

მესათხ გამოცემა

# სპოლა დკ

## საზოგადოება

უოლტერ ფეინბერგი  
იონას ფ. სოლტისი



serii dan - `vi fi qroT ganaTI ebi s saki Txebze-  
**mexuTe gamocema**  
redaqtori **ionas f. sol tisi**

es wigni warmoadgens wi na gamocemebi s ganaxl ebul da ganvrcobil versias. masSi naTI ad da mkafi od aris Camoyal i bebul i moqmed da momaval maswavl ebl ebTan dakavSirebul i saganmanaTI ebl o sakiTxebi. saxel mZRvanel o warmoadgens aracveul ebriv instruments yovel dRiur saskol o cxovrebaSi arsebul i sakiTxebisa da probl emebi s gasaanal izebl ad. wignSi agreTve ganxil ul ia swavl a-swavl ebasTan, saswavl o gegmasTan, eTikasTan, skol asa da sazogadoebi s urTierTobebTan dakavSirebul sakiTxebze sxvadasxva filosofiuri Sexedul eba.

swavl is Sesaxeb Sexedul ebebi  
**d.k. fil ipsi da ionas f. sol tisi**

swavl ebi s eTi ka  
**kenet a. straiki da ionas f. sol tisi**

saswavl o gegma da mi znebi  
**deker f. uol keri da ionas f. sol tisi**

skol a da sazogadoeba  
**uol ter feinbergi da ionas f. sol tisi**

swavl ebi s strategiebi  
**gari d. fenStenmaxeri da ionas f. sol tisi**



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**CENTER FOR CIVIL INTEGRATION AND INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS**

**samoqal aqo integraciisa da erovnebaTSorisi  
urTierTobebis centri**

seriidan - `vi fiqroT ganaTI ebis saki Txebze-

mexuTe gamocema

skol a  
da  
sazogadoeba

uol ter feinbergi  
ionas f. sol tisi



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## winaTqma

saxel mZRvanel os mexuTe gamocema efuzneba wina gamocemebSi warmodgenil da ganxil ul masal ebs. vfiqrobT, wina gamocemebSi ganxil ul i garkveul i sakiTxebi kvl av rel evanturia 21-e saukunis skol isa da sazogadoebis urTierTobebis gansaxil vel ad. amasTanave, axal gamocemaSi damatebit ganxil ul ia iseTi sakiTxebi, rogoricaa federal uri Tu Statis mTavrobiS mier SemuSavebul i standartebis, angariSval debul ebis meqani zmebi sa da testirebis sistemis gavl ena skol ebze. axal gamocemaSi Secvl il ia bibl iografiis sistemac. bibl iografia dayofil i gvaqvs or nawil ad. TiToeul i Tavis bol os warmodgenil ia `damatebiti gamokvl evisTvis- bibl iografiis CamonaTval i, xol o saxel mZRvanel os darTul i aqvs `damatebiti resursebi~, roml is gamoyenebac SeuZl ia mki Txvel s.

Cven madl obas vuxdiT ***mat sangers*** bibl iografiis am formiT Secvl is ideis mowodebisTvis. saxel mZRvanel OSi warmodgenil i praqtikul i magal iTebi am wignis erT-erTi umni Svnel ovanesi nawil ia. Praqtikul i magal iTebiS meSveobiT, Cven ganvixil avT sxvadasxva Teoriul sakiTxs. axal gamocemaSi uamravi mni Svnel ovani da saintereso praqtikul i magal iTia gaanal izebul i, rac agreTve sainteresos xdis am gamocemas. saxel mZRvanel os pirvel gamocemaze komentarebisTvis Cven udi des madl obas vuxdiT ***erik bredos, Carl z haringtons, el eonor feinbergs*** da ***al an peskins***. agreTve madl oba gvinda gadavuxadoT ***karl hostetlers***, kvl evis asistents, da ***francis saimons***, roml ebmac araerTxel gadaamuSaves saxel mZRvanel os sxvadasxva gverdi. ***nensi sol tisma*** gadaamuSava meore, mesame, meoTxe da mexuTe gamocemebis damebebi. Cven madl oba gvinda gadavuxadoT ***Ticers kol ej presis-*** TanamSromel s ***susan / idikouts*** saredaqcio xasia-Tis rCevebisTvis, agreTve ***piter sigers***, saxel mZRvanel os xuTive gamocemis aracveul ebrivi xel mZRvanel obisTvis.



nawi I i I

---

skol i sa da sazogadoebi s  
urTierTmi marTeba

## **Tavi 1**

---

### **ra saki Txebs exeba saxel mZRvanel o**

es saxel mZRvanel o gani xil avs skol isa da sazogadoebis urTierTmimarTebis sakiøxebs. Cven gvinda, TqvenTan er-Tad vifiqroT, Tu ra funczia aqvT skol ebs, garda moswavl eTaTvis wera-kiTxvis, ariTmetikisa Tu sxvadasxva sagnis swavl ebisa. skol a asrul ebs mniSnel ovan rol s adamiani s Rirebul ebebissa da damoki debul ebis formirebaSi. Cven mogcemT saSual ebas, warmovidginoT skol a, romel ic Cvens real obaSi ar arsebobs, Tumca, SesaZl ebel ia arsebobdes. roca aseT warmosaxviT skol aze vi saubrebT, kargi iqneba, Tu gavaanal izebT, ra SeiZl eba i swavl ebodes aseT skol ebSi Cveul ebrivi sagnebis garda. Cven saSual ebas mogcemT, sakutar gamocdil ebazec dafiqrdet, gaaanal izoT sakuTari swavl is periodi skol aSi, dafiqrdet, ramdenad iyo Tqveni skol a mzad, yofil iyo iseTi, rogorsac Tqveni sazogadoeba moi Txovda, gaaanal izoT, Tu ra mogcaT da ra gaswavl aT skol am.

### **warmoebisTvis momzadeba**

erTi wuTiT warmoidgineT skol a, sadac ar arsebobs sa-Sinao daval eba. yvel aferi keTdeba skol aSi, adgil ze, moswavl e swavl obs mxol od skol aSi, iseve rogorc es xdeba qarxanaSi Tu sawarmoSi muSaobis. yvel a moswavl es aqvs Tavisi kompiuteri an danadgari. kviris bol os moswavl e i Rebs xel fass Sesrul ebul i samuSaosTvis. maswavl ebel s aqvs saSual eba, Seamowmos kompiuterze Tu ra Seasrul a moswavl em kviris ganmavl obaSi da Seafasos misi produqtul oba.

am skol aSi sagnebi arCeviTia. moswavl es SeuZl ia air-Cios, romel i sagnis swavl a unda. Tumca anazRaureba sxvadasxva sagnis Seswavl istVis sxvadasxva. im sagnebis Seswavl istVis, sadac mkvl evarTa da mecnierTa deficitia, moswavl eTa anazRaureba maRal ia. maTematika "ufro rTul ia" vidre, magal iTad, istoriis an literaturos sagani; Sesabmisad, erTi saaTiT maTematikis swavl istVis anazRaureba

orj er metia, vidre i literaturis swavl isaTvis anazRaureba da erT-naxevarj er aRemateba istoriis swavl ebisTvis anazRaurebas.

am skol aSi kviris bol os sagnebis swavl aze daxarj ul i drois proporcijul ad xdeba moswavl eTa xel fasebis gacema. am moswavl eTa mier miRebul i anazRaurebis nawil is daqviTva xdeba administraciis mier. am daqviTul Tanxas administracia iyenebs dawyebiTi skol is moswavl eebis xel fasis asanazRaurebl ad. dawyebiTi kl asis moswavl eebi arian gamoucdel i da iaffasiani muSaxel i da isini swavl oben SedarebiT cotas da dabal anazRaurebad sagnebs, magram maTi anazRaureba xdeba maRal kl asel ebis xel fasebis daqviTvis xarj ze. saSual o skol is (meaTe-meTormete kl asel ebis) anazRaurebis dafinanseba xdeba umaRI esi saswavl ebl ebisa da kol ej ebis studentTa anazRaurebis daqviTvidan, xol o umaRI esi saswavl ebl is studentTa xel fasis anazRaureba xdeba biznesidan da mrewvel obidan amoRebul i Tanxebidan.

xel fasi dan miRebul i Tanxis ganaRdeba da daxarj va Sesazi ebel ia mxol od skol is savaWro centrSi. am savaWro centrSi moswavl eebis SeuZl i aT SeiZinon sxvadasxva saswavl o da el eqtronul i nivTi, iTamaSon sxvadasxva kompiuterul i da videoTamaSi da, zogadad, garToba da dasveneba moaxerxon Tanakl asel ebTan Tu Tanaskol el ebTan erTad gakveTil ebis Semdeg. am savaWro centrSi, Sesazi ebel ia, fasеби TandaTan an etapobrivid gai zardos. Sesabamisad, moswavl eebma unda aiRon ufro rTul i kursebi, raTa gamoimusaon meti da SeZl on savaWro centrSi arsebul i saqonl isa da mom saxurebis SeZena.

mi uxedavad imisa, rom moswavl eebi i Reben ufro rTul kursebs, maTi Semosaval i mainc ar aris sakmarisi, raTa dai kmayofil on yovel dRiuri cxovrebis moTxovnebi. Sesabamisad, moswavl eebi i Txoven naswavl i kursebis anazRaurebis gazrdas da am moTxovnas ayeneben skol is direktora da maswavl ebl ebis winaSe. sabol oo j amSi, moswavl eebi da skol is administracia Tanxmdebian anazRaurebis gazrdaze, radgan moswavl eTa msyidvel obiTunarianoba uzrunvel yofs skol is savaWro centrSi mogebas da mis efekturobas, Sesabamisad, ekonomikuri mosazrebi dan gamomdinare, es SeTanjmeba orive mxarisTvis momgebi ania.

rogorc xedavT, am warmosaxviT skol aSi moswavl eebi swavl oben ara mxol od sagnebs, aramed emzadebi an momaval i

cxovrebiSTvis, i sini emzadebian sawarmoSi, qarxanasa Tu saamqroSi samuSaod. amasTanave, moswavl eebi erkvevian iseT mni Svnel ovan saki TxebSi, rogoricaa sabazro regul aciebi, momxmarebl is interesebi, dasveneba, ful i da samoqal aqo pa-suxismgebl oba da a.S. am warmosaxviTi skol is magal iTze, al baT Tval naTel ia, Tu ra SeiZI eba aswavl os skol am mos-wawl eebs, garda saswavl o discipl inevisa. saxel mZRvanel os bol o TavSi ganxil ul ia ramdenime SemTxveva, romel ic war-moadgens saxel mZRvanel oSi ganxil ul i Teoriul i saki Txebis praqtikul magal iTs da roml ebic saSual ebas mogcemT, gaaanal izoT skol is rol i da daniSnul eba. amasTanave, aRvn-iSnavT, rom saxel mZRvanel os bol o, merve TavSi ganxil u-l ia praqtikul i magal iTi `moswavl eTa mmarTvel oba". Aam magal iTSi naTI ad aris Camoyal ibebul i, rogor unda gax-ados skol am sakuTari moswavl e kargi da aqturi moqal aqe. Aam magal iTSi ufro real isturad aris warmodgenil i saskol o cxovreba Cveni, sawarmosTvis mosamzadebel i skoli is magal iTT Tan SedarebiT. es praqtikul i magal iTi gvaZ-levs SesaniSnav Sesazi ebl obas, vi msj el oT da gavaanal i-zoT, Tu ra unda aswavl os skol am moswavl eebs akademiuri discipl inebis garda.

## **warmosaxvi Ti sazogadoeba**

wina magal iTisgan gansxvavebiT, sadac warmodgenil iyo industriul i da maRaL teqnol ogiuri sazogadoeba, amJamad warmovidginoT agrarul i sazogadoeba, sadac ganiTarebul ia mebaReoba da mecxovel eoba da saerTo sakuTreba, sadac sakvebi da Sroma gadanawil ebul ia Temis wevrebs Soris. Aam sazogadoebaSi ar hyavT arceul i lideri. yvel a zrdasrul i adamiani rigrigobiT asrul ebs maswavl ebl is, mosamarTI is, policiel is Tu sxva social uri momsxurebi s agentis funqciias. A

dResaswaul ebi da festival ebi aris am sazogadoebis umni Svnel ovanesi maxasi aTebel i. dResaswaul ebze da festival ebze cekva, simRera da azrTa urTierTgacvl a yvel aze farTod gavrcel ebul i aqtivobebi a. es warmosaxviTi sazogadoeba aris izol irebul i sazogadoeba, ar awuxebs

gar Semomyof Temebs da cxovrobs sakuTari tradiciebiTa da wes-Cveul ebebiT.

al baT, sainteresoa, aseT sazogadoebaSi rogori tipis skol a iarsebebs. ra sagnebi i swavl eba am skol ebSi? ris gakeTebas mosTxoven maswavl ebl ebi moswavl eebs? rogoria tipuri saswavl o dRe am skol ebSi?

SemogTavazebT Cveneul xedvas, rogori warmogvidgenia skol ebi aseT sazogadoebaSi. Cveni varaudit, am skol ebSi Ti Toeul i moswavl e TveSi erTxel iqneboda l ideri, anu iqneboda pasuxi smgebel i, rom moswavl eebma ganaxorciel on Semdegi saqmi anoba: sakl aso oTaxebis dal ageba, mcenareebis morwyva da movl a-patronoba, Tevzebis gamokveba, weril ebis datareba, dil is ritual ebis Catareba. aseT skol aSi, sava-raudod, moswavl eebi exmarebian erTmaneTs saSinao daval e-bis momzadebaSi, kl assi muSaoben erTad sxvadasxva saswavl o daval ebis Sesasrul ebl ad. Yovel dil iT gakvetil i iwyeba simRerit, zRapris an igavis moyol iT da misi morail is gaanal izebit. am skol ebSi mTavari sagani am 'sazogadoebis istoriaa da ara `msofl io istoria-. garda amisa, i swavl eba sofl is meurneobis Teoriisa da principebis sagani. amasTanave, skol a aswavl is cekvebsa da simRe-rebs, agreTve `ambebis Txrobiis~ xel ovnebas... moswavl eebi yovel dRe muSaoben skol is baRSi da swavl oben sxvadasxva sasofl o-sameurneo samuSaosaTvis Sesabamis simReras.

SegviZI ia, al baT, ufro detal uradac aRvweroT skol a aseTi tipis sazogadoebaSi. Tumca, mTavari sakiTxi, razec gvinda yuradReba gavamaxvil oT, gaxl avT debul eba, rom skol a unda asaxavdes sazogadoebas da piriqiT. skol isa da sazogadoebis es urTierTmimarTeba unda gamoixatos, erTi mxriv, Sesatyvisi sagnebis swavl ebiT da, meore mxriv, skol a unda iyos organizebul i da funqcionirebdes iseve, rogorc es sazogadoebaSi xdeba zogedad. zemoT warmodgenil i ori sazogadoebisa da skol is magal iTi warmoadgens il ustracijs, Tu rogori skol a unda iyos industriul sazogadoebaSi da rogor unda funqcionirebdes skol a agrarul sazogadoebaSi ...

## sami fil osofiuri skol a

am saxel mZRvanel os mizania skol isa da sazogadoebis urTierTobebis axsna sxvadasxva fil osofiuri Tval Taxedvis Wril Si. Cven uamravi fil osofiuri xedvidan SevarciET Semdegi sami skol a, romel Ta Sexedul ebebis Wril Si ganvixil avT skol isa da sazogadoebis urTierTmimarTebas: **(1) funqciunal izmi; (2) konfl iqtis Teoria; (3) interpretativistul i midgoma.** swored am sami mimdinareobis Wril Si SevecdebiT, avxsnaT skol isa da sazogadoebis mimarTebis sxvadasxva sakiTxi. ufro naTel i warmodgena rom SegeqmnaT wignis Sesaxeb, mokl ed gTavazobT funqciunal istebisa da konfl iqtis Teoriis mimdevrebis Sexedul ebebs warmosaxviTi sawarmosTvis mosamzadebel i skol is Sesaxeb.

funqciunal istebi skol is mTavar rol s xedaven moswavl is momzadebaSi sazogadoebis ekonomikur, pol itikur da social ur cxovrebaSi integraciisTvis. sawarmosTvis mosamzadebel i skol is SemTxevaSi, mosawl eebi emzadebian, rom gamovidnen sawarmos momsaxure personal i da muSebi, gadasaxadis gadamxdel ebi, momxmarebl ebi da profesul i kavSirebis aqtiuri wevrebi. amasTanave, isini am skol aSi swavl oben sxvadasxva sagansac. funqciunal istebi am sagnebis swavl ebas skol ebis `saCvenebel (samani festacio) funqciebs" uwodeben, funqciunal istebi am sagnebis swavl ebas mxol od intel eqtual ur miznebs ukavSireben, xol o skol ebis ufro dafarul miznebad miCneven iseTi moqal aqis aRzrdas, romel ic iziarebs arsebul i sazogadoebis ekonomikur, pol itikur da kul turul normebs. ufro metic, funqciunal istebi skol as gani xil aven, rogorc sazogadoebis funqciioni rebrisTaVis aucil ebel instituts. funqciunal istebi sazogadoebas gani xil aven, rogorc erTian sxeul s an organizms, sadac yvel a institucias aqvs Tavisi funqcia, iseve, rogorc sxeul is an organizmis TiToeul nawil s gaaCnia Tavisi danisnul eba. funqciunal istebis xedviT, sawarmosTvis momzadebisTvis skol is funqciaa social izacia da is mTel i sazogadoebis ganuyofel da umniSvnel ovanes institucias warmoadgens. funqciunal istebisTvis social izacia aris procesi, rodesac skol a aRzrdis iseT moqal aqes, romel ic kargad moergeba arsebul social ur praatikas da moTxovnebs.

funcional istebis ganxvavebul i xedva aqvT konfliqtis Teoriis mimdevrebs. isini skol as xedaven, rogorc instruments mmarTvel i el itis xel Si, raTa am el itam SeZI os sakuTari Zal aufl ebis da dominantobis Senarcuneba. faqtia, rom real ur cxovrebaSi arsebolen, erTi mxriv, muSebi da, meore mxriv - biznesmenebi da xel mZRvanel ebi. Konfliqtis Teoriis mimdevrebis Tval TaxedviT, es skol a amzadebs muSebs da ara sawarmos xel mZRvanel ebs. Aam skol aSi, moswavl eebi swavl oben, rom iyvnen momxmarebl ebi. momxmarebel Ta kl asi ki aucil ebel ia biznesmenTa kl asis SenarcunebisTvis. es skol a finansdeba xel fasis saSemosavl o gadasaxadiT da ara biznesmenis mogebis gadasaxadiT. erTi SexedviT, es acens gancdas, rom sakuTar swavl as moswavl eebi Tavadve afinanseben, rac sasurvel ia, Tumca, ganxvavebul ad xedaven am process konfliqtis Teoriis mimdevrebi. maTi azriT, am sistemiT mdidari biznesmenebi inarCuneben da zrdian TavianT mogebas, xol o muSebi izul ebul ni arian, Tavisi, isedac mcire Semosavl idan, gadai xadon gadasaxadi, rom SeZI on swavl a. konfliqtis Teoriis mimdevrebi xedaven mTavar probl emas kl asebs Soris ganxvavebaSi, konfliqtis mdidarsa da Raribs Soris, da mi iCneven, rom zogadi ganaTl ebis sistema emsaxureba mdidari kl asis interesebis. konfliqtis Teoriis mimdevrebis gamokveTil i nawil ia marqsistul i Teoria da Cven konfliqtis Teorias marqsizmis prizmaSi ganvixil avT. marqsistebi mi iCneven, rom social uri institutebi emsaxurebian uTanasworobas sazogadoebaSi da mowodebul ni arian, Seinarcunon el itis dominanturi mdgomareoba. marqsistebi mouwodeben sazogadoebas garkveul i nabij ebi gadadgan el itis dominantobis SemnarCunebel i sazogadoebrivi instituciebis transformirebisTvis.

Tval naTel ia, rom funcional isteba da konfliqtis Teoriis mimdevrebs gaaCniat srul iad ganxvavebul i Sexedul eebi skol isa da sazogadoebis urTierTmimarTebis erTi da imave sakiTxze. funcional istebis skol as xedaven, rogorc organizmis funqcionirebisTvis aucil ebel nawil s, xol o konfliqtis Teoriis mimdevrebi skol as aRiqvamen, rogorc instruments dominanturi j gufis gavl enis Sesancunebel ad.

saxel mZRvanel oSi warmodgeniI mesame fil osofiur xedvas Cven vuwodebT interpretivistul midgomas. interpretivistebi aRiqvamen social ur samyaros, romel ic

Sedgeba sxvadasxva indidiisa Tu institutisgan. indidi debi Tu institutebi iTvi seben, erTmaneTs uziareben da interpretacias ukeTeben sxvadasxva wesebsa da normebs. swored es aTvi sebul i, gaziarebul i da interpretirebul i normebi da wesebi real izdeba social uri interaqciisas. agrarul i sazogadoebis tipis skol ebSi, roml ebi c ganxil ul i gvqonda, moswavl eebi swavl oben tradiciul cekvebsa da simRerebs, tradiciul zRaprebs, am TemSi arsebul sasofl o sameurneo mimarTul ebebis Sesabamis xel obas da a.S. interpretivistTa azriT, Cven kargad unda gaviazroT TiToeul TemSi arsebul i social uri konteqsti, iq arsebul i wesebi da normebi da am konteqstis, wesebi sa da normebis Sesabamisad movawyoT skol a da swavl eba am skol aSi.

interpretivistebs TavianTi midgomis asaxsnel ad xSirad mohyavT TamaSis anal ogia. SeuZl ebel ia, adamiani CaerTos raime TamaSsa Tu social ur aqtivobaSi, Tuki ar icis am TamaSis Sesaxeb, ar icis wesebi, ar icis, ra unda gaakeTos, ra ar unda gaakeTos da a.S. sawarmosTvis momzadebis skol is magal iTze, interpretivistebei ityvian, rom moswavl eebma iswavl es TamaSis wesebi skol aSi, iswavl es, rogor gamoimu Saon Tanxa, ra kursebi airCion gamomuSavebul i ful iT, ramdeni Tanxa gamoimuSaon kursebi s SesarCevad, ramdenad bevri unda iSromon da nakl ebi dai svenon, ra meqani zmebi arsebobs da ra donemdea SesaZl ebel i skol is administraciasTan konfrontacia da a.S.

Cven mokl ed da zogedad aRvwereT skol isa da sazogadoebis urTierTmimarTebis sami fil osofiuri xedva. ra Tqma unda, es xedvebi, urTierTgamomricxavi xSirad ar aris, garkveul sakiTxebze Tanxvedra da urTierTgadafarvac ki xdeba, Tumca, vfigrobT, rom am formatiT fil osofiuri Sexedul ebebis dal ageba met saSual ebas iZl eva ganaTI ebi s sxvadasxva sakiTxis gasaanal izebl ad.

## wignis formati da Sinaarsi

saxel mZRvanel os meore TavSi ganvixil avT skol isa da sazogadoebis urTierTmimarTebis funqciional istur Sex-edul ebebs, am xedvis ZI ier da sust mxareebs. saxel mZRvanel os mesame TavSi ukve ganvixil avT konfl iqtis Teoriis mimdevrebis mosazrebebs. konfl iqtis Teoriis ganxil vas davafuZnebT Tanamedrove marqsistul kvl evebs, roml ebic swavl obs sazogadoebaSi uTanasworobis gamomwvev mizezebs da skol as ganixil avs, rogorc instruments am uTanasworobis SesanarCunebl ad. saxel mZRvanel os meoTxe TavSi ki war-movadgenT interpretivistebis mosazrebebs da gavaanal izebT saerTo da ganmasxvavebel maxasiaTebl ebs funqciional istebis, konfl iqtis Teoriisa da interpretivistTa midgomebs Soris.

TiToeul i am Tavis bol os Cven warmogidgenT kvl evis Sedegebs da mat interpretaciebs. mkiTxvel isTvis Tval na-Tel i iqneba, Tu sxvadasxva xedvis mkvl evrebi ra tipis interpretacias ukeTeben sakuTari kvl evis Sedegebs. aRni Snul i kvl evis Sedegebi warmodgenil ia, raTa Tqven SesaZI ebbI oba mogeceT, skol isa da sazogadoebis urTierTmimarTeba ukeTesad gaanal izoT. garda amisa, TiToeul i Tavis bol os warmodgenil ia I literaturis CamonaTval i. I literaturis gacnoba xel s Seuwyobs mkiTxvel s, ufro Rrmad gaecnos da gaiazros is sakiTxebi, roml ebi Tac dainterresdeba.

al baT, sainteresoa, Tu rogor gamoiyenebs maswavl ebe-I i am saxel mZRvanel oebis. es saxel mZRvanel o ar aZl evs mas-wavl ebel s rCevebs, Tu rogor unda moiqces da ra unda gaa-keTos. es saxel mZRvanel o xel s uwyoobs maswavl ebel s Tu nebi smier ganmanaTI ebel s, gaaanal izos is, rasac akeTebs yovel dRiurad fil osofiur da social ur Wril Si. saxel mZRvanel os mexuTe TavSi swored praqtikul i magal iTebia ganxil ul i, roml ebic asaxaven skol isa da sazogadoebis urTierTmimarTebas yovel dRiur real obaSi. mexuTe Tavi T SevecadoT pirvel oTx TavSi ganxil ul i Teoriul i sakiTxebi praqtikasTan dagvekavSi rebeina.

skol is social ur miznebsa da daniSnul ebaze debatebi yovel Tvis mimdinareobda. sainteresoa, rom sxvadasxva epo-qasi debatebis Tematika icvl eboda. magal iTad, meoce sau-kuni s dasawyissi skol isa da sazogadoebis urTierTmimarTebis

Wril Si mTavari Tema iyo, Tu ra rol i unda hqonoda skol as imigrantTa amerikanizacii procesSi. meoce saukunis or-mocdaaTian wl ebSi ukve ganaTI ebis sistemis kritikis mTavari safuzvel i gaxda skol ebis moumzadebl oba, rom gamoeSvaT kval ificiuri kadrebi sabunebismetyvel o da sainJinro mimarTul ebiT. amis Semdeg skol as xSirad akritikebdnen sxvadasxva sakiTxze, maT Soris - skol is saswavl o gegmebis gamo, roml ebic orientirebul i iyo mxol od sagnobrivi Sinaarsis swavl ebaze da ara individis aRzrdaze, kritikis seriozul i Tema gaxl daT moswavl etATvis Tanabari saganmanaTI ebl o SesazI ebl obebis uzrunvel yofis sakiTx da a.S.

saxel mZRvanel os mexuTe redaqaia gamodis. Aam xuTi redaqaiciis momzadebis periodSiC araerTi sakiTx i smeboda da ixil eboda skol isa da sazogadoebis urTierTmimarTebis konteqstSi. Tundac bol o periodSi gaaqtuirebul i mul tikel turul i ganaTI ebis sakiTx. es sakiTx sakmaod aqtauria Tanamedrove ganaTI ebis reformis konteqstSi da, amasTanave, warmoadgens imigrantTa ganaTI ebis Sesaxeb dwunebul i debatebis gagrZel ebas - erTi mxriv da - Tanabari ganaTI ebis SesazI ebl obebis Tematikis gagrZel ebas - meore mxriv. am saxel mZRvanel os gamocemis periodSi ganaTI ebis politikis mniSnel ovan da aqtaur ur sakiTxebs warmoadgenda Zal adoba skol aSi, narkotikebi skol aSi, axal gazarra gogonebis gaxSi rebul i orsul obis probl ematika, skol is mitovebis maCvenebl ebi da a.S. yel a es sakiTx ukavSi redboda bol odriindel saganmanaTI ebl o reformebs amerikis ganaTI ebis sistemaSi, romel ic orientirebul i iyo maqsimaliuri angariSval debul ebis meqani zmebz, standartizebul testebze da a.S. bol o periodSi, aqtiurad dadga ganaTI ebis sistemaSi kvl evebis gamoyenebis sakiTx, xSirad mimi-nareobs kamaTi, Tu rogori tipis kvl evebi unda Caataros skol am, maswavl ebel ma da mkvl evarma, raTa ukeTesad warmoainos skol aSi arsebul i probl emebi da xarvezebi. am Tval sazrisiT, Tvisebri i kvl evis mniSnel obis zrda cal-saxadaa SesamChevi.

ganaTI ebis reformis ama Tu im sakiTxis irgvli kamat iwevs am sakiTxis ganxil visas social uri konteqstis ignorireba. social uri, ekonomikuri, politikuri da kul-turul i konteqsti umniSnel ovanesia skol ebis struqturisa da daniSnul ebis gansazRvrivas. Ees konteqsti warmoadgens, erTi mxriv, axal SesazI ebl obebs skol ebiSTvis da, meore

mxriv, awesebs garkveul SezRudvebs maT saqmi anobaSi. social uri konteqsti dan gamomdinare, icvl eba maswavl ebl i s saqmi anobac, magal iTad erTi da i give maswavl ebel i SeiZI eba aswavl i da konteqstSi, sadac mTavari moTxovna akademiuri sizuste iyo. Tumca, axal i konteqsti dan gamomdinare, mTavari moTxovna Tanabari SesaZI ebl obebis Seqmna, individual uri Taviseburebebis gaTval i swineba da individual uri midgomebis danergva gaxda. imitom, Zal ian mniSvnel ovania, rom TiToeul maswavl ebel s da ganmanaTI ebel s kargad esmodes arsebul i social uri konteqsti da, am konteqsti dan gamomdinare, uzrunvel yos social uri moTxovnebisa da sa-Wiroebebis srul ad dakmayofil eba da saswavl o procesis Sesabami sad warmarTva. vfigrobT, es saxel mZRvanel o daexmarea maswavl ebl ebs ganaTI ebis sakiTxebis social ur konteqstSi gaanal i zebaSi.

skol a warmoadgens mudmivi cvl il ebebis adgil s. skol a gani cdis cvl il ebebs social uri konteqstis cvl il ebebi dan gamomdinare. xSirad skol a icvl eba, imitom, rom Cven gvsurs misi Secvl a. Sesabami sad, mniSvnel ovania, rom skol a istoriul Wril Si gansxvavebul i struqturiTa da funcziT iyos warmodgenil i da momaval Sic skol a auci ebl ad iqneba gansxvavebul i imisgan, rac dRes gvaqvs. momaval i skol a damoki debul ia ganmanaTI ebl ebis xedvaze, maT codnasa da gamocdil ebaze; Tu ra pozitiuri da negatiuri mxareebi aqvs amJamindel skol as, rom am gamocdil ebi dan gamomdinare moxdes skol ebis pozitiurad da social uri konteqstis gaTval i swinebiT cvl il eba.

saxel mZRvanel os merve Tavi, romel ic praqtikul magali iTebi moicavs, daexmarebaT ganmanaTI ebl ebs skol isa da sazogadoebis urTierTmimarTebis praqtikul i aspeqtebis gaanal i zebaSi da sakuTari skol is ukeTesobi sken Secvl aSi. am praqtikul magal iTebSi gansxvavebul i rakursiTaa warmodgenil i `skol ebi warumatebl obebis safuzvl ebi".

**nawi I i II**

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**saskol o ganaTI eba,  
rogorec social izaci is  
procesi da progresi**

## **Tavi 2**

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### **saskol o ganaTl ebi s funqci onal i sturi xedva**

#### **funqci onal i zmi**

funqci onal i zmi warmoadgens erT-erT Teoriul mim dinareobas social uri movl enebisa da institutebis funqci onirebis Sesaxeb. funqci onal i zmis Teoria farTodaa gavrce-  
lebul i anTropol ogi asa da sociol ogiaSi, Tumca dasabams i Rebs biol ogi is mecnierebi dan. funqci onal istebi mi i Cnevden,  
rom biol ogiuri organi zmis sxvadasxva sistemas gaaCnia  
sxvadasxva sasicocxl o funqcia. organizmSi kuWs, gul s,  
fil tvs - yvel as Tavisi funqcia gaaCnia da TiToeul i am  
organos sworad funqci onirebis gareSe, organizmSi ver Sez-  
I ebs sasicocxl es. biol ogiur mecnierebebSi arsebul i Teo-  
ria yvel a organos sasicocxl o funqci is Sesaxeb gadmoi-  
tanes social ur mecnierebebSi. funqci onal istebi fiqroben,  
rom sxvadasxva social uri instituti Cven unda gavaanal i-  
zoT social ur konteqstSi, gaviazroT am institutis so-  
cial uri funqcia da ra mni Svnel oba aqvs am social ur in-  
stituts social uri sistemis sasicocxl i sunarianobi sTvis.  
Sesabami sad, funqci onal istebi skol as gani xil aven, rogorc  
sazogadoebriv institucias, romel ic emsaxureba am sazoga-  
doebis garkveul i saWi roebabis dakmayofil ebas.

Ffunqci onal istebis mTavari amosaval ia, rom sociali  
uri institutebi da maTi saqmianoba gani xil on mTI iani  
social uri sistemis funqci onirebis konteqstSi. funqci onal  
istebi social ur institutebs gani xil aven maTi saWi roe-  
bebis, rol isa da funqci is Sesabami sad, social uri sistemis  
efeqturaad adaptirebisa da ganvi TarebisTvis.

erTi wuTiT warmovidginoT da ganvi xil oT eqimebis  
da maswavl ebl ebis SerCevis, momzadebis da daj il doebis  
sistemebi funqci onal istebis Tval TaxedviT. funqci onal i-  
stebis azriT, eqimebic da maswavl ebl ebic umni Svnel ovanesia  
sazogadoebis, rogorc social uri sistemis, arsebobis, ga-

darCenis, funqcionirebisa da ganvi TarebisTvis. Tumca sainteresa funqional istebis xedva, Tu ratom aris eqimebis anazRaureba gacil ebit maRal i, vidre maswavl ebl ebsa. funqional istebs aqvT am fenomenis saintereso axsna. maTi azriT, aris profesiebi, romel Ta daufl eba SeuZI ia Zal i an bevr adamians da aris profesiebi, romel Ta aTvisebac SeuZI iaT mxol od Zal i an niWier da Sromismoyvare adamianebs mcire j gufs. funqional istebi miiCneven, rom maswavl ebl o ba SeuZI ia ufro met adamians, vidre eqimoba, maswavl ebl is profesiis daufl eba ar moi Txovs imden niwsa da Zal isxmevas, ramdensac eqimis profesiis daufl eba. Sesabamisad, sazogadoeba axal isebs ufro niWier adamianebs, roml ebi c ufro met Zal isxmevas weven sakuTari profesiis dasauf- l ebl ad da maTi anazRaureba da sazogadoebaSi maTi statusi aris ufro maRal i. funqional istebis azriT, sanam maswavl ebl is profesiis daufl eba SeeZI eba ufro met adamians, vidre eqimis profesiis daufl eba, manamde eqimis profesia iqneba ufro metad maRal anazRaurebadi da prestiJu- l i, vidre maswavl ebl is profesia.

funqional istebi miiCneven, rom nebismier sazogadoe- baSi garkveul i saqmianoba gadanawil ebul ia. yvel aze primitiul i sazogadoebac ki axdenda rol ebis diferenciacias, zogierti nadirobda, zogierti sakvebs amzadebda, zogierti mosaval s iRebda da a.S. adreul sazogadoebesSi rol ebis diferenciacia Tval saCinoa, yvel am icis, Tu ras akeTebs sazogadoebis sxva wevri, sazogadoebis wvrebs Soris sol idarobis gancda gamZafrebul ia.

funqional istebi gamoyofen sazogadoebri vi cxovrebi s or amosaval i postul ats: *rol ebis diferenciaciisa da social ur sol idarobas*. funqional istebis azriT, rol ebis diferenciacia da social uri sol idaroba damaxasi aTebel ia rogorc primitiul i, aseve Tanamedrove sazogadoebisTvis. funqional istebis azriT, rol ebis diferenciaciisa da social uri sol idarobis uzrunvel sayofad primitiul sazogadoebaSi araformal uri ganaTI eba gamoiyeneba, rac gu- l isxmobs bavSvis aRzrdas oj axSi oj axis wvrebi s dakvir- vebis gziT; xol o Tanamedrove sazogadoebaSi ukve mni Svne- l ovani rol i ekisreba formal ur da kargad Camoyal i bebul ganaTI ebis sistemas, romel ic uzrunvel yofs sazogadoebaSi rol ebis danawil ebasa da social ur sol idarobas. saval de- bul o, saj aro, zogadi ganaTI ebis Tanamedrove sistema

xel s uwyobs sazogadoebaSi rol ebis danawil ebas, agreTve sazogadoebaSi Zvel i Rirebul ebebis, wesebi da damoki debul ebebis axl iT Canacvl ebis process. saj aro skol a da zogadi ganaTI eba xel s uwyobs moswavl eebSi im codnisa da unarebis ganviTarebas, rac sawiro da aucil ebel ia Tanamedrove teqnol ogiur epoqaSi.

funcional istebis azriT, saval debul o da universal uri ganaTI eba axasiaTebs industriul sazogadoebas. industriul sazogadoebebSi skol ebs eniWebaT formal uri funqciebi, rasac adre oj axebi, tomebi da Temebi asrul ebdnen araformal urad. tradiciul i social uri struqturebis Tanamedrove sazogadoebis struqturebamde ganviTarebis procesi axsnil ia `safexurebis TeoriiT`; safexurebis Teoria Zal ian axl os dgas funcional istebis xedvasTan. funcional istebi iziareben safexurebriv Teorias - tradiciul i sazogadoebi dan Tanamedrove sazogadoebamde misvl is process funcional uri integrirebis gziT. Ees procesi Sej amebul ia funcional zmis Sesaxeb vil bert muris naSromSi Semdegi model is saxiT:

pirvel i safexuri aris funciurad integrirebul i statitikuri tradiciul i sazogadoeba. meore safexuri aris gardamaval i etapi tradiciul i dan Tanamedrove sazogadoebisken, xol o mesame safexuri aris funciurad integrirebul i, srul iad Tanamedrove sazogadoeba.

safexurebrivma Teoriam didi vnebaTaRel ava gamoiwvia rogorc funcional istebs Soris, agreTve farTo samecnie-ro sazogadoebaSi. miicnevden, rom `safexurebis Teoria-arareal isturi iyo, radgan yvel a sazogadoeba ver miaRwevs erTnair ganviTarebas da ar SeiZl eba yvel a sazogadoeba iyos Tanamedrove. AmechierTa nawil i, am Teorias sxva kuT-xiT Tac akritikebda. maTi azriT, tradiciul i sazogadoebis Tanamedrove sazogadoebadD qceva aris moral urad sakamaTo da miuRebel i debul eba. Sesabamisad, funcional istTa nawil ma es Teoria ar miRo. Mmi uxedadavd amisa, safexurebrivi Teoria safuzvl ad daedo araerT mni Svnel ovan naSroms, ganskutreibiT mesame msolf i os qveynebis saganmanaTI ebl o poliitikis ganxil vis konteqstSi.

`safexurebrivi Teoriis- mxardamWerebi ki miicneven, rom Tanamedrove sazogadoebas araerTi upiratesoba gaachnia tradiciul sazogadoebasTan SedarebiT. Tanamedrove sazogadoebas Zal uzs upasuxos sazogadoebis wevrebis motxov-

nebs, Sesabamisad, safexurebrivi Teoriis mxardamWerebi salval debul o zogad ganaTI ebas Tanamedrove sazogadoebis cxovrebis auciL ebel procesad gani xil aven. maTi SexeduL ebiT, swored ganaTI ebiS meSveobiT xdeba Tanamedrove sazogadoebaSi sazogadoebrivi rol ebiS danawil eba. Tu tradiciul sazogadoebaSi sazogadoebrivi rol ebiS miniWeba damoki debul i iyo individis warmomavl obasTan, Tanamedrove sazogadoebaSi is pirdapir ukavSi rdeba ganaTI ebas da salval debul o zogadi ganaTI eba yvel a individis aZI evs Tanabar SesaZI ebl obebs, dai kavos garkveul i poziciebi sazogadoebaSi da es xdeba bevrad samarTI iani da humanuri procesebis Sedegad, vidre tradiciul sazogadoebebSi.

funqciunal istebi mi iCneven, rom skol a aris mTavari instrumenti moswavl is mosamzadebl ad oj axis wevrobidan sazogadoebis wevrobamde. swored skol aSi swavl oben moswavl eebi, Tu rogor unda funqcionirebdnen efekturad sazogadoebriv cxovrebaSi. am Tval sazrisiT erT-erT mni Svnel ovan naSroms warroadgens rober driibenis wigni "ras swavl oben skol aSi". Ddriibenis azriT, moswavl eebi swavl oben qcevis normebsa da wesebs, rac mni Svnel ovania sazogadoebrivi monawil eobisTvis qveynis pol itikuri da ekonomikuri konteqstidan gamodinare. Mmisi azriT, skol aSi moswavl eebi sazogadoebrivi cxovrebisTvis emzadebian ara mxol od im sagnebis swavl iT, roml ebic salval debul oa saskol o kurikul umis mixedviT, aramed im sazogadoebrivi urTierTobebeiT, roml ebic mmdinareobs skol aSi, rogorc organizaciaSi an sazogadoebis mcire model Si da romel ic saskol o cxovrebis ganuyofel nawil s warroadgens. amitom, misi azriT, skol aSi sagnobrivi Sinaarsis swavl ebasTan er-Tad, umni Svnel ovanesia konkretul i sazogadoebisTvis adekvaturi saskol o sazogadoebis formireba, roml is SigniTac efekturi funqcionireba wi napi roba gaxdeba moswavl is sazogadoebaSi efekturi integraciisTvis. driibenis mi iCnevs, rom am SemTxvevaSi gacil ebit mni Svnel ovania arais, Tu ra iswavl eba Sinaarsobrivi Tval sazrisiT, aramed is, Tu ra midgomebiT, metodebiT, strategiebiT iswavl eba da ra kl imati da garemoa Seqmnii i swavl ebiS procesSi. Ddriibenis azriT, sagnebis garda, oTxi mni Svnel ovani norma unda iswavl os moswavl em skol aSi pirvel i kl asi dan bol o kl asamde, raTa oj axis wevrobidan iqces sazogadoebis srul fsovan wevrad: (1) damouki debl oba; (2) warmatebul oba; (3) un-

i versal izmi; (4) gansxvavebul oba. mokl ed SevexebiT da ganv-  
martavT TiToeul am normas, romel ic mniSvnel ovania indi-  
vidis sazogadoebrivi cxovrebiSTvis.

**damoukidebl oba** erT-erTi umniSvnel ovanesi normaa, ro-  
mel sac moswavl e unda swavl obdes saskol o periodSi. igi  
gul isxmobs, moswavl is pasuxismgebl obas sakuTari qmedebe-  
bisa da swavl is procesisadmi, iseve rogorc mis angariS-  
val debul ebas sakuTari qmedebebis gamo. sakuTar qmedebebze  
pasuxismgebl oba da angariSval debul eba exmareba moswavl es  
momaval Si sazogadoebriv cxovrebaSi. es norma agreTve gu-  
l isxmobs sanqciebis arsebobas sakuTari qmedebebis gamo. ma-  
gal iTad, moswavl em icis, rom gadawerisTvis an pl agiatisT-  
vis igi daisj eba mkacrad da iRebs pasuxismgebl obas saku-  
Tar qmedebebze, rom Tavi dan airidos sanqciebi.

**warmatebul oba** meore umniSvnel ovanesi normaa saskol o  
cxovrebaSi sazogadoebrivi cxovrebiSTvis mosamzadebl ad.  
moswavl eebi eCvevian, rom maTi swavl a da qceva Sefasdeba,  
rogorc individual urad aseve sxvebTan Sedarebit, isini  
eCvevian, rom fasdeba is, ris gakeTeba SeuZI ia moswavl es da  
ara is risi gakeTeba surs. moswavl eebi eCvevian warmatebas  
da warumatebl obas, iseve rogorc eCvevian Tu rogor gaum-  
ki avdnen warumatebl obas da Sexvdnen warmatebebs.

**universal izmi** da **gansxvavebul oba** erTmaneTTan dakavSi-  
rebul i da urTierTgamodinare normebia. universal izmi  
gul isxmobs, rom moswavl eebi skol aSi dayofil ebi arian  
garkveul i kategoriebis mixedviT da maTTvis moTxovnebi un-  
iversal uria. magal iTad moswavl eebi dayofil i arian kl a-  
sebis mixedviT da pirvel kl asel ebs wayenebul i aqvT erT-  
nairi da universal uri moTxovnebi. universal izmis magal i-  
Tad SegviZI ia ganvixil oT SemTxveva, rodesac moswavl e iT-  
xovs patiebas dagvianebl i daval ebis gamo, razec maswavl e-  
bel i cal saxad pasuxobs, rom misTvis daval ebis Seusrul  
ebis patieba niSnavs, rom man sxva moswavl eebSac unda  
apati os, Tu isini daval ebas ar Seasrul eben, ami tom midgoma  
universal uria da daval ebis umizezd dagvianebiT Sesru-  
l eba an Seusrul ebl oba dasj adia nebismieri moswavl isTvis.  
universal izmTan dakavSi rebul i meore normaa **gansxvavebu-**  
**I oba** da misi aucil ebl ad aRiareba saskol o doneze.  
gansxvavebul obis aRiarebis magal iTad SegviZI ia ganvix-  
il oT i give daval ebis Seusrul ebl obis SemTxveva, oRond,  
im SemTxvevaSi, Tu moswavl em ver SeZI o daval ebis Sesru-

I eba garkveul i specifikuri mizezis gamo. magal iTad, maswavl ebel ma SeiZI eba gansxvavebul i midgoma gamoiyenos, Tu moswavl em ver Seasrul a daval eba imitom, rom wina saRamos mas hqonda sakal aTburTo matci da is icavda skol is sakaI aTburTo gundis interessebs. am SemTxvevaSi maswavl ebel i iRebs mxedvel obaSi moswavl is gansxvavebul obas, rom is warmoadgens saskol o sakal aTburTo gunds da am gundi s mier Catarebul i TamaSis gamo man ver SeZI o daval ebis Se- srul eba. am SemTxvevaSic gansxvavebul obis normis dacva gvaqvs, ise rom ar il axeba universal izmis normac.

universal izmi damaxasiaTebel ia garkveul i j gufebisTvis, magal iTad kl asisTvis, gundis wevrebisTvis, damamTwarebel i kl asis moswavl eebisTvis da a.S. universal izmi mniSvn el ovania, radgan moswavl e aTviTcnobierebs, rom is aris garkveul i j gufis wevri da unda moiqces am j gufis wevrebs Soris arsebul i dadgenil i normebis fargl ebSi. Anu individ mzadaa gverdze gadados sakuTari individual oba da imoqmedos, rogorc konkretul i j gufis wevrma, iseve, rogorc aRqmul i iyos da moepyran, rogorc konkretul i j gufis wevrs. magal iTad, Tu aviRebT romel ime sportul gunds. sportul gundSi dawesebul ia universal uri normebi, maT Soris - yovel dRiuri varj iSebi da Tanabari moTxovnebi da val debul ebebi yvel astvis. mwvrTnel ma ar SeiZI eba gamonakl isi dauSvas an upirates mdgomareobaSi Caayenos, gundis romel ime moTamaSe, Tundac imitom, rom is misi kol egis Svil ia. Aam SemTxvevaSi adgil i eqneba universal izmis principlebidan gadaxvevas da partikul arizms. Tumca, gansxvavebul oba gundSic unda iyos dacul i. magal iTad, Tu romel ime moTamaSe ver eswreba varj iSs rel igiuri mosazrebebis gamo, romel ic specifikuria misi rel igiuri Temisa da oj axisTvis, mwvrTnel i iTval i swinebs am faqtors da aZI evs saSual ebas moTamaSes im dRes gaacdinos varj iSi rel igiuri mosazrebebis gamo, Tumca isev da isev es ar arRvevs universal izmis princips. gansxvavebul oba da universal izmi erTdroul ad moqmedebs da orive norma dafasebul ia da indidi eCveva orive normis dafasebas, rac mniSvn el ovani maTi sazogadoebriv cxovrebisTvis mosamzadebl ad.

driibenis mier Camoyal i bebul i oTxi normis swavl a ufro efekturad xdeba skol aSi, vidre oj axSi saskol o cxovrebis gamo, Tumca Sesazi ebel ia moswavl em skol aSic ver SeZI os am normebis aTviseba, rac mas funcional iste-

bis azriT aucil ebl ad swirdeba sazogadoebaSi fuqncioni-rebisTvis. riiben Tvl is, rom damouki debl oba, warmatebebi, universal izmi da gansxvavebul oba swored is normebia, roml ebic uzrunvel yofs moswavl eebis moqal aqeebad formrebas da sazogadoebriv cxovrebaSi efektur monawil eobas. skol a `azI evs moswavl es fsiqol ogiur mzaobas, rac exmaraeba mas monawil eoba miros sazogadoebrivi cxovrebis Zirritad institucional ur sferoebSi, daijavos social uri pozicia am sazogadoebriv instituciebSi da daakmayofil os am instituciebis moTxovnebi, i seve rogorc isargebl os am social uri instituciebis SigniT arsebul i ganviTarebis SesaZI ebl obebiT~.

### **Tanabari saganmanaTI ebl o SesaZI ebl obebi**

sainteresoa, al baT, mki Txvel isTvis, Tu sakuTarma sko-lam ramdenad SeZI o aRniSnul oTx standartTan maTi zia-reba. Aam sakiTx is gaanal izebaSi dagexmarebat es gancxadeba, roml is msgavsi arc Tu ise iSviaTi iyo amerikis SeerTebul StatebSi sul cota xnis win: `gvesawiroeba menej eri marketingul i formisTvis. sasurvel i kandidati unda i yos TeTr-kani ani, qristiani, aivis I igis skol is kursdamTavrebul i. vakanturi poziciis dakaveba saukeTeso saSual ebaa winsvl issa da warmatebisaTvis".

aRniSnul i gancxadeba TavisTavad diskriminaciul i da dResdReobiT sayovel Tao yuradRebi sa da kritikis qveS moeqceva. Aam gancxadebaSi wamoyenepbul i moTxovnebi arare-I evanturia dasakavebel i vakanturi Tanamdebobi sTvis auci-l ebel i da saWiro kval ifikaciisTvis. riiben miicnevs, rom dResdReobiT amgvar gancxadebaze sazogadoebis negatiuri reaqcia warmoadgens skol is saqmianobis Sedegs, radgan swored skol aSi moxda iseTi normebisa da principebis danergva, rogoric aris universal izmi da warmatebul oba. skol aSi iswavl es sazogadoebis wevrebma, rom TamaSis wesebi universal uria j gufis wevrebisTvis da Sefaseba xdeba maTi warmatebis, codnisa da unarebis Sesabami sad. Anu sko-l aSi SeTvisebul i principi TanxvedraSia Tanamedrove industrial i sazogadoebisTvis damaxasiaTebel i Tanabari SesaZI ebl obebis principTan.

Tanabari SesaZI ebl obebi gul isxmobis, rom adami anebi SerCeul ni unda iyvnen am Tu im pozicii isTvis an dawi naurdnen maTi SeZenil i codnisa da unarebis, maT mier mi Rweul i warmatebi dan gamomdi nare da ara Tandayol il i, dabadebi dan an oj axi dan mi ni Webul i maxasiaTebl ebis gamo. roca indiividis dawi naureba an dasaqmeba xdeba mxol od oj axuri mdgomareobis gamo, adgil i aqvs Tandayol il i maxasiaTebl ebis gamo adami anis warmatebas. Tandayol il maxasiaTebl ebSi xSirad gamoyofen social ur-ekonomikur status, rel igiur, rasobriv, eTnikur Tu genderul kuTvnil ebas.

funqional istebi ayal i beben sam mni Svnel ovan faqtors, ramac Seuwylo xel i Tanamedrove sazogadoebas, rom aqcenti gakeTebul iyo SeZenil codnasa da unarebze, mi Rweul warmatebebze da ara Tandayol il i maxasiaTebl ebze. pirvel i, industriul i sazogadoeba iTxovs axal codnasa da unarebs, roml is miRebac SesaZI ebel ia mxol od ganaTI ebis gziT da arc erT oj axis social ur ekonomikuri statusis miuxedavad ar Zal uzs Taobi dan Taobebs gadasces garkveul i codna. Amitom saskol o ganaTI ebasa da miRebul codnasa da unarebs mieniWa meti yuradReba vidre oj axur warmomavl obas. meore, axal i codnis da unarebis moTxovna aucil ebel s xdis, axal i SesaZI ebl obebi SeeqmnaT im j gufebs, romel Tac adre es SesaZI ebl obebi ar hqondaT da isini diskrimini rebul mdgomareobaSi iyvnen. mesame, pol itikuri stabil uroba gaxda umni Svnel ovanesi Tanamedrove sazogadoebaSi. pol itikuri stabil urobiS Sesanarcunebl ad mni Svnel ovania, rom sazogadoebis yvel a wevri fiqrobdes, rom maT uwetT samarTI ian garemoSi konkurencia. samarTI ianobis gancda da Tanabari SesaZI ebl obebis Seqmna umni Svnel ovanesi faqtoria sazogadoebis pol itikuri stabil urobiSTvis.

aRsani Snavia, rom skol aSi, moswavl is oj axis wevrobi- dan sazogadoebis srul yofil wevrobamde transformaciis procesi xSirad TavisTavad winaswari gaazrebisa da ganzraxul obebis gareSe xorciel deba. magal iTad Tuki maswavl ebl ebis umetesobas Seveki TxebiT, Tu ras akeTeben isini amJamad moswavl eebTan, pasuxebs mi vi RebT, rom `aswavl ian marTI weras~ an `aswavl ian wil adebs~. maswavl ebl ebis umetesoba ar gipasuxebT, rom isini aswavl ian moswavl eebs sakutari Rirebul ebebiSa da qmedebebis gansj as rel evantur situaciaSi an amzadeben moswavl eebs momaval i biurokrati- ul i cxovrebiSTvis. am procesi sadmi momzadeba TavisTavad

xdeba saskol o cxovrebi dan gamomdinare. saskol o cxovrebaSi ki umni Svnel ovanesi rol i eniWeba `farul kuriku-l ums-. saskol o garemo, procedurebi, gakveTil isTvis da dasvenebisTvis gankuTvni l i dro, yovel dRiuri rutina, rig-Si dgoma da maval i sxva organizaciul i procedurebi, romel ic skol as axasiaTebs, xel s uwyoobs moswavl eebis momzadebas Tanamedrove sazogadoebrivi cxovrebi sTvis. moswavl eebi eCvevian, akontrol on TavianTi qmedeba instituciis mier dawesebul i qcevis kodeqsis fargl ebSi.

### **saganmanaTI ebl o reforma: sami praqtkul i magal iTi**

aRsani Snavia, rom funcional izmi ar gaxl avT mxol od social uri mecnierebebis erT-erTi mimarTul eba. i gi gまい yeneba, rogorc Teoria da samecniero mimarTul eba, magram, amave dros, xSirad aqvs Zal ian mni Svnel ovani praqtkul i dani Snul eba, rameTu araerTi saganmanaTI ebl o reforma swored funcional izmis principebis fargl ebSi ganxorciel ebul a. funcional izmis Teoriisa da saganmanaTI ebl o reformebs Soris kavSirs aqvs Sesabamisi axsna. ganaTI ebis reformis gamtarebl ebi sakuTari reformis dasabuTebas swored sazogadoebrivi saWiroebebi dan da moTxovnebi dan gamomdinare xsnian. saganmanaTI ebl o reformebs udi desi nawil i efuzneba mosazrebas, rom skol am unda uzrunvel yos sazogadoeba im codniTa da unarebiT, rac auxil ebel ia Tanamedrove sazogadoebaSi funcioni rebi sTvis. qvemoT gTavazobT sam hipoTetur praqtkul magal iTs, romel ic naTel s gaxdis saganmanaTI ebl o reformebsa da funcional istebis xedvebs Soris urTierTkavSirs.

warmoidgineT, rom Tqven brZandebiT ara mxol od funcional isti, aramed erT-erTi patara saxel mwifos xel mZRvanel i. Ees saxel mwifo axl axan ganTavisufi da koli onial uri marwuxebisgan da moipova damouki debl oba. Ees ori saxel mwifo Tanabari zomisa da gavl enis mqone tomisgan Sedgeba., pirobiTad Crdil oeTis da samxreTis tomebis-gan. am tomebs erTmaneTis admi aral oial uri damoki debul eba aqvT. erTaderTi, rac maT aerTianebedaT, gaxl daT kol oni-uri saxel mwifo, romel ic maT saerTo mters warmoadgenda, xol o amjamad es saerTo da gamaerTianebel ic aRar gaaCniAT. saxel mwifos metaurma icis, rom Crdil oeTis tomis teri-

toriaze momaval i oci wl is ganmavl obaSi mosal odnel ia gval va da mosavl is ganadgureba, radgan mezobel i saxel mwifo mdinaris kal apots ucvl is mimarTul ebas da mdinare veRar gaivl is Crdil oeTis tomis teritoriaze. Crdil oeTis tomis gadarcena oci wl is ganmavl obaSi Sesazi ebel ia mxoI od im SemTxvevaSi, Tu samxreTis tomi sakuTar resursebs uwil adebs Crdil oeTis toms. amasTanave, Crdil oeTis tomis gadarcenis SemTxvevaSi, am tomsa da teritorias SeuZl ia udi desi rol i iTamaSos qveynis ganviTarebisa da ayvavebis saqmeSi. Aam situaci idan gamodinare, mni Svnsl ovania, rom adami anebis tomobrivi l oial oba transformirdes l oial obad saxel wifosadmi, raTa saxel mwifom da sazogadoebam SeZl os efekturi funzioni reba. Sesabamisad, Tqven, rogorc saxel mwifos meTauri, qmniT saerTo ganaTI ebi sistemas da SemogaqvT saval debul o zogadi ganaTI eba moqal aqeebisTvis. amasTanave, Tqven qmniT insentivebis sistemas, raTa maqsimai urad bevrma moqal aqem mi iRos zogadi ganaTI eba, saukeTessoni i swawl ian erovnul umaRI es saswavl ebel Si da dai kaveben umaRI es samTavrobo Tanamdebobebs. saskol o kurikuI umi ki gul isxmobs moswavl eebSi saxel mwifos cnobierebis Camoyal i bebas da l oial obas saxel mwifosadmi da ara mxoI od sakuTari tomisadmi. Sesabamisad, Tqven sazogadoebi sa da saxel mwifos efekturad funzioni rebi saTvis iyenebT konkretul saganmanaTI ebl o reformas.

meore praqtkul i magal iTisTvis ki, erTi wuTiT warmoi dgineT, rom Tqven brZandebiT im saxel mwifos erT-erTi xel mZRvancl i, romel Sic mosaxl eobis umravl esoba agrarul sektorSi a dasaqmebul i. amasTanave, am saxel mwifosi aSkarad SeimCneva mosaxl eobis migracia sasofl o dasaxl ebebi dan urbanul i dasaxl ebebi sken. paral el urad, am saxel mwifosi viTardeba industria da qarxnebis meqani zaciis procesi aqtiur fazaSi gadadis. sasofl o dasaxl ebebSic aqtiurad Sedis meqani zacia da rasac adre uamravi adami anis Sroma swirdeboda axl a is sxvadasxva teqnikis saSual ebit keTdeba. Sesabamisad, sofel Si aRar aris amdeni muSaxel is auciI ebl oba, xol o qal aqSi sawarmoebi da qarxnebi ganicdian kval ificiuri muSa-xel is nakl ebobas, Tumca radgan aqtiurad muSaoben sofl idan Camosul mosaxl eebs aqtiurad asaqmeben. amasTanave am qarxnebSi dasaqmebul ebi arian bavSvebic, roml ebic iaf musa xel s warmoadgenen. am situaciaSi ori tipis probl ema warmoiSveba. erTi mxriv warmoeba ar

vitardeba da meqani zacia ver Sedis aqtur fazaSi, radgan ar arsebobs kval ificiuri muSaxel i. meore tipis probl ema oj axebis social ur mdgomareobas ukavSirdeba. is gul isxmobs, rom sofi idan Casul mosaxl eobas ar aqvs unari, qali aqSi efeqturad warmarTos Tavisi cxovreba, gadai xados gadasaxadebi, marTos oj axis bi uj eti da a.S. radgan ar aqvT Sesabami si ganaTI eba. amasTanave, mni Svnel ovani a bavSvebis probl ematika. bavSvebi an muSaoben qarxnebSi da ar swavl oben, an miuxedavad imisa, rom maTTvis skol a xel misawdomia, radgan mSobl ebi ar aqceven yuradRebas da mTel dRes quCaSi uyuradRebod da umi znod atareben. am SeTxvevaSi Tqven, rogorc saxel mwi fos meTauri, i RebT ramdenime mni Svnel ovan gadawyvetil ebas da gegmavT saganmanaTI ebl o reformas, rata sazogadoebam SeZI os sworad funqcionireba. kerZod, SemogaqvT saval debul o zogadi ganaTI eba bavSvebisTvis, profesiul i ganvi Tareba da samoqal aqo ganaTI ebi s kursebi zrdasrul TaTvis da krZal avT bavSvTa Sr omis gamoyenebas sawarmoebsa da qarxnebSi. saganmanaTI ebl o reformebiT Tqven imedovnebT, rom arsebul i situaci idan da real obidan gamomdinare, sazogadoebis wevrebi SeZI eben efeqturad funqcionirebas aRni Snul i saganmanaTI ebl o reformis gatarebis Semdgom.

aqve warmoidgineT mesame situaci ac: Tqven brZandebiT im qveynis meTauri, sadac didi xania, saval debul o zogadi ganaTI ebi s reforma xorciel deba. wignierebi s done sakmaod maRal ia mosaxl eobaSi da mosaxl eoba sasofi o dasaxl ebi-dan aqturad gadadis urbanul dasaxl ebebSi da warmatebul adac saqmdeba. Tumca, Tanamedrove teqnol ogiebis ganvi-Tarebam moi Txova kadrebi, roml ebic arian kval ificiurni sainJinro, maTematikur da zust mecniererebSi, agreTve mni Svnel ovani a kargi menej erebis aRzrda ekonomikis efeqturad ganvi TarebisTvis. wi naaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi, saxel mwi fo ver gauZI ebs konkurencias, dakargavs saeqsporto bazrebs da qveynis Signi Tac samuSao bazarze samuSao adgil ebs mezobel i qveynis kadrebi dai kaveben, radgan adgil obrivi kadrebi ver akmayofil eben bazris moTxovnebs. Tqven, rogorc saxel mwi fos meTaurma, moiwi eT ganamanaTI ebel Ta Sexvedra da mii ReT gadawyvetil eba, rom SeqmnaT obiecturi da sruI yofil i testirebis sistema, mTel i qveynis masStabiT SearcioT niwieri axal gazrdebi, romel Tac xel s SeuwyobT umaRI esi ganaTI ebi s miRebaSi. amasTanave, umaRI es saswav-

I ebel ebs sTxoveT, maqsimal urad aesaxaT saswavl o proces-Si maTematikis, sainJinro sagnebis, zusti da sabunebi smetyvel o sagnebis teqnol ogiebis swavl eba. amasTanave, yuradReba gaemaxvil ebinat kargi menej erebis momzadebis procesze. Tqven SesTavazeT universitetebis, rom maqsimal urad dafinansdeboda bi uj etidan swored zemoT miTiTebul i programebi, raTa am mimarTul ebiT momxdariyo umaRI esi ganaTI e-bis, kvl evisa da mecnierebis ganviTareba.

sami ve zemoT ganxil ul i situacia hipoTeturia, Tumca sami ve asaxavs ganaTI ebiT reformis funkcional i stur xedvas. pi rvel SemTxevati, ganaTI ebiT sistemis meSveobiT cdi-I oben mosaxl eobaSi erTiani erovnul i identobis formirebas, rac xel s Seuwyobs saxel mwifos SigniT arsebul i oritomis mSvidobian Tanacxovrebas da saxel mwifosa da sazogadoebis ganviTarebas. sxva si tyvebiT, rom vTqvati, ganaTI ebiT reforma xel s uwyobs social ur da samoqal aqo integraciis process saxel mwifosi. meore SemTxevati, ganaTI ebiT sistema gamoyenebul ia mosaxl eobisTvis axal i codnisa da unarebis gansaviTarebl ad, rac ukavSirdeba maT migracias sasofl o dasaxl ebidan urbanul dasaxl ebebSi da urbanul dasaxl ebebSi arsebul sazogadoebrivi da ekonomikuri ganviTarebis moTxovnebs. sxva si tyvebiT rom vTqvati, am SemTxevati ganaTI ebiT reforma gamoiyeneba sazogadoebaSi reintegraciis procesis xel Sesawyobad. mesame SemTxevavti ki ganaTI ebiT sistema gamoyenebul ia saerTaSoriso konkurentarianobisTvis, raTa saxel mwifom Sezl os efekturad funzioni reba gl obal ur saerTaSoriso konkurentul bazarze, rac mi iRweva konkretul sferoebSi niwi eri kadrebis identificirebiT da maTTvis Sesabamisi umaRI esi ganaTI ebiT micemis xel SewyobiT. am SemTxevati ganaTI ebiT sistema xel s uwyobs sazogadoebaSi rol ebiT diferenciaciiasac. es saki Txebi ufro farTod iqneba gaanal izebul i saxel mzRvan el os merve TavSi, sadac ganxil ul i gvaqvs "ganaTI ebiT erovnul i angariSebi".

## **asimilacia, politikuri socializacia da modernizacia**

funcional istebi skol as aRiqvamen, rogorc mTavar instruments Tanamedrove sazogadoebis politikuri, socialuri da ekonomikuri ganviTarebisa da saWiroebebis dasakmayofil ebl ad. konkretul ad, funcional istebi miCneven, rom Tanamedrove sazogadoebis moqal aqem unda SeZI os demokratiul i principebit cxovreba, unda pativi sces mraaval ferovnebas da SeeZI os efeqturdad muSaoba maRal teq-nol ogiuri ekonomikis pirobebSi. skol is funqcia swored aseTi moqal aqis aRzrdaa, romel ic i cxovrebs meritokratul sazogadoebaSi. skol is es funqcia mibmul ia sam Ziri-Tad procesTan: kul turul i asimilacia, politikuri socializacia da modernizacia. kul turul i asimilacia da politikuri socializacia urTierTdakavSirebul i procesebia da ukavSirdeba funcional istebis socialuri integraciisa da sol idarobis Teoriebs. xol o modernizaciis procesi ukavSirdeba funcional istebis rol ebis diferenciaciisa da ganviTarebis Teoriebs.

*asimilacia* kul turul i terminia, romel ic gul isxmobs umciresobaTa j gufis asimil acias dominantur j guftan. *Pol itikuri socializacia* politikuri terminia, rac gu- l isxmobs pirovnebis l okal uri j gufis mimarT politikuri l oial obidan saxel mwifos mimarT politikur l oial obamde transformaciis process. am procesis Sedegad pirovneba iRebs da aRiarebs. demokratiul i sazogadoebisTvis damax-asiaTebel i gadawyvetil ebis miRebis principebs. *modernizacia* ki ekonomikuri da socialuri terminia. igi gul isxmobs meritokratiul, biurokratiul da individualistur cxovrebis formebis ganviTarebas, rac Tanamedrove ekonomikurad da teqnol ogiurad ganviTarebul i saxel mwifos wi napirobaa. aRsani Snavia, rom zemot ganxil ul i es sami procesi xSir SemTxvevaSi Tanmxvedri da urTierTgadamkveTi procesebia.

al baT sainteresoa, ganvixil oT TiToeul i es procesi konkretul i magal iTebisa da saganmanaTI ebl o reformebis konteqstSi. meoce sau kunis dasawyissi, rodesac araingl isurenovani qveynebi dan imigrantTa ricxvi SeerTebul Sta-tebSi gai zarda dRis wesrigSi dadga Sesabamisi politikis

gatareba. aRniSnul i pol itika gul isxmobda am j gufebis asimil irebas, ris ganxorciel ebac ganaTI ebis sistemis fargl ebSi unda momxdariyo. Masimil aciis procesis gansaxorciel ebel i midgomebi gansxvavebul i iyo pol itikosTa Soris. pol itikosebisa da sazogadoebis warmomadgenel Ta nawil i miicnevda, rom imigracia unda SezRudul iyo Crdi-I oeT da dasavl eT evropis qveynebis warmomadgenl ebisTvis, romel Ta Rirebul ebebi da cxovrebiSeul i principi ebi TanxvedraSi modi oda amerikul kul turasTan. sazogadoebis nawil i miicnevda, rom imigrantebisTvis kari unda gaexsnaT, Tuki skol ebi mzad iyvnen, xel i SeewyoT maTi asimil aciisTvis, rac gul isxmobda maTi kul turul i identobis dakargas da amerikul i cxovrebis wesTan Serwymas. arsebobda sazogadoebis nawil i, roml ebic Tvl ida, rom TiToeul kul turul j gufs aqvs unikal uri kul turul i maxasiaTebel i, rac am-didrebs amerikul sazogadoebas da xel s uwyobs mis ganvi-Tarebas, ami tom mniSnel ovania, rom skol ebze uzrunvel yon am kul turul i j gufebis SenarCuneba da ganviTareba da maTi integracia amerikul kul turul cxovrebaSi da amasTanave am j gufis motxovna iyo moswavl eebi moemzadebina pl uralistur sazogadoebaSi sacxovrebl ad. miuxedavad imisa, rom sxvadasxva sazogadoebrivi j gufi sxvadasxva gzas xedavda social uri integraciis misaRwevad, erTi ram Tval naTel i da saerTo iyo, social uri integracia da kul turul i asimil acia aucil ebel i faqtori iyo sazogadoebis pol itikuri da teqnol ogiuri ganviTarebisTvis.

pol itikuri social izaciis procesTan dakavSirebi Tac sxvadasxva periodSi ikveTeboda gansxvavebul i mosazrebebi ganaTI ebis reformatoTa da pol itikosTa Soris. Tu ral i unda Seesrul ebina skol as moswavl eTa pol itikuri social izaciis procesSi. Magal iTad, sabWoTa kavSirTan ci-vi omis periodSi pol itikosTan da reformatoTa nawil i miicnevda, rom skol aSi unda eswavl ebinaT kursi "komunizmis borotebani". anu, pol itikosTa da reformatoTa nawil i miicnevda, rom saWiro iyo moswavl eebis pirdapiri pol itikuri indoqtrinacia. amasTanave arsebobda pol itikosTan da reformatoTa meore frTa miicnevda, rom pirdapiri indoqtrinacia araswori iyo da mniSnel ovani iyo skol ebSi demokratiul i cxovrebis wesis damkvidreba da ami T moswavl eebis ziareba demokratiul i amerikul i Rirebul ebebi sadmi. aRniSnul i gul isxmobda skol ebisaTvis avtonomi is min Webas

sakuTari saswavl o procesis dagegmisa da marTvis Tval sazrisiT, moswavl eTa TviTmarTvel obis Seqmnasa da maT aqtiur CarTvas sakuTari swavl ebis procesis dagegmaSi saswavl o doneze da a.S. miuxedavad arsebul i gansxvavebul i midgomebisa, pol itikosebsa da reformatorebs Soris arsebobda Tanxmoba, rom skol a pol itikuri social izaciis mni Svnel ovani instrumentia, gansxvaveba iyo mxol od strategiebSi, Tu rogor unda momxdariyo pol itikuri social izacia saskol o doneze.

