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## **Intercultural competency and ethnocentrism in Georgia, Azerbaijanian and Armenian youth leaving in Georgia<sup>1</sup>**

### **Abstract**

*This paper explores intercultural competencies in Georgian, Armenian and Azerbaijanian students. Furthermore, it aims to study bases of effective intercultural communication in the representatives of the selected ethnic groups. Such terms as **intercultural competency** and its antonym – **ethnocentrism** are discussed in the study as the characteristics of intercultural sensitivity, which in turn is the bases of effective intercultural communication. The article presents the results of the focus-group discussions. The participants of the focus-groups were Georgian ethnic groups studying in public universities of Akhaltsikhe and Tbilisi State Universities, as well as Armenian and Azerbaijanian ethnic minorities who are involved in the first stage of the programme “four plus one” of the same universities. The following themes have been studied: self-assessment, assessment of others, traits by which ethnic groups describe themselves and other groups, relationship between ethnic groups, knowledge of the traditions and costumes and cultural peculiarities of ethnic groups. The results were analysed in the continuum of the concepts of ethnocentrism and ethnorelativity. The study results reveal that Georgian, Azerbaijanian and Armenian students differ in terms of their intercultural competencies, namely: ethnocentric tendencies are clearly revealed in Armenian students especially towards Azerbaijanians, but not so clearly towards Georgians. Some tendencies of ethnorelativism can also be seen in Armenian students. Azerbaijanian youth demonstrate ethnorelative attitudes towards Georgians, however, they are clearly ethnocentric towards Armenians.*

**Key words:** *intercultural competency, intercultural sensitivity, intercultural communication, ethnocentrism, ethno relativity.*

### **Introduction**

The importance for effective communication among cultures has tremendously increased in the process of globalisation in the modern world. It is essential

to overcome ethnocentrism and develop intercultural sensitivity in order to reach competent intercultural communication. Intercultural sensitivity is described as a person's openness and readiness to accept and

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appreciate intercultural differences. This subject is especially interesting for such a multinational and multicultural country as Georgia.

The role of educational system in the process of development of competent and effective intercultural communication is especially important, therefore relevant educational policies need to be in place. The formation of such educational policies requires studies of existing attitudes, stereotypes, expectations and the level of readiness in the society, especially among youth.

There are various interpretations of the term intercultural sensitivity by the different authors, however, there is a wide agreement that intercultural sensitivity is a basis of intercultural communication. Intercultural sensitivity includes cognitive, affective and behavioural dimensions and also means positive attitudes towards different cultures.

Intercultural competency is a characteristic of intercultural sensitivity which is a basis of effective coexistence and/or collaboration of individuals and ethnic groups representing different cultures.

What does it mean exactly to have intercultural competencies and what kind of attitudes and behaviours people with intercultural sensitivity have? In the earlier studies, specific behaviours of people who live and work effectively in different cultures have been researched. According to the study of

Trendies (1994), individuals with intercultural competencies have three common features:

(1) They can handle psychological stress which accompanies most of the intercultural communications;

(2) They can easily establish both – verbal and non-verbal communication with people from different cultures;

(3) They can develop and preserve new interpersonal communications.

Other conceptualisations of intercultural effectiveness and sensitivity, describe these terms in the context of cognitive, affective and behavioural spheres.

Individuals, who have intercultural competency, tend to respect and admit other cultures, instead of avoiding any intercultural differences. From implicit (unconscious) ethnocentrism those individuals come to realise their own and other cultures. Instead of realising what to do to avoid racism, sexism and other prejudices and phobias, they realise what to do to create respectful and productive intercultural relationships. Interculturally effective individuals are active by nature and tend to look for various perspectives in the decision making process and various actions.

In the process of communicating with other cultures, individuals need to develop skills to be able to respond objectively to other peoples' behaviours and interpret them from more than one cultural perspective. They need to know how to solve conflicts between the

representatives of different cultures by relevant methods. They also need to respect intercultural differences by means of diversifying perspectives, abilities and knowledge and analysing boundaries. They need to model culturally sensitive behaviours and attitudes, acquire new knowledge about cultural differences and institutionalise cultural perspectives in their private and professional practices (Cushner, McClelland, Safford, 2006).

