

## **SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF NATIONALISM**

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Nationalism is a complex phenomenon. Social psychology started to regard nationalism as its object of scientific research only in late 20-30s. Before that nationalism was considered to be a transitional phase of development. Scholars believed there was no use in studying nationalism, for the phenomenon had some value only in given historical context and would soon lose its significance [Lichtenberg, J., 1997, Nationalism, For and (Mainly) Against, in McKin & McMahan, 1997]. These scholars were wrong: The biggest and the most dreadful events of XX century established national extremism as a norm.

However, analysis of works of XIX century scholars shows that political doctrine which today we call nationalism has existed prior to those events. The difference was that methods for studying nationalism were not so elaborate. Scientists of that period split in two groups: Those who liked the phenomenon and tried to use their works for justifying its existence and others, who regarded nationalism with skepticism and viewed the phenomenon as another temporary stage of the historical development of the society [Lichtenberg, J., 1997, Nationalism, For and (Mainly) Against, in McKin & McMahan, 1997].

On the other hand, dividing scholars according to this principle is conditional for they agreed not only on several key points, but also on the main thesis that nations and nationalism do exist. Then what did scholars debate?

Analysis of the scientific literature on nationalism shows that scholars agree that national status differs from any other objective criteria like class, region, gender, race and religious faith, which underline individual or collective identity [Smith, A.D., 1991, National Identity, Harmondsworth: Penguin]; however, scholars disagree on the role that each of this criteria plays in defining national identity and hence, in shaping the definition of nation. Further, the analysis shows that the discussion unfolds on two main levels: Some scholars put emphasis on objective criteria such as religion, language and race [Nyiri, J.C. (ed), 1994, Nationalism and Social Science, issue of Studies in East European Thought]; others focus on subjective criteria, such as, for example, self-perception [Taylor, C., 1989, Sources of the Self, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press]. Scholars also disagree on the definition of nation as a separate phenomenon: For some scholars this phenomenon is self-determined; some view it as defined by others [Twining, W. (ed.), 1991, Issues of Self-Determination. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press].

Daniel Druckman suggests that group attachment is the main basis of nationalism. Druckman gives the definition, which clearly shows multi-layers of the phenomenon: Nationalism is the form of our vision and interpretation, which underpins our daily speech, behaviors and attitudes [Shalva Abzianidze, Elene Kvanchilashvili, Tinatin Tkeshelashvili, 2002, Nationalism in Georgian Youth and Its Psychological Aspects, Journal Peace Times].

The definition suggests that nationalism considers such attitude, which becomes a driving force of national identity and could comprise two different phenomena: On the one hand, it could be an attitude, which members of the nation have when they allow for defining and preserving their national identity and on the other, it could be a behavior – actions that the nation takes in the process of realization of these attitudes.

However, for the group attachment to turn into the nationalistic vision, it needs to consider individual's other features and experiences as well as external variables, such as, for example, current social-political events. Hence, on even broader level, we could view nationalism as a phenomenon, which is defined through the communication process between ethnic-cultural groups or 'nations' on one hand and political organizations on the other.

This brief analysis shows how complex the phenomenon is, and it also gives ground to view nationalism as personal and group characteristic, as an ideological trend and one of the important features of real politics.

Hypothesis of the given research of social psychological aspects of nationalism derives from this analysis: On the more general level, nationalism could be viewed as a personal and group characteristic; on the more specific level, Georgian nationalism could lack aggression and be positioned on the same continuum with patriotism.

Hypothesis suggests that together with social features, personal features bare equal importance. More so, the research attempts to study nationalism on two main – ethnic/cultural and political levels. Hence, the research attempts to provide answers to two main groups of questions: First group is more descriptive by nature, including questions like what is the nation and national identity; what it means to be the member of some nation; what underlines pro-national attitude? And the second group, which is more normative by nature, including questions like is caring for self national identity always adequate; should a person preserve his/her national identity?

The research aims to provide answers to these questions; define South Caucasus features of nationalism and assess general conditions and tendencies for interpreting the phenomenon throughout the region.

During the last decades, nations have fought for self-identification, also undermined by nationalistic attitudes, which had precipitated the process of socialist system breakdown. In the post-socialist and post-soviet space, however, healthy national interests have often been altered with aggressive separatist attitudes, which have triggered many conflicts of ethnic origin. Plain enough that in such conditions and within the enhancing globalization tendencies, studying nationalism and its social psychological aspects gains practical, applied importance. South Caucasus suits the goals of the research, because the abovementioned features are fully present in the region.

The region is unique in its ethnic and confessional diversity. On a relatively small territory, more than 50 peoples live here; besides main religious beliefs (Orthodox and Monotheism, Shiism and Sunism), one can also find traces of earlier informal religious traditions. Out of the three nations of South Caucasus,

Georgians and Armenians are the ancient inhabitants of the region, and Azerbaijanis have evolved as a result of assimilation of local Albanian population with Turkish tribes. Georgian language belongs to the family of Iberian-Caucasian (Kartvelur) languages; Armenian language belongs to Indo-European family languages, and Azerbaijani language belongs to Turkish-Altai family languages. Absolute majority of Georgia is Orthodox Christian; Armenians are Monotheist Christians, and Azerbaijanis are Shiite Muslims. Despite these differences, long-term historic relationships have established mutual inter-Caucasus traditional values, which tightly connect these three nations to each other. Such traditions include respect towards ancestors and family, exceptional hospitality, open friendly and neighborly relationships, etc.

Breakdown of the Soviet Union has triggered the process of reviving national selves throughout the entire post-Soviet space and subsequently, nationalistic attitudes increased, sometimes, unfortunately, even turning into the sources of separatism and different ethnic conflicts. These processes have developed quite critically in Caucasus region as well (Karabakh, Abkhazia, Tskhinvali Region, Chechnya, and Daghestan).

To normalize current conflicts and prevent expected controversies, it is important to study those forms of nationalism, which are common to the nations of South Caucasus. More so, on the territory of different states of the region, there are number of densely populated areas of neighborly nations – on the territory of Georgia such areas include regions of Javakheti with Armenian demographic dominance and Kvemo Kartli with Azerbaijani demographic dominance – where local populations have to be granted the right to preserve their ethnic and cultural heritage; actions for ensuring this right have to be incorporated into the state policy. Towards this end, nationalism could have a very distinct function.

Empiric analysis of the three nations of South Caucasus gives solid grounds for their nationalistic predisposition: First, all three nations of South Caucasus are similar in their orientation on historic past. History in itself is very often viewed from nationalistic standpoint; nationalists often operate with historical facts: If some real historic fact becomes unaccepted, nationalist ignores it and restricts its integration into the logical processes, but if this fact, at the same time, is very important, nationalist starts to consider it in every possible way; however, he never admits its reality, not even to himself. Orientation on history urges an individual to interpret history the way it would best suit his local goals. Hence, the majority of nationalists tend to believe that they can change the past. Nationalist spends most of the time in his fantasy world, where everything happens the way he would like it to happen; so, nationalist uses every chance to fix his fantasy world on pages of history: real facts are abridged, dates are altered, quotes are misplaced and organized in such a way that the whole concept is entirely changed [Orwell, G., 1945, Notes on Nationalism]. The main reason for all of this is to influence modern outlook; those nationalists, however, who re-write the history, truly believe that they are ‘organizing’ facts. Every such justification is for the nation with nationalistic ideas to prove that it has certain values and that judgment of these values must be based on normatively valid arguments.

Second, each of the three nations of South Caucasus has a central national culture. Culture of these three nations is especially interesting for they have not only folklore – oral stories, but stories in the written

form, which makes them differ from other nations. Culture of these three nations reaches beyond the limits of the household culture: frescos, writings on churches confirm the long history of culture in writing. Because of common language, habits and traditions, members of each nation are closer to each other than to those who are not part of their culture. Based on various cultural traditions, internal and external values of each ethnic national society establish. This is how basic values form and are later transferred to future generations. Language and habits – these are the main ethnic features, which must be protected and kept. The next most important values are moral: some values are universal, but intangible; more specific moral values establish based on specific traditions and become especially important for those who fully comply with norms and standards of given traditions. Universal values include the right for the individual autonomy and impartiality towards the members of those groups who differ from one's own group [Margalit, A., 1997, *The Moral Psychology of Nationalism*, in McKim & McMahan, 1997]: On this ground, nationalistic attitudes uncover much easily. In multi-cultural ethnic nations, such as the three nations of South Caucasus, often borders between individual autonomy and perception of culturally different groups are feeble, which easily trigger different conflicts.

Third, each of the three nations of South Caucasus has to exist in conflict situations. Ethnic national society has a huge importance for the development of each of its members. An individual can fully accept concepts and values for the cultural understanding of his society and find the suitable role for self-realization within the society only if he is an in-group. Personal identity of each individual depends on to what extent he is involved in public life [Shapiro, I., and Kymlicka, W. (eds.), 1997, *Ethnicity and Group Rights*, *Nomos XXXIX*, New York: New York University Press]. In case of South Caucasus, each national culture provides for the diversity of Caucasus and generally, world's cultures. The same is true for separate cultures within Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia. If we consider an ethnic nation as a natural component of culture, preserving cultural diversity would for the most part depend on preserving an origin form of the given ethnic nation, which by the central national culture is sometimes regarded as a threat for dominance and triggers conflicts. Often an individual feels tension between the attachment to his society on the one hand and on the other, his inner need to equally approach every society [Shapiro, I., and Kymlicka, W. (eds.), 1997, *Ethnicity and Group Rights*, *Nomos XXXIX*, New York: New York University Press]. In case of young democracies this tension becomes even more vivid. Such tension may lead to serious psychological and political difficulties. Psychological instability in conflict and crisis situations is hard to regulate and it diminishes political efficiency; all three nations of South Caucasus have this experience.

