalistic views. This synthesis tackles the political, social, and cultural dimensions that shape self-determination movements, thus providing a comprehensive framework to interpret and address the complexities of real-world scenarios. Together, these methodologies furnish a robust examination of self-determination, ensuring a balanced and nuanced analysis that identifies, explains, and critically assesses the principle's legal and political dimensions.

Literature Review

The principle of self-determination, central to contemporary international law and politics, has evolved significantly from its origins to its presentday application. To fully understand this principle, it's essential to examine its historical roots, legal foundations, and the complexities of its application in various contexts. The emergence of self-determination as a prominent concept in the aftermath of World War I is indeed a significant moment in modern history. This period saw dramatic shifts in the world order, with the disintegration of empires and the redrawing of national boundaries. U.S. President Woodrow Wilson played a crucial role in popularizing the concept of self-determination, emphasizing the right of nations to selfgovernance and to determine their political destiny.

Wilson's advocacy for self-determination was a response to the nationalist aspirations awakened by the war and the collapse of empires like Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman (5). He viewed self-determination as a means to promote peace and stability in a world that had been deeply scarred by conflict. This perspective was reflected in his Fourteen Points, a statement of principles for peace that was used for peace negotiations to end World War I (6). The Fourteen Points called for national self-determination and the redrawing of Europe's borders along ethnic lines, to prevent future conflicts.

However, the implementation of selfdetermination following World War I was complex and fraught with challenges. The principle was applied selectively and sometimes ignored geopolitical realities and the diverse ethnic compositions of territories, leading to further conflicts and border disputes.

However, Erez Manela examined how Wilson's ideas ignited hopes among nationalist movements in various parts of the world and how these movements shaped the international order in the 20th century (7). He also delved into the impact of Wilson's ideas on national movements in countries like China, Egypt, and India, showing how these ideas were adopted and adapted to local contexts, often in ways that Wilson himself had not anticipated.

This period marked the beginning of the transformation of self-determination from a political idea to a principle of international law, setting the stage for its future development and its central role in shaping the world order throughout the 20th century and beyond.

The establishment of the United Nations in 1945 marked a significant development for selfdetermination, as it gained legal recognition in international law. The UN Charter's Articles 1 and 55 explicitly mention self-determination, linking it to the development of friendly relations among nations and the promotion of social progress and better standards of life (8).

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), both adopted in 1966, marked a significant development in the legal recognition of selfdetermination. These covenants affirm the right of all peoples to self-determination, allowing them to freely determine their political status and pursue their economic, social, and cultural development (9). This recognition expanded the legal basis for self-determination beyond the context of decolonization, embedding it within the broader framework of human rights (United Nations General Assembly, ICCPR and ICESCR, 1966).

A key challenge in the application of selfdetermination is the lack of a clear and universal definition of 'peoples' in international law. This ambiguity leads to various interpretations, enabling the principle to be applied to a diverse range of groups, including entire nations, ethnic, linguistic, or cultural minorities. The absence of a precise definition often results in different interpretations and applications, influenced by the specific political context and the nature of each self-determination movement (10).

Initially, self-determination was primarily associated with the process of decolonization. However, its scope has since expanded to encompass movements advocating for greater autonomy or independence within existing states. This expansion has led to debates and, at times, conflicts over secessionist movements in various regions. A notable example is Kosovo, whose declaration of independence in 2008 presented complex legal and political challenges, reflecting the difficulties in achieving international consensus on such movements (11).

In the current international context, the principle of self-determination extends beyond the creation of new states. It encompasses the rights of peoples within existing states to participate actively in the political process and to develop economically, socially, and culturally. The principle intersects with key issues such as democracy, minority rights, and human rights, highlighting its continuous relevance and dynamic nature in international law and politics. The principle of self-determination, while rooted in political ideology, has evolved to form a crucial component of international law, supported by various legal frameworks and interpretations. This evolution reflects the changing dynamics of international relations and the growing emphasis on human rights and democratic governance.

In this article, we engaged with contemporary theoretical frameworks and recent scholarly work to present the current state of knowledge in the field of self-determination. The literature reveals a diversity of theoretical perspectives ranging from classical legal theory, which anchors selfdetermination within the context of international law and state sovereignty, to more modern political theories that examine the role of selfdetermination in empowering minority groups and shaping international relations. Recent studies highlight significant conflicts and unresolved issues, such as the definition of 'peoples' eligible for self-determination, the tension between national sovereignty and the right to selfdetermination, and the impact of external political pressures on self-determination movements. For instance, the debate over whether selfdetermination should primarily address the rights of distinct ethnic and cultural groups versus broader populations remains a contentious issue. Furthermore, the evolving international norms and the impact of globalization on selfdetermination claims introduce complex dynamics that challenge traditional legal interpretations and political solutions. By synthesizing these discussions, our review establishes a solid foundation for understanding the main arguments, the conflicts arising from differing viewpoints, and the critical open-ended questions that persist in the study of self-determination.

Results and Discussions

Our study systematically addresses the complexities and ambiguities arising from the diverse interpretations and evolving standards in self-determination law. We conduct a thorough legal analysis of foundational documents, such as the United Nations Charter and International Covenants on Human Rights, tracing their interpretations and amendments to underscore the inherent fluidity and ambiguity of legal norms. Additionally, through case studies of Kosovo and Western Sahara, we demonstrate how these legal ambiguities manifest in real-world applications, revealing divergent interpretations that are influenced by specific regional dynamics. By integrating legal review with political theory, we further contextualize these ambiguities within broader global and local pressures, such as nationalism and state sovereignty. Based on our findings, we propose the development of clearer legal standards and more consistent interpretations through enhanced international dialogue, refined guidelines by international bodies, and precedent-setting by international courts. This multifaceted approach not only clarifies the sources of legal ambiguities but also outlines practical pathways for their resolution, thereby enhancing both academic understanding and policy application.