Contrary to the individuals with intercultural sensitivity, there are people who view their own ethnic group as central and judge all other groups as relative to their own ethnic group or culture. This phenomenon (to give priority to one's own ethnic group) is known as ethnocentrism. This term was explained by Samner in 1906 as "the technical name for the view of things in which one's own group is in the centre of everything, and all others are scaled and rated with reference to it" [Stepman, Stepman, 1996, p.125]. Modern day researchers describe ethnocentrism as the phenomenon when life events are assessed through the prism of one's own ethnic group's traditions (Stefanenko, 2003).

Brewer and Campbell (1976) described major characteristics of ethnocentrism:

1. Perception of one's own cultural elements (norms, roles and values) as natural and absolutely correct and perceptions of others' cultural elements as unnatural and wrong.

2. Perception of one's own customs as universal.
3. Perception that it is only natural to collaborate with, help and be proud of the individuals who belong to the same ethnic groups.

It needs to be mentioned that the last criteria developed by Brewer and Campbell (1976) always proves that a person is ethnocentric. With regards to the first two criteria, there are some ethnocentric people who admit cultural values of other individuals, but they perceive those values as inferior to their own.

There is no agreement among researchers in evaluating the nature of ethnocentrism. However, as any other phenomenon, ethnocentrism should not be understood as clearly negative or positive term. Ethnocentrism can be viewed as a positive phenomenon to preserve ethnic identity and as a negative one for inter communication of different ethnic groups.

Brewer and Campbell's (1976) research among thirty African tribes revealed ethnocentrism in all the groups, however, with the different levels of expression. Approximately third of the African ethnic groups considered the achievement of one or more other groups as superior over their own.

Their ability to objectively assess characteristics of one's own ethnic group, as well as the attempt to understand the differences

of other ethnic groups is called flexible ethnocentrism.

Small nations or ethnic migrants sometimes are characterised by such form of ethnocentrism which is expressed by hatred, fear and distrust, as well as blaming others for one's own failure. Even though such ethnocentrism helps to develop positive ethnic identity, it is totally dysfunctional for personal development and for intercultural relationships.

The extreme form of ethnocentrism is delegitimisation, which is expressed by idolizing ones' own nation and oppressing other groups to the extent when they are not even considered to be human beings (for instance, the ideology of German fascism about superiority of Aryan race).

It can be concluded that there are different levels of expressing ethnocentrism ranging from positive ethnocentrism to delegitimisation.

### **Research methodology**

Due to the importance of the subject, it was decided to study patterns of intercultural sensitivity among Georgian, Armenian and Azerbaijanian youth. The aim of the study is to gather data about the level of knowledge in different ethnic groups about their own and other groups' cultures, customs, religious peculiarities and personal characteristics. Furthermore, the study also aims to gather information about the personal relationships between different ethnic groups.

The participants of the study are Georgian, Armenian and Azerbaijanian students who study in Georgian higher educational institutions. Studying the attitudes of students is important as they represent the youth and the future tendencies of our society are concentrated in them.

The research team held focus-groups with students of Tbilisi State University (two groups), as well as with students of Akhaltsikhe State University (three groups). Furthermore, Armenian and Azerbaijanian students representing ethnic minorities in Georgia who study in the programme "four plus one" in Akhaltsikhe State University also participated in the focus-groups (two groups). There were ten students representing each ethnic groups in each focus group.

### **Research instrument**

The guidelines for focus-groups included questions about attitudes of Georgian, Armenian and Azerbaijanian students towards their own and other cultures, as well as about the level of knowledge of their own and other cultures.

During the discussion in the focus groups, the data was gathered according to the following themes: self-assessment, assessment of others, characteristics by which the participants describe themselves and other groups, attitudes towards ethnic minorities, knowledge of other

ethnic groups' customs, traditions and cultural peculiarities.

### **Research results**

Intercultural competencies (Ethnocentrism and ethnorelativism) of Georgian, Armenian and Azerbaijanian student are described based on the rich data gathered during the focus-groups. Research results are described below according to the research themes.

### **Self-assessment**

Self-assessment of Georgian students is highly critical. Georgians mostly emphasize their laziness, irresponsibility and inability to make decisions on their own. ("they always wait for others to help/they always have others' hope"; "...They try to avoid responsibility"). However, Georgian students' self-assessment is still more positive than negative, since they perceive these negative characteristics as somehow transitional phenomenon. Together with self-criticism self-satisfactions is also very high ("...we are proud", "we are stubborn and consistent").