Ppol itikuri social izacia umni Svnel ovanesia Tanamedrove saxel mwifoebSi. xel isufl ebisTvis sakuTari pol itikis gasatarebl ad sazogadoebis srul ad informireba xSirad SeuZI ebel i xdeba. ami tom mni Svnel ovania, rom sazogadoeba aRiarebdes saxel mwifos marTvis demokratiul principes. saxel mwifo pol itikis gasatarebl ad sami mni Svnel ovani nabi jia aucil ebel i: (1) sazogadoebas unda swamdes, rom mTavroba namdvil ad warmoadgens srul iad sazogadoebas da aqvs sazogadoebis mier micemul i legitimacia; (2) mTavrobas unda gaaCndes ndoba mosaxl eobis mxridan; (3) sazogadoebas unda swamdes, rom xel isufl ebas xel ewifeba dasaxul i pol itikuri miznis efekturad ganxorciel eba. zemoT aRni Snul idan gamomdinare, skol am unda aRzardos iseTi moqal aqe, romel sac ecodineba Tanamedrove demokratiul i mmarTvel obis formebi, monawil eobas mii Rebs am demokratiul i mmarTvel obis formebSi. aseTi tipis moqal aqis aRzrda uzrunvel yofs, rom mTavroba iqneba sazogadoebis warmoadgenl obiTi, reprezentaciul i da ndobiT aRWurvil i, romel sac xel ewifeba dasaxul i pol itikuri miznebis realizacia. Ees saki Txi SedarebiT farTod aris gaSuqebul i merve TavSi `geografiis gakveTil is- praqtkul magal iTSi, sadac gaanal izebul ia, Tu raoden mni Svnel ovania ganaTI ebul i moqal aqe Tanamedrove saxel mwifos ganvi TarebiSTvis.

skol is modernizaciis funqciac mWidrod ukavSi rdeba kul turul da pol itikur funqciebs. modernizaciaSi Tanamedrove mkvl evrebi da reformatorebi gul isxmoben preindustriul process, romel ic xasiATdeba industriisa da sofl is meurneobis ganvi TarebiT da roml is naTel magali iTs warmoadgens dasavl eT evropa da amerikis seerTebul i Statebi industriul i revolu ciis Semdgom. modernistebi mii Cneven, rom ekonomikuri ganvi Tareba rogorc agrarul , aseve warmoebis seqtorsi, damoki debul ia sabazro ekonomi-

kis ganvi Tarebaze, romel Sic meritokratiazea dafuznebul i da mciredi central izaciit xasiaTdeba, Tumca, kargad ganvi Tarebul i saxel mwifo biurokratia axasiaTebs.

modernistebis mTavari fokusia 'adami anuri kapital is-ganvi Tareba. modernistebi Tvl ian rom ekonomikuri ganvi TarebisTvis umTavresi xdeba adami anuri kapital i. Sesabami sad, modernistebi mTavar aqcents akeTeben ganaTI ebis sistemaze. maTi azriT, Tu adre investireba xdeboda mxol od aRwurvil obasa da fizikur kapital Si, amjamad investiciebis di di nawi l i unda wavides adami anur kapital Si da Sesabami sad maTi mTavari prioriteti adami anTa ganaTI ebba, rac gul isx-mobs adami anebSi sxvadasxva unarebisa da codnis ganvi Tarebas, rac uzrunvel yofs ekonomikur winsvl asa da ganvi Tarebas.

amasTanave, aRsani Snavia, rom adami anuri kapital is Teoriis mimdevrebi miicneven, rom adami anur kapital Si investireba mni Svnel ovania rogorc ganvi Tarebul i, aseve ganvi Tarebadi qveynebisTvis. ganvi Tarebul i qveynebisTvis investireba mni Svnel ovania, raTa maT SeZl on im social uri simidreebis SenarCuneba, rac wina Taobebma Seqmnes. am Tval sazrisiT ki mni Svnel ovani xdeba yvel a social uri fenis CarTva ganaTI ebis sistemaSi, yvel a social uri j gufidan yvel aze niwi eri adami anebis gamovl ena. amitom wina pl anze i wevs Tanabari saganmanaTI ebl o SesaZl ebl obebis micemis saki Tx, rogorc ganaTI ebis politikis qvakuTxedi. reformatorebi cdil oben, maqsimal uri SesaZl ebl obebi miscen im j gufes, romel Tac winaT msgavsi SesaZl ebl obebi ar hqoniat da diskriminirebul nic ki iynen. Sesabami sad, umciresoba da da mowyvl adi j gufebis ganaTI ebaze meti resursis al okacia gaxda ganvi Tarebul i qveynebis ganaTI ebis politikis nawi l i.

ganvi Tarebadi qveynebisTvi sac mni Svnel ovania adami anuri kapital is ganvi Tareba, Tumca aq pol itika SesaZl ebel ia odnav gansxvavebul i ijos. saxel mwifom SesaZl ebel ia maqsimal uri aqcenti gaakeTos zogadi ganaTI ebis sferoze, xol o umaRI es saswavl ebl ebSi moamzados mxol od erTeul ebi da el i tebi, roml ebic uzrunvel yofen qveynis ekonomikis ganvi-Tarebas grZel vadian periodSi. SesaZl ebel ia, al ternatiul i gzebic, Tuki umaRI esi ganaTI ebis sistema ganvi Tarebad qveynebSi arasakmarisadaa ganvi Tarebul i, mTel i Zal isx-meva SeiZl eba moxmardes erTi mxriv saskol o ganaTI ebas,

xol o meore mxriv umaRI esi ganaTI ebis miRebis SesaZI ebl i oba saxel mwi fom misces mxol od gansakuTrebiT niWi er axal gazrdebs maTi sazRvargareTis umaRI es saswavl ebl eb-Si gagzavnis gziT. anu ganvi Tarebad saxel mwi foebis mTavari prioriteti adamianur kapi tal ia, Tumca massSi investirebis gzebi gansxvavebul i iqneba da damoki debul ia qveynis ekonomikur ganvi Tarebaze da ganaTI ebis sistemaze agreTve konkretul i qveynis konteqstze, romel ic mralval faqtors moi-cavs.

Aam TavSi mokl ed SevecadeT mi mogvexil a funqci onal istebis Sexedul ebebi skol asa da sazogadoebaze. funqci onal istebis social uri Teoria saTaves i Rebs bi ol ogiur mecniererebSi arsebul i Teori idan yvel a organos sasicocxl o funqci is Sesaxeb. funqci onal istebi fiqroben, rom sxvadassxa social uri instituti Cven unda gavaanal izoT social ur konteqstSi, gaviazroT am institutis social uri funqcia da ra mni Svnel oba aqvs am social ur instituts social uri sistemis sicocxl isunarianobisTvis. Sesabami sad, funqci onal istebi skol as gani xil aven rogorc sazogadoebis instituts, romel ic emsaxureba am sazogadoebis garkveul i saWi-roebabis dakmayofil ebas. Tumca, aRsani Snavia, rom mni Svne-l ovani gansxvaveba arsebobs bi ol ogiur da social ur funqci onal izms Soris. bi ol ogiur organizms ar SeuZI ia Secval os misi esa Tu is organo an Seucval os organoebis TavianTi funqcia. xol o skol isa da sazogadoebis Secvl a yovel Tvis SesaZI ebel ia. ufrro metic: auci l ebel ia misi cvl il ebebi, zogjer radikal uri da swrafi tempebi Tac ki. Semdeg TavSi Cven ganvixil avt im probl emebs, rac axasia-Tebs funqci onal izmis Teorias, agreTve am Teoriis Sesaxeb kritikul anal izs, roml is Semdgomac gadaval T konfl iq-tis Teoriis ganxil vaze, romel ic mi cnevs, rom skol a da ganaTI eba gamoi yeneba mmarTvel i el itis mier sakutari gabatonebul i poziciebis Sesanarcunebl ad. A ufrro sainteresod social uri samarTI i anobisa da social ur saWi roebbez, agreTve saxel mZRvanel os am TavSi ganxil ul sakiT-xebze ufrro mkveTri pozici is gasacnobad SegiZI i aT wai kit-xoT saxel mZRvanel os merve TavSi "resursebis al okaci is' praqtkul i magal iTi.

## **damatebi Ti gamokvl evi sTvis:**

damatebi Ti informaciis SegiZl iaT gaecnoT Semdeg wi gnebsa da naSrōmebs: (1) Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure, revised edition* (New York: Free Press, 1967); (2) Talcott Parsons, *The Social System* (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1951). istoriul WriI Si sakki Txebis gasaanal izebl ad saintereso iqneba Semdegi sax-el mZRvanel os gacnoba: T.B. Bottommore and L.R. Nisbet,eds, *A History of Sociological Analysis* (New York:Basic Books, 1978).

## **Tavi 3**

### **funqci onaluri Teoria, politika da probl emebi**

Tanabari SesaZI ebl obebis Sesaxeb princips umni Svnel ovanesi adgil i uWiravs funqci onal istebis TeoriaSi. maTi azriT, unarebisa da codnis mixedviT waxal i seba aris Tanamedrove sazogadoebis ganvi Tarebis safuZvel i. Sesabami sad, es principi iqca araeTi saganmanTI ebl o reformis ganxorciel ebis safuZvl ad.

Tanabari SesaZI ebl obebis principis ganxorciel eba SeuZI ebel ia, Tu adami anebs ar eqnebaT Tanabari saganmanAT-I ebl o SesaZI ebl obebi. Tanabari SesaZI ebl obebi gul isxmobs, rom adami ani unda dawinaurdes da waxal isdes sakutari niwi, codnisa da unarebis wyal obiT. xol o codnasa da unarebs iZI eva skol a da ganaTI ebis sistema. Sesabami sad, Tanabari SesaZI ebl obebis principis cxovrebaSi gasatareb-I ad umni Svnel ovanes amocanad iqca Tanabari saganmanAT-I ebl o SesaZI ebl obebis Seqmna ganaTI ebis sistemaSi.

amdenad, Tanamedrove sazogadoeba da ganaTI ebis sistema dadga seriozul i dil emis wi naSe: uzrunvel yos sazogadoebis yvel a fenisTvis Tanabari saganmanATI ebl o SesaZI ebl obebi. amerikis SeerTebul StatebSi iseTi social uri j gufebi, rogorbicaa afroamerikel ebi, latinosebi Tu qalebi, yovel Tvis diskriminirebul ni iyvnen rogorc ganaTI ebis sistemaSi, aseve mis gareT. Sesabami sad, Tanabari SesaZI ebl obebis principis real izacia amerikul i sazogadoebisTvis seriozul i dil ema aRmočnda.

am dil emis gadaWra amerikis SeerTebul StatebSi didi xnis gammavl obaSi ver moixer xda, Tumca am Cavardnas sxvadaxsxa axsnas uZebnian. am Tval sazrisiT, sami ZiriTadi axsna gamoikveTa<sup>1</sup>, romel Tagan pirvel i liberal izmis mimdevrebiis gan momdinareobs, xol o meore - konservatorebisgan. Liberal ebi miicneven, rom am procesis mTavari xel isSemSI el i faqtori istoriul i memkvidreobaa, xol o konservatorebi mTavar dabrkol ebad kul turul da intel eqtual ur faqtorebs asaxel eben. TiToeul am damabrkol ebel faqtors ufro

detal urad ganvixil avT am TavSi da, amasTanave, ufrro Rrmad gaviazrebT funqci onal istebis midgomebs ganaTI ebi s reformi sadmi. am TavSi ganxil ul saki Txebze meti anal izi SesaZI ebel ia merve TavSi warmodgeni i praqtikul i magali iTis safuzvel ze - „kol ej i da samuSao Zal a”.

### **istoriul i Semaferxebel i faqtorebi da makompensi rebel i ganaTI eba**

im mimarTul ebis mxardamWerеби, roml ebic, rogorc ukve aRvni SneT, liberal ur frTas ganekuTvnebian, mi i Cheven, rom umciresobaTa warmomadgenl ebi ar CamorCebian umravl esobas unarebis mixedviT, ubral od, umciresobebi istoriul ad gani cdidhen diskriminacias umravl esobis mxridan. Sesabamisad, umciresobaTa amJamindeл i Taoba saWiroebs sxvadasxva damatebiT daxmarebasa da waxal i sebas, ris safuzvel zec amerikis SeerTebul StatebSi meoce saukunis samoci anwl ebSi inicierebul i iyo ramdenime makompensi rebel i saganmanaTI ebl o programa umciresobaTa moswavl eebisaTvis (Head Start, Upward Bound). Head Start-i s programis mTavari mizani gaxl dat, umciresobaTa bavSvebis momzadeba saj aro skoli isTvis. anu, umciresobaTa moswavl eebs SesaZI ebl oba ez-leodaT, skol amdel dawesebul ebebSi mieRoT Sesabamisi ganaTI eba da momzadebul ebi Sesul i yvnen saj aro skol ebSi. Upward Bound-i s programa ki gankuTvnil i iyo saSual o skoli umciresobaTa moswavl eTaTvis. es programa maT exmarebodaT, ukeTesad momzadebul i yvnen da warmatebisTvis mieRwiAT umaRI es saswavl ebl ebSi misaReb sistemaSi da umaRI esi ganaTI ebis miRebis SesaZI ebl oba maTTvis gazrdil iyo. aseve, arsebobda programa „Tanabari saganmanaTI ebl o SesaZI ebl obebi”, romel ic funqci onirebda kol ej is doneze. am programis mixedviT, umciresobaTa warmomadgenl ebi xvdeboden umarI es saswavl ebel Si gansxvavebul i da special urri kriteriumebiT, amasTanave, kol ej Si Caricxvis Semdeg, gansakuTrebui i unarebis mqone umciresobaTa studentebs STavazobdnen special ur saswavl o gegmas, roml is Sesabamisadac i Rebdnen umciresobaTa warmomadgenl ebi umaRI es ganaTI ebas.

aRsani Snavia, rom am mimarTul ebis mxardamWeribi mi iCneven, rom Tanabari Sesazl ebl obebis principi umni Svnel ovanesia, Tumca, amasTanave, Tvl ian, rom Tanabari Sesazl ebl obebis principis amoqmedeba Sesazl ebel ia, Tu imuSavebs Tanabari saganmanaTI ebl o Sesazl ebl obebis principi. isini mi iCneven, rom istoriul i konteqstid dan gamomdinare, Tanabari ganaTI ebis Sesazl ebl obebis principi arasdros muSaobda da amas ukavSi reben sxvadasxva istoriul movl enas (magal iTad, gavrcel ebul i monoba amerikis SeerTebul StatebSi). Sesabamisad, warsul is am diskriminaciis aRmosafxvrel ad mni Svnel ovania makompensi rebel i damatebiTi saganmanaTI ebl o servisebis SeTavazeba umciresobaTa moswavl eebisTvis, raTa maT mieceT Tanabari saganmanaTI ebl o Sesazl ebl obebi. mxol od Tanabari saganmanaTI ebl o Sesazl ebl obebis pirobebSi real izdeba Tanabari Sesazl ebl obebis principi.

zemoT ganxil ul i programebis garda, makompensi rebel ganaTI ebas, Sesazl ebel ia, sxvadasxva forma da midgoma hqondes. konkretul i saganmanaTI ebl o programa da strategia damoki debul ia im probl emaze, razec xdeba reagireba. magal iTad, umciresobaTa moswavl eTaTvis, romel TaTvis ac swavl ebis ena ar aris mSobl iuri ena, SeiZl eba dai gegmos bil ingvuri ganaTI ebis programebi, rac xel s Seuwyobs maT akademi ur mi Rwevebs. magal iTad, Tu probl emaa, rom gogonebi ver swavl oben maTematikas fsiqol ogiuri probl emebis gamo, radgan mi iCneva, rom maTematika qal ebisTvis dauZl evel ia, Sesazl ebel ia, am moswavl eebs Cautardes fsiqol ogiuri daxmarebis programebi, rac gazrdis maT TviTSeFasebas da TviTrwmenas da uzrunvel yofs maT mier maTematikis sagnis daZl evas. Tu akademiuri warumatebl obis mizezi social uri mdgomareoba da siRaribe, programebi ise unda dai gegmos, rom am moswavl eebisTvis xel misawvdomi gaxdes yvel a is produqt Tu Sesazl ebl oba, rac siRaribis gamo maTTvis xel mi uwvdomei ia...

makompensi rebel i saganmanaTI ebl o programebis ganxorciel ebas xSirad safuzvl ad udevs eTikuri faqtori samar-TI ianobis Sesaxeb. anu samarTI ianobis principi dan gamomdinare, mni Svnel ovania aRmofxvra warsul i usamarTI oba da individs, romel ic warsul Si gani cdida diskriminacias, misce damatebiTi Sesazl ebl obebi. eTikuri samarTI ianobis principic mTI ianad j deba fuqncional istebis Sexedul ebeb-Si, Tumca funqncional istebi am process uyureben sazoga-

doebri vi keTil dReobi dan gamomdinare. anu, Tanamedro ove teqnol ogiur sazogadoebaSi, rac met niWi er adami ans mi ece-ma Sesazl ebl oba, Tavisi unarebi moaxmaros sazogadoebis ganvi Tarebis, miT ukeTesia sazogadoebisTvis. ami tom funq-  
cional istebi Tvl ian, rom umci resobebisaTvis makompensi rebel i saganmanaTI ebl o programebis ganxorcield eba mni Svne-  
I ovania sazogadoebri vi interesebid dan gamomdinare da ara  
mxol od individualuri eTikur samarTI ianobis principi dan  
gamomdinare. funqional istebis azriT, es is SemTxveva,  
roca individualuri da sazogadoebri vi interesebi Tanxve-  
draSia.

rogorc ukve aRvni SneT, makompensi rebel i programebi  
I liberaluri frTis midgomas warmoadgens, rasac xSirad  
oponi rebas uweven konservatorebi. maT gansxvavebul i midgo-  
mebi gaaCni aT am saki TxTan mimarTebiT da xSirad akritikeben  
makompensi rebel saganmanaTI ebl o programebs da maT Sede-  
gebs. Sesabamisad, konservatorebi gansxvavebul reformebs  
sTavazoben sazogadoebas, magal iTad No Child Left Behind reforma,  
roml is mizania, rom yvel a moswavl em miaRwi os mini-  
mal ur kompetenciebs maTematikasa da wignierebaSi, rac gai-  
zomeba standartizebul i testebs meSveobiT. konservatore-  
bis azriT, yvel a moswavl is mier minimal uri kompetenciebis  
miRweva maTematikasa da wignierebaSi TavisTavad warmoad-  
gens rogorc individualur, aseve sazogadoebri v si keTes.

## **kul turul i da intel eqtual uri Semaferxebel i faqtorebi**

I liberal ebis mier SemoTavazebul istoriul i usamar-  
TI obis argumentebs hyavs mowinaaRmdegeebi. mowinaaRmdegeTa  
argumentebi or nawil ad iyofa: mowinaaRmdegeTa erTi nawi-  
I i miicnevs, rom istoriul i warsul i da diskriminacia Se-  
saZl ebel ia axdendes gavl enas moswavl is akademur moswre-  
baze, magram es ar aris mniSvn ovani. mniSvn ovania, rom  
moswavl is ganviTarebis mTavari Semaferxebel i faqtoria mi-  
si bunebrivi unarebi da genetikuri intel eqti, rac sxva-  
dasxva eTnikur j gufs sxvadasxva aqvs. Sesabamisad, umci re-  
sobaTa probl ema maTi bunebrivid dabal i intel eqtia, rac  
makompensi rebel i saganmanaTI ebl o programebiT ver gadai-

Wreba, am j gufebs dabal i intel eqtual uri ganvi Tareba ar aZI evT SesaZI ebl obas, rom isargebl on makompensirebel i programebiT da mi aRwi on warmatebas. Sesabami sad, am programis efekturoba dabal ia. mowi naaRmdegeTa meore nawil i ki mi iCnevs, rom mTavari Semaferxebel i faqtori oj axi da kul turul i garemoa. umciresobaTa moswavl eebis oj axuri garemo, iseve, rogorc kul turul i tradiciebi, xSirad wi-naaRmdegobaSia saskol o cxovrebasTan da saskol o moTxov-nebTan. skol as ki ar SeuZI ia am kul turul i faqtorebis Secvl a. Sesabami sad, konservatorebis es frTa mi iCnevs, rom Tu akademiur mi RwevebSi didi gansxvavebebi a moswavl eTa eT-nikuri, rel i giuri, rasobrivi Tu seqsual uri warmomavl o-bidan gamomdinare, es ar niSnabs, rom Tanabari SesaZI ebl o-bebis principi ar muSaobs.

gansxvavebul i genetikuri intel eqtual uri SesaZI ebl o-bebis momxre konservatorTa frTa mi iCnevs, rom Tanabari SesaZI ebl obebis principi gul isxmobs, obiecturad Sefasdes yvel a individis intel eqtual uri SesaZI ebl obebi da am SesaZI ebl obebi dan gamomdinare yvel ad mieces Tanabari ganvi-Tarebis saSual eba. ufro metic, maT mi aCniaT, rom garkveu-lli j gufis saSual o intel eqti iqneba ufro maRal i, vidre sxva j gufisa. Sesabami sad, Tu SedarebiT maRal i intel eqtis mqone j gufi aris ufro warmatebul i, es niSnabs, rom Tanabari SesaZI ebl obebis principi efekturad muSaobs.

intel eqtis, rogorc ganvi Tarebis Semaferxebel i faqto-  
ris, momxreebs mi aCniaT, rom SesaZI ebel ia TiToeul i indi-  
vidis zogadi intel eqtis gazomva zogadi intel eqtis tes-  
tis (IQ test) meSveobiT, romel ic kul turul ad mi ukerZoebel i  
iqneba. cnobil i mecniererebi hernSteini da mi urei mi iCneven:  
radgan kvl evebi aCvenebs, rom konkretul i j gufis, kerZod,  
afroamerikel ebis zogadi intel eqti ufro dabal ia, vidre TeTrkanianebis an aziel ebisa, SegviZI ia mi viCniOT, rom zo-  
gadi intel eqti genetikuria da, Sesabami sad, afroamerike-  
l ebs warmatebis gacil ebiT nakl ebi Sansi aqvT TeTrkani-  
nebTan da aziel ebTan SedarebiT. Sesabami sad, isini mi iCneven,  
rom Tanabari SesaZI ebl obebis principi efekturad real iz-  
deba, mi uxedavad sxvadasxva social uri Tu umciresobaTa  
j gufis warumatebl obisa<sup>2</sup>. am mosazrebas, ra Tqma unda, hyavs  
uamravi mowi naaRmdege. maTi nawil i mi iCnevs, rom intel eqti  
sakmaod farTo cnebaa da misi gazomva zogadi intel eqtis  
testiT SeuZI ebel ia. oponentTa meore nawil i mi iCnevs, rom

zogadi intel eqtis testebi Sedgenil ia saSual o fenis TeTrkani anTa kul turul i j gufis warmomadgenl ebis mier da, Sesabami sad, is yovel Tvis kul turul ad mi kerZoebul ia. oponentTa mesame nawil i ki miiCnevs, rom zogadi unarebis testi ver i Tval i swinebs rasistul sazogadoebaSi TeTrkani anTa da afroamerikel Ta cxovrebi seul warsul sa da gamocdil ebas da am gamocdil ebis gavI enas testis Sedegebz.

kul turis, rogorc ganvi Tarebis Semaferxebel i faqtoris momxreebi aqtiurad ewinaaRmdegebi an genetikuri intel eqtisa da bunebrivi Sesazi ebl obebis Sesaxeb Teorias da zogadi intel eqtis testis Sedegebis gamoyenebas amis dasabuTebl ad. isini miiCneven, rom zogadi intel eqtis testis Sedegebi umj obesdeba sxvadasxva eTnikur Tu rasobriv j gufSi. Sesabami sad, dabal i Sedegis mizezi ara maTi genetikuri Sesazi ebl obebia, aramed motivacia, rac ganapi robebs swavl as. motivacia ki mwidrod ukavSi rdeba saoj axo cxovrebas da kul turul garemos.

kul turul i Semaferxebel i faqtoris model is erT-erTi aqtiuri mxardamWeri gaxl avT edvard benfil di<sup>3</sup>. misi azriT, akademiuri warmatebisa da warumatebl obis erT-erTi mTavari faqtori dabal i an maRaI i motivaciaa. motivacias, ki Tavis mxriv ganapi robebs, individis unari sworad gansazRvros sakuTari momaval i, dagegmo da gadaanawil os resursebi grZel vadiani xedviT da Sesabami sad mizanmimarTul ad dagegmos momaval i da yvel afer gaakeTos am momavl is misaRwevad. swored am unarebiT gansxvavdebi an individi debi, xol o am unarebis Camosal i bebl ad udidesi mniSvnel oba aqvs e.w. „kl asis kul turas“. benfil dis kl asifikasi iT, oTxi kl asi gamoiyofa zeda kl asi, romel sac Zal uzs efeqturad ganWvritos momaval i da motivirebul ia, iyos warmatebul i grZel vadian perspektivaSi. dabal i/qveda kl asi, romel ic Sors ar iWvriteba da cxovrobs momentidan momentamde, xedavs mxol od sakuTar Tavs yovel dRiur real obaSi da midrekil ia Zal adobisaken. zeda da qveda kl asebs Soris benfil di gamoyofs kidev or kl ass: saSual o kl assa da mSromel Ta kl ass. saSual o kl asis warmomadgenl ebs Zal uZT ganWvriton met-nakl ebad sakuTari momaval i l okal ur, Statis an federal ur doneze. mSromel Ta kl ass ki Zal uzs, gaumkl avdes yovel dRiur probl emebs, dakavebul ia yovel - dRiuri rutiniT da momaval s xedavs mokl evadiani perspektiviT oj axisa da megobrebis garemosTan mimarTebiT.

benfil di uaryofs mosazrebas, TiTqos momavl is ganWvretisa da Sesabamisi dagegmvis unari gadaecema Taobi-dan Taobas da genetikuria. misi azriT, amiT transferi xdeba yovel dRiuri cxovrebis gavl eniT da oj axis da kul turul i kl asи ganapirobes am unarebis ganvi Tarebas. benfil ds magal iTisaTvis mohyavs sadil obisadmi ssvadasxva oj axis ssvadasxva damoki debul eba, ris Sedegadac ssvadasxva maxasiaTebel i uvi Tardeba ssvadasxva kul turul i kl asis warmomadgenel s da gadaecema Taobi dan Taobas. oj axebis nawi s aqvT formal uri midgoma sadil obisadmi, sadac yvel aferi formal izebul ia da oj axis yvel a wevrma icis Tavis roli da adgil i sadil obis procesSi. oj axebis meore magal iTia, sadac oj axis wevreibl ej i brebian da erTmaneTs aswreben ssvadasxva kerZis daufi ebas... amis gamo oj axis romel im wevri mSieric SeiZi eba darces, Tu aqtiumi ar iqneba... arsebobs sxva tipis tradiciebi kvebasTan dakavSirebiT, magal iTad, roca kveba aris individual uri procesi da yvel a maSin sadil obs, roca moSivdeba individual urad da ar ucdis maincdamainc oj axis romel im wevrs, raTa daewvios sadil ze. es magal iTebi miuTiTebs, Tu ramdenad kompl eqsuria ama Tu im kl asis kul tura da rogor xdeba oj axis tradiciebis gadacema Taobi dan Taobaze. amasTanave, benfil di miuTiTebs, rom yvel aze rTul ia swored am kul-turul i kl asis mier gaziarebul i Rirebul ebebis Secvl a da amis gakeTeba skol as ar xel ewifeba. meore mxriv, am oj axuri tradiciebis Secvl is mcdel obac ki SeiZi eba ganvix-il oT, rogorc adamianis kerzo cxovrebaSi Carevad da am kerzo cxovrebis xel Seuxebi obis principis darRvevad.

Tu SevadarebT kul turul i da istoriul i Semaferxebeli i faqtorebis model ebs, erTi SexedviT TiTqos msgavsi, Tumca maT Soris arsebobs mkveTri gansxvaveba. istoriul i Semaferxebel i faqtoris model is momxreebs miaCniaT, rom skol a aris institucia, romel sac SeuZi ia Secval os gark-veul wil ad konkretul i oj axis da Temis kul tura da, Sesabamisad, meti Sansi miecema moswavl eebs warmatebisTvis. kul turul i Semaferxebel i faqtoris model is momxreebi ki miCneven, rom skol a ar aris efeqturi meqanizmi social uri cvl il ebebisTvis da makompensi rebel saganmanaTI ebl o programebs ar eqneba Sesabamisi efeqt. ufro metic, am model is mimdevrebi miCneven, rom skol am SeuZi eba ufro meti zianic ki moitanos, Tuki is Seecdeba kul turul i kl asis mier Ca-

moyal ibebul i standartis Secvl as. Sesabami sad, benfil disazriT, ganaTI ebis pol itikis damgegma vebma unda gai Tval i swinon, rom SeuZl ebel ia dabal i kul turul i kl asis moswavl eebis iseTive SesaZl ebl oba Seuqmna, rogorc saSual o da maRal kl ass. amitom, unda Seiqmnas sistema, rac uzrunvel yofs am moswavl eebis rac SeiZl eba adreul fazaSi samuSaoze orientacias da profesiul ganvi Tarebas, raTa moxdes am moswavl eebis maTi kval ififikasiis Sesabami sad droul i dasaqmeba da maT isargebl on dasaqmebis monetaruLi i sargebl iT, xol o saSual o da maRal i kul turul i kl asis moswavl eebma unda iswavl on maRal i donis saswavl o gegmiT da mi i Ron real uri ganaTI eba, rac maT dasWirdebaT Tanamedrove sazogadoebaSi warmatebis misaRwevad da karieul i zrdisTvis.

## si Rari be

funcional istebi mi iCneven, rom skol ebsa Tu sxva social ur instituciebSi mimdinare cvl il ebebi ganpi robebul ia social uri saWiroebebiT. aRsani Snavia, rom funqcionali istTa kul turis, rogorc Semaferxebel i faqtoris, frTis warmomadgenl ebi cdil oben, qal aqebi saTvis damaxasia Tebel i si Rari be axsnan social uri cvl il ebebiT. kerZod, isini mi iCneven, rom urbanizaciis kval dakval, uamravi adami ani saxl deba qal aqSi. isini cxovroben Rarib ubnebSi, isini muSaoben dabal anazRaurebad samuSaoebze, maTi Svil ebi swavl oben nakl eb prestiJul da dabal i Sedegebis mqone skol ebSi. adami anebi ki, roml ebic ufro adre dasaxl dnen qal aqSi, cxovroben ukeTes ubnebSi da ukeTes saxl ebSi, aqvT maRal anazRaurebadi samsaxuri da maTi Svil ebic prestiJul skol ebSi swavl oben. funcional istebi am process Tanamedrove sazogadoebis cxovrebis ganuyofel nawil ad mi iCneven. benfil di mi iCnevs, rom es procesi I ogikuria, qal aqis zrdisa da urbanul i ganvi Tarebis kval dakval<sup>4</sup>.

funcional istebis aRniSnul i frTa mi iCnevs, rom I ogikurad axal i imigrantebis Svil ebi ukeTess pirobebSi i cxovvreben vidre maTi mSobl ebi. social uri mobil oba iqneba maRal i, radgan isini aRar iqnebian axl ad Camosul i imigrantebi. Tu Taobeks Soris progresi ar Seini Sneba, maSin funq-

cional istebis es frTa Tvl is, rom unda Seviswavl oT  
oj axSi da Tu adgil obriv kul turul sazogadoebaSi m̄ndi-  
nare Sida faqtorebi. maTi Teoria kidev ufro metad arTu-  
I ebs Tanabari Sesazi ebl obebis princips, radgan yuradReba  
unda gamaxvil des, erTi mxriv, adamianis unarebze, tal antze,  
motivaciasi da kompetenciae da, meore mxriv, Sesabamis  
winsvl asa da waxal i sebaze. magram, garda amisa, unda gaviT-  
val i swinoT konkretul i j gufebis imigraciis dro da urba-  
nul i ganvi Tarebis dinamikac.

oponentebi mi i Cneven, rom am model is amusavebiT, praqti-  
kul ad, Tanamedrove sazogadoebaSi ver moxdeba Tanabari Se-  
saZI ebl obebis principis real izacia. funqciunal istebis am  
frTis TeoriiT, faqtobrivid, ugul vebel yofil ia ganaTI e-  
bis rol i, romel sac SeuZI ia moitanos social uri cvl il e-  
bebi. maTi Sexedul ebiT, arsebul i uTanasworobis gamoswo-  
reba, praqtikul ad, SeuZI ebel ia. ufro metic: funqciона-  
l istebis mier SemoTavazebul i kul turul i Semaferxebel i  
faqtoris model i, faqtobrivid, arsebul uTanasworobas  
xsnis mxol od urbanul i zrdis tendenciiT da arafers am-  
bobs sxva tipis uamrav uTanasworobaze, romel ic Taname-  
drove sazogadoebas axasiaTebi da romel ic warmoadgens  
seriozul damabrkol ebel faqtors Tanabari Sesazi ebl obe-  
bis praqtikul i ganxorciel ebi sTvis. am model is mi xedviT,  
faqtobrivid, iSi eba is gansxvaveba, rac arsebobs tradi-  
ciul da Tanamedrove sazogadoebes Soris. am model iT,  
faqtobrivid, unarebsa da tal ants nakl ebi mniSvn oba aqvs  
winsvl isa da warmatebisTvis da mTavaria oj axi, social uri  
da kul turul i warmomavl oba, i seve, rogorc tradiciul  
sazogadoebebSi.

## **funqciunal izmis Teoriis xarvezebi**

funqciunal istebi mi i Cneven, rom maT Seqmnes da ganavi-  
Tares social uri cxovreibis mecnierul i anal izi. isini  
Tvl ian, rom maTi Teoria obieqturad da mi ukerzoebi ad  
xsnis da anal izebs Tanamedrove sazogadoebaSi social ur  
institutebTan dakavSirebul sakiTxebi. mi uxedavad amisa,  
funqciunal istebi hyavT uamravi kritikosi. kritikosebi

mi iCneven, rom funcional istebis Teoria ar aris obieqturi da mecnierul safuzvl ebsaa mokl ebul i. fuqncional istebs xSi rad adanaSaul eben, rom sakuTari TeoriiT isini cdil o- ben gaamarTI on Tanamedrove sazogadoebaSi arsebul i ten- denciebi da uTanasworoba. funcional istebis kritikosTa nawil i mi iCnevs, rom aRniSnul i Teoria konservatorul ia, ganicdis konservatorTa pol itikur gavl enas da maT inte- resebs emsaxureba. saxel mZRvanel os am nawil Si swored funcional istTa kritikosTa mosazrebebs davuTmobT ad- gil s da, amastanave, gagacnobT funcional istTa mosazre- bebsa da damoki debul ebas kritikosTa poziciebze. Cven sau- bars daviwyebT funcional istTa pol itikuri mi kerZoebu- l obis saki Txis ganxil viT.

funcional iszmis Teoriis erT-erTi seriozul i kriti- kosi gaxl avT rober k. mertoni. aRsaniSnavia, rom robert mertoni Tavad gaxl avT funcional isti. mertoni eTanjmeba funcional istTa didi nawil is mosazrebas, rom social uri institutebis saqmianoba da social uri praqtika gamowveu- l ia social uri ganviarebiTa da social uri adaptaciis sa- WiroebebiT. Tumca, mertoni mkveTrad akritikebs funqciona- l istTa im frTas, romel ic amCnevs da anal izebs mxol od kul turul i institutebis maintegrirebel funqciias da ver anal izeben safrTxes, rom am instituteba Sesazl ebel ia sazogadoebis dizintegraciasac ki Seuwyos xel i<sup>6</sup>. mertoni mi iCnevs, rom kul turul i tradiciebi, yofa Tu qceva yo- vel Tvis ar aris aucil ebel i sazogadoebis efefqturi funq- cionirebisTvis<sup>7</sup>. is mi iCnevs, rom sazogadoebis efefqturi funqcionirebisTvis Sesazl ebel ia zogierT SemTxvevaSi damkvidrebul i kul turul i praqtikis nacvl ad al ternati- ul i qmedebebis ganxorciel eba iyos ufro efefqturi<sup>8</sup>. maga- l iTisaTvis, mertoni saubrobs skol aze,romel ic Taname- drove samyaroSi xel s uwyoobs moswavl eebSi rasizmisa da seqsizmis swavl ebas. msgavsi tipis skol ebi mertoni azriT anxorciel eben sazogadoebaSi madizintegrirebel funqciias. mertoni Tvl is, rom funcional istebma unda SesTavazon sazogadoebas arai deol ogiuri xedva ganaTI ebi s pol itikis, romel ic mimarTul i iqneba social uri cvl il ebebisken da sazogadoebas SesTavazebs al ternatiul i institutebs da damkvidrebul i praqtikis gaumj obesebul model s, roml ebi c uzrunvel yofen sazogadoebis efefqtur funqcionirebas Tana- medrove msofl iOsI.

mertoni Tavis naSromSi cdil obs pasuxi gasces ki dev erT mni Svnel ovan da konceptual ur sakiTx. sakiTx Seexeba funqciis gaazrebas. ras ni Snabs funqcia da rogor SezI eba misi identificireba. sad gadis zRvari individis funqciasa da motivs Soris sxvadasxva social ur institutebSi monawil eobisa Tu sxvadasxva social auri rol is Sesrul ebis procesSi. am probl emis ufrro Rrmad gasaanal izebl ad gamoviyenebT i sev da i sev driibenis anal izs skol asa da sazo-gadoebasTan mimarTebiT.

driibenit mi i Chevs, rom skol is funqciaa Seaswavl os moswavl eebs normebi, romel ic saWi roa Tanamedrove meritokratul sazogadoebaSi fuqncioni rebisTvis. Tumca, SesaZI ebel ia saj aro skol ebis arsebobisa da mxardaweristis real urad uamravi sxva mizezi arsebobdes. magal iTad, zogierTi mSobl isTvis skol a SesaZI ebel i iyos adgil i, sadac is SezI ebs Svil is datovebas da mas ubral od mouvl ian da gaarToben. zogierTi maswavl ebl isTvis skol a aris ubral od Semosavl is wyaro, radgan iRebs xel fass skol idan.zogierTi moswavl isTvis skol a warmoadgens xel sayrel social uri garemos, zogierTi biznesmeni Tvl is, rom skol a uzrunvel yofs SromiT bazars saTanado muSaxel iT da a.S. rogorc vxedavT, skol is funqciioni rebis uamravi safuzvel i da axsnaa. ki Txva Cndeba, romel ia skol is real uri funqcia? ratom gamovyoft erTs da vuguvebel yofT sxvebs? ra ni SniT xdeba am funqciis gansazRvra? mertons swams, rom mas Zal uzs am rTul ki Txvebz pasuxis gacema. misi azriT skol is funqciaa, mxol od is „rac xel s Seuwyobs arsebul i sistemis adaptirebas arsebul real obasTan”<sup>9</sup>. Sesabami sad, misi azriT, skol is Tu sxva social uri institutis fuqcia xel i Seuwyos sistemis adaptacias da social ur cvl il ebis sazogadoebaSi. yvel a danarceni SesaZI ebel ia iyos individualuri motivi da survil i da ara social uri institutis fuqncia, Tumca amave dros, SesaZI ebel ia, individualuri motiva da survil is da social uri institutis funqciis Tanx-vedrac moxdes.

mertonis ganmar tebas Tu gavyvebiT, skol is funqcia meritokratul sazogadoebaSi sacxovrebl ad momaval i Taobis momzadeba, radgan es funqcia emsaxureba social uri sistemis adaptaciis saWi roebebs. xol o rac Seexeba skol is sxva fuqnciebs, magal iTad mSobl is survil s, rom skol a asrul ebdes bavSvis usafrTxod dasatovebel da Zizis mier mo-

savl el e adgil s, is am SemTxvevaSi kerzo da individual ur survil s warmoadgens da aravitar SemTxvevaSi ar emsaxureba social uri sistemis efekturad funqcionirebas. ramdenad argumentirebul ia mertoni es gamoj vna mki Txvel iSTvis migvandia, Tumca vfigrobT is mainc sakmaod sakamaToa. magal iTad, igive skol is, rogorc bavSvis movl is saagentod ganxil bva mSobl is mier Seizi eba ganvixil oT, rogorc skol is social uri funqcia. mSobel s saSual eba aqvs bavSvis datovos skol aSi sadac mas uvL ian. TviTon mSobel i ki am periodis ganmavl obaSi aris samsaxurSi, anu mat aqvs saSual eba imuSavon da Seqmnan dovl aTi da isxdnen mxol od saxl Si bavSvebis mosavl el ad. Sesabamisad, skol is, rogorc bavSvebis mosavl el i adgil is, funqciac Seizi eba warmovačinoT, rogorc social uri sistemis adaptirebisTvis aucil ebel i funqcia. Sesabamisad, am SemTxvevaSi social uri institutis funqciisa da individual uri motivis gamij vna sakmaod rTul ia.

mertoni Tavis naSromebSi agreTve mni Svnel ovan adgil s uTmobs sxva sakvanzo sakiTxsac. kerZod, is aanal izebs, Tu ramdenad aris amatu im social uri institutis funqcia aRirebul i da gacnobierebul i TviTon sazogadoebis wevrebis mier, romel Ta meSveobi Tac xdeba am funqciis ganxorciel eba. mertoni mij navs social uri institutebis Ria da farul (I atentur) funqciebs Soris. social uri institutis Ria funqrias ewodebs funqrias, romel ic aRiarebul ia sazogadoebis wevrebis mier usual od. farul anu I atentur funqciad ki miicnevs fuqncia, romel ic martal i emsaxureba social uri sistemis adaptacias, magram ar aris aRiarebul i da gacnobierebul i TviTon sazogadoebis wevrebis mier. mertonis mier Ria da farul i funqciebis gamij vnisas axali i saki txebi wamojwreba, kerZod, ramdeni adamiani unda acnobierebdes social uri institutis funqcia, rom is CaiTval os Ria funqciad? sakmarisisa Tu ara erTi adamiani is mier amis gacnobiereba, Tu sazogadoebis wevrTa umravl esobis mier unda moxdes am funqviis gacnobiereba? swored es saki Txebi aqvs dasmul i entoni giddens, mertonis koncefciiis kritikisas:

mertoni ar akonkretebs, Tu vin unda i codes ama Tu im social uri institutis funqcia, rom is CavTval oT Ria funqciad... Sesazl ebel ia, praqtikaSi gvqondes SemTxvevebi, roca social uri sistemis monawil eebma marti ac gaTviTc-

nobierebul ad ician ra aris ama Tu im institutis funczia, magram amave dros SesaZI ebel ia gvqondes SemTxvevebi, roca sazogadoebis wevrebisTvis absol uturad sul erTia ama Tu im social uri institutis funczia da am funcziis Sesrul ebiT damdgari Sedegi. anu yvel aferi damoki debul ia konkretul situaciaz da amis ognorireba SeuZI ebel ia es imas ni Snavs, rom social uri institutis wevrebi, roml ebsac gaTvi Tcnobierebul i aqvT am institutis funczia privil egierebul mdgomareobaSi Caayena sazogadoebis im nawil Tan Sedarebit, roml ebis social uri institutis funcziisa da Sedegi gacnobierebis gareSe arian am social uri sistemis wevrebi (10).

ra Tqma unda funcional istebi ar iziareben giiddensis kritikas. isini amtkiceben, rom social uri institutis funczia SesaZI ebel ia gacnobierebel i iyos erTi nawil istvis da gacnobierebel i meoresTvis.

giiddensi funcional istebs sxva kuTxi Tac akritikebs. giiddensi miicnevs, rom funcional istebi cdil oben daakninan indi idebis mizannimarTul i qmedeba sxdadasxva social ur procesSi. am konteqstSi giiddens Semoaqvs ganmapirobebel i axsnis koncepti. is fiqrobs, rom nebismieri social ur movl ena ganpirobekul i adamianebe individualuri motxovnil ebebiT da social uri institutebis funcziisa da adamani motxovnil ebebisa Tu motivebis izol irebul ad xedva arasworia.

giiddensis am mosazrebis sicxadisTvis warmogi dgenT or Zal ian yofiT magal iTs. pirvel magal iTsi warmodgineT, rom Tqven dageSvaT Tqveni manqanis saburavi. Tqven aRoCineT I ursmani Tqveni manqanis saburavSi. Sesabamisad, Tqven daaskveniT, rom saburavis daSveba gamoiwvia I ursmanma, romel ic SeerWo saburavs gadaadgil ebris. warmodgenil i magal iTi aris ganmapirobebel i axsnis standartul i situacia. Tqven daaskveniT, rom konkretul i faqti moxda (Tqven gadauareT I ursmans), ramac gamoiwvia konkretul i Sedegi (daiCuta Tqveni saburavi). am SemTxvevaSi j er saxeze gvaqvs mizezi da Semdeg am mizeziT gamowveul i Sedegi.

axl a ganvixil oT meore magal iTi. Tqven gsurT SeiZinot puri. Sesabamisad SedixarT maRazi aSi da maRazi aSi SeiZenT tvenTvis sasurvel purs. am meore SemTxvevaSi Tqven gqondaT survil i puris SeZenis da es survil i gaxda puris yidvis anu Sedegis safuzvel i. sainteresoa es magal iTi Sevada-

roT skol is funqrias magal iTs, gagaxsenebT, rom funqci o-  
nal istebis Tvl ian, rom skol is funqciaa, rom moswavl eeb  
ganuvi Taron Tanamedro samyaroSi sacxovrebl ad da funq-  
cionirebi saTvis aucil ebel i unar-Cvevebi. aq saxeze gvaqvs  
mxol od Sedegi (11). puris SeZenis SemTxvevaSi adamiani s  
survili iyo konkretul i Sedegis dadgomis ganmapirobel i.  
skol is funqciis SemTxvevaSi ki es ganmapirobel i faqtori  
arsad Cans. Sesabami sad, giddensi miicnevs, rom ral urad  
skol is SemTxvevaSi arsebobs damdgar i Sedegis ganmapirobe-  
bel i faqtori, rac adamianebis survil Si gamoi xateba, magram  
funqciional istebi amas uaryofen da swored aqi dan momdi na-  
reobs giddensis funqciional istebis winaaRmdeg mimarTul i  
kritika (12).

giddensi funqciional istebis xedvis kritikam miivana  
daskvnam, rom aucil ebel i nebismer Sedegs gaaCndes ganmapi-  
robel i safuzvel i da swored individualuri survili ebi  
da motivi gaxi avT amatu im socialuri institutis funq-  
ciis ganmapirobel i safuzvel i. giddensi miicnevs, rom „  
organizmebis ganxvavebiT socialur sistemeb ar gaaC-  
niaT tviTgadarCenis instincti da motxovniI eba. Sesabami sad  
socialur sistemebTan mimarTebiT winaswar motivebze sau-  
baria arasworia“ (13). giddensi miicnevs, rom, ra Tqma unda,  
individuali ebs Tu adamianebis j gufebs gaaCniaT amatu im so-  
cialuri sistemis gadarCenis Tu ganvitarebis survili,  
Tumca es aris individualuri survili da ara socialuri  
sistemis interes. socialur sistemeb adamianebeis gan-  
xvavebiT ar gaaCnia konkretul i motivebi, survili ebi da  
interesebi. giddensis kritika Zal ian mniSnel ovania. funq-  
ciional istebi cdil oben skol asa da sazogadoebis ur-  
TierTmimarTebaSi adamianiuri da politikuri faqtorebi ga-  
morixon. giddensi ki mianiSnebs, rom personaluri da po-  
litikuri faqtorebis gauTval i swinebl ad warmoudgenel ia  
socialuri sistemisa da institucionaluri cxovrebis gaa-  
zreba.

warmodgenil i Teoriul i analizis Semdeg, al baT upria-  
ni miubrindet fuqciional isturi Teoriis politikuri as-  
pektebs, romel sac mertonis naSromis ganxil visas mokl ed  
SevexeT. al baT, sainteresoa, marTI ac warmoadgens Tu ara  
funqciional isturi Teoria wmindad konservatorul Teorias.  
giddensi miicnevs, rom funqciional istebi individualuri  
faqtorebis miCqmal viT cdil oben Tavi aari doon Taname-

drove dasavl ur sazogadoebaSi arsebul Zal aufl ebisTvis brZol is mniSnel ovan sakiTx da mis gareSe moaxdinon skol isa da sazogadoebis urTierTmarTebis ganxil va. Sesabamisad, giiddensi Tvl is, rom funqciunal istebi sazogadoebaSi Zal aufl ebisTvis brZol is ignorirebiT mxars uWerren garkveul i social uri j gufis dominirebis Senarcuneba sa da ganviTarebas Tanamedrove sazogadoebaSi. Sesabamisad, giiddensi miicnevs, rom am Tval sazrisiT funqciunal istTa Sexedul ebebi pol itikurad konservatul obasTan erTad represiul i ki gaxl avT. am sakiTx ufro farTod Semdeg tavSi ganvixil avT.

sanam Semdeg Tavze gadavidot, al baT upriani iqneba „individual uri gansxvavebul obisa da Tanabari Sesazi ebl obebis“ konteqstSi merve TavSi warmodgenil i magal iTi „social uri kvl awarmoeba“ gani xil oT. is karg Sesaval nawil s warmoadgens wignis mesame nawil istvis, romel zec axl a gadavdivarT.

## **damatebi Ti saki Txavi I literatura**

ganaTI ebisa da funqciunal stebis Teoriis Sesaxeb saintereso informacia da anal izi Segizi iaT Semdeg I literaturaSi ixil oT:

Adelman, Irma, and Morris, Cynthia Taft. *Economic Growth and Social Equity in Developing Countries*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1973.

adel mani da morisi TavianT wignSi anal izeben da akritikeben funqciunal istTa mosazrebebs ekonomikuri zrdisa da demokratiis ganviTarebis konteqstSi. ganviTarebadi qveynebis statistikuri monacemebis damusavebiT maT aRmoacines, rom ekonomikur zrdas ganviTarebad qveynebSi xsirad moyeba pol itikuri da social uri uTanasworoba.

Gutmann, Amy. *Democratic Education*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987.

wigni gani xil avs demokratiis arss da mniSnel obas da skol as, romel mac unda uzrunvel yos Tavisufal i, Ria da ararepresiul i sazogadoebis Camoyal ibeba.

Sleeter, Christine E., ed. *Empowerment Through Multi-Cultural Education*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990.

wigni warmodagnes eTnografiul i kvl evis aRweras, sadac  
umciresobaTa j gufebi ufl ebaayrill Ni arian da wignSi  
warmodgenil ia mul tukul turul i ganati eba, rogorc  
mni Snel ovani instrumenti umciresobaTa j gufebis  
gasaZI ierebl ad.

## **nawi I i III**

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**zogadi ganaTI eba, rogorc  
I egit i maci i sa da reproduci rebi s  
instrument i**

## **Tavi 4**

### **marqsistul i Teoria da ganaTI eba**

#### **konfl iqtis Teoria da funqional izmi**

rogorc ukve vnaxeT, funqional istebs miaCni aT, rom zogadi ganaTI ebis mi znebi gamomdi nareobs Tanamedrove, industriul i da teqnologiuri sazogadoebis moTxovnebi dan. Tanamedrove sazogadoebis funqionirebisTvis, socialuri da ekonomikuri cvl il ebebisTvis moqal aqeebs swirdeba axali i codna da unarebi. zogadi ganaTI ebac swored am codnis, unarebis da Rinebul ebebis gamomuSavebaze unda iyos orientirebul i, raTa Tanamedrove sazogadoebam ganvi Tareba da funqional oba SeZl os. driblebi da sxva funqional istebi Tvl i an, rom skol a xel s uwyobs indvidebis SerCevas sxvadaxva funqiebis Sesasrul ebl ad sazogadoebaSi maTi codnis, unarebisa da tal antis Sesabami sad da ara maTi socialuri Tu oj axuri warmomavl obis mixedvi T. Sesabami sad, funqional istebi mi Cneven, rom skol as aqvs rogorc socialuri, aseve individualuri funqcia. socialuri funqciis doneze skol a uzrunvel yofs iseTi moqal aqis aRzrdas, rogoric sawiroa Tanamedrove, industriul, urbanul, maRal teqnol ogiur da demokratiul sazogadoebaSi. indvidebis doneze ki skol a uzrunvel yofs, rom SemosavI ebis, samuSao adgil ebis, socialuri statusisa da presti-Jis gadanawil eba sazogadoebaSi iqneba samarTI iani da daefuzneba adamianis individual ur unarebsa da maxasiaTebl ebs da ara maT warmomavl obas da oj axur mdgomareobas.

mixuedavad imisa, rom funqional istTa Teoria dominirebs ganaTI ebis mecniererebebiSi, isini ar arian konkurentebis gareSe. erT-erTi mni Snel ovani Teoria ganaTI ebis politikis mimarTul ebit gaxl avT konfl iqtis Teoria, rommel ic skol is rol s sazogadoebaSi funqional istebis ganabsol uturad gansxvavebul ad aRiqvams. konfl iqtis Teoria gamomdinareobs da srul ad exmianeba marqsistul Teorias.

Tuki funcional istebi miicneven, rom ganaTI ebis gammazazRvrel i faktoria teqnikuri ganviTareba da social uri cvl il ebebi, konfl iqtis Teoriis mimdevrebi miicneven, rom ganaTI ebisa da sazogadoebis urTierTmarTeba gani-sazRvreba sazogadoebaSi sxvadasxva j gufebs Soris arsebul i dausrul ebel i brZol iT Zal aufl ebis, gavl enisa da prestiJisaTvis. konfl iqtis Teoriis mimdevrebi skol as, miicneven am brZol is erT-erT mTavar instrumentad. isini Tvl ian, rom skol a, emsaxureba dominanturi da el ituri kl asis privil egirebul mdgomareobas da orientirebul i social uri da politikuri status-kvos Senarcunebaze da yovel ive xorciel deba obieqturobis, neutral urobisa da Tanabari SesaZI ebl obebis niRbiT.

sxvadasxva social uri j gufi xSirad ibrZvis Zal aufl e-  
bisa da prestiJisaTvis sazogadoebaSi. am j gufebs Soris konfl iqtis mizezi ki maT social ur statusebs Soris arsebul i gansxvavebaa. konfl iqtis Teoriis mimdevrebis azriT, erTi SexedviT, konfl iqtis mizezi SeiZI eba iyos eTnikuri, rasobrivi, genderul i, religiuri gansxvaveba, Tumca, Tu  
probl emas CavuRrmavdebiT, konfl iqtis mTavari mizezi kapi-tal isturi sazogadoebis kl asobrivi dayofaa. rac ufro Rrmaa kl asobrivi gansxvaveba, konfl iqtis monawil e mxareebi miT ufro metad aRiqvam konfl iqts, rogorc eTnikur, religiur, rasobriv, TaobaTaSoris an seqsual ur j gufebs Soris dapirispirebad. am sakiTxs ufro Rrmad mogvianebeiT am TavSi gavaanal izebT, Tumca amj erad al baT sainteresoa gavaanal izoT funcional istebsa da konfl iqtis Teoriis mimdevrebs Soris arsebul i gansxvavebul i xedva erTsa da imave movl enaze.

erTi wuTiT warmoadgineT, rom Tqven brZandebiT erT-erTi didi saxel mwifo universitetis ganaTI ebis kol ej is dekani. Tqven, rogorc kol ejis dekanma miicReT gadawyvetil eba gaamkacrot ganaTI ebis programaze Caricxvis kriteriumebi da procedurebi. Tqveni ganaTI ebis programa ukansknel wi ebSi gaxda sakmaod mimzidvel i da prestiJul i da abituentTa sakmaod didi raodenoba cdil obs am programaze moxvedras. Sesabamisad, SesaZI ebel i gaxda motTxovnebis gazrda studentTa Casaricxad da motTxovnebis gazrda ar gamoiwvevs msurvel Ta raodenobis Semcirebas. amasTanave, mni Svnel ovania, rom Tqveni universitetis maswavl ebel Ta ganaTI ebis programa monawil eobs maswavl ebel Ta ganaTI ebis

programis erovnul i sareitingo sistemaSi. Sesabami sad, moTxovnebi da kriteriumebis gazrdiT, Tqven gazrdiT am programis xarisxs da aiwevT ufro maRal safexurze erovnul sareitingo sistemaSi. ufro metic, sxva universitetebma ukve gazardes kriteriumebi da moTxovnebi maswavl ebel Ta ganaTI ebis programaze Casaricxad, Sesabami sad, Tu Tqven analogiur gadawyetil ebas ar miRebT, savaraudod, Tqveni sareitingo adgil i daecema erovnul sareitingo sistemaSi. amasTanave, TqvenTvis mniSvnel ovani stimul ia, Tu sareitingo siaSi geqnebaT maRal i adgil i, Tqveni kursdamTavrebul ebi advil ad dasaqmdebi an da ipovnian sakuTar adgil s SromiT bazarze. anu, Tqven gaqvT uamravi mizezi, raTa gazar-dot moTxovnebi Tqvans maswavl ebel Ta ganaTI ebis programaze studentTa Casaricxad. am gadawyetil ebi T Tqven aimari ebt avtoritets universitetis SigniT da, erovnul doneze, gai zrdeba xarisxi da msurvel i studentebis raodenoba, gai zrdeba Tqveni biuj eti, gazrdil i biuj eti saSual ebas mogcemT, daiqiravoT saukeTeso profesor-maswavl ebl ebi. saukeTeso profesor-maswavl ebl ebis daqiraveba ufro mimzidvel s gaxdis Tqvans programas da, amasTanave, uzrunvel yofs xarisxis zrdas programaze da yvel aze kargad momzadebul i studentebis mozidvas, radgan konkurencia iqneba maRal i. yovel ive aqedan gamomdinare, Tqveni programis erovnul i reitingi gai zrdeba da, Sesabami sad, Tqveni programis kursdamTavrebul ebi advil ad dasaqmdebi an...

am warmosaxviT istorias da Tqvans gadawyetil ebas, gazar-dot moTxovnebi studentTa misaRebad maswavl ebel Ta ganaTI ebis programaze sxvadasxva interpretacias gaukeTeben funqci onal istebi da konfl iqtis Teoriis momxreebi. funqci onal istebi miicneven, rom msgavsi gadawyetil eba pozituri, radgan saj aro skol ebi uzrunvel yofil ni iqnebi an ukeTesi sakadro resursiT da es moxdeba maRal i moTxovnebi da xarisxis instituci urad gaumj obesebis xarj ze. studentTa SerCeva moxdeba maRal i kriteriumebiT, Tumca samarTI i anad da obieqturad da ar iqneba gaTval i swinebuli i sxvadasxva faqtori (umciresobebis kvotebi, araobieqturi waxal ise ba xarisxisa da moTxovnebis dawevi s xarj ze da a.S.. konfl iqtis Teoriis mimdevrebi ki Tqveni am gadawyetil ebis absol uturad gansxvavebul interpretacias moaxdenen: maTi azriT, moTxovnebi da kriteriumebis gazar da gmoiwevs, rom es programa xel miuwdomel i gaxdeba Cveul e-

brivi saj aro skol a damTavrebul i moswavl eebisTvis da mxol od Zal ian warmatebul i skol is moswavl eebi SeZl eben programaze Cabarebaze. Zal ian warmatebul i saj aro skol ebi ki mdebareobs im ubnebSi, sadac mdidari adami anebi cxovroben, radgan skol ebi finansdeba qonebis gadasaxadi T da mdi-dar ubnebSi adami anebi mets ixdi an da skol ebi c, Sesabamisad, met Tanxas i Reben. mdidari ubnis skol ebis moswavl eebis aqvT ukeTesi Sedegebi. garda amisa, Tu skol is moswavl es romel im saganSi probl emebi aqvs, mis mdidar mSobel s aqvs saSual eba, is kerzo repetitorTan moamzados. risi Sesazl ebl obac Rari b moswavl eebis ar gaaCniaT. aRniSnul idan gamomdinare, mdidari adami anebis Svi l ebi, ufro karga ganaTl ebas i Reben skol aSi, vidre maTTan Sedarebi T dabat i social uri statusis oj axebis moswavl eebi. konfl iqtis Teoriis mimdevrebi CaTvl ian, rom am gadawyvetil ebi T karebs uketaven dabat i social uri fenis moswavl eebis, rom maT SeZl on prestijul programaze Cabareba, rac maTi momaval i warmatebis garantia iqneba. Sesabamisad, maTi azri T, es gadawyvetil eba emsaxureba mxol od da mxol od maRal i social uri statusis mqone j gufebis social uri dominantobis SenarCunebasa da gaZl ierebas.

aRniSnul i magal iTiT Segvizi ia konfl iqtis Teoriis ramdenime ni Sandobl ivi maxasiaTebel i gamovyoT: (a) konkretul i gadawyvetil eebis motivi Sesazl ebel ia ar iyos garkveul i social uri j gufis diskriminacia da meore j gufis waxal iseba, es Sesazl ebel ia gaxdes Tanmdevi Sedegi. moyvanil magal iTSi, dekanis survil ia, gai zardos ganaTl ebis programaze Caricxvis kriteriumebi da moTxovnebi da universitetis konkurentunarianobisa da reitingis amaRI eba da ar moxdes daucvel i social uri j gufis studentebis programaze xel misawdomobis SezRudva; (b) miRebul i gadawyvetil eebi ar aris mimarTul i sakuTari social uri kl asis privil egirebisTvis, Tumca sakuTari social uri kl asis privil egirebul mdgomareobaSi Cayenebac SeiZl eba Tanmdevi Sedegi aRmoCndes. ganxil ul magal iTSi c, dekanis gadawyvetil eba ar efuzneboda survil s, rom mas mizanmimarTul ad waexal isebina maRal i social uri statusis studentebi, anu Tavisi msgavsi social uri fenis warmomadgenl ebi.

konfl iqtis Teoriis mimdevrebi mi iCneven, rom ar aqvs mni Svnel oba dominanturi kl asis interesebis gatareba mizanmimarTul ad xdeba Tu Tanmdevi Sedegia. isini mi iCneven,

rom funcional istTa Sexedul ebebi da Teoria emsaxureba dominanturi j gufis interessebs da amitom warmoadgens maTi kritikis sagans. Cven mier ganxil ul magal iTSi konfl iqtis Teoriis mimdevrebi dai naxavdnen mxol od Sedegs, rom moswawl eebs, roml ebmac ver SeZI es saTanado zogadi ganaTI ebis miReba maTi social uri mdgomareobis gamo, prestijul umaRI es saganmanaTI ebl o programaze moxvedris SesaZI ebI oba SeezRudaT. am sakiTxis praqtkul i magal iTi „Tanasworl, magram gancal kevebul i“ SegiZI iAT ixil oT saxel mZRvanel os merve TavSi. ganaTI ebis pol itikisa da reformebis funcional istebis xedvis kritika yvel aze kargad da farTod warmoCenil i konfl iqtis Teoriis erT-erT mimdinareobaSi - marqsi zmSi. swored marqsi zmis Teorias ganvixil avT momdevno qveTavSi.

## **marqsistul i Teoria**

marqsistul i Teoriis kargad gasaazrebl ad mni Svnel ovania gavacnobieroT urTiertTkavSiri adamianis qmedebebsa da adamianis fiqrs Soris. marqsistebi mi iCneven, rom adamianis azrovnebis mamoZravebel i da ganmapirobel i Zal a sazoga-doebaSi ekonomikuri keTiL dReoba da ekonomikuri produqtul oba. marqsistebi Tvl ian, rom iseTi kategoriebi, rogo-rebicaa sikeTe da boroteba, kargi da cudi, mcdari da mar-Tal i - gamodinareobs mxol oddamxol od ekonomikuri produqtul obis konteqstidan konkretul drosa da situacia-Si. amasTanave, mni Svnel ovania, rom marqsistebis Sexedul ebebi ar avurioT rel aktivistTa Sexedul ebebTan. rel aktivistTa Sexedul ebebs momdevno TavSi ganvixil avT. marqsistebis gan-gansxvavebiT, rel aktivistebi nebis mier sakiTxis uyureben sakutari kul turul i perspektivebi dan gamodinare da Sefase-bebic am kul turul i perspektivi dan keTdeba.

marqsistul i Teoriis il ustri rebisTvis kargi iqneba ga-vaanal izoT Cveni garemosTvis iseTi mni Svnel ovani katego-riebi rogo-rebicaa dro da sivrce. magal iTad, ganvixil oT wi nadadebebi, romel Tac Cven viyenebT yovel dRiur cxovre-baSi: „gareT wvims“, „sal i depresiul xasi aTzea dRes“, an `skol a ar muSaobs zafxul Si“; es wi nadadebebi warmoadgenen swored drosTan an sivrcesTan dakavSi rebul movl enebs.

yvel a adami anisTvis mni Svnel ovania dro da yvel a adami anidros erTgvar kategoriebad yofs (dRe da Rame, zamtarid da zafxul i da a.S.). anal ogi urad, sivrcet yvel a adami anisTvis mni Svnel ovani kategoria da misi diferenciaciac erTgvaria yvel a individisTvis (win, ukana, SigniT, gareT da a.S.).

dro da sivrcet i seTi kategoriebia, roml ebi c universaliuria da amitom sazogadoebaSi urTierTgabisa da aragaurkvei obis safuZvel i unda iyos. miuxedavad amisa, gansxvavebul ad figroben am saki Txze marqsistebi. magal iTad, ganvixil OT sivrcis saki Txi.

adami anebi obieqtTa adgil mdebareobis gansasazRvrad gamoiyeneben i seT kategoriebs, rogorebicaa aRmosavl eTi, dasavleTi, Crdil oeTi da samxreTi. es kategoriebi sayovel - Taoa samyaroTvis. Sesabami sad, Tu adami aniambobis: „niu-iorki bostonis samxreTi Taa“ - es fraza gasagebi da advili ad aRsaqmel ia nebismer sxva adami anisTvis da, amasTanave, faqtobriv WeSmari tebas efuzneba. miuxedavad amisa, mni Svnel ovania aRiniSnos frazis - „bostonis samxreTi Taa“ mniSnebis urTierTkavSirze bostonisa da niu-iorks Soris. anu, Tuki adami anis etyvi, rom „gaemgzavros samxreTi T“ - es arni Snavs, rom is unda wavidet niu-iorkSi. anu samxreTi aris abstraqtul i mcneba, maSin, roca niu-iorki aris konkretul i. Sesabami sad, samxreTi T wasvl a ar gul isxmobs konkretul ad niu-iorkSi wasvl as.

erTi wuTi T warmovi dgi noT sazogadoeba, romel sac j er ar gamougonebia i seTi kategoriebi rogorica Crdil oeTi da samxreTi, aRmosavl eTi da dasavleTi. aseT SemTxvevaSi mimarTul ebis Cveneba moxdeboda mxol od konkretul i dasaxel ebebis gamoyenebi T: „wavidet did kl desTan“; „gahyevi dinelas“; `Sexede mdinaries“, „SevxvdeT gzhis ganStoebastan~ da a.S. aseT sazogadoebaSi debul eba, rom raRac obieqtir aRaCis samxreTi Taa - yovel gvar azrs mokl ebul i iqneba.

kacobriobis istoriaSi, sanam adami anebi geografiul i mimarTul ebebis saxel debas moi gonebdnen, xdeboda obieqtebis martivad dasaxel eba. Semdgom adami anebis garkveul ma j gufma moaxdina geografiul i mimarTul ebebis dadgena da SemoiRes aRmosavl eTis, dasavleTi, Crdil oeTi da samxreTi cnebebi, roml ebi c SemdgomSi mTel ma kacobriobam gadaiRo. am mimarTul ebebis gamomgonebl ebi namdvil ad gamorkeul ad niWieri adami anebi gaxl dnen, romel Ta azrovneba scdeboda Cveul ebrivi adami anebis mier dawesebul i azrovne-

bis CarCoefs. aq mni Svnel ovani saki Txia, Tu rogor axerxeben es adami anebi i azrovnon CarCoefs mi Rma da gamoigonon da Seqmnan garkveul i siaxl eebi. amasTanave, mni Svnel ovani saki Txia, Tu rogor xdeba, rom ni Wi eri adami anebis gamogonebas i ziarebs mosaxl eoba da is xdeba maTi azrovnebis da cxovrebis nawil i garkveul droSi, Tumca, amasTanave, garkveul siaxl eebi ar i ziarebs da uaryofs mosaxl eobis di di nawil i. al baT, sainteresoa am procesis axsna.

marqsistebi cdil oben, pasuxi gascen am ki Txvebs. marqsistebi, TavisTavad, mogvi wodeben, gavcdeT zogadi azrovnebis CarCoefs da sxva kuTxiT SevxedoT saki Txebs. magal iTisTvis i sev mi vubrundet geografiul i mimarTul ebebis saki Txs. geografiul i mimarTul ebebis SemoReba sasargebl o aris Tu ara? Tu am Seki Txvas davsvamT dRevandel i gadmosaxedidam, al baT, adami anebis umravl esoba i tyvis, rom es iyo Zal i an pozitiuri movl ena kacobri obis ganvi TarebisTvis. mi uxedavad amisa, erTi wuTi T SevxedoT am saki Txs Zvel droSi mcxovrebi adami anebis perspeqtiviT. Zvel kul turaSi es adami anebi cxovrobdnen izol irebul ad. maT hqondaT sakuTari saxl i da saWmel i da mSvidi da uzrunvel i garemo. konkretul i obieqtebis saxel deba maT SesaZI ebl obas aZI evda, sakuTar Tems SigniT ecxovraT da ar gascdenodnen am Temis sazRvrebs. geografiul i mimarTul ebebis saxel debam ki saSual eba gaaicina, rom isini gascdenodnen sakuTar sazRvrebs da dakavSi reboden sazRvrebs mi Rma myof adami anebs, roml ebTanac konfl iqt, omi da gaugebr obebi xdeboda mudmivad. Tu am adami anebis Tval TaxedviT SevxedaT am saki Txs, SesaZI ebel ia geografiul i mimarTul ebebis dadgena arc i se pozitiurad iyo aRqmuli.