Legal Framework

The United Nations Charter, adopted in 1945, was instrumental in legally recognizing the principle of self-determination. Articles 1(2) and 55 of the Charter explicitly acknowledge self-determination, linking it with the development of friendly relations among nations and respect for equal rights (12). This formal recognition signalled the international community's commitment to the principle as a fundamental aspect of post-World War II order.

By incorporating self-determination into the Charter, the United Nations laid the groundwork for a new international relations paradigm. This paradigm emphasized not only the sovereignty of states but also the rights of peoples within those states to determine their political, economic, and cultural destiny, thereby contributing to global peace and stability.

The legal recognition of self-determination was significantly expanded with the adoption of the ICCPR and the ICESCR in 1966 (13) (14). Both covenants, in their common Article 1, assert that all peoples have the right to self-determination. They further elaborate that this right includes the freedom to determine political status and pursue economic, social, and cultural development. This expansion marked a critical development in international human rights law, as it extended the application of self-determination beyond the context of decolonization to include broader aspects of human rights and governance. The inclusion of self-determination in these covenants underscored the interconnectedness of civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights. It

Interpretations and Ambiguities

Despite its legal recognition, self-determination's interpretation remains subject to considerable debate and varying interpretations, largely due to its inherent ambiguities and the lack of a universally accepted definition of 'peoples'. These ambiguities give rise to different interpretations and applications, influencing international politics and law significantly

The absence of a clear, universally accepted definition of 'peoples' in international law contributes to the ambiguity surrounding the application of self-determination. This lack of clarity can lead to divergent interpretations about who is entitled to claim this right, affecting everything from minority groups within a nation to entire populations of a territory (15). The ambiguity in defining 'peoples' has significant implications, particularly in the context of movements seeking independence or greater autonomy. This has been evident in various international conflicts and disputes, where groups have asserted their right to self-determination in pursuit of political and territorial autonomy or independence.

The principle is often interpreted in two ways: internal self-determination and external selfdetermination. Internal self-determination refers to the right of people within a state to participate in democratic governance and to have a say in the conduct of public affairs (16). This interpretation of self-determination emphasizes the rights of peoples to autonomy and self-governance within the existing state structures, without necessarily challenging the state's territorial integrity.

External self-determination involves the right of peoples to determine their international political status, including the right to establish an independent state (17). This form of selfdetermination is most prominently associated with situations of decolonization and is also invoked in secessionist movements. However, the invocation of external self-determination in cases of secession is often contentious and subject to international debate (18).

Case Law and International Jurisprudence

Various international legal bodies and courts have contributed to the interpretation of selfdetermination. The International Court of Justice (ICJ), in its advisory opinions and judgments, has addressed the principle in several cases. Notable among these is the Advisory Opinion on Western Sahara (1975), a landmark case involving the question of the Sahrawi people's right to selfdetermination in the context of Spain's decolonization of Western Sahara. The ICJ's opinion acknowledged the Sahrawi people's right to self-determination, setting a legal precedent and reinforcing the principle in the context of decolonization (19).

In the context of secessionist movements, the ICJ's advisory opinion on Kosovo's declaration of independence (2010) highlighted the complexity of applying self-determination in such scenarios. The court opined that Kosovo's declaration of independence did not violate international law, underscoring the principle's nuanced application concerning state sovereignty and territorial integrity (20). This case illustrated the complexities involved in unilateral declarations of independence and their legal ramifications under international law.

In the contemporary international legal framework, the application of self-determination extends beyond the traditional context of decolonization. It now encompasses a broader spectrum, including movements for greater autonomy within states and the rights of minority and indigenous groups. This expansion has brought to the fore the need to balance the principle with other key aspects of international law, such as territorial integrity and the sovereignty of states.

The principle's application is further complicated by globalization and the emergence of non-state actors, posing new challenges for international law in addressing the aspirations of diverse groups seeking self-determination in a rapidly changing global landscape.

Political Dynamics of Self-Determination

The principle of self-determination, while deeply rooted in international law, is equally influenced by the political dynamics of the global stage. The political aspects of self-determination involve a complex interplay of national aspirations, international relations, and geopolitical interests, often shaping the outcomes of self-determination movements.

1. Nationalism and Identity Politics: Selfdetermination is closely tied to the concepts of nationalism and identity politics. Nationalism, often rooted in shared ethnicity, culture, language, or historical identity, is a powerful force driving self-determination movements. Such movements leverage nationalist sentiments to advocate for political autonomy or independence. The rise of nationalism, particularly in multi-ethnic states, can lead to demands for greater self-rule or even secession (21). This is particularly evident where dominant national narratives or policies marginalize certain ethnic or cultural groups, leading these groups to seek autonomy as a means of preserving their identity and achieving political recognition.

Identity politics plays a crucial role in selfdetermination movements, particularly for groups marginalized based on their ethnic, linguistic, or cultural identities. For many marginalized groups, self-determination is seen as a pathway to achieving equality and preserving their unique identities (22). It offers a means to assert their rights and interests against dominant or oppressive national narratives, and to seek greater control over matters that affect their community's wellbeing and cultural heritage.

The intersection of identity politics and selfdetermination can pose challenges to state cohesion, especially in nations with diverse populations (23). The balancing act between accommodating the aspirations of various groups and maintaining national unity is a complex and often contentious issue in international politics.

2. International Recognition and Diplomacy: The success of a self-determination movement often hinges on international recognition. Gaining international recognition for selfdetermination movements is a highly political process. It often requires navigating a complex landscape of global diplomatic relations, where the interests and policies of major powers significantly influence outcomes. The case of Kosovo's declaration of independence serves as a prime example, the varied responses to Kosovo's independence, ranging from support by some Western nations to opposition from others, including Serbia and its allies, demonstrate how international recognition can be contingent upon geopolitical strategies and alignments (24).