And finally, for ages each of the three nations of South Caucasus has been the part of clearly one religious system, which operates to this day and stays central. Clearly, nationalistic attitude does not have to be associated only with nation, or one race or certain geographical location [Kedourie, E., 1960, *Nationalism*, London: Hutchinson]; this feeling may relate to the Church. In the nations of South Caucasus, habit of self-identification is firstly connected with religious faith, which is placed beyond the categories of 'good' and 'bad' and is regarded every individual's personal responsibility to protect it, strengthen it and preserve it, which in its turn, could become a strong basis for exposing nationalistic attitudes and behaviors.

Hence, the empiric analysis of the three nations of South Caucasus shows strong predispositions for compiling a unified research model for studying nationalism.

The research developed in three main directions: Analysis of the scientific literature on nationalism and the empiric characteristics of the three nations of the region, which we have discussed above and focus group studies.

Focus group research included 5 Tbilisi resident Georgians, 5 Yerevan resident Armenians and 5 Baku resident Azerbaijani respondents. The research was conducted first separately with each group and then with the entire group. Afterwards, based on the principle of an in-depth interview, members of focus groups were asked to define each feature.

Focus group research revealed one very interesting tendency: Respondents actively discussed nationalism and its features in their own groups, while after merging these three groups together and asking respondents to share and discuss their ideas, they seemed to restrain from openly stating their points of view. Mostly, they got emotionally involved and started to argue. The assessment of the phenomenon of nationalism triggered most of the discussion: Georgians and Azerbaijanis stated that nationalism was more negative than positive phenomenon and that for the state to exist, it wasn't necessary for nationalist tendencies to prevail; Armenians, on the contrary, considered nationalism as the necessary condition for establishing the sovereignty of any state and that this phenomenon was more positive than negative. However, representatives of all three nations agreed that nationalism could have extreme forms, which would bring on devastating results.

Focus group research emphasized three main features of nationalism: attachment, aggression and pride for one's own nation. Respondents defined these features similarly: Under attachment, they meant that an individual fully complies with norms and rules acknowledged by his nation and state and at the same time, an individual prefers to live in his own country where he feels most comfortable. Under aggression, respondents meant that to defend sovereign rights of one's own country, to preserve language, culture and religious faith and normalize the expansion of foreign confessions or cultures on the ground, sometimes it was necessary to demonstrate power and aggression. And finally, under pride for one's own nation they meant that an individual prefers his own nation to any others and in any case, he regards it as the best. Analysis of the scientific literature, reviewed earlier, suggests that there is one more feature of nationalism – national identity, meaning national ideals in general.

Hence, based on focus group study results and analysis of the scientific literature on nationalism, the research establishes four main features of the phenomenon: (i) Attachment to one's own nation, country and culture; (ii) Aggression towards foreign nations, its representatives and culture; (iii) Superiority of one's own nation, feeling pride for one's own nation and overestimating it, and (iv) National Identity, national self-awareness, national ideals in general.

Based on these features, statements for the research model have been elaborated. Finally, 55 statements have been selected, comprising four different scales for studying the phenomenon. In the

instruction respondents were asked to evaluate given statements by their acceptance or rejection. Respondents were asked to tip only those statements with which they agreed.

The pilot study comprised 100 Tbilisi resident Georgian, 100 Marneuli and Bolnisi resident Azerbaijani and 100 Javakheti and Akhaltsikhe resident Armenian respondents (research model has been translated into Azerbaijani and Armenian languages respectively). Research model is reliable.

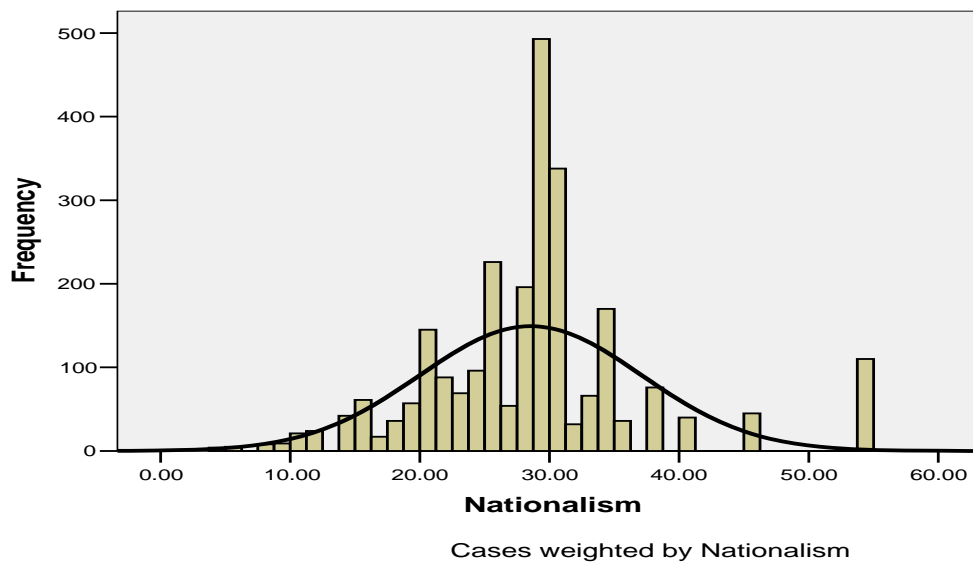
Figure 1. Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.878	.876	55

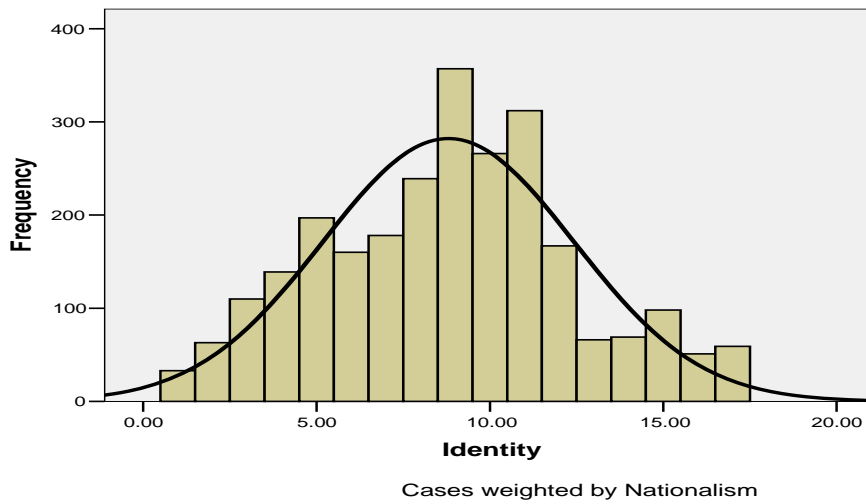
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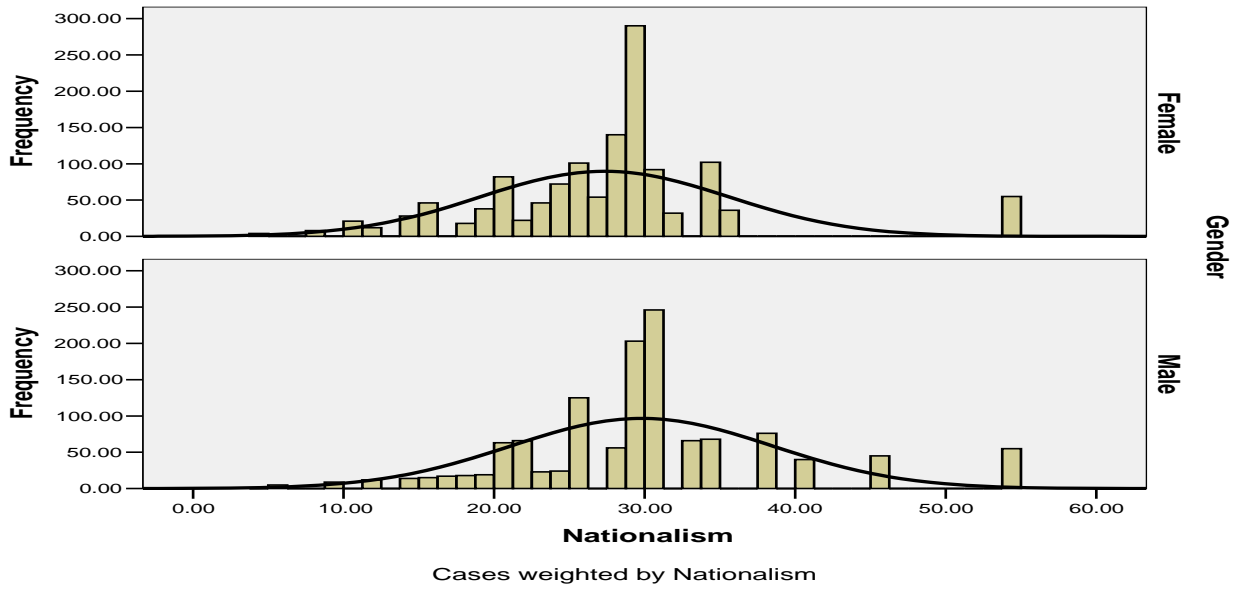
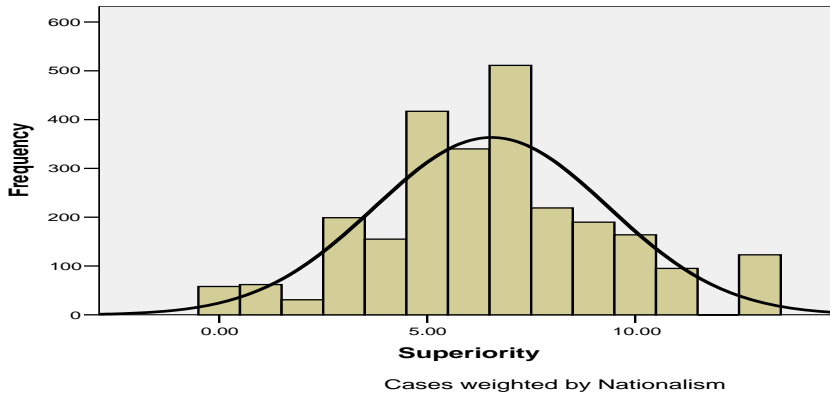
Figure 1 shows that the reported coefficient represents a lower bound for the true reliability. In other words, answers to this survey differ because respondents have different opinions, not because the survey is not complete or it allows for multiple interpretations.