Crdil oeTis, samxreTis, aRmosavl eTisa da dasavl eTis mimarTul ebebis gansazRvram xel i Seuwo uamrav pozitiur process. es iyo dasabami ganvi TarebisTvis, radgan adami anebi gascdenen garkveul sazRvrebs, maTi saWi roebebi Seicval a da saWi roebebi dadgomastan erTad, ganaxl eba da axal i gamogonebebis Seqmnac gardauval ia. Sesabamisad, kacobri obis ganvi TarebisTvis geografiul i mimarTul ebebis dadgena umni Svnel ovanesia. Tumca, marqsistebi am saki Txis dadebiT da uaryofiT aspeqtebs ganixil aven, Tu ramdenad pozitiurad Seicval a konkretul i adami anebis j gufis material uri mdgomareoba da keTil dReoba am aRmoCenis Sedegad im kon-

kretul istoriul monakveTSi, roca es aRmoCena ganxor-ciel da.

warmodgenil i magal iTi cxadyoofs, rom sxdadasxva mov-I enaze gansxvavebul i interpretaciebis gakeTebaa SesazI e-bel i sxdadasxva istoriul monakveTSi. Tumca, mni Svnel ovania, rom TviTon sazogadoebis SigniT, konkretul istoriul monakveTSi, sazogadoebis sxdadasxva fena nebismer saki Txs gansxvavebul ad uyurebs. marqsistebi mi Cheven, rom Cven gvaqvs kl asobrivi sazogadoeba da sxdadasxva social uri kl asi gansxvavebul ad aRiqvams procesebs, radgan am procesebs maTze gansxvavebul i zegavl ena da zemoqmedeba aqvs. Sesabamisad, marqsistebi mi Cheven, rom TiToeul am social ur kl ass uyal ibdeba Sesabamisi „kl asobrivi cnobiereba”.

### **kl asobrivi cnobiereba, yal bi cnobiereba da hegemonia**

marqsistebis mixedviT, social uri kl asebis mixedviT sazogadoebis dayofa subieqturi da obieqturi kriteriumebiT xdeba. obieqturi kriteriumebiT sazogadoeba iyofa or nawi l ad: erTi nawi l i, romel sac gaaCnia qoneba da ekonomikuri warmoebisTvis saWiro kapi tal i da meore nawi l i - mSromel Ta kl asi, romel sac ar gaaCnia sakutari warmoebisTvis saWiro qoneba da kapi tal i da isini daqiravebul muSa-xel s warmoadgenen. daqiravebul i muSa-xel is kl asi Za-l ian farTo da gansxvavebul ia. am kl asis SigniT gansxvavebebia rasis, eTnikuri warmomavlobis, rel igiuri aRmsarebel obisa da mralval i sxva mimartul ebiT. xSirad es gansxvavebebi ar aZl evT maT saSual ebas, raTa gaiazron, rom maT, rogorc erTian mSromel Ta kl ass, sakutari erTiani interesebi aqvs. am SemTxvevaSi, mSromel Ta kl asi warmoadgens obieqtur real obas, Tumca ar gaaCnia am kl astan kuTvnI ebs gacnobierebul i gaazreba. Tuki mSromel Ta kl asi SeZl ebs, gacnobieros maTi saerTo interesi da SeZl ebs am interesis gasatarebil ad qmediTi Roniszibebis gatarebas, maSin es obieqturad arsebul i mSromel Ta kl asi gardaiqmneba subieqturad mSromel Ta kl asad. profesiul i kavSirebi SegviZI ia ganvixil oT rogorc am procesis Sedegi, rodesac obieqturad arsebul i social uri kl asi qmni s garkveul erTobas,

anu acnobierebs sakuTari kuTvnil ebas am kl asis admi da dgams qmediT nabij ebs am kl asis interesebis dasacavad.

marqsistebi mi iCneven, rom kl asobrivi cnobierebis Camoyal i bebas, Sesazl ebel ia, xel i SeuSal os TviTon sazogadoebam, rac ganapirobebs progresul i social uri cvl il e-bebis ganxorciel ebis Seuzl ebl obas. marqsistebs SemoaqvT „yal bi cnobierebis“ da „hegemoniis“ konceptebi social uri kl asis cnobierebis ganviTarebis dasaxasi aTebl ad. marqsistebi mi iCneven, rom xSirad dabal i social uri kl asis warmomadgenl ebi i Reben im Rirebul ebebs da eTanxmebian im daimoki debul ebebs, rac gaaCniat el i tarul i da gabatonebul i kl asis warmomadgenl ebs. amiT i sini iyal i beben e.w. „yal bi cnobierebas“. rodesac gabatonebul i social uri kl asi axerxebs, sakuTari azrovneba Tavs moaxvios sxva kl asis warmomadgenl Ta umravl esobas, am process marqsistebi gabatonebul i social uri kl asis „hegemonias“ uwodeben. hegemonia gul i sxmobs, rom adami anebis garkveul j gufs an kl ass aqvs zegavl ena daqvemdebarebul i kl asis moqal aqeebis azrovnebasa da qmedebaze. „yal bi cnobierebis“ naTel i magali iTebia, rodesac mona i Rebs misi batonis mosazrebas da eTanxmeba, rom is warmoadgens monas da batoni, rogorc unda, ise moeqceva. an rodesac muSa i Rebs Tavisi damqiravebel i is yvel a pirobas da fiqrobs, rom is damqiravebel ia da yvel afiris ufl eba aqvs masTan mimarTebiT.

marqsistebis azriT, „hegemoniis“ Seqmnas, arsebobasa da Senarcunebas, iseve, rogorc „yal bi cnobierebis“ Camoyal i bebas, xel s uwyoben iseTi institutebi, rogorbicca media, ekl esia da skol a.

marqsistebi mi iCneven, rom sxvadasxva movl ena, romel ic progresul xasiaTs atarebda garkveul istoriul konteqstSi da gamarTI ebul i iyo misi progresul obiT adami anuri ganviTarebis Tval sazrisiT, sinamdvil eSi xel s uwyobda „yal bi cnobierebis“ formirebasa da ertI kl asis „hegemoniis“ gaZl ierebas sxva sazogadoebaze. gabatonebul i kl asis hegemonia ki xel s ar uwyobs daqvemdebarebul i kl asis warmomadgenl ebs, miecet ganviTarebis Sesazl ebl oba da da matac Sezl on axal i da inovaciuri warmoebis dawyeba. Sesabamisad, „hegemonia“ da „yal bi cnobiereba“ ara Tu xel s uwyobs, aramed piriqiT, xel s uSI is adami anebis produqtivul obas, raTa maT xel i Seuwyon kacobriobis progresul

ganvi Tarebas. am sakiTxis naTI ad gasaazrebl ad, al baT, upriani iqneba konkretul i magal iTis il ustri reba.

erTi wuTiT warmovi dgi noT agrarul i sazogadoeba. am sazogadoebaSi ar arsebobs ekonomikuri zrdis, warmoebis da moxmarebis ganvi Tarebis perspektiva. sazogadoeba cxovrobs erT kargad Sekrul Temad. am sazogadoebaSi mevaxSeobis akrZal va mniSvnel ovania, radgan ekonomikuri ganvi Tarebis perspektiva ar arsebobs. Sesabami sad, erTi adami anis gamdi dreba mevaxSeobiT gul isxmobis meore adami anis gaRatakebas val ebiS gaustumrebl obis gamo. aseT sazogadoebaSi adami anebi urTierTdamoki debul ni arian. am adami nebs Sorisac xdeba Tanxis sesxeba, Tu es social uri saWi roebiT ariS ganpi robebul i, Tumca Tanxis sesxebis es forma avi Tarebs adami anebs Soris megobrobas da Temis erTianobas, radgan Tanbxis sesxeba megobrobis gamoxatul ebaa da ara biznesi. am Temis wevrebis qmedebas ganpi robebs maTi moral uri xedva, rom RmerTma yvel a adami anis mi aniaWa sakuTari rol i sazogadoebaSi da isini piRNA TI ad asrul eben am rol sa da funqciias.

aqve warmovi dgi noT, rom imave TemSi ukve gansxvavebul i dro da konteqstia. axal i dro da konteqsti iZI eva ekonomikuri ganvi Tarebis, warmoebisa da moxmarebis zrdis Sesazi ebl obebis. Tuki am axal i Sesazi ebl obebis xorcsesxma moxdeba, is uzrunvel yofs mTI iani sazogadoebis ganvi Tarebas, ekonomikur keTiI dReobas da social ur simdidres. ekonomikuri ganvi Tarebis Tvis mniSvnel ovania axal i sawarmoebis Seqmna, axal i teqnol ogiebis gamoSveba, sakvebis da produqtibis Senaxvis da gadamuSavebis axal i saSual ebebis gammogoneba da ganvi Tareba, gemTmSenebl obis ganvi Tareba, rac Sesazi ebl obas mogvcems, vawarmoot axal i gemebi. axal i da Tanamedrove gemebi ki saSual ebas iZI eva Soreul i teritoriebi dan sakvebis, sxvadasxva produqtis, nivTebis, ogros da sxva mniSvnel ovani resursebis transportirebi saTvis da sazogadoebis dovl aTiS dagrovebi sTvis.

yvel a zemoCamoTvi il i saqmianobis gansaxorciel ebl ad mniSvnel ovania kapital is akumul ireba. aseve, mniSvnel ovania, rom adami anebs hqondeT Tanxebi, raTa xorci Seasxan sakuTari ideebis da real urad moxdes sazogadoebis ganvi Tareba. am SemTxvevaSi adami anebs, romel Tac SeuzI iaT axal i warmoebis Tvis, axal i codnisTvis da sazogadoebis ganvi Tarebis Tvis sxva adami anebs aseson ful i arian kargi biznesme-

nebi, roml ebic xel s uwyoben sazogadoebis ganvi Tarebas. Sesabami sad, mevaxSeobis akrZal va aseT sazogadoebaSi mxo-  
I oddamxol od axal i simdidris Seqmni sa da ekonomikuri  
ganvi TarebisTvis xel issSemSI el i faqtori iqneba. swored  
mevaxSeebis wyal obiT iqneba SesazI ebel i didi da axal i  
proeqtebis ganxorciel eba, axal i warmoebebis dawyeba, mox-  
marebis donis gazrda da sazogadoebis ganvi Tarebi sa da ke-  
TiI dReobis mi Rweva. axal i ekonomikuri ganvi Tarebi kval -  
dakval ki aucil ebl ad moxdeba adamianebris fizikuri da  
ekonomikuri mobil obis gazrda, qal aqebis Seqmna da ganvi-  
Tareba da mmartvel i kl asis Camoyal ibeba, roml is rigebsi  
iqnebi an bankirebi da mevaxSeebi, mwarmoebl ebi da vaWrebi.  
amasTanave, axl ad aTvisebul i teritoriebi dan saqonl isa da  
tvirtis gadazidvebis gasaadvil ebl ad mni Svnel ovani iqneba  
am teritoriebze kol oniebis daarseba da am kol oniebis  
efeqturad marTva sakuTari ekonomikuri keTiI dReobis ga-  
saZI ierebl ad.

axal i teritoriebis aTvisebis kval dakval , axal i meqa-  
ni zmebis amusaveba iqneba mni Svnel ovani am teritoriebis sa-  
marTavad. upirvel es yovl isa, mni Svnel ovani iqneba ideis,  
I ozungis an misiis mofiqreba, rac gaamartI ebs sxvis te-  
ritoriebze eqspansias. es eqspansia unda ganxorciel des ke-  
TiI Sobil uri miznebis safarqveS. amasTanave, mni Svnel ovani  
iqneba saganmanaTI ebl o reforma. niwieri da perspektiul i  
kadreibis mozi dva kol oniebidan, kol onist saxel mwifosi  
momzadeba da Semdgom ukana gagzavna da garkveul maRal da  
Sual edur Tanamdebobaze maTi dani Svna. am gziT moxdeba ka-  
drebis momzadeba, roml ebic adgil ze Camoyal ibeben axal  
dominant social ur kl ass da ekonomikuri warmoebi sa da  
ganvi TarebisTvis saWiro samarTI ebriv, moral ur, Rirebu-  
I ebebi sa da azrovnebis sistemas Seqmni an.

sazogadoebaSi procesebi am mimartul ebiT warmartvis  
SemTxvevaSi gaCnda axal i kl asi, ZiriTadar bankirebis, me-  
warmeebi sa da vaWrebi sa, roml ebic mxars dauWeran sazoga-  
doebaSi axal i moral uri, samarTI ebrivi da eTikuri norme-  
bis dafuznebas. am axal social ur fenas eyol eba mowinaarRm-  
degeni, roml ebic moi surveben Zvel i normebis SenarCunebas.  
Zvel i normebis SenarCunebis mxardamWerTa Soris ZiriTadar  
agrarul i meurneobiT dakavebul i aristokratia iqneba. axa-  
l i normebisa dasanergad mni Svnel ovani iqneba Sors mimava-  
l i da mTel i sazogadoebisatvis mni Svnel ovani miznis Seqm-

na, raTa mTel ma sazogadoebam daij eros, rom ganxorciel ebul i cvl il ebibi mni Svnsl ovania ara konkretul i sociali uri kl asisa da fenis warmomadgenl ebisTvis, aramed mTI ianad sazogadoebisTvis. amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis istorias Tu aviRebT, „sic cocxl e, Tavisufl eba da bednierebisken swrafva“ gaxl daT is I ozungi, romel ic emsaxureboda mTel i sazogadoebis interesubs da ara romel im sociali ur kl ass, miuxedavad imisa, rom amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis „damfuZnebel mamebs“ hqondaT sakuTari sociali uri kl asis interes, radgan isini warmoadgendifen monaTmfl obel ebs da qonebisa da sakuTrebis mfl obel ebs. aRni Snul i I ozungi, romel ic Camoyal ibda universal ur ufl ebad da unda gavrcel ebul iyo sazogadoebis yvel a fenaze, warmoadgenda mni Svnsl ovan taqtikur nabij s sazogadoebis yvel a fenis mxardaweris mosapovebl ad. miuxedavad imisa, rom „sic cocxl is, Tavisufl ebisa da bednierebi sken swrafvis“ ideas monobis wi naaRmdeg aswl iani brZol a mohyva, rasobrivi Tanasworoba Tu umciresobaTa probl emebi, maTTvis Tanabari Sesazl ebl obebis Seqmna -kvl av seriozul probl emad rCeba amerikis SeerTebul StatebSi.

davubrundeT i sev Cvens magal iTs da am magal iTSi axl ad Camoyal i bebul axal sazogadoebas. am sazogadoebaSi rwmena imisa, rom RmerTma yvel as Tavisi rol i da funqcia mianiWa, Secvl il ia. sazogadoebaSi swamT, rom warmatebas aRweven adamianebi sakuTari codnisa da niWi Sesabamisad. es debuI eba mTI ianad TanxvedraSia funqciional istTa Sexedul ebebTan, rom mxol oddamxol od adamianis niWi da codna unda iyos misi warmatebis ganmsazRvrel i Tanamedrove sazogadoebaSi da ara misi warmomavl oba. miuxedavad amisa, arsebobs Zal ian mni Svnsl ovani gansxvaveba funqciional istTa da marqsistTa Sexedul ebebs Soris am sazogadoebis Sesaxeb: funqciional istebi mi iCneven, rom adamianebi warmatebas aRweven sakuTari codnisa da niWi wyal obiT Tanamedrove sazogadoebaSi da es gaxl avT universal uri norma, romel ic uzrunvel yofs am sazogadoebis ganviTarebas. marqsistebi ki Tvl ian, rom istoriul konteqstSi codnisa da unarebis Sesabamisad dawinaurebis principi gamoiyeneba mmartvel i el ituri kl asis mier dominanturi poziciebis mosapovebl ad da Semdgom gasazl ierebl ad. dominanturi kl asi am principi yenebs sakuTari dominantobis gasazl ierebl ad da sxva social ur kl asze hegemonobisTvis, raTa am principis moSve-

I iebiT ugul vebel yon daqvemdebarebul i social uri kl asis pretenziebi da moTxovnebi Tanabari Sesazi ebl obebis da saTanado mopyrobis Sesaxeb.

am saki Txebis gaanal izebis Semdeg, al baT saintreso mi-vubrundeT, meore TavSi ganxil ul i „mesame samyaros” magal iTs. am magal iTs ganaTI ebis pol itikis funcional isturi xedviT axsna iyo warmodgenil i. al baT, saintreso, i give magal iTs ganaTI ebis pol itikis konteqstSi rogor axsnidnen marqsistebi, rogor gaanal izebdnen am magal iTs „hegemoniis”, „yal bi cnobierebis” da social uri kl asebis separaciis konteqstSi.

### **marqsizmi, neomarqsizmi da ganaTI eba**

marqsistebs Soris social uri da ganaTI ebis pol itikis kvl evis mimartul ebit sul mcire ori mimdinareoba gamoiyofa: orTodoqsul i marqsizmi da neomarqsizmi. orTodoqsul i marqsizmis TeoriaSi erT-erTi fuZemdebl uri principia „dapi rispirebul obis kanoni”. am kanonis mixedviT, nebismi er fesvi Tu warmonaqmni tavi TavSi moi cavs, rogorc misi ganviTarebisTvis da zrdisTvis aucil ebel el ementebs, agreTve misi ganadgurebisTvis saWiro nawil akebsac. kapitalistur sazogadoebaSi, es „dapi rispirebul obis kanoni” gamoxatul ia im faqtSi, rom warmoebis saSual ebebi ekuTvniT kerzo pirebs. kerzo pirebi ki warmoebis am saSual ebebs gamoiyeneben ara mxol od warmoebis gansaviTarebl ad, aramed sakuTari social uri keTil dReobisa da social uri warmatebisTvis. am sazogadoebaSi qarxnebi, fabrikebi ekuTvniT kerzo pirebs, roml ebic am saSual ebebs iyeneben mogebis misaRebad da qmnan garkveul social ur kl ass. maT sapiri spirod iqmneba mSromel Ta social uri kl asi, romel ic warmoadgens erTobas. isini ar fl oben warmoebis saSual ebebs da arian daqiravebul i mSromel ebi. rogorc warmoebis saSual ebebis mfl obel ebSi, agreTve mSromel Ta jgufebSi yaI ibdeba maTTvis damaxasiaTebel i kl asobrivi cnobiereba. orTodoqsul i marqsizmis mimdevrebi miiCneven, rom mSromel Ta kl asma, romel sac isini prol etariats uwodeben, revol uciis gziT unda CamoarTvas qoneba da warmoebis saSual ebebi kerzo pirebs. aq ar SevudgebiT am procesebis isto-

riul ganxil vas. aq gvinda, ubral od, xazi gavusvaT im faqts, rom orTodoqsul i marqsistebi mi iCneven, rom sazogadoebis cvl il ebebisa da ganvi TarebisTvis mni Svnel ovania, rom arsebobdes garkveul i wi naaRmdegoba sazogadoebaSi, romel ic uzrunvel yofs cvl il ebebs, sxva SemTxvevaSi mudmivad i qneba Senarcunebul i erTi kl asis dominantoba meore kl asze.

neomarqsistebis Sexedul eba gansxvavebul ia orTodoqs marqsistebis Sexedul ebebi sgan. neomarqsistebi sazogadoebis differenciaci as mxol od ekonomikur konteqstSi ar gani xil aven da yuradRebas amaxvil eben social uri urTierTobebis araekonomikur aspeqtebzec. isini mi iCneven, rom mxol od warmoebis saSual ebebze xel mi sawdomoba ar aris usamartI obisa da social uri differenciaciis safuZvel i da dominantobisa Tu daqvemdebarebis el ementebi unda ganvixil OT konkretul konteqstsa da vi TarebaSi da is SesazI ebel ia gansxvavebul i aRmoCndes. isini mi iCneven, rom dRes uTanasworobis safuZvel i informaciaze da ara warmoebis saSuaI ebebze kontrol i SeiZI eba iyos. Sesabami sad, am axal konteqstSi skol a da media iZenen gansakuTrebui mni Svnel obas da marqsistebis kritika da saqmianoba swored mediasa da skol aze unda gadaerTos da ara ekonomikuri institutebis funqcionirebasa Tu warmoebis saSual ebebis sakuTrebis ganawil ebaze.

ukanasknel wl ebSi didi yuradReba eqceva neomarqsistebis xedvas ganaTI ebis pol itikis kvl evis mimarTul ebiT. neomarqsistebis admi interes i ganapiroba funqional istebis warumatebl obam ganaTI ebis pol itikis social uri efeqtebis gaanal izebis kuTxiT funqional istebma ver SeZI es, kargad aexsnaT skol is rol i svadasxva social ur konteqstSi. am mxriv aRsani Snavia rendal kol insis funqcionali isturi Teoriis kritika (aRsani Snavia, rom rendal kol insi sakuTar Tavs ar Tvl is marqsistad, is sakuTar Tavs konfl iqtis sociol ogad moixseniebs). kol insi mi iCnevs, rom arasworia funqional istTa argumenti, rom teqnol ogiur zrdasTan erTad mni Svnel ovani xdeba ufro xangrZI ivi saskol o ganTI eba. misi azriT, ar arsebobs aranairi koreli acia SromiT bazarze samsaxuris Sovnasa da saskol o ganaTI ebis xangrZI ivobas Soris. „amerikis SeerTebul StatedebSi muSa-xel is ganaTI ebis done Seicval a mxol od im do-

nemde ra donemdec saWi roa , rom maT SeinarCunon sakuTari adgil ebi axal i codnisa da unarebis moTxovni s kval obaze<sup>1</sup>.

funqional istebis mtkiceba, rom Tanamedrove samuSao Zal a saWi roebs ufro mraval wl ian saskol o ganaTI ebas, efuzneba preindustriul i periodis Sexedul ebebs. preindustriul periodSi samuSao adgil ebze i Rebdnen adami anebs, romel Tac, SesaZI ebel ia, wera-ki Txva da el ementarul i arITmetikac ar scodnodaT. industriul periodSi moTxovnebi Seicval a da samuSao adgil ebis umetesobi sTvis auci- l ebel i iyo wera-ki Txvisa da arITmetikul i operaciebis mcode muSaxel i. Sesabami sad, muSaxel isTvis wayenebul ma wera-ki Txvisa da arITmetikis codnis moTxovnebma xel i Seuwyses funqional istebis mosazrebis warmoSobas, TiTqos ufro xangrZI ivi saskol o ganaTI eba iyo saWi ro Tanamedrove muSa-xel isTvis, rac real obas ar Seesabameboda. moTxovnebis zrda Seexeboda mxol od wera-ki Txvisa da arITmetikis codnas anu saskol o ganaTI ebis sawyis etaps da aram momdevno etapebs.

funqional istebi agreTve mi iCnevden, rom maTematiki sa da zusti da sabunebis metryvel o mecniererebebis maRal doneze codna Tanamedrove maRal teqnol ogiuri industriis erTi mTavari moTxovna iyo. kol insi ki mi iCnevda, rom es ar dasturdeboda real uri vi TarebiTa da konkretul i situaciiT. real uri vi TarebiT dasturdeboda, rom ganvi Tarebul i teqnol ogiebi moi Txovda arsebul i muSaxel isTvis, raTa maT gaeumj obesebinat sakuTari unarebi, ri Sedegadac SeZI ebo-dat muSaobis gagrZel eba, magram ar adasturebda, rom samuSao adgil ebis umravl esoba ufro maRal i donis teqnikuri ganaTI ebis muSaxel is moTxovnas ayenebda aseTi SemTxvebebi Zal ian mcire aRmoCnda. kol insis mxridan funqional istebis winaaRmdeg wamoweul i argumentebs mxari dauWi res sxva mecniererebmac, kerZod, hari breivmani amtkicebs, rom real urad samuSao adgil ebis did nawil ze vakansiebze moTxovni- l i kompetenciebisa da unarebis xarisxi damsaqmebl ebi s mxridan ki ar gai zarda, piriqiT - Semcirda. misi azri iT, damsaqmebl ebi da menej erebi cdil oben maqsimal uri sargeb- l is miRebas samuSaos rutinizaciiT<sup>2</sup>, rac gul isxmobis gan-saxorciel ebel i saqmis garkveul yal ibsa da CarCoebSi Casmas, raTa misi Sesrul eba ufro advil i iyos. aRni Snul i midgoma damsaqmebl ebs da menej erebs saSual ebas aZI evT, advil ad Caanacvl on muSa-xel i da ar arsebobdnen e.w. `Seuc-

vi el i adami anebi~, romel Tac moTxovna samuSao pirobebis gaumj obesebaze gazrdil i eqnebaT. ufro metic, rogorc koi insi miCnevs, saer Tod ar arsebobs urTierTmimarTeba mu-Saxel is ganaTI ebul obasa da mis produqtul obas Soris<sup>3</sup>. SesaZI ebel ia piriqi Tac iyo, ufro metad ganaTI ebul i da kval ificiuri muSaxel i advil ad ar iRebs rutinul samuSaos da rezistentul ia msgavsi samuSaos Sesrul ebis mimarT. Sesabamisad, misi rezistentul oba asaxvas hpovebs mis produqtul obaze da aseTi rutinul i samuSaos Sesasru ebl ad ufro ganaTI ebul i adami anebis mozi dva araproduqtul i Sedegebis momtania damsaqmebl ebisa da menej erebisTvis. am diskusiis gasagrZel ebl ad saintereso da rel evanturi iqneba saxel mZRvanel os merve TavSi ganxil ul i praqtkul i magal iTi „ganaTI eba samuSaosTvis”.

funcional istebi miCneven, rom mesame samyaros ganvitarebadma qveynebma didi yuradReba unda mi aqcion ganaTI ebris sistemis gziT samuSao Zal is kval ifikaciis amaRI ebas. miuxedavad am Sexedul ebebisa, am qveynebis did nawil Si mu-Saxel is „zedmetad” ganaTI eba xel s uwyobs qal aqis dasaxI ebebSi umuSevrobis zrdas, radgan ganaTI ebamiRebul i mu-Saxel i zedmetad kval ificiuria im samuSao adgil ebiTvis, rasac SromiTi bazari sTavazobs. Sesabamisad, konfl iqtis Teoriis mimdevrebi miCneven, rom funcional istebma ver gaaanal izes aRniSnul i probl emebi da sazogadoebas sTavazoben ganaTI ebris pol itikis araadekvatur xedvas. Sesabamisad, mni Snel ovania ganaTI ebris pol itikis axl eburi gaa-zreba da marqsistul i Teoria cdil obs am axl eburi gaa-zrebis SemoTavazebas.

## **kapi tal istur sazogadoebaSi saskol o ganaTI ebris neomarqsistul i gaazreba**

saj aro skol ebi gaxl avT saxel mwifo dafinansebisa da saxel mwifos mier marTul i skol ebi. marqsistebi miCneven, rom skol ebris rol i kapi tal istur sazogadoebaSi Semoifargl eba dominant social uri j gufis daqvemdebarebul j gufze gavl enis Senarcunebisa da gazrdiT. es niSnabs, rom skol ebma unda moamzadon momaval i muSaxel i kapi tal isturi

sawarmoebisTvis. mni Svnel ovani sakiTxia, Tu rogor amzadeben skol ebi muSaxel s kapital isturi sawarmoebisTvis? es ki Txva umni Svnel ovanesia marqsistul i Teoriis mimdevrebisTvis, radgan funcional istebis Teoriis kritikisas isinni asabuTebden, rom skol a warmoadgens mxol od umni SvneI o instruments Tanamedrove sazogadoebisTvis saWiro muSaxel is momzadebis procesSi da urTierTkavSiri saskol o ganaTI ebis xarisxis zrdasa da kvalificiur muSaxel ze moTxovnas Soris ar dgindeba. Sesabamisad, sainteresoa maTi xedva - Tu ras emsaxureba Tanamedrove skol a?

am ki Txvaze pasuxis gasacemad unda gavecnoT marqsistebis xedva, Tu rogor emsaxureba saxel mwifo mmarTvel el itas. saxel mwifos ekuTvnis monopol ia represiul Zal aufI ebaze. iseTi institutebi, rogorebicaa sasamarTI o, armia da policia - gamoyeneba am Zal aufI ebis real izebisTvis. marqsistebi miiCneven: miuxedavad imisa, rom saxel mwifos gaaCnia mni Svnel ovani instrumentebi Zal aufI ebisTvis policiis, jarisa Tu sasamarTI os saxiT - es sakmarisi araris. am institutebma rom efekturad imoqmedon, mni Svnel ovania, sasamarTI oSi, jarisa da policiaSi mosamsaxure adamianebe, roml ebic ar warmoadgenen mmarTvel el itas, irwmunon, rom isini emsaxurebian marTebul da mni Svnel ovani saqmes. wi naaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi, Zal a mmarTvel i el itis sawi-naaRmdegod SeiZI eba iqnes gamoyenebul i. swored am rwmenis Sesaqmnel ad mni Svnel ovania marqsistebi mier Semotanil i „yal bi cnobierebis“ Camoyal ibeba mSromel Ta da mosamsaxureTa kl asSi, raTa isini emsaxuron kapital isturi saxel mwifos mmarTvel el itas.

marqsistebi miiCneven, rom Zal ovani struqturebi mni Svnel ovania mmarTvel i el itisTvis, Tumca mxol od maTze dayrdnoba arasaimedoa. represiul ma manqanam SesaZI ebel ia adami anebi SeaCeros mmarTvel i el itis sawi naaRmdego qmede-bebi sgan, Tumca is ver uzrunvel yofs mmarTvel i el itis sargebl od adami anebis saqmi anobas. Sesabamisad, mni Svnel ovania sxva meqani zmebis amusaveba da am meqani zmebs I uis al - tiuzeru uwodebs saxel mwifos ideol ogiuri aparats (Ideological State Apparatuses, ISAs)<sup>4</sup>. saxel mwifos ideol ogiuri aparati moicavs sakomunikacio institutebs (gazeTebs, Jurnal ebs, radios, televizias da sxva medi asaSual ebebs), kul turis sferos institutebs (xel ovneba, literatura, sporti), religiur organizaciebs, oj axebs, politikur partiebs, prof-

kavSirebs da a.S. marqsistebis azriT, saxel mwi fos ideol o-  
giuri aparatis nawil ia skol ac. maTi azriT, yvel a am in-  
stitutis mizania adamianebis qmedebebze zemoqmedeba, raTa  
uzrunvel yofil i iyos mmartvel i el itis dominireba.

neomarqsistebi ki miiCneven, rom skol a yvel aze mni Svne-  
l ovani instrumentia saxel mwi fos ideol ogiur aparatSi  
Tanamedrove msolf i oSi. mi uxedavad imisa, rom funqciona-  
listebi amtkiceben, Ti Tqos Tanamedrove sazogadoebaSi  
udidesi rol i eniWeba adamianis codnasa da unarebs da ara  
oj axur warmomavl obas da social ur-ekonomikur statuss,  
araerTi magal iTia dasavl ur samyaroSi, roca Tanabari Se-  
saZI ebl obebis principi da Tanasworobis principi ar moq-  
medebs umciresobaTa mimarT. amerikis SeerTebul StatebSi  
afroamerikel ebi, I aTinoamerikel ebi da sxva umciresobaTa  
warmomadgenl ebi ar arian Tanasworni dominantur j gufTan  
SedarebiT mxol oddamxol od eTnikuri da rasobrivi warmo-  
mavl obis gamo. amasTanave, mni Svnel ovani probl emebia da-  
savl eTis qveynebSi qal Ta da mamakacTa Tanasworobis mimar-  
Tebi Tac. Sesabami sad, funqci onal istTa mtkiceba Taname-  
drove samyaroSi SeZenil i unarebisa da codnis safuZvel ze  
waxal isebris da Tanabari SesaZI ebl obebis arsebobiS Sesaxeb  
xSi rad ki Txvis ni SniS qveS dgeba.

Zal ian mni Svnel ovani kvl eva Caatares amerikis SeerTe-  
bul StatebSi samuel bauel sma da herbert j intisma. maT  
daadgines, rom Tanasworobis da Tanabari SesaZI ebl obebis  
probl ema dgas ara mxol od umciresobebTan da qal ebTan mi-  
marTebiSi, aramed zogadadac. maT gamoi kvl ies da daadgines,  
rom ekonomikur warmatebas da maRal intel eqts Soris ko-  
rel acia ar aris da intel eqtual ur testebze dafuZnebul i  
meritokratia saerTod ar arsebobs (5). ufro metic, maT  
daadgines, rom aranairi korel acia ar arsebobs zogadi ga-  
naTI ebis safexurebze swavl is wl ebsa da miRebul ekonomi-  
kur Semosavl ebs Soris<sup>6</sup>. msgavsi kvl evebi adasturebs, rom  
social ur-ekonomikuri, oj axuri, religiuri Tu eTnikuri  
warmomavl oba kvl av mni Svnel ovan rol s TamaSobs sazoga-  
doebaSi ekonomikuri keTiL dReobisa da social uri benefi-  
tebis miRebis procesSi.

rogorc vxedavT, funqci onal istebis Sexedul eba, rom  
karierul i winsvl a da warmateba, iseve, rogorc ekonomikuri  
da social uri keTiL dReoba, damoki debul ia individual ur  
codnasa da unarebze da ara warmomavl obaze - real obaSi ar

muSaobs-. mi uxedavad am real obisa, xal xi fiqrobs, rom Tamedrove sazogadoeba meritokratul i sazogadoebaa da yvel aferi damoki debul ia SeZenil codnasa da unarebze da ara eTnikur, rel igiur, rasobriv da social ur warmomav- l obaze, radgan maT aqvT garantirebul i saval debul o saj aro zogadi ganaTI eba da danarceni ukve maTzea damoki debul i. bauel si da j intisi, agreTve sxva marsqistebi miuti- Teben, rom zogadi ganaTI ebis rol i erTi mxriv aris, rom Seinarcunos, uzrunvel yos da ganavitaros mmarTvel i el i- tis dominantoba da meore mxriv daarmunos sazogadoeba, rom Tanabari SesaZl ebl obebis principi real urad muSaobs, radgan sazogadoebas aqvs saval debul o saj aro zogadi ga- naTI ebi s mi Rebi s SesaZl ebl Oba.

## damatebi T saki Txavi I literatura

arsebobs araerTi saintereso wigni da publ ikacia, romel ic far Tod ganixil avs marqsistul Sexedul ebebs ganaTI ebis pol i- tiks saki Txebze, maT Sorisaa:

Apple, Michael. Ideology and Curriculum (2nd ed). London. Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1990.

Apple, Michael. Teachers and Texts: A Political Economy of Class and Gender Relations in Education. New York: Routledge, Chapman and Hall, 1988.

am wi gnebSi avtori neomarqsistul i perspektivi T ganixil avs kl asis, genderis, Zal aufl ebisa da hegemoniis saki Txebz.

Bowles, Samuel, and Gintis, Herbert. Schooling and Capitalist America. Educational Reform and the Conditions of Economic Life. New York: Basic Books, 1976.

wigni warmodgens skol is marqsistul gaazrebas. masSi war- modgenil ia skol is struqturis l imitirebul i SesaZl ebl obl obibi individual uri zrdis, Tanabari SesaZl ebl obebis Seqmnis da mSromel Ta Zal aufl ebis ganvitarbis Tval sazrisiT. avtorebi ganixil aven da analizeben sakiTx, Tu rogor uwyoobs skol a xel s uTanasworobas.

Freire, Paulo. Pedagogy of the Oppressed. London: Penguin, 1972.

avtori aRwers sakuTar wignierebis programas ganvitarbed qveynebSi da SeimuSavebs social urad daucvel i fenebis saganma- naTI ebl o emansipaciis fil osofiur xedvas.

Strike, Kenneth. Liberal Justice and the Marxist Critique: A Study of Conflicting research Programs. New York: Routledge, 1989

wignSi Sedarebul ia skolisa da sazogadoebis liberaluri/funqionalisturi da marqsistul i Sexedul ebebi. avtori miicnevs, rom marqsistebis kritika sakmaod mizanmimartul ia, magram, amasTanave, avtori mkveTrad uWers mxars samarTI ianobisa da ganaTI ebis liberal ur demokratiul principebs.

## Tavi V

### ki dev erTxel farul i kurikul umis Sesaxeb

funqional izmis gacnobisas Cven davinaxeT, rom farul i kurikul a gvexmareba ukeT avxsnaT is arapi rapi ri gzebi da mimarTul ebebi, roml ebic saswavl o procesSi moswavl eebis Tanamedrove, industriul i sazogadoebis Rirebul ebebsa da normebTan social izacias emsaxureba. aseTi qcevebi a, magali iTad, rigSi Cadgoma, aqtivobebis dagegmva saaTebis mixedviT, maswavl ebl is yuradRebis mopovebisaTvis Sej ibri da damouki debel i muSaoba. es qcevebi miRebul ia, rogorc mni Svnel ovani mosamzadebel i saswavl o el ementebi Tanamedrove sazogadoebaSi muSaobisaTvis. marqsistebi aseve amtkiceben, rom skol a aviTarebs im damoki debul ebebs, roml ebic saWi roa Tanamedrove sazogadoebaSi muSaobisaTvis. miuxedavad amisa, marqsistebisa da funqional istebis SexeduI ebebSi arsebiTi gansxvaveba arsebobs. funqional istebi sakuTar ideas, rom skol a Tanabari SesaZI ebl obebis Sansebs zrdis, sxva aucil ebel pirrobasac amateben. isini Tvl ian, rom kurikul umi maSinaa samarTI iani, Tu is saSuai ebas iZI eva SromiT Zal is sxdadasxva sferoebs Soris arCevani gakeTdes. Sesabamisad, isini farul i kurikul umis koncefcias imgvarad ayal ibeben, rom es ukansknel i guI isxmobs kurikul umiss identurobas bavSvebis yvel a j gufisaTvis. marqsistebi aRiareben farul i kurikul umis sargebl obas. funqional istebisagan gansxvavebiT, isini fiqrobien, rom farul i kurikul umi gasxvavebul gavl enas axdens gasxvavebul i social uri fenisa da warmomavl obis bavSvTa j gufebze. Sesabamisad, isini skeptikurad arian ganwyobil i im postul atis mimarT, rom yvel a skol a yvel asaTvis Tanabar SesaZI ebl obebs qmnis. isini ar eTanzmebian varauds, rom farul i kurikul umi yvel a bavSvi saTvis erTnair rad aris miwodebul i da arc im mtkicebul ebis momxreeebi arian, rom yvel a bavSvi erTnair iad iRebs mas.

erT-erT kvl evaSi j en enioni eyrdnoba marqsistul i tradiciebis aspeqtebs imisaTvis, rom Sei swavl os farul i kurikul umis funqionireba<sup>1</sup>. man xuT sxdadasxva skol aSi

Caatara mexuTe kl asebis kvl eva da aRmoaCina, rom yvel a skol is SemTxvevaSi absol uturad gansxvavebul ad miewodebodaT moswavl eebs Sromis, sakuTrebis SegrZnebis, wesebisa da gadawyvetil ebiS miRebiS koncefci ebi farul i kurikul umi saSual ebiT. xuTi dan oTx skol aSi sxvadasxva social ur feni sa da warmomavl obis moswavl eebi iyvnen warmodgenil ni. pirvel da meore skol aSi moswavl eebi muSaTa fenis, mesame-Si skol aSi saSual o, meoTxeSi maRaI i-saSual o da mexuTeSi ki, "eqskl uziuri el itis" popul aciisgan Sedgeboden. enionma aRmoaCina, rom TiToeul sakvl ev skol aSi gansxvavebul i pedagogiuri stil is praqticireba xdeboda. amasTan, miuxedavad imisa, swavl ebiS stil i yvel gan gansxvavdeboda, sagnis doneze is sakmaod erTnairi iyo. nebi smieri sagnis SemTxvevaSi, iqneboda es ariTmetika, enis xel ovneba, mecnireba Tu sazogadoebri sagnebi, farul i kurikul umi erTgvarovnad iyo warmodgenil i muSaTa kl asis moswavl ee-biT dakompl eqtebul skol ebSi da es kurikul umi gansxvavdeboda sxva danarcen skol ebSi warmodgenil isgan. enionma aseve aRmoaCina, rom nebi smieri skol is magal iTze farul i kurikul umi warmoadgenda muSaobis, sakuTrebis SegrZnebis, wesebisa da avtoritetis konkretul koncefci as. es koncefci ebi gansxvavdeboda erTidan meore skol aSi da da es gansxvavebebi korel aciuri iyo moswavl eTa social ur warmomavl obasTan.

enionis angariSi mixedviT, muSaTa fenis skol ebSi moTxovnebi moswavl eebis mier Sesasrul ebel i daval ebebis mimarT ufro meqanikuri da rutinul i iyo. moswavl eebis mxol od garkveul i da SezRudul i gadawyvetil ebiS miRebiS ufl eba hqondaT. maswavl ebel i iSviaTad uxsni da maT Sesasrul ebel i daval ebiS mi znebs, rogor ukavSirdeboda es daval ebebi sxva daval ebebs da arc imas ganmartavda, zogedad ra mni Svnel oba hqonda da Sedegebi SeiZI eba moetana maT muSaobas<sup>2</sup>. wesebi bavSvebs miewodebodaT nabij -nabij, procesis paral el urad, es wesebi mudam unda Sesrul ebul iyo da arasodes Secvl il iyo. es principi dacul i iyo im SemTxvevaSi cki, Tu bavSvs daval ebiS Sesrul ebiS ufro efektiani midgoma SeiZI eba SemoeTavazebina. enionma sakuTari dakvirvebis il ustri reba matematikis gakvetil idan motanil i saubrit moaxdina:

*erT-erTi maswavl ebel i bavSvebs rigi aqtivobebis ganxorciel ebas aval debul ebda. maT erTi santimetris sigrzis*

*xazi unda daexataT furcl ebze. maswavl ebel i arc ki uxs-nida moswavl eebs, rom isini santimetrис sigrzis xazs av-  
I ebdnen da rom es xazi Skal is Sesaswavl ad iyo saWiro. mi-  
si swavl eba Semdegi frazebit mimdi nareobda: `ai ReT saxaza-  
vebi! dadeT is furcl is zeda mindor Tan! gaavl eT ni Snul i  
saxazavis yovel i xazis gaswrviv! axl a ki moatrial eT Tqve-  
ni saxazavi Tavi T qvevi T... am saki TxTan dakavSirebi T erTma  
gogonam Tqva, rom man daxazvis ufro swrafi meTodi icis,  
razec maswavl ebel ma upasuxa: `ara, Sen araferic ar ici! Sen  
isic ki ar ici, ras vakeTeb me amwuTas. gaakeTe ise, rogorc  
geubnebi, Torem Secdomas dauSveb!“<sup>3</sup>*

am skol aSi zustad aseTive Caketil i da sworxazovani  
swavl ebis meTodi iyo damaxasiaTebel i sxva, danarCeni sag-  
nebis swavl ebis procesisTvisac. enis xel ovnebis swavl eba  
warmodgenda bavSvebisaTvis puqtuaci i s ni Snebis meqani kur  
swavl ebas. arsebobda TiToeul i da yovel i punqturaci i s  
ni Snis swavl i garkveul i wesi, roml i s gverdis avl a da  
Secvl a arasdros iyo gamarTl ebul i. avtobiografia auci-  
l ebl ad iwereboda special uri grafebis gaswrviv pasuxis  
Sevsebi T, xol o grafebi ki Sedgeboda imgvari ki Txvebi T,  
rogoricaa magal iTad "sad dai bade" an "romel ia Seni sayva-  
rel i cxovel i?"<sup>4</sup> am skol aSi maswavl ebl ebi cdil obdnen ab-  
sol uturi kontrol i ganexorciel ebinat droisa da sakl a-  
so oTaxis sivrcis gamoyenebaze da sakuTari Zal aufl eba  
gamoyenebinaT gadawyvetil ebis miRebis dros. nivTebic ki  
sakl aso oTaxSi aRqmil i iyo rogorc maswavl ebl i piradi  
sakuTreba da moswavl eebs isini swored imgvarad unda ga-  
mooyenebinaT, rogorc maT maswavl ebel i ukarnaxebda. sakl a-  
so oTaxze kontrol i pirdapiri instuqciebisa da gankargu-  
l ebebis saSual ebi T xorciel deboda. es instruqciebi ki  
Semdegnairi iyo: "gadaSal eT wignebi," "sicume!"

mdi drul i, maRaI i saSual o fenis warmomadgenel Ta  
skol a Zal i an konstrastul i iyo muSaTa sazogadoebis skol-  
i isgan. aq farul i kurikul umi gansacvi frebl ad gansxave-  
bul koncefciebs warmoadgenda wesebis, ufl ebamosil ebi sa-  
da sakuTrebis Sesaxeb. enis xel ovnebaSi aqcenti kreatiul  
weraze i yos gakeTebul i. punqtuaci i s principebi aqac i swav-  
l eboda, oRond bavSvebs aswavl idnen, rom sasveni ni Snebis  
gamoyeneba imazea damoki debul i, Tu risi gadmocema surT  
maT. sasveni ni Snebis sworad gamoyeneba ki sakl aso ganxi -  
vebis sagans warmoadgenda. sakl aso oTaxisa da swavl i s  
procesis kontrol i SeTanxmebebis safuzvel ze xorciel de-

boda. maSinac ki, rodesac moswavl e sakl aso oTaxis tovebda da brundeboda, aranair saSvs ar iyenebda. aRricxvis dafaze aRricxvis gakeTeba srul iad sakmarisi iyo.

eni onis mier gaanal izebul i skol ebis magal iTi Tval sa-Cinod warmoacens, Tu rogor xdeba marqsistebis xedvis ganzogadeba farul i kurikul umis koncefciasTan mimarTe-biT. amgvvari ganzogadebis saSual ebiT marqsistebi aCvenebeen, Tu rogor viTardeba skol ebis fargl ebSi arsebul i ur-TierTdamoki debul ebebi farul i kurikul umis saSual ebiT. eni oni seul i kvl eva gvaCvenebs, rom muSaTa kl asis skol is moswavl eebs aswavl ian SromiT sferoSi monawil eobas pro-duci rebis yvel aze umni Svnel o, dabal safexurze. maT as-wavl ian imgvari wesebis morcill ebas, roml ebic arc ki es-miT. am moswavl eebs imgvari saqmis keTebisaTvis amzadeben, romel sac aranairi mni Svnel oba maTTvis ar gaaCnia. moswavl eebi momaval Sic unda usi tyvod unda daemorcil on gankar-gul ebebs, roml ebsac gareSe ufl ebamosil i piri gascems. maRal i-saSual o fenis moswavl eebs skol aSi aswavl ian ro-gor unda CaerTon SedarebiT maRal i safexuris SromiT sferoSi. maT aswavl ian damouki debl ad muSaobas da uvi Ta-reben anal izisa da daskvnis unars, Tu ramdenad Seesabameba konkretul i wesi mocemul daval ebasTan dakavSi rebul grZel vadian da ara myisier amocenebs. am fenis skol is mos-wavl eebs aseve aswavl ian simbol oebiT manipul i rebas saku-Tari survil isa da Sexedul ebebis mi xedviT, gamoumuSaveben Si nagan disciplinas da amzadeben maT ufl ebamosil pirTan Tanaswor pirobebSi mol aparakebebi saTvis. eni onis kvl evaSi saSual o kl asis skol ebis magal iTi gansxvavebul i suraTs warmoqmnis maRal i el ituri skol isagan. maRal el itur skol aSi kidev sxva tipis wesebi da ufl ebamosil ebaa war-modgeniI i. saSual o fenis skol ebSi moswavl eebs aswavl ian qcevas da damoki debul ebebs, roml ebic gul isxmobs arsebul i wesebis miyol as da `swori pasuxebisa da gadawyvetil e-bebis" povnas arsebul avtoritatul mocemul obaSi. maRal i el itarul i kl asis skol ebSi moswavl eebs aswavl ian im si-tuaciebis marTvas, roml ebzec isini Tavad arian pasuxi smge-bel ni.

eli onis kvl evis sazRvrebi sakmaod mokrZal ebul ia. bo-l osdabol os, kvl evis obieqtixkol od ramdenime i SviaTad homogenuri skol is mexute kl asebia. TumcaRa, am kvl evis sa-wysi imperiul i Sedegebi gaziarebul ia sxva kvl evebSiC, roml ebic neomarqsistul i tradiciebis mi Rma Catarebul a. magal iTisaTvis, rei maqdemotma (misi moRvaweba wignis Sem-deg nawil Si ufro detal urad iqneba ganxit ul i) kl asebis qcevis sakuTar mikroanal izSi aRmoacina, rom ki Txvis ZI ie-ri j gufis moswavl eebi bevrad ufro xsirad awyvetineben an

erTvebian maswavl ebl is saubarSi im periodSi, rodesac is ki Txvis sust j guftan muSaobs. amavdroul ad, ki Txvis susti j gufis moswawl eebi bevrad i SviaTad gadakveTen im sivrces, sadac ki Txvis ZI ieri j gufi muSaobs da maswawl ebel s ar awyvetineben saubars an saqmi anobas. makdemoni pirdapir ar ukavSirebs am da sxva, msgavsi kvl evebis Sedegebs moswawl eTa socio-ekonomikur warmomavlobas. Sesabami sad, misi kvl evebi acdenil ia marqsistul koncefciias. TumcaRa, es Sedegebi azI ierebs xedvas, rom rom farul i kurikul umi gansxvavebul gavl enas axdebs moswawl ebaT gansxvavebul j gufebze.<sup>5</sup> makdermotis msgavsad, rie ristma, romel ic sakmaod gansxvavebul tradiciebs eyrdnoba, aRmoaCina, rom moswawl ebl ebi skol aSi moswawl eebi kl asifikasiacion adreul i asaki dan axdnen. es kl asifikasiacion dayofa ar aris dafuznebu-  
l i akademiur moswrebaze, aramed imgvar maxasiaTebl ebze, rogoricaa magal iTad moswawl is tansacml is sisufTave. moswawl ebl ebi swored am kl asifikasiacion Sesabami sad eqce-  
vian moswawl eebi. amasTan, moswawl ebl ebi bevrad ufro metad urTierToben im moswawl eebTan, vinc kargad gamoiyuReba, movl il ia da maT akademiur moswrebasc met yuradRebas aq-  
ceven.<sup>6</sup> makdermotis msgavsad, ristic ar asabuTebs, rom producirebis urTierTkavSirebis ganviTareba zemot aRweril kl asifikasiacion logikur axsnas warmoadgens. misi kvl eva ki aseve marqtistul i tradiciebis mi Rmaa. TumcaRa enioni ab-  
sol uturad daufaravad da naTI ad amtkicebs, rom kapi ta-  
listur sazogadoebaSi producirebis urTierTkavSirebis ganviTarebis aucil ebl obaa gansxvavebul i formis farul i kurikul umis arsebabis mizezi. es ukansknel i ki, miuxedava-  
dav imisa, rom gvaCvenebs skol is farul kurikul asa da kl asis mSobl ebis social ur statuss Soris korel aciis arsebolas, ar gul isxmobs mizezobrivi kavSiris arsebolas. korel acia apriori ar gul isxmobs kauzal ur kavSirs. da mainc, anionis kvl eva gvawdis im saintereso Sedegebs, rom-  
lebic skol ebis funqional istebiseul i xedvis xel axal i Sefasebis safuzvel s gvaZI evs. al baT moindomebT qeisis "sakl aso subieqtivizmi" gacnobas, romel ic me-8 TavSia mocemul i da saSual ebas iZI eva mocemul i sakiTxebi ki dev. ufro detal urad ganixil oT.

## **kul turul i reproducirebis Teoria**

savaraudod yvel aze sworad SemuSavebul i Teoriul i na-Sromi ganaTI ebis reproducirebis saki Txebis Sesaxeb or frang mkvl evars - pier bordes da Jan-kl od paseronis ekuTvnis. mkI evrebi nawil obriv marqsistul trandi ciebs eyrdnobian da amtkiceben, rom saskol o swavl eba warmoSobs mkafio da Rrmad gamj dar rwmenasa da aRqmas, romel ic j gufebis subordinaciis regul irebis saSual ebas iZI eva. swored amgvari gaazreba da aRqmadoBa aniWebs dominant kl ass imis saSual ebas, rom sakutari statusi fizikuri angariSsworebisa da Zal datanebis gareSe SeinarCunos. sxva si tyvebi T, is, rasac mkvl evrebi "simbol ur Zal adobas" uwo-deben, praqtkul ad fizikuri Zal adobis Camnacyl ebel ia. "simbol uri Zal adoba" erTi j gufis mier meoreze Tavsmox-veul i sistemuri xedva. mkvl evrebi am Rrmad da safuZve-i ianad gamj dar rwmenasa da aRqmados, roml ebic procese-bis mimi nareobiSTan erTad ganmtki cdeba, "habituS" (habitus) uwodeben. habituSi gagebisa da aRqmis el ementebia, roml ebic Taobi dan Taobas gadaecema, adamianTa konkretul kul turul j gufebs aerTianebs da sxva kul turul i j gufebiSgan ganasxvavebs. maSin, rodesac habituSi kul turul j gufebs erTaneTiSgan mij navs, imavdroul ad is dominanti kul ture-bisaTvis damaxasiaTebel i simbol oebis I egitimaciасac em-sasureba. skol a upirvel esi institucia, romel ic am I egiti-macias ayal ibebs. es procesi vi Tardeba daqvemdebarebul i kul turebis mier distancirebul i pativiscemis gamoxatviT im mouwdomel i sagnebisa da simbol oebisadmi, roml ebic dominanturi kul turis nawil ia. amgvari sagnebi da simbo-loebi ki ganTavsebul ia imgvar instituciebSi, rogorebicaa magal iTad muzeumebi da sakoncerto darbazebi. skol ebi erTgvar arapol itikur da neutral ur forums warmoadgenen. borde da paseronis Rrma rwmeniT, am fonze, daqvemdebarebul i kul turis warmomadgenl ebi eTanxmebian gacxadebul pretenzias dominanturi kul turis gansakuTrebul obisa da prioritetur obis Sesaxeb. es gancxadeba ki, Tavis mxriv dominanturi kul turul i simbol oebis aRiarebiSaTvisaa Seqm-nil i. daqvemdebarebul i kul turul i j gufebi swavl oben sakutari Tavis dadanaSaul ebas `kul turul arasensi tiuroba-

Si". skol ebi avi Tareben konkretul xedvas, romel ic tipiuria pirovnebis aTvis misi kl asobrivi warmomavl obidan gamomdinare. es xedva moicavs erTi mxriv im perspektivas, romel Sic adamianebi aRiqvamen dominanturi kul turis simboli oebsa da mniSvnel obas, xol o meore mxriv ki, maT pozicionirebasa da adgil s sazogadoebrev strukturaSi. borde da paseronis mtkicebiT saskol o procesis neutraluri da apolitikuri SerCeviS meqanizmebi kargad ni Rbavs gamefebul subieqtivizms sel eqciis procesSi da garegnul ad samarTI ianobisa da obieqturobis imijis qmnis. garda imisa, rom bordem da misma Tanamoazreebma Seagroves sol iduri da mravl ismetyvel i empiriul i mtkicebul ebebi sakuTari xedvis marTebul obis dasamtkicebl ad. motanil i argumentebis umelesi will i dafuznebul ia j ansaR, sayovel Taod mi Rebul dakvirvebebze. magal iTisaTvis, skol is samarTI iani da obieqturi bunebis Sesaxeb mosazrebiS qomagebi xSi rad apel ireben satesto sistemaze, romel ic moswaviS Sefasebisa da erTi-dan meore kl assi an safexurze gadasayvanad gamoiyeneba. amis sapiri spirrod, borde da paseroni xazs usvamen, rom mozardebis absoluturi umravl esoba arasdros fl avdeba im formal ur `konkursebSi, roml ebic maTi prestijul i saswavl o dawesebul ebebidan garicxvas gamoiwwevda. metic, sa-konkurse periodis dadgomamde bevrad adre moswavl eTa did nawiI s ukve gaangariSebul i aqvT sakuTari warmatebis Sansebi. am Sansebs isini sakuTari social ur-kl asobrivi warmoSobiS gadmosaxedi dan afaseben da rig SemTxvevSi saer-Tod uars amboben konkursSi monawil eobaze. xol o, is moswavl eebi, roml ebic konkursebSi monawil eoben da vinc metnakl ebad warmatebiT arTmevs Tavs konkurencias, sakuTari kul turul i stil iT xasiaTdebian, roml ebic maT swavl is periodSive aqvT Sesisxl xorcebul i.

miuxedavad imisa, rom bordesa da paseronis kvl evebi STanbeWdav anal izs gvTavazoben reproducirebis procesis Sesaxeb, am kvl evebs uamravi nakl ic gaacnia. pirvel yovl issa, maTi naSrombiebi nakl ebad gamoavl ens kul turul gansxvavebebs, roml ebic maT mier ganxil ul sxvadasxva kul turul qve-j gufebs Soris arsebobs. ufro metic, isini Tvl ian, rom nebi smieri gansxvaveba, romel Ta aRmoCena da danaxvaa SesazI ebel i, mxol od konkretul i kul turul i j gufis dacil ebris xarisxsa da donezea damoki debul i dominanturi kul turul i simbol oebsi formebi sagan. maTi anal izi gvaCvenebs,

Tu ramdenad met-nakl ebi warmatebiT aris dominanturi kul-turul i formebi misaRebi sxvadasxva sub-kul turul j gufebis aTvis. TumcaRa, maTi naSromebi nakl ebad uzrunvel yofs subkul turul i j gufebis maxasi aTebl ebis anal izs maTi srul fasovani gaazrebisaTvis.

ase, magal iTad, bordes cal keul i naSromebi iZI eva sxvadasxva j gufebis mier kul turul i instituciebis gamoyennebis sixSiris statistikuri anal izs. es institutebia mezeumebi, sakoncerto darbazebi, Teatrebi da a.S. am anal izis erT-erTi mizania gvaCvenos, rom maRal i kul turis formebe metwil ad gamoyeneba im individebis mier, roml ebic kul-turul i prezentaciebis principebs icnoben da am principebis gaSi fvra SeuZl iaT<sup>7</sup>. anal izSi sakiTxi erTmni Svnel ovnad ar dgeba, iswavl eba amgvari principebis amoxsna skol aSi Tu ara. ufro metic, ara skol a, aramed oj axi SeiZl eba DSeiZ-l eba warmoadgendas im instituts, romel ic xel s uwyobs im principebis swavl ebas (an piriqiT, arswavl ebas), roml ebic dominanturi kul turis simbol oebis amoxsnisaTvisaa saWiro. mecnierebis mier sakiTxis ganxil visas ufro mni Svnel ovani isaa, rom skol ebi aswavl i an moswavl eebs Tvi Tdamoki debu-l ebisa da pozicionirebis Sefasebas material uri kul turis principebis amoxsnis sakuTari Sesazl ebl obebi dan gamomdi-nare. Sesabami sad, rTul ia gaanal izeba, ramdenad sworia mecnierTa argumentebi sxvadasxva kul turul i qvej gufebis zedmi wenviT kargad codnisa da gaazrebis gareSe. aseve rTul ia gaanal izeba, Tu mecnierTa mosazrebebi sworia, ra kuTxiT da ra xarisxit SeiZl eba amis damtki ceba.

bordes namuSevrebisa da zogadi dakvirvebis safužvel ze Cven viciT, rom maRal i kul turul i formebris moxmareba ufro sxvebz xSirad prestiJul i j gufebis mier xdeba. miuxedavad amisa, Cven ar viciT, ra unda vigul isxmoT am moxmarebaSi. koncertze wasvl is aqtivoba WeSmari tad kul-turis am formiT aRtacebas ukavSirdeba? Tu is ubral od saSual ebas warmoadgens sazogadoebis mol odinebis gamar-TI ebisaTvis? borde askvnis, rom TeatrSi an koncertze wasvl a ukve niSnavs, rom pirovneba icnobs im principebs, roml ebic mas kul turul i formebiT aRtacebis saSual ebas az-l evs. es debul eba marTebul ia cal keul i individebis, magram ara yvel as mimarT. Sesabami sad, swored aseTive Secdomaa bordes daskvnebis mixedviT ufro dabal i fenis warmoadgenel Ta Sefasebac. borde asvnis, rom kul turul i for-

mebis ufro iSviaTi gamoyeneba niSnavs, rom aRtacebisaTvis saWiro principebi ar aris nacnobi da xel misawvdomi am j gufebis warmoamgenl ebisaTvis. Tumca Cven namdvil ad ar viciT, ras niSnavs ssvadasxva j gufebis warmomadgenl ebisaTvis ama Tu im tipis kul turul i RonisZiebebze ardaswrebiT miRebul i danakl isi. ufro metic, Cven faqtiurad araferi viciT am j gufebis mier ssvadasxva kul turul RonisZiebebze daswrebis mniSvnel obis Sesaxeb. es ki imas niSnavs, rom Cven ar varT gaTviTcnobierebul i am subkul turul i j gufebis Tvis sebebiisa da xasiaTis Sesaxeb. borde Zal ian martivad msj el obs, rom principebi dominanturi kul turis amoxsnisaTvis ar aris xel misawvdomi am j gufebis warmomadgenl ebisaTvis. is arc ki uSvebs im variants, rom Sesazi ebel ia, es principebi kidevac xel misawvdomi iyos maTTvis, Tumca ssvadasxva piradi da konkretul i mizezebis gamo, am j gufebma gadawyvites principul ad ar Seeswavl aT isini.

rodesac saqme midis reproducirebasa da rezistenciul obamde, amgvari zerel e damoki debul ebebi da Cavardnebi mniSvnel ovan gavl enas axdens anal izis WeSmari tebaze. Tu subkul turul j gufebs CavTvl iT dominanturi kul turis umniSvnel o gamoxatul ebad, romel Ta sakuTari kul turul i mTI ianoba sustia, nebis mieri tipis SewinaaRmdegebis perspeqtiva dominantur an Tavsmoxveul kul turis mimart imTavitiTe mcire unda iyos. bordes Teoriul i struqturis erTerTi seriozul i probl ema real urad imaSi mdgomareobs, rom is mcire raodenobiT mizezsa da uamrav instruments gvTavazobs ssvadasxva kul turul i qvej gufebis perspeqtivebis anal izisaTvis. am seriozul i nakl is gaTval i swinebiT, is praqtkul ad ver warmogvidgens argumentirebul mizezebs Cvens dasarwmunebl ad imaSi, Tu ramdenad Sesazi ebel ia mis mieri aRweril i kul turul i dominirebis formebis rRveva romel ime, mniSvnel ovani saSual ebisa Tu mimarTul ebis gamoyenebiT.

## **moswavl is subkul tura da muSaTa kl asi**

reproduci rebis aqtual uri procesi da produci rebis urTierTobebis I egitimizacia bevrad ufro mni Snel ovani da kompl eqsuria, vidre marqsizmis mimdevari mkvl evrebi s warmodgenil magal i TebSia dRemde mocemul i. miuxedavad amisa, britanel i mecnieri pol vil i warmogvidgens moswavl eTa kul turis nimuSebis bevrad ufro STambewdav da mka-fio konturebs moswavl eebis skol is formal uri struqturrebTan interaqciis procesSi. mkvl evris mier warmodgenil i suraTebi cxadyofs, rom muSaTa kl asis warmomadgenel moswavl eebi sakutari bedisweras Tavad gansazRvraen da am procesSi bevrad ufro aqturad arian CarTul ebi. muSaTa kl asis moswavl eebis CarTul oba am procesebSi bevrad ufro dinamiuria, vidre sxva j gufebis warmomadgenl ebisa. vil isi garkveul ad ewinaaRmdegeba bordesa da paseronis kvl evebs, sadac mecnierebi amtkic eben, rom muSaTa kl asis warmomadgenel studentebi ubral od gauazrebl ad da pasiurad reagireben maT garSemo moqmed Zal ebze. bordesa da paseronis mi xedviT, ase imitom xdeba, rom muSaTa kl asis moswavl eebi Tanamonawil eobis gareSe ikaveben sakutar "gardauval" adgil s samuSao bazarze. vil isi acxadebs, rom "muSaTa kl asid dan wamosul i moswavl eebis mier muSaTa samuSao adgil ebi dakavebisas rTul ia imis axsna, ratom iZI evian moswavl eebis Tavad amis saSual ebas.<sup>8</sup>" mecnieris mier sakiTxis dasmis me-Todi gvaZI evs saSual ebas gaviTval i swinot, rom am kul turul i j gufis moswavl eebis arCevani xasiatdeba garkveul damaxasiaTebel el ementebis arsebobiT arCevanis gakeTebisas.

vil is eTnografiul i kvl eva ingl isSi Catarda. kvl evis fokusi Tormeti muSaTa kl asis warmomadgenel i, saSual o skol is moswavl e biWunaa, roml ebsac pirobiTad "ymawvil ebi" vuwodoT. biWebi arasel eqciur saSual o skol aSi dadian da vil isi maT `hamertaunis biWebs" uwodebs. ymawvil ebi gadaj awvul i megobrebi arian, roml ebic skol is fargl ebSi cal keul subkul turas warmoqmnian. isini sakutar Tavs formal uri skol isa da danarceni moswavl eebis opoziciad mi Cneven. sxva moswavl eebis isini "yuris xvrel s" (Ear' oles) uwodeben da skol is politikis mimart damjer konformis-tebad aRiqvamen. vil isma biWebze dakiirveba damamTavrebel i

kl asis meore semestrSi daiwyo da skol is daMavrebis Sem-deg SromiTi cxovrebis dawyebi dan biWebs eqvsi Tvis man-Zil ze akvirdeba. vfiqrobT, rom auciL ebel ia vil isis kvl evis detal uri aRwera, romel ic amomwurav informaci as iZl eva da Sesabamisad, saSual ebas gvaZl evs mkafiod Sevi-c-not is sakl aso cnobiereba, romel ic saskol o swavl ebi s periodSi formirdeba.

hol i aRwers, rogor upiri spirdebi an erTmaneTs ymawwi-l ebi s araformal uri kul tura da skol is formal uri struqtura. ymawwil ebi uwyteti winaaRmdegobis rejimSi imyofebian gadaWarbebul i kontrol isa da Zal aufl ebi s wi-naaRmdeg. skol a warmodgenil ia rogorc kargad organizebul i formal uri institucia. mas gaachnia kargad gan-sazRvrul i struqtura, mkafio ierarquia da SemuSavebul i aqvs wesebis paketi<sup>9</sup>. ymawwil ebi nonkonformistebi arian da xSirad arRveven wesrigs. vil is aRweris mixedviT, ymawwi-l ebi s mier gaweul i winaaRmdegobis I ogikuri Sedegi ki isaa, rom ymawwil ebi skol as daamTavreben dabal an naxe-vradkval ificiuri muSakebi. muSakebi s, roml ebi c momzadebul ni arian arasasi amovno, rulinul i da mZime yovel dRiuri samuSaos Sesasrul ebl ad. arsobrivad, vil isis kvl eva gva-venebs im kompl eqsur process, roml is drosac garkveul i tipis SromiTi Zal a wamoiqmneba da romel i sakuTar Tavs nel -nel a aviTarebs.