The United Nations plays a critical role in mediating and supporting self-determination movements. This role involves facilitating peaceful resolutions to disputes and balancing the principle of self-determination with other key international legal norms, such as the respect for territorial integrity and state sovereignty (25). The effectiveness of international organizations in handling selfdetermination movements is subject to several challenges. These include the need to navigate the interests of member states, address humanitarian concerns, and ensure that the process of self-determination aligns with broader goals of international peace and stability

3. Globalization and Transnational Movements: In an era of globalization, selfdetermination movements have taken on a transnational character. The global spread of ideas and the ability to communicate across borders have enabled self-determination movements to gain international visibility and support, thereby impacting both local and national politics. This global connectivity allows these movements to draw attention to their causes, influencing both domestic policies and international relations (26).

Self-determination movements often rely on the support of transnational advocacy networks and diaspora communities. These actors can provide various forms of assistance to self-determination causes, such as financial resources, political lobbying, and media campaigns. By doing so, they can shape the international discourse and perception of a self-determination movement, and influence its legitimacy and recognition in the global arena. Moreover, these actors can affect the policies and actions of states and international organizations towards self-determination movements, and even play a role in the negotiation and resolution of conflicts (27). Therefore, transnational advocacy networks and diaspora communities are significant factors in the dynamics and outcomes of self-determination movements.

However, self-determination movements also face significant challenges in the era of globalization, as they have to navigate the complex interplay between global influences and local realities. While global support can be beneficial, such groups must also address the specific political, cultural, and social contexts of their regions. For instance, the Kurdish movement for autonomy and independence spans across several countries in the Middle East, each with different historical, ethnic, and religious dynamics. As these actors garner transnational support, they may also face the challenge of balancing the diverse interests and perspectives of their international supporters with their local objectives and strategies. In contrast, the Pacific island nation of Kiribati faces the threat of losing its territory and sovereignty due to the effects of climate change, and seeks global recognition and assistance for its plight (28).

4. Realpolitik and Self-Determination: The principle of self-determination's intersection with realpolitik illustrates a key aspect of international relations, where states often prioritize pragmatic and strategic interests over ideological considerations. This approach leads to а selective and sometimes contradictory stance towards selfdetermination movements, influenced by factors such as national security, geopolitical influence, and strategic alliances (29). For instance, a state might support a selfdetermination movement in one region to counter a rival power, while opposing a similar movement within its own borders to maintain territorial integrity. This inconsistency in the international application of the selfdetermination principle is compounded by the complexities of global diplomacy and international law. Although self-determination is a recognized right in major international documents like the United Nations Charter, its practical implementation is often swayed by the shifting dynamics of global politics, the strategic interests of powerful nations, and the influence of international alliances. This situation reflects the current geopolitical 5. Challenges in Multinational States: In multinational states, addressing selfdetermination claims presents distinct challenges, primarily due to the intricate dynamics of accommodating diverse national or ethnic groups within a unified state structure. These states must navigate complex political landscapes to reconcile the varying aspirations of their constituent groups, which often involve deep-seated historical, cultural, and linguistic differences. Effective management of these claims typically necessitates astute political negotiation and constitutional adjustments, aimed at providing equitable representation and ensuring adequate levels of autonomy for different groups. These approaches can offer a framework for distributing power in a manner that respects the rights and identities of various groups while maintaining the cohesion and stability of the broader state. However, the implementation of these solutions is often a delicate process, fraught with challenges in balancing national unity with the distinct needs and aspirations of each group, thus making the management of self-determination claims in multinational states a continually evolving and complex endeavour. Some critics may argue that these solutions are insufficient or ineffective, and that the only way to guarantee the full realization of self-determination is through secession and independence. For instance, some groups in China, such as Tibetans or Uyghurs, have expressed their desire to break away from the central government and form their own states, citing human rights violations and cultural oppression (30).

However, this argument overlooks the potential costs and risks of secession, such as violence, instability, economic losses, and international isolation. Moreover, it ignores the possibility of finding alternative ways of accommodating diversity within a multinational state, such as through dialogue, cooperation, and reform. Therefore, this paper will argue that multinational states can and should manage self-determination claims in a way that balances the interests of all parties involved, and that secession should be considered as a last resort option.

Collective Versus Individual Aspects of Self-Determination

The principle of self-determination, traditionally viewed as a collective right, has increasingly encountered discussions emphasizing its individual aspects. This dichotomy between collective and individual rights presents unique challenges and insights into the application and understanding of self-determination in international law and politics.

1. The Collective Aspect of Self-Determination: Historically, self-determination has been regarded primarily as a collective right, applicable to groups defined as 'peoples' within the framework of international law. This collective approach is rooted in the notion that certain groups, based on shared characteristics like ethnicity, culture, or historical identity, have the right to decide their political status and pursue their economic, social, and cultural development (31).

The collective right to self-determination is most prominently enshrined in international instruments such as the United Nations Charter and the International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights and on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. These documents recognize the right of peoples to self-determination, emphasizing a group-based approach to the principle.

2. The Individual Aspect of Self-Determination: While self-determination is predominantly seen as a collective right, there is a growing discourse on its individual dimensions. This perspective focuses on the rights of individuals within groups to participate in the decision-making processes that determine their political, economic, and cultural development (32). The individual aspect of self-determination aligns with the broader human rights framework, which emphasizes individual autonomy and freedom. This approach contends that the right to selfdetermination should also protect individual rights within groups, ensuring that individual

freedoms are not suppressed in the pursuit of collective goals (33).