Distribution of main variables (nationalism, gender, attachment, aggression, superiority and identity), on the other hand, suggest that the model needs to be compared with other, already probed methodologies, measuring those personal and group characteristics, which complete the research model and make it more fit to study social psychological aspects of nationalism.



Histogram above shows that the selection is densely distributed towards the center, in the area of the moderate expression of nationalism; however, in the area between 50 and 60, there is another peak, representing another subgroup within the selection, which differs from the central group by dramatically strong expression of nationalism. This tendency is kept throughout all variables:





This tendency may be explained by the fact that, although extraction communalities of variables are all high (which means that they represent the phenomenon well) [Figure 3], only two components explain 70% of the variability [Figure 4].

Figure 3. Communalities

	Initial	Extraction
Gender	1.000	.821
Attachment	1.000	.632
Aggression	1.000	.460
Superiority	1.000	.787
Identity	1.000	.811



Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Figure 4. Total Variance Explained

Component	Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	2.378	47.557	47.557
2	1.133	22.652	70.209

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Figure 4 shows that we can considerably reduce the complexity of data set by using only two components; however, we will risk losing 30% of information, which means that other variables are also important for fully analyzing the data.

Further, factor analysis suggests that attachment to one's own nation, country and culture is the principal component for analyzing nationalism in South Caucasus [Figure 5].

Figure 5. Rotated Component Matrix

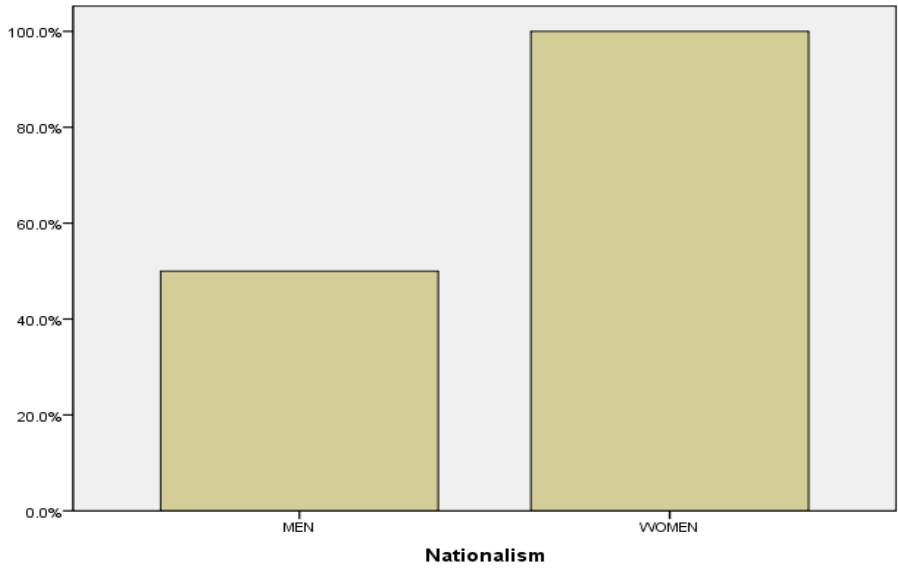
	Component	
	1	2
Gender	.011	.906
Attachment	.792	-.067
Aggression	.571	-.365
Superiority	.737	-.494
Identity	.862	.261

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

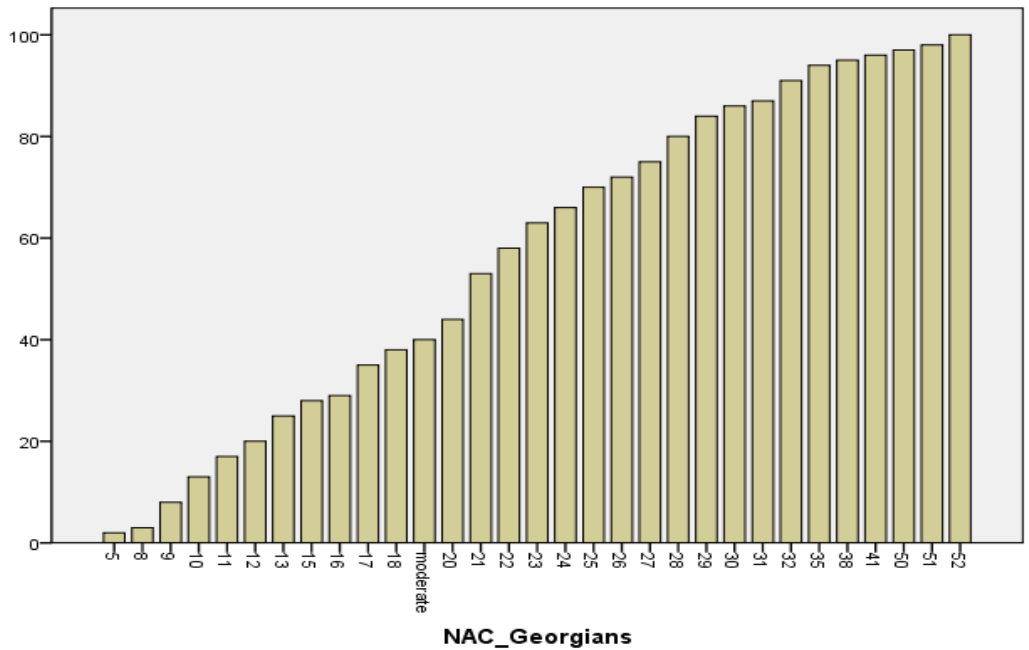
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

Figure 5 shows that the first component is most highly correlated with identity and attachment; attachment, however, is a better representative, because it is less correlated with the second component. The second component is most highly correlated with gender.

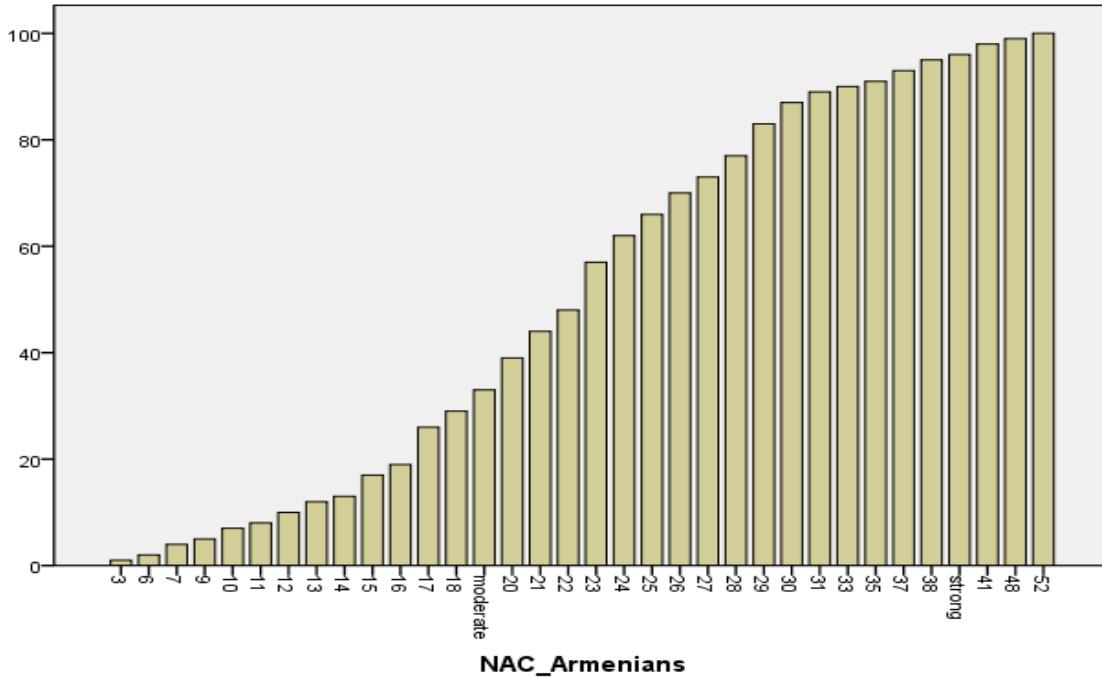
The research shows that women tend to be more nationalist than men [Figure 6].