TavisTavad skol as ar gaachnia sakmarisi fizikuri re-sursebi sakuTari damsj el obiT Zal aufl ebiT wesrigis Se-sanarcunebl ad. skol a metwil ad damoki debul ia sakuTar moral ur avtoritetze da am avtoritetis aRiarebaze moswavl eTa umravl esobis mier rogorc vil isi ganmartavs, "mas-wavl ebl ebi s avtoriteti mopovebul unda iqnes da Senar-Cundes ara iZul ebiTi, aramed moral uri safuzvl ebi s saSu-al ebiT. es ki swavl ebi s procesSi SeTanxmebis saSual ebiT unda xdebodes".<sup>10</sup> moral uri avtoriteti yal ibdeba moswavl eTa umravl esobaSi maSin, rodesac isini iziareben im Zi-riTad urTierTgacvl ebi s principebs, roml ebsac maT mas-wavl ebel i sTavazobs sXvadasxva saSual ebebiT. is rom mas-wavl ebel sa da moswavl eebs Soris arsebobs Tval sachno ga-ridgeba, cxadad SevigrZnobT momdevno wi nadadebebis yura-dRebiT gacnobiSTanave. Tu moswavl eebi pativiscemas gamox-ataven maswavl ebl isadmi, maswavl ebel i maT sapasuxod mni Sv-nel ovan codnas gadascems, romel ic moswavl eebi saTvis

efeqtur mandats warmoadgens pativsacemi, dafasebul i samu-Saos mosapovebl ad. da maSin, rodesac moswavl eebis umrav-I esoba aRiarebs da eTanjmeba garigebis am formas, ymawvi-I ebi ase ar iqcevian. isini uaryofen moral ur avtoritetts, romel zecaa damoki debul i skol is formal uri struktura. ymawviI ebis winaaRmdegoba da skol is wesebis uaryofa efuz-neba ymawviI ebis warmatebis Sansebis gonivrul gamoTvaze da samuSao tipis moTxovnebis real istur Sefasebaze. saubaria im konkretul i tipis samuSaoze, romel ic didi al baTobi T maTTvis xel misawdomi iqneba. viI i dakvirvebis Sedegad aR-moaCens, rom uaryofis procesi moicavs aseve ymawviI ebis ganvi Tarebis processac. am dros ymawviI ebi qmnian sakuTar kul turul CarCos da skol is mier warmoadgeniI i mesij ebis kreatiul reinterpretacias gvTavazoben.

maSin, rodesac ymawviI ebis winaaRmdegoba kontrproduqtul ia Soreul i perspektividan, is imavdroul ad efeqturia mokl evadiani gadmosaxedidan. ymawviI ebi sakuTar winaaRmdegobriv kul turul fons qmnian skol aSi da, imavdroul ad, isini kargad arian momzadebul ebi saamqros an saxel osnos cxovrevisaTvis. sakuTriv es uaryofa da skol is mesij ebis reinterpretacia aZI evs maT saSual ebas, iarsebon samuSao bazris komfortul zonaSi, rac miuRwevel ia `yuris xvrel e-bisaTvis". maTi perspektivebis gaTval i swinebiT, es ar aris seriozul i da mniSvn ovani samuSao. samuSao ar iTval i-swinebs maTi individual izmis xazgasmas da ar uzrunvel yofs maTTvis gansakuTrebui, damouki debul i statusis Seqmnas. am tipis samuSao aseve ar amaRI ebs maT TviTSefasebas, ro-gorc amas saSual o fenis kul tura cdil obs Caunergos maT. es samuSao maT ufro metad uzrunvel yofs xel fasiT, romel ic maT samuSaos gareT TavisufiI ebas aniWebs da saSuaI ebas aZI evs akeTon is, rac surT. imis Sansi, rom ymawvi-I ebi swored imgvari uperspektivo samsaxuriT daasrul eben, rogoric Tavad warmoudgeniAT, maRal ia. TumcaRa, maTi sakuTari aRqma damatebiT gavl enas axdens da xel s uwyoobs am al baTobas.

swavl ebis bol o etapze maswavl ebl ebis mier SeTavaze-bul i garigebis uaryofiT, yvel aferi Tavis adgil ze dgeba; Tu ar arsebobs seriozul i samsaxurebi, maSin aseve aRar aris sasargebl o da efeqturi maT mier miniWebul i mandatiC. da Tu am mandatis miniWeba aRiarebul ia rogorc garkveul i tipis mniSvn ovani codnis miRebis signal i, maSin es sig-

nal i tyuil zea dafuznebul i. codnis is tipi, romel sac skol a sTavazobs moswavl eeb, gul isxmobs iseTi dargebis, rogoricaa maTematika da mecniererebebis Teoriul codnas. amgvari codna ki absol uturad ararel evanturia saamqroSi saWiro praqtkul i `nou-hau" saqmi anobisaTvis. ymawvil ebi-saTvis Teoriul codna qal ur sawyisTan asocirdeba, maSin rodesac nou-haus isini WeSmarit mamakacur codnad mi iCneven. skol is mier SemoTavazebul i codnis uaryofis fonze, absol uturad bunebrivi Semdgomi nabij ia, rom ymawvil ebi arakanonierad da Zal datanebiT val debul ebad mi iCneven mas-wavl ebl is mier moTxovnil pativischemas. es wesi maTTvis formal uri skol is kul turis dausabuTebel da izul ebiT Tvisebad rCeba.

ironiul ia, rom ymawvil ebis saskol o kul turas Zal ian bevri aqvs saerTo maT samuSaosTan. im samsaxurTan, romel - sac maTi umetesoba Seasrul ebs saamqroebSi. saamqroebi, roml ebic Zal ian axl osaa skol is subkul turasTan, gamoir-Cevian maskul inuri atmosferoTi, romel ic mZI avri komponentebia rogorc seqsizmi, aseve rasizmi. saamqroebSi kacebi pativs scemen praqtkul s da aknineben Teoriul s. xol o gonebrivi samuSaos dakninea am adami anebs aZI evs i licenziias, erTgvar saSvs SeewinaaRmdegon saamqros ufrosis Zal auf-I ebas. es SewinaaRmdegeba Zal ian axl osaa skol aSi maswavl ebl ebis Zal aufI ebi sadmi gaweul winaaRmdegobasTan, sadac ymawvil ebs swored i seve miecaT saSvi amgvari moqmede-bisaTvis. gonebrivi samuSao qal uri, nazi da ganebivrebul i adami anebis saqmea; is aSkaraa, martivad dasanaxi da ar gani xil eba, rogorc pativsacemi saqmi anoba, romel ic misabzia.

Sesabami sad, ymawvil ebis subkul tura maT kargad amzadebs im gamocdi l ebi saTvis, romel ic maT saamqroebSi daxv-debaT. mi uxedadavd amisa, SeiZI eba gaCndes ki Txva: rogor moqmedebs amgvari momzadeba saamqroebis mfl obel ebze? am ki Txvaze pasuxis gacemisaTvis aucil ebel ia mxol od gavix-senoT samuSaos tipi, romel i saamqroebSi srul deba da is SezRudul i perspektiva, romel ic ar iZI eva Tavis daRwevis an vertikal uri mobil urobis saSual ebas. metic, ymawvil ebi ara mxol od uaresisTvis arian momzadebul ebi, aramed erTgvari yoyocobiT, Tavmomwoneobi Tac ki i Reben amgvar situacias. maS ra SeiZI eba ki dev arsebobdes, rasac saamqros bos iZebs sakuTar muSakebSi? "yuris xvrel ebisgan" gansxva-vebiT, ymawvil ebs ar aqvT imis mol odini, rom isini sakuTar

identobas ipovnian samuSaoSi. isini ar el ian dawinaurebas saukeTesod Sessrul ebul i saqmisaTvis da "yuris xvrel ebis-gan" gansxvavebi T arasodes gaucruvdebaT gul i da daecemian sul iT, rodesac msgavsi tipis j il doebis perspeqtiva ar iarsebebs.

mokl evadi ani perspektividan ymawvil ebis subkul tura Zal ian kargad amzadebs maT im samyarosTvis, romel sac isini saamqroebSi Sexvdebi an rasakvirvel ia, maTi sakuTari perspektiva da antagonisturi struqtura aseve winaRobas war-moadgens maTTvis nebis mieri sxval al ternativisken swraf-visaTvis da Sesabami sad, ukeTesi cxovrebis povni saken. Tana-bar i SesaZl ebl obebisa da vertikal uri mobil obis ideebi anarekl ia liberal uri, funçional uri, individual isturi I ogikisa. es I ogika ki vil isisa da ymawvil ebis mier sxvadasxvagvarad uaryofil ia. kapital izmi saSual ebas aZl evs zogierT pirovnebas Tavi daaRwi os sakuTar kl asobriv war-momavl obas da maRal samsax poziciur da daj il doebiT principze dafuznebul i samsaxuri moi povos. maRal i xel fassebi, roml ebsac adami anebs profesiul sports uxdian kargi, Tumca eqstremal uri magal iTia. rwmena imisa, rom es Sesaz-I ebel ia, aseve sasargebl oa Tavis daRwevis ganxorciel ebi-saTvis. TumcaRa es is al ternatica, roml isganac sargebel s mxol od cal keul i individualiReben. rwmena sistemis is rgol ia, roml ic adami ans warmatebisaTvis ganawyobs. Tumca, igi aranairad ar aris garantia da adami anTa umrav-lesobisaTvis ar aris sakmarisi faqtori. ymawvil ebi kargad aRiqvamen, rom rwmena mizanSewonil ia mxol od individuali isturi I ogikis gadmosaxedidan. individualTa j gufis perspektividan is aranair al ternativas ar uzrunvel yofs. ymawvil Ta perspektividan, maTi gadawyvetil eba Camoayal ibon da gai azron sakuTari cxovreba formal uri Sromisa da skol is situaciis gareT, ar aris azrs mokl ebul i. vil is termins Tu gamovi yenebT, ymawvil ebi namvil ad Rrmad wvdebian da Seicnoben kapital izmis sistemis bunebasis da I ogikas.

mi uxedavad imisa, strategia, roml ic amarTI ebs Tavis Tavs mokl e vadi ani perspektiviT, arc individual ur da arc j gufur SemTxvevaSi ar aris produqtui i grZel vadi ani gadmosaxedidan. vil isi aRni Snavs, rom samsaxuri ymawvil ebis uzarmazar sixarul si wevs, radgan is uecari Semosavl is gaçeni T xasiaTdeba. samsaxuri ymawvil ebs pirdapir akavSi-rebs maskul inur SromiT samyarosTan. es samyaro ki maTi

saskol o kul turis Ziri Tadi sawinaaRmdego komponentia. TumcaRa, grzel vadian perspeqtivaSi, es strategia ar aris momgebi ani arc individis da arc mTI ianad social ur kl assaTvis, radgan dRidan dRemde ymawvil ebi erTi da ige rutinul samuSaos asrul eben erTi da ige uazro, primitiul i meTodebiT amasTan, ymawvil ebs ar aqvT Camoyal i bebul i naTel i warmodgena im Zal ebis Sesaxeb, roml ebic maT wnexis qveS amyofebs da abeCavebs. isini verc al ternatiul gzas xedaven, romel sac SeiZI eba daadgnen.

imdenad, ramdenadac zemoT aRniSnul i mkiTxvel s optimizmis safuzvel s nakl ebad uCens, vil iss mtkiced swams, rom swored am tipis Rrma kul turul i anal izia aucil ebel i im SemTxvevaSi, Tu raime tipis kol eqtiuri liberal izaci isken swrafva arsebobs. udavoa, rom ymawvil ebi erTvarad SezRudul ebi arian sakuTari seqszmisa da rasi zmisagan. isini aseve arian SezRudul ebi mZime, rutinul i erTobl ivi Sromis aRiarebisa da am SromiT Tavmomwoneobis mizezi Tac. metiC, vil is xedviT, SromiT kl asis kul turis amgvari safuzvl iani Seswavl a da gacnoba saSual ebas iZI eva naTel i movfinot kreatiul i winaaRmdegobis potenciur mimarTul ebebs, im mimarTul ebebs roml ebic udavod unda iqnes gamoyenebul i progresul i da kol eqtiuri cvl il ebebis daCqarebisaTvis.

ymawvil ebi warmoCndebiam tragikul gmi rebad. rogor SeZI ebda fundamental isti, aexsna maTTvis is ziani, romel - sac isini sakuTar Tavs ayeneben? rogor unda moxdes skol is struqturis marTebul ebris dasabuTeba? kriticizmi? rogor moaxerxebda marqsisti ymawvil ebisaTvis maTi sakuTari situaciis ganmar tebas? da Tu SeZI ebda, ra tipis rCivas miscemda ymawvil ebs an maswavl ebl ebs marqsisti imisaTvis, raTa daxmareboda maT real uri da WeSmari tad cnobi erebis ganvi TarebisaTvis saWi ro mimarTul ebis danaxvaSi? am ki Txvebze pasuxebis Semdeg SesazI ebel ia, Tqven mogindeT gani xil oT me-8 TavSi mocemul i "social uri kvl evis" qeisi da iqve mocemul i fasdeba ki skol aSi gaweul i rTul i samuSao Sesabami sad?

## Tavsatexebi, probl emebi da Sansebi

marqsistebi funqciunal izms damciniavi, kritikul i Tvali i T uyureben da ganixil aven mas, rogorc arsebiTad ideo-  
I ogiur pozicias, romel sac mecnieri mxol od Tanamedrove  
sazogadoebaSi arsebul i instituciebis marTebul obis da-  
samtkicebl ad mimarTavs. amasTan, isini ver Tanxmdebi an, kri-  
ticizmis romel i aspeqtia yvel aze metad seriozul i. war-  
moadgens Tu ara ZiriTad probl emas is, rom funqciunal iz-  
mi arsebiTad ideoI ogiuria, maSin rodesac marqsizmi - ara?  
Tu gansxvsveba iqidan momdinareobs, rom funqciunal izmi  
ideol ogiaa, romel ic emsaxureba Tanamedrove sazogadoe-  
brivi instituciebis marTebul obis dasabuTebas, xol o marq-  
sizmi ki asevea ideoI ogiaa, oRond is Tanamedrove institu-  
ciebis kriticizms isaxavs miznad? im SemTxvevaSi, Tu bol o  
variantia swori, maSin marqsizmis mimdevrebma unda Seimu-  
Saon special uri kriteriumebi, romel ic ideoI ogiis ga-  
mij vnas SeZI ebs mecnierul i poziciidan. faqt i saa, rom  
amgvari kriteriumebis Camoyal i beba dRemde ver gaxda Se-  
saZI ebel i verc marqsistebis da verc aramarqsistebisaTvis.  
meore mxriv ki, Tu probl ema ara ideoI ogiisa da mecniere-  
bis dapiri spirebaSi, aramed Tavad funqciunal istebis  
ideoI ogiis xasiaTsa da miznebSi, maSin marqsizmis mimde-  
vrebma unda SeimuSaon mkafio formul ireba, romel ic saSu-  
al ebas mogvcems, SevafasoT dapiri spirebul i ideoI ogiebi  
mkafiod Camoyal i bebul i normativebis mixedviT. marqsistebma  
Tavi aarides msgavsi tipis formul irebis SemuSavebas da  
amisi mizezi savraudod maTi ideoI ogiuri poziciaa. am  
poziciis Tanaxmad ki, normebi pirovnebis kl asobriv pozi-  
ciasTan urTiertmimarTebiT unda iqnes ganxil ul i. asea Tu  
ise, marqsistebis uunaroba SeemuSavebinAT normatiul i po-  
zicia marqsizms uxerxul obamde axl os ganaTavsebs funq-  
ciunal izmTan da masTan asocirebul probl emebTan. funq-  
ciunal izmis gi deniseul i kriticizmis ganxil visas, amas ki-  
dev ufro Tval sachinod davinaxavT.

maSin, rodesac funqciunal istebi saskol o praqtkas ga-  
ni xil aven rogorc sazogadoebis, rogorc mTI i anobis, da  
mis saWiroebebze morgebul Rirebul ebas, marqsistebi am  
praqtkas kapital isturi kl asis interesebis gamtarebl is

funcias aniWeben. ni Snavs ki es, rom kapital isturi kl asis interesebi war moodgens saskol o praqtkis gamomwvev mizezs? Tu es martI ac asea, maSin gideniseul i funcional izmis kriticizmi Tanabrad rel evanturi marqsizmi sadmi. am SemTxvevaSi gamodis, rom marqsizmma winaswar i varauda erTgvari sistemis arsebobis aucil ebl oba. da Tu amgvari varaudi martI ac arsebobda, is ara social uri sistemis, rogorc erTi mTI ianobis aucil ebl obas xedavda, aramed kapital isturi kl asis saWiroebebze iyo fokusirebul i. gidenis dakvirvebis mixedviT "cneba - "saWiroebebi" arasworrad aris gamoyenebul i Tu ar vaRiarebt, rom sistemas swirdeba savraudo moTamaSeebis survil ebis gaTval i swineba.<sup>11</sup> gamodis, rom misi mosazreba kargad aRwers Cvens mi er ganxil ul situaciasac. nebismer social ur kl ass aucil ebl ad esaWiroeba gamochnos mis real obaSi arsebul moTamaSeTa survil ebi.

amis garda, arsebobs ki dev sxva probl emebi im mtkicebul ebasTan dakavSirebiT, roml is mixedviTac saskol o swavl ebis struktura kapital izmis interesebTan aris usual od dakavSirebul i. pirvel rigSi aucil ebel ia im faqtis gaTval i swineba, rom amerikis SeerTebul i Statebi ar aris erTaderTi kapital isturi sazogadoeba msofl ioSi. miuxedadad imisa, Statebsa da sxva qveynebis, rogoreibicaa magal iTad iaponia, safrangeTi, ingl isi an taivani, ekonomika sakmaod erTgvaria, qveynidan qveyanaSi skol ebs Soris bevri mni Svnel ovani gansxvavebaa. es arc aris gasakviri, radgan zog qveyanaSi, rogoreibicaa ingl isi an safrangeTi sadac social isturi tradiciebi ufro metad aris ganvitarebul i (Tumca es ar niSnabs, rom dominanturia). Sesabamisad, skoli ebi ufro metad ierarqiul ia, vidre StatebSi, romel sac SezRudul i social isturi tradiciebi gaaCnia. vilisis kvl eva xom bol os da bol os ingl isis muSaTa kl asis skoli ebze iyos fokusirebul i. metic: saskol o swavl ebis iseTi specifikuri sakiTxebi, rogoreibicaa magal iTad sazafxul o arda degebis periodi da xangrZI ivoba, amerikis SeerTebul StatebSi nakl ebadaa dakavSirebul i kapital izmTan. sazafxul o arda degebis konkretul i praqtika ki ufro adekvaturrad ukavSirdeba agrokul turul i sazogadoebis saWiroebebs, romel ic jer ki dev aris qveyanaSi SemorCenil i. am tradiciebis mixedviT, agrokul turul sazogadoebaSi arsebobda imis real uri saWiroeba, rom bavSvebs zafxul is

periodSi fermaSi emuSavaT. da maSin, rodesac arsebobs garkveul i Cvevebi, romel Ta axsna da dakavSi reba moxerxebul ia kapital izmis interesebze referirebiT, arsebobs bevr i seTi praqtika, romel Ta gaazreba da ganxi l va gansxvavbul i mimarTul ebiT unda moxdes. kapital izmis interesebze apel ireba konkretul moral ur Zal ebs moicavs, radgan is uwyetad da I ogikurad upirispirdeba sxva opoziciur, ufro gamarTI ebul interess, romel ic bavSvis humanur ganaTI ebas gul isxmobs. marqsistebs ki jer kidev ar daumuSavebiat koncefcia sakuTari opoziciuri interesis Sesaxeb, romel ic pozitiuri debul ebis saxiT iqneba gadmocemul i ganaTI ebisa da pedagogikis prioritetur i mimarTul ebebis Sesaxeb.

vil isis kvl eva erTgvari gamonakl isia yvel a zemoT moyvanil i Seni Svnebi sgan. vil isi ar gvTavazobs ganskutrebui instruqtajs pozitiuri pedagogikis ganvi Tarebi saTvis. vil isi saSual ebas gvaZl evs gaviazrot is mimarTul ebebi da saSual ebebi, roml ebic saSual ebas iZl eva, erTi kl asis - kapital izmis interesebi gavataroT. es interesebi ki gadmocemul ia sxva kl asis warmomadgenel Ta survil ebze gavl iT. vil isis konkretul SemTxvevaSi sxva kl asis warmomadgenl ebi arian ymawvil ebi, muSaTa kl asis kul turis Svil ebi, romel Ta gavl iT kauzal uri jaWvi warmoqmneba. am jaWvis efeqtii ymawvil ebisaTvis is Rirebul ebebi, Sexedul ebebisa da qcevebis ganvi Tarebaa, roml ebic moi TxovebaT warmoebis procesis yvel aze dabal safexurze saqmi anobi saTvis.

vil isis kvl evis danarceni marqsistul i formebi wi-naaRmdegobaSia funqciunal istTa Sexedul ebebTan. is eWvqeS ayenebs rwmenas skol is mier uzrunvel yofil i universal uri da obieqturi standartebis paketis Sesaxeb. es standartebi ki niwi s identificirebas, ganvi Tarebas da daj il doebas gul isxmobs. vil isi Segvaxsenebs, rom skol ebi CarTul ebi arian erTi mxriv samuSao Zal is ganvi TarebaSi, romel ic industriul i ierarqiis bol o, yvel aze dabal safexurze sam-saxurisaTvis aris gamiznul i, da amavdroul ad zrdian `go-nebriv avtoritets` i give industriebis mwerval ebisaTvis.

Tumca, vil isis kvl eva Zal ian aris dakavSi rebul i marqsizmis tradiciul formebeT, amavdroul ad is bevr aspeqt-Si wi naaRmdegobaSi modis im ideebTan, roml ebic marqsi zm-Tan asocirdeba. imis magivrad, rom ganvi Tarebis universali ur kanonebze moaxdinos fokusireba, funqciunal isti da

orTodoqsi marqsistebis kval dakval , vil isi aRiarebs da eTanxmeba cvl il ebabis ufro Ria da araprognozirebad xedvas. imis magivrad, rom mkl evarma ekonomikuri struktura cnobierebisa da Segnebis safuZvl ad ganixit os, misi namuSevrebi saSual ebas gvaZl evs gaviazrot, rogor funqcionirebs cnobiereba da Segneba izul ebiTi ekonomikuri strukturis gan Tavis dacvis mizniT. es funqcionireba muSaTa kl asis zogiert segments exeba. imis magivrad, rom mkvl evarma fokusireba erTmniSvnel ovnad farTo ekonomikur da pol itikur struqturebze gaakeTos, radgan swored es sferoebia analizis erTeul ebi, vil isi subkul turebis mniSvnel obis sistema da I okal uri survil ebze akeTebi aqcents. swored amis gamoa, rom misi kvl evebi ufro metad da cxedad Sromis reproducirebis kauzal ur ganmarrebazea dafuZnebul i, sadac individual uri survil ebia mxedvel obaSi miRebul i.

real urad vil isis kvl eva aseve araa srul yofil i. is mxol od ingl isis muSaTa kl aszea fokusirebul i. mis kvl evaSi CarTul i mamakacebis raodenoba ki muSaTa kl asis Zaliian umniSvnel o nawil s warmoadgens da monacemTa generalizebis marTebul obas ki Txvis niSnis qveS ayenebs. TumcaRa, vil isis kvl eva sakmaod mkafio warmodgenas izl eva ymawwil ebis mniSvnel obaTa sistemisa da im saSual ebabis Sesaxeb, roml is saSual ebi Tac es sistema gardaisaxeba mesij ebSi. am mesij ebs TavisTavad skol a gzavnis. amasTan, mkvl evris naSromi ar gvaZl evs saSual ebas gaviazrot, ramdenad xel i mi gvi wdeba Cven, an i give ymawwil ebs ufro mravl ismomcvel mniSvnel obaTa sistemebze da, Sesabamisad, mogvcemda saSual ebas, reproducirebis daxurul i wre gagverRvia.

## **fuko da marqsi zmis sazRvrebs gareT ganvi Tarebul i postmoderni zmi**

Cven mier ganxit ul i mkvl evrebi naSromebi, rogoreibCAA, magal iTad, borde an vil isi gvaZl evs saSaul ebas davaskvnaT, rom jer kidev sabWoTa kavSiris daSI amde marqsi zmma uari Tqva mkacrad gansazRvrul ekonomikuri determini zmis CarCoebze. maT SromebSi yuradReba gamaxvil ebul ia im procesze, roml is drosac konkretul i j gufebis mier re-

producirebül i arsi kl asobriv pozicionirebasa da ierarqiis gaZl ierebazea fokusirebul i.

arssa da mis reproducirebazea fokusirebul i aseve aramarsistul i mimdinareobis warmomadgenel i mecnieri - mi Sel fuko. fuko ganekuTvneba konfl iqtol og-TeoretikosTa mimdinareobas, Tumca, amgvari mikuTvneba arasakmarisad dagvannaxebda misi ideebis kompl eqsurobas. misi namuSevrebi swavilobs da warmoaCens diskursul social ur praqtkas, romelic humanisturi sagnebis formirebis dros Cndeba. mecnieri gvaCvenebs procesebsa da mimarTul ebebs, roml is dro-sac kontrol is gare meqani zmebis danergva xdeba. konfl iqtol ogi mkvl evrebi sgan gansxvavebi T, fuko mi iCnevs, rom Cven vswavl obT Sida meTval yureobis normebis gaTaviseras da, Sesabamisad, sakuTari Tavis kontrol sac. magal iTad, socialuri arsis mixedviT normad miCneul i movl enebi da sagnebi Cvenc gvaiZul ebs daveTanxmoT umravl esobis mosazrebebs da gaviTavisot sazogadod aRiarebul i qcevis normebi.

fuko ar iyo ganaTI ebi s Teoretikosi. miuxedavad amisa, misi mosazrebebi kargad gvaCvenebs skol is gavl enas. is, Turgor gansazRvravs skol a seqsual urobas, si amovnebas darakanonier qmedebebs ganapi robebs studentebis mier am moq-medebabis normad miCneva. sakuTar naSromebSi fuko gviCvenebs, rom adami anebi SeiZl eba daiCagron an piriqiT - moZali adeebad warmoCndnen saubris miRebul i maneris drosac ki. es im SemTxvevaSia SesaZl ebel i, Tu konkretul i saubris mi-zania garkveul i qcevebis `normal izeba`, xol o danarCenebisa - qcevebis `marginal izaciaa`. warmoi dgineT, magal iTad, ezos Cveul i xumrobebi, ras hyvebian adami anebi homoseqsual ebze, an ras I aparakoben biWebi gogonebis Sesaxeb da gogonebi - biWebze. yvel a es qceva seqsual obis da genderis miRebul i da aRiarebul i normebia. am procesebSi zogierti adami ani sazogadoebis centri aRmoCndeba, maSin rodesac sxvani kuTxeebSi arian miyuJul ebi. amgvar pozicias adami anebi sxvebis iZul ebiT an sakuTari nebiT ikaveben. sxvadasxva tipis praqtkika normal izebas ganicdis. amisi cxadi magali iTebia Cven mier heteroseqsual ur wyvil s Soris urTier-Tobis aRqma. an is privil egia, romelic Cvens TeTrkanianad dabadebas ukavSirdeba. msgavsi praqtkika, yovel gvari kritis gareSe, standartad mi iCneva an asocirdeba `swor` yofastan da qmedebastan. amgvari standartebis sapi rispirod, arsebobs garkveul i praqtkika, romelic imTaviTve margina-

I izacias ganicdis. magal iTad, homoseqsual uri kavSirebi an yofa, romel ic romel i me umciresobis mosaxl eobasTan asocirdeba, normisgan gadaxvevad an safrTxed aRiqmeba. fukosTvis gamowvevas ar warmoadgens mxol od is SezRudvebi, roml ebsac umciresobis j gufebi SeiZI eba ganicdi des an is privil egiebi, roml ebic umravl esobis j gufebs gaačni aT. is eWwqveS ayenebs mTI i anad identurobis sistemas, romel ic msgavsi tipis kl asifikasi ebs ayal ibebs da maT waaxal isebs. is cdil obs dagvanaxos, ramdeni el ementarul i mosazreba da fiqri, ramdeni kategoria, roml is mixedvi Tac vcdil obT sakutari cxovrebis organizebas, social urad wi naswaraa konstruirebul i. es ki imas ni Snavs, rom Cven yovel Tvis imgvarad ar aRvi qvamdiT da vanawil ebdiT samyros, rogorc amas axl a vakeTebT da droSi dabruneba rom SegveZI os, davinaxavdiT: adre adamianebs Cvengan radikal urad gansxvavebul i Sexedul ebebi hqondaT. gal perinis mixedviT<sup>12</sup>, romel ic fukos mimdevaria, adamianebe yovel Tvis ar azrovneben terminibus - homoseqsual izmis da heteroseqsual izmis mixedviT. is aRni Snavs, rom termini `homoseqsual izmi" pirvel ad oqsfordis ingl isuri enis I eqsikonSi gamočnda 1892 wel s da arseboken iseTi sazogadoebi, sadac amgvari I eqsikoni ar Seqmnii a. `homoseqsual izmi" da `heteroseqsual izmi" gal perinis mixedviT dakavSirebul ia Rrma kutl urul "seqsual urobis" qcevasTan.

seqsual urobis garčeva ar xdeba qal sa da mamakacs Sorris biol ogiuri gansxvavebis mixedviT. is saSual ebaa, romel ic individebis identificirebas axdens rigi qcevebis mixedviT, roml ebic sazogadoebaSi "normad" aris damkvidreb ul i. sxva si tyvebiT rom vTqvaT, seqsual uroba i deol ogiuri kategoria ufroa, vidre biol ogiuri. da yovel Tvis, rodesac nebis mieri Cvengani sakutari seqsual obaze fiqrobs `kacis" an `qal is" pozici idan, Cven myisierad viwyebT sakutari qcevis anal izs dawesebul i "standartebis" gadmosaxedidan, romel ic Cveni sqesis pirebisaTvis aris SemuSavebuli i. am dros Cveni individual oba yal ibdeba da warmoSobs Sida kontrol is meqani zmebs, roml ebic TanxvedraSia gare praqtkasTan. skol ebi udavod erT-erTi umni Snel ovanesi adgil ebia, roml ebic pirovnebis individual urobasda da identurobas ayal ibebs. maswavl ebl ebi xSirad el ian, rom biWebi mtkice, amtani da Jinianebe arian. gogonebi sagan ki imis mol odini arsebobs, rom isini pasiurebi, emociurebi da

konkurenciisTvis moumzadebl ebi unda iynen. xSiradve mas-wavl ebl ebi sakl aso oTaxis imgvarad gadaawyoben, rom maTi mol odinebi kidev ufro ganmtki cdes. imisaTvis, rom naTI ad davinaXOT, ramdenad mni Svnel ovan rol s TamaSobs Cvens cxovrebaSi sqesobrivi identuroba, sakmarisia warmovidgi-noT Cveni reaqcia momRerl is xmis gagonebaze, roml is sqesis amocnoba xmis tembris mixedviT myisierad ar xerxdeba. ram-denad SegiZI iAT Tavad simReraze gadarTva manam, sanam mo-mRerl is sqess ar daadgenT? icvl eba Tu ara Tqveni Sefase-bebi momRerl is xmasTan dakavSirebiT, Tu mas Tavdapi rvel ad kacad miCnevT da mere aRmoCndebeba, rom Turme qal ia? dak-virvebi xarT Tu ara, rogor ibneviT, Tu maSinve ver axdenT pirovnebis sqesis identificirebas. rogor gafaci cebiT mu-Saobs Tqveni tvini, rom daadginos pirovnebis sqesi? fuko am movl enas Seafasebda, rogorc Cveni cxovrebis wesis gamozax-il s, roca Cven vswavl obT garkveul i kategoriebis normad miRebas da dajinebiT movi TxovT yvel asgan ama Tu im konkretul kategoriaSi Tavsdebodes.

marqsistebi sagan gansxvavebiT, fuko ar cdil obs Cagvris probl ematikas CauRrmavdes, sadac sazogadoebis erTi kl asi cdil obs meoris Sromis misakuTrebasi. is ufro im Zal auf-I ebis ganxorciel ebis, zewol is probl emis wamowevas cdil obs, roml ic dakavSirebul ia adamianebis gawvrTnasa da SeCvevaze `daarwmunon sakuTari Tavi, rom isini gansakuTreibul i Tvis sebebis matarebel ni arian<sup>13</sup>. am tipis Zal aufI ebis ganxorciel ebis amocanaa Cveni identurobis SemWi droveba da dapataraveba Cveni survil ebisa da aRqmis Semcirebisa da formis Secvl is saSual ebiT. im survil ebisa da aRqmisa, rogorc Cven samyaros vxedavT da aRviqvamT. konol i kargad gadmogvcems am process:

`adamianuri sawysi Tavisi arsiT arasrul yofil ia sa-zogadoebrivi formis gareSe; saerTo ena, instituciuri wyoba, rigi tradiciebi da politikuri forumi, roml ebic sazogadoebriv ganzraxvebs warmoaCenen, srul aucil ebl o-bas warmoadgenen individual obis Sesazenad da qmnian im er-Tobl i obis SegrZnebas, roml ic aucil ebel ia cxovrebiSAT-vis. TumcaRa sazogadoebrivi srul yofisa da keTiL dReobis nebis mieri forma ucil obl ad Seicavs Cagvras da sisastikes sakuTar TavSi"<sup>14</sup>A

marqsistebi aseve aRiareben probl emas, roml ic Zal aufI ebis ganxorciel ebasTan aris dakavSirebul i. gansxva-

veba isaa, rom maTi azriT revol uciuri mni Svnel obis ekonomikuri cvl il ebebis ganxorciel eba am probl emas auci-  
I ebl ad gadaWrida. fuko ar aris ase optimisturad ganwy-  
bil i absol utur da gardauval I liberal izaciastan dakav-  
SirebiT. iqamde, sanam sazogadoebrivi diskursebi grZel deba  
da social uri instituciebi ki ganagrZoben funqciioni rebas,  
Zal aufl ebis ganxorciel ebis saki Txia aktualuri iqneba. am  
SemTxvevaSi ki probl ema gzebis da saSual ebebis gamonaxvaa  
standartul i praqtkisa da sazogadod gamefebul i arsis  
gavl enis Sesasustebi ad da aRmosafxvrel ad. es aseve yve-  
l aze mtkvneul i adgil ebis moziebasac moi cavs.

erTi SexedviT, fukos namuSevrebi, rogoricaa, magal iTad, Sesaval i hermafroditis dRiuri dan<sup>15</sup> an komentarebi me-  
19 saukunis masiuri kvl el is qesi dan sqesobrivi scenebis Tval Tval is el ementebs Seicaven. Tumca, misi naSromebis  
amocana ara mgrZnobel obis gaRviZeba, aramed samedici no  
diskursis anal izia, romel ic im adamianebs kontrol istVi  
aris Seqmnili, vinc sazogadoebi sgan aSkarad marginalize-  
bul ni arian. es kvl evebi kargad exmianeba mocl obiT Teo-  
riul i kvl evebs, roml ebic Tanamedroveni instituciebs, magal iTad TavSesafrebs, kl ini kebs da cixeebs analizeben.  
aseve maTi analizis sagans warmadgens fsiqol ogiuri da  
seqsualuri Zal adobis msxverpl Ta konsul tirebis praqti-  
kac.

fukos Sromebis miRma Cans misi rwmena da miswrafeba,  
xazi gausvas Tanamedrove sazogadoebaSi arsebul sayovel -  
Tao diskurss. es diskursi mimarTul ia adamianebs "normali-  
zebisaken" da maTi subordinaciisaken codnisa da Za-  
I aufl ebis konkretul i rejimebis mixedviT. rogorc Cans,  
fukos homoseqsual is statusi mas gansakuTrebiT mgrZno-  
biares xdis am diskursis mimarT. fuko yuradRebas amaxvi-  
I ebs uamrav saSual ebasa da mimarTul ebaze, Tu rogor ai-  
Zul ebs sazogadoeba adamianebs, daaskvnan moqmedebisa da  
azrovnebis romel i konkretul i mimarTul ebaa normaluri.  
amavdroul ad sazogadoebis mier xdeba yvel a im adamani s  
marginalizacia, vinc gansxvavebul ad moqmedebs an azrovnebs.  
aseve cxadia, rom fukos mier marqszimsgan zurgiT Se-  
trial eba gamoweul ia didi politikuri movl enebiT. zus-  
tadt igive simZafriTaa gamoweul i marqszimis uaryofa mi-  
kro-movl enebiT, roml ebic mezobl is Robes momij nave sac-  
xovrebel oTaxebSi an sakl aso oTaxebSi xdeboda. fukos

Sromebi, mi uxedavad maTi Teoriul i<sup>16</sup>, istoriul i<sup>17</sup> xasiatissa da imisa, rom isini marginal izebul i adamianis perspektividanaa mocemul i, Cveni sakuTari diskursis sarkes warmoadgens. is warmoadgens diskursis im aspektebs, roml ebic kargad i Taviseben Zal aufl ebaTa damokidebul ebebs, axdenen gansxvavebul is marginal izacias da ni Rbaven al ternatiul i individual izmis formirebas<sup>18</sup>.

Fuko namuSevrebSi kargad warmoacons im aspektebs, roml ebzec man mtkice uari ganacxada. ufro konkretul ad ki, man uari Tqva nebismeri gegmis uzrunvel yofaze subieqtebis ganvi TarebisaTvis. TumcaRa, fukosTvis prioritetul i iyo, rom adamianebe ufo mgnobiaren yofil iyvnen individual izmis aspektebTan mimarTebiT. im aspektebis, roml ebsac isini RvTisgan saCuqrad boZebul ad aRiqvamen. misi mtkice uari ki absol uturad I ogikuria fukos SeSfoTebis fonze, romel ic Cvens mier uamravi gzisa da saSual ebis povnas ukavSirdeba zewol isa da kontrol is Semsibuqebsa da SewyvetisTvis. Tu fuko Cven gverdiT gaCndeboda da Cvens individual izms sxvebze metad ganavi Tarebda, maSin i gi sakuTari ufl ebamosil ebs marTI madi debl obisaTvis gadacemisa da Sesabami sad, zewol isa da kontrol is axal i formebs warmoSobis did safRTxes Seqmni da.

interesi, Camoyal ibdes ufro swori gaazreba individual izmis RvTis mier boZebul i aspektebisa, da amasTan imis axsnis gareSe, individual izmis romel i axal i formebs SeiZI eba iqnes miRebul i, Zal ian mni Svnel ovan gavl enas axdens ganaTI ebaze. is ganskutrebit mni Svnel ovania im adamianebe saTvis, roml ebic sqesobrivi ganaTI ebs kurikul umis Sesworebaze muSaoben. Sesworebul ma saswavl o gegmam saSual eba unda misces skol ebs daarRvion is sicume, romel sac homosequsal i an seqsual urad aqturi studentebi xvdebian sakl aso oTaxebSi. Sesworebul ma saswavl o gegmam efekturad unda upasuxos am moswavl eebis interessebs da amavdroul ad gaiTval i swinos mSobel Ta da sazogadoebis I iderTa interessebi, roml ebic TavSekavebas uWerens mxars<sup>19</sup>.

maSin, rodesac fukos uari, SemogvTavazos individual izmis romel im prioritetul i forma, misi siZI iereia, is imavdroul ad probl emebsac qmnis. gavixsenoT konol is si tveyebi: `adamanuri sawysi arasrul yofil ia sazogadoebri formis gareSe. saerto ena, instituciuri wyoba, rigi tradiciebi da politikuri forumi, roml ebic sazogadoebri v

ganzraxvebs warmoachen, srul aucil ebl obas warmoadgnen individual obis SesaZenad da qmnian im erTobl i obis SegrZnebas, romel ic aucil ebel ia cxovrebi saTvis." miuxedavad imisa, rom fuko (da konol i) gvaxseneben, rom Tu am formebTan srul identificirebas novaxdenT, Cven safrTxis wi naSe dadvgebiT da Cveni identuroba kanTan Zal ian axl os moZrav samarTebel s daemsgavseba... Tumca, arsebobas ar Sewyvets is faqti, rom Cven yovel Tvis nakl eb srul yofil Se-saZI ebl obas virCevT arsebul ebs Soris. fuko am arCevaniS Semxsenebl ad gvevl i neba, Tumca, sakmarisad ar gvaCvenebs gzas imisaTvis, rom kargad gaviazroT, rogor SevZI oT swori arCevaniS gakeTeba.

fukos gavl ena Tanamedrove smcial ur moZraobebze udavod mni Svnel ovani a. bevr sxva saki TxTan erTad, is gvexmareba davinaxoT Tu rogor iCagrebian Zal aufl ebis ganxorciel ebisa da zewol isagan is j gufebi, roml ebic marqsizmisseul kl asifikasiaciSi zustad ver Tavsdebi an. marqsizmisseuli pol itikuri reJimiS Secdomebisa da mmarTvel obis formis cvl il ebebis gaTval i swinebiT aRmosavl eT evropaSi, yofil sabWoTa kavSirsa da CineTSi, aucil ebel ia gvaxsovdes, rom Zal aufl ebis ganxorciel eba da zewol a bevrad ufro met aspeqts moicavs, vidre kl asobriv Cagvras an mTavrobebis regl amentacias. am anal izTan erTad fukom aseve ganavi-Tara garkveul i instrumentebi, roml ebic axal moZraobebssasual ebas aZl evs ganTavi sufl dnen marqsizmis koncefci ebsa da warmodgenebze zedmeti damoki debul ebisa da gavl enisagan. amas ki gansakuTrebui i mni Svnel oba eniWeba, Tu mxedvel obaSi mivi RebT im dramatul cvl il ebebs, roml ebic saerTaSoriso pol itikur sivrceSi ganxorciel da sabWoTa kavSiris dacemisa da CineTis ganviTarebis Semdeg. swored am periodSi gai zarda feministuri Teoriisa da praqtkis roli da mni Svnel oba.

## **feminizmi, rogorc konfl iqtis Teoriis forma**

feminizmsa da marqsizms Soris urTierTmi marTeba yovel Tvis martivad ar iyo warmodgenil i. erTi mxriv, marqsizmisa bevrad gauswro sxva mimidinareobebs, roml ebic qal is daqvemdebarebul pozicias ariarebda. meore mxriv ki, marq-

sizmi am pozicias asabuTebda producirebis mniSvnel obiTada Sromis kl asobrivi dayofiT. probl ema isaa, rom yvel a qal i ar aris muSaTa kl asis wevri da amitom marqsistul i gadmosaxedidan Znel i asaxsnel ia, ratom unda isaxavdes mo-Zraoba mi znad yvel a qal is liberal izacias. fukom aRmoaci-na, rom Cagvra da Zal aufl ebis ganxorciel eba kl asobrivi formirebis mi Rma warmoi Soba. am dakvirvebis safuzvel ze man sxvebTan erTad marqsizmis wi naSe mdgari yvel a qal is liberal izaciis probl emis gadaWras Seuwoyo xel i.

feminizmis zogadi forma warmoadgens politikur, social ur, intel eqtul ur da artistul moZraobas, romel ic, j agaris ganmartebeiT, qal is daqvemdebarebis Sesamcirebl ad warmoi Soba<sup>20</sup>. feministebis mosazreba gansxvavdeba marqsiste-bis sagan rogorc minimum ori mniSvnel ovani aspeqtiT. pirve-lli, feministebi aRiareben, rom arsebobs Cagvrisa da Za-l aufl ebis ganxorciel eba kidev sxva ganzomil eba, romel -ic cdeba kl asobriv diferenciacias. es ganzomil ebaa sqesobrivi Cagvraa. maSin, rodesac marqsizmi sakutari Sexedul e-bis mixedviT eqskl uziurad social ur kl aszea fokusire-bul i, is ugul vebel yofs im ganzomil ebas, sadac qal ebi makacebis mxridan zewol asa da Zal aufl ebis ganxorciel e-bas ganicdian social uri kl asis ganurcevl ad. Sesabamisad, miuxedavad imisa, rom bevri feministi iziarebs marqsizmis mosazrebas da aRiarebs, rom Cagvra ZiriTadar social uri cxovrebis maxasiaTebel i el ementia, isini imavdroul ad amt-kiceben, rom Cagvris mxol od kl asobrivi gadmosaxedidan ganxil va ar aris sakmarisi. Tu Cveni survil ia avxsnaT da gadawrat Cagvris probl ema, aucil ebel ia gavcdeT Sromis kl asobriv diferenciacias da ganvixil oT saki Txi sqesobrivi diferenciaciis kuTxi Tac.

marqsistebi xSirad ver xedaven Sromis sqesobriv dayofas da Tvl ian, rom am aspeqtis amosaval i wertil i bevrad ufro Rrma da kompl eqsuria Tavisi bunebiT. marksi, romel -ic aseve aRiarebda kapital izmis nakl ovanebebs, oj axs i yenebda srul yofil i sazogadoebis metaforad. Tumca, feministebi Tvl ian, rom safuzvel i oj axis kritikul i ganxil vis sagnidan amoRebisaTvis praqtkul ad ar arsebobs da Zal adobrivi kavSirebi oj axSic iseve SeiZI eba warmoaSvas, rogorc samuSao adgil ze metic, probl emebi, roml ebi c Sromis sqesobriv dayofasTan asociredeba bevrad ufro Tval naTel i da gavrcel ebul ia, vidre kl asobriviTan asocireibul i. kl a-

sobrivi dayofisagan gansxvavebiT, sqesobrivi dayofa aramxol od samuSao adgil ebze xdeba, aramed saxl Sic. feministebe swored am aspeqtze amaxvil eben yuradRebas.

SamuSao adgil ze sqesobrivi zewol a uamravi gansxvavebul i metodiTa da saSual ebebiTa xorciel deba. yvel aze Tval sacino da gavrcel ebul i magal iTia uxal iso, uenTu-ziazmo damoki debul eba qal is samuSaoze ayvanis an misi dwinaurebis mimart. amgvari damoki debul eba xSiria im SemTxveebSic ki, rodesac qal i yvel aze kval ificiuri da Rirseul i konkretul i kandidatia poziciisaTvis. istoriul ad kompaniebis mamakacTan muSaobas amj obinebdnen uamravi sxvadasxva mizezis gamo. maT SeiZI eba isic efiqraT, rom qal s bevr meti pasuxismgebl oba akisriat oj axSi, isini Svil ebis aRzrdiT, moxuci mSobl ebis movl iT arian dakavebul i. amgvar viTarebaSi, qal i SeiZI eba nakl eb dainteresebul i da CaTul i iyo kompaniaSi mmdinare procesebiT. kompaniebma aseve SeiZI eba CaTval on, rom oj axi mTI ianad aris damoki debul i mamakacis Semosaval ze, xol o qal is ki mxol od damatebiTia. ki dev erTi mizezi SeiZI eba iyos is, rom oficreibis umravl esoba mamakacebi arian da maT SeiZI eba mamakacebis garemocvaSi muSaoba ufro komfortul ad eCvenebodeT. rac ar unda iyos mizezi, is gavl enas axdens qal ebis samsaxureobriv mdgomareobaze da kval ificiur qal ebs Se-saferisi poziciebis gareSe tovebs.

im tendencias, romel ic mamakacis upiratesobas gul isxmobs qal ze, didi gavl ena aqvs ganaTI ebaze. imdenad ramdenadac, mol odini, rom qal ebi mniSnel ovan poziciebs dai kaveben sakuTar saxl s miRma ar arsebobs, saganmanaTI ebl o mol odinebic gogonebsa da biWebs Soris gansxvavebul ia. magal iTisaTvis, bevrad nakl ebia im gogonaTa ricxvi, roml ebi ic umaRI esi maTemakisa da mecnierebis programebSi arian gaerTi anebul i. gogonebi bevrad nakl eb ki Txvebs smeven, vidre biWebs da zogedad, nakl eb agresiul ebi arian. am qcevidan gamodinare ki, seqsistebi akeTeben daskvnas, rom gogonebs nakl ebi unari gaaCniAT, warmatebul ebi iyvnen da maRal i maCvenebi ebi aCvenon maTematikasa da sxva zust mecnierebaSi. amgvari daSveba ki rogorc Cans ara mxol od maswavl ebl ebi-sa da administratorebis muSaobas ganapi robebs, aramed aseve moqmedebs Tavad gogonebis Tvi Tidenturobis garkvevasa da survil ebzec. gogonebma SeiZI eba ar arasakmarisad daafason sakuTari bunebrivi niwi da midrekil ebebi maTemati-

kuri sagnebis da mecniererebebi saken, mxol od im mizeziT, rom aRmoCndnen konkurenciaSi biWebTan da martivad, ar aj obon biWebs.

sabol oo j amSi ki, yvel a es faqtori - gansxvavebul i samuSao SesaZI ebl obebi mamakacebis da qal ebisaTvis, sxvadasxva kurikul umi biWebs da gogonebisatvis skol aSi, maswavl ebl ebisa da skol is administraciis seqsisturi dasvebebi gogonebis da biWebs niwsa da SesaZI ebl obebis Sesaxeb, gogonebis dabal i akademiuri TviTSefaseba da uamibi- cioba erTmaneTze axdens zegavl enas da aZI ierebs saerTo efeqts. erT faqtorsi arsebul i situaciis Secvl a ki SesazaZI oa cvl il ebebis ganxorciel ebas iTxovdes yvel a danar-CenSi.

Tumca, saqme isaa, ras unda ni Snavdes, rom erTi faqto-  
ris Secvl a yvel a faqtoris Secvl as SeiZI eba moi Txovdes?  
modiT, msj el oba daviwoT SromiTi samyarodan. bevri femi-  
nisti darwmunebul ia, rom ubral od samarTI iani procedu-  
rebis dadgena kadrebis SerCevisatvis sul ac ar aris sakma-  
risi. arc isaa sakmarisi, rom kval ificiur qal s miecema Se-  
saZI ebl oba aCvenos sakuTari upiratesoba mamakacTan Sed-  
rebiT Tanaswor pirobebSi da daamarcxos igi. damatebiT im-  
is gaTval i swinebaca saWiRo, rom samuSao rol i, poziciuri  
val debul ebobi mamakacis mier aris dagegmil i da kargad  
aris morgebul i mamakacis xasiattan. rogorc maqkinoni aR-  
ni Snavs, poziciebis umravl esoba, ramdenadac genderul ad  
neitral uri ar unda iyos mocemul i samuSao aRweri oba, ar  
aris mowyobil i pirze, roml ebic upirvel esad bavSvis mom-  
vi el i da aRmzrdel ia<sup>21</sup>. SemTxevi Tia, Tumca maqkinonis dak-  
virveba xazs usvams funqciunal istebis poziciis erT-erT  
seriozul nakl ovanebas. erTmaneTTan dakavSirebul i praqti-  
ka da gamocdil ebebis srul i kompl eqti SeiZI eba efeqturad  
funqcionirebdes, Tumca isini mainc ar iyos bol omde ga-  
marTI ebul i eTikuri perspeqtividan.

Sesabamisad, probl emebi, roml ebic mamakacisa da qal is  
kandi daturebis samarTI ian arCevas ukavSirdeba ar aris Se-  
mofargl ul i mxol od samuSao sivrciT. is bevrad Rrmad  
aris gamj dari kul turul rwmenasa da gamocdil ebaSi, ro-  
mel ic saxl is cxovrebas, bavSvebis aRzrdas da qal is Tavi-  
sufl ebas ukavSirdeba. es rwmenebi da maTi gavl enebi, rom-  
l ebsac gansakuTrebiT Raribi qal ebi ganicdian, Zal ian mka-  
fiiod aqvs gadmocemul i nensi freizers<sup>22</sup>. is asabuTebs, rom

socialuri daxmarebis formebi erTob diskriminaciuli aqal ebisa da mamakacebis saWiroebetan mimarTebiT amgvari varaudebi ki sabo oo jaamSi daxmarebis aRmoCenis absol uturad gansxvavebul sistemebs ayal i bebs. mamakacebis umravili esobisaTvis amgvari daxmarebis gaweva xdeba umuSevrobis dazRvevis formiT. es daxmareba fulis miRebas gul isxmobs da saSual ebas aZI evs mimRebs ise moixmaros es Tanxa, rogorc mas moesurveba. Sesabamisad, socialuri daxmarebis sistema mamakacisaTvis varaudobs, rom mimRebs aqvs ufl eba daxmareba daxarj os Sexedul ebisamebr da saxel mwi fo amas ar unda akontrol ebdes. qal ebis umravl esobisaTvis situacia bevrad gansxvavebul ia. mTel i istoriis ganmavl obaSi, qal is SemTxvevaSi, daxmareba modis damoki debul i bavSvebis an gansxvavebul ad kvebasTan asocirebul i daxmarebis formiT. am tipis daxmareba ki Zal i an zRudavs qal s da pirdapir gansazRvrav, risi gakeTebis ufl eba aqvs qal s am daxmarebit da ris - ara. metic, amgvari daxmareba pirdapir iZI eva instruqciebs, rogor unda iqceodes qal i da rogor - ara. xSir SemTxvevaSi, qal s, romel ic bavSvis daxmarebas an Tav-Sesafars iRebs, akrZal ul i aqvs, hyavdes Tanamcxovrebi mama-kaci.

am SemTxvevaSi, ara mxol od Rarib qal ebze axdens gavlenas, Tu rogor gankargavs sazogadoeba saj aro da pirad sferoebs SromiT i bazris sqesobrivi differenciaciis Sesabamisad. yvel a fenisa da klasis warmomadgenel qal ebs SezRudul i aqvT absol uturad yvel a Sesazi ebl oba, garda erTi. es erTi Sansi ki maT bi ol ogiur Sesazi ebl obas - bavSvebis gaCenas ukavSirdeba. bevri feministi aRiarebs sqesTan Soris arsebul im uzarmazar gansxvavebas, romel ic sazogadoebam unda mi iRos mxedvel obaSi samuSaosa da ganaTi ebis dagegmvis procesSi. Tumca, es gansxvaveba ar unda iyos aRqmul i imgvarad, rom qal ebisTvis gadai ketos CarTuli obis yvel a mniSvnel ovani saSual eba, romel ic saxlis fargl ebs gareTaa moqceul i. es gansxvaveba aseve ar unda qmni des wi naRobebs mamakacisaTvis, gaaumj obesos sakuTari rol i bavSvis aRzrdis saqmeSi an saxli is saqmeSi. ufro metic, aucil ebel ia imis gaazreba, gansxvavebebi, roml ebsac mamakacsa da qal s Soris gansazRvraven, ar aris ucil obl iv sqesobriv Taviseburerebebze mibmul i gansxvavebebi, aramed statostikurad saSual o, normaluri monacemebi. monacemebi, romel ic xSirad socialuri tradiciebisa da praqtkis se-

riozul , mZime gavl enas ganicdis. magal i TisaTvis, Tu saSual o statistikuri monacemebis mixedviT, qal ebi ufro metad mzrunvel ebi arian da nakl ebad agresiul ebi, arseboken uamravi mamakavebi, roml ebic mzrunvel ebi arian da uamravi qal ebi, roml ebic agresi iT gamoirCevian. Sesabami sad, sakmao si frTxil ea saWiro, sanam mocemul sqess raime Tvis sebas an maxasiaTebi ebs miwaverdeT.

zemoTaRni Snul is kval dakval , bevri feministi sakmaod sworad aRni Snavs seqsisti sazogadoebis arasaTanado dafasebas, romel ic qal ebi s gansakuTrebul , gamorCeul gam-Wriaxobisa da saThoebas gamovl enas ukavSirdeba sxvadasxva situaciebSi. magal i Tad, ganaTI ebi s mkvl evrebi karol gi-l igani<sup>23</sup> da nel nodingsi<sup>24</sup> amtkiceben, rom gansakuTrebiT didi yuradReba eTmoba samarTI is Zal asa da Rirsebas da Zal ian mcire zrunvis efeqts. gi l igani Tval saCinos xdis, Tu ramdenad aris fokusirebul i moral uri ganaTI ebisa da moral uri ganviTarebis kvl eva cal saxad bi Webze. am kvl e-vebSi metwil ad ganxi ul ia mamakacebis saqmianoba samar-TI is sferoSi da, amavdroul ad, srul iad ar aris ganxi-l ul i gogonas rol is mniSnel oba. im rol isa, romel ic zrunavs da inarCunebs kavSirrebs. j er kidev cota xnis win es gansxvaveba arasworad i qna aRqmul i. mamrobiT bihevi oristebs absol uturad mcdari mosazreba hqondaT da Tvl idnen, rom gogonebi ikaveben moral uri ganviTarebis ufro dabat safexurs, vidre bi Webi. patriarchal uri sazogadoeba ki gogonebs mxol od qorwinebis, saxl is saqmisa da dedobis konteqstSi gani xi l avda.

mas Semdeg, rac Cven sqesTa Soris gansxvavebas feministizmis konteqstSi gaviazrebT, konteqstis, romel ic aRar cnobs tradiciul patriarchal ur rol Ta gadanawil ebas, rogorc bunebriv movl enas, Cven mzad varT saskol o ganaTI ebi s procesebi gavaanal izoT da masSi mivRoT monawil eoba. skol ebisa, roml ebic ar gamoyeneba qal Ta da mamakacebis gadaxari sxebisaTvis winaswar dadgenil i social uri rol ebi s mixedviT. angvar skol ebSi gogonebis Cartul oba maTematikisa da mecniererebebis programebSi, maTi SesaZI ebl obebis maqsimal uri warmocineba waxal isebul i unda iyos. gogonebi sakuTar SesaZI ebl obebs erTmaneTis sazrdod unda iyenebdnen da erTad qmnidnen TanamSroml obiT saswavl o garemo. am garemoSi dawinaurebis Sansi yvel as Tanabrad unda hqondes, xol o bi Webi ki gagebiT da gul isxmierebiT unda eki debod-

nen Tanakl asel ebis naazrebs da ar fiqroben, rom maT vinme zemodan uyurebs an qedmaRI urad epyroba.

feminizmi SeiZI eba ganvixil oT, rogorc konfl iqtis Teoria an am Teoriis ganvi Tareba. mi uxedavad amisa, feminizmi SeiZI eba TanxvedraSi modi odes funcional izmis garkveul formebeTanac. magal iTisaTvis, funcional istebs SeiZI eba miaCndeT, rom samuSaos sqesobrivi dayofis garkveul i praqtikebi gamarTI ebul ic ki SeiZI eba yofil iyo SezRudul i teqnol ogiebi dan, industriul i Sromis simZimi dan, dabadebis kontrol is primitiul i meqani zmebi dan da a.S. gamomdinare. Tumca isini feministebsac unda eTanjmeboden i maSi, rom msgavsi praqtikebi aRaraa aqtaul uri, rac samecniere da teqnol ogiuri codnis ganvi Tarebam, wi nsvl am gamoiwia. dave Tanxmebi T konfl iqtis Teorias, funcional izmsa Tu romel i me sxva models, yvel a SemTxevaSi feminizmi cvl is Cveni yuradRebis fokuss da moi Txovs Cvengan samuSao strukturis an samuSaos danawil ebis mi Rma ganvixil oT saki Txebi. Cven fxizl ad unda gveWiros Tval i social urmni Svnsl obebisa da varaudebis cvl il ebebze, rasac sxvadasxva praqtikebi da gamocdi l ebebi i wvevs. Semdeg TavSi Cven mi vubrundebi T mni Svnsl obis/arsis saki Txbs da vi msj ei ebT, Tu rogor viazrebT Cven saki Txebi, sagnebs da rasvgul isxmobT interpretaciis gadmcemaSi.

damatebi Ti informaciis mosapovebl ad ix.:

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## **nawi I i IV**

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**interpretacia da zogadi  
ganaTI ebis social uri funqcia**

## Tavi 6

### interpretivistul i mosazreba

wina TavebSi Tqven gaecaniT or, radikal urad gansxvavebul , mosazrebas skol ebis rol is Sesaxeb Tanamedrove sazogadoebaSi. funqciunal istebi amtkiceben, rom skol ebi yvel aze mni Snel ovan instituciebs warmoadgenen teqnol o- giuri ganvi Tarebisken swrafvis, material uri keTil dReobi- sa da demokratiis xel SewyobisaTvis. marqsistebi skol as gani xil aven, rogorc umTavres instruments erTi j gufis mier meoreze dominirebis uzrunvel sayofad da amgvari da- moki debul ebis I egitimaciisaTvis. am mosazrebebis sapasux- od, Tqven al baT moel odebiT, rom Cven am ori gansxvavebul i mosazrebebis Sej erebis safuzvel ze mesame, ufro misaReb pozicias warmovadgenT. samwuxarod, Cven Tavad ver vTanxmdebiT, am ori interpretaciidan romel i asaxavs ukeT skol is kavSi rs sazogadoebasTan da, Sesabami sad, mogvi wevs mesame, Sej erebul i mosazrebis Camoyal i bebasTan dakavSi re- biT mkiTxvel s mol odini gavucruoT.

Cveni amgvari aRiarebis mosmenis Semdeg, Tqven SeiZI eba sakutAr Tavs uTxraT: `im SemTxvevaSi, Tu avtorebi ver Tanxmdebian, Tu romel i mosazrebaa ufro metad gamarTI e- bul i, gamodis, rom pasuxebi ki Txvaze skol is rol is Sesax- eb sazogadoebaSi mxol od da mxol od am rol is interpre- taciis, anal izis sagania~ da Tu Tqveni mosazreba swored ase Camoyal ibda, maSin principul saki Txebze Cvenc unda da- geTanxmoT. TumcaRa, Cven ver dageTanxmbebiT Tqven mier Ca- moyal i bebul koncefciaSi terminis - `mxol od da mxol od- gamoyenebis marTebul obasTan dakavSi rebiT. amgvari termini amci rebs gaanal izebis, interpretirebis procesis mni Snel- i obas. Tundac imitom, rom erTi mosazreba da anal i zi garkveul situaciebTan dakavSi rebul faqtebs ukeT mi esada- geba, vidre sxva danarceni.

am TavSi Cven ganvixil avT interpretivizms, romel ic srul iad gansxvavebul xedvas warmoadgens social uri kvl evis bunebisa da skol is sazogadoebasTan kavSiris Sesaxeb. funqncional istebisa da marqsistebisgan gansxvavebi T, interpretivizmi ar warmogvidgens gl obal ur politikur argumentebs im rol is Sesaxeb, romel sac skol a TamaSobs sazogadoebaSi. interpretivizmis xedvis mixedvi T, arsebobs uamravi gansxvavebul i rol i, romel sac skol a TamaSobs sxvadasxva, gansxvavebul garemoSi. interpretivizmi *gl obal urze* metad / *okal ur mimarTul ebazea fokusirebul i.* interpretivizmi metad amaxvil ebs yuradRebas konkretul i skol is kul turul urTierTkavSirebi T CarCoze, individebis qcevasa da mosazrebaze, mocemul konkretul social ur garemoSi, vidre zogadi kanonis misadagebasa da yovl ismomcvel i gammartebebis uzrunvel yofaze. interpretivizmis ideebis gamziarebl ebi skol as gani xil aven, rogorc adgil s, sadac xdeba j gufebisa da individebis urTierToba adgil obri vi, yvel as mier gaziarebul i `TamaSis wesebis~ mixedvi T. Sesabamisad, isini sakuTar Tavs moi azreben mkvl evrebad, roml ebi c arWerden movl enebs konkretul i skol is magal iTze. amgvari midgoma ki moi Txovs skol ebSi adamianebris mosazrebebi sa da ideebis, maTi moqmedebis anal izsa da interpretacias.

sara I ourensis mier Catarebui kvl eva `kargi umaRI es si skol a- interpretivistul i kvl evis Tval saCino magal iTs warmoadgens. Tavis naSroms sara I ourensi metad Sesaferis qvesaTaurs azi evs: `xasiaTisa da kul turis portretebi~. igi miiswrafvis gamoarkvios, Tu ra ganapi robebs qveynis sxvadasxva nawil Si ganTavsebul i xuTi, sakmaod gansxvavebul i skol is erTnairad `karg umaRI es skol ad- Camoyal i-bebas. igi intensiur dakvirvebas awarmoebda TiToeul i sko- l is studentebis, maswavl ebl ebisa da administraciis yovel dRiur cxovrebaze da cdil obda, rom Camoeyal i bebina skol ebis imgvani portretebi, sadac yvel a maxasiaTebel i, romel ic TiToeul i skol is aTvvis individualuri da gansxvavebul ia, skol ebis am individual ur portretebSi gaertTiandeboda. isini, visac Cven ubral od karg adamianebed miviCnevT, erTnairad ar gamoi yurebian da arc moqmedeben. kvl evam warmoaCina, rom TiToeul skol as aqvs kargi maxasiaTebel ebi specifikuri naerTi, roml ebi c erTobl i obaSi efekturad muSaobs imisaTvvis, rom skol a unikaluri da gansakuTrebubl ad kargi gaxados. adamianebris msgavsaad, am skol ebsac aqvT

sakuTari nakl ovanebebi da probl emebi; mi uxedavad amisa, saerTo suraTi, romel ic Seswavl il dokumentaciasa da skol ebis SemuSavebul portretebs eyrdnoba, mkvl evris azriT, TiToeul i skol isaTvis damaxasiaTebel i individuaI uri `sikargis~ arsebolas usvams xazs.

cxadia, rom yvel a mxatvari gansxvavebul ad daxatavs er-Ti da imave skol isa Tu adamianis portrets. Sesabamisad, ar arsebobs erTi romel ime portreti, romel ic garkveul pirovnebas Tu romel ime skol asTan mimarTebiT swori an WeSmaritia. swored amgvarad, interpretivistul i kvl eva cal saxad gansxvavdeba funcional isturi da marqsistul i kvl evisagan, radgan ar eyrdnoba ert universal ur, pol iti-kurad marTebul Teorias an ganmartebas, aramed i swrafvis social uri real obis zedmi wenviT aRwerisaken. Sesabamisad, interpretivistebis aRwera anal itikuri da interpretivistul ia.

savaraudod, Tqven ukve gaziareT, rom Cveni aRiareba I ogikuria im Tval sazrisiT, rom Znel ia imaze SeTnxmde, Tu romel i xedva aRwers da miesadageba ukeT faqtebs gansxvavebul garemoSi. Tqven Cvens mosazrebas im SemTxvevaSi daeTnxmeT, Tu Tqvens Tavs uTxariT: `nebis mieri xedva, pi rvel ia is Tu meore (andac Tundac mesame), aucil ebl ad swo-rad da marTebul ad unda aRwerdes skol is raobasa da mni Svnel obas.~ Tu Tqveni mosazreba amgvaria, maSin gamodis, rom Tqven is mni Svnel ovani detal i dai naxeT, romel ic orives - funcional izmis da orTodoqsul marqsizmis mie-raa gaziarebul i. Sesabamisad, Cveni msj el oba interpretaciisa da anal izis Sesaxeb saerTo sawyi sebi dan SegviZI ia daviwyot es ki imas ni Snavs, rom Cven SegviZI ia davuSvaT: arsebobs mxol od erTi swori aRwera skol is kavSirisa sa-zogadoebasTan. xol o mogvianebeT ki amgvari daSveba davu-piri spiroT interpretivistul Sexedul ebas.

gavixsenoT, rom oriveni, funcional istebic da orTodoqsisi marqsistebic, aRiareben, rom social uri qcevac mka-fiod Camoyal i bebul i kanonebis Sesabamisad imarTeba, fizi-kuri da bunebrivi samyaros msgav sad. orive mimdinareobas miaCnia, rom Tu social ur cxovrebas mecnierul i kuTxiT ganvix il avT, Cven SevZI ebT garkveul i universal uri gan-zogadebis gakeTebas, romel ic zedmi wenviT zustad aRwers da marTavs humanisturi sazogadoebis ganviTarebas. rasak-virvel ia, funcional istebi da marqsistebi ver Tanxmdebi an

am mkafid Camoyal i bebul i kanonebis gavl enisa da Sedegebis Taobaze. magal iTad, funqciunal istebi mi iCneven, rom Tanamedrove sazogadoebaSi arsebobs Zl ieri moZraoba, romel ic il aSqrebs miweril i Rirebul ebis safuZvel ze daj il doebisa da Tanamdebobebis ganawil ebis winaaRmdeg. es moZraoba mi Rweul i Sedegebis safuZvel ze daj il doebis momxrea. Tavis mxriv ki, orTodoqsi marqsistebi qmnian mtkicebul ebebs, roml is safuZvel ze mi iCneven, rom daj il doebisa da Tanamdebobebis ganawil ebis sauKeTeso axsna kl asebs Soris konfl iqtit SeiZl eba aixsnas da is gansxavebul i urTierTobebi, roml ebic gansxavabul kl asebs Soris arsebobs, Sedegebis mniSvnel obas xsnis. TumcaRa orive mimidinareoba iziarebs Sexedul ebas, rom social uri faqtebis adekvaturi axsna sabunebi smetyvel o mecniererebebTan asocirebul gamartebes unda asaxavdes, maTi adekvaturoba ki obieqtur mtkicebul ebebze dafuZnebul i social uri real obis marTebul aRweras gul isxmobdes.

swored zemoT CamoTvl il i mizezebi dan gamodinare, funqciunal istebi da orTodoqsi marqsistebi si frTxil iT unda eki deboden Sexedul ebas, roml is warmodgenasac Cven vapirebT. isini erTobl ivad unda amtkicebdnen, rom I egiti-muri axsna-gamartebis rol is dakninea da anal izisa da interpretirebis mniSvnel obis wamoweva eWwqeS ayenebs Sefasebis strandartul formas axsnisa da ganartebis sisworis gadamowmebis meqani zmebis arseboba-ararsebopasTan dakavSi-rebiT. oriveni, funqciunal istebic da marqsistebic unda amtkicebdnen, rom amgvari standarti arsebobs. am standartis mokvl eva sabunebi smetyvel o mecniererebabis mier Camoya-I i bebul i Teoriebis, kanonebisa da hipoTezebis gansamtkicebel model ebSi unda xdebodes. amgvari standartebi unda warmoSobdes mkafio mtkicebul ebebs erTi Teoriisa Tu ganacxadis WeSmari tebasTan dakavSi rebiT sawinaaRmdego mtkicebul ebebis ararsebopis fonze. imis saTqmel ad, rom konkretul i Teoria Tavisi bunebiT mxol od interpretacias warmoadgens, aucil ebel ia imis aRniSvna, rom Teoria TanxvedraSi ar modis standartTan. ironiul ia, rom oriveni, fundamental istebic da orTodoqsi marqsistebic, ariareben amgvari standartis arsebopas, Tumca cal -cal ke TiToeul i maTgani uaryofs meore mimarTul ebis mier standartis qonas. orive warmoadgens mtkicebul ebebs standartebis arsebopis dasamtkicebl ad da, amavdroul ad, orive cdil obs mtkice

kontrargumenti Camoayal ibos mowinaaRmdegis xedvis gasabatil ebl ad. Ti Toeul i miicnevs, rom misi xedva mecnierul ia, Tumca xazs usvams, rom mowinaaRmdegis xedva ideol ogizebul ia da pol itikurad motivirebul interpretacias, analizs warmoadgens.

arsebobs uamravi gansxvavebul i strategia am winaaRmdegobriv TeoriebSi arsebul i danakl isebisa da nakl ovanebebis aRmosafxvrel ad. miuxedavad imisa, rom verc funqciional isturi da verc orTodoqs marqsistul i mimarTul ebebi ver axerxeben sakuTari Teoriebi universal ur standarts miusadagon, Cven ar unda ugul vebel vyot social uri cxovrebis amgvari gaazrebi sadmi swrafva. am Teoriebis srul ad ugul vebel yofa ar aris gamarTI ebul i SemTxvevaSic ki, Tu es Teoriebi imgvar universal ur standarteb ver efuzneba, rac mecnierul ad dasabuTebul axsna-ganmartebs uzrunvel - sayofadaa auciil ebel i. is faqt, rom am Teoriebis WeSmari-tebis dasamtkicebl ad jer kidev ar arsebobs adekvaturi mecnierul i axsna, romel ic ZI ieri mtkicebul ebebiT iqneba gamyarebul i, ar gamoricxavs imis al baTobas, rom momaval Si amgvari axsna gamoiZebneba. Tqven SeiZI eba imazec ikamaToT, Tu ramdenad mizanSewoni i a funqciional isturi da marqsistul i mimarTul ebebis mier wamoweul i social uri cxovrebis axsna-ganmartebs aRiareba, Tu es axsna-ganmartebebi WeSmarieti mecnierul i mtkicebul ebebiT ar aris gamyarebul i. es acdena ki imiTaa gamoweul i, rom WeSmarieti mecnierul i mtkicebul eba yovel Tvis unda efuznebodes raime tipis interpretacias da, Sesabamisad, warmoadgendas subieqtur mosazrebas. Sesabamisad, imis daSveba, rom obieqturi sociali uri mecnierebis ganviTareba SesaZI ebel ia, srul iad safuZvl ianad SeiZI eba uarvyoT.

al baT ar aris gamarTI ebul i, rom daviwyot funqciional istebisa da marqsistebis axsna-ganmartebaTa sisworis Sefaseba an imis dadgena, Tu ramdenad SesaZI ebel ia sociali uri mecnierebis arseboba zogedad. bevrad swori iqneba, Tu ubral od uarvyoft orive mimdinareobis mier gaziarebul daSvebas. am daSvebebis mixedviT, sazogadoebrev mecnierebebs SeuZI iAT imgvari model is uzrunvel yofa, romelic sazogadoebrevi cxovrebis srul ad gaazrebas da anal izs SeuZI ebs. msgavsi uaryofa ar unda gul isxmobdes imas, rom humanuri cxovrebis gageba da gaazreba absol uturad SeuZI ebel ia. es mxol od imas niSnabs, rom social uri cxovreba

sxvadasxva sawyisi dan unda i qnes danaxul i da ganxil ul i. Tanamedrove mecnierebaSi sakmaod bevri mkvl evari cdil obs, SeimuSaos meTodol ogia social uri samyaros sakvl evad da gasaaazrebl ad imgvari meTodol ogiuri instrumentebis gamotoyenebiT, roml ebic mxol od sabunebis smetyvel o mecnierebis instrumentebis imitacias ar gul isxmobs. Sesabami sad, arsebobs mecnierul i mimarTul eba da am mimarTul ebisaTvis damaxasiaTebel i Sedegebi, roml ebic saSual ebas iZI eva, ganaTI ebis social uri funcciebi ukeT gaviazroT. swored am funcciebis zogad gaazrebas SevecdebiT wi gnis Semdegi qve-Tavis `interpretivistul i Sexedul ebebis~ fargl ebSi. swored es Sexedul ebebi amagrebs im Tanamedrove mimarTu-l ebebs ganaTI ebis kvl evaSi, romel Tac Twisebri vi, interpretivistul i da konstruqtivistul i kvl evis meTodebs vu-wodebT.