Armenian students do not express high self-criticism. Even though they indicate, that similarly to all the ethnic groups, they also have negative sides, it is not reflected in their self-assessment, as they consider themselves to be special. („I would say we are very clever. It is known in the world that we and Jewish people

are very clever"). They also perceive that there is a hostile environment around them ("we cannot forget our history and past and therefore, we cannot give up on what belongs to us").

The self-esteem of Azerbaijanian students is neither ambitious nor self-critical. They are satisfied with being believers and open-hearted ("we are open-hearted, generous and patriot people," "...we are naive, we are believers" "we are Muslims and therefore we have some specific traits"). Azerbaijanian students mostly see some negative sides in their old fashioned traditions, however, this does not seem to influence their self-esteem, as the most important trait for them is to be "kind Muslims".

### **Assessment of others**

Georgian students were quite brief when assessing Azerbaijanian students, as if they were avoiding to make any kind of judgement. However, based on some phrases from the discussions, Georgian students' assessment of Azerbaijanians is not very positive ("They give material things such as money or a house too much importance" "I think that Georgians perceive Azerbaijanians to be born for more physical work rather than intellectual".) However, despite such assessments and the religious difference, Georgians still consider Azerbaijanians to be "open" ethnic group.

Georgian students assess Armenians as "closed" ethnic group. Georgian students' assessment of Armenians are somehow

controversial: on one hand, they characterise Armenians as smart and determined (“there is a saying that when Armenian was born, Jewish was crying, which means they consider themselves to be very clever”). On the other hand, Georgians emphasize negative sides of Armenians (“Armenians are considered to be deceivers and greedy. When you tell them they are Armenians, they should be offended”).

Armenians assess Georgians quite controversially: on one hand, they consider Georgians to be similar to Armenians (“somehow we are alike, because we live close, the nature automatically allows us to understand each other”). However, they only appreciate educated Georgians who live in the capital (“Georgians who live in Tbilisi do not say such things, only the ones who come from villages can call you Armenian in a negative way”, “Sometimes they say such stupid things about our history that it is clear that those people are uneducated”). Armenian students call some part of Georgians “villagers” and consider themselves superior to them (“we simply do not communicating with such people to avoid any conflicts...we will never try to explain anything to such Georgians, because they do not worth it).

Armenian students divide Azerbaijanians into two parts: the “Georgian” Azerbaijanians and the rest of Azerbaijanians (“We have many Azerbaijanian friends who live in Georgia, but indeed we do not communicate with

Azerbaijanians living in Baku ...they are different”, “they are very different from the rest of Azerbaijanians”). The fear and distance is dominant (“...there are two girls and they view us as enemies, they may even try to kill us,” “I do not have any communication with them and I hope I will never have,”.... “My uncle has died in the war with Azerbaijanians for Nagorno-Karabakh, that is why I cannot stand them”, “...If you go to Azerbaijan, they might kill you”, “I have a fear, I cannot trust them.”). Armenian students assess Azerbaijanians based on their historical perspective that they are envious, ruthless and dangerous.

Azerbaijanian students admit the status of Georgians unconditionally and express respect towards them. They even consider themselves to be socially Georgians (“We are socially Georgians.... Our homelands are both: Georgia and Azerbaijan.”). Azerbaijanian students are proud to communicate with Georgians, but they feel they are not well respected by Georgians (“If Georgians knew more about our religion, I think they would respect us more”).

Azerbaijanians do not want to talk about Armenians at all. Any thought that they express, is somehow forceful. Azerbaijanian students do not share Armenians’ opinions about them being special and characterise them as deceivers (“They think that the whole world is theirs”, “They tend to lie a lot”).

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### Knowledge about other ethnic groups

Georgians admit that they are not interested in the costumes and traditions of ethnic minorities living in Georgia, except the cases when they have personal relationships with them. Usually, Georgians mix Azerbaijanians and Turkish people with each other, as well as Armenians and Jewish people (“Manasherov is a Jewish surname, but whenever we hear that a surname is not Georgian, we immediately think that it is either Azerbaijanian or Armenian without properly inquiring about its origin”).

Georgians have little knowledge about Armenian’s culture and religion. They know that Armenians are Christians, but they are not interested in more details (“We do not know much...we are not very well integrated...and this is our fault, because we do not want to communicate with them due to some stereotypes.”)