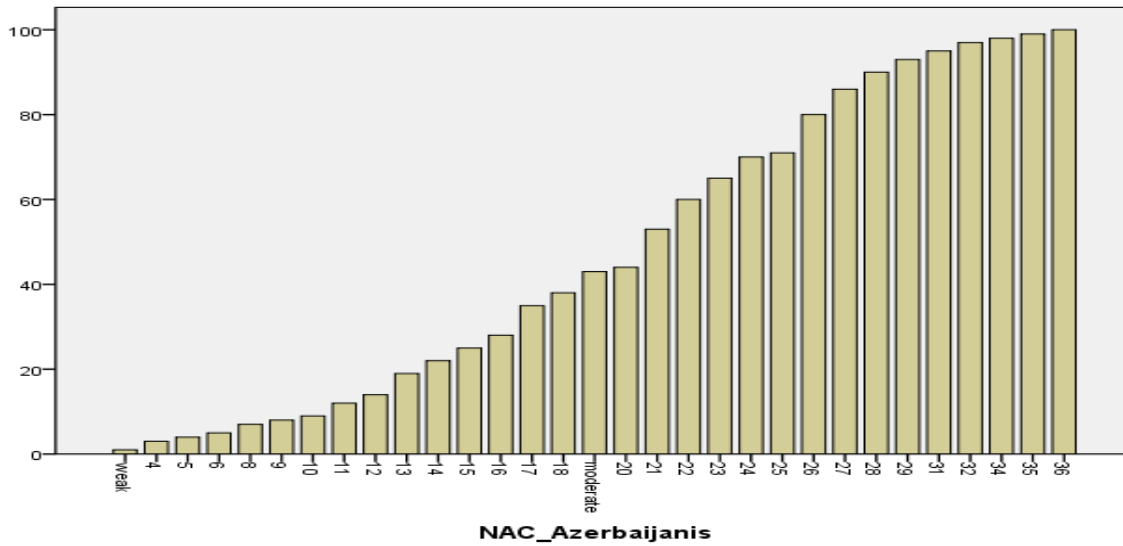
However, on the other hand, Georgian, Armenian and Azerbaijani selections are inclined to moderate expression of nationalism. Interesting tendency here is that only Georgian selection is fully moderate in expressing nationalism, while Azerbaijanis tend to be partly weakly nationalistic and Armenians tend to be partly inclined to reveal strong nationalism. Georgian selection is denied of such part.



Picture above shows that no extremely weak or extremely strong expressions of nationalism are stated.



Picture above shows that there is a significant number of respondents revealing strong nationalism, while the overall tendency is the expression of moderate nationalism.



Picture above shows that there is a significant number of respondents revealing strong nationalism, while the overall tendency is the expression of moderate nationalism.

Hence, the pilot study emphasizes that research model is reliable, attachment to one's own nation, culture and country tends to be the principal component for studying nationalism throughout South Caucasus, which in its turn is exposed on a moderate level, and women are more inclined to nationalistic attitudes and behaviors. The results also suggest comparing the research model with already probed methodologies, which have the same basis, but include different variables, connected with the research issue.

On the group level, we used ethnocentrism scale, tests on ethnophilia and group narcissism, and on the personal level, we used research methods for individual narcissism by Freud and Interpersonal Diagnosis for Personality by Timothy Learey.

The term Ethnocentrism was first introduced by Samner in 1906, to indicate an individual's disposition to place his own nation in the center of everything. Since those times, many scientists have started to pay an attention to this phenomenon. As a result, number of methodologies have been developed, then perfected and covered a wide spectrum of cultures. In our study, we used the scale of Ethnocentrism adapted to the Georgian culture.

The methodology of measuring the ethnophilia is relayed upon the basic assumption that there exists a controversial phenomenon of the Ethnocentrism, that is being revealed in a negative assessment of the own group and a positive assessment of a foreign one. This methodology envisages also an average indicator that means that there exist ethnophile, ethnohostile, and ethnoneutral persons. Based upon these theoretical data, a group of scientists has developed a method of measuring individual features on the ground of the Pairs Comparison Principle, where individuals are asked to compare the pairs of nations, including their own ones, by ten marks, of which 4 are negative and 6 – positive. In our research, we tried to adapt these signs to the research theme and, for this purpose selected the following features of a nation: hospitable, brave, unjust, tolerant, strong, rational, conflictive, reliable, honest, and hostile.

The notion of Narcissism was first introduced by Freud, to indicate an individual's tendency to the self-delight. A method of measuring of this feature was introduced later, by Robert Immonce. We have just transformed it into the one for testing the Group Narcissism and, asked the individuals to imply Georgian, in our provisions. For measuring the individual narcissism, we used the relevant method introduced by Robert Immonce and, which was based on the meaning of Narcissism, through which Sigmund Freud had first determined an individual's tendency to the self-delight.

According to Timothy Learey's "Interpersonal Diagnosis for Personality" an individual's interpersonal features are those cognitive or non-cognitive processes, through which he/she arranges relationships with others and assesses himself/herself towards other persons and other persons towards himself/herself. Interpersonal mechanism helps an individual to avoid nervousness and preserve self-esteem. If interpersonal mechanism works duly, an individual creates a social environment where he/she is happy, i.e. we can conclude that according to Learey, such an individual is "open", well-minded, or multi-strata model answering the interpersonal reactions. Interpersonal behavior is always directed to reduction of nervousness. Respectively, all social and emotional interpersonal actions of an individual may be

understood as attempts for avoiding irritation and establishing and preserving self-esteem. There are eight features and, respectively – eight types of individuals, singled out in Timothy Learey’s Interpersonal Diagnosis for Personality: authoritarian, i.e. with leader’s features; independent, dominating; straight, aggressive; doubtful, skeptic; obeyed, diffident; dependant, dutiful; cooperating, conventional; and responsible, attentive, altruist.

Regression proved the integrated research model to be fit for study (reliable R-squared;  $R^2=0.51$ ), which means that the given range corresponds fully to those hypothetical variables, which, presumably, are directly connected with nationalism.

On the next stage, the main goal of the research, which was conducted on 500 Baku resident Azerbaijanis, 500 Yerevan resident Armenians and 500 Tbilisi resident Georgians [here we will focus only on data obtained from 300 respondents], was to compare nationalism across South Caucasus and see whether Georgia continued tendency of moderate nationalism or not; also, to define the nature of Georgian nationalism – whether it focuses on positive attitudes towards the Georgian nation, or on national superiority and needs for power and dominance. The latter would give us a chance to judge about nationalism-patriotism models [Daniel Druckman, 1968, in Journal of Conflict Resolution/1994, in Mershon International Studies Review/2000, chapter in the Peace Psychology Book/2001, in International Negotiation/2006, in International Negotiation] in Georgia - whether these two notions are merged from each other, or regarded as parts of one continuum. Hypothesis suggests that for Georgians, nationalism and patriotism are both on the same continuum. In this context, the most important features for comparison are aggression and superiority.

Azerbaijani selection tends to openly demonstrate critical and hostile aggression, percept the own nation as the superior over other nations and are devoted to their national ideals.

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**Figure 7. Correlation of Nationalism with the Learey’s personality types**

	Nationalism		
	Correlation Coefficient	Sig.	N
Aggressive	.198**	.048	100

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed)

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Aggressive personality types are characterized by “cold” strictness or sadism. In this case we deal with dangerous and destructive aspects of the personality - all those behaviors provoking fear in others by the means of physical, moral or verbal impact. This diagnostic category includes not only anti-social but firstly socially secured persons - those demonstrating punishing, or sarcastic or disciplinary or blaming constant attitudes. Strict power often causes delight in others and is considered as positive social adaptation. As a rule this kind of strictness and aggression is not revealed physically, though it is very effective. Such individuals choose the mask of the “dangerous personality” in interpersonal relations. They feed respect

towards them by provoking the fear in others. The aim of hostile behavior is to humiliate and crush the “other.”

Azerbaijanis tend to be more nationalists than Armenians and Georgians; however, according to nationalism, Armenians and Georgians do not differ significantly.

Figure 8. Paired Samples Test

		T	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Armenian-Azerbaijani	Nationalism	-2.611	99	.010
Azerbaijani-Georgian		3.302	99	.001
Armenian-Georgian		.458	99	.648

Paired Samples Statistics

		Mean	N
Armenian-Azerbaijani	Nationalism	23.34	100
Azerbaijani-Georgian		28.04	100
Armenian-Georgian		28.04	100
Azerbaijani-Georgian		22.90	100
Armenian-Georgian		23.34	100
		22.90	100

Source: SPSS

Azerbaijanis tend to be more skeptical, than Georgians and Armenians; however, according to Learey’s octant IV- distrust-skepticism – Georgians and Armenians do not differ significantly.

Figure 9. Paired Samples Test

		T	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Armenian-Azerbaijani	Skeptical	.432	99	.667
Azerbaijani-Georgian		3.724	99	.000
Armenian-Georgian		3.525	99	.001

Paired Samples Statistics

		Mean	N
Armenian-Azerbaijani	Skeptical	7.08	100
Azerbaijani-Georgian		6.88	100
Armenian-Georgian		6.88	100
Azerbaijani-Georgian		5.41	100
Armenian-Georgian		7.08	100
		5.41	100

Source: SPSS

Azerbaijanis tend to be more obedient than Georgians and Armenians; however, according to Learey’s octant V- obedience- Armenians and Azerbaijanis do not differ significantly.

Figure 10. Paired Samples Test

		T	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Armenian-Azerbaijani	Obedient	.432	99	.667
Azerbaijani-Georgian		3.724	99	.000
Armenian-Georgian		3.525	99	.001

Paired Samples Statistics

		Mean	N
Armenian-Azerbaijani	Obedient	7.08	100
		6.88	100
Azerbaijani-Georgian		6.88	100
		5.41	100
Armenian-Georgian		7.08	100
		5.41	100

Source: SPSS

Azerbaijanis tend to be more dependent than Georgians and Armenians; however, according to Learey's octant VI- dependence- Armenians and Azerbaijanis do not differ significantly.