### **argumentebi interpretivistul i Sexedul ebebis gansamtki cebi ad**

erT-terTi kontrargumenti social uri kvl evis sabunebis smetyvel o mecnierebis safuZvel ze model irebis aramarTebul obis Sesaxeb britanel i fil osofosis peter vincis mier Camoyal ibda da gazi ierda. vincma gul dagul Sei swavl a, kritikul i kuTxiT gaaanal iza da daupiri spirinda arguments, roml is Tanaxmadac, social uri qceva imgvarad unda i qnes gaazrebul i, rogorc is sabunebis smetyvel o mecnierebis mier aris danaxul i. rogorc ukve visaubreT, sabunebis smetyvel o mecnierebi qcevas fizikuri movl enas ukavSi reben. Aam nabij iT mecnierma pragtikul ad uaryo mosazreba, roml is Tanaxmadac, social uri mecnierebis ganvi Tareba universaluri kanonzomierebis aRmoCenis safuZvel zea Sesazl ebel i da romel ic amtkicebs, rom es universaluri kanonzomierebebi, Tavis mxriv, adamianTa `nedl qcevaze~ dakvirvebis safuZvel ze yal ibdeba. im qcevebisa, romel Ta mastimul irebebi i social uri movl enis interpretireba j er arc ki dawyebul a.

vinci sakuTar mosazrebas interpretirebisa da anal i-zis Sesaxeb amtkicebda dakvirvebis warmoebis safuZvel ze misi azriT, nebis mieri tipis gaazreba, sabunebis smetyvel o mecnierebis mier warmodgenil ic ki, moicavs imis unars, rom gani sazRvros, Tu rodis SeiZl eba, arsebul i movl enis msgavsi movl enebi warmoiSvas. Mmechnieri pirvel rigSi svams

ki Txvas, Tu ra warmoSobs kanonzomierebas da ki Txvas Tadvve pasuxobs: kanonzomiereba identuri movl enebis identur garemosa da situaci aSi dausrul ebel i ganmeorebiT warmoiSoba. mecnieri ganavrcobs azrs da amatebs, rom sxvadasxva dros arsebul i movl enebi erTnairia Tu ara, damokidebul ia ara mxol od movl enis xasiaTze, aramed am movl enebSi CarTul i konkretul i sazogadoebis wesebze, wesebze, romel Ta mixedvi Tac sazogadoeba axdens msgavsebebi sa da gansxvavebaTa dadgenas.

vecdebiT, ramdenime magal iTi moviyanoT da ufronat-I ad warmovadginoT britanel i mecnieris mosazreba. amerikis SeerTebul StatebSi qorwineba Semdgarad iTvl eba, Tu oficial uri ceremoniis fargl ebSi, roml is kul minaci asac partniorebis si tyvebi `diaz, Tanaxma var~ an `me virTav mas col ad (qmrad)- an msgavsi tipis frazebi warmoadgens. yvel a amgvari fraza, sabol oo j amSi, erTsa da imave saqmes emsaxureba - is or adamians qorwinebis kavSiriT aerTeb. TumcaRa, gansxvavebul situaci aSi Sesazi ebel ia, rom orma adamianma warmoTvas tradiciul i si tyvebi, magram mi uxedavad amisa ar daqorwindnen. magal iTad, Seizi eba es adamianebe speqtakl Si konkretul rol s TamaSobdnen. amavdroul ad, zogiert Statsi qorwineba Seizi eba Sedges wyvil is mier yovel gvari erTgul ebisa da qorwinebis fics dadebis gareSec. qorwinebaSi imyofebian adamianebe im SemTxvevaSi, Tu wyvil i garkveul i tipis Tanacxovrebas eweva garkveul drois periodSi. yvel aferi es (Teatral uri rol is garda), erTsa da imave movl enas - qorwinebas warmoadgens. Tumca, sai dan vigebT amis Sesaxeb? cxadia, ara situaci is identur obisa da msgavsebi sagan. amis gaazreba garkveul i gaziarebul i enobrivi maxasiaTebi ebisa da social uri samyaros saerTo Semecnebis safuzvel ze xdeba.

moviyanoT ki dev erTi magal iTi kontrastul obis ukeT dasanaxad; konkretul i `nedl i qceva- Seizi eba ganvixil oT, rogorc social uri konteqstidan amogi ej il i movl ena. Tumca, sxvadasxva social ur garemoSi mas gansxvavebul i mni Svnel oba Seizi eba mieni Wos. Tqven aiwiet xel i. erT, konkretul situaci aSi, es Seizi eba megobris misal mebas ni Snavdes, meoreSi ki - maswavl ebl is Tqvendami yuradRebis miqcevis saSual ebasi. mesameSi SemTxvevaSi Tqven am JestiT vinmes sasargebl od xmas azl evT. TavisTavad, xel is awevis qcevas, cal ke aRebul s, aranairi mni Svnel oba ar gaachnia, garda imisa, rom kunTebis muSaoba da sxeul is moZraoba yvel a situaci aSi praqtikul ad erTnairia. xel is awevis mni Svnel oba gani sazRvreba am moqmedebis Semsrul ebel i pirovnebisa da mis garSemo arsebul i sazogadoebis mier moqmedebis interpretirebis safuzvel ze, romel ic garkveul ga-

remoSi xdeba. qveiT moyvani l i amonaridi naTI ad warmoadgens anTropol ogis - kl iford geertzis mosazrebas mni Svnel obis gansazRvrebis kompl eqsurobasa da maval waxnagovnebasTan dakavSirebiT. Ees gansazRvreba val iduria erTi SexedviT martiv formis qcevasTan mimar Tebi Tac.

~warmoidgineT... ori biWi swrafad axamxamebs marj vena Tval s. erT SemTxvevaSi es unebl ie moZraobaa, Tval is xamxami, xol o meore SemTxvevaSi ki - konspiraciul i signal i megorbrisatvis. sxel is es moZraoba orive SemTxvevaSi i denturia, Tu mas fotokameris `fenomenal uri- dakvirvebis gadmosaxedid dan SevafasebT da adamiani, romel ic fotos uyu-rebs, ver ityvis, romel ma biWma ubral od daaxamxama Tval i da romel ma ki - Tval i Caukra megobars. verc imis Tqmas moaxerxebs, orive biWma daaxamxama Tval i Tu orivem Caukra erTmaneTs. Tumca, real obaSi, arafotografiul i xedviT, Tval is daxamxamebasa da Cakvras Soris uzarmazari gansxaveba arsebobs vizual uri Tval sazrisiTac. Tval is Cakvra - komunikaciis forma, Tanac komunikacia sakmaod naTI ad da mkafiod myardeba: Tval s vukravT: (a) gami znul ad, (2) konkretul i pirs, (3) informaciis gadacemi satvis, (4) social urad Camoyal i bebul i normis/wesi Sesabami sad, (5) konkretul garemoSi arsebul i adamianebis saqmisi kurssi Cayenebis garSe. biWma, romel mac Tval i Caukra megobars, ori sxvadasxva moqmedeba ar ganaxorciel a - mas cal ke Tval i ar Caukravs da cal ke ar dauxamxamebia, maSin rodesac Tval is daxamxamebisas biWma mxol od erTi gami znul i moqmedeba Seasrul a. Tval is swrafad daxuWva da gaxsna gami znul ad, im sociumSi, sadac es miRebul i konspiraciul i signal ia, yvel afers erTad moi cav: Tval is Cakvraa qcevis detal i, kul-turul i tradicia da, bol osdabol os, mimi ka.

es imitom xdeba, rom kul tura bevrad ufro farTo konteqstual uri sivrcis arsebolas uzrunvel yofs, romel Sic adamianTa Setyobinebebis interpretireba xdeba. didia imis al baTobac, rom erTsa da imave qcevis sxvadasxvagvari interpretacia moxdeba kul turul i konteqstis cvl il ebasTan erTad. is, rac erT kul turasi standartul da normal urmovl enad aRiqmeba, SeiZI eba srul iad gansxvavebul ad iyos aRqmul i meoreSi. swored amgvarma real obam gamoiwvia vincis mosazreba imasTan dakavSirebiT, rom social uri mecnierebis pirvel adi daniSnul eba ar aris kanonzomierebis universaliuri kanonebis aRmoCena. imgvari kanonebisa, roml ebic erTnairi warmatebit SeiZI eba nebismer kul turas moergos. social uri mecnierebis daniSnul ebad ufro metad im specifiki CarCoebis aRmoCena warmoadgens, roml ebic gansazRvraven konkretul i social uri jgufis kul turul i cxovrebi satvis damaxasi aTebel wesebsa da mni Svnel obebs.

rome haresa da paul sekordi seul i `social uri mecniererebebis~ xedva am mimarTul ebiT ki dev metad aris win wasuli i. maTi mtkicebiT, maSin, rodesac sabunebis metyvel o mecniererebebi savaraudod da absol uturad I ogikurad efuznebian movl enaTa axsnis material istur, meqani kur da Sedego-briv (kauzal ur) model s, social uri mecniererebebis dafuzneba mxol od amgvar model ebze SeuZI ebel ia. am koncefciaze muSaobis mecniererebi aseve figrobden, unda gaemij naT Tu ara mecnierul i mosazrebebi dan is faqtorebi, roml ebiC mkafi od humanisturia da roml ebiC ganmartaven humanistur qcevebs - social uri situaciebis imgvar formebs, romel Ta arsi da mniSvnel oba adami anebis mier zogadad gaziarebul ia. social uri qceva rol ia da rol isgan gamodinare qcevaa. TumcaRa, amgvar qcevaSi Cveni CarTva meqanikurad ar xdeba. amgvari qceva adami anebi sgan organizebas, interpretirebas, gaazrebasa da monitorings moiTxovs, (gaixseneT ori biWiS da Tval is Cakvris istoria geertsis magal iTidan). ki-dev ufro mniSvnel ovani CvenTvis ki imis aRiarebaa, rom am tipis social uri qceva aqtorisaTvis gamoricxul ia `social uri TamaSebis- wesebis codnis, maTi swavl is gareSe. qorwnebisa Tu xmis mi cemis `wesebi~, azrTa gacvl a imasTan dakavSi rebiT, Tu ras niSnaven esa Tu is sagnebi da movl enebi - saSual ebas gvaZI even, Cvenc gavxdeT am qcevebis Tanamowawil eni. TuTiyuSiS naTqvami, `diax, Tanaxma var~, ar niSnavs, rom is qorwindeba, xel is aweva ki maswavl ebl is yuradRebis mi pyrobiSTvis xdeba.. social izacia interpretivistisTvis imis kvi evaa, rogor ganvmarToT, gavaanal izoT da rogor miviRoT monawil eoba `TamaSebSi~, roml ebsac adami anebi TamaSoben da `TamaSebSi~, roml ebsac sazogadoeba TamaSobs. TumcaRa, social izaciis procesi ar aferxebs Cvens sxva moqmedebebs da arc am `TamaSebis- Sedegebis dadgomis process uSi is xel s. haresa da sekortis mixedviT, pirovnebebs kvi avac gaachniaT arCevanis Tavisufl eba gadawyvit, Tu romel i `TamaSis- wesebis mixedviT unda rom imoqmedos da ra gaakeTon pirovnul i gadawyvetil ebis safuzvel ze TamaSis procesSi. amasTan, imis wiwaswar interpretireba da gaanal izeba, Tu ra SeiZI eba SemdegSi moxdes, sakvanzo, erTi yvel aze mniSvnel ovani unaria. am unaris arsebobas moiTxovs yvel a formis social izacia. ufro metic, social uri mimarTul ebis mecniererebs qcevis interpretireba, analizi unda SeeZI oT. mecniererebs unda SeeZI oT CarTul pirovTa qcevis interpretireba imaze adre, vidre Tavad CarTul i pirebi daiwyeben sakutari qcevebis axsnas sxva terminebiT. axl a ki Cven ukve axl os varT im momentTan, rodesac SegviZI ia axl odan SevxedoT interpretirebis sakvanzo aqtvobebis.

## **azrovnebis aqturi xasiati**

interpretirebis, rogorc aqtivobis saWiroeba yvel aze mkafiod maSin dgeba, rodesac warmoi Soba gaugebroba da orazrovneba, romel sac garkveva swirdeba an rodesac gvaqvs mkafiod aRsaqmeli teqstTan, rogoricaa l eksi, piesa an roman, romel sac ganmartebe, anal izi swirdeba. TumcaRa, interpretirebis aucil ebl oba sxva situaciebSiC SeiZi eba Seiqmnas da yvel aze martivi situaciebis gaazrebiSTvisac ki, rogorc Cans, saWiroa im tipis qmedebebis ganxorciel eba, rac rTul da mraval waxnagovan anal izsa da interpretacias swirdeba.



**figura 1. `mtkicebul ebis kiTxva"**

probl ema, romel ic suraTis gaazrebasTan dakavSi rebiT gveqmneba, misi danaxvis or gansxvavebul gzas gul isxmobs. kerZod ki, suraTzea, erTi mxriv, Tasis, xol o, meore mxriv ki, ori erTmaneTs dapi i spirebul i saxeebis gamoxatul eba. (Tu aqamide ver SeamCnieT gamosaxul ebis orsaxovneba, gaagr-Zel eT naxatis mzera manamde, sanam igi TqvenTvis mkafiod gamoxatul i ar gaxdeba. Tu mainc gagiwirdaT naxatis or-saxovnad aRqma, sTxoveT vinmes, rom Tasis an saxeebis konturis moxazul oba gaCvenoT imgvarad, rom Tqven misi xel is moZraobisaTvis Tval is gayol eba SeiZi oT). gamodinare im real obidan, rom Cven naxatis ori, gansxvavebul i mimarTu-l ebiT danaxva SegviZi ia, vaanal izebT, rom sinamdvil eSi es ar aris arc Tasis da arc ori, erTmaneTisaTvis momziral i saxis suraTi, miuxedavad imisa, rom Cven erTi an meore xa-

tis danaxva SegviZI ia. imis SecnobisaTvis, rom am procesSi mni Svnel ovani Tavad danaxvis unaria, aucil ebel ia vaRia-roT aqturi azrovnebis rol i interpretivistul i aRqmisaTvis. naxatze ar icvl eba TeTri da Savi konturebi. icvl eba mxol od figurebis Cveneul i interpretacia Tassa da or saxes Soris. Cven naxatze `vki Txul obT~ `mtkicebul ebas, romel ic gansxvavebul i vizual uri `hipoTezis~ gansamtkeble ad gwirdeba. rasakvirvel ia, kamaTis sagania, vuwodebT Tu ara am savarj iSos interpretacias, am si tyvis pirdapiri mni Svnel obiT. TumcaRa, am mcire magal iTiT Cven ukve gamovavl ineT is ori aucil ebel i el ementi, romel ic interpretivistul i aqtivobis Tanamdevia. pirvel i el ementia - azrovnebis aqturad CarTva imisaTvis, rom raRac konkretul i `wawikiTxoT~ an konkretul i `azri davinaxoT~. meore el ementi ki erTi misaRebi, sando informaciidan sxvaze gadarTvas gul isxmobs.

### **interpretaciis rol i social ur mecnierebaSi**

axl a, rodesac Cven ukve ganvixil eT aRqmadobaSi interpretaciis el ementebi, Tavisufl ad SegviZI ia igive procesebi warmoqmnili social uri situaciebis interpretaciis magal iTze gavavrcoT. daviwyot yvel aze mkafio magal iTebiT, roml ebic gansakuTrebiT usvams xazs im gansxvavebebs, roml ebic social ur mecnierebaSi Cven mier ganxil ul or sxvadasxva xedvaSi arsebobs. pirvel i xedva, romel sac funqciional istebi da orTodoqsi marqsistebi iziareben, ambobs, rom social uri mecnierebis mizani kanonzomierebebis dadgenaa, roml ebic monacemTa sistematuri Segrovebisa da raodenobrivi kvl evebis Sedegebis safuZvel ze dasturdeba. es midgoma meoce saukunis ganaTI ebris kvl evebisTvisac upirates formas warmoadgens. meore xedvis mi xedviT ki - social uri mecnierebis mizania sazogadoebis daniSnul ebiTi sistemi gansazRvra interpretivistul CarTul obasa da ganmartebebze dafuznebul i kvl evebis saSual ebiT. es ganaTI ebris Tviserivi kvl evis Tanamedrove xedvaa.

modiT, pirvel rigSi, warmoidgineT, rom Tqven tradiciuli i xedvis social uri mecnieri xart da pirvel ad moxvdiT amerikis SeerTebul StatebSi. Tqven samecniero granti gaqvT miRebul i imisaTvis, rom amerikis kul tura Seiswavl oT.

Tqven agi xsnes, rom frenburTi is umni Svnel ovanesi TamaSi a, romel ic amerikul i cxovrebis zedmi wenvniT kargad gagebis da gaazrebisaTvis gasaRebs warmoadgens. aq Tqven ukve awy-debiT im gansxvavebas, romel ic Tqvens sakuTar kul turasa da im kul turas Soris arsebobs, romel sac Tqven es-esaa unda SeexoT. Tqven acnobierebT kul turaTSorisi gansxvave-bebis zogad aspeqtebs, TumcaRa j er ver moaxerxeT im spe-cifikuri gansxvavebebis danaxva, roml ebic am Tqvens kul-turas absol uturad mij navs amerikul isgan. erT-erTi mka-fio da gansakuTrebil i gansxvaveba, romel ic Tqvens kul-turaSi ar devs, amerikel i xal xis mier sportis Sesaxeb Ca-moyal i bebul i koncefciaa. amgvari damoki debul eba sporti-sadmi ar gvxdveba Tqvens kul turaSi. es moi cavs amerikul i `sanaxaobrivi sportis- koncefciasac, romel ic amerikel sportis moyvarul TaTvis Cveul ebriv movl enadaa aRqmil i, xol o Tqven ki srul ebiT ar icnobT amgvar damoki debul e-bas. es ar ni Snavs mxol od imas, rom Tqven ar icnobT ameri-kel ebis mier gaziarebul `sanaxaobrivi sportis- ideas. ufro mni Svnel ovani am garemoebaSi isaa, rom Tqven verc ki warmoidgenT, rom amgvari koncefcia arsebobs da is SeiZI e-ba adamianTa j gufis mier iyos gaziarebul i. Tqvens sakuTar kul turaSi sporti moiazreba, rogorc mxol od Sej ibrebis principze agebul i TamaSi. amasTan, varaudiebia, rom yvel a CarTul i mxare TamaSis monawil ea da marTI ac, yvel a mxare, varaudis Sesabamisad, monawil eobs. `sanaxaobrivi sporti-absol uturad aratavsebadia Tqveni kul turisaTvis da met-iC, winaaRmdegobaSi a masTan.

amerikaSi vizitis dros, Tqven sTxovT Tqvens maspinZel s, rom frenburTis matCze wagi yanoT. Tqven gindaT, rom am matCs mkvl evris Tval iT SexedoT da Seiswavl oT. amasTan, Tqven gaqvT survil i, rom Tqveni kvl eva ar `gafuWdes~ Tqve-ni winaswari, subieqturi damoki debul ebebis gamo da ami tom maspinZel s sTxovT, rom ar man gagacnoT TamaSis wesebi da maxasiaTebl ebi. Tqven gindaT, rom TamaSi obieqturad Seis-wavl oT da daskvnebic absol uturad mi ukerZoebl ad gamoi-tanoT. rogorc es social uri mecnierebis tradiciul mid-gomebze aRzrdil mkvl evars Seefereba, romel ic cdil obs, rom movl enebisa da faqtebis universal uri ganzogadeba moaxdinoT. Aam ganzogadebi sTvis ki apirebT, rom sistematu-ri dakvirvebebi awarmooT da amisaTvis konkretul i movl e-nebisa da faqtebis Tanmi mdevroba da monacvl eobis sixSire

gazomoT. am gziT Tqven cdil obT daadginoT SesaZI o korel aciebi da argumentirebul i mizezebi ganzogadebisatvis (es midgoma aseve aqtual uria im ganaTI ebis mecnierisaTvis, romel ic cdil obs, rom dainaxos mizez-Sedegobrivi ur-TierTmimarTeba iseT cvl adebs Soris, rogorebicaa, magali iTad, IQ qul ebi, social ur-kl asobrivi warmomavla oba da saskol o moswreba). TumcaRa, monacemTa Segrovebis dawyebis Semdeg, processi garkveul i probl emebi iCens Tavs. gamodinare iqidan, rom Tqven ar iziarebT `sanaxaobrivi sportis-koncefcias, Tqveni mxedvel obidan aridan auci l ebl ad gamogrcebaT sportTan dakavSirebul i sxva koncefciebic, magal iTad `xal isis- an `mxardaweris- koncefciebic. uffrometic, gamodinare iqidan, rom Tqvenma maspinzel ma ar agixsenaT TamaSis wesebi, Tqven ar gaqvs warmodgena im koncefciebze, roml ebic specifikurad frenburTisTvis aris damax-asiatobel i. `moTamaSis gadaweva~, `Serkinba~, `pasis gamazva~, `burtis Casma- ar aris Tqveni konceptual uri CarCos Semadgenel i nawil i. xol o am koncefciebis arcodnis gareSe imis gazrebac ki Znel deba, Tu romel i movl ena da aqtivoba iTvl eba mni Svnel ovnad TamaSisaTvis da, Sesabami sad, romeli i unda moxvdes Tqveni kvl evis monacemTa bazaSi. yvel aze mtavari isaa, rom Tqven verc ki warmogidgeniat, ramxel a probl emas warmoadgens TqvenTvis arasakmarisi informacia frenburTis mtavari koncefcii `sanaxaobrivi sportis- Sesaxeb da, Sesabami sad, verc iazrebT, rom fundamenturi probl ema imis arcodnasia, rac praqtikul ad Tval saclinoa, pirdapir zedapirze devs. yvel aze saintereso ki isaa, rom ar aris gamoricxul i, Tqven anal i zebdeT mtavars: ar icnobT beisbol is TamaSis wesebs.

Tqven verc ki acnobierebT im faqts, rom Tqven mier `sportis` aRqma radikal urad gansxvavdeba amerikis mkvidrTa aRqmisan da, Sesabami sad, Tqvens kvl evas im amosaval i wertil idan iwyebT, rom adamianis sportSi CarTul oba mis usual o monawil eobas gul isxmobs sportul TamaSSI. bunebrivia, Tqveni dakvirvebis dros sportSi CarTul i adamianebe moicaven maT, visac amerikel ebi `fanebad- da `moTamaSeebad- mij naven. am Zal ian mni Svnel ovani detal is arcodnis gamo, Tqven Tval win ganvitarebul i movl enebi Zal ian ucnaurad gevenebeaT. mindorze ganuwyetl iv isvrian da iWeren burTs. moTamaSeTa erTi nawil i uTavbol od darbis moednis erTi kutxidan meoreSi. ori moTamaSe ki, cal ke Se-

mosazRvrul adgil ebSi isvris da iWers ukve sxva burTs. ori moTamaSe iqnevs bitas, erTi fexze dgas, meore - daCqil ia. danarCenebi ki ise moZraoben, TiTqos mimaval manqanas unda daemgzavron an bal axi akurTxon... ki dev sxvebi cdil o- ben, imdeni I udi CanTqan, ramdenic CaetevaT mucel Si ...

Tu kargad CauRrmavdebiT, am ucnauri scenis specifi kuri maxasiaTebi TqvenTvis metad gasagebi gaxdeba. Tqven SeamCnevT, rom is j gufi, romel ic aqamde moedanze burTs isroda da iWerda, sakuTar poziciebs toveben da adgil ebs moedans miRma ikaveben. imavdroul ad, bevri maTgani, vinc zed miwaze ij da, dgeba, rom meti I udi moi tanos. am dros Tqven iwyebT imaze fiqrs, rom am or movl enas Soris raime saxis kavSiri unda arseboddes... magram rodesac daiwyebT kavSiris gazomvas am or movl enas Soris, nel -nel a acnobie-rebT, rom korel acia am or ukansknel s Soris aseve dakav-Sirebul ia sxva movl enebTan, roml ebic imavdroul ad mimdi-nareobs, rodesac `I udis msmel ebi~ da `gadamsxdomebi~ moq-medeben. magal iTad, Tqven xvdebiT, rom aseve arsebobs ur-TierTkavSiri drois monakveTebi Soris, rodesac fexze mdgom bitian moTamaSes SeuZl ia, rom burTs daartyas maSin, rodesac `gadamsxdomebi~ da `I udis msmel ebi~ moqmedeba xorciel deba. Tumca korel acia sakmaod Tval saCinoa, is ar aris zedmiwevniT zusti. xandaxan bitiani moTamaSe axerxebs, rom biti burTs moartyas da amas `gadamsxdomebi~ da `I udis msmel ebi~ mihyebian. Tumca korel acia absoluturia im sami SemTxvevis dros, rodesac `damgzavrebis moyvarul i- manqanis gasaCerebel moZraobas akeTebi, yviris `gareT~ da `gadamsxdomebi~ moZraobas iwyeben. aseve, srul i korel aciaa `damgzavrebis moyvarul Ta~ moqmedebasa da I udis smis intensivobis momatebas Soris. Sesabami sad, Tqven askvniT, rom imdenad, ramdenadac ar SeiZl eba, rom pirdapiri korel acia `gadamsxdomebsa~ da `I udis msmel ebs~ Soris arseboddes, korel acia am or moqmedebas Soris arapirdapiria. da am arapirdapir korel acias `damgzavrebis moyvarul ebi~ iwveven.

im droisaTvis, rodesac Tqveni amerikaSi vizitis vadebi praqtikul ad amoiwura da Tqvens TavSi uamravi cxril i da sqema gaqvT damuSavebul i, Tqven maspinZel s uxsniT yvel a-fers, rac frenburTis amerikul i stil iT TamaSis Sesaxeb aRmoacineT da gai geT. Tqven kargad anal izebT, rom jer ki-dev aris dro da saSual eba, rom ganmar tebebis saSual ebiT yvel aferi gaigoT TamaSis Sesaxeb. magram, Rrmad xart

darwmunebul i, rom am SemTxvevaSi, Tqven obieqtur sawyi-sebze uari unda TqvAT. Tqveni maspinZel i ki dahyurebs statistikas, romel ic STambewdavia da roml isTvisac Tqven monacemebi ase rudunebiT agroveT. is saTanadod afasebs Tqvens metodol ogiur unarebs, rogorc es mecniers SeSvenis. `saubedurod, - Cumad dasZens is saubris bol os, - Tqven absol uturad veraferi ver Seiswavl eT frenburTis Sesaxeb."

da Tqveni maspinZI is komentari absol uturad sworia. Tqven TamaSis azri gamogeparaT. miuxedavad imisa, rom Tqveni statistika STambewdavia, Tqven ver `dai naxeT~ Seswavl i-I i movl enebis ukani mdgari mizezebi. Tqven ver SeZel iT, er-Tad SegekraT da gagemTI ianebinat is gegmebi da miznebi, roml ebic, erTi mxriv, `WeSmariT moTamaSeeks~, xol o, meore mxriv ki, mayurebl ebs amoZravebdaT. metic, Tqven ver SeniS-neT is didi gansxvaveba, romel ic real ur monawil eebsa da mayurebl ebs Soris arsebobda. ufro konkretul ad rom vTqvaT, Tqven ver gaigeT, rom frenburTis TamaSis garkveul, mkafio wesebTan erTad, mis yurebasac gaaCnia sakutari werebi. es is wesebia, roml ebic gaziarebul i da gaTavisebul ia yvel a Cartul i mxaris mier da swored ase iqnmneba frenbur-Ti. am TamaSs aseve gaaCnia `dauwerel i wesebi TamaSis fanebis a an mayurebl ebisatvis. am magal iTis safuzvel ze, interpretivisti ganaTI ebis mkvl evari paral el s gaavl ebda sakl aso oTaxSi studentebisa da maswavl ebl is qcevis gaazrebasTan.

frenburTis srul i gaazreba moiTxovs moTamaSis mizezebis garkvevas TiToeul i konkretul i moqmedebisaTvis da aseve moiTxovs TamaSis wesebis codnas. amasTan, moTamaSis moqmedeba da TamaSis wesebi erTmaneTTan mimarTebiT unda ganvixil oT. ufro metic, imisaTvis, rom srul fasovnad gaerkviot TamaSSI mayurebl is Tu moTamaSis pozici idan, Tqven isev da isev unda gai goT ori urTierTdakavSirebul i wesi: pirvel ia, rom Tqven unda gai azrot individebis gegmebi da amocanebi im mTI iani `TamaSis~ wesebis konteqstSi, romel sac isini TamaSoben da meore - Tqven unda gai goT moTamaSis Tu TamaSis fanis `TamaSis wesebi~. `TamaSis wesebsi ~arsebul i anal ogiebis ufro dakvirvebiT Seswavl is SemTxvevaSi, GTqven SeZI ebT gai azrot is faqtorebi, roml ebic social uri movl enebis interpretirebisa da gasaanal izebl ad dagWildebaT - ar aqvs mni Svnel oba, es frenburTis TamaSsa

da gul Sematkvrobas exeba, Tu skol as - Tavisi `swavl isa-  
Tu `swavl ebis~ procesebi T.

sanam win wawiwevT, yuradReba SevaCeroT im gaugebro-  
baze, romel ic frenburTis magal iTma dagvanaxa. pi tCersa da  
baterze (Tavdamsxmeli) urTierTkavSirze dakvirvebis pro-  
cessi, romel sac Cveni vizitori social uri mecnierebis  
mkvl evari awarmoebda, mni Svnel ovan konceptual ur Secdomas  
moicavda is ganzraxvebi, roml ebic, erTi Sexedvi T, moTamaSe  
mxareebis moqmedebebas uwevda stimul acias. pi tCerisa da ba-  
terisa ganzraxvebi sakmaod damabnevl ad gamoiyureboda.  
Cvenma mecnierma daaskvna, rom pi tCeri cdil obda, biti bur-  
TisTvis gaertya, xol o bateri ki cdil obda, rom es dar tyna  
aecil ebina. moqmedebebis amgvari anal izi martivia da ara-  
fers gveubneba mecnieris mcdar interpretaciaze. TumcaRa,  
frenburTis samyaroSi adamianebma ician, rom biteri bur-  
TisTvis ibrZvis, xol o pi tCeri ki - bitisaTvis. sxva si tyve-  
biT rom vTqvaT, erT SemTxvevaSi frenburTi iTamaSeba, xo-  
lo meore SemTxvevaSi ki - ara. dakvirveba da moqmedebebis  
Tanmimdevrobis korel acia, cal ke aRebul i, verafers ambobs  
movl enis gagrZel ebisa da ganvi Tarebis Sesaxeb.

rodesac bavSvi regul arul ad arasworad pasuxobs ki Tx-  
vebs, rTul i saTqmeli ia, es arcodnis gamo xdeba Tu imitom,  
rom bavSvi yuradRebis miqcevas cdil obs. mcdel oba, rom  
ki Txvebs swori pasuxebi gaeces, im TamaSis nawil ia, romel -  
ic sakl aso o TaxSi aqtivobebis fargl ebSi xorciel deba.  
mcdel oba, ki Txvebs araswori pasuxebi gaeces - ar wamoad-  
gens TamaSis nawil s.

TumcaRa, cal keul i moTamaSebis ganzraxvebis codna  
jer kidev ar aris sakmarisi. warmovidginoT, rom erTi pi-  
rovneba eki Txeba meores: `ratom iqnev am bi tas?~ rasac mohy-  
veba pasuxi: `imisaTvis, rom burTs moartya.~ am pasuxis  
miuxedavad, Cven mainc ar viciT, ras akeTebs es moTamaSe, Tu  
ar gvaqvs informacia im konteqstis Sesaxeb, romel Sic es  
moTamaSe bitis burTisaTvis gartymas apirebs. bitis mortyma  
burTisaTvis frenburTSi ar hgavs Cognis mortymas burTi-  
saTvis CogburTSi an magidis CogburTSi. moTamaSis ganzrax-  
vas, rom bi ta burTs moartyas mxol od gaziarebul i wesebisa  
da miznebis erTobl iv konteqstSi aqvs azri. da im pirobit,  
Tu es moqmedeba warmoSobs SesaZl ebl obas, rom Sei qmnas Ta-  
maSis garkveul i etapi xel sayrel i startisaTvis, romel zec  
TamaSis Semdegi safexurebia dafuznebul i. ase, magal iTad,

gamoqceva mindvris sxva mxares da a.S. zustad i give SeiZI eba i Tqvas swavl is proceszec. tel eviqtorinaSi swori pasuxis gacema ki Txvaze ar aris i give, rac sakl aso oTaxSi swori pasuxis gacemis mcdel oba, sadac swori pasuxi Semdeg sa-fexurs warmodgens swavl i saTvis. sxva si tyvebi T rom vTqaT, ganzraxva, romel ic individis moqmedebis uk an imal eba, mni Svnel obas i Zens gazirebul i wesebi Ta da miznebi T dat-virtul konteqstSi, sadac individis moqmedeba SeiZI eba im aqtivobad mi cnes, risi ganzraxvac am individis gaachnia. bur-TisTvis bitas gartyma im kul turasi, sadac frenburTs ar i cnoben, SeiZI eba sxvagvarad i qnes aRqmul i, magal iTad Cog-burTisTvis an nadirobi saTvis varj i Sad, an agresi i s gadmo-safrqhev qmedebad. Mmokl ed, yvel aftrad, magram ara - frenburTad.

frenburTis magal iTis kompl eqsuroba gvexmareba, kargad gavaanal i zoT nebismeri social uri konteqstis mni Svnel obaTa kompl eqsuroba. interpretivistisaTvis, mni Svnel oba ar aqvs mxol od imas, rac vi Racas TavSi utrial ebs da arc imas, rac raRac movl enis mixedvi T SeiZI eba rom amoviki T-xoT... interpretivisti anal i zebs, rom im adamianebs, rom-lebic social uri cxovrebis sxvadasxva aqtivobaSi arian CarTul ebi, gaachniaT gaziarebul i, saerTo xedva mizezebi sa am aqtivobebTan mimar Tebi T. maT ician, ra aris nebadarTul i da ras moel ian maTgan. warmoidgineT, rom midixarT ekl esiaSi an taZarSi, skol aSi andac sul ac koncertze. is, rac TqvenTvis da sxvebiSTvis TiToeul am adgil s gansakuTrebul s xdis, warmoadgens gaziarebul codnas imisa, Tu ra unda gaakeToT Tqven erTad am konkretul adgil as. adamianebs unda SeeZI oT mosal odnel i movl enebis interpretireba imisaTvis, rom maTi monawil eoba sxvadasxva aqtivobebSi I ogikuri, garkveul i iyos rogorc maTTvis, aseve sxvebi saTvis. sxva SemTxvevaSi, isini iseve dabneul ebi da dakargul ebi aRmoCndebian yovel dRiur social ur cxovrebaSi, rogorc Cveni gamogonil i mecnieri damkvi rvebel i aRmoCnda frenburTis matcis dros.

axl a dadga is dro, rodesac SeiZI eba ki Txvis dasma: da mainc, ra aris is `raRac~, rac adamianebe maT ician, i ziareben, da rac maT saSual ebas aZI evs adekvaturad imoqmedon da adekvaturi reagi reba gaakeTon saj aro garemoSi? ra unda i codes social uri mecniererebis an ganaTI ebi s mecnierma imisaTvis, rom adamianTa qcevebi gaiazros? Cven ukve vnaxet,

rom aucil ebel ia im aqtivobis amosaval i wertil is codna, romel Sic adamianebi arian CarTul ebi, frenburTis moTamaSeebi cdil oben, rom moigon; fanebisTvis ki frenburTi xali si da dasvenebaa. saxl ebis myidvel ebi da gamyidvel ebi cdil oben, rom orive mxarisTvis misaReb fasze SeTanxmdnen, maswavl ebl ebisTvis ki swavl ebis dros mTavari mi zani moswavl eebisaTvis sagnis aTvisebaSi maqsimal uri daxmaraebaa, xol o moswavl eebi ki, Tavis mxriv, cdil oben, iswavl on.

Tumca, aqtivobis amosaval i wertil is codna ar aris sakmarisi. Cven aseve unda vicodeT, Tu rogor unda gavxdeT ama Tu im aqtivobis aRiarabol i, legitimuri monawili e. aseve gwirdeba imis codna, Tu ra aris is pirobebi, rac monawi-I eobis ufl ebas da safuzvel s izI eva. kol ej Si siarul is amosaval i wertil i, savaraudod, ganaTI ebis miRebaa. erTma studentma SeiZI eba amis aTvis 4 wel i kol ej is bibl ioTekasi gaataros ki TxvaSi, Tumca, es srul ebi Tac ar CaeTvl eba mas universitetis sxvadasxva kampusSi registraciad. meore prirovnebas ki, romel ic cdil obs, frenburTis matci moigos, SeiZI eba azrad mouvides, rom mi znis misaRwevad mowinaaRmdegis gundis wevrebs gul isrevis gamomwvevi saReWi reziniT gaumaspinZI des. aseT SemTxvevaSi, Cven aRar gvaqvs saqme frenburTis TamaSTan. arsebobs mxol od garkveul i moqmedebebi, roml ebic garkveul i TamaSis nawil ad iTvl eba - dartymis ganxorciel eba, gaseirneba, TviTmfrinaviT gamgzavreba, testis Cabareba, wignis wakiTxva, sakl aso mecadineobaze wasvl a da bevri sxva. imisaTvis, rom kol ej is studenti an frenburTis moTamaSe viyoT, aucil ebel ia vicodeT, ris gakeTebas movel iT Cven da moel i an sxvebi Cvengan da ra wesebiT regul irdeba Cveni moqmedebebi rasakvirvel ia, arsebobs formal uri da oficial uri wesebi, roml ebic TamaSs aregul ireben da marTaven, instruqciebsa da katal ogebSi aris mocemul i, Tumca, amis garda, arsebobs `wesebi~, roml ebic sazRvraven, ramdenad kargi pitCeri, mwvrThel i, studenti Tu sxva vinme varT Cven da romel ic ganapi robebs gundur muSaobas, sportul nakrebs, kol ej is programis efeqturobas. mni Svnsl ovania vicodeT, rom amgvani `TamaSis wesebi~ SeiZI eba mkafioc iyos da Seferil ic, da warmoadgndnen rogorc TamaSis Semadgenel nawil s, aseve aregul irebdes mas. konstituciuri, ZiriTadi wesebi gansazRvraven imas, rac TamaSis Semadgenel i nawil ia. magal iTad, wesi zustad gansazRvravs, Tu ras moicavs pitCeroba. pitCeroba ar niSnavs

mxol od burTis srol as bateris mimarTul ebiT. es moqmedeba garkveul i wesiT srul deba da garkveul i ganzraxviT. oficial uri, ZiriTadi wesis mixedviT, pi tCeroba ni Snavs `mcodel obas, aicil os bateri-. sxva ZiriTadi wesi ki moi cavs uamravi tipis il eTs imisaTvis, rom bateri airido, manZil s pi tCeris `saxl sa- da pl ei Ts Soris da ase Semdeg. is wesebi, roml ebic pi tCings aregul ireben, aseve moi caven pi tCeris fands, romel ic burTis gadacemis motyuebiT el ements moi- cavs da a.s.

wesebis nawil i, TamaSis procesis regul aciisaTvis, (samarTavad) gamoi yeneba, xol o nawil i ki, TamaSSi daSvebul i aqtivoebebi sa da RonisZieebis gansazRvrebisaTvis. aqedan gamomomdi nare, TamaSis wesebis Cven mxol od imas ar gveubneba, risi gakeTebis ufl eba gvaqvs TamaSSi da risi ki - ara. isini aseve gvaubyeben, ra aqtivoba SeiZl eba CaiTval os frenburTis TamaSad da ra - ara. damatebiT ki, am wesebSi uzrunvel yofil ia specifikuri da urTierTdakavSirebul i l eqsikoni, roml is mniSvnel oba wesebSi aris axsnill i. `dar- tymas- frenburTSi sxva mniSvnel oba eniWeba, vidre, magal iTad, pol itikaSi. `krediti- kol ej Si sxva ramaa, vidre, magal iTad, maRaziis ganyofil ebaSi. Cven ki terminebi - `dar- tyma- da `krediti- im wesebTan mimarTebiT unda ganvixil oT, roml ebi sganac `TamaSi-, rogorc mTI i anoba, Sedgeba. sxva si tyvebiT rom vTqvaT, arsebobs cirkul arul i urTierTkav- Siri im wesebs, roml is ganac TamaSi Sedgeba da im l eqsikons Soris, romel ic am wesebs ayal ibebs. imisaTvis, rom nebis mieri `TamaSis- daweril i Tu dauwerel i wesebi gavigoT, Cven unda gvesmodes, ra aris aucil ebel i, moTxovnill i l eqsikoni da imisaTvis, rom Ggvesmodes, ras unda moi cavdes es l eqsikoni, Cven unda gvesmodes wesebi.

cirkul arul i kavSiri moi Txovs gansakuTrebui tipis gaazrebas, roml is Sesaxebac Cven saubars maSin daviwyebT, rodesac ganvixil avT hermenetivtikas. TumcaRa, is faqti, rom individuals unda esmodes wesebi, l eqsikoni, garemoebebi da TamaSis amosaval i wertil i imisaTvis, rom man TamaSi SeZ- l os, TavisTavad amtkicebs, rom social uri qcevis misaRebi anal izi moi Txovs amgvari sakiTxebi sadmi adekvaturi yuradRebis gamaxvil ebas. wesebi da l eqsikoni ar arsebobs damouki debl ad, abstraqtul, arapersonal izebul real obaSi. isini unda gaiazron maT, vinc CarTul ia am aqtivobebSi. es, cxadia, ar ni Snavs, rom TiToeul ma adamianma an Tundac ada-

mi anebis garkveul ma j gufma wesebis citireba unda SeZI os. es imas ni Snavs, rom individua da j gufebma unda SeZI on im-oqmedon da il aparakon imgvarad, rom maT mier wesebis komunikaci is saSual ebi T Sesal ebel i gaxdes maTi saqmianobis mni Snel obis gaazreba. frenburTSi, magal iTad, es im wesebis impl icisturi gaazrebaa, romel ic Cven saSual ebas gvaZI evs, davinaxoT kavSiri burTis dartymasa da mindorze sirbil s Soris. skol aSi, I eqciebis mosmenasa da gamocdebis Cabarebas Soris. am kavSirebs Cven ki dev axal i, sakvanzo faqtorebisken mi vyavarT social uri qcevebis anal izSi - im individua ganzraxvebi da miznebi, roml ebic konkretul qmedebebSi /aqtvobebSi arian Cartul ebi. Cven unda gvesmodes, rom agentis ganzraxvebi erTgvari kanonzomierebiTaa Camoyal i bebul i, rac gamowveul ia wesebis konkretul i el elementebis erTobi i obiT. amasTan, agents aqvs Tavisufal i arCevnis gakeTebis saSual eba wesebi T gaTval i swinebul al-ternativebs Soris. magal iTad, rodesac hiteri iqnevs bits, Cven unda vicodeT, risTvis akeTebs i gi amas. imisTvis, rom bazaSi Casvas burTi, miexmaros Tanagundel s sakuTari pl ei-Tis mi RwevaSi, Tu es orive ganzraxva erTad aqvs. rodesac sakl aso oTaxSi bavSvi xel s i wevs, misi ganzraxvaa, rom i gi maswavl ebel i gamoi Zaxebs an mas imedi aqvs, rom xel ebis tyeSi mis aweul xel s veravin Seni Snavs da is gadarCebs sircxvil s aRiaros, rom pasuxi ar aqvs? me-8 TavSi mocemu-ia `axal i studentis- istoria, sadac maswavl ebel i cdi-obs gaarkvios is social uri wesebi, roml ebic axal mos-wavl es ar aZI evs saSual ebas, megobrebi SeiZinos. Tu Tqven am magal iTs gadaxedavT, darwmundebiT, rom es arc Tu ise advil ia.

## **interpretivistul i swavl eba ganaTI ebaSi**

interpretivistul i swavl eba ganaTI ebaSi midrekil ia ori formiT iyoS warmodgeni l i. orive forma Zal ian mWidrod aris dakavSi rebul i frenburTis magal iTtan. EerTi maTgani swavl obs indi vi debis ganzraxvebsa da mizezebs sakl aso garemoSi. meore forma ki yuradRebas amaxvi-l ebs saerTo sistemaze skol is fargl ebSi. Cven ukve davinaxeT, rom monawil is mni Snel obis anal izi da interpretacia erT-erTi umni Snel ovanesi komponenti gaxda Taname-drove neomarqsistul saganmanaTI ebl o swavl ebebSi. vel is kvl eva mkveTrad scil deba swavl ebis tradiciul orTodoq-sul -marqsistul midgomebs da iTval i swinebs ymawil is interpretivistul CarCos. is gvexmareba, rom swavl ebas ymawwil is Tval iT SevxedoT da misi gadmosaxedi dan gavakeToT swavl ebis interpretureba. qvemoT Cven ganvi xi l avT naSroms, romel ic marqsistul i CarCosgan damouki debi ad Camoyal ibda da romel ic warmogvidgens mni Snel ovan interpretivis-tul xedvas swavl ebis, rogorc social uri aqtivobis gaa-zrebi saTvis.

anTropol ogias, rogor disciplinas, gansakuTrebul i mni Snel oba eniWeba interpretivistul i kvl evis programebis ganxorciel ebisaTvis ganaTI ebis sferoSi. social uri an-Tropol ogebi da eTnografiebi xazs usvamen studentebis, maswavl ebl ebis da sxva danarCeni monawil eebis perspektiviis gaazrebas saganmanaTI ebl o dawesebul ebebSi. eTnografiebi, roml ebic sakl aso oTaxSi arsebul qcevas swavl oben, gansakuTrebiT kategoriul ad iTxoven mkvl evrebi sagan, rom maT mier ar moxdes sakuTari Sexedul eebabis miwera sakvl ev obieqtebz. interpretivistul i kuTxiT danaxul i ganaTI ebis kvl eva orientirebul i unda iyoS ssvadasxva mni Snel obi sa da `TamaSis wesebis- gaazrebaze da ar unda cdil obdes sakl aso oTaxis kul turis marTvasa da Camoyal ibebaze. amasTan, mkvl evrebi ar unda cdil obdnen romel ime zogadi Teoriis damtkicebas am kul turis magal iTze. funqciona-l istebisgan gansxvavebiT, interpretivistebi ar unda iyvnen midrekil ebi swavl ebis Sefasebisaken, rac raime tipis codnis progressa da ganviTarebas gul i sxmobs. marqsistebisgan gansxvavebiT, interpretivistebi ar unda amtkicebdnen, rom nebi smieri tipis saganmanaTI ebl o aqtivobis axsna kl asSi arsebul i dominanti mimarTul eebabis gaTval i swinebiT unda

moxdes. faqtobrivid, interpretivisti unda Seaxsenebdes marqsistebsa da funçional istebs, rom sakl aso cxovrebi s maTeburi xedva mxol oddamxol od erT-erTia mralval WeSmart interpretacias Soris, roml ebic swavl ebis social urpol itikur mimarTul ebetan dakavSirebiT arsebobs.

rei makdermoti, interpretivisti eTnografi, romel ic sakl aso qcevas ikvl evs, luis hoodTan erTobl ivad ganxorciel ebul kvl evaSi Zal ian detal urad da sainteresod warmogvidgens im gansxvavebul rol ebsa da TamaSis wesebs, roml ebic sakl aso oTaxis garemoSi arsebobs. makdermoti sakl aso oTaxis ganixl avs, rogorc adgil s, sadac statusi da mni Svnel obebi ganuwytel i ganxil visa da mol aparakebis sagania yovel dRiuri interaqciis procesSi. warmatebac da marcxic im procesebis Sedegia, romel Tac mecnieri sakl aso oTaxis pol itikas uwodebs da romel ic gul isxmobs sxvadasxva sakiTxze SeTanxmebebis warmoebas studentebsa da studentsa da maswavl ebel s Soris. am interaqciaSi TamaSis wesebi gansazRvrul ia da TiToeul i moswavl e individual ur rol s TamaSobs am gansazRvrul i wesebis fargl ebSi. xol o TamaSis wesebi ki gansazRvreba sxvadasxva mxareebis interaqciis pirobebSi.

makdermotis mier gamoyenebul i midgomis Zal ian mafio magal iTs warmoadgens dawyebiTi skol is yvel aze danal i donis mkiTxvel Ta j gufze miseul i dakvirveba. sawyis etapze nebis mier damkvirvebel s xvdeba Tval Si dabai i donis mkiTxvel TaTvis tipuri aqtvobebi sakl aso oTaxSi; aforiaqebuli, dabneul i bavSvebi, roml ebic xmamaRal i ki TxviT cdi- I oben Secdomebis dafarvas.. miuxedavad amisa, mkiTxvel Ta j gufis situaciis makdermotiseul anal izSi yuradReba gamaxvil ebul ia mkiTxvel i bavSvebis j gufisaTvis daval ebis arqonaze. mkvl evris azriT, probl ema is ki araa, rom am bavSvebs aqvT raime tipis nakl i, aramed imasi, rom man, rogorc damkvirvebel ma dai naxa, rom bavSvebi araswori tipis aqtvobaSi iyvnen CarTul ebi. erTi SexedviT, bavSvebi sakmaod yuradRebiT eki deboden mocemul daval ebas, romel ic, mkvl evris dakvirvebiT, ufro metad warmoadgenda `TamaSS, romel sac Cven yovel Tvis vTamaSobT ki Txvis gakveTiI is dros-, vidre `ki Txvis swavl as-.

`TamaSi- is j gufuri gamocdiI ebba, roml is drosac maswavl ebl isa da moswavl eebis qcevas orive mxare warmarTavs. j gufis muSaoba ki dafuznebul ia aqtvobaze, roml is dro-

sac TiToeul i moswavl e xmamaRI a kiTxul obs teqstis monakveTs. rogorc ki erTi bavSvi wai ki Txavs Tavis monakveTs, sxva bavSvebi xel s iweven, rom gaagrZel on xmamaRI a ki Txva Sewyvetil i adgil idan. maswavl ebel i ki erT-erTs asaxel ebs da isic agrZel ebs Semdegi monakveTiS ki Txvas. Zal ian primiul i iqneboda, davyrdnobodiT im mosazrebas, rac ertI SexedviT Cans. TiTqosda maswavl ebel i akontrol ebs moswavl eTa j gufs. Semdegi mkiTxvel iS SerCeviS yovel i etapi bavSvebs Soris intensiur moZraobasTan aris dakavSirebul i, moswavl eebi xel ebs ver asveneben, nawil i merxis skamze uk an mkveTrad ixreba, meoreni ki Tavebs megobrebis mxrebs uk an mal aven, rom maswavl ebl is mzera airidon. yvel aze SemaS-foTebel i ki isaa, rom es srul iad mafiiod gamoxatul i uxerxul oba meordeba mkiTxvel Ta Canacvl ebis yovel j erze. es intensiuri moZraobebi aranairad ar aris SemTxveviTi da aSkarad kontrol s eqvemdebareba. Tumca, es kontrol i Tavi-si xasiaTiT maswavl ebl is Tanmimdevrul i instruqci ebi dan absol uturad gamij nul ia. metic, am tipis kontrol s SeC-veul ia j gufis yvel a wevri, bavSvebi erTmaneTiS gavl enis qveS imyofebian da kargad pasuxoben erTmaneTiS qcevas.

bavSvebis moZraobis amgvani harmoniul oba ar aris miCeviS Sedegi. rodesac saerTo qceva i cvl eba sakl aso oTaxis romel im e nawil Si, bavSvebi da maswavl ebel i erTmaneTs uyu-reben, imisaTvis, rom gansazRvrion, Tu rogori iqneba j gufis sapasuxo moqmedeba. am damoki debul ebis yvel aze kargi gansazRvrel ia, rom yvel a moTamaSe j gufis gamocdil ebasTan aris Sexmatkibil ebul i da imgvarad asrul eben sakuTar rol ebs, rogorc es j gufis interaqciis fargl ebSia gansazRvrul i. ufro metic, dakvirvebis procesi winaswar ar-sebul mol odinebze Tu xdeba j gufSi (magal iTad, daskvnis gakeTeba, rom ki Txva yvel as mier gaziarebul i aqtivobaa), ar aris swori. dakvirveba unda amowmebedes daval ebas im momentisTvis, rodesac j gufi mas gansazRvrav.

konkretul i magal iTis saSual ebiT am pozicia bevrad ufro mafiiod SeiZI eba davinaxoT. yvel aze patara j gufis wevri, roza, yvel aze nakl ebad ganviTarebul i mkiTxvel icaa. sakl aso muSaobis procesSi, yvel a im momentSi, rodesac er-Ti bavSvi amTavrebs ki Txvas da sxva bavSvebi ki xel s iweven, rom gaagrZel on teqstis Semdegi monakveTi, roza Tval ebs wi gni dan ar swevs. misi sxeul i kvl av wigniskenaa daxril i, maSin, rodesac danarCenebi wel Si swordebian da xel is asa-

wevad arian mzad. rogorc ki maswavl ebel i kl asSi aweul xel ebs uyurebs da viRacas teqstis gagrZel ebas sTxovs, rozas Tval ebi wignis furcel s swydeba im momentisaTvis, rodesac romel i me bavSvi ukve mzadaa, rom gaagrZel os ki Txva da yvel a danarCeni ki ubrundeba wigns, roza gasworebul i zis da xel s iwevs. swored am momentze dakvirvebiT makdermoti akvirdeba im usityvo SeTanjmebas, romel ic maswavl ebel sa da rozas Soris Camoyal ibda da ganmtkicda. maSin, rodesac roza mTel i Tavisi pozita da qcevit dainteresebul, j gufis muSaobaSi CarTul moswavl es hgavs, maswavl ebel i ar agdebs rozas uxerxul situaciaSi da ar sTxovs mas, gaagrZel os teqstis kiTxva. sxva bavSvebi saTvis maswavl ebl is rozasadmi damoki debul eba ar warmoadgens gamowewas. amastan, arc rozas Tavmooyvareoba il axebe. Tumca, am garemos kidev erTi, damatebiTi Sedegia is, rom rozas arc Tu bevri SesaZI ebl oba aqvs, iswavl os kiTxva. miuxedavad imisa, rom Tu vinme rozas kiTxviT process Seafasebs, maSinve warmocindeba misi dabal i kompetenciebi, misi moqmedebebi araertmni Svnel ovan warmatebad unda CaiTval os. misi mizania, minimal urad Seamciros Sercxvenis Sansebi da am aspeqtSi is sakmaod warmatebul ia.

makdermots miaCnia, rom metwil ad ganaTI ebis mkvl evrebi skol is warumatebl obas bavSvebis dabal intel eqtual ur SesaZI ebl obebs an maswavl ebl is mikerzoebul damoki debul ebas abral eben. mkvl evris azriT, bevrad ufrro produqtivul i damoki debul ebebis gamoyenebaa saWiRo, raTa sakl aso oTaxSi mimdinare interaktivis maxasiaTebl ebi gaxdes xi-l ul i. es ki, Tavis mxriv, saSual ebas iZI eva interpretivis-tul i gaazreba moxdes im procesebisa, romel ic mimdinareobas. makdermotis azriT, maswavl ebl is an moswavl is cal sax-ad dadanaSaul ebis tendencia ganaTI ebis mkvl evrebis mier daSvebul i Secdomis gamo warmoiSoba. ganaTI ebis mkvl evrebi individubs sakuTari anal izis pirvel ad obieqtad ganix-ii aven da imTaviTve miaweren am individubs sxvadasxva Tvis-sebas, rogorbicca kompetenturi - arakompetenturi. roza aracveul ebrivi magal iTi iqneboda im SemTxvevaSi, Tu mis Sefasebas standartul i kiTxvis teqstis safuzvel ze movax-dendiT. TumcaRa, interpretivisti mkvl evrebi miiCneven, rom sakl aso oTaxi is sivrcea, sadac adami anebi erTad moqmede-ben. rogorc makdermoti da hudi amtkiceben: `adami anebis moqmedebis anal izisaTvis swori obieqtia adami anebis moqme-

deba-. sxva si tyvebi T rom vTqvaT, eTnografisaTvis saintere-soa is social uri wesebi, roml ebic individebis qcevas gansazRvraven konkretul i j gufis garemocvaSi. makdermoti da hudi aRni Snaven, rom `wesebi, roml ebic Cveni anal izidan i Reben saTaves, saukeTeso SemTxvevaSi is wesebia, roml ebic adamianebe Tavad iyeneben erTmaneTis organi zebi saTvis."

makdermoti da sxva mkvl evrebi cdil obdnem, rom Sees-wavl aT is strategiebi, roml ebsac bavSvebi sasi rcxvil o mdgomareobi dan Tavis daRwevis mizniT iyenebdnen. rozas msgavsad, maT SeiZI eba aqturi monawil is rol i iTamaSon da, amasTan, ramdenadac SesaZI ebel ia, minimumamde daiyanon arakompetenturobis gamovl inebis SesaZI ebl obebi. sxva studentebi ki sakuTar araadekvatur moqmedebebs kl asel eb-Tan TanamSroml obiT i kavSirebis ganmtkicebi T cdil oben. am SemTxvevaSi kl asel ebi praqtikul ad gadafaraven amgvari moswavl eebis dabal kompetenciebs. ki dev arsebobs iseTi SemTxvevebi, rodesac moswavl eebi `aramkiTxvel is- statuss sagul mkerde ni Sani viT atareben, romel ic SesaZI ebel s xdis maTs identificirebas j gufis sxva, aramkiTxvel wevrebTan da aZI ierebs maswavl ebl is rwmenas maTTvis damaxasi aTebel arakompetenturobasTan dakavSi rebi T.

interpretivistTaTvis sakvl ev amocanas warmoadgens imis garkveva, Tu ra xdeba konkretul social ur situaciaSi da im mniSnel obis aRmoCena, romel sac es konkretul i situacia massi monawil eebisTvis warmoadgens. interpretivisti ar interesdeba, arian Tu ara erTni ufro ZI ierebi ki TxvaSi, weraSi, maTematikaSi, vidre danarCenebi. ufro metad interpretivistis amocanaa dainaxos is meTodebi, roml ebSic sxvadasxva mizani erTad aris Tavmoyril i da swored am amo-saval i wertil idan gansazRvros konkretul i social uri situaciis maxasiaTebl ebi. susti mkiTxvel ebis magal iTze, udi desi mniSnel oba eniWeba maT arakompetenturobis gamovl inebas, romel ic ubiZgebs am bavSvebs Seisisxl xorcon Tavmoyvareobis gadasarCeni sxvadasxva strategia. is saSual eebi, sadac ori mizani, ki Txvis swavl a da Tavmoyvareobis Senarcuneba erTad arsebobs, iZI eva SesaZI ebl obas, gansazRvros sakl aso oTaxis garemo. metic, makdermotisaTvis Secdomad aris aRiarebul i kompetenciis, rogorc pirovnebis sakuTrebis xedva. misi azriT, kompetenciis saukeTeso gaa-zreba misi, rogor situaciis kuTvnil ebad ganxil vaa. situaciebi ki TavisTavad ise yal ibdeba, rom erTi qceviTi ga-

movl i neba meoreze da mesameze ufro mkafi od aris gamoxatul i. studentis kompetenturoba SeiZI eba sxvadasxva aqtivobaSi vi indebodes, magram arsebobdes erTi, romel ic sko-  
l i s mier yvel aze mni Svnel ovnad aris miCneul i. swored am  
mizezis gamo, makdermoti gvTavazobs, aucil ebl ad vipovot  
racional obis marcval i yvel a qcevi T gamovl i nebaSi.

am tipis gaazrebisaTvis aucil ebel ia, rom kargad gavarkvioT is mni Svnel obebi, roml ebic moTamaSeebis qcevas  
Tavad moTamaSeebis mier eniWeba. zogierTi Tqvengani SeiZI e-  
ba imis Zi ebi T dakavdes, ramdenad I ogikuria makdermotis  
kvl evebi. imdenad, ramdenadac arc maswavl ebel i da arc  
moswavl eebisaTvis sakuTari moqmedebebis ganxil va aravis  
mouTxovia, viRaca SeiZI eba gakvirvebul ic ki darces mak-  
dermotis mier mocemul i konkretul i magal iTebis WeSmari-  
tebiT. da mainc, ZiriTadi aTvI is wertil ebi Zal i an mni Svn-  
nel ovnad rCeba. CvenTvis aucil ebel i vicodeT, Tu rogor  
iazreben monawil eebi sakuTar monawil eobas iqamde, sanam  
daviwyebT am monawil eobis aRweras ufro zogedad. imisgan  
damouki debl ad, gadavwyetT Tu ara, vkiTxOT monawil es sa-  
kuTari damoki debul ebiS Sesaxeb, mainc gasaTval i swinebel ia  
is rwmena, romel ic Cven gvkar naxobs, Tu ramdenad SeuZI ia  
monawil es sakuTari damoki debul ebiS gadmocema da aqvs Tu  
ara mas raime tipis mizezi, rom mxol od simarTI e gviTxras.  
advil ad aris SesaZI ebel i, rom monawil is aTvis sakuTari  
damoki debul ebiS Sesaxeb azris gaziarebis Txovna, zogedad,  
sakmaod sasargebl o praqtkaa. Tumca, amasTan, aramc da  
aramc ar unda vifiqrot, rom ganmar teba an komunikaci i s da-  
myareba martivi misaRwevia. Semdeg TavSi ganvixil avT im  
sirTul eebsa da kompl eqsurobas, roml ebic Si naarsis komu-  
nikaci asTan aris dakavSirebul i da aseve vil aparakebT im  
faqtorebze, roml ebmac mcdari da araeftetur komunikacia  
SeiZI eba da amyaros. sanam win waval T, SesaZI ebel ia, rom  
Tqven gagicndat survil i, ganvixil oT SemTxveva `miReba Tu  
armi Reba~ Mainstreaming-is me-8 TavSi. es SemTxveva iZI eva saSu-  
al ebas, marqsistul da funçional isturTan erTad, inter-  
pretivistul i Sexedul ebac ganvixil oT.

## **damatebi Ti informaciisaTvis:**

**eriksoni, fredi.** raodenobrivi meTodebi swavl ebis kvl evisas-, swavl ebis kvl evis saxel mZRvanel odan, (me-3 gamocema), re-daqtori merl insi vitroki, niu-iorki, mak-mil ani, 1987. es aris naTI ad da gasagebad daweril i swavl ebis aspektebis detal uri aRwera, roml ebic efekturad SeiZI eba rao-denobrivi kvl evis dros Semowmdes.

**heti, Sirl i braisi.** mimarTul ebebi si tyvebi T: ena, cxovreba da muSaoba Temsa da sakl aso oTaxSi. kembrij i, ingl isi: kemrij univeristi presi, 1983. naCvenebia interpretivistul i kvl evis meTodebi, roml ebic sxvadasxva kul turul i sawyisebi dan momaval i bavSvebis mier enis gamoyenebis swavl as aRwers da aCvenebs kon-trasts, romel ic arsebobs enis saxl isa da skol is pirobebSi swavl is dros.

**al an peskini.** ucnobebis ferebi, megobrebis ferebi. Cikago: zi universiti of Cikago pres, 1991.

naCvenebia interpretivistul i meTodebi, roml ebic ikvl even interaqcias sxvadasxva moclul obiT kul turul j gufs Soris mul tieTnikur saSual o skol aSi.