Georgians consider themselves to be tolerant, but it seems to be a stereotype, as they cannot clearly define how this tolerance is expressed in practice. Neither can they describe what the peculiarities of Azerbaijanian and Armenian religions are. This is clearly expressed in the dialogue of Georgian students:

- “We are tolerant to other religions....we respect them”

- “This is not quite true, Georgians are not even interested in their own religion, not to mention others’. It is even questionable how many Georgians know the Gospel”).

Armenians know Georgian costumes, lifestyle and in general, culture quite well. They are well aware of the differences between the religions of those two nations. Armenian students explain their well-awareness by the fact that they are similar with Georgians by culture and some characteristics (“Somehow we are similar, because we live close, the nature automatically allows us to understand each other”).

Armenian students are not interested in Azerbaijanian culture or religion. For example one Armenian student notes: “there is one minus, Armenians do not differentiate Azeri people from Turkish people. They are not the same nation are they?! However, 99 % of Armenians do not see any difference between those two nations, which is very bad, they do not care whether a person is Armenian or Turkish”.

Azerbaijanian students demonstrate openness towards learning more about the Georgian culture. It is clear from their discussion that they know a lot about Georgian lifestyle, culture and religion and that they want to know more.

Azerbaijanian students state explicitly that they do not know anything about Armenian

traditions and are not interested to learn anything about them (“I do not know anything about their traditions...about anything”). However, we think that this is more a statement of a position rather than a reality.

### **Traits that the research participants ascribe to themselves and to the other groups**

Armenians characterise themselves as patriots, hospitable and thrifty. They considered themselves as a very gifted nation similarly to Jewish people. They also emphasize the role of a woman in Armenian family (“A family is strong because of a woman, if a woman is strong, a family is strong as well”).

Georgians characterize Armenians more positively than Azerbaijanians students do. Georgian students think that Armenians are “devoted”, “patriots” and “open”. However, they also mention that Armenians are “arrogant” and “selfish”. As for Azerbaijanian students, they perceive Armenians to be “deceivers” and “traitors.” Georgian and Azerbaijanian students agree that Armenians are hardworking and they consider themselves to be superior to other nations (“They think the world is theirs”, “They think they are the cleverest”).

Georgian students consider themselves to be hospitable, emotional and lazy. They also mention that Georgians try to avoid responsibility, they depend on others’ opinions and it is often difficult for them to make

decisions without their parents. There were two different opinions about the tolerance of Georgians. Part of the participants think that Georgians can respect other groups’ traditions and religions. The other part of the students think that it is very difficult for Georgians to accept and respect the opinions of other people (They also characterised themselves as “prejudiced”, “conservative” and “stubborn”).

As for the Armenian and Azerbaijanian students, they have a similar opinion that Georgians are hospitable and friendly. Armenians noted that Georgians are lazy. Azerbaijanian students also share this opinion. They consider Georgian men to be lazier compared to Georgian women. Georgians were also characterised as “emotional” and “ambitious”. Armenians noted that Georgians can support each other, for instance during competitions and contests, which cannot be said about Armenians. Azerbaijanian students also noted that Georgians especially love to have fun and compared to Azerbaijanian youth, they are more modern.

Azerbaijanian students consider themselves to be hard working, hospitable, patriots and modest in private relations. The only negative tradition, that Azerbaijanian students discussed, was that they make girls to get married at a young age, without considering their opinion. Similarly to Georgian students, Azerbaijanian students also think that the rights



of Azerbaijanian women are suppressed in Azerbaijanian culture.

According to some Armenian students, Azerbaijanians are very hospitable, attentive and warm. However, based on their common historical past, Armenian students think that Azerbaijanians are envious and unmerciful.

Opinions of Georgians about different traits of Azerbaijanians are more diverse. Georgians think that Azerbaijanians are hardworking, generous and communicative. Furthermore, some Georgian participants noted that Azeri people are materialistic and “a car or a house” are the most important things for them. Therefore, they work hard and pay less attention to education, especially for girls. Azerbaijanians were also characterised as “traditional” and “overly obedient to the rules.”