Figure 11. Paired Samples Test

		T	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Armenian-Azerbaijani	Dependent	.432	99	.667
Azerbaijani-Georgian		3.724	99	.000
Armenian-Georgian		3.525	99	.001

Paired Samples Statistics

		Mean	N
Armenian-Azerbaijani	Dependent	7.08	100
		6.88	100
Azerbaijani-Georgian		6.88	100
		5.41	100
Armenian-Georgian		7.08	100
		5.41	100

Source: SPSS

Azerbaijanis tend to be more directed to cooperation than Armenians and Georgians; however, according to Learey's octant VII- cooperation- Armenians and Azerbaijanis do not differ significantly.

Figure 12. Paired Samples Test

		T	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Armenian-Azerbaijani	Cooperation	.432	99	.667
Azerbaijani-		3.724	99	.000

Georgian				
Armenian-Georgian		3.525	99	.001

Paired Samples Statistics

		Mean	N
Armenian-Azerbaijani	Cooperation	7.08	100
		6.88	100
6.88		100	
5.41		100	
Armenian-Georgian		7.08	100
		5.41	100

Source: SPSS

Azerbaijanis tend to be more altruists than Armenians and Georgians meanwhile according to Learey's octant VII- altruism- Azerbaijanis and Armenians do not differ significantly.

Figure 13. Paired Samples Test

		T	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Armenian-Azerbaijani	Altruist	.432	99	.667
Azerbaijani-Georgian		3.724	99	.000
Armenian-Georgian		3.525	99	.001

Paired Samples Statistics

		Mean	N
Armenian-Azerbaijani	Altruist	7.08	100
		6.88	100
6.88		100	
5.41		100	
Armenian-Georgian		7.08	100
		5.41	100

Source: SPSS

Armenian selection tends to associate aggression with the power; also, the stronger the perception of the nation's superiority the less the perception of other nation as a strong one. Weak correlations were established between nationalism and other group variables, as are ethnocentrism, group narcissism and ethnophily. As it seems, in the margins of the Armenian selection nationalism as a personal characteristic is stronger than the group one. In fact as more the individual is biased towards demonstration of nationalism as less he/she chooses the following strategy of the interpersonal relationship: "I am obedient, weak, shy type."

Figure 14. Correlation of Nationalism with Learey 's personality types



Nationalism			
	Correlation Coefficient	Sig	N
Diffident	-.262**	.009	100

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed)

Some invariably use this strategy in relationship with everyone; some assess the situation and become obedient dependant personality only if necessary. These kinds of individuals consider that they are less anxious when being dependent over decisions of others. This role becomes more relevant when they have relationship with stronger and more authoritative personalities. In this case the mechanism of self defense becomes leading, with the help of which the subject struggles the feeling of self exposure and tries to quit anxiety with the weakness and depression mask. This kind of self-decay in rare cases causes the interest from other person's side but in case of utter demonstration of this octant, the personality becomes excessively organized and pedantic; he has phantom image of the reality as if constructing the insubstantial wall against unknown and non controllable moments of life.

Armenians tend to be more authoritarian than Georgians and Azerbaijanis; however, according to Learey's octant I – authority- Armenians and Azerbaijanis, on the one hand, and Azerbaijanis and Georgians, on the other, do not differ significantly.

Figure 15. Paired Samples Test

		T	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Armenian-Azerbaijani	Authoritarian	1.549	99	.125
Azerbaijani-Georgian		1.229	99	.222
Armenian-Georgian		2.624	99	.010

Paired Samples Statistics

		Mean	N
Armenian-Azerbaijani	Authoritarian	7.36	100
		6.65	100
Azerbaijani-Georgian		6.65	100
		6.11	100
Armenian-Georgian		7.36	100
		6.11	100

Source: SPSS

Armenians tend to be more dominant than Azerbaijanis and Georgians; however, according to Learey's octant II – independence-dominance, Armenians and Azerbaijanis do not differ significantly.

Figure 16. Paired Samples Test

		T	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Armenian-Azerbaijani	Dominant	.432	99	.667
Azerbaijani-Georgian		3.724	99	.000
Armenian-Georgian		3.525	99	.001

Paired Samples Statistics

		Mean	N
Armenian-Azerbaijani	Dominant	7.08	100
		6.88	100
Azerbaijani-Georgian		6.88	100
		5.41	100
Armenian-Georgian		7.08	100
		5.41	100

Source: SPSS

Armenians tend to be more aggressive than Georgians and Azerbaijanis; however, according to Learey's octant III- aggression- Armenians and Azerbaijanis do not differ significantly.

Figure 17. Paired Samples Test

		T	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Armenian-Azerbaijani	Aggressive	.432	99	.667
Azerbaijani-Georgian		3.724	99	.000
Armenian-Georgian		3.525	99	.001

Paired Samples Statistics

		Mean	N
Armenian-Azerbaijani	Aggressive	7.08	100
		6.88	100
Azerbaijani-Georgian		6.88	100
		5.41	100
Armenian-Georgian		7.08	100
		5.41	100

Source: SPSS

Georgian selection tends to relate aggression to nationalism, attachment to one's own nation and its superiority.

Figure 18 . Correlation of Nationalism with Learey's personality types

Nationalism			
	Correlation Coefficient	Sig.	N
Authoritarian	.297**	.000	100

Independent	.290**	.000	100
Aggressive	.299**	.000	100
Doubtful	.292**	.000	100
Diffident	.332**	.000	100
Conventional	-.289**	.000	100
Responsible	.334**	.000	100

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed)

One more interesting result found in the course of our research was the negative correlation with Learey's octant IV, meaning that the individual perceives the nation as the center of everything as more as less he/she sends the following interpersonal message towards others: "I am obedient, I admire you and I need your help and advice". If this tendency is weakly expressed in the individual it is demonstrated by the mean of conformity full of respect or trust. If this tendency is demonstrated with its utter form in the individual it is transformed into complete feebleness. This kind of persons as a rule avoid the hostile relationship towards "others," also demonstration of their own independence and power. They consider that they are less anxious when being dependent over others' opinion; some individuals steadily demonstrate this kind of tendency in relationship with everybody; some first evaluate the situation and if considering it appropriate, become dependent and obedient. According to Learey, this role becomes especially relevant in a relationship with stronger, authoritative individuals. If the personality is open and respectful towards others, others offer help and advice. Such persons seem to be weak and friendly and that's why they manage to successfully provoke others to offer their protection and friendship.

Georgians tend to be more inclined to Ethnophily than Armenians and Azerbaijanis; however, according to the ethnophily Armenians and Azerbaijanis do not differ significantly.

Figure 19. Paired Samples Test

		T	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Armenian-Azerbaijani	Ethnophylia	.831	99	.408
Azerbaijani-Georgian		-13.967	99	.000
Armenian-Georgian		-14.144	99	.000

Paired Samples Statistics

		Mean	N
Armenian-Azerbaijani	Ethnophylia	69.52	100
		68.45	100
Azerbaijani-Georgian		68.45	100
		95.28	100
Armenian-Georgian		69.52	100
	95.28	100	

Source: SPSS

Georgians tend to be more ethnocentric than Armenians and Azerbaijanis; however, Azerbaijanis and Georgians do not differ significantly.

Figure 20. Paired Samples Test

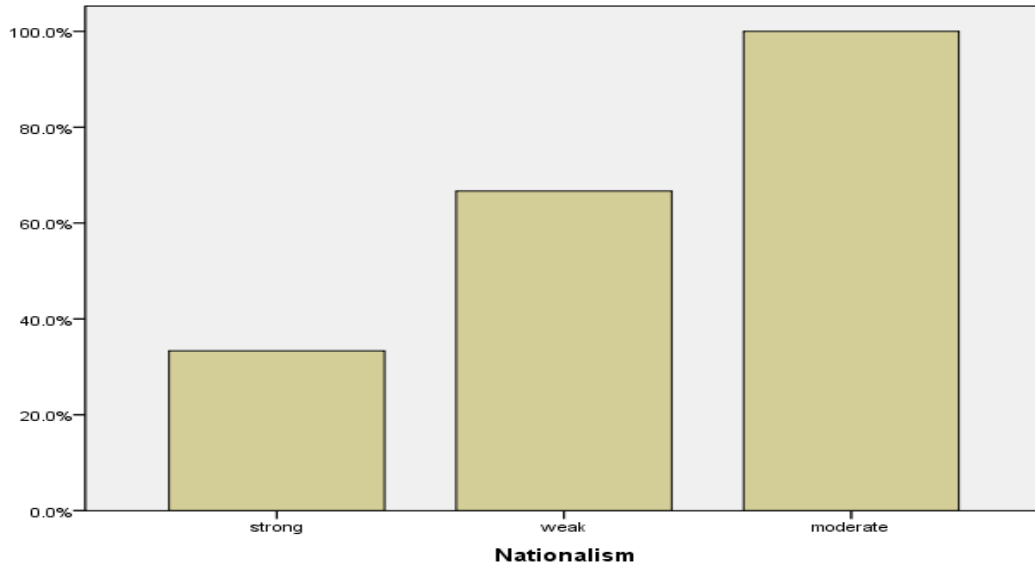
		t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Armenian-Azerbaijani	Ethnocentrism	-5.796	99	.000
Azerbaijani-Georgian		-1.288	99	.201
Armenian-Georgian		-7.275	99	.000