**I ui veisi.** samuSao kl asi samuSaos gareSe: saSual o skol is mos-wavl eebi de-industrial izaciis reJinis amerikaSi. niu-iorki, rutl ej i, 1990.

interpretivistul i kvl eva gvaCvenebs, Tu rogor ibrZvian moswavl eebi skol aSi muSa-kl asis oj axis wevrad sakuTari Tavis identificirebis winaaRmdeg. es brZol a maTi mSobl ebis sazogadoebri vi garemosgan radikal urad gansxvavebul garemoSi mimdinareobs.

**maiki ef. d iangi.** gamocemaSi: codna da kontrol i: ganaTI ebis sici ol ogiis axal i mimarTul ebebi. Londoni. kol ier-makmil ani, 1971.

am gamocemis Semdgenl ebi funqional isturi da pozitivis-turi kvl evis dominantur rol s eWvqeS ayeneben da ga-moyeneben interpretivistul xedvas saskol o ganaTI ebis kvl evis aTvis.

## Tavi 7

### mni Svnel Oba da Setyobi neba; saskol o ganaTI eba da social i zaci a

rogorc ukve vnaxeT, interpretivistebi da Tvisobrivi ganaTI ebis mkvl evrebi motivirebul ni arian, Seiswavl on individualis mier sazogadoebrivi situaciis gaazreba da misi moqmedebebi am situaciaSi. skol a, iseve rogorc sakl aso oTaxi, maTi kvl evezisaTvis anal izis konkretul erTeul s warmoadgenen. fil ip j eqsonis kl asikur aRveraSi `cxovreba sakl aso oTaxSi-, i gi procesebSi uSual od CarTul i adamiannis xedvas mkafio d da naTI ad warmogvi dgens skol is dawyebiT kl asebSi mimi nare procesebis fonze. amasTan es dawyebiT skol aSi mimi nare procesebi sxvadasxva kvl evisa da sazogadoebaSi gaziarebul i mosazrebebis perspektivi dan aris warmodgenil i. miuxedavad imisa, rom misi xedva nawi-I obriv funqional izmis safuzvl ebzea agebul i, rogorc ukve me-2 TavSi - `farul i saswavl o gegma-, i gi Rrmad swvdeba moswavl eebisa da maswavl ebl is gul i snadebsa da naazrebs da gvexmareba, ukeT davinaxoT maTi moqmedebebi da maT mier saskol o ganaTI ebis aRqma.

j eqsonis msgavsad, fil ip kusikmac interpretivistul i midgoma gamoiyena Tavis kvl evaSi saSual o skol is Sesaxeb. mas sj era, TiToeul i moswavl is qcevis Seswavl a individual ur doneze warmoudgenel ia misi cal ke mdgomi maxasia-Tebi ebis, magal iTad social uri kl asis, asakis an oj axuri cxovrebis kvl evisa safuzvel ze. metic, i gi amtkicebs, rom moswavl is kvl evisaTvis misi garemos srul ad Seswavl aa auxil ebel i. imisaTvis rom safuzvl i anad gaecno skol is garemo, mecnieri saSual o skol aSi mTel i 6 TviT `Caewera-, am ori mkvl evaris msgavsad, al an peSkinmac gamoikl ia, Tu raroI s TamaSobs skol a Temis cxovrebaSi. mkvl evari monawi-I eobas i Rebda saTemo aqtivobebSi, roml ebic saskol o kuT-xiT xorciel deboda.

j eqsonisa da kusikis mikro-kvl evebi saskol o cxovrebis Sesaxeb da peSkinis kvl eva Temisa da skol is urTierTmimar-

Tebis Sesaxeb erTgvarad akni nebs interpretivistul xedvas. mecnierTa xedvebi ver aCvenebs, Tu rogor SeuZl ia interpretivistul kvl evas, aRmoACinos da aRweros is dafarul i, magram TavisTavad nagul isxmevi wesebi da damoki debul ebebi, roml ebic adami anebis qcevas warmarTavs garkveul social ur garemoSi. am damoki debul ebiT, is saki Txebi, romel Ta interpretirebasac mkvl evari apirebs, ukve aris interpretirebul i Tavad monawil eTa mier. xol o is, ris interpretirebasac monawil eebi axdenen, monawil eTa Setyobi nebebi Taa ukve gamoxatul ia. am Setyobi nebebs monawil eebi agzavnian, iReben da ayal i beben zustad im saxiT, romel ic mocemul i sazogadoebri konteqstisTvisaa Sesaferisi. imisaTvis, rom ukeT gavigoT, ra xdeba sakl aso oTaxebsa da skol ebSi, aucil ebel ia ukeT vicodeT, Tu rogor xdeba Setyobi nebebi s gagzavna da rogor intepretacias aZl even am Setyobi nebebs adami anebi.

Setyobi neba komunikaciis yvel aze martivi erTeul ia. Setyobi nebebis seria ki erTmaneTTan SeiZl eba iyos dakavSirebul i da erTad qmni des teqstur mTI ianobas, rogoricaa romani, I eqcia an Teoria. Setyobi neba, rogorc komunikaciis umartivesi erTeul i, warmoadgens erTgvar motors, roml is meSveobi Tac azrebi ertTi piri dan meores gadaecema. mi uxedadad amisa, Setyobi neba gansxvavdeba azrisgan. ufro konkretul ad ki, erTi azris gadmocema gansxvavebul i Setyobi nebebiT aris SesaZl ebel i. SesaZl ebel ia piriqitac; erTmaneTis sawinnaRmdego azrebi ertTi, saerTo Setyobi nebiT SeiZl eba iyos gamoxatul i. magal iTad, azri: `me Sen miyvarxar~, SesaZl ebel ia, rom ramdenime gansxvavebul i metodiT gagagebi-noT adresats. pirvel ia ubral o Setyobi neba: `me Sen miyvarxar~. asevea SesaZl ebel i, rom i give azri fizikur SexebaSi, romel ic gansakuTrebul i formiT aris gamoxatul i, gadmovceT. asevea SesaZl ebel i, siyvarul iT savse mzeriT gavagebi-noT adresats Cveni saTqmeli. meorela, rom Cven SegviZl ia yvel a zemoT aRniSnul i metodi gamovi yenoT da amave dros sul sxva azri Cavdot Setyobi nebebSi. magal iTad, Tu Tqven speqtakl `romeo da j ul ietaSi~ monawil eobT, Tqveni Setyobi nebebi SeiZl eba ni Snavdes: ai, amgvarad iqcevian Seyvarebul i adami anebi. sxva speqtakl Si ki, si tyvebi `me Sen miyvarxar~ sarkazmiT savse toniT SeiZl eba warmotqvaT speqtakl is Sinaarsi dan gamomdinare. Yyvel a zemoT aRweril i azri ertmaneTTan Zal ian mwidrodaa dakavSirebul i, Tumca, ar war-

moadgens erTgvar universal ur pakets. sxva si tyvebi T rom vTqvaT, Setyobineba ar aris azri.

erT-erTi mizezi, romel ic Setyobinebis Sinaarsobriv gansxvavebas ganapi robebs isaa, rom arsebobs minimum 3 tipis Sinaarsobrivi datvirTva, roml is gadmocema SetyobinebiT aris SesazI ebel i. Setyobinebis srul i interpretireba ki saminve tipis Sinaarsobrivi datvirTvis kargad gaazrebasa da maTi erTmaneTTan SekavSirebis meqani zmebis gagebas moiT-xovs. Setyobinebis pirvel i tipis Sinaarsobriv datvirTvas pirobiTad propozicionaluri Sinaarsi SeiZI eba ewodos. misi ZiriTadi funciaa, rom cxovrebiS sxvadasxva aspeqtebis Sesaxeb naTel i da mafio debul ebebi Camoayal ibos. more tipis Setyobinebebs ki kavSirebiTi Sinaarsis matarebel i Setyobinebebi SeiZI eba ewodos. misi funciaa, xazi gauxvas im kavSirs, romel ic Setyobinebis gamSveb pi rs aqvs Setyobi-nebis mimRebTan. mesame tipis Setyobinebas `damoki debul ebi-Ti Setyobi neba- ewodeba, radgan iS aCvenebs, Tu rogor aRiq-meba Setyobi neba an ra tipis damoki debul eba SeiZI eba arsebobdes msgavsi Setyobinebis mimarT.

propozicionaluri Sinaarsis Setyobineba gul isxmobs komunikaciis aspeqtebs, roml ebic informaciul i gzavnili verbal ur gamoxatvasTanaa dakavSirebul i. Cveul ebriv, igi marTal, utyuar informacias moicavs. `wvims-. `j oni kargi studentia-, `yvel a sxeul i erTi da imave siCqaris maCvenebel ze iwyebas vardnas- - es magal iTebia im debul ebebisa, roml ebic gamoTqmul azrs simarTI ed aqceven. yvel a es debul eba konkretul i sakiTxis Sesaxeb, magal iTad, amindis an j onis gonebrivi SesazI ebl obebis qcevis Sesaxeb informacias moicavs, amasTan, informaciis marTebul obis gadasamowmebl ad arsebobs avtoritetul i da sando meqani zmebi, roml ebic informaciis WeSmaritebis an piriqiT - sicruis gadamowmebis saSual ebas iZI eva. `Tu ar gjera, rom wvims, SegiZI ia gareT gaxvide da darwmunde- an `mibrZandi da Tavad naxe j onis niSnebi da yofaqceva-. Aam gziT aseve SegviZI ia personaluri da Rirebul i propozicionaluri Sinaarsis gadacema. propozicionaluri Setyobinebebia, magal iTad, `mowyenil i var- an `ra araCveul ebrivi ferweraa-. amgvari Setyobinebebis dros avtoritetul i gadamowmebis meqani zmebis mozieba arc Tu ise advil ia. miuxedavad am faqtisa, Cven, adami anebis umravl esoba, swored am tipis SetyobinebebiT vamyarebT komunikaci as - vcvl iT Setyobinebebs erTmaneTTan.

axl a ki warmoidgineT debul eba, romel ic sasamarTI o darbazSi mosamarTI is mier aris warmoTqmuli: `sasamar-TI os gadawyvetil ebiT, Tqven mogesaj aT 5 wel i sasj el aRsrul ebiT dawesebul ebaSi yofna da 1000 dol aris gadaxda j arimis saxiT. da Tumca es Setyobineba sasj el sa da j arimasTan dakavSi rebiT propozicional uria, igi moicavs informacias, romel ic gansxvavebul i tipisaa da romel ic mosamarTI is msj avrdebul is mimarT urTierTkavSirs mkafiod aCvenebs. kavSi rebiTi Sinaarsi gamoxatavs im urTierTkavSi-rebiT poziciebs, roml ebiC arsebobs Setyobi nebiS gamSvebsa da mimRebs Soris. Setyobi nebiS SeiZI eba aseve ayal i bebdes informacias, sadac garkveul wil ad mosaubresa da msmenel iS pasuxismgebl obisa da ufl ebebis aspeqtibis SesaxeB SeiZI eba visaubroT. andac xazi gavusvaT mol odinis aspeqts, romel - ic erT mxares gaaCnia meoresTan mimarTebiT. am Setyobi nebiT SeiZI eba aseve imaze msj el oba, aRiqvams mosaubre msmenel s Tanasworad Tu masze damoki debul, daqvemdebarebul an piriqiT, masze zemdgom pirad miCnevs an mi aCnia msmenel i Tavisivi wris warmomadgenl ad Tu sxva j gufs miakuTvnebs mas. kavSi rebiTi Sinaarsi metwil ad gamoxatul ia brZanebiSa da dapi rebebis gamomxatvel Setyobi nebebSi, Tumca, amasTan, SeiZI eba arc Tu Zal ian mkafiod iyos gamokveTil i. gadawyvetil eba - saxel iT mimarTo adami ans Tu gvariT urTierTobis dros, damoki debul ia imaze, Tu rogori tipis urTierTkavSiris gamomxatvel i Setyobi nebiS gagzavnaa marTebul i. DkavSi rebiTi Setyobi nebiS mTavari maxasiaTebel ia imis aRiareba, rom Setyobi nebiS gamgzavnsa da mimRebs Soris garkveul i tipis kavSiri arsebobs, marTebul ia magal iTad, erTi piris mier meore piri satvis brZanebiS gacema aseve aRiarebul i kavSiris Tanmdevi procesia, sadac pirvel i, brZanebiS gamcemi an ganaCenis gamomtani piri, ufl ebamosi- l ia, ganaCeni gamoitanoS, xol o meore piri ki, aseve, val debul ia, daemorciL os am ganaCens. magal iTad, Tu Tqven Tqvens umcros das an Zmas eubnebiT: `gadade wigni gverdze~, Tqven aseve axdenT komunikaciis am tipis aRiarebas. da amgvart SemTxvevaSi is pirebi, roml ebiC brZanebebs gascemen an ganaCeni gamoaqvT, ubral od propozicional uri Setyobi nebebSi gamoTqmisi miRma, aseve axorcil eben social ur aqts. pirobis micema si tyvebis saSual ebiT ganxorciel ebul i aqtvobaa. Ees sakuTar Tavze momaval Si raRacis gakeTebis val debul e-bis aRebaa.

kavSirebiTi Sinaarsis gamoxatva uamravi sxdasxva sa-Sual ebiT xdeba. yvel aze xSiri saSual ebebi moicaven wi-napirobas, roml is mixedvi Tac mosaubre ms-menel s eubneba, Tu-riS gamoxatvas apirebs wi nadadebaSi. "me moviT xov~, `me vbrZaneb-, `me gTavazobT~ - yvel a es fraza magal iTia, Tu-rogor axdens mosaubre sakuTar Tava da ms-menel s Soris urTierTkavSiris aRiarebas si tyvebis warmoTqmis saSual e-biT. TumcaRa, kavSirebiTi Setyobi nebebis komunikacia sxva saSual ebebi Tac aris Sesazl ebel i: xmis toniT an Tundac tansacml iT, romel ic uniformiT SeiZl eba iyos warmodge-nill i, asevea Sesazl ebel i urTierTkavSiris gadacema. Aaseve, saSual ebas warmoadgens garemo, romel sac mosaubre Setyo-binebis gadmosacemad ircevs. sakl aso oTaxSi maswavl ebel i sxdasxva tipis Setyobi nebebs agzavnis, roml ebic misi av-toritetisa da ufl ebamosil ebis ganmtkicebi sken aris mi-marTul i.

damoki debul ebiTi Sinaarsis Setyobi neba, praktikul ad, imgvareti Setyobi nebaa, romel ic gansazRvrafs, Tu rogoria mol odini gamogzavnill i Setyobi nebiS aRqmisa. igi warmoad-gens emocias an damoki debul ebas, romel ic konkretul Setyobi nebasTan marTebul ad asociirdeba. amgvari tipis Setyobi nebebi Semdegnairi si tyvebiT SeiZl eba iyos gadmocemul i: `ra sawyenia, ara, rom sal ome dRes avad gaxda!~ TumcaRa, kavSirebiTi Setyobi nebiS msgavsad damoki debul ebiTi Setyobi neba, aseve, iZl eva saSual ebas toniT, gamoxatvis maneriT, Jestikul aci iTa da garemoTi Camoyal ibdes. mosaubrisaTvis, romel ic speqtakl is gmiria da ambobs `me Sen miyvarxar~, mayurebl i saTvis gadasacemi Setyobi nebaa, rom misi Setyobi neba seriozul ad ar unda iqnes miRebul i, si tyvebis gul wrfel ad warmoTqmis miuxedavad. moswavl is waxal isebe `mSvenieri namuSevaria, namdvil ad bevri giSromial~ ar niS-navs mxol od obieqturi simarti is aRni Svnas da maswavl eb-l is moswavl isadmi urTierTkavSiris damtkicebas, aramed si tyvebis amocana grZnobisa da damoki debul ebis Setyobi nebad gagzavnaa.

warmogi dgeniaT, rogor Seicvl eboda Sinaarsi, Tqven, rogorc maswavl ebel s, i give si tyvebi skol is direktori-saTvis rom geTqvaT?

sanam win wavidodeT, modiT, erTi magal iTi ganvixi l oT, romel ic gvaCvenebs, Tu rogor gansxvavebul ad xdeba proce-sebSi CarTul i, `insaiderisa- da procesebs mi Rma myofi

~auTsaderis- mier erTi da i give, kompl eqsuri Setyobinebis interpretireba. imis codna an mixvedra, Tu romel i TamaSi midis, erTi da i give qcevis gansxvavebul interpretacias i wvevs. erTi wuTiT warmoidgineT, saskol o garemo da moswavl eebis TamaSi, romel sac pirobiTad `I anZRva- SeiZI eba davarqvaT. maswavl ebel s esmis, Tu rogor I anZRavs erTmaneTs ori moswavl e. moswavl eebi swored im sal anZRav si tyvas i yeneben, roml is gagonebazec yovel dRe, sakl aso oTaxSi Sesvl is momentSi, Tavad maswavl ebel s saxeze sircxvil is al -muri edeba xol me. igi iwyebis moswavl eebis `damoZRvras- da bol os sj is maT im motiviT, rom sakl aso oTaxSi si tyvieri Seuracxyofa unda Sewydes. sxva si tyvebiT rom vTqvaT, maswavl ebel ma propozicional uri perspektividan Setyobineba pirdapir da cal saxad Seuracxyofad miCnia, kavSirebiTi Sinaarsis perspektividan dainaxa, rom erTmaneTs pirispiori mteri dgas, xol o damoki debul ebiTi perspektividan ki -moswavl eebis I anZRva maT Soris Camoyal i bebul zizRad da SuRI ad miCnia. moswavl eebi, roml ebiC, sadacaa, unda dai-saj on, maswavl ebel Tan midian da uxsni an mas, rom sinamdv -I eSi isini erTmaneTs seriozul ad ar eCxubeboden, aramed amgvarad erToboden. anu, sxva si tyvebiT rom vTqvaT, propozicional uri Sinaarsis perspektividan, moswavl eebma si tyvebi, roml ebsac pirdapiri Sinaarsobrivi datviriTva ar hqondaT, sakuTari TamaSis wesad aqcies. kavSirebiTi Sinaarsis perspektividan, es megobrobis maCvenebel i da megobrul i Sej ibris gamoxatul eba iyo. damoki debul ebiTi perspektividan ki, moswavl eebis qceva urTerTpatiscems ganmtki cebas axdebda. pativiscemas imis gamo, rom maT SeZI es am sasa-cil o TamaSis damaj erebel i gul wrfel obiT bol omde mi yvana. ra unda gaakeTos am dros maswavl ebel ma? unda dasaj os moswavl eebi? ras warmoadgenda es TamaSi? iseTi uwynari iyo, rogorc bavSvebi amtkiceben Tu piriqiT, Zal i an agresiul da Seuferebel qcevas Seicavda, rogorc es maswavl ebel ma Tavad aRiqa? rogor SeiZI eba davadgi noT, rom Cveneul i interpretacia real urad arazustia?

xSiria SemTxvevebi, rodesac mesijs ZiriTadad misi forma da is garemo gansazRvravs, sadac Setyobinebis gaSveba xdeba. skol aSi damkvidrebul i praqtika `maswavl ebl isa da mSobl is konferencia- Tval saCino magal iTia imisa, Tu ramdenad forma da garemo damoki debul ebiT Sinaars gansazRvravs, da amavdoul ad kavSirebiT da propozicional ur

Sinaarsac atarebs. Aamvar garemoSi Setyobineba - `mari ar monawil eobs sxva bavSvebTan erTad aqtivobebSi~ ar aris srul i informaciis gamomxatvel i Setyobineba maris qcevis Sesaxeb. es Setyobineba gadmoscems met informacias, vidre es propozicionaluri Sinaarsis amgvar Setyobinebis, an maswavl ebl isa da mSobel s Soris arsebul urTierTobis dros xdeba. is aseve moicavs informacias imis Sesaxeb, Tu ra tipis damoki debul eba unda hqondes mSobel s imasTan dakavSi-rebiT, rasac mari kidev ar akeTebs. ufro metic, es Setyobineba amyarebs konkretul social ur normebs, roml ebi c gansazRvraven, ris gakeTebaa mizanSewonil i pirovnebisTvis da ris ara. sxva si tyvebiT rom vTqvaT, maswavl ebl is mier Camoyal i bebul i debul eba maris Sesaxeb, ar aris mxol od misi qcevis aRwera an mafio gaki cva imis gamo, rom bavSvis qceva ar aris mTI ad marTebul i. es Setyobineba aseve moicavs j ansaRi, samagal i To sazogadoebrivi azrovnebis garkveul i koncefciis gamyarebas. sworedac, meris saqciel i negatiurad gani xil eboda im SemTxvevaSi, Tu sazogadoebaSi ukve damkvidreibul ia amgvari saqciel isadmi amgvari damoki debul eba da igi gaziarebul ia yvel as mier, rogorc asocial uri norma. am konkretul SemTxvevaSi, komunikacia Sedga, imitom rom yvel a mxaris mier normebi kargad aris gagebul i da gaziarebul i. Sesabami sad, komunikaciac mSvidad, yovel gvani gar-Tul ebis gareSe mi mdi nareobs. Kkomunikaciis dros orive mxare iziarebs SetyobineebaSi asaxul normebs. TumcaRa, Tu am komunikaciis mowme sxva kul turis an subkul turis war-momadgenel i aRmoCndeboda, roml istVisac azrebis gaziarebis amgvari forma srul iad axal ia, cxadia, rom saubris mniSvn ovani detal ebi misi yuradRebis mi Rma darceboda. Tu normebi ar aris nacnobi msmanel isaTvis, maSin Sei qmneba erTgvari uxerxul oba diskusiis saki Txis garSemo. meore mxriv, Tu msmanel isaTvis social uri normebi kargad aris cnobil i da is ubral od ar eTanjmeba am normebs, maSin komunikaciis Sewyveta sxva saxiT moxdeba. msmanel i mosaubres TanmimdevrobiTi yuradRebiT ar mousmens. imis nacvl ad, rom man maris saqciel is SefasebaSi mi i Ros monawil eoba, msmaneli i mosaubris Sefasebaze SeiZI eba gadaerTos. mosaubre SeiZI eba `mtrad an agresiul pirovnebad- Cai Tval os, romel ic `kerzo sakuTrebis- wi naaRmdegia. is damoki debul ebi-Ti CarCo, romel Sic konferencia mi mdi nareobda, praqtku-

I ad irRveva, radgan saubris ZiriTadi nomrebi aRar aris gaziarebul i.

am TavSi Cven davinaxeT, rom Setyobi nebebi si tyvebs mi Rma ki dev sxva mni Svnel obasac aerTianebe. Uufro konkretul ad ki, Setyobi nebebi propozicional ur, kavSirebiT da damoki-debul ebiT mni Svnel obas atareben. interpretivistis Sex-edul ebabis mixedviT, nebis mieri Cvengani - individis Tu sa-zogadoebis doneze cxovrebis manZil ze, vswavl obT sakutari interesebis gatarebas sxvadasxva social ur situaciasi, sadac sabaziso codna da mni Svnel obebi gaziarebul ia sxva-Ta mier. amasTan, Cven situaciis interpretirebas vaxdenT moqmedebasTan dakavSirebul i `wesebis- mixedviT (romel Sic Cven Tavad gvaqvs saSual eba vi moqmedoT) da ki devac viqceviT Cveni ganzraxvebi sa da damoki debul ebabis Sesabamisad. am yvel afiris gakeTebi saTvis ki aucil ebel ia, rom Segvezl os interpretireba. adamiani s cxovrebis interpretireba enis warmoSobis dRidan dai wyo, Tumca bol o periodis ganmavl o-baSi mecnierebi cdil oben, rom interpretireba `mecnierul ~ Wril Si gani xii on da am mecnierebas isini `hermenevtikas-uwodeben.

## **hermenevtika da interpretireba**

Cven ukve dagvebada ki Txva social ur sferoSi natural ur-samecni ero kanonzomierebis SemotanasTan da mis rational obasTan dakavSirebiT. me-20 saukuneSi social uri mecnierebis Tvis sebebi sa da maxasiaTebi ebis hermenevtikul i Wril idan danaxvas mxars uWerdnen iseTi mecnierebi, rogo-rebicaa uil iam di thi, hans-georg gadameri da pol rikoeri. hermenevtika mecnierebaa interpretirebis Sesaxe. tradiciul ad, is srul yofil i, umarI esi safexuris gaazrebas arWers. Sesabamisad, bibl iis mkvl evrebi hermenevtikas iyeneben, rodesac romel imda wimda teqtis interpretirebaa mizani, xol o iuristebi ki mas romel imda konkretul i kanonis Sinaarsobrivi datvirtvis an aucil ebl obis asaxnel ad da dasamt kicebl ad mimarTaven. Tumca, imave procesebTan gvaqvs saqme im SemTxvevaSic, Tu mozardi cdil obs, rom kargad gai azros da im normebis Sesabamisad moi qces sakl aso oTax-Si, roml ebic sakl aso oTaxisTvis ukve dadgenil ia. aseTive

procesTan gvaqvs saqme maSinac, rodesac anTropol ogi cdil obs, ucxo kul tura bol omde gaigos da gaiTavisos. hermenevtika moicavs erTgvari `sazogadoebrivi teqstis-`wakiTxvas~ da interpretirebas. TumcaRa, terminebi `wakiTxva~ da `social uri teqsti~ aq Zal ian farTo da zogad kon-teqstSi unda aRviqvaT.

social uri cxovrebis `teqsti~ Zal ian kompl eqsuri fenoMenia. igi Sedgeba bevri nawil isgan, roml ebic, Tavis mxriv, sxvadasxva wesisa da normis erTobl iobas warmoad-gens. es wesebi, Tavis mxriv, konkretul i social uri aqtivo-bebisTvis aris damaxasiaTebel i. is pirebi, roml ebic kvl e-vis hermenevtikur midgomas uWeren mxars, praqtkul ad Tavis Tavze i Reben imgvar mecnierul gamowvevas, romel ic gul isx-mobs adami anebis qcevis karg interpretirebas. amasTan, es qceva dafuZnebul ia im wesebze, kanonebsa da normebze, roml ebic konkretul sazogadoebriv situaciasi moqmedia. nawil ebis gageba-gaazreba xel s uwyoBs social uri sistemiS mTI ian, kompl eqsur gagebas, xol o mTI ianis, kompl eqsuris gaazreba ki, Tavis mxriv, naTel s hfens nawil ebs Soris ur-TierTkavSiris kanonzomiereba da maTi kavSiri erTian sis-temasi. rogorc ukve vnaxeT, skol ac, rogorc erTiani so-cial uri sistema aris Seswavl il i da gamokvl eul i inter-pretivist-mkvl evrebis mier da am procesSi studentebis, maswavl ebl ebis da administratorebis qceva wesebs daqvem-debarebul i marTvis fonze gani xil eba.

`kargi~ interpretaciis probl ema mainc mni Svnel ovan sa-ki Txad rCeba. `kargi~interpretaciis damaxasiaTebel i wesebi da kanonebi hermenevtikur tradiciaSi sakmaod win wasul ia, Tumca, amasTan, asevea aRiarebul i, rom midgoma `swori~ an `erTaderTi~ interpretacia ar SeiZI eba hermenevtikisTvis misaRebi iyos. aseve unda gaviTval iswi noT, rom hermenevtika uaryofs erTaderTi interpretaciis arsebobas, Tumca aRia-rebs, rom erTi interpretacia meoresa da mesameze ukeTesi SeiZI eba iyos. interpretacia hipoTezas hgavs, romel ic aya-l i bebs I ogikur winaswar gaTvl as, Tu ra konkretul i cvl il ebobi SeiZI eba moxdes sagnis an movl enis gamoc-dis/testirebis SemTxevaSi. interpretirebis `gamoc-da/testireba~ sozagadoebrivi `teqstis~ fargl ebSi, fakte-bis gaTval iswi nebiT xdeba. rac ufro meti da meti teqsti wai ki Txeba, interpretacia miT metad an nakl ebad sarwmuno xdeba, xol o misi `sizustis~ al baToba ufro da ufro metia

an nakl ebia. Dda es yvel aferi hermenevtikul i cikl is far-gi ebSi xdeba.

termini hermenevtikul i cikl i or process aerTianebs, esenia, erTi mxriv, procesi, romel ic saSual ebas gvaZI evs, gavigoT - gavaanal i zoT mocemul i social uri konteqsti da, meore mxriv ki, procesi, roml is drosac Cven erTi teqstis ori an meti urTierTsawinaaRmdego interpretaciidan erT-erTs virCeT. procesTa erTobl i oba, romel sac hermenevtikul i cikl i ewodeba, xazs usvams im faqts, rom teqstis interpretirebisas mxol od da mxol od teqstSi mocemul i informacia ganixil eba da teqstis miRma arsebul i informacia ar aris mxedvel obaSi miRebul i. Cven aucil ebl ad unda davrCeT Tavad teqstis sazRvrebSi, imisaTvis, rom interpretireba teqstSi mocemul i terminebisa da el ementebis gamoyenebiT movaxdinoT. magal iTad, Tu Tqven deteqtur moTxrobas ki Txul obT, maSin aucil ebl ad teqstSi mocemul informacias eyrdnobiT da mocemul i informaciis safuZvel ze gamoTqvamT winaswar varauds imasTan dakavSirebiT, rom vTqvaT, msaxurTuxucesma Caidina danaSaul i. amasTan, Tqven varauds im momentamde gamoTqvamT, sanam moTxrobiS wakiTxul i nawil is gaxsenebas daiwyebT an axal, mniSvnel ovan informacias amoikiTxavT deteqtivSi (amasobaSi ukve aRmoa-CenT, rom mkvl el obis momentSi msaxurTuxucces dasvenebis dRe hqonda da sasaxl eSi saerTodac ar imyofeboda). Sesabami sad, Tqven mogiwevT uaryoT Tqveni winaswari varaudi msaxurTuxucesis bral eul obasTan dakavSirebiT da sxva, axal i varaudebis daSveba daiwoT. mTavari isaa, rom kiTx-vis procesSi Tqven ar aZI evT rCevebs wignis redaqtors an gamomcemel s deteqtivis Sinaarsis Secvl astan dakavSirebiT. Tqven, ubral od, mihyvebiT mocemul teqsts da masSi aRwer-ri ambavs. sxva si tyvebiT rom vTqvaT, Tqven teqstis gark-veul nawil ebs am teqstis saerTo CarCosa da mTel i teqstis mniSvnel obis mixedviT iazrebT. xol o teqsts mTI ianobaSi misi Semadgenel i nawil ebis mniSvnel obebisa da struqturis gacnobierebis Sedegad i gebT.

axl a ganvixil oT meore magal iTi. warmoidgineT mosamartI e, romel ic cdil obs romel im e kanonis interpretirebas imisaTvis, rom es kanoni konkretul saqmes miusadagos. interpretaciisaTvis mosamartI es SeuZI ia mxol od am saq-meSi arsebul faqtebs daeyrdnos, aseve, rel evanturi sakanonmdebl o normebis erTobl i obas gaecnos da iuridiul i

sistemis fargl ebSi arsebul i samarTI ebrivi sferos mkvl e-vrebisa da sxva mosamarTI eebis saqmeebis interpretaciebi Seiswavl os. maSinac ki, Tu mosamarTI e xedavs, rom kanoni konkretul saqmesTan srul TanxvedraSi ver modis, i gi ver miva kanonebis avtorebTan da ver mouwodebs maT, axal kanonproeqtze ifiqron. kanonebis avtorebi am periodisTvis SeiZI eba aRarc arian cocxl ebi da romc iyvnen, maT mosamarTI e verasodes daarwmunebda konkretul i gansaxil vel i saqmis gansakuTrebul obaSi. Kimis gadasawyvetad, Tu romel i kanoni misadageba konkretul saqmes da romel i kanonebis interpretireba da ganxil vaa aucil ebel i, mosamarTI e mxo-I odakanonmdebl o normebis erTobl iobas gani xil avs da maT mimdinare moqmedebas da interpretacias Seiswavl is. Tumca gai Tval i swineT, rom konkretul i kanoni da misi mocemul i saqmisATvis misadagebis gzebiakanonmdebl o normebis erTobl iobis nawili i xdeba.akanonmdebl o normebis erTobl i oba ki samarTI ebrivi tradiciebis Semadgenel i nawili ia. sxva mosamarTI es, romel ic sxva saqmeze muSaobs, mogvianebeT aucil ebl ad miuwvdeba xel i zemoaRni Snul i saqmis da mis interpretaciaze, rodesac is ganaCenis gamotanis formirebaze imuSavebs. sxva si tyvebiT, konkretul i kanoni aucil ebl ad unda iqnes gagebul iakanonmdebl o normebis erTobl iobis fargl ebSi, romel ic samarTI ebl ivi tradiciebis Semadgenel i nawili ia. mTI i anidan Semadgenel nawili ebze gadanacvl eba da Semdeg is ev erT mTI i anobasTan dabruneba hermenevtikul i cikl is ideas warmoadgens. es is procesia, roml is ganxorciel ebis SemTxvevaSi, interpretivistebs sjeraT, rom `kargi- interpretacia da, imavdrouli ad, sensitiuri social uri mecnierebis ganvi Tareba Sesazi elbel i xdeba.

aseve, Tu Cven SevecdebodiT, rom skol is sazogadoebri- vi teqstis interpretireba imave gziT wargvemarTa, rogorc amas zogierti mkvl evari akeTebs, maSin Cven skol is Semadgenel wevrebs Soris urTierTkavSirebs mTI i an skol is konteqstSi ganvixil avdiT. es ki ubral o, meqanikuri midgomebis nacvl ad, dinamiur, interaqtiul midgomebs gul isxmobs, romel ic sakl aso oTaxSi mimdinare aqtiani cxovrebis mra-val mxrivi da srul fasovani gaazrebi sken gvibzgebd. rogorc am Tavis dasawyissive davinaxeT, j eqsoni da kusiki ganaTI ebis kvl evis amgvari midgomis inovatorebi aRmoCndnen. akl a ki saskol o ganaTI ebis im aspeqts miubrundet, rom-

I ebic funcqonal istebisa da marqsistebis mier aris aRwe-  
ril i da ganvixil oT isini interpretivistul i perspeqtivi-  
dan.

## **interpretacia da social izacia**

interpretacia, Cveul ebriv, gul isxmobs erTi pirovnebis  
mier daweril teqstze muSaobas. TumcaRa bevri aqtivoba,  
romel ic interpretaciasTan asociredeba, social izaciis  
process ukavSiredeba. saubedurod, social izacia sakmaod  
xSiradaa daxatul i, rogorc adaptaciis belWeddasmul i pasi-  
uri procesi, sadac aqtiuri interpretivistul i el ementi  
ugul vebel yofil ia. social izaciisAamgvari suraTi sasko-  
l o ganaTi ebis Sesaxeb arsebul i funcqonal isturi i lite-  
raturis upirvel esi maxasiaTebel ia. aseTive tendencias  
vxvdebiT marqsistul i literaturis zogiert magal iTzec.  
amgvar literaturaSi social izacia aRweril ia, rogorc  
j gufis axal i wevrebis mier Zvel i wevrebis Cvevebis, damo-  
ki debul ebebisa da rwmenebis gacnoba. social izaciis pasi-  
uri formis sapirwoned, aucil ebel ia imis aRni Svna, rom  
kargad social izebul j gufSi aucil ebel ia damoki debul e-  
bisa da rwmenis gacvl a j gufis yvel a wevrs Soris. amasTan,  
am procesSi uamravi qceviTi variacia SeiZi eba arsebobdes  
ukve kargad social izebul wevrebis Sorisac ki. Gaq gaziare-  
bul ia codna-gaazrebis sistema, romel ic uzrunvel yofs  
komunikaciasa da pirovnebebs Soris urTierTgagebis Camoyal i-  
bebas da qmnis erTgvar safuZvel s gaziarebul i Sexedul ebe-  
bis gamosaxatavad.

cota xniT davubrundeT CvenTvis nacnob social uri  
mecnierebis mkvl evris magal iTs, romel ic amerikul bei-  
sbol s Seiswavl ida. am SemTxvevaSi Cveni mizania, amovicnoT,  
Tu ras warmoadgens interpretivistis perspektivi danax-  
ul i social izacia.

warmovidginoT, rom Cveni social uri mecnieresis mkvl e-  
vari yvel a Tavgadasavl is Semdeg gadawyvets, rom kidew  
darces amerikaSi da kargad Seiswavl os yvel aferi, rac ame-  
rikul beisbol s ukavSiredeba. warmovidgineT, rom am SemTxve-  
vaSi, is warmatebul ad gaarTmevs Tavs dasaxul amocanas.  
sxva si tyvebiT, is ecnoba yvel a koncefcias da Tavisbur-

bas, rac beisbol is TamaSTanaa dakavSirebul i. is swavl obs im specifikur I eqsikas, romel ic aucil ebel ia TamaSis I ogikuri anal izisTvis, ecnoba TamaSis wesebs, romel Ta codna aucil ebel ia beisbol is TamaSisaTvis an sxvebis TamaSis gasagebad. am gziT mkvl evari iviTarebs codna-gaazrebis im sistemas, romel ic saerToa yvel asaTvis: rogorc beisbol is TamaSis mcodnis, ise moyvarul isaTvis. (Tqven SegiZI i aT ganavrciT es magal iTi da kiTxvis moment-Sive warmoidginoT anal ogiuri situacia moswavl estan mimarTebiT, romel ic axal skol aSi gadavi da da `swavl obs-axal i skol is sistemas).

rasakvirvel ia, arasworia imis mtkiceba, rom Cvenma mkvl evarma Tavisi axal i codnis wyal obiT, srul i socializacia moaxdina beisbol is samyaroSi. Tumca, codna-gaazrebis gaziarebul i sistema umni Svnel ovanes rol s TamaSobs social izaciisaTvis, is mxol od procesis nawil ia. axl a warmoidgineT, rom Cveni mkvl evris gamocdl eba beisbol Tan mimarTebiT mi ukerZoebel i social uri mecniererebis fargl ebs scil deba. warmoidgineT, rom mas did siamovnebas aniWebs beisbol is TamaSis yureba. igi ufro da ufro xSirad midis moedanze matCis sayurebl ad da ufro da ufro xSirad, matCze daswrebisas, ar miaqvs Tavisi kal kul atori. igi Tval yurs adevnebs sxvadasxva gundis warmatebebs, gul - Sematkvirobs erT konkretul gunds, akritikebs menej ers cudi transferis ganxorciel ebisaTvis da kamaTobs gundis sxva gul SematkvrebTan ama Tu im gadawyvetil ebis samar-TI i anobis Sesaxe. am SemTxvevaSi, Cveni mkvl evris miRweva beisbol is sferoSi bevrad metia, vidre ubral od codna-gaazrebis gaziarebul i sistema mas bevrad meti unari Seswevs, vidre - ubral od matCis gagebaa. mas SeuZI ia gamoiyenos is I eqsika, romel ic `sabeisbol o saubrebs- axasiaTebs. mas SeuZI ia sxvebTan Tanaswori komunikacia da sakutari sabeisbol o interpretaciis ganviTareba. misi survil ebisa da mimarTul ebebis sistema TanxvedraSia beisbol is TamaSSI monawil eobisTvis aucil ebel kriteriumebTan. Mmokl ed, Cveni mkvl evari beisbol is fani gaxda.

Tumca codna-gaazrebis gaziarebul i sistemis ganviTareba ar aris sakmarisi social izaciis procesisaTvis, is am procesis inicierebis aucil ebel pirobas warmoadgens. am sistemis ganviTareba ki Zal ian hgavs interpretaciis warmarTvisTvis aucil ebel aqtivobebs. interpretaciiken mi-

marTul i aqtivobebi aseve moi cavs Sesabamisi wesebis, konceptual uri Taviseburebebis, uerTierTkavSi rebis da am konteqstSi mosaubrisa da msmenel is rol is daswavl as. garda amisa, interpretaciis aqtivobebi moiTxovs imis codnas, Tu ras yvel a niSnabs zemoTCamoTvl il i koncefcia adamianebisTvis sakuTari mimarTul ebebisa da saqmi anobis strukturirebisTvis, romel ic konkretul wesebzze dafuznebul ia, radgan real urad individi sakuTar survil ebsa da saqmi anobas swored am wesebis fargl ebSi ayal ibeb. wesebis miuxedavad, aucil ebel ia Tavisufl ebis el ementis Sesaxeb saubaric, romel ic am procesebis nawil ia. yvel a rodis xdeba beisbol is fani, vinc mis wesebs gai cnobs. sul ac araa aucil ebel i, rom yvel a, vinc codna-gaazrebis sistemas iziarebs, aqtiurad iyos Cartul i mis gamoyenebaSi. funqcionali isturi da orTodoqs-marqsistul i interpretaciebis pirobiTi xasiaTi interpretivistul i gadmosaxedidan Ria da waxal isebul ia pirovnul i Tavisufl ebisaTvis.

wina magal iTis kval dakval, warmoidgineT da gaixseneT sakuTari moswavl eobis periodi sakl aso oTaxSi. Tqven iciT moswavl eobis dauwerel i da daweril i wesebi. propozicional uri, kavSi rebiTi da damokidebul ebiTi Setyobinebebis gacvl a moswavl eebs, maswavl ebel sa da moswavl eebs da moswavl eebs Soris mimdinareobs. Tqven iciT, ras da rogor akeTebT, am codnas ki bevr, mimdinare aqtivobaSi Tqveni aqtiuri monawil eoba ganapirobebs. Tqven Tavad irCevT, miiRoT Tu ara monawil eoba konkretul aqtivobaSi da Tqveni survil is mixedviT irCevT Cartul obis an ganridebis strategiebs. sakl aso oTaxSi mimdinare mkafio Sinaarsobrivi datvirTva propozicional uri xasiaTisaa da formal uri sagnobrivi mimarTul ebis fargl ebSi mimdinareobs. Tqven grZnobT, rom sakmarisia iswavl oT konkretul i sagani (istoria, matematika, sabunebis smetyvel o mecniereba), rom ukeT SezI ebT gai goT, ganmartoT da CaerToT im sivrceSi, sadac Tqven sxvebTan erTad imyofebiT. bol os da bol os, sxva Tu arafeli, am faqts Tqven maswavl ebl isgan SeityobT. amasTan, Tqven acnobierebT yvel a im Setyobinebas, romel ic igzavneba da miiReba am sivrceSi da monawil eobas i RebT im social ur aqtivobaSi, rasac Cven saskol o ganaTI ebas vuwodebT. amasTan, monawil eoba metad Tu nakl ebad moqmedebis Tavisufl ebane, anonimurobasa da social uri individual obis principzea dafuznebul i. I in korno Cven mier STambewdavad aRwe-

ril i situaciis praqtkul Rirebul ebaze saubrobs da mis anal izzac gvTavazobs:

sakl aso oTaxis wignierebis (cnobierebis) konkretul i gansazRvreba Semdegnairad SeiZI eba Camovayal iboT: Cven aq movdivarT, raTa gavigoT da gaviazroT sakl aso oTaxis sa-zogadod aRiarebul i struktura da funqcia, romel ic gwirdeba Cveni codnis produqtul i gamoyenebisaTvis im social ur da akademur garemoSi, romel sac Tavad sakl aso oTaxi gansazRvravs. didia imisi al baToba, rom studentebi, roml ebsac sakl aso oTaxis cnobiereba gaaChiaT, aseve wignieri arian sakuTari Tavis amocnobaSi - rogorc moswavl is, rogorc axal i codnis mimRebis rol Si, aseve social ur yofaSi c. amgvari moswavl eebi, didi al baTobiT, bevrad adekvaturad umkl avdebian im social ur da akademur siznel eebsa da winaRobebs, roml ebic Cveul ebrivi movl enaa sakl aso oTaxSi. Tu moswavl e adreul saskol o etapzeve eziareba sakl aso oTaxis wignierebas, sworad mimartul i daxmarebis wyal obiT, mas meti Sansi aqvs, rom efekturad gamoiyenos miRebul i informacia ukve sabavSvo ba-Ramde/skol amdel i ganaTI ebis safexuridan dawyebiTi saskol o ganaTI ebisa an ufro maRal safexurze gadasvl is periodSi ve. es moswavl eebi metad midrekil ni arian, rom Secval on sakl aso oTaxis sakuTari gamocdil ebis is aspektebi, romel Ta Secvl ac Sesazi ebel ia, an gaumkl avdnen im-gvar gamocdil ebas, roml is Secvl ac araa Sesazi ebel i. sabol oo j amSi amgvari moswavl eebi sakuTar saskol o gamocdil ebas sxva Tval iT xedaven. riCard de CarmSi sakuTar mosazrebas Semdegnairad ayal i bebs: imis rwmena, rom adamiani sakuTari cxovrebis mndinareobis sawysi wertil ia da ara sxvis TamaSSi monawi l e `paiki~, uzarmazar Zal as iZI eva.

zemoT warmodgenil i mosazreba interpretivistis mier skol isa da sazogadoebis urTierTkavSir is xedvas warmoadgens. es araa konfl iqt da I egitimacia, arc funqciuri so-cial izacia, SeCveva da swavl ebaa, aramed warmoadgens gaziarebul i social uri sistemis codna-gaazrebis etapobriv ganviTarebas. Tu survil i gagicndaT, rom meti gaigoT aq warmodgenil i damouki debel i faqtoris Sesaxeb kul turul - saganmanati ebl o konteqstSi, gaecanit diskusias `sazoga-doebrivi formireba da Tavisufl eba~, romel ic me-8 TavSi a mocemul i.

## **interpretacia, social izacia da legitimacia**

interpretivistul i perspektivis gaazrebis kidev erT, gansxvavebul saSual ebas warmoadgens marqsistul i da funqional isturi poziciebis sakvanzo sakiTxebze srul i ad gansxvavebul i Sexedul ebebis interpretireba, axsna da xazgasma. imis warmosacenad, Tu rogor mafiod gvexmareba interpretivizmi marqsistul da funqional istur xedvebs Soris arsebul i konfliqtis xasiatS, saWiroa gavixsenoT interpretivistul analizTan dakavSirebul i ori mni SvneI ovani el ementi: pirvel i el ementis danaxva Sesazi ebel ia social ur Wrii Si da moicavs im mni Svnel obebs, wesebsa da normebs, roml ebic am sazogadoebas ayal i bebs. more komponentis danaxva ki individual ur doneze xdeba da moiazrebs process, sadac pirovnebis survil ebisa da midrekil ebebis erTgvari strukturiereba xdeba sazogadoebis Seswavl is saSual ebiT.

funqional istebi saskol o process ganixil aven rogorc sazogadoebis neutral ur instruments social izaciis Tvis. amastan, social izaciis procesi xasiatdeba imgvari mosazrebebisa da qcevebis erTobl iobiT, roml ebsac industrial uri samyaros motxovnebi ayal i beben. es motxovnebi gansakutrebul ad aris individual uri survil ebisa da midrekil ebebis strukturierebaze fokusirebul i. amgvari midgomiT ki, funqional istebis analizi eyrdnoba mosazrebas, rom industrial uri sazogadoeba `ucil obl iv- moiTxovs skol ebi sagan gadai baron social izaciis funcia oj axebrisagan da am gziT miscen saSual eba individuali, gaxdnen farTo saj aro sferosa da masobrivi sazogadoebis wevrebi. maTi azriT, industrial izacia da teqnol ogiuri ganviTareba Seuqcevadi procesebia, roml ebic Tavad ayal i beben sakuTareba wesebs ganviTarebi Tvis; skol as ki, individuali survil ebisa da midrekil ebebis strukturierebis funcia eniWeba im unarebisa da xasiaTebis gaTval iswinebiT, roml ebic Ti-Toeul individuali survil teqnol ogiurad mzard samyarosi efekturad integrirebisa da morvawebi Tvis. radgan teqnol ogiuri zrda ganviTarebis gardauval i procesia, funqional isturi literaturis amosaval wertil s warmoadgens midgoma, romel ic xazs usvams individuali survil ebisa da mi-

drekil ebebis restrukturizaciis aucil ebl obas. restrukturizaciis procesi aucil ebel ia imisaTvis, rom individis survil ebi da midrekil ebebi Tavsebadi aRmoCndnen real obis amgvar interpretaciasTan.

Tavis mxriv, marqsistebi, roml ebic skol is umTavres rol s ganixil aven arsebul i uTanasworobis I egitimaciaSi, yuradRebas amaxvil eben ganaTI ebris procesis sxva aspeqtetze. es aspeqtetbi ki efuZneba Tanamedrove sazogadoebrivi real obis interpretaciebSi arsebul gansxvavebs. maTi yura-dReba mimarTul ia saki aso urTiertdamoki debul ebaze da social ur mniSvnel obebsa da wesebze, roml ebsac bavSvebi Seiswavl ian sazogadoebaSi integrirebisaTvis. maTi interpretacia xazs usvams social uri wesebis ganzogadebas Tanamedrove sazogadoebaSi. Tanamedrove sazogadoeba mis zog wevrs ganuzomel i Zal aufl ebiTa da ufl ebamosil ebiT aj il doebi da, imavdroul ad, zRudavs sxvaTa SesazI ebl obeks Zal aufl ebiSa da avtoritetul i poziciebisaTvis. Sesabamisad, marqsistebis mecniereba saskol o procesebis Sesaxeb fokusirebul ia, Tu rogor aswavl on bavSvs, moergos da miiRos situacia, sadac Zal aufl eba Semcirebul ia da SesazI ebl obebi ki SezRudul i...

marqsistebis aRiarebul i I egitimizaciis koncefcia, i seve faravs propozicional istur sawyisebs, rogorc funqciunal istebis mier aRiarebul i social izaciis koncefcia. orive mimarTul eba eyrdnoba social izaciis koncefcias, roml is fargl ebSi moswavl e swavl obs im Rirebul ebebis da qceviTi maxasiaTebl ebris mimReobas, romel ic aucil ebel ia Tanamedrove sazogadoebaSi cxovrebisaTvis. miuxedavad imisa, rom orive mimarTul ebris koncefciebis propozicionaI ur SinaarsSi bevri msgavsebaa, ZI ierad gansxvaveba maTi damoki debul ebiTi arsi. funqciunal istebis mier saskol o `social izacia- ganixit eba aucil ebl ad Tanamedrove teqnol ogiur sazogadoebaSi moswavl is gazrdisa da ganviTarebisaTvis. es mimarTul eba individual ur bavSvzea fokusirebul i. marqsistebisaTvis ki, `I egitimacia- cal saxad mniSvnel ovani mxol od imitomaa, rom igi warmoadgens wyaros ki asSi arsebul i Zal aufl ebris uzrunvel sayofad da SesnarCunebl ad. es mimarTul eba ara individual ur bavSvs i Rebs asaTvl el wertil ad, aramed mmarTvel el itas da im struqturebs, roml ebic maT mfarvel oben. Sesabamisad, Tu funqciunal istebi teqnol ogias ganixit aven rogorc sike-

Tis momtan manqanas, romel ic individus SesaZI ebl obebis Seqmnas emsaxureba, marqsizmi kl assi arsebul Zal aufl ebis borot social ur Zal ad miicnevs, romel zec individus Zal ian mcire an aravitar i kontrol i ar gaaCnia da romel ic uTanasworobis generirebas da SesaZI ebl obebis Semcirebas emsaxureba. sxva si tyvebiT rom vTqvaT, TiToeul i mimarTul eba yuradRebas amaxviL ebs social uri sferos interpretivis-tul i xedvisa da misi amosaval i wertil is gansxvavebul el ementebze.

rogorc ukve aRviSneT, funcional istebi skol as ganxiL aven rogorc instituts, romel ic bavSvis social izacias emsaxureba. es social izacia ki qceviTi Taviseburebebis gamomuSavebas gul isxmobs romel ic moTxovnadia, swore-dac rom metad teqnikur sazogadoebaSi. amgvari ganxiL vis dros funcional istebs Zal ian mcire ewvi aqvT imasTan da-kavSirebiT, rom bavSvebi swavl oben, Tu rogor moergon im wesebs, roml ebic real urad marTaven social ur da ekonomi-kur cxovrebas. aswavl eT bavSvs rom `yuradRebis Rirsia ara is, visac Sen icnob, aramed is, rasac Sen icnob- da di di al baTobiT, Tqven am bavSvs aswavl iT Tanamedrove social uri cxovrebis fundamentur princips. marqsistebisaTvis yvel aferi bevrad gansxvavebul ia. maTi I egitimizaciis kon-cefciis miRma arsebobs ZiriTadi idea, romel ic gul isxmobs bavSisaTvis sistematuir swavl ebis imisaTvis, rom man Tama-Sis wesebi arasworad gaiazros. diax, swored asea! marqsistebis mixedviT, sistema mxol od im SemTxvevaSi imuSavebs, Tu tuyuil i sarwmuno xdeba da skol is ganvitarebisaTvis upir-vel esi funqcia ki arsebul i sistemis Senarcunebaa. i si ni sistematurod axdenen wesebis arasworad, damaxinj ebul ad warmoadgens imisaTvis, uTanasworobis da Zal aufl ebis uzrunvel yofa da Senarcuneba SeZI on. Tu adami anebi real ur wesebs gaacnobi rebdnen, maSin TamaSis xasiaTi unda Sec-vi il iyo. funcional istebs sj eraT, rom bavSvebi TamaSis real ur wesebs swavl oben, maSin rodesac marqsistebi marqsistebi darwmunebul ebi arian, rom bavSvebs sakutari sur-vil ebisa da midrekil ebebis strukturirebas aswavl ian TamaSis wesebis Sesabamisad. am dros ki sxva, real urad sul sxva TamaSi mmdinareobs. marqsistebis aseve sj eraT, rom real uri TamaSis xangrZI ivoba damoki debul ia imaze, Tu ramdeni xani darCebian adami anebi am wesebSi gaurkvevel ni. am ori midgomis interpretaciebSi arsebul i gansxvavebebi gvex-

mareba davinaxoT da dasvaT el ementarul i interpretivis-tul i kiTxva: ra wesebi arsebobs real urad Tanamedrove demokratiul i sazogadoebis TamaSSi?

i sev da i sev, Cven TiTqosda mogveTxoveba aRmovaCinoT TamaSis wesebis swori xedva. Tumca, amgvari aRmoCenebis ketebis nacvl ad, interpretivists sxvagvarad SeuZl ia moiqces. es qceva ki gul isxmobs demokratiul i sazogadoebis ZiriTadi wesebis axsnis, gagebis, ganmarxebis mcdeI obas. es aseve gul isxmobs im azris argumentirebas rom demokratiul i sazogadoebis ZiriTadi wesebi srul iad gacnobierebul ad da nebayofl obiT unda mi ewodebodes momaval moqali aqeTa yovel axal Taobas. liberaluri pol itikis Teoretikosi - ami gutmani gvTavazobs demokratiul i ganaTI ebsaTvis zemoT mocemul i strategiis miseul versias. Mmisi azriT, demokratiul i sazogadoeba aucil ebl ad aris is, romel Sic `Cven saSual eba gveZl eva, ar daveTanxmoT Tavisufl ebisa da Rirsebis Sesatyvis Rirebul ebebs, kargi cxovrebis maCvenebl ebs, moral urobis damaxasiaTebel el ementebs - TumcaRa, mi uxeadavad amisa, Cven viziarebT saerTo val debul ebebs, kol eqtiurad gardavqmnaT es Ria sazogadoeba~. igi dabej iTebiT gvarwmunebs, rom srul iad Segnebul ad unda ganvavi TaroT cxovrebis imgvari demokratiul i forma, romel Sic ufl ebamosiI ebi varT, ar daveTanxmoT da romel ic Sedgeba swored imgvari Rirsebis, principebis, damoki debul ebebisa da Rirebul ebebisan, rogorbicaa Tavisufl eba, tol erantoba, mi zanSewoniI oba, samarTal i, Tanasworoba, Riaoba, aradiskriminacia da ararepresiul oba. socialuri ganvi Tarebis miseul i xedva ar hgavs funcional istebis gansazRvrul, wanawari receptiT gamoweril socializacias da arc marqsistebis marTul, qvecnobier I egiti-mizacias; igi mogvi wodebs gaazrebul da ganzraxul i mcdeI obebi saken, SevqmnaT da ganvavi TaroT imgvari sazogadoeba, rogorSic gvinda, rom vi cxovroT rasakvirvel ia, Cven adamanebi varT da ar varT dazRveul ni marcxisgan miznis mi Rwevis gzaze. interpretivizmSi fundamenturi determinizmi ar arsebobs.

## **i n t e r p r e t i v i s t u l i m i d g o m e b i s s a w i n a a R m d e g o a r g u m e n t e b i**

mi uxedavad imisa, rom interpretivistul i mosazrebebis dasabuTeba SesaZI ebel ia garkveul i sakiTxebis gaanal izebis araa umartivesi, aramed ufro Rrma midgomebit da es mosazrebebi iZI evian saSual ebas, ganvixil oT isini socialiuri da sagamanaTI ebl o cxovrebis ufro adekvatur saSual ebad, axal i, sawinaaRmdgego Sexedul ebebi interpretivizmTan dakavSi rebit mainc warmoiSoba. real urad interpretativizmi wingadadgmul nabij ad SeiZI eba miCnioT, rodesac vaanal izebT, ra aris ugul vebel yofil i meqanikur da deterministul model ebSi, roml ebic garkveul formebiTaa mocemul i funcional izmsa da marqsizmSi. interpretativizmi iZI eva ganmartebebs, sadac pirovnl mizezs da kul turul wesebs central uri mniSvenl oba eniWebaT. amgvari mosazreba ki, ewinaaRmdgeba social uri cxovrebis erTxazovan, kauzal ur axsnas. imis nacvl ad, rom universal uri kanonebi veZioT, roml ebic, funcional istTa da marqsistTa azriT, sazogadoebis yvel a formas Seesatyviseba, interpretativizmizaxs usvams qcevis marTvis mniSvenl obas wesebis mixedviT, pirovnl i avtonomiis xarisxs, da konkretul i, I okal uri situaciebis unikal urobas. da im aucil ebl obis sapirowned, romel ic interpretaciebis WeSmari tebis dasadgenad mis `obieqtur- sazogadoebasTan dapi rispirebas moiTxovs, interpretivistul i midgoma gansakuTrebui mniSvenl obas aniWebs interpretaciebis Semecnebas da mis val idurobas, romel ic swored am interpretaciebis konteqstual ur fargl ebSia warmodgenil i. sagamanaTI ebl o kvl evebSi `Tvisobrivi raodenobrivi sawinaaRmddegod- midgoma sarkiseburad asaxavs im gansxvavebebs, roml ebzec axl axan vil aparakeT.

arsebobs interpretivizmis, rogorc gaazrebis sauKeTeso model is sawinaaRmdego mralval i mosazreba. Sesabami sad, Cven mxol od zogiert maTgans ganvixil avT. Afaqt i saa, rom arc funcional istebi da arc orTodoqs-marqsistebi ar daiwyebdnem interpretivistul i mosazrebis mimarT kritikul i damoki debul ebis gamoxatvas garda im SemTxevisa, Tu dauS-vebl ad miCneoda social uri wesebis, normebisa da interpretaciebis ufro principul ad kauzal uri meqani zmebiT gaanal izeba. funcional istebi amgvari meqani zmebis konkret-

tul i sazogadoebis ganviTarebis xarisxTan identificirebas Seecdelenobden. marqsistebi sakuTar ganmar tebebSi auci l ebl ad axsenebdnen im urTierTkavSi rebs, roml ebis sxvadasxva kl asebs Soris arsebobs maT mier miRweul i Sedegebis, produqtul obis kuTxiT.

maSinac ki, Tu funqional istebi da marqsistebi auci l ebl ad mi iCnevden mxedvel obaSi mieRoT konkretul j gufis mier sakuTari sazogadoebis xedva, isini arasodes dae-Tanxmeboden mosazrebas, rom es social uri mecnierebis upirvel esi funqciaa. Cven unda vcdil obdeT Tavidan avici l oT social ur aqtorebisaTvis arakompetenturobis kl iSes mikereba. am xedvis sapiri spirrod, funqional istebic da marqsistebic msgavsi tipis kl iSeebis arsebolas Zal i an mni Svnel ovan komponentad mi iCnevden. funqional istebisaTvis arakompetenturobis amgvari kategoriebi saWi roa imisaTvis, rom ganmarton da axsna mouZebnon sxvadasxva social ur pozicias, roml ebsac moswavl eebi skol is damTavrebis Sem-deg ikaveben sazogadoebaSi. marqsistebi msgavsi kategoriebi araswori cnobierebisa da azrovnebis axsnisa da identificirebisaTvis swi rdebaT. mi uxedavad imisa, rom orive mimar-Tul ebis mxardamWerni SeiZI eba daeTanxmoT interpretivis-tul xedvas, rom namdvil ad arsebobs social uri aqtorebis mier ganviTarebul i konkretul i interpretaciis gaazrebis auci l ebl oba, isini auci l ebl ad gausvamen xazs im auci l ebl obasac, rac interpretaciis specifikur, daxvewil, kargad SemuSavebul i procedurebis arsebolasTanaa dakavSi-rebul i. amgvari specifikuri procedurebi maT am interpretaciebis adekvaturobisa da val idurobis dasamtkebl ad swi rdebaT. funqional i tebi araadekvaturad CaTvl idnen nebismier interpretacias, romel ic, maTi azriT, partikul aristul i normebisadmi sazogadebis val debul ebis grZnobi-dan iqneboda gamodinare. marqsistebi elwiT ganimsWal eboden nebismieri interpretaciisadmi, romel ic erTi kl asis mier moreze Zal aufl ebis ganxorciel ebis konteqstsSi iqneboda Camoyal i bebul i.

da bol os, orive, funqional istebic da marqsistebic gaakritikebdnen interpretivistul xedvas Tundac imitom, rom isini am xedvas aRiqvamen, rogorc aratnimi devrul i rel ativizmis nimuSs. interpretivizmis xedvaSi sakvanzo mni Svnel oba eniWeba nebismieri perspektivis axsnasa da gaa-nal i zebas misTvis damaxasiaTebel konteqstsda fargl ebSi.

es ki imas ni Snavs, rom Cven unda vecadoT Tavidan avicil oT daskvnebis gakeTebis Cveneul i standartebis Semotana da ganvixil oT sagnebi da movl enebi im individualis Tval iT, romel Ta kvl evasa da Seswavl asac vapirebT. amgvari xedva ki, praqtkul ad, aRiarebs, rom yvel a perspektiva Tanabrad mni Svnel ovania da Cveni mxridan swori moqmedeba mxol od TiToeul i maTganis gageba-gaazrebasa da mimReobas gul isxmobs. im SemTxvevaSi c ki, Tu ki dev Cndebea ki Txva sxvadasxva Teoriul i xedvebis adekvaturobis Sesaxeb, Zal ian saewvoa, rom interpretivistul i mosazrebebis mxardamWerni funqci onal istur da marqsistul gaazrebis formebs ufro metad sarwmunod mii Cnevden. Sesabami sad, interpretivistul xedvas mimzidvel s, erTi mxriv, mis mier sxva mosazrebebis aRiareba xdis, xol o, meore mxriv ki - imis aRiareba, rom arsebobs, rogorc minimum, erTi mosazreba, romel ic sxva, nebi smier mosazrebebze upiratesia. da cxadze cxadia, rom es upiratesi xedva interpretivistul ia.

## ra devs sasworze?

cxadia, srul iad I ogikurad Tqven gagicndebeaT ki Txva, ras vdebT sasworze, Tu am midgomebidan romel imes virCevT?-. am ki Txvis dasmias Cven im pirobebs vi Tval i swinebT, rom TiToeul i es midgoma skol is aRqmis gansxvavebul perspektivebs gvTavazobs. TiToeul i midgoma sxvadasxvagvarad xedavs skol is funqcas sazogadoebaSi da Tqveni, rogorc maswavl ebl is rol s ganaTI ebis procesSi. es ki Txva bevrad aris damokidebul i imaze, Tu rogor aRiqvamT Tqven Tavad Tqvens rol s. Tu Tqven CaTvl iT, rom Tqveni, rogorc maswavl ebl is rol i Semoifargl eba imis keTebiT, rac dagaval es, maSin gadamwyveti mni Svnel oba aRarc eniWeba, romel midgomas avirCevT. magram im SemTxvevaSi, Tu Tqven gj eraT, rom Tqveni, rogorc demokratiul i sazogadoebis wevris, moqal aqis pasuxismgebl obis nawil s warmoadgens, monawil eoba miRoT ganaTI ebis miznebis gansazRvraSi da amasTan gj eraT, rom Tqveni, rogorc maswavl ebl is rol ia im faseul obebisa da saSual ebebis saganmanaTI ebl o procesebSi asaxva, roml ebic am miznebis misaRwevadaa aucil ebel i, maSin es Teoriebi did gavl enas axdens Tqven mier saskol o ganaTI e-

bis warmatebebisa da marcxis gansazRvraSi. es imasac nisnavs, rom Tqven iswrafviT warmatebebisi mi Rwevisaken.

ganvixil oT federal uri mTavrobi s ganaTI ebi s racional izaciis bol odroindel i mcdel obebi; istoriul ad sajaro ganaTI ebi s kontrol i da dafinanseba metwil ad saxel mwifosa da adgil obrivi sazogadoebis funqciias war-moadgens. mi uxedavad amisa, meoce sau kunis meore naxevidan ganaTI ebi sadmi federal uri interesi nel -nel a izrdeboda. es interesi gansakuTrebiT sagrZnobi da Tval sačino ucxour ekonomi kasTan konkurenciis pirobebiSia. adreul 1980-ian wl ebSi, prezident reiganis ganaTI ebi s samdivnom skol ebi daadanaSaul a ekonomikis dasustebaSi. sakuTar gancxadebaSi, samdivno eyrdnoboda mosazrebas, rom skol ebma ver SeZl es adekvaturad momzadebul i muSakebi s, SromiTl bazris uzrunvel yofa. angarSi, roml is saxel wodeba iyo `nacia riskis wi naSe-, mouwodebda mkacri akademiuri standartebis Semo-Rebas, imisaTvis, rom Sesazl ebel i yofil iyo ucxoeTi dan momaval i ekonomikuri gamowveebis gamkl aveba. ocdameerTe sau kuni dan moyol ebul i, amerikis saskol o ganaTI eba imar-Teba axal i da forsireb ul i pol itikis saSual ebiT, roml ebic skol ebs aval debul ebs, daakmayofil on konkretul i kriteriumebi, roml ebsac standartizebul i testebi ayal i-bebs. am pol itikis gatarebis erT-erTi Tval sačino magal iTia 2002 wel s gatareb ul i `arc erTi bavSvi aqtivobis miRma- pol itika, romel ic aj il dovebda an sj ida skol ebs mos-wavl eebis Sedegebi dan gamomdinare, swored amgvard stans-datrizebul testebSi. vi Rac SeiZl eba daeTanxmos an ar daeTanxmos amvar federal ur pol itikas, zemoT aRweri l i sami Teoriidan TiToeul is xedvebi dan gamomdinare. metic, Cven gvj era, rom TiToeul i am Teoriidan gavl enas axdens xedvaze, misaRebia Tu ara amgvari pol itika.

funqciional istebis nawil i, magal iTad, SeiZl eba dae-Tanxmos amvar tests dafuznebul i ganaTI ebi s damkvidrebas. maTi argumenti am SemTxvevaSi emyareba mWidro urTierTkav-Siris arsebobas moswavl is moswrebas da saxel mwifos unars Soris, iyos ekonomikurad konkurentunari an sxva saxel mwifoeb Tan SedarebiT. funqciional izmis sxva mi mdevrebi ki, piriqiT, SeiZl eba am pol itikis mowinaaRmdegeebi aR-moCndnen da sakuTari argumenti 1990-ian wl ebSi mi mdinare iaponiis ekonomikis stagnaciisa da amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis ekonomikis gaZl ierebis procesebis dapi rispi rebas

daafużnon. i sini xazs gausvamen im faqts, rom miuxedavad ekonomikur procesebSi Tval sačino cvl il ebebisa, am periodis ganawl obaSi mosawl eebis Sedegebi strandartizebul testebSi gansakuTrebul ad ar Secvl il a arc ert da arc meore saxel mwifosi. funcional istebis orive nawil i SeiZI eba SeTanxmdes, rom es monacemebi adasturebs kavSirs testebis Sedegebsa da ekonomikur konkurentunarobas Soris. es kavSiri bevrad ufro kompl eqsuria, vidre, sazogadod, miičeva. ami tom testirebis procesi T amgvari riskebis gaweva ar aris saukeTeso gamosaval i. Tumca, orive Sexedul ebiš gamziarebl ebi upirobod Tanxmdebian imaze, rom saskol o ganaTI ebiš miznebi ekonomikuri konkurentunarianobis gaži ierebisaken aris mimarTul i.

meore mxriv, konfl iqtis Teoretikosebma SesaZI oa bevrad ufro kritikul i pozicia daafiqsiron saskol o sistemiš SemoTavazebul i miznebis mimarT. maT SeiZI eba kamaTis sagani gaxadon nebismieri moTxovna da mosazreba, romel ic konsensusis fargl ebSi miiRwa da yuradReba gaamaxvil on adamianTa im j gufze, romel Ta mosazrebebi ganxil vis procesis miRma aRmočnda an im j gufebze, romel Ta interesebi `konsesusi~ real urad emsaxureba. am saki Txebiš wamowevišas, konfl iqtis Teoria aucil ebl ad miutiTebs im arxebs, sadac sxva interesebi da mosazrebebi SeiZI eba warmoiSvas; magali iTad, Sromis bazris interesebi, ganmanaTI ebel Ta interesebi, garemosdacviTi da gl obal uri interesebi da ase Semdeg. informaciām da cnobierebam danarčeni interesebis Sessaxeb SesaZI oa biZgi misces koaliciebiš formirebas da diskusiis sagani gaxadon saskol o ganaTI ebiš sferoSi warmatebisa da marcxis oficial uri ganmartebebi.

da bol os, interpretivistma Teoretikosebma SeiZI eba mxedvel obaSi miiRon is l okal uri garemoebibi, roml ebič gavl enas axdenen skol is direqtorebis, masawl ebl ebisa da mosawl eebis mier federal uri da saxel mwifo mandatebis interpretirebaze da skol ebSi gatarebaze. magal iTad, mal-Ral i riskis Semcvel i testi, romel ic gansazRvravs, skol a unda daj il dovdes Tu unda daisaj os, gul isxmobs, rom Ti Toeul i mosawl e, romel ic gamoicdeba wl is bol os, am skol aSi swavl obda mTel i wl is ganawl obaSi. TumcaRa, bevr skol aSi mosawl eebis Semosvl a-gadineba sakmaod intensiuria. am skol is administracia da masawl ebl ebi ecdebian, minimumamde daiyanon mosawl eTa mimosvl isgan gamowveul i procesebis gavl ena saskol o testebris qul ebze. maTi strategia SeiZI eba gul isxmobdes axal i an susti mosawl

I eebis waxal i sebasac, testirebis dRes ar gamocxaddnen skol aSi. ucxo Tval iT, amgvari strategiis gamoyeneba erTgvar sicrued, motyuebad SeiZI eba iyos aRqmul i. adgi- I obrivi gadmosaxedidan ki es aris uTanasworobad aRqmul i probl emis koreqciis SesaZI o meTodi. aseve, SesaZI ebel ia, maswavl ebl ebis nawil isaTvis amgvari mandati aRqmul i iyos, rogorc maRal i standartebis damkvidrebi saken swrafva. danarCenebi saTvis ki, amgvari mandati izul ebiTi procesia, romel ic moswavl eebis testisaTvis momzadebas gul isxmobs da zRudavs maT drosa da SesaZI ebl obebs ufro mdidari sas-wavl o gegma uzrunvel yon sakl aso procesSi. Sesabami sad, interpretivistul i xedva avl ens im l okal ur garemoebeks, roml ebic mandatis reinterpretirebis safuZvel i SeiZI eba iyos. es xedva ufro niuansuri Sefasebis saSual ebas iZI eva imis ganTval iswinebiT, Tu ra aris aRqmul i bavSvebis interesebis gatarebiis saukeTeso gzad nebi smier skol aSi.

es magal iTebi uciil obl ad mogexmarebaT, ukeT gaiazrot samive Teoriis rel evanturoba skol aSi m mindinare procesessa da pol itikasTan mimarTebiT. Tumca, ara mxol od amgvari Teoriul i Sexedul ebebi gvexmareba, ukeT gavigoT skol is muSaobis sistema, aramed isini avl enen axal perspektivebs da gvamarageben axal i leqsikuri maragiT, romel ic uzrunvel yofs skol is moswrebis srul i Sefasebis SesaZI ebl obas. am procesSi isini farTod xsnian kars im gansxvavebul i, mraval mxrivi interesebis ganxil visa da Sej erebi saTvis, roml ebic, Tavis mxriv, gavl enas axdnen skol aze. amgvari ganxil va aseve uzrunvel yofs TiToeul Cvengans mni Svnel ovani instrumentebiT, roml ebic saSual ebas gvaZI evs, saTanadod vupasuxoT im gavl enas, romel sac Cveni sazogadoeba ganicdis.