### **Attitudes between ethnic groups**

#### ***Armenians and Georgians***

All Armenian students who participate in the study note that people are suppressed because of their ethnicity in Georgia. Based on their personal experience, Armenian students note that Georgian employees prefer to hire someone with “a Georgian surname and not some Armenians” despite their intellect and abilities. This idea is shared by Georgian students and they also note that Armenians are often suppressed because of their ethnic background. Because of this, they sometimes change their surnames. Furthermore,

Armenians talk about the situations, when Georgian parents forbid their children to play with Armenians. They also often hear such phrases as “They are clever, but they are Armenians”, “They are good, but they are Armenians“. However, it is also noted that such attitude is mostly expressed by Georgians who come from regions. Armenians think that such attitudes are developed in families. Despite all above mentioned, Armenians still think that Georgians are nice and warm in relationships. Georgians and Armenians agree that being “an Armenian” is a negative thing for Georgians. Georgian participants admit that they only trust Armenians (for instance a co-workers) if they know them well, otherwise, they are cautious.

#### ***Armenians and Azerbaijanians***

Armenians noted that “The Georgian Azerbaijanians” are different from the rest of Azerbaijanians. Armenian participants think that it is more possible to communicate with “Georgian Azerbaijanians.” However, they cannot even imagine to have any kind of personal relations with Azerbaijanian people from Baku because of the recent historical events. Armenians mention that they often feel hatred from Azerbaijanian students. As a whole, they are scared of Azerbaijanians and cannot trust them. Armenian students think that Azerbaijanians do not even want to change their attitudes towards Armenians. They also note that “if Azerbaijanians change their attitudes

towards Armenians, they will also consider changing their own". Armenian students think that it will take a lot of time to establish peaceful relationships between those two nations and only their grandchildren's generation might be able to establish normal relationships.

Azerbaijani students think that it is possible to have personal relations with Armenians, however the level of trust between those two nations is very low ("I have one Armenian acquaintance who seems to be hospitable and hardworking, but he is not devoted. You can read from his eyes what he thinks"). Some participants even think that Azerbaijanians should not be interested in communicating with Armenians at all.

### ***Georgians and Azerbaijanians***

Azerbaijani students note that Georgians often call them "Tatars" which is offensive and disrespectful. Similarly to Georgian focus-groups, there was some disagreement in Azerbaijani focus groups about whether Georgians respect Azerbaijani cultures and traditions or not. Some participants mentioned that Georgians respect their traditions and costumes (for example, when they are together, Georgians do not bring wine/pork to the table). However, some participants also reminded that on some occasions, Georgians do not consider these rules.

Georgian students mentioned, that they have more positive attitudes towards Azerbaijanians compared to other ethnic groups as they deserve more trust than Armenians. Despite this, Georgians think that they are not integrated to any ethnic minorities.

As a result, the tendency was revealed that Armenians and Azerbaijanians trust and support Georgians more than each other.

As for the marriage between the members of the different ethnic groups, the research participants expressed the following opinions: *Armenians* think that they should not marry the representative of other nation, however, they find it more acceptable to marry Georgians, rather than Azerbaijanians ("...If you ask girls, whether they marry the representative of other nation, they will say no, but they will marry Georgian, rather than other nation, because of religion, also we have more similarities with Georgians. As for the marriage with someone from other nations, 90% will say – no").

*Georgians* think that that Armenians marry someone from Georgians more often than someone from Azerbaijan. Georgian boys consider it to be acceptable to marry someone both from Armenia and Azerbaijan. Georgian girls would prefer to marry Armenians rather than Azerbaijanians.

*Azerbaijani*s are more radical towards this issue. Most of the girls find it unacceptable to marry someone from different culture other than their own. Majority of the boys agree with

this opinion, however some of them still find it acceptable to marry someone from Georgia.

Armenians, Azerbaijanians and Georgian students all have the same opinion about the knowledge of Georgian language and culture: they think that any ethnic group who lives in Georgia should know Georgian language and culture well. Azerbaijanian and Armenian students noted that often Georgians are irritated when ethnic minorities speaker in their native language and they demand to have a conversation in Georgian. Azerbaijanian students further emphasized that it would be good if Georgians learn their language and get acquainted with Azerbaijanian culture, as in such a way they would show some respect.

Based on the research results it can be concluded that attitudes of the representatives of different ethnic groups are diverse and they largely depend on the previous experience of interaction. This experience influences the social aims that those groups have in the given context. Georgian students think about their own comfort, while Azerbaijanian and Armenian students aim at security and self-establishment.