Paired Samples Statistics

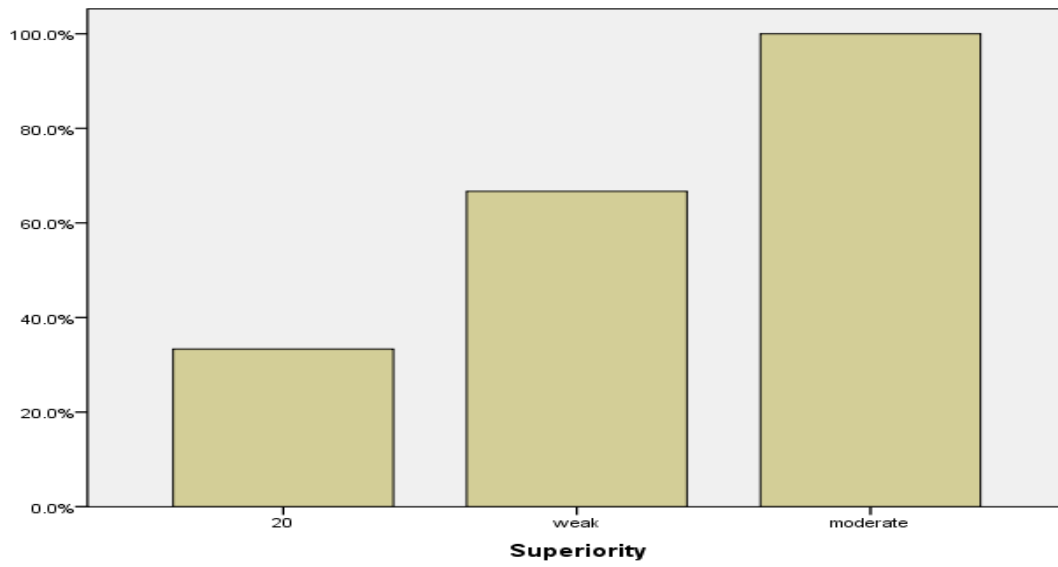
		Mean	N
Armenian-Azerbaijani	Ethnocentrism	.6231	100
Azerbaijani-Georgian		.9549	100
Armenian-Georgian		1.0287	100
		.6231	100
		1.0287	100
		69.52	100

Source: SPSS

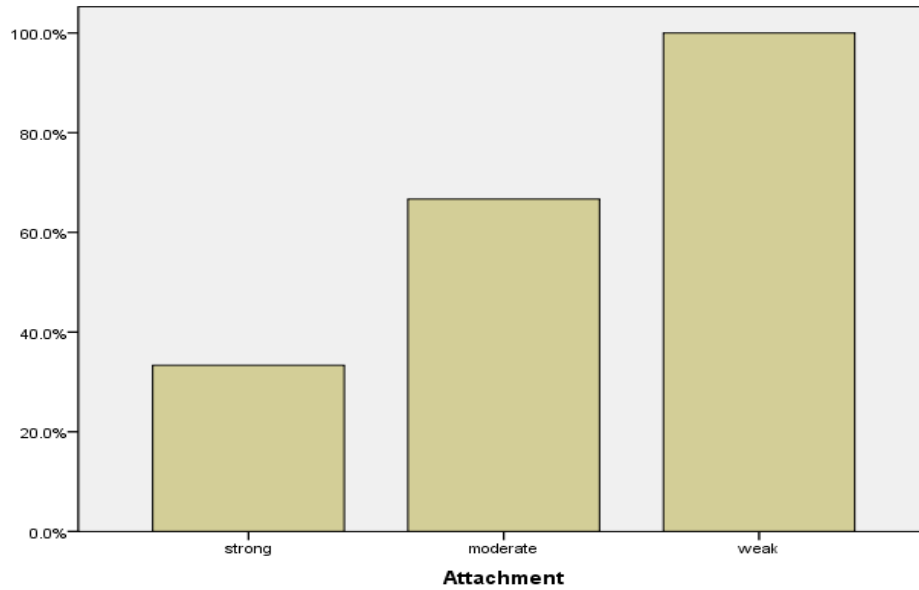
Tendency of moderate exposure of all parameters has been maintained by Georgian selection. On the group level, Georgians tend to state moderate intensity of nationalism and superiority, while attachment to the own nation and aggression towards other nations are stated weakly.



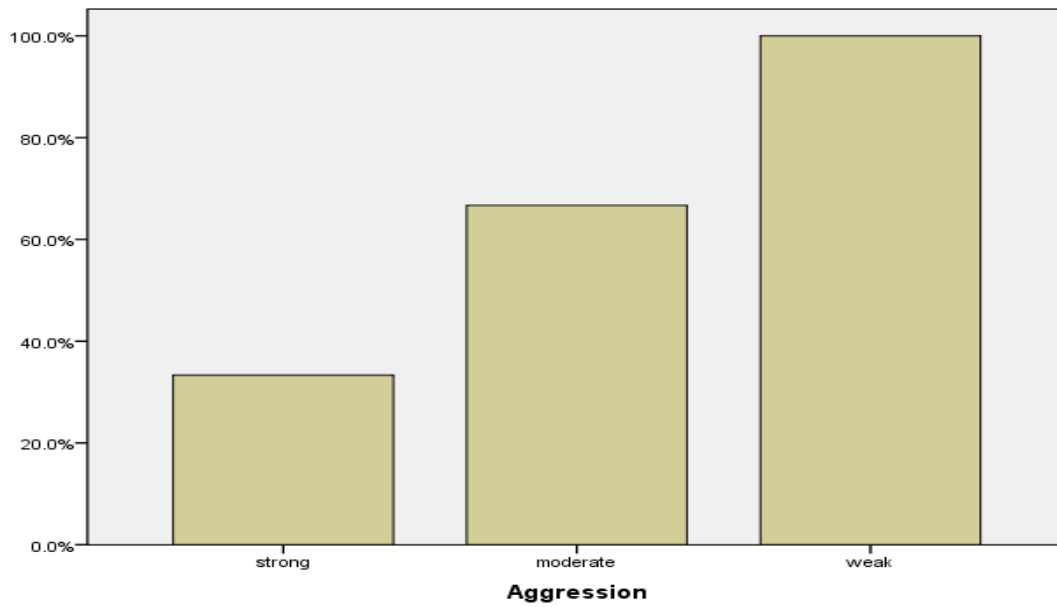
Picture above shows that nationalism is stated on the moderate level, while strong nationalism has the least percent.



Picture above shows that superiority is stated on the moderate level in average; however, strong superiority has the least percent.

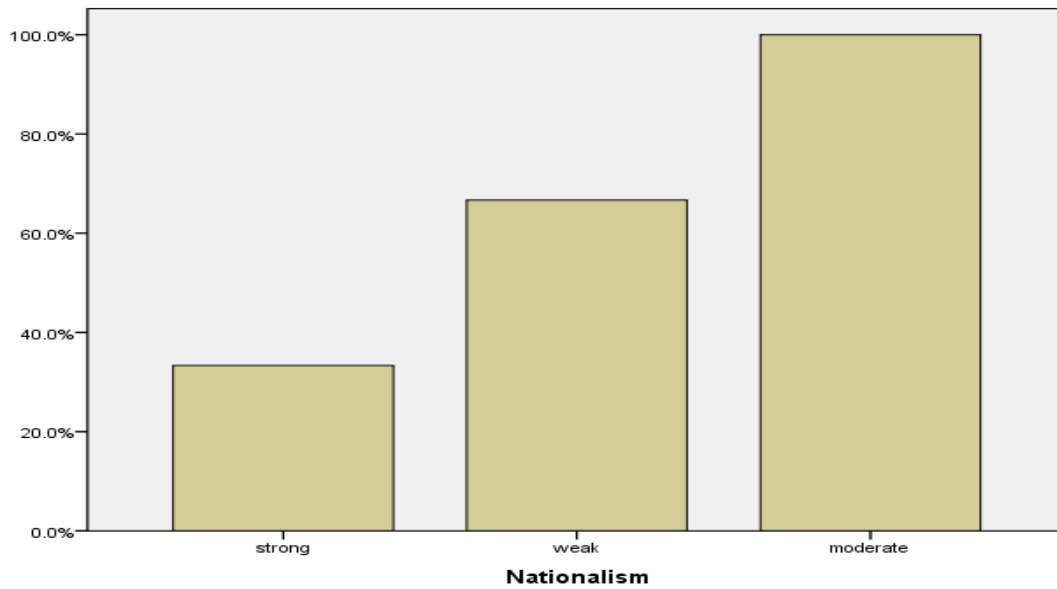


Picture above shows that attachment is stated on the weak level in average; however, the next highest percent has the moderate level of attachment.