3. Balancing Collective and Individual Rights The challenge in self-determination arises in balancing the collective and individual aspects. Overemphasis on the collective right can lead to marginalization within the group and suppression of dissent, whereas prioritizing individual rights might weaken the group's collective identity and goals. Achieving this balance, especially in multi-ethnic states and secessionist movements, requires respecting both the group's aspirations and the individual rights of its members.

Instances Illustrating the Balance Between Collective and Individual Rights:

- Quebec Secession Movement: The Quebec a. Secession Movement represents a historical pursuit by the predominantly French-speaking province of Quebec, Canada, to achieve political independence and sovereignty, often challenging the federal structure of Canada (34). This movement clearly embodies the tension between the collective national identity of the Quebecois people and the rights of non-French speakers and those who don't share aspirations. The Canadian nationalist government's response through the Clarity Act reflects efforts to balance these contrasting perspectives, seeking a clear mandate for secession while protecting individual rights.
- b. Kurdish Independence Movement: The Kurdish Independence Movement encompasses the long-standing struggle of the Kurdish people, spread across regions in Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Syria, for national self-determination and the establishment of an independent Kurdish state (35). The diversity of individual views within the Kurdish population due to geographical spread and political contexts exemplifies the internal friction between collective aspirations and individual perspectives. This case highlights the potential challenges in reconciling internal divisions within groups seeking self-determination, which can be further complicated by external actors and regional dynamics.
- c. Conflict in the Former Yugoslavia: The Conflict in the Former Yugoslavia refers to a series of ethnic and territorial conflicts following the country's disintegration in the early 1990s,

leading to the establishment of several independent states amidst widespread violence and human rights violations. The tragic events following the breakup of Yugoslavia serve as a stark reminder of the potential consequences when the balance between collective ethnic rights and individual rights is not adequately addressed. The conflict exemplifies how prioritizing one over the other can lead to severe human rights violations and suffering.

d. Catalonia Independence Movement: The Catalonia Independence Movement is a political and social campaign by parts of the population in Catalonia, an autonomous region in north-eastern Spain, seeking independence and the establishment of Catalonia as a sovereign state separate from Spain (36). Similar to the Quebec case, the aspirations of the Catalan collective for independence directly challenge the national identity of certain residents who identify as Spanish. This highlights the complexity of reconciling conflicting identities within a single state and the challenges posed by unilateral secession efforts in upholding individual rights.

The Role of International Law and Institutions

International law and institutions play a critical role in mediating the relationship between collective and individual aspects of selfdetermination. They provide frameworks and guidelines for ensuring that both collective and individual rights are respected in selfdetermination processes. The involvement of international bodies, such as the United Nations, in self-determination disputes often involves balancing these dual aspects, ensuring that the pursuit of collective self-determination does not infringe upon the individual human rights of people within the group.

Cases of Self-Determination Movements (Kosovo and Western Sahara)

The principles of self-determination have been at the heart of numerous international disputes, with the cases of Kosovo and Western Sahara being particularly illustrative. These case studies provide valuable insights into the complexities and varied applications of self-determination in contemporary international law and politics.

Kosovo's Declaration of Independence

Kosovo's struggle for independence, deeply rooted in its historical and political complexities with Serbia, represents a critical case study in the pursuit of self-determination. The disintegration of Yugoslavia in the early 1990s intensified the ethnic and political tensions in Kosovo, predominantly inhabited by ethnic Albanians. The 1989 revocation of Kosovo's autonomous status by Slobodan Milošević's regime marked a significant point, intensifying the Albanian turning community's aspiration for self-governance and laying the groundwork for the independence movement (37).

The internal dynamics within Kosovo during this period were multifaceted, extending beyond the Serb-Albanian ethnic divide. Within the ethnic Albanian majority, various political factions emerged, each advocating distinct approaches to achieving independence. The Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK), led by Ibrahim Rugova, championed a strategy of peaceful resistance and diplomatic advocacy, seeking international support for Kosovo's cause through non-violent means (38). Conversely, the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA), which surfaced in the mid-1990s, adopted a more militant stance, opting for armed resistance against Serbian rule (39). The KLA's guerilla warfare and confrontational tactics significantly escalated the conflict, gaining substantial support among the Albanian population. These divergent factions within the Albanian community, embodying varied visions for Kosovo's path to independence, played a pivotal role in shaping the region's political trajectory and the international response to the crisis.

A defining moment in Kosovo's quest for independence was the NATO intervention in March 1999, triggered by the escalating violence and human rights abuses. The intervention, alongside the failure of diplomatic initiatives like Rambouillet Conference, led to the the establishment of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) (40). Kosovo's declaration of independence on February 17, 2008, was a culmination of these efforts, although it elicited mixed international reactions. Over 100 countries recognized Kosovo's

independence, while others, including Serbia and Russia, opposed it, citing concerns over international law and state sovereignty (41).

The International Court of Justice's (ICJ) advisory opinion on July 22, 2010, stated that Kosovo's declaration of independence did not violate international law, although it did not comprehensively address the broader implications of unilateral secession (42). Post-independence, Kosovo has navigated various challenges, including limited international recognition impacting its participation in global institutions and efforts to build democratic institutions and stimulate economic growth (43). These challenges are compounded by ongoing regional tensions and internal political divisions.

Kosovo's experience offers valuable lessons for future self-determination movements, emphasizing the importance of international support, legal frameworks, and comprehensive diplomatic efforts. Constructive engagement with global institutions, commitment to democratic processes, and protection of minority rights are crucial for successful state-building. Kosovo's journey underscores the need to balance independence aspirations with regional stability and adherence to international legal principles.