As a result of the presented analyses, the following conclusions can be made:

*Georgian students* are not interested in Azerbaijanian religion and culture, except such situations when they have to live or study in the same environment and when the initiatives come from Azerbaijanians. In general,

Georgians think that Azerbaijanians should be integrated in Georgian culture.

Georgian students do not try to establish deep relationships with Armenians. Despite their historical similarities, Georgians do not know Armenian culture well, however, they find it more acceptable to marry Armenians, rather than Azerbaijanians. Georgians are less demanding towards Armenians to be integrated in Georgian culture and to adjust to Georgian traditions. It can be said that Georgians admit the individualism of Armenians, but they are strongly separated from them (“he/she is clever, but he/she is Armenian”).

*Azerbaijanian students* see the both sides of Georgian character- positive and negative. They are somehow offended that Georgians do not communicate with them a lot. They have a strong desire to establish strong relationships with Georgians.

Azerbaijanian students do not want to communicate with Armenians at all as they have a lot of stereotypes about them, probably because of their hostile history.

*Armenian students* blame Georgians for not letting them to integrate with the Georgian environment. For instance, according to Armenians, it is impossible to find a good job if one does not change his/her surname. Armenians themselves do not let foreigners in their own space as well, especially in their family. They refuse marriage with any ethnic

groups rather their own, including with Georgians.

Armenian students refuse to communicate with Azerbaijanians at all and they express fear and distrust towards them. Armenians have more positive attitudes towards “Georgian Azerbaijanians” and emphasize their positive traits, however, they still prefer to keep distance from them.

The research results are discussed through the concept of intercultural competency which includes bipolar constructs of ethnocentrism and ethnorelativism. Ethnocentrism is defined according to Brewer and Campbell’s (1976) above discussed criteria. Based on this analyses, the following picture is revealed:

#### **Armenian students**

- ✓ They consider their own cultural elements such as norms, roles and values (despite their criticism) as superior to other cultural elements;
- ✓ They consider their own costumes and personal traits as almost universal;
- ✓ They tend to give priority to collaboration with the members of their own group, as well as to provide help to them and to be proud of them. Also, Armenians tend to demonstrate distrust and sometimes even hostility towards other ethnic groups.

#### **Azerbaijani students**

- ✓ They tend to perceive their own cultural elements as absolute truth, especially their own religion. However they are also loyal to other cultural and religious values.
- ✓ They perceive their own costumes as right, however they tend to avoid perceiving them as universal.
- ✓ They know that it is natural to collaborate with the members of one’s own ethnic group and to provide help to them. Their hostility towards Armenians is obvious, even if it is not strongly emphasized.

#### **Georgian students**

- ✓ Even though they are proud of their own cultural elements, they do not consider cultural elements of other groups as unnatural or wrong.
- ✓ They consider their own costumes and traditions as unique, but not as universal.
- ✓ Georgian students do not reveal hostility towards Azerbaijanian and Armenian ethnic groups, however they show no interest towards the integration with these groups.

Armenian students show ethnocentrism/ethnorelativism for all the three criteria/characteristic. Azerbaijanian students partially demonstrate ethnocentrism for only two criteria and they demonstrate ethnocentrism

only towards Armenians for only the third criteria. Georgian students do not reveal any tendencies of ethnocentrism, only for the second criteria slight tendency of ethnocentrism is revealed.

**Based on the analyses of the qualitative research, the following conclusions can be made:**

(1) Georgian students do not clearly reveal ethnocentrism, only minor tendencies can be observed. However, it should also be noted, that Georgian students do not reveal ethno relative tendencies either. In general, intercultural competencies in Georgians towards Azerbaijanian and Armenian people are not defined and developed. It can be concluded, that tolerance, which is often ascribed by Georgians to their own

group, is nothing but a permission to other ethnic groups to exist next to Georgians.

- (2) Ethnocentric tendencies are clearly revealed in Armenian youth by such mechanisms as self-defence, praise their own culture and regard other ethnic groups as enemies. However, it should be also noted that Armenian respondents tend to reveal ethnocentrism only towards Azerbaijanians and as for Georgians, they are more ethno relative.
- (3) Azerbaijanian students demonstrate some level of ethnocentrism which probably can be explained by the fact that they have different religion. They also express tendencies of ethnorelativism only towards Georgians. Azerbaijanian students are clearly ethnocentric towards Armenians.

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