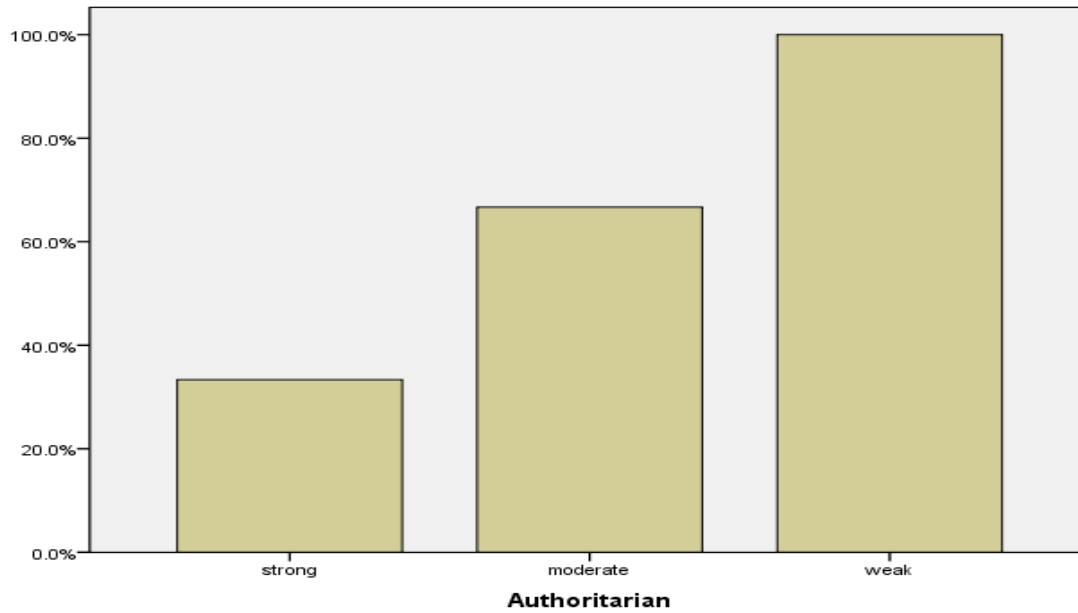


Picture above shows that aggression is revealed on a weak level in average; however, the next highest percent is for moderate expression of nationalism.

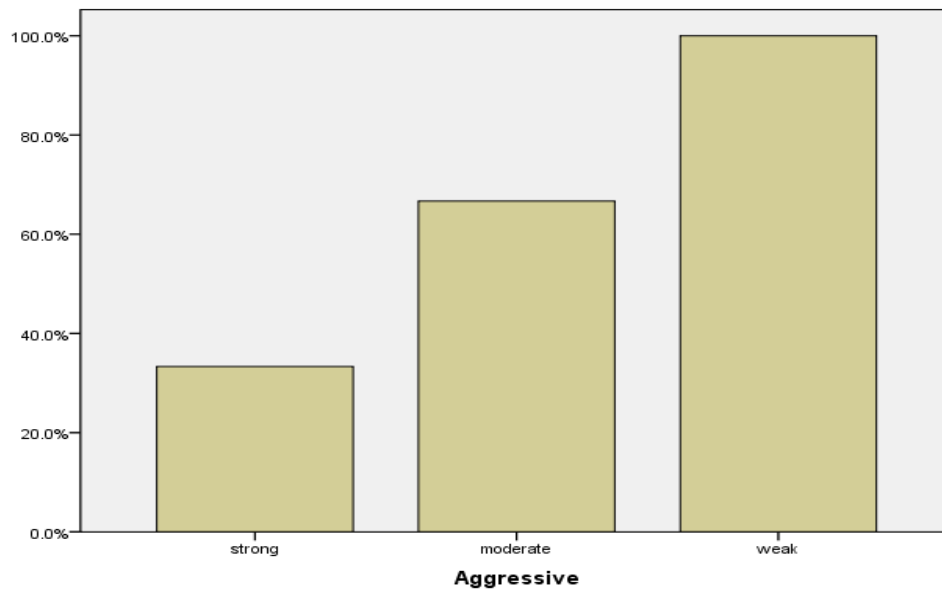
On the personal level, nationalism is stated at a moderate level. Learey personality types and two features of nationalism are stated at a weak level and other parameters tend to be maintained at a moderate level.



Picture above shows that the same tendency as on the group level is kept at this level as well.

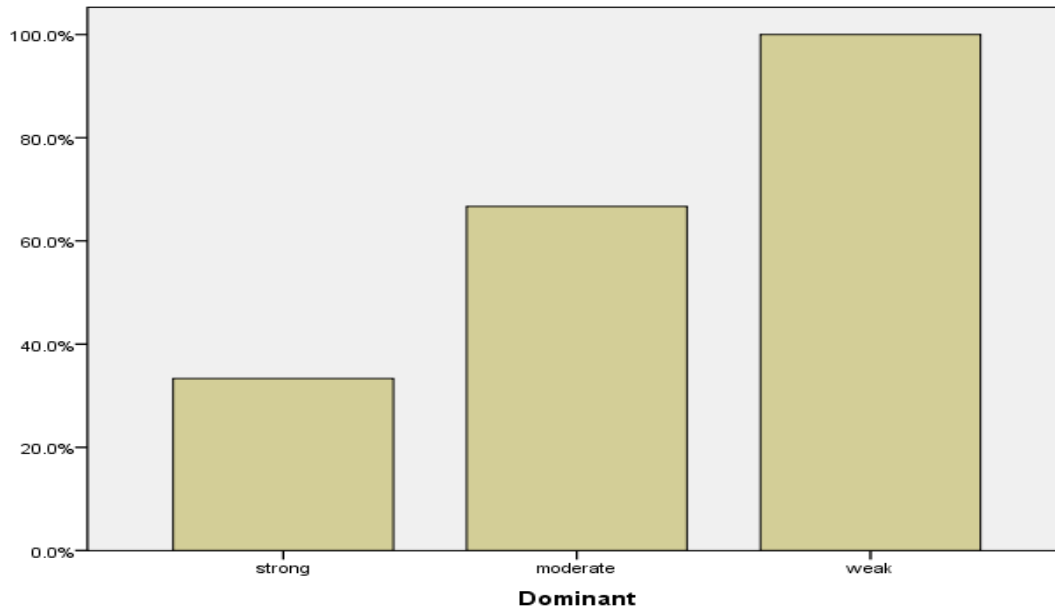


Picture above shows that the main emphasis is on the weak authoritarian type, while moderate expression of nationalism is the next strongest tendency.



Picture above shows that expression of strong aggressive type is the weakest tendency.





Picture above shows that dominant type of personality is weakly expressed.

For defining nationalism at a personal level, aggressive personality type appeared to be non-relevant, which means that critical and hostile aggression is not relevant for the Georgian selection. On the other hand, conventional personality type appeared to be non-relevant as well, which means that Georgian selection lacks cooperation and does not attempt to meet loudly declared and non-realistic cultural-conventional standards. For defining nationalism at a group level, ethnocentrism appeared to be the most relevant, which means that the definition of Georgian nationalism is based on the definition of nation and fully fits in the theoretical context we have discussed above. Hence, the results show that Georgian nationalism is deprived of needs of aggression, dominance and superiority both on group and personal levels, which places the phenomenon on the same continuum with patriotism.

## RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

The aim of our research was to define nationalism as personal and group characteristic. The hypothesis meant that there is a connection between nationalism and its similar phenomena. Theoretically such kind of correlation was expected.

Azerbaijani selection appeared to be more nationalist, than Armenian and Georgian. Azerbaijani selection exercises highest indicators of skepticism, obedience, dependence, altruism and cooperation. In interpersonal relations Azerbaijanis are more guided by the attitudes of distrust and doubt. In critical moments of relationship with others they reveal more cynicism and passive resistance. Cooperation with others, consent and affiliation may be connected more-less with the loss of individualism for them. They get some kind of reward and pleasure by challenging all those expectations and responsibility which accompany long term affiliate relationships. Azerbaijanis are more inclined to obedience than Armenians and Georgians are. According to Learey, many of these types of individuals, for example, are ashamed and are constrained when dealing with potentially strong and dangerous "other." Learey explains that this kind of self-abasement in rare cases provokes likeness from others' side, but often this kind of obedient people irritate and incite to deny and hate them. As dependent individuals, they as a rule prefer others to take the decision instead of them. Some individuals may demonstrate this tendency continuously in relationship with everyone; others evaluate the situation and if considering it appropriate become dependent and obedient; this role is especially relevant when they deal with stronger and authoritative individuals. If the personality demonstrates the exposure and excessive respect towards others, they offer help and advice. Azerbaijanis are inclined to excessive conventionalism. As a rule, for them the external harmony is more important than inner values. Such persons cannot forgive themselves a critical or criminal attitude towards others. They are afraid to be personalities; their imaging and creative skills are too scarce, since they always strive to be fond of and accepted by others. Azerbaijanis are more declined to express altruism than Georgians and Armenians do and, strive to master a role of the successful conventionalism. According to Timothy Learey, this is the cultural idealism.

Armenian selection displayed the highest inclination towards demonstrating aggression and also they appeared to be attached to their nation more than others. Armenian selection tends to be aggressive, authoritative and dominant. Armenians tend to be more subjected to authoritarianism than Azerbaijanis and Georgians do. Such authoritarianism may be as physical as intellectual though there are other sources of the authority/power; e.g. social status or a lot of money. Armenians tend to be more inclined to ambitiousness, energy and orderliness. Their behavior is constantly aim-oriented and provokes delight or obedience in others. Individuals oriented at exposing power as a rule are inclined towards pedantry and better adapt to those who constantly praise them. Armenians appeared to be more inclined to narcissism than Azerbaijanis and Georgians do. Narcissism as a rule merges with others – he/she wishes to be independent and superior to others. Armenians as a rule would rather spend a lot of money and energy to defend and increase their prestige. Social status is very important to them, which is natural to a narcissist personality, who always underlines his/her power and social status and tries to use his/her own status and power to humiliate others.

Armenians demonstrate openly their critical hostile aggression more than Azerbaijanis and Georgians do. These kinds of individuals as a rule continuously reveal punishment, disciplinary, sarcastic or blaming attitude towards others. Usually this strictness and the aggression are not demonstrated physically though are very effective: these kinds of individuals feed their respect in other people by fear and influence.