Cven mogiwodebT, Semdeg TavSi aqt i urad CaerToT am umni Svnel ovanesi saki Txebis ganxil vaSi. rasakvirvel ia, didi imedi gvaqvs, rom am saki Txebze figrs mTel i Tqveni pedagogiuri moRvawebis manZil ze gaagrZel ebT. bol o sami Semotavazeba: `interpretacia da epistemikuri relativizmi~, `mesame samyaros saskol o sistema~ da `saswavl o gegma- gani xill avs interpretivistul i xedvis sabazo sakiTxebis da am wignSi warmodgenil samive mimarTul ebas erTmaneTTan apirisi rebs. wignis bol os ki, gTavazobT anotirebul bibl iografias, romel ic damatebiT resursebsa da masal ebs gagacnobT codnis gasaRrmavebl ad.

**nawi l i V**

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**qeisеби da debateби**

## Tavi 8

### qeisebi da debatebi

wina TavebSi Cven detal urad ganvixil eT sami Ziri Tadi midgoma, imisaTvis, rom agvexsna da gagveazrebina skol is kavSiri sazogadoebasTan da Tqvenganac vi TxovdiT metjer da metjer sakutari mosazreba Camogeyal i bebinat am midgomebis Sesaxeb. am debul ebebidan samives udavod gaachnia is Tvis sebebi, roml ebic mat gansakuTrebul ad mni Svnel ovans xdis da samives sasargebl o instrumentad xdis konceptualizaciisaTvis. es instrumentebi saSual ebas gvaZI evs, davinaxoT is Zal ebi, roml ebic samuSao periodSi Cveul ebri v moqmedeben, Tumca, yovel dRiur saskol o saqmianobaSi CaZirul ebisTvis metwil ad srul iad SeumCnevel i gvrCeba. imisaTvis, rom kargad gai Tavisot da gamoiyenoT is perspektivebi, roml ebic am wignSi gagacaniT, bol o, me-8 TavSi gTavazobT real uri SemTxvevebis, dial ogebisa da debatebis nazavs. swored real uri magal iTebi wamowevs imgvar sakiTxebs, romel Ta gadaWris gzebis warmodgena mkafiod da pirdapir Teoriul i teqstis saSual ebit SeuZI ebel ia. ki Txvis dros, aucil ebl ad warmoadgineT is sakiTxebi, roml ebic magal iTebSia motanil i da gani xill eT isini sxvebTan. Cven darwnebul i varT, rom Tqven aucil ebl ad dainaxavT, Tu rogor icvl eba maswavl ebl isa da skol is administraciis qmedebani im SemTxvevaSi, Tu mat gaachniaT skol is sazogadoebasTan kavSiris Ziri Tadi aspektebis Seswavl isa da unari. vfifrobT, aseve SeZI ebT SeamCnionT, Tu ramdenad arafris momcemi xdeba nebismieri ezoTerikul i Teoria, romel ic real obastan ar aris kavSirSi. aq mocemul i qeisebi da debatebi naTI ad dagvanaxeben, Tu ramdenad grzel vadiani efeferti aqvs da kidevac unda hqondes maswavl ebl ebis individual ur da jgufur gamocdil ebas im pirovnebebisa da sazogadoebis cxovrebaze, romel Sic yvel a Cvengani vcxovrobT. cxadia, maswavl ebl ebis individual uri da jgufuri gamocdil eba Tqvns gamocdil ebasac moiarezbs. Cven, rogorc profesional i pedagogebi, darwmunebul ni vart im pasuxismgebl obis arsebobaSi, romel ic Cven mier am efektebis ganxil vas, moni-

torings da, Tu moral urad gamarTI ebul ia, maT koreqtirebas, Secvl asac ki gul i sxmobs. aq mocemul i qeisebi da disputebi imgvaradaa warmodgenil i, rom dagexmarebaT gaxdeT ufrø metad mgrZnobi are pasuxismgebl obis grZnobi T aRsavse, profesional i pedagogis rol iT am aspeqtis mimarT

i misaTvis, rom mimoixil oT Cven mier ganxil ul i sakiTxebi da mocemul i Temebis ZiriTadi Tezisebi, aqve warmogi dgenT CamonaTval s. (ix, cxril i 1), saidanac Tqven SegiZI i aT i s qeisebi da disputebi aircioT, roml ebic TqvenTvis gansakuTrebiT sainteresoa. cxadia, rom Cven ar gvaqvs imis molodini, rom aq warmodgenil i Tematika da yvel a sakiTxii central uri mniSvnel obis matarebel i SeiZI eba iyos im social ur interesebTan dakavSi rebiT, roml ebic Tqven garSe moa da roml isTvisac es sakiTxebi zustad iqneba misadagebul i. swored es gaZI evT srul Tavisufl ebas, Tavadve SeqmnaT Tqveni qesi an disputi an wamoayenoT da gani xil oT saki aso oTaxSi i sakiTxebi, roml ebic Tqven gamocdi l ebas efuzneba.

SeiZI eba zogierTma Tqvenganma ukve gai Tavi sa Cveni is rCevebi, roml ebic wignis TiToeul TavSia mocemul i da am rCevebis gaTval i swinebiT kidevac SearCia qeisebi da disputebis Tematika. imisaTvis, rom kidev erTxel naTI ad gamogveyo Cveni rekomeniaciebi TiToeul, konkretul TavTan mimarTebiT, pirvel cxril Si frCxil ebSi mocemul ia wignis Tavis nomeri, saTauri da is sakiTxebi, roml ebic iq aris ganxil ul i rasakvirvel ia, Tqven srul iad uprobl emod SegiZI i aT gamoiyenoT im TanmimdevrobiT, romel ic ukeT mie sadageba Tqvens interesebsa da miznebs. mocemul i qeisebi dan da disputebidan didi nawil i wignis TavebSi warmodgenil i sakiTxebis sazRvrebs scil deba da naTI ad gvaCvenebs, rom pedagogis real uri samyaro ver iqneba saxel mZRvanel oSi akuratul ad Cawyobil i da verc mral ferovani aspektebis el ementarul i aRweriT dakmayofil deba. Cven didi imedi gvaqvs, rom aq mocemul i qeisebi da disputebi erTgvari xidi gaxdeba Tqvensa da im real ur samyaros Soris, sadac Tqven pasuxismgebl obi T savse, moazrovne profesional pedagogad Camoyal ibdebiT.

## cxril i 1 qeisebisa da disputebis CamonaTval i

Gverdis saTauri*	ZiriTadi sakiTxI
115 moswavl eTa mmarTvel oba (1)	rogor swavl oben moswavl eebi, gaxdnen `kargi moqal aqeebi`?
116 saskol o Secdomebis da aeraefeqturobis saTaveebi (1)	ra el ementebisgan Sedgeba warmatebul i skol a?
118 farul i kurikul umi (2)	ras aswavl ian saskol o masal ebi moswavl eebst?
119 ganaTI ebis erovnul i angariSebi (2)	aris Tu ara skol a saxel mwif fo instrumenti?
120 geografiis gakveTII i (2)	aqvs Tu ara politikas adgil i gakveTII ze?
121 resursebis gadanawi l eba (2)	ra prioritetebi aqvT skol ebs?
123 kol ej i Tu samuSao Zal a (3)	rogor xdeba studentebis `saukeTeso interesebis- dadgena?
125 individualuri gansxvavebebi da Tanabari Sesazl ebl obebi (3)	SeiZl eba `Tanaswori sa- da `gansxvavebul is- gamij vna?
126 socialuri ganviTareba (3)	sazogadoebis ra aspeqtibis reproducirebas axdenen skol ebi?
128 Tanaswori, magram gamij nul i (4)	axdens Tu ara saskol o standarti diiferencirebas socialuri kl asebis mixedvit?
129 ganaTI eba muSaobi saTvis (4)	aris Tu ara liberaluri ganaTI eba saukeTeso ganaTI ebi model i?
130 muSaTa skol a (4)	amcirebs Tu ara praqtikul i swavl eba Sesazl ebl obebs?
131 sakl aso subieqtivizmi (5)	eqceva Tu ara maswavl ebel i usamarTI od sxvadasxva warmoSobis bavSvebs?
132 socialuri mecniererebebi (5)	aris Tu ara mZime samuSao samarTI ianad anazRaurebul i?
133 interpretacia da eTikuri relativizmi (5)	SeuZl ia Tu ara interpretivists eTikuri standartebis dacava
134 axal i moswavl e (6)	unda `Seicval on- Tu ara ucxoel i studentebi, rom moergon

\* frCxil ebSi mocemul i ricxvebi saTauri Semdeg gvaCvenebs, rom qeisis an disputis gamoyeneba rekomen direbul ia konkretul Tav-Tan mimarTebiT.

	kl ass?
135 ki Tu ara meinstrening? (6)	aris Tu ara qronikul i cudi qceva barieri da ra unda movi-moqmedoT am dros?
137 sazogadoebi s wayenebul i pi robebi da TavisufI eba (7)	Tu saxl ic da skol ac garkveul pi robebs gviyenebs, varT ki TavisufI ebi?
138 interpretacia da epistemi-kuri relativizmi (7)	aris Tu ara rigi interpretaciebi danarCenebze ukeTesi?
139 mesame samyaros saskol o sistema (7)	aris Tu ara ori aratavsebadi mosazrebis gamoyeneba praqtiKaSi SesaZI ebel i?
140 kurikul umi (saswavl o gegma) (7)	romel i midgomebi ganmartavs ukeT tradiciul kurikul ums?

## **moswavl eTa mmarTvel oba**

iorkvil is saSual o skol a mdebareobs didi qal aqis m-Ral i kl asiT dasaxl ebul SemogarenSi. moswavl eTa absoluuturi umravl esoba im SeZI ebul i oj axebidan aris, romlebic skol is SemogarenSi, mezobl ad cxovroben. Tumca, skol aSi aris ramdenime bavSvi, romel ic saSual o da dabal Semosavl ian oj axSi izrdeba da yovel dRe avtobuss mohyavskol aSi adgil obrivi dasaxl ebis yvel aze daSorebul i wertil ebi dan.

skol a namdvil ad ar ganicdis saWiro masal isa da aR-Wurvil obis nakl ebobas. mSobl ebis material uri keTi - dReoba Svil ebis skol azec vrcel deba. is bavSvebi ki, romlebic avtobusiT aRweven skol as, xandaxan Surs, xan ki sircxvil s grZnoben sakuTari tansacml isa da nivTebis gamo. TumcaRa, isini mudam madl obel ebi arian im aracveul ebrivi bazis gamo, romel ic maTTvis iorkvil is skol aSia xel misawvdomi. mSobl ebi am moswavl eebs aswavl ian, Tu rogor unda daafason is sazogadoeba, romel ic maT mimarT amgvartsikeTes avl ens.

samoqal aqo swavl eba skol is mniSvnel ovan komponentad aris miCneul i da is i swavl eba sxvadasxva saskol o aqtiobis saSual ebi T. ase, magal iTad, samoqal aqo swavl eba sportul i gundebis, skol is servis-programis da moswavl eTa mmarTvel obis fargl ebSi Catarebul i aqtivobebis nawili ia.

el is Svarci iorkvil is skol is stajiani, gamocdil i pedagøgia. is sul axl axan SeirCa moswavl eTa mmarTvel obis safakul teto mrøevl ad. Tumca, am poziciaze el isi damatebit xel fass ar i Rebs. maswavl ebel s yovel Tvis miañnda, rom is moswavl eebis megobari iyo da, zogadad, kargad axerxebda maTi interesebis identificirebas. el isi yovel Tvis Zal ian seriozul ad afasebda im moswavl eTa mmarTvel obis rols da im funqciebs, romel ic man unda Seasrul os. misi azriT, moswavl eTa mmarTvel oba imgvari sakvanzo birTvia, romel ic moswavl eTa ZiriTad nawil s erTian sazogadoebad unda ayalibebdes. moswavl eTa mmarTvel oba am sazogadoebas unda emsaxurebodes da sakuTari wvl il i saqvel moqmedo saqmianoBaSi Sehqondes. amasTan, maswavl ebel i fiqrobs, rom moswavl eTa mmarTvel oba araçveul ebrivi gamocdil ebba maTi damaouki debi obisa da pasuxi smgebl obis grønobebis ganvi TarebisaTvis da seriozul gamocdas warmoadgens demokratiul i ideal ebi gasacnobad da Casabarebl ad.

el isi Zal ian bednieri iyo, enaxa, Tu rogori enTuziazmiT eki deboden kandidateli da danarceni moswavl eebi pirvel arCevnebs, roml ebic misi xel mZRvanel obiT Catarda. samrewvel o kompaniebis warmomadgenel Ta piromSoebma posterebic ki SeukveTes adgil obriv stambas. enTuziazmis didi taI Ra aseve gamovl inda briyvul da arareal istur SemoTavazebebsa da dapi rebebSi, roml ebic kandidatetma saj aro gamosvl ebi dros Camoayal ibes.

arCevnebi damTavrda da Zal ian mal e el isi darwmunda, rom is aRtyineba, romel sac gamarj vebul i kandidateli xmis micemis periodSi avl endnen, srul iad ar aisaxe boda maTs, rogorc warmomadgenel Ta, real ur muSaobaSi. maswavl ebel i ufro da ufro imedgacrulebul i rCeboda, rodesac xedavda moswavl eTa mmarTvel obis wevrebis uiniçiativobas. erT-erTi warmomadgenel i mmarTvel obis wevrTa Sexvedrebsac ki ar eswreboda regul arul ad.

erTi aqtivoba, romel zec moswavl eTa mmarTvel oba Sejerda da gagrZel eba gadawyvita, moswavl eTa j gufis mier aRsazrdeI ad ayvanil i moswavl is sponsoroba iyo. el isi Zal ian gaxarebul i iyo am gadawyvetil ebiT. moswavl eTa mmarTvel obis xazina wina wl idan morcenil 1000 dol ars fl obs. amis garda, xazinas mSobel Ta komitetiC garkveul Tanxas gamouyofda. aRsazrdeI i bavSvis sponsoroba TveSi 200 dol ariT iyo gansazRvrul i ramdenime TveSi cxadi gax-

da, rom xazinaSi arsebul i Tanxa Zal ian mal e amo iwureboda. moswavl eTa mmarTvel obam gadawyvi ta, cekva Tanxebis moziebis saSual ebad gaexada. A

saskol o cekvebi yovel Tvis gamoirCeoda ful is Sekrebi s efeqtur saSual ebad i orkvil Si, radgan, zogadad, amvar RonisZiebebs bevr i adamiani si amovnebi T eswreboda. am gansakuTrebul i SemTxvevi saTvis, cekvis komitetma gadawyvi ta, rom cekva ki dev ufro mimzidvel i unda gaexada da amisaTvis profesional i disk-Jokei dai qirava. amasTan, ganaTebis Sous mowyoba gadawyvi ta. am yvel afers ki 500 dol ari swirdeboda. amxel a damatebiTi danaxarj is fonze saewvo gaxda, rom RonisZieba raime mogebas datovebda. cekvis komitetma gadawyvi ta, cekvis Souze daswrebis safasurad 5 dol ari daewesebi na, TumcaRa, tradiciul ad, amvar RonisZiebaze daswreba 1,5 dol ari Rinda. safasuris gazrdis fonzec ki, damatebiTi danaxarj i imdenad didi aRmoCnda, rom RonisZiebas mogebis motana ar SeeZI o. el isi cdil obda daemtkecebina moswavl eebisTvis, rom cekvis komitetma proeqtis ZiriTadi mizani dai viwy. ZiriTadi mizani ki qvel moqmedebisaTvis ful is Segroveba unda yofil iyo. erT-erTi warmomadgenel i imis damtkecebasac ki Seecada, rom 5 dol ari Zal ian didi Tanxa iyo zogierti studentisaTvis da misi gadaxda nawi l s gauWirdeboda. Tumca, gadawyvetil ebis kenWi syris dros, cekvis komitetis gegmam meti xma miiRo sakmaod didi upiratesobi T.

el isi, romel sac fakul tetis mrCevl ad muSaobis sol i-duri gamocil eba aqvs, xvdeba, rom moswavl eebis j gufma ver SeZI o mni Svnel ovani gamocda Caebarebina moqal aqeobrivi Segnebis kuTxi T.

ras gaakeTebdi T, Tqven rom el isis adgil ze yofil i ya-vit? ra daskvnebis gamotana SeZI es moswavl eebma warmomadgenl obiT i mmarTvel obis Sesaxeb? SeZI ebs ki saarCevno kampania da cekvasTan dakavSi rebul i gadawyvetil eba i orkvil is sazogadoebaze da mis Rirebul ebebze gavl enis moxdenas? ramdenad swavl oben studentebi, rogor unda iyvnen `kargi, pasuxi smgebl obis grZnobi T savse moqal aqeebi "?

## **skol is Secdomebis da araefeqturobis saTaveebi**

warmoi dgi neT Tqveni Tavi oTx maswavl ebel s Soris, roml ebic samaswavl ebl oSi sxedan dRis bol os da saubroben:

**maswavl ebel i a.** Cemi yvel aze susti maTematikis j gufi Zal i an moikowi ebs. netav vicode, ra SeiZI eba rom gavake- To...

**maswavl ebel i b.** resurscentrSi uamravi damxmare resur- si moiZebneba. darwmunebul i var, rom raRacis povnas SeZI eb imisaTvis, rom moswavl eebis is unarebi ganavi Taro, roml eb- ic maT akl iaT.

**maswavl ebel i g.** amgvari daxmareba ar aris gamosaval i. aba, Sexede am j gufis moswavl eebis. maTi ZiriTadi nawil i dabal Semosavl iani kl asis warmomadgenl ebi arian. mTavari probl ema swored esa. es bavSvebi warmatebas imitom ver aR- weven, rom warmatebis kriteriumebs maRal i kl asis warmo- madgenl ebi ayal ibeben. daxmarebis yvel a programa ki mxo- l od daTvur samsaxurs uwevs am bavSvebs da kidev ufro ga- numtkicebs imis gancdas, rom maT metis unari ar SeswevT da isini imsaxureben yvel aze sustebis j gufSi yofnas.

**maswavl ebel i b.** ki, swori xar namdvil ad imaSi, rom isi- ni dabal i kl asis warmomadgenl ebi arian, Tumca, ara mgonia, rom yvel as erT qvabSi moxarSva sworia. maTi probl ema ara maTi kl asi da warmomavl obaa, aramed is, rom isini SeCveu- l ebi arian arasaxarbiel o, araxel sayrel situaciaSi yof- nas. Cven, maswavl ebl ebs SegviZI ia Sevcval oT es situacia- yvel a bavSvs aqvs imis potencial i, rom skol aSi warmatebas miaRwi os. isini warmatebas miaRweven, Tu Cven, maswavl ebl ebi ufro sensitiurebi viqnebiT maTi saWiroebebisa da Sesaz- l ebl obebis mimarT.

**maswavl ebel i g.** Sen arasworad gamige. ramdenime daCa- grul i bavSvi yovel Tvis SeiZI eba gaxdes warmatebul i da am saxiT skol a yovel Tvis inarCunebs miTs sakuTari qmedi Tu- narianobi's Sesaxeb. magram, miuxedavad im faqtisa, rom zo- gierTebi warmatebas aRweven mxol od im maxasiaTebl ebis de- monstrirebas axdenen, roml ebic maRal i kl asis Rirebul e- bebs warmoadgens. es is Rirebul ebebi sul ac araa, romel sac maT oj axur an muSaTa kl asis samuSao cxovrebaSi unergaven. amgvari bavSvebis absol uturi umravl esoba, sabol oo j amSi, warumatebel i rCeba da imave tipis situaciur cikl s miuyve-

bian, romel ic maTma mSobl ebma gamoi ares. da Semdeg i sinic sakuTar SviL ebs waiyanen swored i seve waiyanen skol aSi, imisaTvis rom, maT msgavsad, axl a SviL ebi gaxdnen araqmedi-Tunarianebi, dasWirdebaT daxmarebis programebi da mxol od cudi samsaxurisTvis iyvnen gamwesebul ebi. es cikl i arasodes i cvl eba.

***maswavl ebel i d.*** moica, moica! nuTu Sen i mas gul isxmob, rom dabal Semosavl iani bavSvebi ar SezI eba sazogadoebaSi warmatebul ebi iyvnen? Tu asea, gamodis, rom Sen da b-sac srul iad mcdari warmodgena gaqvT warmatebis ganmartevis Sesaxeb. Tqveni saubris mixedviT gamodis, rom simbol oebiT manipul ireba da garkveul i codnis SeZena warmatebis erTaderTi gadamwyeti kriteriumebia. b. uSvebs, rom moswavl eTa umravl esoba warmatebas im SemTxvevaSi miaRwevs, Tu Cven maT kargad vaswavl iT, maSin, rodesac g kamaTobs imaze, rom zogi moswavl e verasodes iqneba warmatebul i, rac ar unda gaakeTo. Cemi azriT, skol is Secdomebi sa da araefturobis saTave swored iqidan modis, Tu ras aRviqvamT Cven mni Svne-I ovan warmatebad. nuTu bavSvi, romel sac SeuZI ia xurda sworad daabrunos maRaziaSi, ar aris warmatebul i mxol od imitom, rom ar SeuZI ia qaRal dze al gebrul i simbol oebiT manipul ireba an abstraqtul i formul ebi ar axsovs?

***maswavl ebel i g.*** rogorc mi vxvdi, Sen ambob, rom Tu adamians xurdis sworad dabruneba SeuZI ia warmatebul ia? Sen amtkiceb, rom xurdis sworad dabruneba niSnabs, rom adami ani imgvar samsaxurs i Sovnis, rom Rirseul i cxovrebis uzrunvel yofa SezI os? Tu es mxol od imas niSnabs, rom es adami ani sul el uri da monuri samuSaosTvis aris kval ificirebul i? Seni gadawyetil eba praatikul ad saSual o kl a sis gamodevnas niSnabs.

***maswavl ebel i d.*** ara, ar niSnabs, maSinve, rogorc ki adamianebe aRiareben, rom i sini gansazRvraven warmatebas, da rom Cvens sazogadoebas Zal ian viwro da SezRudul i faseul obebi gaaCnia, es adami anebe im Rirebul ebebis danaxvas SezI eben sakuTar Tavsa da sxvebSi, roml ebic aqamde ar iyvnen aRiarebul ni. am SemTxvevaSi ki, adami anebe gaacnobiereben cvl il ebis saWiroebas da amisTvis ki devac ibrZol eben.

***maswavl ebel i g.*** Rirebul ebebis gadafaseba mxol od mas Semdeg iqneba SesazI ebel i, rac ekonomikuri usamarTI oba Semcirdeba. Rirebul ebebis cvl a mxol od kapi tal isturi sistemis rRvevis da am sistemis mier adami anebis Rirebul e-

bebze uwyeti zewol is Sewyvetis SemTxevaSia Sesazi ebel i. maswavl ebl is funqcia ki isaa, rom SeewinaaRmdegos im saswavl o gegmas, romel ic dominanturi kl asebis mier aris Tavs moxveul i da gazardos cnobiereba misi usamarTI o bunebis Sesaxeb.

**maswavl ebel i b.** mi zani ekonomi kuri sistemis an Cven mier warmatebisAaRqmis Secvl a namvil ad araa. orives gaaCnia potencial i, rom yvel a adamiani datkbes kargi cxovrebis Sesazi ebl obebiT. Cven yvel as unda davexmaroT, rom maqsimail ur warmatebas miaRwi on im sistemis Sesazi ebl obebis faragl ebSi, romel sac es sistema individsa Tu sazogadoebas STavazobs. maswavl ebl is saqmea, saswavl o gegma efeqturaad ganaxorciel os da yvel as misces Tanabari Sansi, iswavl os da gazardos am sistemis fargl ebSi.

**maswavl ebel i d.** amocana isaa, kargad gavacnobieroT, rom Cveni adamianuri pirobebi ar aris ganpirobekbul i romel im `sistemi` wvdomis xarisxze. is ganpirobekbul ia mxol od Cveni interaqciiT sxva adamianeBTan. adamianebe romel im danadgaris WanWi kебi ar arian. social uri usamarTI obidan gamosaval i arc isaa, rom danadgarisaTvis WanWi kебi SevqmnaT, rogorc amas maswavl ebel i b xedavs da arc imasi, rom danadgari gamovigonoT WanWi kебis mixedviT, rogorc amas maswavl ebel i gaRiqvams. orive xedva Zal i an meqanisturia. real urad Zal i an bevri kriteriumi arsebobs Rirseul i cxovrebis Sesafasebl ad. yvel a adamians gaaCnia Rirebul i aqtivi, roml is sazogadoebamde motanac SeuzI ia mxol od sazogadoeba wytets Tavad, rom pativi sces da daajil odoos adamianebe, rogorc TiToeul i individi. am damokidebul ebiT ki, aRar iqneba imis gancda, rom vinme xel mokarul ia da mokl ebul ia im saki Txebi, roml ebic mas ekuTvnis.

**maswavl ebel i a.** didi madl oba! Zal i an saintereso filiosofiuri diskusia gamovi da. da mainc, isev imave probl emi winaSe vdgavar - ra unda gavakeTo xval 10 saaTze, rode sac am bavSvebs Sevxvdebi da mat gamravl eba unda vaswavl o? arc ki var darwmunebul i, rom Tqven mier gamoTqmuli azri rogorme damexmareba an rames Secvl is xval .

**maswavl ebel i b.** aba, ra giTxra, Sen yovel Tvis SegiZI ia rom testisTvis moamzado isini.

Tqveni azriT, Tu romel im mokamaTis Sexedul eba sworia, Seicvl eba ki raime maswavl ebl ebis qmedebebSi?

eTanxmebiT Tu ara romel i me zemoT gakeTebul mosazrebas ufro metad, vidre sxvas? aris mokamaTe maswavl ebl ebi dan romel i me funqonal isti, konfl iqtis Teoretikosi n interpretivisti? ra rCivas miscemdiT Tqven maswavl ebel a-s?

## **farul i kurikul umi (saswavl o gegma)**

warsul Si amerikul skol ebi s Zal isxmivas Zi ieri mxardaweris nakl eboba namdvil ad ar akl daT. garda saSemosavI o gadasaxadi dan miRebul i da sarepetitoro Semosavl ebi sa, Cveni skol ebi aseve ganebivrebul ni iyvnen moxal iseobrivi servi sebis, fil antropul i organizaci ebi s da saqmiani sazogadoebi s mxardaweritac. gare wyaroebi dan Semosul i es damxareba saSual ebas aZl evda maswavl ebl ebs, gaeumj obesebinaT saswavl o gegma da Cveni Svil ebi s saskol osaganmanaTI ebl o gamocdil eba gaemdi drebinaT isedac gaweli i biuj etis gadaxarj vis gareSe.

Kl arens darous sabazo skol a didad iyo damoki debul i gare mxardaweraze. wl idan wl amde bibl ioTekis kol eqcia mdidrdeboda Tavisufal mewarmerTa institutis mier gaweri-I i yovel wl iuri dotaciebiT. zogadad instituti ircevs imgvar wignebs, roml ebic pozitiur gavl enas axdens win wamoweul individual izms da mxars uwers tradiciul i amerikul i faseul obebi s damkvidrebas. Sesabamisad, wignebSi im adami anebi s biografiebi a moTxrobi l i, vinc warmatebas di di Sromisa da winaRobebi s gadal axvis fasad miRwia; andac, amerikis istoriaSi Sesul i adami anebi s biografiebs moi cavs, an sul ac oj axuri cxovreibis pozitiuri mxareebi s Sesaxeb aris... Tavisufal mewarmerTa instituti miiChevs, rom am tipis saganmanaTI ebl o masal ebi ganuzomel i faseul obaa amerikul i tradiciebi s mixedviT Cveni Tavisufi ebi s dasacavad da SesanarCunebl ad.

skol is audi ovizual urma departamentma aseve saWiro mxardawera moi pova korporatiul i organizaci ebi sgan, maTi kontribuci i s gawevis interesidan gamodinare. sakabel o korporaciebi s adgil obrivi ofisebi da energi i s kompaniebi skol is departaments uamravi fil ebi Ta da sl ai d prezentaciebiT amaragebdnen sxvadasxva, roml ebic sxvadasxva Tematikas janmrTel obis, mecnierebi s, teqnol ogi ebi s, Ta-

namedrove cxovrebis saki Txebs exeboda. amgvari vizual uri resursebi ki moswavl eebs i seTi informaciiT asazr dovebda, roml is SeTavazebas maTTvis maswavl ebl ebi damouki debl ad verasodes SeZl ebdnen. amgvari fil mebi didi popul arobiT sargebl obda moswavl eebs Soris da gakveTil ebs bevrad sargebl os da mi zanmimartul s xdida. maswavl ebl ebi kompanii is mier mowodebul fil mebs xSirad iyeneben.

j on robinss, romel ic axal i maswavl ebel ia kl arens darousi, direktorma Tavidane SesTavaza am resursebis gamoyeneba da daanaxva maTi sargebel i. magram j oni, romel ic refl eqturi da sakmaod frTxil i adami ania, gadawyets, kargad gaecnos sxvadasxva masal as, sanam pirdapir daiwyebas maT gamoyenebas moswavl eebTan. igi uyurebs komunal uri servisebis kompanii is mier mowodebul fil ms birTvul i energiis Sesaxeb. igi gadawyets, rom es fil mi namdvil ad kargad warmoacens birTvul i energiis potencial s, Tumca absol uturad ver asaxavs j ammrTel obisa da usafrTxoebis saki Txebs. j onis azriT, garda im pirdapiri informaciisa, romel ic fil msia mocemul i, igi kidev Seicavs mal ul gakveTil s, sadac warmodgenil ia kompanii subieqturi da Tavsmoxveul i faseul obebi, misi kerzo interessebi, romel sac arafeti aqvs saerTo sazogadoebis winaSe mdgar saSi SroebebTan. igi gadawyets, ar gamoiyenos fil mi gakveTil ze.

ramdenad aris j onis Sexedul ebebi fil mis Sesaxeb dasabutebul i? sworad iqceva igi, rom fil ms ar iyenebs? rasityodiT bibl ioTekis wignebis funqciur faseul obebze?

## **ganaTI ebis erovnul i angariSi**

a. ganaTI ebis komisiis axal ma prezidentma naTI ad da mkafiod dagvanaxa Tavis angariSSi, rom Cven bevrad CamovriCiT sxva Tanamedrove erebs inJinrebisa da mecnierebis aRzrdis saqmeSi. Cveni SesZl ebl obebi da resursebi gamogonebebis, kvl evebis da Tanamedrove maRal teqnol ogiuri siaxl eebisaTvis safuzvl is momzadebis kuTxiT ganviTarebis magivrad uaresdeba da imis safrTxe, rom sul mal e meorexarisxovan Zal ad gadaviqceviT, didia. amitom aucil ebel ia, rom skol ebma raRac iRonon am situaciis gamosasworebl ad.

b. magram real urad, skol ebi maTi axl andel i funqciebiT am probl emis Semadgenel nawil s warmoadgenen. moswavl eebs Zal ian didi TavisufI eba aqvT miniWebul i da irCeVen maTematikasa da sabunebis metyvel o-samecniero sagnebze bevrad martiv sagnebs irCeVen. aucil ebel ia, rom standarti gadai xedos da saSual o skol is damTavrebiSaTvis maTematikasa da sabunebis metyvel o-samecniero sagnebis swavl a yvel asTvis gaxdes sami wl is manZil ze. aucil ebel ia, rom saSual o skol is dipl omi kvl avac codnas iZI eodes da raRacas ni Snavdes.

g. ki magram, ra vuyoT im moswavl eebs, roml ebsac ar aqvT akademuri ganaTI ebisadmi midrekil eba? maTac davuwe- soT mkacri moTxovnebi imisda miuxedavad, rom ar apireben kol ej Si swavl is gagrZel ebas da ar cdil oben, rom inJinrebi da mecnierebi gamovi dnen? ramdenad samarTI iani iqneba aseTi gadawyvetil eba?

b. sworedac rom samarTI iani iqneba! yvel as unda mieces Sansi, rom daakmayofil os amgvari moTxovnebi. usamarTI oba is ufroa, rom Cven yvel as erTnair dipl oms vaZI evT imis gan damouki debl ad, vin martiv programebs irCeVs da vin ki - urTul ess. dipl omi raRacas unda ni Snavdes da is raRacas Ti Toeul i skol adamTavrebul isTvis unda ni Snavdes.

a. Tqven oriveni araswor saki Txebze akeTebT aqcenteb. imisTvis, rom saWiro mecnierebi da inJinrebi miviRoT, aucil ebel ia maTi waxal isebris sxvadasxva meTodebis Semotana da testirebis efekturi instrumentebis SemuSaveba, rac saSual ebas mogvcems niWieri moswavl eebi uniWoebi sgan ganvasxvavoT. am SemTxvevaSi aRar dadgeba imis saWiroeba, rom yvel a moswavl e misi SesaZI ebl obebi sgan ganurCevl ad maincdamainc maTematika da mecnierebebis programebiT davt-virToT. ratom ar SeiZI eba, rom aRmovaCinoT da davaj il - dovoT niWieri moswavl eebi samTavrobo stipendiebiT maTematikaSi, mecnierebaSi an inJineriaSi? am SemTxvevaSi xom SevZI ebdiT probl emis gadaWras.

g. magram ramdenad sworia skol ebis erovnul i politiki instrumentad gamoyeneba imisaTvis rom kerzo industriis probl emebi movagvaroT?

a. ratomac ara! skol ebi xom isedac saxel mwifo instrumentebi arian, gana ase araa? risTvis gamovi yenebT maT - kargi moqal aqeebis Tu kargi inJinrebis aRsazrdel ad, aqvs

ki mni Svnel oba? skol is WeSmariti funcia xom sazogadoebis samsaxurSi yofnaa!

g. ki magram, ra moxdeba, rodesac am saWiroebebis aRqma yovel meore wel i wadSi Seicvl eba? skol ebic unda adgnen da erTi Ramis ganmavl obaSi gardai qmnien? aRar vil aparakoT individual ur saWiroebebze? maTi adgil i sadRaa?

b. rac erisTvis kargia, is kargia individualisaTvis ac?

g. ki magram, nuTu yovel Tvis?

ras fiqrobT, aris ki yovel Tvis kargi? arian ki skol ebi sazogadoebis instrumentebi? rogor fiqrobT, funqcionali izmi xom ar gamori cxavs dRis wesrigidan im saWiroebebs, roml ebic individualis gaaCni aT.

## geografiis gakveTil i

margaret beikeri vetieris dawyebiTi skol is me-6 kl ass aswavl is. misis beikeri did mni Svnel obas aniWebs moqal a-geobriv CarTul obas sazogadoebiv saqmianobaSi da Tavad aris ramdenime organizaciis aqturi wevri, maT Soris mas-wavl ebel Ta profkavSiris, demokratiul i partiisa da amerikul i samoqal aqo Tavisufl ebis kavSiris. xandaxan maswavl ebel i sagakveTil o dros da sagnobriv programas efekturad i yenebs moswavl eebisTvis pol itikuri sakiTxebis axsnisa da anal izis instrumentad. misis beikeri miCnevs, rom ganaTI ebul i moqal aqebisaTvis aucil ebel ia pol itikuri codnis sabaziso codna bavSvebs adreul i asaki dan mi ewodos.

meeqvse kl asis geografiis programa central uri da samxreT amerikis geografias moicavs. misis beikema sagnobrivi programa amj eradic gamoiyena imisaTvis, rom bavSveb-Tan central uri amerikis arastabil ur qveynebSi mimdinare pol itikuri sakiTxebi ganexil a. garda standartul i sagakveTil o masal isa, romel ic amerikis qveynebis kul turas, resursebsa da producias acnobda moswavl eebs, misis beikema bavSvebs miwisa da Semosavl ebis gadanawil eba gaacno am qveynebSi. maswavl ebel ma auxsna moswavl eebs, rom centrali ur amerikaSi mosaxl eobis mcire nawil i akontrol ebs mi-websa da qveynis sxva sikeTeebis udides nawil s, eqspl uatacias uwevs mosaxl eobis ZiriTadi nawil is Sromas da sabol ood am adamianebs uqonl ebs da gaRatakebul ebs tovebs.

misis beikerma Seadara sakonstitucio kanonebis mier dek-  
I arirebul i wesebi im real obas, romel ic gasamxedroebul i  
azrovnebis mTavrobis pirobebSi i warmoeba da romel ic is-  
wrafvis sakuTari mosaxl eobis mimarT genociduri pol iti-  
kis warmoebisken, gansakuTrebiT ki adgil obrivi indiel i  
mosaxl eobis mimarT. zogadad, misis beikeri Zal ian kriti-  
kul ad iyo ganwyobi i mTavrobis mimarT da did pativs  
scemda maT, vinc mTavrobis sadmi opoziciur damoki debul ebas  
inarCunebda. moswavl eebis ki Txvaze, romel ic Cveni qveynis  
mTavrobis urTierTkavSi rs exeboda gasamxedroebul mTavro-  
bebTan, man moswavl eebs auxsna, Tu ratom da ra aspeqtebSi  
aris amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis pol itika araswori da  
arakoreqtul i central uri amerikis qveynebTan mimarTebiT.

misis beikeris geografiis gakveTil ebma saintereso sau-  
brebi gamoiwyvia moswavl eebis saoj axo vaxSmis sufrasTan.  
mSobl ebis nawill i gaabraza maswavl ebl is sakl aso aqtovo-  
bebma. gansakuTrebiT aRSfoTebul i rusel denti, amerikis  
SeiaraRebul i Zal ebis veterani da konservatorul i pol iti-  
kuri orientaciis adamiani iyo. mister denti Tvl ida, rom  
misis beikeri gakveTil ze swavl ebiT ar iyo dakavebul i. amis  
nacvl ad maswavl ebel i moswavl eebs sakuTar Sexedul ebebs  
unergavda da maT memarcxeneebis faseul obebiTa da marqsis-  
tul i pol itikuri poziciiT JRenTs. man faqtebi daamaxinj a  
da geografiis gakveTil i propagandisTvis gamoiyena. am moq-  
medebiT ki, maT sakuTar, maswavl ebl is ufl ebamosil ebas  
gadaameta da mSobl ebis ndoba skol isadmi borotad ga-  
moiyena. rogorc maswavl ebel s, misis beikers aranairi uf-  
I eba ar aqvs, mSobl ebis funczia airos sakuTar Tavze da  
moswavl eebs imgvari Sexedul ebebi gauziaros, roml ebic maT  
sakuTar saxl ebSi ar aris gaziarebul i. ufror metic, mis  
mier amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis mTavrobis kritika ara-  
patriotul i qmedebaa da amvar qmedebas ar unda hqondes  
adgil i amerikul i skol is sakl aso oTaxebSi. mister denti  
Rrmad aris darwmunebul i, rom misis beikers ar aqvs norci,  
STabeWdil eebis qveS advil ad moqcevadi moswavl eebiT mani-  
pul irebis ufl eba. es yvel aferi mister dentma veTieris  
skol is directors aratavaziani da gabrazebul i satel efo-  
no saubris dros gamoucxada.

bral debebis mosmenisas misis beikerma ganacxada, rom  
amas aranairi interes i ar gaaCnia, romel ime mTavrobis, iqne-  
ba es sakuTari Tu romel ime sxva qveynis, propaganda gas-

wios. geografiis gakveTil ze is mxol od faqtebs eyrdnoba da Sexedul ebebi, roml ebic sakl aso oTaxSi mis mier odesme gaJRerebul a, mxol od da mxol od faqtebz ea dafuznebul i... is, rogorc maswavl ebel i, imeds gamoTqvams, rom misi moswawl eebi gaiazreben zogiert faqtsa da Sesabamis daskvnebs gamoi tanen. sakl aso oTaxi da misi gakveTil ebi ki aracveul ebriv SesaZI ebl obas qmnian amgvari azrovnebis ganvi Tarebisatvis. Tu is daiwyebi pirferobas da Tavs moi katunebs, rom neutral uria amgvari faqtebis mimarT, i gi aragul wrfel i iqneba da, Sesabamis ad, im pasuxi smgebl obas, romel ic mas, rogorc maswavl ebel s akisria, ubral od Tavs aari debs. istoria pirdapir kicxavs nacistebs maTi moqmedebisaTvis. gamodis, rom is sxvagvarad unda moi qces? Tu is ubral od Tavs aari debs am saki Txebis ganxi l vas sakl aso oTaxSi, mis moswawl eebis ubral od aRar miedemata saSual eba gai umj obeson sakuTari Sexedul ebebis ganvi Tarebis da kritikul i azrovnebis unarebi. maswavl ebl is magvari qmedeba ki arapatriotul ia. misis beikerma pirdapir ganacxada, rom apirebs i give midgomebis gamoyenebas swavl ebis dros, sanam vinme an vinmes moqmedeba ar daawmunebs mas sakuTari metodol ogi is arakoreqtul obaSi.

ras moicav pol itikuri ganaTI eba? aris Tu ara is saki Txebi, roml ebsac misi beikeri aswavl is mni Svnel ovani pol itikuri ganaTI ebisaTvis? ramdenad moicav i gi pol itikuri saki Txebi sakuTari gakveTil ebze? aqvs Tu ara mas ufl eba Caataros am tipis gakveTil ebi? aucil ebl ad migachiat Tu ara maswavl ebl is swavl ebis metodebis an Sinaarsobrivi mxaris Secvl a? unda iyos Tu ara maswavl ebel i pol itikuri mxare? unda gai Tval iswinos Tu ara maswavl ebel ma mister dentis motxovna gakveTil ze apol itikurad qcevis Sesaxeb? ramdenad aris SesaZI ebel i, rom, sazogadod, apol itikurebi viyoT?

## **resursebi s gadanawi I eba**

‘aerosfero teqnol ogiebi - warmoadgens mwarmoebel firmas erT-erT nakl ebganvi Tarebul teritoriaz da i gi aviainJineriis ganvi Tarebazea orientirebul i. firmam informaciul i teqnol ogiebis axal i, ganvi Tarebul i versiis gamoyeneba daiwo da aRar saWiroebs kompiuterebis im ekranis gamoyenebas, romel sac is adre iyenebda. firmam ramdenime saskol o ol qs Zvel i kompiuterebis dotacia SesTavaza. kompiuterebis miRebis survil i Zal ian didi iyo, xol o danadgarebis raodenoba ki SezRudul i. amitom ‘aerosfero teqnol ogiebma- sakuTar SemoTavazeba speciaIuri kriteriumiT gansazRvra da gamoacxada, rom yvel a ol qi kompiuterebs, moswavl eebis raodenobi dan gamomdinare, proporciul ad miRebs. es kriteriumi firmas saSual ebas miscemda, gadanwiI eba absol uturad samarTi ianad ganexorciel ebina.

pl einvevi qal aqia 30 000 macxovrebl iT. qal aqSi umuSevrobis maCvenebel i warmoudgenl ad maRaI ia, radganac Ziri-Tadi industriul i qarxnebi, roml ebic qal aqSi da SemogarenSi funqcionirebda, dai xura. swored am qal aqis skol is sabWom daiwo mol aparakebebi ‘aerosfero teqnol ogiebTan im 20 kompiuterTan dakavSi rebit, roml ebic maTi skol i satvis moswavl eebis raodenobis Sesabamisad gamoiyo. skol is sabWos wevrebis ZiriTadi nawil i, romel ic maswavl ebl ebi sa da previevis sxva moqal aqeebis gan Sedgeba, aRfrTovanebul ia firmis saCuqriT. qal aqSi sul ramdenime kompiuteri arsebobs qal aqis ori saSual o skol is bazaze. es skol ebia - saSual o akademiuri da profesiul -teqnol ogiuri saSual o skol ebi. samwuxarod, real obi dan gamomdinare, aqamde sau-baric ki ar yofil a damatebiTi kompiuterebis SeZenaze. amgvari SenaZenebisaTvis biuj eti Zal ian mcirea qarxnebis gauqmebis gamo. firmis saCuqari aRqmul ia rogorc aracveul ebri-vis SesaZI ebl oba previevis bavSvebi saTvis, daewi on momavli is progress.

TumcaRa, aRmoCnda, rom uamravi sirTul ea gadasal axi, sanam skol ebi sabol oo gadawyvetii ebis miRebas SeZI eben. regul arul i kompiuterul i programis danergvas didi Tanxebi swirdeba kompiuterul i oTaxis Seqmnisa da maswavl ebl iis daqinavebi saTvis. sabWo mxol od mogebaze muSaobs. Sar-

Sandel i saskol o gadasaxadebi akreba gadai do da dagegmi - I i wignebis SeZena ver moixerxda. wel sac nakl eb savaraudioa, rom gadasaxadebis gazrda real isturi iyos. Tu sabWo gada-wyets kompiuterebis miRebas, maSin is izul ebul i iqneba, misi gamarTvisa da funqcionirebis saWiro Tanxa akademi- uri da kl asgarSe programebis fonds moakl os.

metic, studentebis gamoki Txvam kompiuterul i kl asebis momaval perspektivasTan dakavSi rebiT aCvena, rom danapi rebioci kompiuteri gaWirovebiT daakmayofil ebs orive saSual o skol is moTxovnebs im pirobiT. Tu kompiuteris Seswavl is Sesaferisi programebis institucial izacia ganxorcziel deba. orives skol as sakmaod damaj erebel i argumenti gaaCnia kompiuteris saWiroebasTan dakavSi rebiT. akademiuri saSual o skol asTvis kompiuterebiT arWurvas udidesi mniSnel oba gaaCnia, raTa man SeZI os moswavl eebis momzadeba konkuren-tunarian kol ej is inJineriisa da samecniero programebze misaRebad. am skol is maswavl ebl ebi da mSobl ebi amtkiceben, rom qveynis ZI ierebisa da ganvi Tarebi saTvis maRal kval ifi-ciuri inJinerebisa da mecnierebis momzadebaa saWiro da Tvl ian, rom samarcxino faqt i iqneba, Tu niWieri moswavl eebi, roml ebic am sferoebiT arian dainteresebul i mxo-I od imitom dai kargebian, rom maT Sesaferisi saganamanaT- I ebl o Sesazl ebl obebi ar miecaT. (aqve unda aRiniSnos, rom aerosfero teqnol ogiebis warmomadgenel ma, romel mac aranairi konkretul i miTi Teba ar gaakeTa kompiuterebis gada-nawil ebasTan dakavSi rebiT, aRniSna, rom maT kompanias ganu-wyvetl iv axal i inJinrebis saWiroeba gaaCnia da Sesabami sad, kompania gansakuTrebis kmayofil i iqneba, Tu kompiuterebi kol ej is aTvis mosamzadebel i programebis fargl ebSi iqneba efekturad gamoyenebul i). akademiuri skol is moswavl eebis nawil s mSobel ma saxl Si samuSaodac SeuZina kompiuteri, Tumca real urad bevr oj axs amis saSual eba ver gamonaxa. swored amgvari, nakl ebSemosavl iani oj axida wamosul i bavSvebi, roml ebic kompiuteris arqonis gamo Zal ian za-ral deboden, unda gamxdariyvnen naCugari kompiuterebis mTavari mesargebl eebi.

meore, srul i saSual o profesiul -teqnikuri skol is maswavl ebl ebisa da mSobl ebi argumentebi kompiuteris saWiroebasTan dakavSi rebiT gansxvavebul i iyo, Tumca l ogika-sa da damaj erebl obas arc isini iyo mokl ebul i. kompiute-rebi namdvil ad Zal ian saWiroa skol aSi, msj el obdnen isini, raTa moswavl eebi programirebaSi daostatdnen da kompiute-

rebis SekeTebis special istisaTvis saWiro unar-Cvevebi Sei-Zinon. imdenad, ramdenadac adgil obrivi biznesebi kompiuterezebul sagadasaxado da saaRricxvo sistemaze gadavida, bazars meti kval ificiuri adamiani swirdeba, romel ic programirebis saki Txebsa da kompiuterebis movl a-SekeTebis saki Txebs moagvarebs. "aerospeisi teqnol ogiebi" kompiuterebis saSual ebi T aracveul ebriv Sanss aZI evs muSaTa kl asis warmomadgenel mSobl ebs da bavSvebs, roml ebsac profesiul -teqnikuri profil e aqvT arceul i, ipovon prestijul i samsaxurebi momavl is perspektiul i SromiT bazarze. am bavSvebis mSobl ebs aseve ar aqvs imis saSual eba, rom bavSvebs kompiuterebi saxl isaTvis uyidon. umravl esoba maTgani kvl avac umuSevaria.

Tumca arsebobs kidev erTi, mesame j gufi, romel sacmiania, rom kompaniis SemoTavazeba saerTodac ar unda mi-Ron. sakutari poziciis gansamtkicebl ad, es j gufi maval arguments ayeneben. zogierTi amtkicebs, rom qal aq pl einvievis skol adamTavrebul ebi sakmaod karg Sedegebs acveneben yovel gvari kompiterebis gareSec. isini sakutar oponentebs adanaSaul eben mcdel obaSi, rom maT "saCuqrebi" gadasaxadebis gazrdis saSual ebad gamoiyenes. sxvebi ki, amtkicebdnen, rom skol is programebze gamoyofil i biuj eti auci l ebl ad Seikveceba, Tu kompiuterebis gamoyenebas daiwyeben. programebis biuj etis Sekveca ki am j gufs warmoudgenl ad miacnia, radgan is isedac Zal ian mcirea da wkipze yofnis programis dafinansebas. isini oponentebs prioritetebis Canacvl ebaSi adanaSaul eben. da kidev erTi j gufi, romel ic kompiterebis gamoyenebas ewinaaRmdegeba, saCuqrad gadmocemul i kompiuterebis sizvel eze apel irebs da amtkicebs, rom amgvari kompiterebis gamoyeneba moswawl eebis mier ar aris swori. "Tu skol ebsi kompiuterul i kl asi unda gakeTdes, is uaxl esi teqnikiT unda iyo aRWurvil i" – amboben mowi naaRmdegeebi.

sabWom moswawl eebis, mSobl ebsa da maswawl ebl ebs sakutari argumentebis warmodgena mosTxova. am argumentebis mosmenamde sabol oo gadawyetil ebi s miRebi dan isini Tavs ikavebndnen.

rogori iqneboda Seni pozicia, Tu Sen akademiuri skol is j gufis warmoamgenel i iqnebodi? da Tu profesiul -teqnikuri j gufi? mesame, mowinaaRmdegeTa j gufis warmomadgenl i? ra rekomendacias gaswevdit im SemTxvevaSi, Tu Tqven komitetis wevri iqnebodi?

## **kol ej i Tu samuSao Zal a**

centraluri saSual o skol a erTaderTia airon-sitiSi, romel ic sakmaod sol iduri istoriis mqone, Crdil odasavl eTiT mdebare industriul i qal aqia. airon-siti bevr ukeTes drosac moswrebia da uaresi probl emebi da gaWirvebebic unaxavs, Tumca centraluri skol a yovel Tvis agrZe-I ebda qal aqis momsaxurebas qal aqis macxovrebl ebis ekonomikuri, demografiul i da profesiul i prioritetebis gan damouki debi ad...

rodesac skol is dani Snul ebisa da misi mni Svnel obis Sesaxeb vsaubrobT da qal aqisaTvis misi rol is anal izs viwyebT, aucil ebel ia, rom ori ram vicodeT airon-sitis mosaxl eobis Sesaxeb. airon-sitis mosaxl eebis nawil ia irl andiel i da pol onel i muSebi, roml ebic Taobidan Taobamde cxovrebis umetes nawil s qarxnebsa da maRaziebSi muSaobaSi atareben, didi imedebs amyareben sakuTari Svil ebis ukeTes momaval ze. am adami anebis survil ia, rom Svil ebma cxovrebis ukeTes pirobebs miaRwion da amis miRwevis SesaZI ebl obad Svil ebis kol ej ebSi swavl as miicneven. ganaTebul i Svil ebi ki qarxnebSi muSaobiisan Tavs daaRweven. bol o wl ebSi maTi survil ebi sagnebis arCeviS procesze aisaxa da maT ganskaku-Trebul i interesii akademiiur konsul taciasa da kol ej isatvis mosamzadebel programebs dauTmes central ur saSual o skol aSi.

qal aqSi aseve arsebobs meore j gufi, romel sac didi gavl ena aqvs skol aze. bol o oci wl is manzil ze didi rao-denobiT I aTinoamerikel i mosaxl e Camovi da da damkvidrda qal aqSi. am adami anebma didi gavl ena moaxdines qal aqis kul turul cxovrebsa da ganaTI ebis misi aze skol aSi. centraluri saSual o skol a maTTvis asimil aciis procesis gasaadvil ebl ad yvel aze efefqtur saSual ebas warmoadgens. Sesabamisad, isini did mni Svnel obas aniWeben enis swavl ebas da im saskol o programebs, roml ebic kul turis istoriaze akeTebi aqcents. TumcaRa, qal aqisa da skol is maval fero-vani cxovrebsa da prioritetebis fonze raRac-raRacebi mainc Zvel eburaad rceba. espanuri warmomavl obis studentebi skol is profesiul kl asebSi dominireben, swored im kl a-

sebSi, roml ebsac Tavis droze irl andiel i da pol onel i emigrantebis pirvel i Taobis axal gazrdebi i kavebdnen.

j on o'mel eis, central uri saSual o skol is direktors, moswonda saqmis amgvari viTareba. igi grZnobda, rom skol a uzrunvel yofda adekvatur, rig SemTxvevebSi ki saukeTeso ganaTI ebas moswavl eebisaTvis da qal aqis moTxovni l ebebs efekturad pasuxobda. kurikul umi sakmaod dabal ansebul i a imisaTvis, rom yovel moswavl es misces saSual eba, miaRwi os individual ur miznebs da daikmayofil os sakuTari saganmaniaTI ebl o interesebi. mimarTul ebi's departamenti ki aqtiurad aris CarTul i SerCevis procesSi. im skol adamTavreb ul Ta ricxvi, roml ebic swavl as kol ej Si agrZel ebs - izrdeba da es direktorisatvis saamayoa.

am gadmosaxedidan, arc unda iyos gasakviri, Tu ratom gauWirda mister o'mel eis qal batoni kruzis, erT-erTi, meorewl iani moswavl is ukmayofil ebi's gageba. dedas miaCnia, rom mis Svil s - deniss usamarTI od moeqca mimarTul ebi's konsul tanti. denis kruzis mizania saSual o skol is dasrul ebi's Semdeg swavl a gaagrZel os da unda, rom kol ej issaTvis mosamzadebel programisaTvis gaiaros registracia. Tumca, mis mrCevi s, misis koval skis miaCnia, rom denisi ver SeZI ebs am programebis warmatebiT daZI evas da urCevs mas, rom profesiul -saganmaniaTI ebl o programaze gaagrZel os swavl a. misis kruzis azriT, konsul tants araviTari ufl eba ar aqvs, adreul i asaki danve aukrZal os deniss ganaTI ebi's gagrZel ebaze ocneba im fonze, rom bevr sxva students Tabnabari da samarTI iani arCevni s gakeTebis saSual eba eZI eva. mSobl is azriT, amgvari damoki debul eba misis koval skis mi kerZoebul i damoki debul ebi's magal iTs warmoadgens. misis kruzma dakvirvebis Sedegad aRmoaCina, rom moswavl eebi arapropociul ad arian gayofil ebi programebze da espanos moswavl eebs ufro intensiurad urCeven, Segirdobis Sesawavl ad daregistrirdnen an skol is damTavrebis Semdeg jarSi wavidnen, imis magivrad, rom kol ej Si swavl is gagrZel eba dai saxon miznad. misis kruzis azriT, msgavsi praktika unda Seicval os, radgan is cal saxad rasistul ia dasrul iad akargvinebs swavl is xal iss mis Svil s. mSobel i mi Cnevs, rom misma vajma imave xarisxis ganaTI eba da waxal i seba unda mi i Ros, rasac sxva moswavl eebi i Reben. wi naaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi, is amave moTxovni l ebebs ufro kate-

goriul ad sxvaganac da bevrj er gaaJReebis, manamde, sanam misi Svil is survil i ar iqneba gaTval i swinebul i.

mister o-neil ma moi Txova konferenci is dani Svna mimar-Tul ebi s departamentis, misis koval skis ganexil aT. misis koval skim ki di reqtors miawoda informacia, rom misi gadawyvetil eba aranairad mikerZoebul xasiaTs ar atarebda. ufrō metic, yvel a misi rekomenacia dafuznebul ia moswavl eebis akademiuri da profesiul i warmatebis obieqtur da real istur Sefasebaze. denis kruzi ar iyo warCinebul i moswavl e. misi niSnebi da testebis Sedegebi swored am gadawyvetil ebis si swores mowmobda. espanure-novani moswavl eebis umravl esobis msgav sad, denis kruzma ar icis ena sakmarisad da misi kul turul i gamocdil eba ar Seesabameba im monacemebs, romel ic saSual ebas miscemda mas, kol ej Si warmatebul i yofil iyo. misis koval skis azriT, is, rogorc profesional i da pedagogi, Secdeboda da sakuTar pasuxismgebl obas gaeqceoda, Tu sakuTar azrs ar daafiqsi-rebda an sxvagvarad moi qceoda. metic, mSobl ebs Zal i an di-di finansuri tvirTi daawvebodaT saSual o skol aSi aras-wori gadawyvetil eebis miRebis SemTxvevaSi. arasamarTI i an iqneba, rom denisisaTvis sxva programaSi swavl is gagrZel e-bis rekomenacia mieces da igi srul iad moumzadebel i darces samomavl od im samuSao situaci ebi saTvis, roml ebsac igi yovel dRiur cxovrebaSi Seej axe ba. garda amisa, arsebu-ll i sistema yovel Tvis efektur mimarTul ebas aZl evda sxva emigranti moswavl eebis j gufebs warmatebis misaRwevad, da saukeTeso gamosaval i iqneba, Tu zustad am mimarTul ebas am SemTxvevaSic gaagrZel eben.

eTqva Tu ara uari denis Tanabari SesaZl ebl obis miRebaSi? ramdenad mi zanSewoni l ia misis koval skis argumentebi? Tqveni azriT, es qesi diskriminaci is magal iTia Tu profesiul i gadawyvetil ebisa?

## **i ndi vi dual uri gansxvavebebi da Tanabari SesaZI ebl obebi**

a. me mtkiced mj era, es qveyana iZI eva imis SesaZI ebl obebi, rom ganaTI ebis mesveurTa meSveobiT yvel a Tavisuf-  
I ad gai zardos da ganvi Tardes sakuTari potenciis far-  
gl ebSi. bol osdabol os, individual uri keTiI dReobis wax-  
al iseba sazogadoebrivi keTiI dReobis garantiaa, ase ar  
aris? Sesabami sad, Cveni skol ebi val debul ni arian Seimu-  
Saon efekturi meqani zmebi TiToeul i studentis niWi aRmo-  
saCenad da ganvi Tarebis aTvis. Cven ar unda vxarj avdeT Cvens  
Zal isxmevas, raTa yvel as yvel afriS erTnairi warmatebiT  
keTeba vaiZul oT. araeefekturicaa da arasamarTI ianic, rom  
adami anebs, roml ebsac, magal iTad, musikis an mecnierebi sad-  
mi gansakuTrebui i midrekil ebebi ar aqvT, gavtarj oT da  
maT Sevaj ibroT, visac amgvari, specifikuri niWi aqvT. xom  
ar iqneboda bevrad ufro humanuri da mTI ianobaSi sazoga-  
doebisaTvis momgebiani, rom musikisa da mecnierebi sadmi  
nakl ebad midrekil individuali debs ar vaiZul oT am programebSi  
gaerTianeBa? ratom ar mivcet yvel as imis swavl is saSual e-  
ba, rac misTvis ufro Sesaferisia?

b. Sen kargi magal iTi moi yvane, Tumca, mgonia, rom cdebi.  
rogor unda gadawwyi toT, ra aris adami anebs aTvis `ufro  
Sesaferisi? - ar aris moral uri, adami anebs gamovuwer oT  
maxasiaTebl ebi. Cven adami anebs unda mivcet imis ufl eba,  
rom sakuTari tal anti gamoavl inon. es ki mxol od maSin  
moxdeba, Tu Cven adami anebs farTo, mraval ferovan da savse  
ganaTI ebas mivcemT, romel ic yvel asTvisaa. Cven special ize-  
ba da individual uri niWi ganvi Tarebis saSual eba mxol od  
nawi l obriv unda gvqondes saSual o ganaTI ebis fargl ebSi.  
ufro metad amgvari differencireba kerzo biznesis, indu-  
striisa da profesiul skol ebSi unda iZI eodes. Tanaswori  
SesaZI ebl obebis koncefcia swored amas moi Txovs.

a. ratom ggonia, rom vinme adami anebs maxasiaTebl ebs  
ani Webs! Sen adami anebs ise aRiqvam, TiTqos isini yvel a erT-  
maneTis msgavsi iyos, TiTqos Sen yvel afers aZI ev maT, rac  
swirdebaT da riTac interesdebian. Tanaswori SesaZI ebl obebis  
principi ki isaa, rom igi individualis niWi ganvi Tarebas  
emsaxureba. Cven gagvaCnia kargad SemuSavebul i testebi,  
roml ebic saSual ebas iZI eva, yvel a individualis niWi reba ga-  
moavl inos. imasTan erTad, rom Cveni testebi karg warmodge-

nas gvaZI evs pirovnebis zogadi intel eqtis Sesaxeb, Cven aseve SegviZI ia testebiT gamovavl inoT artistul i niWi da mecnierebi sadmi midrekil i pirovnebebi, maTi saerTo da intel eqtual uri unarebi. Cven im personaluri faqtorebis gamocdac ki SegviZI ia, roml ebic sxvadasxva personalur profil s ukeT Seesatyviseba da romel ic Sesaferis profesiul dargSi mis warmatebis potencial s gvaCvenebs. Cven wi idan wl amde individebis Secnobisa da maTi daj gufebis ukeTesi da ukeTesi SesaZI ebl obebi gveZI eva, radgan Cveni testebi ufro da ufro sandoa, xol o testebris SemmuSavebeli ebi ki ufro efekturi diagnostikur instrumentebs iyeneben.

b. testebi ki devac rom ufro da ufro ixvewebodes, nuTu figrob, rom testi imdenad efekturia, saSual ebas iZI eva, rom isini adamianebis cxovrebis ganmsazRvrel ad gamoviye-noT, TiTqos adamianebeTan ki ara, cxvrebTan gvqondes saqme? testis erTi araswori Sedegi an pirovnebisATvis raime SesaZI ebl obaze uaris Tqma ukve moraluri danaSaul i iqnebo-da am individis mimarT.EerTma Secdomam SeiZI eba adamiani s mTel i cxovreba Secval os. Tu srul iad darwmunebul ebi ar varT, maSin ar gvaqvs imis ufl eba, rom studentebi davaxarisxoT an mimarTul ebebis mixedviT gadavanawil oT. meore mxriv, es testebi ki devac rom ijos asi procentiT sando, ratom unda vandoT maT adamiani momavl is gansazRvra? gana varT darwmunebul ebi imaSi, rom Cveni standartebi sworia?

dawyebiT safexurze kiTxvis j gufebSi moswavl eebis gaerTianebac ki SekiTxvebs aCens. Cven moswavl eebi iarl iyebs vakravT da es moswavl eebi c morci l ad pasuxoben Cvens didsa Tu mcire mol odins. es damokidebul eba adamani sATvis gamoCenis gamotanas hgavs. is moswavl eebi, roml ebsac Cven sustebis iarl iys vakerebT, stigmis qveS imyofebian da maT ar eZI evaT samarTI iani Sansi, rom Cvens mol odinebs gadaaWarbon. SesaZI ebl oba niSnabs, rom rac SeiZI eba meti mimarTul ebiT da meti Sansi hqondes yvel as da TiToeul s. Cven aravisTvis ar SevzRudoT Sansebi.

a. mesmis, rom absol uturad gul wrfel i xar da saqmisaTvis gul i Segtkiva, amitomaca samwuxaro, rom cdebi. SesaZI ebl oba niSnabs yvel asaTvis potencial is Cvenebis Sansis micemas. magram swored es niSnabs, rom Cven maTi potenciebi samarTI ianad unda gavzomoT da adamianebebi sworad gavamwesoT, ise, rom maT sakutari Tavisa da sazogadoebi-

saTvis rac SeiZI eba meti sargebl obis motana SeiZI on. aba, ra funqcia akisriaT skol ebs, Tu vTvI iT, rom bavSvebs mi-marTul ebis micema ar swirdebaT? SeiZI eba es Zal ian rTu-l ia, magram sworedac rom special izebul i ganaTI ebaa er-TaderTi Wkianuri, efefqturi da samarTI iani gza imgvar maval ferovan sazogadoebaSi, rogorSiC Cven vxovrobT. SeiZI eba mcire doziT zogadi ganaTI eba marTI ac saWiroa, magram individualis specifikuri niwi da midrekil ebebi sazogadoebis Zvirfasi da saerTo simdidrea. Cven moral uri val debul eba gvakisria, gamovavl inoT da ganvaviTaroT es unikal uri SesaZI ebl obebi saerTo sikeTisaTvis.

rogor ggoniaT, a) piria swori Tu b)? SesaZI ebel ia Tu ara Tanaswori SesaZI ebl obebis da individual uri gansxvavebabis dil ema odesme gadaiWras? rogor ggoniaT, testireba, gamocda da special izebul i swavl eba funqciuria Tu araefturi?