The Western Sahara Dispute

The Western Sahara conflict serves as a poignant illustration of the intricate challenges and ongoing complexities associated with the pursuit of selfdetermination in the contemporary international landscape. Originating from Spain's withdrawal in 1975, this conflict sparked a territorial dispute between Morocco and the Polisario Front, which advocates for the independence of the Sahrawi people (44). This situation highlights the multifaceted nature of self-determination disputes, involving legal, political, humanitarian, and economic dimensions.

A pivotal moment in this conflict was the International Court of Justice's 1975 advisory opinion, affirming the Sahrawi people's right to self-determination. Despite this legal recognition, the conflict has remained unresolved, with Morocco asserting sovereignty over a substantial portion of Western Sahara, and the Polisario Front, supported by Algeria, continuing its call for an independent state (45).

The United Nations' proposal of a referendum to determine the future of Western Sahara

exemplifies the international community's effort to find a peaceful resolution. However, this process has been hindered by challenges such as voter eligibility and the presence of Moroccan settlers, reflecting the deep-seated complexities of the issue.

Human rights concerns also play a significant role in this conflict. The Sahrawi people face restrictions on movement, limited access to resources, and potential human rights abuses. These issues underscore the humanitarian impact of prolonged conflicts and the importance of protecting civilian populations.

Economically, the conflict is influenced by Morocco's control of natural resources in Western Sahara, particularly phosphates (46). This aspect adds an economic dimension to the dispute, with implications for both Morocco's interests and the potential economic viability of an independent Sahrawi state.

The involvement of regional powers, especially Algeria's support for the Polisario Front, demonstrates the geopolitical intricacies of the conflict. These external influences further complicate the search for a resolution, as different actors bring their own interests and perspectives to the table.

Potential solutions to the Western Sahara conflict extend beyond the proposed referendum. Alternatives such as granting autonomy within Morocco, exploring confederal arrangements, or innovative diplomatic approaches could provide new pathways toward resolution. These solutions require a nuanced understanding of the various stakeholders' interests, aiming to respect the rights and aspirations of the Sahrawi people while considering the broader regional and international context.

Comparative Analysis and Global Implications

The cases of Kosovo and Western Sahara provide critical insights into the challenges of selfdetermination in the modern international landscape. While both regions share a common thread in their pursuit of independence, their unique historical and geopolitical contexts highlight the diverse ways in which the principle of self-determination manifests and is addressed globally.

In Kosovo, the drive for independence emerged from the ethnic and cultural tensions following the

disintegration of Yugoslavia. Significant events include the 1989 revocation of its autonomous status and the failed Rambouillet Agreement in 1999, leading to NATO's intervention. This contrasted with Western Sahara, where the conflict arose from decolonization and territorial claims by an external state, Morocco after Spain's withdrawal in 1975. The nature of conflict in Kosovo was marked by violent confrontations leading to NATO's intervention, whereas Western Sahara experienced a prolonged standoff characterized by intermittent skirmishes and a persistent political stalemate.

The international legal interventions in both cases reflect the complexities surrounding the principle of self-determination. The International Court of advisorv opinions on Kosovo's Justice's declaration of independence and on Western Sahara's right to self-determination illustrate the pivotal yet limited role of international legal bodies in resolving such disputes. The mixed international reactions to both independence bids further demonstrate how geopolitical interests and the principle of state sovereignty influence the recognition of new states, often leading to a fragmented international approach.

These cases also highlight the importance of considering human rights and humanitarian issues in self-determination movements. Both regions have witnessed significant humanitarian concerns, including displacement, human rights abuses, and restricted access to resources. The international community's role in addressing these issues is crucial, underscoring the need for a balanced approach that prioritizes human rights alongside political and legal resolutions.

The experiences of Kosovo and Western Sahara set important precedents and raise questions about the future of self-determination movements (47). They challenge the international community to find solutions that balance aspirations for selfgovernance with the principles of territorial integrity and state sovereignty. These cases underscore the need for nuanced, contextsensitive approaches in resolving selfdetermination disputes and respecting both the aspirations of peoples and the framework of international law.

Other Notable self-determination movements

Several notable self-determination movements around the world highlight the diversity and complexity of these efforts. Each movement, in its own context, reflects the varying dynamics and challenges associated with the quest for autonomy or independence. Some includes:

- a. Scotland's Independence Movement: Scotland's push for independence, particularly emphasized during the 2014 referendum, presents a modern, peaceful model of selfdetermination within a democratic and constitutional framework (48). Unlike Kosovo and Western Sahara, where ethnic and historical grievances fuelled independence bids, Scotland's movement is driven more by political and cultural identity within the UK. This movement highlights how democratic processes can provide a platform for peaceful self-determination efforts, offering a contrast to more conflict-driven cases.
- b. Palestinian Self-Determination Movement: The Palestinian movement is a poignant example of a protracted struggle for statehood, marked by deep historical, religious, and geopolitical complexities (49). Similar to Western Sahara, the Palestinian case involves long-standing territorial disputes and the challenge of achieving international consensus. Both cases underscore the difficulties faced by selfdetermination movements in regions where historical grievances and international politics deeply intertwined, and where are humanitarian concerns are paramount.
- East Timor's Independence: East Timor's c. journey to independence is marked by violent and significant international struggle intervention, somewhat akin to the NATO intervention in Kosovo. The UN-sponsored referendum in East Timor, resulting in independence from Indonesia, underscores the potential role of international organizations in facilitating self-determination processes (50). This case also highlights the challenges of nation-building post-independence, a reality faced by Kosovo as well.
- d. Taiwanese Self-Determination Efforts: Taiwan's situation presents a unique form of self-determination, primarily focused on international recognition and navigating its

complex relationship with China. Similar to Kosovo, Taiwan's struggle for wider recognition underpins its self-determination efforts. However, unlike Kosovo, Taiwan's situation is heavily influenced by major power dynamics, especially the position of China, demonstrating how geopolitical interests can shape the prospects of self-determination movements.