Georgians fixed moderate indicators by almost all parameters. Georgians, who in relationship with others are continuously guided by attitudes of doubt and distrust, overestimate their nation and national ideals in general, and their national identity tends to be excessively overprotective of everything concerning their Georgianhood. Georgian selection is characterized by higher degree of ethnocentrism and ethno neutrality, which means that Georgian regards his/her own nation as very important; however, a Georgian does not have any kind of special predisposition towards other nations. On the other hand, these kinds of individuals reveal less altruism and cooperation, in other words they do not try to be “normal” and acceptable by others, and they are characterized by less conventionalism and friendly affiliation towards others. Meanwhile, all these three qualities correlate with low cooperation on the group level and weakly outlined compromise personality type on the personal level. In Georgian selection, the doubtful-skeptic types were also introduced by low rate. Such individuals, usually, demonstrate conformism in relations with others, do not try to keep distance from others and avoid themselves from fixing distrust and doubtfulness even in critical situations. Learey’s VII octant (cooperating type) is also expressed with a low rate, in Georgians. Such individuals, as a rule, can hardly demonstrate a compromise. For them moral values are more important than external harmony. However, a straight, aggressive type was introduced with the Learey’s lowest rate. Such individuals as a rule are less declined to demonstrating an open aggression, by trying to avoid dangerous and destructive actions; those may be expressed as a result of physical, moral, and/or verbal influence. It seems that expression of a weak aggression is directed not to the other nations, but to protection and preservation of in-born Georgian features and identity, which places Georgian nationalism on the same continuum with patriotism.

When does aggression become needed? If considering the historic examples of larger part of unconditional dictate of all or several other communities of a single ethnos, we may easily make ourselves sure that this phenomenon in almost all cases coincides with the most critical situations and periods of crisis. When analyzing the obtained results through the systemic method of approach, by first identifying those specific features, which can stimulate the civil society or make an influence on this or that group thereof, to enable them to use mechanisms of nationalism and resolve facing problems, it seems logical to tie expressions of nationalism with crisis periods in South Caucasus.

The research has identified four such features: (i) attachment to one’s own nation, country and culture; (ii) feeling of superiority of one’s own nation over others; (iii) aggression towards other (foreign) nations, and (iv) national ideals, in general.

For overcoming a crisis, it becomes necessary to introduce and implement certain model systems, with taking into consideration that the planned objectives and actions for their implementation, are completely justified by a public view and the ideology and are assessed positively, in all cases.

Considering possible ways of combination of the features determined by us earlier, we may freely single out three basic systemic models: (i) Consolidation of the society for preserving their own unity and integrity that can be implemented for both achieving positive objectives and overcoming existing threats. A structure of this model is very simple: All individuals are considered by the terms: “we-and-they,” while in case of relatively smaller groups, the following general view is applied: “Those who are not with us, are against us,” and those failing to meet the criteria established by this model, are considered as “victims” of hostile attitude, crime, evil, etc. Hence, consolidated identity implies not only integration, but also the necessity of recognition and acceptance of certain norms [Tajfel, H., 1981, *Human Groups and Social Categories*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press]. The dominating feature is attachment to one’s own nation, country and culture.

(ii) Mobilization of the society for overcoming the existing crisis situation, that implies a nationalistic mobilization and, ethnic mobilization, as well – in specific cases, and, differs from other types of ideological mobilization by features that all persons who refuse to accept the nationalistic-conformist views or those criticizing such ideas, fall in the so called “black list,” in line with those “because of whom the crisis situation occurred and who are guilty in all misfortunes,” “Enemies of the society,” “Criminals,” “The most dangerous enemies of the nation,” etc. [Pogge, T., 1997, *Group Rights and Ethnicity*, in I. Shapiro and W. Kymlicka (Eds), *Ethnicity and Group Rights*, Nomos XXXIX, New York: New York University Press]. Dominating features are national identity and aggression.

(iii) Orientation of the society to implementing the precise actions, on the basis of dominating idea – “it is necessary to achieve national exclusivity and no matter, if a society is forced to bear the loss – they are ready to overcome all difficulties, lay down their life” [Oldenquist, A., 1997, *Who are the Rightful Owners of the State?*, in Kohler, P., and Puhl, K., 1997 (eds) *Proceedings of the 19<sup>th</sup> International Wittgenstein Symposium*, Vienna: Holder-Pichler-Tempsky]. The dominating feature is superiority.

Each of these models, presumably, relevant for the systemic analysis of the results of our research, is most frequently and sharply expressed in crisis situations. In case of non-existence of crisis, there is no necessity of expression of these models with a full severity. Moreover, these models can be met in the society in the mixed form. Therefore, with taking into consideration Georgia’s multi-conflict environment (Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Russia) and the results obtained in the course of our research, several possible scenarios of evolution of social processes (ethnic or even of broader origin) may be singled out.

Among them, the following seems to be of a special importance: (i) Expansion, that, in conditions of the highest-level national-and-ethnic consolidation and mobilization, is concentrated in the possibilities of national exclusivity of any type and, selects precise ways of action – geographical, ideological, establishing a dominant social mode, and/or other unlimited types of expansion [www.nationalism.com,

Lagerspetz, O. 2000, On national Belonging in Miscevic (ed), Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict, La Salle and Chicago: Open Court];

(ii) Amalgamation, that, in conditions of moderately high or average-rate national consolidation and average-or-low-rate of mobilization, is concentrated in the possibilities of the overall national exclusivity and selects “national closure” as the precise way of action [Habermas, J., 1996, Between Facts and Norms: Contribution to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy, Cambridge: Polity Press];

(iii) Balanced ethnic mobilization, that, in conditions of the high-rate national consolidation and mobilization, is concentrated in the dominating idea of overcoming the crisis and selects the destruction of the existing ethnic and social barriers and well-balanced regional and international development within the world’s social environment as the precise way of action [Nielsen, K., 1998-99, Cosmopolitanism, Universalism and Particularism in the age of Nationalism and Multiculturalism, Philosophical Exchange].

The results obtained from our researches, of course, are not enough to determine which of these scenarios is leading for our selection, but, we suppose that certain tendencies may be defined.

Within the limits of the Georgian selection, in which moderate indicators of nationalism and its features were fixed on both group and personal levels, we may suppose, that on the current phase of social development, the Amalgamation scenario shall be regarded leading, for which a certain degree of “national closure” is characteristic.

At the same time, the research reveals one more interesting tendency: group narcissism correlates with ehtnophylia, or, in other words, the higher the love of one’s own group, the higher is the probability of critical assessment of one’s own group and, despite such criticism, attachment to one’s own nation remains of the high level, on the background of depreciation of values of other nations. By a sudden glance, it is a paradox, but this is a very Georgian reaction – to criticize permanently the own nation, but if anybody else joins this criticism and even agrees, criticism of a Georgian by a Georgian is promptly terminated and a process of comparison of one’s own nation to others starts on the background of depreciation of others’ values.

This tendency may indicate the fact that Georgian selection is developing by the mixed scenario of amalgamation and balanced ethnic mobilization, which means that for Georgians, “national closure” and balanced development in the regional and international social environments are equally important. This, in its turn, originates internal controversies that the nation is facing with the option: to destruct the existing ethnic and social barriers and integrate itself into the regional and international social environments, or vice versa – to “place itself closed” in the net of its own nationality. Such a dual attitude is natural for a nation being on the stage of transition, where certain values are being permanently re-evaluated, that, in its turn, strives to constantly build up and defend its national identity.

## CONCLUSION

Data obtained in the course of the research was much diversified, enabling us to make various conclusions not only about the Georgian selection, but about all nations of South Caucasus. However, taking into account the fact that we were interested in revealing characteristics of Georgian nationalism on both personal and group levels, we have classified results in this direction, by using the method of systemic approach, based on thorough analysis of the scientific literature on nationalism and obtained results, to build-up the results' interpretation system non-controversial to the methods of estimation of the obtained results and meeting the objectives of the research.

To summarize,

- Nationalism can be revealed as a group and personal characteristic; hence, it can be studied on two main levels of attitudes and behaviors
- Research model is reliable
- Attachment to one's own nation, culture and country tends to be the principal component for studying nationalism in South Caucasus
- Women are more nationalist than men in South Caucasus
- Georgian nationalist tends to excessively love his/her own nation and consider it as the center of universe
- Armenian nationalist tends to demonstrate power and overestimate his/her own nation
- Azerbaijani nationalist tends to be aggressive in interpersonal relations and devoted to general national ideals
- Azerbaijanis tend to be the most nationalistic
- Azerbaijanis tend to be the most skeptical
- Armenians tend to be the least ethnocentric
- Armenians tend to be the most authoritarian
- Georgians tend to be inclined to ethnophilia the most
- Georgians tend to be the least obedient
- Georgians tend to be the most independent
- Georgians tend to be the least cooperative
- Georgians tend to be the least altruistic
- Georgians tend to be the least dominant
- Georgians tend to be the least aggressive

It seems that for Georgians nationalism implies a direct perception of a national idea, and is one of the expressions of idealism, while striving to dominance and aggression is directed to the material universe. Reliability of percentile distribution of nationalism ( $p=0,021$ ) allows us to generalize these data and conclude that both hypothesis are justified: (i) Nationalism can be viewed as personal and group

characteristic, and (ii) young Georgian selection is characterized by moderate-level ethnocentrism, ehtnophilia, group narcissism and nationalism, i.e. Georgian selection is characterized by what we call **self-defensive nationalism**, which places the phenomenon on the same continuum with patriotism.

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