### **social uri ganvi Tareba (reproduqci a)**

a. nebismeri sazogadoebis val ia sakuTari Tvi TSqmna da Tvi Tganvi Tareba. es ki imas ni Snavs, rom axal gazrdam Tavad unda moi xdin os sakuTari cxovrebi sul i gzisa da dovl aTisa da mom saxurebis ekonomikuri formebis inici reba. rogor unda moxer xdes es saukenesod, bunebrivia, kamaTi sagani a. Tumca, eWvgareSea amis gakeTebis aucil ebl ova Tu sazogadoebas arseboba unda gaagrZel os. skol ebis val ia, rom xel i Seuwyo sazogadoebisa da individualis ssvadaxva sikeTeebis mopovebis process.

b. Cemi azriT, absol uturad swori xar. am bol o dros mec seriozul ad mifiqria amaze da im daskvnamde mivedi, rom raRacebi arc Tu ise sworad mimdinareobs saskol o sistemis konkretul `reproduqciul ~ praqti kaSi. Cven migvania, rom is gamiznul ia individualis ganaTI ebi saTvis, maTTvis im codnisa da unarebis mifemisaTvis, rol ebi c maT das-WirdebaT srul i da produqciul i cxovrebi saTvis. imgvari cxovrebi saTvis, romel ic racional ur da damouki debel agents swirdeba Cvens sazogadoebaSi. magram ras vakeTebT Cven real urad Cveni da Cveni msgavsi Cveul ebrivi skol is

instituciur garemoSi Cveni moswavl eebisaTvis? Cven maT vvvrTniT imisaTvis, rom maT azrs mokl ebul i da biurokra-tiul i cxovreba ki Txvebis gareSe miRon da aRiaron, mxo-l od imitom, rom amgvari forma dominanturia Cvens sazoga-doebis instituciur cxovrebaSi. Cven vaxSobT da vauxeSebT maT kreatiul obas, individual izms da swavl i sadmi interess mouqnel i da mkacri sistemis saSual ebiT, romel ic monotonuri da masobrivi producirebisTvis aris SemuSavebul i. Cven wavaxal isebeT konkurencias da vgmobT maT mier codnis erTobl i vad gamoyenebas da mxars vuWerT codnis daufi ebas egoisturi meTodebiT. moswavl eebi ki sxapaxupiT imeoreben imas, rasac Cven vambobT da warmatebis sazomi saSual odan miRebul i ni Sani hgoniaT. am da bevri sxva damoki debul ebi s gamo, maswavl ebl ebi amoral uri Cinovnikebi arian, roml ebic gauazrebl ad akaveben da inarcuneben Cvens sazogadoebaSi arsebul ubedurebas da momaval Taobebbsac ubiZgeben amgvar situaciSi damkvidrebi saken. Cven brma iaraRi varT mmart-vel i kl asis xel Si, Cven muxl Cauxrel ad vmuSaobT Cvens dazgebTan, skol ebSi, roml ebic uSveben morcil muSakebsa da Tvi Tkmayofil momxmarebl ebs. rasakvirvel ia, social uri ganviTareba aucil ebel ia! aucil ebel ia imisaTvis, rom mmartvel ma kl asma sakuTari Zal aufl eba SeinarCunos.

a. Senma ritorikam gamaogna, Tumca SeiZI eba Sen marTal - ic ki xar. da Tu es asea, maSin is muSaoba, romel sac Cven moswavl eebTan vwevT, saewvoa da kiTxvis niSnebs aCens. Sen ki am faqts ufro STagonebiTi da damafiqrebel i el feri SesZine. Tumca, bol omde ar var darwmunebul i, rom Seni ar-gumentebi sakmarisad sarwmunod JRers.

rogor unda iarsebos sazogadoebam, Tu axal gazrdi s social izacia ar moxdeba am sazogadoebaSi? rogor SeiZI eba rom es moral urad gaumarTI ebel i iyos, Tu social iza-cia erTaderTi gzaa? marTI a, ras da vis gul isxmob, rode-sac mmartvel kl asze saubrob? did bizness? pol itikosebs? intel eqtual ebs? mdidrebs? ra gziT akontrol eben isini saj aro skol ebs sakuTari interesebis gasaZI ierebl ad? yovel Tvis mimaCnda, rom Cveul ebrivi moqal aqeebi, roml ebic ganaTI ebi sferoSi muSaoben da profesional i pedagogebi, roml ebic eWvgareSea, rom mdidrebi ar arian, akontrol eben skol aSi mimdinare procesebs. maT namdvil ad ar undaT bavS-vebis borotad gamoyeneba. SeiZI eba, Cveni umravl esoba mar-TI ac waaxal isebs konkurencias, Tumca ra arias amaSi cu-

di? konkurenciis gareSe ar aiarsebobda sporti da mxol od  
biżnes miandobda im Zal i sxmevis swavl ebaSi, romel sac cxovreba  
gvTavazobs. cxovreba xom konkurentul ia!

ufro metic, Cven, skol is maswavl ebl ebi, vcdil obT,  
rom Cveni moswavl eebis azrovnebis unarebi ganvavi Tarot.  
imitom rom, Tu Sen azrovneb, Sen ki Txvebsac svam da sistemi  
Secvl ac ki SegiZl ia. ase rom, Tu maswavl ebl ebi mos-  
wawl eebis kritikul azrovnebas aswavl ian da ačeven, isini  
Zal ian mni Svnel ovan saqmes akeTeben da es eWvgareSea, ase  
araa? Tanac, arc ki var darwmunebul i, rom zustad vxvdebi  
Sens pozicias. ra aris SenTvis meti sawuxari? faqtebi Tu  
ideol ogia? Sen ganaTI eba konspiraciis warroadgine, magram  
me mimachia rom maswavl ebl ebi umravl esoba cdil obs sakut-  
Tari moswavl eebis gaZl ierebas imisaTvis, rom maT saukeTe-  
so adgil ebi dai kavon Cvens sazogadoebaSi.

b. me ar mi Tqvams, rom maswavl ebl ebi yovel Tvis acno-  
biereben sakutari swavl eebis Sedegebs. isev da isev, Cveni in-  
stytucional izebul i, dehumanizebul i moRvawebiT Cven  
bavSvebis gan morcil muSakebs, tel eviziit mowaml ul arse-  
bebs da nakl ebad moazrovne Cinovnikebs vZerwavT, roml ebi c  
mxol od Tavs i tyueben, rom kritikul i azrovnebis unari  
aqvT, rogorc Cven maT vaswavl iT. isini isev da isev msj e-  
l oben politikaze barsa da piknikze, Tumca isini ar uRr-  
mavdebian msj el obaSi, sad aris am yvel afbris saTave - maT  
samsaxurSi Tu im biurokratiaSi, romel Tanac maT yovel -  
dRiuri Sexeba aqvT. Cven vaswavl iT maT, amgvarad icxovron.  
da es aris is maqsimumi, roml iTac isini sazogadoebis na-  
will i xdebian, imitom, rom es aris is real oba, romel ic  
Cvens skol ebSi arsebobs.

rogor fiqrobT, a p iria marTal i Tu b? ras qmni an  
real urad skol ebi?

## Tanaswori, magram gamij nul i

sal ivanis deirpartkis skol a medisonis Statis axal i  
konsol idirebul i saskol o rgol ia, romel ic saganmanaT-  
I ebl o dawesebul ebebisa da mmarTvel obis reformirebis  
gegħiġi nawil s warroadgens. axal i sistema, romel ic Statis  
administrarebis qveSaa, aerTianebs jefferson sitis Zvel

skol ebs, sadac umravl esobas umciresobebis warmomadgenl ebi da urbanul dasaxl ebebSi mcxovrebi Raribebi Seadgenen da mdidari mosaxl eebiT dasaxl ebul i gareubnebis Tanamedrove skol ebs. am gegmis ganxorciel eba j eferson sitis macxovrebl ebisa da federal uri advokatebis zewol is Sedegad daiwyo. igi mi znad i saxavda ganaTI ebi s Tanasworobis uzrunvel yofas da ol qis skol ebSi rasobrivi bal ansis aRdgenas. am reformis Sedegad, j efersonis skol ebi damatebit Semosavl ebs da gaumj obesebul servisebs iReben. am gegmis fargl ebSive bevri moswavl e j eferson sitidan axl o mdebare qal aqebSi, rogoric, magal iTad, sil vania - axal , Tanamedrove skol ebSi gadavidnen saswavl ebl ad.

moswavl eebTan erTad axal skol ebSi j eferson sitis skol ebidan zogierti maswavl ebel ic gadavida. es cvl il eba Statis axal i sistemis fargl ebSi dagegmi i fakul tetis reorganizaciis nawil s warmoadgens. rozmari endiusi meoTxe kl asis pedagogia da gadasul i maswavl ebl ebi s j gufis nawil ia. rozmari j eferson sitisi aTi wl is win movida maswavl ebl ebi korpusis j gufTan erTad. am dRidan dawyebul i is qal aqis skol aSi aswavl ida. mTel i es wl ebi skoI aSi misTvis dabrkol ebebisa da bednierebis wl ebi iyo. is da misi sxva kol egebi Zal isxmivas ar iSurebdnen, rom Rirseul i ganaTI eba miecaT mZime pirobebSi myofi bavSvebi satvis. SezRudul i resursebis, Seferxebebi da emigraciis pirobebSi isini agrZel ebdnen muSaobas. rozmari odnav wuxda, rom misi saganmanaTI ebl o eqsperimentebis dro damTavrda j eferson sitisi, Tumca Rrmad swamda, rom axal i sistema sauKeTeso iqneboda j eferson sitis moswavl eebisTvis momaval Si. misi gadawyvetil eba, deirparkis skol aSi gadasul iyo, nawil obriv ganpirobekul i iyo survil iT, rom isic j eferson sitis bavSvebis ganvi Tarebis Tanamonawil e yofil o axal i programis fargl ebSi.

axal skol aSi gadasvl is Semdeg, pirvel save gakvetiI ze, rozmari darwmunda, rom mas Tavis moswavl eebTan bevrad ufro meti Sexeba eqneboda, vidre amas moel oda. moswavl eTa umravl esobas mis kl asSi swored j eferson sitidan gadmosul i bavSvebi Seadgendifen. kol egasTan saubris dros ki rozmarim Seityo, rom danarCen paral el ur kl asebSi silvansa da mis SemogarenSi mcxovrebi bavSvebi swavl obdnen. maswavl ebel i Tvl ida, rom movl enebis amgvari ganvi Tareba ar Seesabameboda SeTanxmebis im sul iskvetebasa da ganzrax-

vas, romel sac Statis unificirebul i saskol o ol qi gu-  
l isxmobda. moswavl eebis amgvari ganawil eba deirparkis  
skol aSi ki dev ufro gaamZafrebda de faqto rasobriv da  
ekonomikur gamij vnas da minimumamde daiyanda im saganma-  
naTI ebl o amocenebs, romel Ta misaRwevad konsol idaciis  
gegma iyo SemuSavebul i. moswavl eebis misi kl asidan Zal ian  
mcire kontaqti eqnebodaT danarcen bavSvebTan da ucxoebad,  
SesaZI oa antagonistebadac ki darCeboden sil ivanis mos-  
wavl eebis Tval Si. savaraudod, deirparkis skol am `xe-  
I ebi dibaña- oficial uri pasuxismgebl obis Sesrul ebi dan,  
romel ic rasobriv da kul turul interaqcias gul isxmobda  
da romel ic gaamj obesebda medisonis StatSi arsebul i  
mtkivneul i cxovrebis wess. amgvari viTareba mxol od sazia-  
no SeiZI eba gaxdes bavSvebis orive j gufisaTvis. am konkret-  
ul SemTxvevaSi, skol a saganmanaTI ebl o Secdomad unda  
yofil iyo aRqmul i. is arademokratiul ad funqcionirebs da  
ar aris real urad disegrireb ul i. rozmari endriusma gada-  
wyita, direktorTan konfrontaciaze wasul iyo arsebul i  
probl emi dan gamomdinare.

deirparkis skol is direktori da sil vanis mkvidri -  
robert Siri Seecada daemSvi debina gabrazebul i rozmari  
da misTvis skol aSi gadanawil ebis amgvari pol itika aexsna.  
deirparkis skol a da sil vanis macxovrebl ebi apireben, rom  
Seasrul on konsol idaciis gegma, Tumca meore mxriv isini  
apireben, rom SeinarCunon ganaTI ebis xarisxi skol aSi.  
wl ebis ganmavl obaSi deirparkis skol am SeimuSava Zal ian  
progresul i da kompl eqsuri saswavl o gegma, romel ic war-  
matebiT asrul ebs saganmanaTI ebl o misias. j efersoni sitis  
moswavl eebis garkveul i dro dasWirdebaT, rom axal saswavl  
o gegmas moergon. amasTan, j efersoni sitis moswavl eebi  
ar arian iseTi ZI ierebi maTematicasa da kiTxvaSi, rogorc  
maTi Tanatol ebi sil vanidan da amisi mtkicebul eba teste-  
bis Sedegebia. garkveul i droa saWiRo imisaTvis, rom maTi  
akademiuri moswreba gaamj obesdes da Sesatyvisi kl asis-  
dones miaRwi os. am situaciidan gamomdinare, mister Siri  
darwmunebul ia, rom swavl ebisaTvis saziano gaxdeba da ara-  
samartI iani iqneba moswavl eTa orive j gufisaTvis, Tu maT  
erT sakl aso oTaxSi Seyrian da ar gaiTval i swineben maTi  
swavl is Sedegebsa da mi Rwevebs. mister Sirim sTxova roz-  
maris meti moTmnebiT mohki deboda arsebul situacias.

SeecadeT, am qeiss konfl iqtol ogi-Teoretikosis Tvali iT SexedoT. ramdenad i cavs kl asebis Serwymis wina periodi umravl esobis interesebs? ramdenad i cavs mister Siri umravl esobis interesebs? rozmari? CaTvl i da Tu ara konfl iqtol og-Teoretikosi moswavl eTa gamij vnas ganaTI ebi s aratanasworobis sapasuxo qmedebad? ra Tval sazrisiT iqe-boda funqci onal istis mier am qeisis anal i zi gansxvavebuli? ras gaakeTebdiT rozmaris adgil as?

### **ganaTI eba muSaobi saTvis**

a. erT-erTi saukeTeso momzadeba `samuSao samyaroSi - Sesabij ebl ad liberal ur xel ovnebaSi kargi ganaTI ebi s mi Rebaa. nebis mieri didi bi zneskompani is adami anuri resursebis mmartvel i getyiT, rom ezebs gamorceul kursdamTavrebul s, imisda mi uxedavad, ra special izacia aqvs am adami ans. mTavaria, rom am adami ans kargi ni Snebi hqondes mi Rebul i. liberal uri xel ovnebis mTavari fokusia azrovnebis ganviTareba da sakuTari ideebis gamoxatvis swavl eba, es ki is mTavari unarebia, roml ebi c bizness swirdeba.

b. ar var darwmunebul i, rom 4 wel i kol ej Si swavl aa sawiro imisaTvis, rom adami anma azrovneba iswavl os da kargi oratori gaxdes. Cemi azriT, kol ej is ganaTI eba mxol od kidev ertI gafil tvris instrumenti da damatebiTi sociali ur-kl asobrivi barieria, romel ic kargi samsaxuris Sesazl ebl obas zrdis maTTvis, visac aqvs kol ej Si swavl is sa-Sual eba. gana pol iciel s ar swirdeba azrovnebis unari? Tumca, Cven misgan ar viTxovT kol ej is ganaTI ebas, ase araa?

a. ara, Tumca maRal menej erul poziciebze momuSave adami anebs moeTxovebaT mraval mxrivoba da unda SeeZI oT, Sexvdnen da Seerion sworad Serceul adami anebs. amgvari moqmedebabis ganxorciel ebi s sa-Sual ebas ki kargi liberali uri kol ej is ganaTI eba izI eva.

b. rogorc ukve gi Txari, kol ej is ganaTI eba ar ni Snavs mai ncdamainc im codnis miRebas, romel ic maRal i rangis samsaxuri saTvis aris sawiro. es swavl eba xafangia, romel - sac maRal i kl asi agebs.

a. ara, ar aris ase! kol ej i ni Snavs humanitarul i saki Txebis Seswavl as, rogoricaa Seqspiri, didi xel ovneba da musika, saki Txebi da sagnebi, roml ebic avi Tareben pirovnebis adamianur samyaros da cxovrebas amdi dreben ara am sityvis material uri, aramed humanuri mni Svnel obiT.

b. ki batono, magram Tu es simartI ea, maS ratom ar vaZ-  
I evT saSual ebas yvel as, rom liberaluri ganaTI eba mi i-Ros? ratom emwyvdeva zogierti profesiul -teqnikuri ganaTI ebis brWyal ebSi? da gana Cveni pol iciuri Zal ebi uke-Tesebi ar iqneboden, Tu humanuri unarebi eqnebodaT ganvi-Tarebul i? maS ratom ar viTxovT pol iciel ebisaTvis liberal ur ganaTI ebas?

rogor ganixil avda liberal ur ganaTI ebas konfl iq-tol og-Teoretikosi? ra Sexedul eba eqnebodaT funqciionalists? aris Tu ara liberaluri ganaTI eba yvel asaTvis sau-keTeso arCevani?

## **muSaTa skol a**

maria ortegas pirvel i pedagogiuri samuSao gamocdil eba el mo haisTan aris dakavSirebul i. el mo hai qal aqis skol aa, romel ic danaSaul isa da narkomaniis maRal i maCvenebi iT gamorCeul i teritoriis maxl obl ad mdebareobs. rodesac maria Tavis megobrebs mouyva Tavisi pirvel i samuSao adgil is Sesaxeb, isini gancifreibul ebi darCnen da Zal i an Seebral aT i gi. zogierTma isic ki Tqva, rom al baT arCevden, saerTod ar hqonodaT samuSao, vidre amgvar adgil as emuSavaT. `vi Racam xom unda imuSaos iqac maswavl ebl ad!~ - pasuxobda maria yvel a amgvar komentars. sxva ra Sansi hqondaT kul turul ad da ekonomikurad SeWirvebul studentebs el modan, Tavi daeRwiAT im getosTvis, rogorc es marias SemTxvevaSi moxda?

rodesac mariam el moSi muSaoba daiwyo, iqauri situacia arafriT gansxvavdeboda centrSi arsebul i sxva skol ebris situaciisgan; skol as Tavis danebebis, narkotikebisa da disciplinarul i gadacdomebis maRal i maCvenebel i hqonda; garda amisa - kol eqtivi, romel ic moral iT ar gamoirCeoda

da moswavl eebi, roml ebic saskol o muSaobas sakuTar cxo-vrebasTan araTavsebadad afasebdnen... magram mogvianebiT skol is direqtoraD dai ni Sna heqtor gomesi. mas srul i Tavisufl eba mi ani Wa saskol o sabWom, rom eqsperimentul i sas-wavl o gegma SeemuSavebina. vi Tareba real urad Seicval a.

marias ukve el moSi muSaobis meore wel i usrul debo-da, rodesac heqtori skol is direqtoraD movida. is, sxva kol egebis msgavsad mal eve aenTo im aRtyinebiT, romel ic gomesma da Semoitana skol aSi da romel ic moswavl eTa cxovrebis Secvl as isaxavda miznad. es xuTi wl is win daiwo da maria kargad iazrebda, Tu ramdenad Seicval a si-tuacia am periodis gammavl obaSi.

adgil obrivi pol iciis gamoZaxeba iSviaTad xdeboda sa-Wiro bandebs Soris dapiri spirebebis aRsakveTad da qurdobiS SemTxvevebis gamosaZiebl ad. skol is derefnebi suftad iyo SenarCunebul i, kl asebis zRurbl ebTanac, aseve, wesrigi sufevda. gakveTil ebze daswrebis maCvenebel i maRal i iyo, rac skol is kol eqtivis keTil sindisierebas ukavSirdeboda. rTul i dasaj erebel i iyo, rom amgvari cvl il ebebi mister gomesis qarizmatul naturas da mis gadawyvetil ebebs ukav-Sirdeboda. direqtorma gadawyvita, rom skol isaTvis profesiul -samuSao-saswavl o profil i mieca da TemTan Tanam-Sroml obiTi urTierTobebi ganeviTarebina. mister gomesi adgil obrivi biznesis warmomadgenl ebsa da mcire qarxnebis mfl obel ebs estumra da SeuTanxmda maT, rom skol is moswavl eebi `stajiorebad- mi eRoT Tavisufal i samuSao-saswavl o xel Sekrul ebiT. maswavl ebl ebma ki didi siamovnebiTa da mondomebiT gaweres morigeobis grafiki, Tu vis da rodis unda moenaxul ebina moswavl eebi samuSao adgil ebze. vizitebi samuSao adgil ebze maswavl ebl ebs saSual ebas az-l evda, SeemuSavebinaT imgvari midgomebi, roml ebic xel s uwyobda samuSao atmosferos efekturad asaxvas skol is saswavl o procesSi. skol is damTavrebis Semdeg, bevrma studentma advil ad SeZl o samuSao adgil is povna swored im biznesstrukturebsa da qarxnebSi, sadac isini stajiorebad iyvnen mivl inebul ni. mariasTvis es yovel ive saswaul is tol fasi iyo.

erTxel ac, samuSao dRis dasasrul isken, mariasTan moswavl eebis j gufi mivid. moswavl em, romel ic j gufs spike-rad hyavda arceul i marias hkiTxa: `misis ortega, gvaZl evs Tu ara el mos saswavl o gegma ufl ebas, kol ej isTvis davre-

gistrirdeT, raTa i seTive maswavl ebel i gavxdeT, rogoric Tqven brZandebiT? - mimarTul ebis konsul tantma gviTxra, rom amisaTvis Cveni akademiuri kreditebi ar aris sakmarisi"

misca Tu ara mister gomesis mier ganxorciel ebul ma cvl il ebebma moswavl eebs real uri SesaZI ebl obebi, Tu ubral od moargo isini sistemas? ramdenad seriozul ad Secvl ida arCeviTi akademiuri kreditebi s mogvi anebi T dama-teba situacias?

## sakl aso subiectivi zmi

meril in todi veterani maswavl ebel ia - ocdaxuT wel ze meti samuSao gamocdil ebiT. amJamad igi ingl isuris maswavl ebl ad muSaobs patara qal aqis arasrul saSual o skol aSi. qal aqi Zal ian mdid dari da Zal ian Raribi mosaxl eebiT gamoircEva. is saukeTeso maswavl ebl ad iTvl eba da saukeTeso oj axebi dan gamosul i gansakuTrebcul i miRwevebis mqone asobiT moswavl is swavl ebazea pasuxismgebel i. wl ebTan da pativiscemasTan erTad, maswavl ebel s mieca imis ufl eba, rom Rarib moswavl eebTan muSaobas moeridos (RaribSi ara mxo-l od ekonomiuri, aramed akademiuri siRaribec igul isxmeba). is mxol od meSvi de da merve kl asis daCqarebul i programis fargl ebSi gaerTianebul moswavl eebs aswavl is. ori Cveul ebrivi meSvi de kl asidan, roml ebic heterogenul i moswavl eebiT aris dakompl eqtebul i, erT-erT kl ass ingl isurs sara gol di aswavl is. sara musikis maswavl ebel ia. meore meSvi de kl asis maswavl ebel i ki domenik katronia, xel ovnebis maswavl ebel i. domeniki naxevar ganakveTze muSaobs da misi samuSao moval eobebic sagnebs Soris nawil deba. Sesabamisad, is 4 wel ia, erTi da 5 wel ia - meore mimarTul ebiT muSaobs. meril in todi did daxmarebas uwevs orive maswavl ebel s ingl isuris swavl ebis procesSi da orive maswavl ebel i Zal ian madl ieria am daxmarestaTvis. TumcaRa, bol o xanebSi garkveul i tendenciuroba ukve Tval saCino gaxda da orive maswavl ebel i aReI vebul ia misis todis qcevis gamo.

yovel i wl is bol os, meSvi de kl asebis ganyofil eba ikribeba, raTa gadawyvit os kl asis gadanawil ebis ambavi merve kl asisaTvis. yvel a, vinc darwmunebul ia, rom moswavl emzadaa, `Cveul ebrivi - kl asidan `daCqarebul - kl asSi gadavides (an piriqiT), rekomenedacjias uwevs moswavl es, gani x-

il avs moswavl is saqmes meore pedagogTan da i Rebs sabol oo gadawyvetil ebas, xol o Sedegebs ki directors auwyeb. mSobl ebis azrs aseve iTval i swineben. yofii a SemTxevebi, rodesac mSobl is moTxovnebs maswavl ebl ebis rekomendaciebs didi gavl ena mouxdeniaT sabol oo gadawyvetil ebaze.

domenikma da saram sakuTari Canawerebi erTmaneTTan ganixil es da, TavianTda samwuxarod, aRmoCines, rom yvel a meSvi dekl asel i, romel ic qal aqis Raribi raionis macxovrebel i iyo da roml ebsac maT rekomendacia misces, Cveul ebri-vidan meril inis gansakuTrebul i moswavl eebiT dakompl eqtebul daCqarebul kl asSi gadasul i yvnen, dabal i niSniT i yvnen Sefasebul ebi. saubari ki im moswavl eebze iyo, vinc Cveul ebrivi moswavl eebiT dakompl eqtebul kl asebSi brwyinavdnen Tanatol ebis gverdiT, udavod `A~ Sefasebas imsaxurebdnen da sakl aso diskusiebSi CarTul obiTa da I ogikuri azrovnebiT gamoirCeodnen. rodesac domeni ki da sara missis todis gakveTil s daeswrnen, Zal ian gakvirvebul ebi darCnen: daCqarebul i programis fargl ebSi gaerTianebul i moswavl eebi i SviaTad i Rebdnen `C~ Sefasebaze maRaI qul as, (da es im fonze, rodesac meril ini ni Snebis advil ad damweris reputaciiT iyo cnobil i) da, amasTan, mis moswavl eebs xSirad hqondaT piradi uTanxmoeba maswavl ebel Tan. am movlenebs ganxil visas, domeniksa da saras nel -nel a gaaxsendaT, Tu rogori gaafTrebiT cdil obda meril ini SewinaaRmdegeboda orive maswavl ebl is rekomendacias romel i me moswavl is gansakuTrebul kl asSi gadayvanis marTebul obasTan dakavSi rebiT. saras ainteresebda, xom ar miacnda meril ins kol egebis swavl eba arasakmarisi imisaTvis, rom maTi kl asis moswavl eebi sakuTar kl asSi mieRo. saras azriT, SesazI ebel i iyo meril ini maT moswavl eebs arasakmarisad momzadebul ad miCnevda moswavl eebi sagan sakuTari moTxovnebis Sesrul ebisaTvis. domenikis azriT ki, meril ini ubral od gansxvavebul ad eqceoda Raribi oj axebidan gamosul moswavl eebs, Tumca, ver azustebda, konkretul ad rogor iqceoda meril ini am moswavl eebis mimart.

am situaciis bol o msxverpl i domenikis erT-erTi mesvide kl asel i biWuna aRmoCnda. am moswavl em imdenad gauswro Tanakl asel ebs, rom domeniks misTvis gansakuTrebiT rTul i damatebiTi samuSaos micema swirdeboda, rom biWuna daeinteresebina. biWi misis todis kl asSi gadaiyvanes, Tumca pirvel save gakveTil is Semdeg meril inma ganucxada orive

kol egas, rom biWuna imdenad susti moswavl e aRmoCnda, rom Tavdapi rvel ad arasrul fasovnadac ki CaTval a igi. meril inis azriT, biWma ZI iys SeZI o sakuTari programma Caebarebi-na. domeniki da sara gancvi frebul ebi, aRSfoTebul ebi da dabneul ebi darCnen, rodesac es ambavi Sei tyves.

maswavl ebl ebma gadawyvites, rom sakuTari fiqrebi meril inisTvis unda gaezi arebinat. miuxedavad imisa, rom orive cdil obda, rac SeiZI eba meti dipl omatia gamoeCina, meril inma saubarze Zal ian mwave reaqcia gamoavl ina. misis meril inma yovel gvari mikibv-mokibvis gareSe ganucxada kol egebs, rom aRSfoTebul i da Seuracxyofil i iyo im faqtiT, rom misi kol egebi mas mikerZoebul damoki debul ebaSi adanaSaul eben romel imaxal miRebul moswavl estan mimar-TebiT. yvel a moswavl e zustad erTnairi standartiT fasdeba, imisda miuxedavad, Tu ra warmoSoba aqvs da vin aris moswavl e. da Tu romel immoswavl e ciudad swavl obs, ese igi, am moswavl es ar Seswevs unari, Seasrul os daval eba an ar aqvs survil i, maqsimumi gaakeTos warmatebis misaRwevad.

Tqven rom domenikisa da saras adgil as aRmoCenil i yaviT, rogor me xom SeecdebodiT meril inis darwmunebas mis gauazrebel subieqtivizmSi? Tu, rogorc maswavl ebel i, ramis gakeTebas mizanSewonil ad miCnevdiT, konkretul ad ras moi-moqmedebdiT, rom sakuTari Tavi dagecvaT gauazrebel i da qvecnobieri subieqtivizmis gan sakuTar sakl aso oTaxSi? rogor fiqrobT, aris es qeisi sakl aso subieqtivizmis magal iTi Tu meril ini marTal i iyo am SemTxvevaSi?

## **social uri mecniererebibi**

j oni ager ukve 12 wel ia, rac social ur mecniererebebs aswavl is bergengtonis skol aSi. am skol aSi muSaobis dawye-bid an ramdenime wel iwadSi igi mowme gaxda, Tu rogor miaR-wia skol am ufro maRal social ur mdgomareobas da gadaiq-ca saSual o fenis momSaxurebaze orientirebul instituciad. j onis muSaobis pirvel etapze skol a eTnikurad dabal ansebel, dabal i kl asis mosaxi eebiTa da mi znisda da mi Rwevaze araorientirebul saganmanaTI ebl o dawesebul ebas warmoadgenda. Zvel i skol is moswavl eTa umravl esoba in-

gl isurad cudad I aparakobda, ZI i vs ki Txul obda da disciplinasTan dakavSi rebi Tac xSirad hqonda probl emebi. da mainc, j oni axerxebda moswavl eebTan kargi urTierTobebis SenarCunebas da sj eroda, rom bevr sxva unarsa da codnas-Tan erTad, am moswavl eebs aucil ebl ad sWirdebodaT amerikul i cxovrebis wesis Secnoba, demokratiul i pol itikuri institutebis dafaseba da imis gaazreba, rom maTTvis Sesazi ebl obebi ar aris daxurul i, Tu isini mi zanmi marTul ad da bej iTad imuSaveben am Sesazi ebl obebis gamosayenebl ad.

sabednierod, qal aq bergentonis meris bol odroindel ma arCevnebma, sadac henri braunma gaimarj va, j onis warmodge-nasa da mosazrebebs safuzvel i gaumagra. pirvel ad isto-riaSi, Savkani ani moqal aqe qal aqis meri gaxda. TumcaRa, me-ris kandidaturaze wardgenamde, henri brauni, emigrantTa Svil i, Tvi Ton ikafavda gzas kol ej isaken. Tavidan maswav-I ebl ad dai wyo muSaoba da paral el urad henri samarTal Si RamRamobiT mecadineobda. man merad arCevamde prokuroris Tanamdebobas miaRwia. j ons Tval naTel i da cocxal i maga-lliTi gauCnda imisa, Tu ramdenis miRweva SeZi o adamianma muxl Cauxrel i Sromis, ganaTI ebisa da saerTo warmatebis Sedegad. j ons mxol od isRa sWirdeboda, rom Sesaferisi formati Seercia am istoriis gakveTil ebze gamoyenebisaTvis.

Tqven rom j onis adgil ze aRmoCenil iyaviT, rogor wa-rudgendiT da Seaswavl idiT am magal iTs moswavl eebs? rogor mi ujgebodiT Tqveni romel ime moswavl is gaRizi anebul replikas: `es mxol od I atareaal!~ Tqveni `amerikul i ocne-bis- istoriebiT, Tqven ubral od cdiI obT, yvel a Cvengani aiZul oT, bevri imuSaos da sazogadoebisaTvis sargebel i gaswi os ufro meti gasamrj el os mol odinSi. magram real-loba isaa, rom mxol od cal keul i pirovnebebi aRweven mar-al poziciebsa da did xel fases da, amavdroul ad, mTel i Cveni Sroma da garj a im sistemis gamagrebas emsaxureba, roml is saSual ebi Tac mdidrebi sargebl oben. Tqveni `isto-ria- mxol od Cvens met datvirTvas emsaxureba da me am an-kesze ar vegebi. momeci kargi xel fasis, saofise samsaxuris garantia skol is dasrul ebis Semdeg da nec daviwyeb imaves keTebas, Tqven Cemze ukeT iciT, rom aranairi garantiis mo-cema ar Segizi iaT. maS me ratom moviqce Tqveni rCevebis Se-sabami sad?"

## **interpretacia da eTikuri rel ativizmi**

a. xSi rad vxedav, rom adami anebis sxvadasxva j gufi erTi da imave movl enis gansxvavebul interpretacias axdens, magram, amasTan, vacnobiereb, rom didi probl emebis wi naSe SeiZI eba dadge, Tu amas sifrTxil iT ar moeki debi. magal iTad, rTul i iqneba vinmes sakuTari simarTI e daumtkico, radgan yovel Tvis miReb pasuxs: `es mxol od Seneul i interpretaciaa-. Darada, Cndeba ki Txva imis Sesaxeb, ra daemarTeba Cvens eTikas, Tu es yvel aferi mxol od piradi interpretaciaa? Tu Cemi eTikuri standartebi yovel Tvis CaiTvl eba sworisa da mcdaris Cemeul interpretaciad, rogorRa SevZI eb davumtkico isini sxva adami anebs? yvel aferi, rasac ki vakeTeb imitom, rom swor qmedebad mi maCnia, SesazI ebel ia sxvebis mier mcdarad CaiTval os am sxvebis interpretaciid dan gamodinare.

b. Cemi azriiT, interpretivistul i xedva sul ac ar gvai-Zul es am donemde relativisturad SevxedoT movl enebs. mxol od imitom, rom interpretacia me mekuTvnis, sul ac ar niSnabs, rom me ver davicav mas sxva, sapiri spiro mosazrebebis gan. Cven yovel Tvis SegviZI ia, sxvebs vaiZul oT gansxvavebul i interpretaciebis Zal a, Tu SevZI ebT STambewdavi mizezebis warmodgenas.

a. magram real urad xom ar arsebobs mizezi, Tu ratom unda vaiZul oT sxvebi. im SemTxvevaSi, rodesac mtkice personal uri rwmena gagvacnia, am rwmenis Sesabamisad unda moqceT, imisda miuxedavad, Tu ras ifiqreben sxvebi. es moral urobis motxovnaa, ase ar aris? warmoidgine, rom aRmoCndi sazogadoebaSi, romel ic bavSvTa Sewirvas eweva religiuri ceremoniis nawil ad. isini sakuTar moqmedebas swo-rad miiCneven... maS, ra ufl eba gaqvs, maT miuTiTo, rom es arasworia?

b. absol uturad yvel anairi ufl eba maqvs! interpretivists aranairi Zal a ar aiZul ebs, Seeguos sxvaTa qmedebesbs. misi funqciaa, gaigos da gaiazros sxvaTa qmedebebi ara mxol od sakuTari, aramed maTi gadmosaxedidanac. man SeiZI eba dai naxos, rom es konkretul i sazogadoeba ara sis-xl ismsmel i vampirebis j gufs warmoadgens, aramed rel igi-urebi arian da gaazrebul i aqvT TavianTi qmedeba. man SeiZ-

I eba aRmoačinos, rom am sazogadoebaSi bavSvebi metad arian dafasebul ni, vidre farTod aRiarebul humanur sazogadoebesi, sadac daSvebul ia mil ionobiT bavSvis SimSil iT sikvdil i da gaWi rvebaSi cxovreba. am sazogadoebis wevrTa gagebiT, es interpretivist bevrad ukeT SeZl ebs maT sakutari xedvebi auxsnas da am pirovnebas eqneba imis ufl eba, rom daumtkicos maT sakutari faseul obebis gamosadegoba. Cven ar unda vakritikebdeT sxvaTa interpretacias. idea isaa, rom Cven es ar unda gavakeToT, Tu ar gvesmis maTi.

a. im SemTxvevaSi, Tu Cvengan mxol od es moi Txoveba, es midgoma did faseul obas ar warmoadgens. im dros, rodesac Sen maTTan vaWrob da maT interpretaciebs Seicnob, ramdeni bavSvis mokvl is saSual eba unda mieceT maT? ramdenad SeZl ebs interpretivistis amgvvari pozicia dagarwmonos, rom raRac unda moimoqmedo, Tu is mxol od isaubrebs am movl enaze?

rogor fiqrobT, ramdenad rel aciul ia eTika sazogadoebisaTvis? SesaZl ebel ia, rom interpretivisti eTikuri standartebis erTgul i darčes? ra aris sworisa da mcdaris Tqveneul i gageba? rogorc maswavl ebel i, miCnevdiT Tu ara eTikurad miuRebl ad moswavl is romel ime qcevas? ra mogcemdaT amis safuzvel s?

## **axal i moswavl e**

anastasos kostosma Tavisi axal i saswavl o wel i val denis skol aSi axal i moswavl is statusiT dawyo. moswavl is mama SeerTebul StatebSi samsaxurebrivad miavl ines, raTa midl staunis qarxnis avtomatizaciaze dakvirveba ewarmoebina. misis nikol si nasihamovnebi darCa im faqtiT, rom miski asSi ucxoel i moswavl e gadmovida - imisda miuxedavad, darčeboda biWuna mTel i wel i kl assi Tu ara. mas esmoda, rom moswavl eebs bevri axl is swavl is SesaZl ebl oba miecemodaT midl taunis fargl ebs garedan, imisa, rasac verc wignebi da verc Tavad maswavl ebel i moswavl eebs ver miscemda.

anastasosi kidev ufro gaxarebul i iyo. is Zal ian gaxsnii i da aqturi bavSvi iyo, amasTan, zrdil obiani da Tavazianic. da is yovel Tvis mzad iyo, Tanakl asel ebiSTvis ssvadasxva magal iTi moeyvana sakuTari da sakuTari qveynis kul turul i gamocdil ebidan, rodesac ki misis nikol si mas am TxovniT mimarTavda. is arasdros qmni da uxerxul obas da yovel Tvis kargad eqceoda sakuTar kl asel ebs. maS ratom cdiI obdhen Tanakl asel ebi daufaravad misgan Tavis ari debas? es verafriT aexsna misis nikol ss. maswavl ebel i CixSi iyo moqceul i.

misis nikol si cdiI obda mimxvdariyo, ra xdeboda misi moswavl eebis gonebaSi. nuTu isini iziarebdnen midl tauni s kul turis dauwerel wess, romel ic macxovrebl ebi s cxovrebis kredos nawil s warmodgenda? `moeride gareSe adami anebs, gansakuTrebit ki ucxoel ebs. isini ar arian Cveni msgavsn ~ nuTu es aris mi zezi? an iqneb isini verc ki xvdebi an, magram ganawyenebul ni arian maswavl ebl is yuradRebisa da gaxsnii i misal mebebis gamo anastasosisadmi, rodesac maswavl ebel i `fantastiur- social ur prati kas eweoda?

iqneb sinamdvil eSi raRac bevrad ufro konkretul i da naTel ia? mas gaaxsenda, rom wakiTxul i hqonda ssvadasxva kul turis warmomadgenl is mier gansxvavebul i sxeul is eni s gamoyenebi s Sesaxeb. mas Seni Snul i hqonda, Tu rogor gaurboden bavSvebi anastasoss, rodesac is Zal ian axl os idga maTTan an exeboda maT saubris momentSi. iTvl eboda Tu ara amgvari qceva biWunas qveyanaSi araformal uri, megobrul i saubris `wesi- nawil ad? maSin, rodesac i give qceva midl staunis mcxovrebTa umravl esobi saTvis diskomforts qmni da. midl staunSi xom sakmao distancia saubris pati-viscemas gamoxatavda, xol o axl os dgoma ki intimuri an uxeSi damoki debul ebi s gamomxatvel i iyo?

misis nikol ss gumani karnaxobda, rom probl emis Tavi da Tavi anastasis `sxeul is enaSi- imal eboda. magram axl a mas sxva probl ema daudga: ra unda gaekeTebina maswavl ebel s, Secdil iyo anastasis `megobrul i saubris wesi- Seecval a Tu kl asis? Tu romel imes Secvl as gadawyets, rogor unda SeZl os amis gakeTeba?

xedavT raime gamosaval s maswavl ebl is probl emi dan? SeiZl eba raime sxva interpretacia mieces moswavl eebis damoki debul ebas anstasosisadmi?

## **ki Tu ara meinstri mings?**

painbrukis skol is direktori mister qeisi saSini ad iyo gaRizianebl i, rodesac tel efonis yurmil i dakida. satelefono saubrebi antonis mamasTan praqtkul ad yovel dRiuri movl ena gaxda. direktors regul arul ad uxdeba mamas gauziaros informacia antonis saSinel i qcevis, gamocdis Cafl avebis an romel ime sxva bavSvTan konfl iqtis Sesaxeb. mister qeisi xandaxan Tavadac ver xvdeba, ratom i wuxeb Tavs, ganaxorciel os mSobel Tan es srul iad usargebl o zarebi. mamas xom Svil is xel Si ayvana ar SeuZl ia. Tumca, biWunas patroni da mSobel i mxol od mama darCa. dedam oj axi miatova da axl a narkotikis sareabil i tacio programmaSi iyo CarTul i. viRac xom unda iyos biWze pasuxi smgebeli i?

maswavl ebl ebis Civil i antonTan dakavSirebiT wl idan wl amde, biWis zrdasTan erTad ufro da ufro intensuri xdeba. biWunas qcevebi ki TandaTanobiT yovel gvari normis fargl ebs cdeba. garda imisa, rom antoni Zal ian cotas muSaobs kl asSi da ar asrul ebs daval ebebs, biWs gauTavebel i garCevebi aqvs danarCen bavSvebTan. man moi para saTamaSoebi da ful i, daaziana skol is qoneba, da zogedad xel s uSI ida saswavl o process sakl aso oTaxSi. mister qeisi kargad icnobda antonis istorias. direktors araerti saaTi aqvs gatarebul i biWis Sesaxeb fsiqol ogebis, social uri muSakis, special uri ganaTI ebis maswavl ebl is, mSobl ebis advokatisa da sxvaTa moxsenebebis ki TxvaSi. mister qeisi aseve daeswro SezRudul i SesaZl ebl obebis mqone moswavl eebis komitetis Sexvedrasac, sadac antoni emoci urad SezRudul ad miicnies.

mister rainerma, antonis special uri ganaTI ebis maswavl ebel ma sTxova direktorsa da sxva TanamSroml ebs gansakuTrebul i yuradRebiTa da mzrunvel obiT mohki deboden antonis. saskol o ol qma TavisTavze airo val debul eba, swavl is procesSi moaxdinos imdeni fizikurad da emoci urad SezRudul i moswavl is CarTva, ramdenis SesaZl ebl obac ki iarsebebs. antoni yovel dRiurad or saaTs mister raintertan atarebs special uri ganaTI ebis resursebis

oTaxSi. mi uxedavad imisa, rom saSinao daval ebebi Zal i an ciudad hqonda Sesrul ebul i, mas ki Txvis unarebi Tavisi kl asis donis Sesaferisad aqvs ganviTarebul i. biWunam ki Txvasa da maTematikis testirebaSic kl asis donis Sesafe-  
risad miRo Sefaseba. antonis IQ testirebam aCvena, rom misi intel eqti saSual oze metad aris ganviTarebul i. is sasi-  
movno garegnobis bavSvia, romel sac, erTi SexedviT, moswons skol aSi yofna da swavl a. mister rainera gaaxsena direq-  
tors, rom yvel a bavSvs aqvs SesaZl ebl obis fargl ebSi ar-  
sebul i saukeTeso ganaTI ebis ufl eba.

mister qeisi kargad icnobda kanons, romel ic unarSe-  
zRudul moswavl eubs icavs. direqtori aseve kargad xedavs im probi emebs, romel ic TiToeul i moswavl is momzadebas-  
Tanaa dakavSi rebul i. TiToeul i bavSvi xom momaval Si sa-  
zogadoebis produqtiiul i wewri unda gaxdes! TumcaRa, misis bl eqs, antonis kl asis damrigebel s, Zal i an uwirda Tavis Sekaveba da sakuTar gancdebsa da probi emebs direqtorsac uziarebda. antoni zarmacobda. is xel s uSI ida maswavl ebel s gakveTiI is CatarebaSi da awuxebda mis garSemo msxdom bavSvebs. maswavl ebel s imas elwic ki hqonda, rom antoni bavSvebisTvis saWml is ful isa da svadashva nivTebis warT-  
mevi Tac unda yofil iyo dakavebul i... al baT swored amitom uTxra biWma mister rainers, rom mas skol a moswonda. misis bl eqs xSirad uxdeboda antonis administraciul SenobaSi gaSveba. Tumca iqac, incidentebisa da probi emebis gareSe saqme ar mTavrdeboda. is iSviaTad Cerdeboda wynarad, anu ise, rogorc amgvar SemTxvevabSi Cveul ebriv moswavl es moeTxoveba. metic, is svamda ki Txvebs Semosul i satel efon zarebis Sesaxeb, umiznod dabodial obda da yvel asTan, vinc skol is administraciul SenobaSi Semodi oda.

mister morano, antonis mama skol isagan mdgomareobaSi Sesvl as moi Txovda. mas miaCnda, rom antoni mSvenier ganaT-  
I ebas i Rebda da misi qcevac nel -nel a swordeboda mi uxedavad biWis emociuri probi emebisa. antonis social urma mu-  
Sakma mSobl is pozicia srul i ad gai ziara da daeTanxma mas. es special isti adreul i bavSvobi dan icnobs moranoebis  
oj axs da isic amCnevda pozitiur cvl il ebebs biWunas ganviTarebaSi. bol osdabol os, skol as val debul eba aqvs aRe-  
bul i am bavSvis wi naSe zustad iseve, rogorc nebi smieri sxva bavSvis wi naSe. Sesabami sad, ar SeiZl eba skol am zurgi  
miaqci os mas - gamoacxada social urma muSakma.

mister qeisi rTul i dil emis winaSi dadga. sad gadis misi pasuxismgebl obis sazRvari, Tu is saqmes rogorc pedagogi da skol is xel mZRvanel i miudgeba? unda gauSvas man antoni special ur skol aSi da erTi xel is mosmiT gadaWras moswavl esTan dakavSirebul i probl emebi? am SemTxvevaSi xom es gauTavebel i maswavl ebl ebis, moswavl eebis da mSobl ebis Civil ebic Sewydeba? Tu skol a val debul ia bol omde ai Ros pasuxismgebl oba moswavl is winaSe, romel ic swavl as axerxebs, miuxedavad misi qceviTi probl emebisa? directors xandaxan isic ki eCveneboda, rom axal i kanoni, romel ic unar-SezRudul ebs i cavda, saswavl o process aferxebda. meore mxriv, is kargad aanal izebs am kanonmdebl obis farTo social ur mni Svnel obasa da zegavl enas.

Tqven rom interpretivist iyoT, rogor gaanal izebdit am SemTxvevas? riTi iqneboda Tqveni anal izi gansxvavebul i marqsistis anal izisgan? funqional istis anal izisgan? ra rekomendacias miscemdiT mister qeiss antonTan dakavSirebiT?

### **sazogadoebis mi er waynebul i pi robebi da Tavisufl eba**

a. saxl i da skol a ori faqtoria, romel ic real ur gavl enas axdens bavSvebze zrdis periodSi. orive faqtoria bavSvebs samyaros erTaderT xedvas uyal ibeks zrdasrul obis asakamde. mxol od Semdeg, zrdasrul asakSi, miecemaT maT Sesazi ebl oba sxvadasxva kuTxiT Sexedon `real obas- da gansxvavebul i interpretacia miscen. Tumca, umetesoba amas arc gaakeTebs. saubedurod, Cveni bavSvebisATvis samyaros amgvari xedva sul ac ar aris iseTi, romel Sic isini arsebben. Tumca, isaa erTaderTi samyaro maTTvis, radgan bavSvebi absol uturad damoki debul ebi arian maTze, vinc maT aswav- li iT. es total uri STagoneba da dari geba bavSvebs sakutari kul turis, da xSirad ki zogedad kl asobriv patimrad aqcevs. Cven vamtkicebT, rom maT Tavisufl ebisa da damouki-debl obisaTvis aRzrdas veweviT, Tumca, metwil ad es SeuzI ebel ia.

b. Tavisufl eba mxol od maSin xdeba SesaZI ebel i, Tu Sen misi SeuZI ebel i xedva gagačnia aravin SeiZI eba iyo oj axisa da skol i sgan, enisa da kul turisagan. Cven yvel as gvWi rdeba amgvari gamocdiL eba, rom pirovnebebad Camovyal ibdeT. amq-veynad ar arsebobs iseTi xel Seuxebel i adgil i, sadac es fenomenebi ar arseboken da Tavisufl ebis miRebis saSual ebas iZI evian. Tavisufl eba mxol od imis gamoZieba da garkvevaa, rasac manamde yovel gvari SekiTxbabis gareSe Segaswavl idnen. Tavisufl eba gansj isa da mimRebl obis kargad ganviTarebul i standartia, romel ic Sen saSual ebas gaZI evs, sakuTari pasuxismgebl obis gaazrebit miiRo an uaryo is Sexedul ebebi da normebi, rwmena da faseul obebi, romel Tac Seni saxl i, skol a da kul tura ginergavda. indvidis sazogadoebaSi arseboba am sazogadoebis memkvdreoba, sazogadoebriv cxovrebaSi monawil eoba da wvl il is Setanaa. swored indvidebis wvl il i Rebs kritikul i gansj isa da qmedebaTa foras, romel ic gansazRvravc Cveni da sazogadoebis raobas da momaval yofas.

a. Seni si tyvebi Zal ian ideal isturia. gana saxl sa da skol aSi naswavl i dauwerel i kanonebi da normebi ar gana-pirobebs imas, Tu ras miviCnevT Cven sworad da mcdarad adamiani moqmedebebSi? amasTanave, gana es kanonebi da normebi ar gansazRvravc Cvens kriticizmsa da damouki debel i azrovnebis meTodebs? gana sxva kul turaTa normebSi ki ar xdeba saRi azris gadacema, Semdegi Taobebis mier memkvdreobis miReba da monawil eobis formebris gansazRvra? Tavisufl ebis `SesaZI o- xedva ar SeiZI eba dafuznebul i iyos racional obisa da Tavsebadobis pirad standartebze. aseTi koncefciebi ar arsebobs. arsebobs mxol od sazogadoebi dan gamosul i gamocdiL eba, rwmena da azrovnebis formebei.

b. rasakvirvel ia Cveni sazogadoebrivi Sexedul ebebi saerTo da gaziarebul i Sexedul ebebia. rogori absurd i qmneboda, Tu yvel a Cvengani vel osipedis Tavi dan gamogonebas Seecdeboda. Tu TiToeul i adamiani aRmoCenebis keTebas Tvi-Ton, daxmarebis gareSe daiwyebda da ar gai Tval i swinebda sazogadoebaSi arsebul praqtikul gamocdiL ebas da im naazrevs, codnas, romel ic amdeni Taobebis ganmavl obaSi individTa wvl il is Setanis saSual ebiT iqmneboda! Cemi Rrma rwmeniT, Cven bevrad ufro metis gakeTeba SegviZI ia, vidrepirSi wyal Cagubebul ebs imis TamaSi, rac saxl sa da skol aSi gvaswavl es. Cven viziebt, vfiqrobT da vmoqmedebT imisaT-

vis, rom Seicval oT da imisaTvis, rom Cveni sazogadoebac Sevcval oT garkveul i Tval sazrisiT. swored es aris Tavisufl eba sazogadoebri tradiciebisa da kul turis borkil ebs miRma. martivi sul ac araa, magram, Sesazi ebel ia, sxvis mier naswavl ebma Senze gavl ena ar moaxdinos. nu aurev rTul sa da SeuzI ebel s erTmaneTSi! pirovnul i Tavisufl eba ar aris wyal oba, is sirTul eebis gadal axvis SemTxvevaSi moi poveba. is damouki debel pirovnebad Camoyal i bebis proce-sis nawil ia.

a. is, rasac Sen I aparakob, metad sasi amovno mosasmenia, magram nuTu ver xvdebi, rom Seni msj el oba dasavl eTis I liberal uri pol itikuri tradiciebis gavl eni Taa gamoweul i? im tradiciebiT, romel Sic Sen gai zarde. Sen sul sxva rwme-na qeqneboda, Tu sxva qveyanaSi, gansxvavebul pol itikur ga-remoSi gai zrdebodi da i swavl idi.

b. SeiZI eba Sen martal ic xar, Tumca me mainc mwams, rom yvel a SemTxvevaSi, viqnebodi is, vinc dRes var Tu is, vinc Sen dauSvi, rom SeiZI eboda vyofil iyavi, mainc davsvamdi ki Txvebs da Seicvl idi Cems pirvel ad warmodgenas Tavisufl ebis SesaxeB.

a. SeiZI eba martI ac asea. magram es yvel aferi imdenad hipoTeturia, Cven xom arasdros ar viciT zusti pasuxi. ratom unda SeiwuxoT Tavebi? ra Seicvl eba, Tu Cven gavagrzel ebT erTmaneTTan an sxvebTan diskusias? Cven an varT da an ar varT Tavisufl ebi da Cveni saubari amas ver Secvl is.

b. arada Secvl is! ubral od, ecade, Tavisufl ad imoqmedo maSinac ki, rodesac miicnev, rom amis Sesazi ebl oba ar arse-bobs.,

rogor fiqrob, aris Tavisufl eba Sesazi ebel i? SeiZI eba Tu ara kritikul ad movekidoT viRacis kul turas da mis `kanoni er~ pretenziebs codnis mi Rebis formebeTBan dakavSi re-beiT? ganaTI eba kul turul i marwuxebia Tu trampl ini Tavisufl ebi saTvis?

## **interpretacia da epistemikuri relativizmi**

a. funqisional istebma da neomarqsistebma unda gaaanal i-  
zon, rom isini erTi da imave movl enebs sxvadasxvagvarad  
xedaven da arc erTi maTganis xedvaSi simartI e ar aris  
asaxul i. mkvl evarTa nebismer j gufs, religiuri, eTnikuri  
da erovnul i j gufebis msgav sadac ki, samyaros xedvis sak-  
Tari `forma- gaachnia da movl enebis interpretirebasac am  
xedvis mixedviT axdenen. Cven unda mivxvdeT, rom es xedva  
imgvaria, rogoric aris da ar SeiZI eba, rom erTi, `swori-  
xedva veZi oT.

b. sxva si tyvebiT rom vTqaT, ar arsebobs sazogadoebasa  
da skol as Soris arsebul i kavSiris swori daxasiaTeba an  
aRwera? Tu am I ogikas mivyvebiT, gamova, rom Cvenc aranairi  
ufl eba ar gagvaCnia vamtkicoT, rom saskol o an ganaTI ebi  
kvl evis swori gzebis danaxva SegviZI ia.

a. rogor ar SegviZI ia. warmoidgine, rom akvirdebi sam  
adami ans, roml ebic gansxvavebul i Seferil obis mzis saT-  
val es atareben. erTi amtkicebs, rom samyaro nacrisferia,  
meore ambobs, rom is yavisferia, xol o mesamis azriT ki-  
vardisferi. garkveul i Tval sazrisiT, isini samiveni swors  
amboben, Tumca samyaro arc nacrisferia, arc yavisferi an  
vardisferi. me gavikeTeb maT saTval es da samyaros aseve  
sxvadasxvaf rad davinaxav. gansxvaveba isaa, me vici, rom saT-  
val e mikeTia, maT ki es ar ici an...

b. namdvi l ad Sesani Snavi anal ogi moi yvane. Tumca, nuTu  
Seni msj el oba ar ni Snavs, rom yvel a adami anma unda ataros  
saTval e? ki Txva ase unda Camoyal ibdes: aris Tu ara saT-  
val e erTgvari interpretivistul i CarCo samyaros Sesacno-  
bad, Tu es sxva adami anebis interpretaciaa?

a. ki batono, magram nuTu ver xedav gansxvavebas imaSi,  
rom Seni ici, yvel am unda ataros saTval e da imaSi, amis  
gaazrebis gareSe ubral od amtkicebde, rom Seni xedva er-  
TaderTi da WeSmarti?

b. geTanxmebi, Tumca nuTu es garemoeba gaiZul ebs Tqva,  
rom ar arsebobs erTi adamianis interpretaciaze ukeTesi  
meore interpretacia? bol osdabol os, samyaros vardisfrad  
danaxva xom arafriT uaresi ar aris, vidre misi danaxva na-  
crisfrad an yavisfrad? Cven im saTval es varCevT, romel ic

ukeT m̄iesadageba Cvens subieqtur m̄izezebs da ara imitom, rom erTi ufro mkafiod gvačvenebs samyaros, vidre meore.

a. Sen Cems anal ogs araswori mimarTul ebiT i yeneb, magram me minda vifiqro, rom arsebobs ukeTesi da uaresi interpretaciebi. rigi interpretaciebi ukeT arian faqtebs ukeT arian m̄orgebul ebi, sxvebi ki faqtebs argeben sakuTari interpretaciebs. arsebobs iseTi interpretaciebic, roml ebic saerTod ar arian m̄orgebul ni imgvar movl enebs, roml ebic intuitiuradac ki mni Svnel ovani unda iyos.

b. aris ki is, rasac Sen `faqtebad- aRiqvam, sxvisi interpretivistul i CarCos nawi i?

a. aris, da es hermenevtikaa.

ras fiqrob am dial ogze? SeiZI eba erTi interpretacia ukeTesi iyos, vidre meore? aqvs Tu ara interpretivists ufl eba raime dakanonebul i codnis fargl ebSi amtkicos?

## **mesame qveynebis saskol o sistema**

kote kopol a samSobl oSi SeerTebul i Statebi dan sa doqtoro programis damTavrebis Semdeg, xuTi wl isTavze dabrunda, am periodis ganmavl obaSi misi qveyana gansakuTrebiT ar Secvl il a. kol onial uri reJimi dan damouki debl obis mi Rwevis 25-e wl isTavze qveyana kvl avac pol itikurad arastabili uri iyo. agrokul tura qveynis mTavar ekonomikur saydenad rCeboda mosaxl eobi saTvis, agrokul tura mosaxl eobi saTvis sakuTari Tavis gamokvebis wyarosa da imavdroul ad eqsportis warmoebis saSual ebas warmoadgenda. swored agrokul turul i produqtebis eqsportiT mi Rebul Semosaval s i yenebdnen adamianebe saWi ro teqnikuri produqciis SesaZenad. erovnul i gegmis mesveurebis ocneba iyo ukeTesi ganaTI ebis uzrunvel yofa qveyanaSi. ganaTI ebas isini axal i samuSao Zal is warmoqmisaTvis real ur gzad mi i Cnevden. pol itikis mesveurebs surdaT, rom mosaxl eobas qveynis nedl eul i ara agrokul turul i produqtebis warmoebi saTvis gamoi yenebina da am produqtebis eqsportiT da kavebul iyo. gegmis avtorebs swored am strategiT undodaT mi eRwi aT, rom adamianebe fermebisa da mindvrebis mZme samu-

Sao pirobebidan ufro sasi amovno SromiT pirobebze gadasul i ynen da metSemosavl iani urbanul i industriul i sazogadoeba ganevi Tarebi naT.

kote erT-erT momavl is I iderad da ganaTI ebis sistemis mSenebl ad miCnies. am samomavl o pasuxismgebl obis Rirseul ad Sesrul ebi satvis, kote sazRvargareT miavl ines saswavl ebl ad amerikis SeerTebul StatebSi studentobis periodSi kote gai cno funcional isturi, marqsistul i da interpretivistul i xedvebi saskol o pol itikastan dakavSi-rebiT da axl a sakmaod dabneul i iyo. mas rom mxol od ertI, romel i me xedva Seeswavl a, axl a mSvidad dabrundeboda sam-Sobi oSi, miuj deboda pol itikis mesveurebs da miexmareboda maT erovnul i saganmanaTI ebl o sistemi awyobaSi. am SemTxvevaSi igi ganaTI ebis sistemas maval mxrivi perspektividan aRar Sexedavda da dakisrebul pasuxismgebl obasac kargad Seasrul ebda. marqsistul i gadmosaxedidan, is kargad xedavda, rom qveyanaSi kl asobrivi diferenciacia ki dev ufro iyo gaZl ierebul i, radgan mcire raodenobiT warmodgenil i mdidrebi, roml ebsac kargi poziciebi ekavaT, cdi-I obdnen, damouki debi obis periodSi c Seenarcunebinat sakuTari gavl ena da sakuTari keTiI dReoba. rasakvirvel ia, isini didi siamovnebiT SesTavazebdn masebs ganaTI ebas. oRond es ganaTI eba sakmarisi iqneboda imisaTvis, rom mosaxl eobas imdeni codna SeeZina, ramdenic am mdi dari adamianebis qarxnebsa da fabrikebSi muSaobi satvis dasWirddeodaT, magram ara imdeni, ramdenic mosaxl eobas qarxnebis mepatroneebad aqcevda. funcional istis perspektividan, kote xedavda ganaTI ebis sistemaSi cvl ii ebebis ganxorciel ebis aucil ebl obas, raTa gansakuTrebiT niWierebi SerCeul i ynen da ganvi Tarebul i ynen. swored amgvar niWiier adamianebs unda SeeqmnaT axal i sazogadoeba, roml ic gaemij neboda pri-mtiul agrokul turul formebs da industrial izaciisa da ekonomikuri ganvi Tarebis axal eraSi Seabij ebda. amgvari sazogadoeba ki SeZl ebda srul iad mosaxl eobisatvis Seeqmna ukeTesi sakvebis, j andacvisa pirobebi da material uri dovl aTi. meqrTameoba da biZaSvI oba aRar unda yofil iyo pirobebi, roml ebic arakompetenturi adamianebis maRaL poziciebze dani Svnas uzrunvel yofda. interpretivistis xedvit ki, kote xedavda imis aucil ebl obas, rom skol ebSi agrokul turidan da saTemo tradiciebidi bevri kargi da sasar-gebl o mimartul eba unda Senarcunebul iyo. swored agro-

kul turul i mimarTul ebebi sa da tradiciebis Senarcunebi Ta da skol aSi damkvidrebiT gaxdeboda Sesazl ebel i sazogadoebis erTianobis, keTil dReobi sa da sakuTari cxovrebi s wesiT kmayofil ebi s Segrznebis gaZl iereba. im cxovrebiT wesiT, romel ic, kol oniur periodis miuxedavad, qveyanaSi ayvavda da ganviTarda. imisaTvis, rom mosaxl eobaSi Tvi Tmyofadobi sa da mTI ianobis Segrzneba am swrafad ganviTarebad msofl i oSi ar dakargul iyo, kotes Tanamoqal aqeebi sTvis sakuTari cxovrebi s wesis Senarcuneba da Taobi dan Taobaze gadacema iqneboda upriani.

kotes adgil ze, ra tipis rCevebs SesTavazebdiT Tqveni qveyni s erovnul i saganmanaTI ebl o sistemis cvl il ebisATvis? Sesazl ebel ia Tu ara, rom es gansxvavebul i xedvebi kargad gaazrebi s SemTxvevaSi praqtikaSi Tavsebadi i yos?

## **kurikul umi**

a. Cveni dawyebiTi da saSual o skol ebi s saswavl o gegmebis umravl esoba uzrunvel yofs moswavl eebs im zogadi unarebi Ta da codniT, romel ic yvel a adamiani saTvi saa saWi-ro saerTo sazogadoebri v cxovrebaSi monawil eobi sa da CarTul obi saTvis.

b. ra aris sazogadoebri v cxovreba? arsebaben mdidrebi da Rari bebi, gavl eniani da susti, privil egirebul i da danceni adamianebebi. Cven Cvens adgil s vswavl obT skol aSi, xol o usamartI oba, romel ic sazogadoebri v cxovrebaSi arsebobs, kargad aris Senarcunebul i da dakanonebul i sistemis mier. saswavl o gegma araswor cnobierebas ayal i bebs.

g. me ki daveTanxmebi a-s msj el obas. saswavl o gegmebis umravl esoba, gamocxadebul ia i gi Tu farul i, adamianebs sazogadoebaSi efekturi funqci onirebi saTvis amzadebs. swored amgvarad eZl evaT adamianebs Sesazl ebl oba, miaRwi on warmatebas cxovrebaSi. Cven amas ver SevZl ebdiT, Tu ki Txva da wera ar gvecodineboda. Sesabamisi ganaTI ebi s gareSe Cven adamianebs imasac ki gavagebi nebdiT, ra aris araswori cnobiereba. kurikul umi adamianebs im rTul i da mra-val mxrivi teqnikuri samyarosaTvis amzadebs, romel Sic mat

unda i cxovron da imuSaon. skol ebi avi Tareben biznessa da industriaSi dasaqmebi saTvis aucil ebel unarebsa da damoki debul ebebs. es biznesi da industria ki, Tavis mxriv, qmnis im saqonel sa da servisebs, romel ic saSual ebas gvaZI evs, cxovrebis is maRal i standartebi SevinarcunoT, romel ic Cven ase mogvwons. amrigad, skol ebi yvel as aZI even Tanabar SesaZI ebl obas material uri keTil dReobisa da warmatebul i cxovrebi saTvis.

b. maS ratom aris social ur-ekonomikuri fena da warmoSoba ase dadebiT korel aciuri saskol o mi Rwevebsa da sam-saxureobrivi-poziciur ekonomikur keTil dReobasTan? axl ave agi xsni T!

im dros, rodesac skol ebi crubon da yvirian, rom Tanabar SesaZI ebl obebs uzrunvel yofen yvel asaTvis, sinamduv il eSi dabat kl asebs mtkiced unergaven da iTiTeben sakut Tar adgil s sazogadoebaSi. skol ebi maT morcili samuSao Zal ad zrdian, im muSakebad, visac am xel ovnurad SeTi Tx-nil i saWiroebebiT gadavsebul i cxovrebis maRal i mimReoba gaaCniAT. saWiroebebiT, romel ic savsea dabat fasiani produqtebiTa da garTobis saSual ebebiT, roml isgan mi Rebul i Semosaval i, sxvaTa Soris, isev mdidrebis jibeebSi Caedineba.

a. saqme isaa, rom arc ertTi Tqvengani real urad kurikul umze ar saubrobs. is saerTod gaqra Tqveni pol itikuri ritorikidan. nuTu kurikul umi Cveni kul turis formal uri codnis sistemis gafil tvris Sedegad ar mi Reba? nuTu Cveni skol a ar gvaswavl is, rogor unda gaxdeT gaziarebul sazogadobriv yofaSi aqturi da srul ufl ebi ani monawil e?

b. zedapirul i xedviT, gvaswavl is. magram, real urad, kurikul umi farul ia da is warmoqmnis da akanonebs sakl aso strukturas.

g. zogi kurikul umi marTl ac rom `farul ia~. TumcaRa kvl evebis wyal obiT, axl a Cven is ukeT SegviZI ia SevincnoT. Cven vaswavl iT im normebsa da damoki debul ebebs, rac mni Svnel ovania demokratil sazogadoebaSi warmatebis misaRwevad. ra aris mere amaSi cudi? ra aris cudi imaSi, rom viswavl oT damouki debul oba, mi Rwevebi s xasiaTi, specifikuroba da universal izmi? es xom ukeTes indi idebs da ukeTes sazogadoebas ayal i bebs! `a~ aseve marTal ia, rom sagnebi, roml ebic skol aSi Seiswavl eba codnis sistemis gafil tvris Sedegad mi Reba. im codnisa, romel sac Cven ro-

gorc kul turas viziarebT da romel ic met-nakl ebad yvel a-saTvis nacnobia.

a. Cven aseve gagvačnia gaziarebul i rwmenebi da normebi, rac fundamental uria da Zal ian mni Svnel ovani imisaTvis, rom individuali debi damouki debel i pirovnebebi iyvnen. me Rrmad var darwmunebul i Cvens val debul ebaSi, vaswavl OT adami-nebs is, rac maT Cvens sazogadoebaSi damouki debel monawi-I eebad Camoayal i bebs. es ki imas niSnavs, rom kurikul umi, aSkaraa is Tu mal ul i, unda uzrunvel yofdes ZiriTadi intersagnobrivi gaziarebul i codnis gadmocemas. codnisa, romel ic Cvens kul turasa da social ur formebs ayal i bebs. kurikul umi agreTve unda exmarebodes moswavl eubs imis danaxvaSi, rom swored esaa sazogadoebri cxovreba da rom Cven yvel a Cvens wvl il s vdebT mis SeqmnaSi. da bol os, moswavl eebma unda dainaxon, rom mxol od romel imi sazogadoebri sistemaSi aqturi monawil eobis pirobebSi SegviZi ia viswrafOT Cveni individual uri saWiroebebi sa da adami anuri mi znebis mi Rwevisaken.

b. saWiroebebsa da mi znebs kl asobrivi cnobi ereba gansazRvrav!

g. ara! maT progresis social uri konteqsti gansazRvrav. `a"-s anal izi mokl ebil ia humanuri pol itikis perspektivas da amitomaca, rom misi Teoria safuzvel s mokl ebil ia. me da `b- kurikul umis garkveul i pol itikuri Teoria mainc gagvačnia, miuxedavad imisa, rom erTmanetTs ver veTanxmebiT. `a~ Zal ian gul ubryvil o unda iyos, rom kurikul ums pol itikuri perspektivi dan ver xedavdes. kurikul umi apol itikuri verasdros ver iqneba.

kurikul umis xedvis romel i perspektivaa SenTvis ufro metad misaRebi? ratom? SeiZi eba, rom kurikul umi apol itikuri iyos?

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