Crimean Annexation: The annexation of Crimea e. following a bv Russia, controversial referendum, provides an example of selfdetermination intersecting with territorial integrity and international law, similar to concerns raised in Kosovo's case. The international response to Crimea's annexation, which widely differed from that of Kosovo, highlights the inconsistencies in the international community's approach to selfdetermination claims, especially when they intersect with major power politics.

These diverse cases illustrate that selfdetermination movements significantly influence global peace and security, challenge evolving norms of statehood, and test the role of international institutions. They underscore the need for the international community to develop more consistent and principled approaches to selfdetermination issues. These movements highlight the delicate balance between respecting the aspirations of peoples for self-governance and maintaining international peace and stability. They also emphasize the importance of international institutions in mediating complex selfdetermination disputes and the need for evolving international norms to adapt to the changing geopolitical landscape.

Legal and Political Challenges in Applying Self-Determination

The application of the right to self-determination, while a cornerstone of international law, presents a myriad of legal and political challenges. These challenges stem from the complex nature of the principle itself and the diverse contexts in which it is invoked.

Legal Challenges

a. Defining 'Peoples': One of the most significant legal challenges in applying self-determination is the ambiguity in defining 'peoples'. International law lacks a clear, universally accepted definition, leading to varying interpretations. This ambiguity poses difficulties in determining which groups legitimately qualify for self-determination rights, often complicating efforts to address their claims within the framework of international law.

- b. Balancing with State Sovereignty: The application of self-determination frequently encounters the principle of territorial integrity and sovereignty of states. This conflict is particularly evident in secessionist movements where a subgroup within a nation seeks independence. Balancing the right to selfdetermination with a state's territorial integrity and sovereignty remains a contentious legal issue, often leading to debates and conflicts in international law.
- c. Lack of Implementation Mechanisms: While the right to self-determination is recognized in international law, there are limited practical mechanisms for its implementation. This lack becomes especially apparent in situations where there is no consensus or support from the parent state or the international community. The absence of clear procedures and mechanisms to facilitate selfdetermination processes leaves many such movements without a viable path to achieving their goals under international law.
- d. Interpreting International Law: The interpretation of international law regarding self-determination is subject to debate. Different states and international bodies may interpret the right to self-determination and its applicability differently, leading to inconsistent applications and decisions in various contexts.
- e. Non-Self-Governing Territories: The issue of self-determination is particularly challenging in the context of non-self-governing territories. The legal status and the process for achieving self-determination in these territories, as outlined in the United Nations Charter and other international instruments, often lead to complex legal debates and interpretations.
- f. Secession vs. Autonomy: Differentiating between the legal rights to secession and autonomy under the umbrella of selfdetermination is a complex task. International law tends to support more readily the right to internal self-determination (autonomy within a sovereign state) rather than external self-

determination (secession and formation of a new state), adding to the legal complexities faced by groups seeking full independence.

Political Challenges

- a. Global Political Dynamics: The support or opposition to self-determination movements is often influenced by global political dynamics and the strategic interests of states. This leads to inconsistent international responses, with some movements receiving wide support and others being largely ignored or actively opposed.
- b. Interplay with Nationalism and Identity Politics: Self-determination movements are frequently intertwined with issues of nationalism and identity politics. This can lead to internal conflicts within states, complicating the pursuit of self-determination and challenging the stability and unity of existing states.
- c. Geopolitical Interests: The application of selfdetermination is often influenced by the geopolitical interests of powerful states or alliances. These interests can determine the extent and manner of international support or opposition to self-determination movements.
- d. Nationalism and Ethnic Conflicts: In multiethnic states, self-determination movements can exacerbate ethnic conflicts and nationalism, leading to internal instability and violence. The political management of these movements requires careful balancing of diverse interests and identities.
- e. International Recognition and Legitimacy: The success of self-determination movements often hinges on international recognition, which is a highly politicized process. The legitimacy and viability of new states or autonomous regions are significantly influenced by such recognition.
- f. Human Rights Considerations: Balancing collective rights of self-determination with individual human rights within groups can be challenging. There is a risk that in pursuing collective goals, the rights of minorities or dissenting individuals within the group may be suppressed.
- g. Globalization and Transnational Movements: In the age of globalization, self-determination movements are not confined within national borders. Transnational advocacy networks and

diaspora communities play a significant role, while also complicating the traditional statecentric approach to self-determination.

Policy Proposals to Strengthen Self-Determination Processes

The implementation of self-determination faces significant challenges due to ambiguous legal definitions and complex political situations. Effective resolution of these issues is essential for maintaining international stability and peace. This section outlines targeted policy recommendations aimed at clarifying legal frameworks and enhancing political processes. These measures are designed to support peaceful and equitable selfdetermination efforts, promoting cooperation and ensuring compliance with international standards.

- 1. Establishing Clear Legal Definitions: Develop and adopt clearer definitions of "peoples" eligible for self-determination under international law. This can be achieved through international consensus via forums such as the United Nations. Clear definitions will help minimize ambiguities that lead to legal disputes and ensure that groups seeking selfdetermination can be properly identified and supported.
- 2. Creating a Dedicated International Body: Establish a specialized body under the United Nations dedicated to issues of selfdetermination. This body would oversee disputes, provide mediation services, and offer guidance on self-determination processes, working to ensure that these are conducted peacefully and in accordance with international law.
- 3. Standardizing Procedures for Self-Determination Claims: Develop standardized procedures for processing self-determination claims. These procedures should include steps for peaceful negotiations, criteria for eligibility, and mechanisms for international oversight to ensure fair and transparent processes.
- 4. Enhancing Local Governance Capabilities: Support capacity building in regions seeking self-determination to ensure that governance structures are capable of managing political, social, and economic challenges post-autonomy or independence. This involves providing training, resources, and support for democratic institutions to stabilize regions and prevent conflicts.

- 5. Promoting Dialogue and Reconciliation: Implement programs that promote dialogue and reconciliation between conflicting parties in self-determination disputes. Encouraging open communication and mutual understanding can pave the way for peaceful resolutions and shared solutions, reducing the likelihood of conflict.
- 6. Incorporating Human Rights Protections: Ensure that self-determination movements and the resultant governance structures adhere to international human rights standards. This can be enforced through conditional international recognition and support, linked to the protection of human rights within the newly established or autonomous regions.
- 7. International Monitoring and Support: Enhance international monitoring of selfdetermination processes to ensure compliance with legal and ethical standards. International bodies such as the UN should play active roles in observing elections, referenda, and other methods of expressing self-determination to ensure they are free, fair, and representative.

Conclusion

As we have explored the various facets of the right to self-determination, it is evident that this principle stands at the crossroads of legality and political reality. Despite its firm entrenchment in foundational instruments like the UN Charter, selfdetermination is entangled in ambiguity and evolving interpretations. Our research has delved beyond legal frameworks to illuminate the nuanced interplay between self-determination's various dimensions. We have underscored the inherent ambiguity surrounding the definition of "peoples." This lack of clarity generates diverse interpretations, impacting how self-determination applies across contexts, ranging from decolonization to minority rights and secessionist movements. Our findings demonstrate how these interpretations differing shape outcomes, highlighting the need for a more precise understanding of who qualifies for selfdetermination. Furthermore, we have examined the complex political dynamics driving selfdetermination movements. National aspirations, identity politics, and the pursuit of international recognition intertwine with realpolitik considerations, significantly influencing the movements' success and ultimate outcomes.

Recognizing these dynamic interplays is crucial for navigating the intricate pathways towards selfdetermination. Finally, our research emphasizes the intricate balance between collective aspirations and individual rights within selfdetermination claims. Achieving a balance between collective self-determination and the safeguarding of individual freedoms within and across multinational states remains a critical challenge. This research underscores the importance of addressing this balancing act to ensure inclusive and just outcomes.

Abbreviation

Not applicable, as no abbreviations were used in this study.

Acknowledgment

The authors wish to express that there are no specific acknowledgments for this study.

Author Contributions

This study was carried out through the collective effort of the authors. Responsibilities encompassed: conceptualizing and designing the study; gathering, analyzing, and interpreting the data; and drafting and revising the manuscript.

Conflict of Interest

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

Ethics Approval

This research did not involve human or animal subjects; therefore, ethics approval is not applicable.

Funding

This study did not receive any specific grant or financial support.

References

- 1. Schulte F. Peace through Self-Determination: Success and Failure of Territorial Autonomy. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan; 2020.
- 2. Laoutides C. Self-Determination and Decolonization. In: Griffiths RD, Pavković A, Radan P, editors. The Routledge Handbook of Self-Determination and Secession. Routledge; 2023. p. 14.
- Tacik P. It Is What It Is Not: Introductory Critical Perspectives on the Right of Self-Determination of Peoples. In: Deconstructing Self-Determination in International Law. Brill/Nijhoff; 2023. p. 7–109.
- 4. Jones N. Self Determination and the Right of Peoples to Participate in International LawMaking. British Yearbook of International Law. 2021 Nov 20; brab004.
- 5. Ouali AE. The Self Determination Classical Paradigm: Making Peripheral States Disintegrate. In: Territorial

Integrity in a Globalizing World: International Law and States' Quest for Survival. Berlin, Heidelberg: Springer Berlin Heidelberg; 2012. p. 241–301.

- Cross G. 100 YEARS ON! "The World's Peace" -Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points. The Western Front Association Bulletin 110 (Internet). 2018 Mar (cited 2024 Jan 3);13–5. https://espace.mmu.ac.uk/620846/8/Bull%20110%2013-15%20%282%29.pdf
- 7. Manela E. The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press; 2007.
- 8. Kadir MYA. Application of the Law of Self-Determination in a Postcolonial Context: A Guideline. Journal of East Asia and International Law. 2016 May 30;9(1):7–8.
- 9. Arif SMAWK. Legitimacy of Right to Self-Determination under International Law. Pakistan Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences. 2019 Mar 31;7(1):15–30.
- 10. Vidmar J. International Legal Responses to Kosovo's Declaration of Independence. Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law. 2009 Jan 1;42(3):779.
- 11. Crawford JR. The Creation of States in International Law (Internet). Oxford University Press; 2007. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/97801992284 23.001.0001
- 12. United Nations. Charter of the United Nations. 1945.
- 13. United Nations General Assembly. International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). 1966.
- 14. United Nations General Assembly. International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR). 1966.
- 15. Saul M. The Normative Status of Self Determination in International Law: A Formula for Uncertainty in the Scope and Content of the Right? Human Rights Law Review. 2011 Dec 1;11(4):609–44.
- 16. Shikova N. The Internal Aspect of the Right to Self Determination. In: Self Determination and Secession: In Between the Law, Theory and Practice. Cham: Springer International Publishing; 2023. p. 197–211.
- 17. Cats-Baril A. Constitution Brief Self-determination (Internet). International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance; 2018 Sep (cited 2024 Feb 8) p. 3.

https://www.idea.int/sites/default/files/publicatio ns/self-determination-constitution-brief.pdf

- 18. Abulof U. We the Peoples? The Strange Demise of Self Determination. European Journal of International Relations. 2015;22(3):536–65.
- 19. International Court of Justice, Western Sahara, Advisory Opinion. 1975.
- 20. International Court of Justice, Accordance with International Law of the Unilateral Declaration of Independence in Respect of Kosovo, Advisory Opinion. 2010.
- 21. Siroky DS, Cuffe J. Lost Autonomy, Nationalism and Separatism. Comparative Political Studies. 2014;48(1):3–34.
- 22. Kymlicka W. Multicultural Odysseys: Navigating the New International Politics of Diversity. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press; 2009.
- 23. Primoratz I, PavkovićA. Identity, self-determination and secession. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge; 2018.
- 24. Ker-Lindsay J. Kosovo: The Path to Contested

Statehood in the Balkans. London: I.B. Tauris; 2012.

- 25. Newman E, Rich R. The UN Role in Promoting Democracy: Between Ideals and Reality. Tokyo; New York: United Nations University Press; 2004.
- 26. Sassen S. Territory, Authority, Rights: From Medieval to Global Assemblages. Princeton, N.J.; Woodstock: Princeton University Press; 2006.
- 27. Sändig J, Granzow T. Aligning with the UN: Nonviolent Self Determination Movements in the Global South. Journal of Global Security Studies. 2018 Jul 1;3(3):322–38.
- 28. Frere T, Yow Mulalap C, Tanielu T. Climate Change and Challenges to Self- Determination: Case Studies from French Polynesia and the Republic of Kiribati. The Yale Law Journal Forum. 2020;129.
- 29. Castellino J. International Law and Self-Determination. BRILL; 2021.
- Moltchanova A, Moltchanova A. Multinational States and Moral Theories of International Legal Doctrine. In: National Self Determination and Justice in Multinational States. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands; 2009. p. 1–24.
- 31. Reuter TK. The Right to Self-Determination of Ethnic Groups: The Canton of Jura in Switzerland. International Journal on Minority and Group Rights. 2016 Apr 28;23(2):250–69.
- Kosko ,Stacy J. Agency vulnerability, participation, and the self determination of indigenous peoples. Journal of Global Ethics. 2013;9(3):293–310.
- 33. Michael M. Self Determination as a Collective Capability: The Case of Indigenous Peoples. Journal of Human Development and Capabilities. 2014;15(4):320–34.
- 34. Castro-Rea J, Weller J. Is the Québec Secession Movement Dead? Perspectives After Canada's 2015 Federal Election. In: López-Basaguren A, Escajedo San-Epifanio L, editors. Claims for Secession and Federalism: A Comparative Study with a Special Focus on Spain. Cham: Springer International Publishing; 2019. p. 97–111.
- 35. Riamei L. The Kurdish Question: identity, Representation, and Struggle for Self-Determination. New Delhi: Kw Publishers Pvt. Ltd; 2015.
- 36. Warstrand AB. "Catalonia -a New State in Europe?" Exploring the legal possibilities of creating an independent Catalan State (Master's Thesis). (Uppsala University); 2020.
- 37. Cocozzelli FP. The Kosovo Conflict (1981–1999) and the Creation of Ethnicized Institutions. In: War and Social Welfare: Reconstruction after Conflict. New York: Palgrave Macmillan US; 2009. p. 33–60.
- 38. Krijestorac M. Role of an Agent in (un)Keeping the Multiethnic State Together: The Case of the Secession of Kosovo. Alternatives: Turkish Journal of

International Relations. 2016;14(2):1-15.

- 39. Mrdalj M. From Pararepublic to Parastate: International Leverage in Shaping Kosovo's Secession. Nationalities Papers. 2020/02/17 ed. 2020;48(1):4260.
- 40. Caplan R. United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK). In: Koops JA, Tardy T, MacQueen N, Williams PD, editors. The Oxford Handbook of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations. Oxford University Press; 2015.
- 41. Stojanovic D. EXPLAINER: Why do Kosovo-Serbia tensions persist? AP News (Internet). 2022 Dec 12 (cited 2024 Feb 9). https://apnews.com/article/politics-serbia-kosovoeuropean-union-aleksandar-vuciccce01ee269c5a2a4a7e216936fd4a4a5
- 42. Cirkovic E. An Analysis of the ICJ Advisory Opinion on Kosovo's Unilateral Declaration of Independence. German Law Journal. 2019/03/06 ed. 2010;11(78):895912.
- 43. Mexhuani B. The prospects and challenges of Kosovo's accession to the EU in light of the EU's policies and priorities. Frontiers in political science. 2023 Aug 23;5.
- 44. Chograni H. The Polisario Front, Morocco, and the Western Sahara Conflict (Internet). Arab Center Washington DC. 2021 (cited 2024 Feb 9). https://arabcenterdc.org/resource/the-polisariofront-morocco-and-the-western-sahara-conflict/
- 45. Naldi G, d'Orsi C. The Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic: A state That Never Was? In: Abidde SO, editor. Palestine, Taiwan, and Western Sahara: Statehood, Sovereignty, and the International System. Rowman and Littlefield; 2023. p. 201–10.
- 46. White N. Conflict Stalemate in Morocco and Western Sahara: Natural Resources, Legitimacy and Political Recognition. British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies. 2015;42(3):339–57.
- 47. Walter C, Ungern-Sternberg A von , Abushov K, editors. Self-Determination and Secession in International Law. OUP Oxford; 2014.
- 48. Rohrer S, Gilley J, Price N. The Quest for an Independent Scotland: The Impact of Culture, Economics, and International Relations Theory on Votes of Self-Determination. The Journal of Economics and Politics. 2020 Apr 3;25(1).
- 49. Alim E. The Art of Resistance in the Palestinian Struggle Against Israel. Türkiye Ortadoğu Çalışmaları Dergisi. 2020 Jun 30;7(1):45–79.
- 50. Howard LM. State-building through neotrusteeship: Kosovo and East Timor in comparative perspective. Helsinki: United Nations University World Institute for Development Economics Research (UNU-WIDER); 2013.